

“KrafftSprüchlin Altes und Newen Testaments”: Johann Hermann Schein’s *Israelsbrünnlein* (1623)

Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der
Universität Heidelberg

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Datum der mündlichen Prüfung: 25. Januar 2018

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PREFACE

The following study was submitted in July 2017 as a doctoral dissertation in musicology at the University of Heidelberg. The author of a study such as this inevitably has people to thank. First and foremost is my supervisor, Prof. Silke Leopold, who, despite her retirement, supported me by reading drafts and writings references throughout this project. Prof. Dorothea Redepenning kindly agreed to function as the second referee on the committee. Dr. Joachim Steinheuer first pointed me in the direction of Schein, entrusting me along the way with tutorials and teaching opportunities in Heidelberg. The author of one seventeenth-century funeral sermon, quoting a Roman writer, wryly observed that “Pecunia, mihi crede, facit Doctorem, non eruditio”.¹ The reader can judge if any erudition is to be found in the following; as to the pecuniary side, I have the Evangelisches Studienwerk Villigst to thank which, by supporting me as *Promotionsstipendiat*, made my work on this project possible. The hand-copied continuo part of ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ on page 314 is reproduced by permission of the Bach-Archiv Leipzig. I am grateful to the Marienbibliothek and Frau Anke Fiebiger in Halle for permission to reproduce excerpts from their copy of *Israelsbrunnlein*.

Heidelberg, October 2018

¹ Eberhard Winkler, *Die Leichenpredigt im deutschen Luthertum bis Spener*, Munich: 1967, p. 197.

Dedicated to the memory of John Wesley Barker, my friend and teacher.

...so will ich doch dein nicht vergessen.

INTRODUCTION

Literature Review

Carl von Winterfeld, in the second volume of his *Der evangelische Kirchengesang*, was the first modern writer to draw attention to *Israelsbrünnlein*.² Against the backdrop of Michael Praetorius and Heinrich Schütz, whom he considers to have been pivotal in the introduction of the new Italian style in Germany, Winterfeld offers a comparison of Schein and Schütz. Winterfeld acknowledges Schein's careful attention to the depiction of the text, noting some of the most salient features of Schein's musical language, including his frequent use of intervals such as the augmented fifth or diminished fourth, and his tendency to create, wherever the texts permits, „herbe Mißklänge" through dissonances not properly prepared or resolved.³ Ultimately, Schütz was, so argues Winterfeld, the better composer, as "jene Einheit, die wir bei Diesem [Schein] vermissen, in Jenem [Schütz] überall sichtbar hervortritt".⁴ As Winterfeld however continues: "Dagegen möchte Schein wiederum in der inneren Durchbildung seiner Tonsätze der Vorzug zu geben seyn, in deren Ausgestaltung er überall sinnreich, eigenthümlich, von meisterlicher Gewandheit, sich zeigt". Implicit in Winterfeld's judgment are two poles: the composition as a unified whole, and the composer's creative response to individual fragments of the text. By 1845, Winterfeld had already sown the seeds of a stylistic distinction which would re-emerge whenever musicologists discussed Schein and *Israelsbrünnlein*.

Although a first complete edition of Schein's works was begun by Arthur Prüfer, whose monograph, published in 1895, laid the foundations of Schein's biography and is still indispensable, it remained incomplete and never included *Israelsbrünnlein*.⁵ Not until Adam Adrio published six motets from *Israelsbrünnlein* in a volume of 'Das Chorwerk' (1931) was a selection of these compositions made available in a modern edition; a further volume in the same series, entitled

² Carl von Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang und sein Verhältniß zur Kunst des Tonsatzes*, vol. II, Leipzig: 1845, pp. 231-241, especially pp. 231-234.

³ Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang*, vol. II., p. 233.

⁴ Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang*, vol. II., p. 234.

⁵ Prüfer's monograph: Arthur Prüfer, *Johann Hermann Schein*, Leipzig: 1989 (reprint of first edition from 1895). The seven volumes of Prüfer's edition were published from 1901 until 1914.

‘Sieben Chromatische Motetten des Barock’, includes ‘Die mit Tränen säen’ alongside compositions by Lasso, H. Praetorius, Sweelinck and Hassler.⁶ Adrio’s preface to the first of these volumes draws attention to Schein’s relation to national styles; specifically, the extent to which his German origin and the spirit of new Italian music are revealed in his works. Commenting on the wave of Italian music sweeping over Germany prior to the outbreak of the Thirty Years’ War, Adrio argues that young German composers had to choose between “ihrem Deutschtum, dem sie nach Herkunft und Bildung angehören, und dem italienischen Geist, zu dem eine geheime Sehnsucht sie alle treibt”.⁷ The national synthesis found in Schein’s compositions finds its pendant in the stylistic synthesis of the modern Italian madrigal and the polyphonic motet: “In diesen geistlichen Madrigalen überträgt Schein alle Errungenschaften des neitalienischen Madrigal- und Konzertstils auf die polyphone Motette”.⁸

Anna Amalie Abert, in her discussion of motet composition in Germany prior to the publication of Heinrich Schütz’s *Cantiones sacrae* in 1625, contrasts Schein’s adherence to the style of Lasso and his successors in *Cymbalum Sionium* (1615), a collection containing German and Latin motets for 5-12 parts, with a new ideal of motet composition revealed in *Israelsbrunnlein*. While she considers *Cymbalum Sionium* to represent “eines der letzten großen Denkmäler des spätniederländischen Stiles”, Abert sees in *Israelsbrunnlein* “das erste Denkmal der monodischen Motettenkomposition auf deutschem Boden”.⁹ Like Adrio, Abert finds in *Israelsbrunnlein* a synthesis of Schein’s German origins and Italian innovation: “So vollzieht sich denn im ‘Israelsbrunnlein’ die Verschmelzung zwischen der ‘deutschen’ und der italienischen ‘monodischen’ Motettenkomposition”.¹⁰ Abert argues that the compositions printed in *Israelsbrunnlein* can be positioned between these two poles. While the structure and the essentially contrapuntal manner of ‘Ich bin jung gewesen’ places this motet closest to the former pole, she cites ‘Zion

⁶ Adam Adrio [ed.], *Johann Hermann Schein: Sechs Deutsche Motetten*, Wolfenbüttel: 1931 (=Das Chorwerk, Heft 12); Friedrich Blume [ed.], *Sieben chromatische Motetten des Barock*, Wolfenbüttel: 1931 (=Das Chorwerk, Heft 14).

⁷ Adam Adrio, *Vorwort* in Adrio [ed.], *Johann Hermann Schein: Sechs Deutsche Motetten*, Wolfenbüttel: 1931.

⁸ Adam Adrio, *Vorwort* in Adrio [ed.], *Johann Hermann Schein: Sechs Deutsche Motetten*, Wolfenbüttel: 1931.

⁹ Anna Amalie Abert, *Die stilistischen Voraussetzungen der „Cantiones sacrae“ von Heinrich Schütz*, Kassel: 1986 (reprint of original edition from 1935), p. 221.

¹⁰ Abert, *Die stilistischen Voraussetzungen*, p. 222.

spricht: der Herr hat mich verlassen' as a composition which "als nahezu reine Verkörperung des monodischen Motettenstiles angesehen werden kann".¹¹

The first extensive discussion of Schein's settings of sacred texts was undertaken by Irmgard Hueck in her doctoral dissertation, completed in 1943. Hueck devotes a chapter to *Israelsbrunnlein* as part of her account of the evolution of Schein's style. Like Abert, she considers Schein's relation both to the German tradition of motet composition and to new impulses from Italy. Starting with Schein's *Cymbalum Sionium* (1615), Hueck identifies two poles – the "homophonen Motetten Haßlischer oder Gabrielischer Provenienz" and the "5 st. polyphonen Motetten der Frühzeit" – which provide a framework for discussing aspects of musical style.¹² Despite her identification of progressive elements in some of the *Cymbalum Sionium* motets, she argues that even the most retrospective motets in *Israelsbrunnlein* leave those of Schein's 1615 collection far behind. Hueck argues that many compositions in *Israelsbrunnlein* betray the influence of the Italian madrigal, concluding that "Schein ist der erste unter den deutschen Komponisten, der die Motette in diesem Sinne mit Elementen der Madrigalkomposition durchsetzt".¹³ The opposition between a polyphonic and homophonic manner of composition again provides her with a framework with which to discuss questions of musical style. She argues that the madrigals of Claudio Monteverdi provided Schein with the impulse for the stylistic advances found in *Israelsbrunnlein*.¹⁴ On the basis of musical style, she attempts a chronology of the compositions, proposing three phases for their stylistic development.¹⁵ She suggests that the order of the motets in the print corresponds roughly with the order in which they were composed, drawing attention to the final third which, she claims, was composed later.¹⁶

The lack of a complete modern edition of *Israelsbrunnlein* was rectified with the first volume of the *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke (NGA)*, edited by Adam Adrio and published in 1963. To his credit, Adrio avoided the temptation to transpose individual compositions to make them

¹¹ Abert, *Die stilistischen Voraussetzungen*, pp. 222-3.

¹² Irmgard Hueck, *Die künstlerische Entwicklung Johann Hermann Scheins, dargestellt an seinen geistlichen Werken*, Dissertation, Freiburg: 1943, p. 49.

¹³ Hueck, *Die künstlerische Entwicklung*, p. 71.

¹⁴ Hueck, *Die künstlerische Entwicklung*, p. 103.

¹⁵ Hueck, *Die künstlerische Entwicklung*, p. 102.

¹⁶ Hueck, *Die künstlerische Entwicklung*, p. 72.

more comfortable for a modern choir; other editions of the time, most notably the *Neue Schütz-Ausgabe*, fell victim to the attempt to reconcile scholarly authenticity with a misguided attempt at accommodating the needs of practical performance. Adrio gave his edition of *Israelsbrünnlein* the subtitle “geistliche Madrigale”, bringing this concept more prominently into the discourse. Addressing in his preface the question of the intended genre, Adrio notes that, unlike in the case of *Cymbalum Sionium*, in which the conventional term ‘cantiones sacrae’ is found, Schein refrained from a specification of genre in the title of the 1623 publication, entitling it ‘Fontana d’Israel’. Implicit in Adrio’s preface is a distinction between the compositions’ function as ‘Kasualmotetten’ in the German Lutheran tradition, and a musical style showing the influence of the expressive language of the Italian madrigal. Concerning the first point, Adrio draws attention to Schein’s comment in his dedication of *Israelsbrünnlein* to the “Bürgermeistern und gantzem Rath der Stadt Leipzig” that he had “bißhero ... etzliche außerlesene KrafftSprüchlin ... componiret, unnd bey fürfallenden occasionen musiciret”. These compositions had been “allbereit sparsim, aber doch nicht ohne merckliche sphalmata gedruckt”; with the present compilation he wishes to revise and publish these compositions (“revidiren, unnd der lieben Posteritet communiciren”). With regards to their texts, Adrio observes that these works can be understood as “deutsche Kasualmotetten, die zu Hochzeiten, Begräbnissen, Ratswahlfeiern, Promotionen und ähnlichen feierlichen Anlässen ‘componiret’ und musiziert worden sind”. Concerning their musical style, however, Adrio cites two features of Schein’s print which place these works in the context of the madrigal: the phrase “Madrigale di Gio: Hermano Schein/C.” printed at the foot of each recto page, and Schein’s claim to have composed these works “auf eine sonderbar Anmutige Italian Madrigalische manier”. Adrio takes these indications as evidence of the “Verbindung von deutsch-niederländischer Motettentradition und neuitalienischer Ausdruckskunst” in *Israelsbrünnlein*.

Adrio’s decision for the term ‘geistliche Madrigale’ offered an answer to a question which has dominated much of the recent literature on *Israelsbrünnlein*: are Schein’s compositions best understood as motets or as sacred madrigals? Werner Braun provided the discussion with a new impulse by identifying as an independent genre the ‘deutsches geistliches Madrigal’, a genre which combines the musical characteristics of the (polyphonic) Italian madrigal with texts from Luther’s Bible translation.¹⁷ Braun argues that *Israelsbrünnlein*, along with a dozen collections published between 1610 and 1670 in which reference is made to a “madrigalische Manier” of

¹⁷ Werner Braun, *Die Musik des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden: 1981, pp. 191-195.

composition, belongs to this hybrid genre. As he argues, “Der ausdrückliche Bezug der Komponisten aufs Madrigal, die Fülle der Belege und deren stilistische Gemeinsamkeiten berechtigen dazu, das deutsche geistliche Madrigal als eine eigenständige musikalische Gattung des 17. Jahrhunderts aufzufassen”.¹⁸ Irmgard Hammerstein (née Hueck) used Braun’s terminology to develop the argument she had outlined in her dissertation.¹⁹ For Hammerstein, the German sacred madrigal was defined at least in part by its function, being intended for “private (wenn auch geistliche) Zwecke” as opposed to, on the one hand, earlier German ‘Spruchmotetten’ for liturgical use and, on the other, secular Italian and German madrigals.²⁰ She argues that Schein was instrumental in the development of this new genre, a development which took place in the space of five years between the composition of Schein’s *Threnus a sei voci* (1617) for Duchess Dorothea Maria, mother of Schein’s former employer Duke Johann Ernst I of Saxe-Weimar, and the publication of *Israelsbrünnlein*, the “Erstling dieser neuen Gattung”.²¹ Hammerstein, on the basis of musical style, reasserts her argument that the decisive impulse for this development was provided by an acquaintance with the madrigals of Monteverdi, specifically with madrigals from Monteverdi’s third, fourth, and the beginning of his fifth books.

Other authors have similarly understood *Israelsbrünnlein* as a hybrid between the poles of the motet and the madrigal. Wolfram Steinbeck has suggested that *Israelsbrünnlein* occupies a middle ground between the motet pole as represented by Schütz’s *Geistliche Chormusik* (1648) and the madrigalian pole as embodied by Monteverdi’s madrigals.²² Magdalena Walter-Mazur has provided a further take on the hybrid-genre approach, suggesting that *Israelsbrünnlein*, together with six other collections published in Saxony between 1619 and 1652, belongs to the genre ‘madrigal motet’; she argues that *Israelsbrünnlein* and Schütz’s *Cantiones sacrae* demonstrate

¹⁸ Braun, *Die Musik des 17. Jahrhunderts*, p. 193.

¹⁹ Irmgard Hammerstein, ‘Zur Monteverdi-Rezeption in Deutschland. Johann Hermann Scheins Fontana d’Israel’, in Ludwig Finscher [ed.], *Claudio Monteverdi: Festschrift Reinhold Hammerstein zum 70. Geburtstag*, Laaber: 1986, pp. 175-212.

²⁰ Hammerstein, ‘Zur Monteverdi-Rezeption’, p. 179.

²¹ Hammerstein, ‘Zur Monteverdi-Rezeption’, pp. 179-181.

²² Wolfram Steinbeck, ‘Motettisches und madrigalisches Prinzip in der geistlichen Musik der Schütz-Zeit: Monteverdi - Schütz - Schein’, *SJb* 11 (1989).

the “most perfect examples of melding the features of the motet and the madrigal”.²³ That *Israelsbrünnlein* represents Schein’s appropriation of the musical language of Monteverdi’s madrigals has, however, been questioned. Claudia Theis, responding to Hammerstein’s essay, discusses examples from Marenzio and Schütz to show that “die angeblichen Monteverdi-Übernahmen an Beweiskraft verlieren, wenn sich ganz ähnliche Satztypen nicht nur bei Schein und Monteverdi, sondern auch bei anderen Madrigalkomponisten finden lassen”.²⁴ Walter Werbeck has asked what might have led both Schütz and Schein, in spite of differences in their biographies and the nature of their works, to refer repeatedly to Italy and the “italienische Manier”.²⁵ Commenting on the “Trend einer Mischung der Gattungen und Schreibarten” in Italy from the second decade of the seventeenth century, Werbeck suggests that *Israelsbrünnlein* represents Schein’s attempt at incorporating in his compositions the results of this development. In addition to the oft observed madrigal-motet polarity, Werbeck suggests that, in keeping with the dissolution of the distinctions between genres observed in Italy, stylistic aspects typically associated with the canzonetta – “klare Gliederung mit wörtlichen Wiederholungen, ausgeprägt oberstimmenbetonter Satz” – are found in a number of the *Israelsbrünnlein* compositions.²⁶

Ever since Winterfeld, many writers have discussed *Israelsbrünnlein* in terms of its relation to modern Italian innovations. There have, however, been alternative approaches which place Schein’s work more clearly in the context of his Lutheran German origins. One such approach has been to consider Schein’s compositions in connection with the *Figurenlehre*, the study of musical figures derived from classical rhetoric. Gregory S. Johnston, in his master’s thesis, discusses the role which the study of classical rhetoric would have played in Schein’s education and offers detailed analyses of two compositions from *Israelsbrünnlein* – ‘Die mit Tränen säen’ and ‘Siehe, nach Trost’ – in terms of figures derived from classical rhetoric.²⁷ Boel Lindberg has devoted a single study to *Israelsbrünnlein*, in which he presents an overview of the work’s

²³ Magdalena Walter-Mazur, ‘The Madrigal Motet in Protestant Germany’, in Helmut Loos & Eberhard Müller [eds.], *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, Leipzig: 2006, p. 220.

²⁴ Claudia Theis, ‘Claudio Monteverdi und Johann Hermann Schein’, in Silke Leopold & Joachim Steinheuer [eds.], *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen: Bericht über das Internationale Symposium Detmold 1993*, Kassel: 1998.

²⁵ Walter Werbeck, ‘Gabrieli-Schule und “italian-madrigalische Manier”’: Schütz und Schein’, *SJb* 28 (2006).

²⁶ Werbeck, ‘Gabrieli-Schule’, p. 32.

²⁷ Gregory S. Johnston, *Johann Hermann Schein and Musica Poetica: A Study of the Application of Musical-Rhetorical Figures in the Spritual Madrigals of the Israelsbrünnlein (1623)*, M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1982.

historical context before he analyses the compositions “from the viewpoint of how text and music are combined”.²⁸ Lindberg offers a detailed catalogue outlining the manner in which Schein depicts individual words, observing that Schein “very seldom refrains from painting a word or a phrase if he has a chance”.²⁹ He connects these examples of word-painting with the rhetorical terminology of the *Figurenlehre*.

Another alternative to the “madrigal-or-motet” approach is through the function of the compositions in their social and historical context. The recent completion of the *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (NGA), a modern edition of Schein’s surviving works, has revealed the significance of the occasional compositions in the context of Schein’s output, opening new perspectives for the study of Schein’s printed collections. Claudia Theis has drawn attention to a group of individually published “fünf- bis sechsstimmige Motetten zu Begräbnissen besonders herausgehobener Persönlichkeiten” which are “im Stil der Motetten des *Israelsbrünnlein* von 1623 gehalten”.³⁰ Crucially, the prints of such works usually contain information concerning the occasion for which the work was composed and performed. Gregory S. Johnston has discussed Schein’s occasional cantional lieder for funerals, investigating the manner in which they were in some cases revised and adapted before their inclusion in Schein’s *Cantional* (1627).³¹ Stephen Rose has considered Schein’s occasional works in connection with their social context and the social standing of their dedicatees, arguing that Schein was instrumental in the development of norms for the performance and publication of occasional music in Leipzig.³² These norms could be used “to express social rank, because a composer could honour an esteemed dedicatee by departing from the norm”.³³ Rose discusses the norms of music established by

²⁸ Boel Lindberg, *Text and Music in J. H. Schein’s Israelsbrünnlein (1623)*, Reports from the Department of Musicology Lund University, Lund: 1993, p. 10.

²⁹ Lindberg, *Text and Music*, pp. 77-8.

³⁰ Claudia Theis, ‘Johann Hermann Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen’, *Jahrbuch des staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung preußischer Kulturbesitz* (2000), pp. 124-5. See also Walter Werbeck, “‘bey fürfallenden occasionen musiciret’: Bemerkungen zu Johann Hermann Scheins Gelegenheitswerken’, in Detlef Altenburg & Rainer Bayreuther (eds.), *Musik und kulturelle Identität: Bericht über den XIII. Internationalen Kongress der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Weimar 2004*, Kassel: 2012.

³¹ Gregory S. Johnston, “‘Der Schein trägt’: A Reappraisal of Johann Hermann Schein’s Funeral Lieder’, *Schütz Jahrbuch (SJB)*, 20 (1998).

³² Stephen Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music and the Social Order in 1620s Leipzig’, *Early Music History* 23 (2004).

³³ Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music’, p. 255.

Schein for weddings and funerals in connection with the social standing of the dedicatees and the function of such compositions for social display.

Methodology and Purpose

Much of the writing on *Israelsbrünnlein* has been concerned primarily with the formal aspects of the compositions as revealed in the printed score. Such an approach is aided by the nature of the publication: although Schein in his dedication suggests that at least some of the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* had already been performed and printed individually, he doesn't offer further contextual information – such as the dedicatee, the occasion and date of the original performance – concerning the individual compositions. The connection between music and text is central to any study of vocal music. Two tendencies can be identified in the literature. Earlier writers such as Abert and Hueck were interested primarily in the manner of text declamation; the musical realisation of the form of the text often reveals itself to be more important than its content. Furthermore, earlier writers often discussed *Israelsbrünnlein* with the intention of demonstrating the development of Schein's style, tracing lines of development between composers and national styles. Where writers have examined more directly the connection between music and the content of the text, it is often with respect to the use of 'madrigalisms' or rhetorical figures to depict isolated words or images. *Figurenlehre* has its place, and there is no doubt that the teaching of rhetoric and its terminology pervaded instruction in Latin schools in Germany and would have been a pillar of Schein's education. But, I would argue, the identification of recurring musical figures and their connection with specific words or images does not exhaust, or even get to the essence, of Schein's understanding of the connection between text and music. The problem lies in the tendency to consider words and their depiction in isolation, divorced not only from the verses of which they are a part, but also from the wider theological and historical contexts which led to and informed their selection and setting to music in the first place.

In my study of *Israelsbrünnlein*, I have tried to find alternative approaches to the 'Madrigal-or-Motet' question which has dominated much of the recent literature. Rather than trying to give a new take on the extent to which Schein might have been influenced by developments in Italian music, I take as my starting point the *Sprüche* which Schein set and investigate their function in Schein's society and the manner in which they were interpreted by theologians. In my study, I take the view that Schein was setting 'Kraftsprüchlein', texts which had their own integrity,

function and meaning independently of their musical setting. In his dedication of *Israelsbrünnlein* to the “Herren Bürgermeistern und gantzem Rath der Stadt Leipzig”, Schein indicates that some of his readers will remember how he had composed “etzliche außerlesene Krafftspüchlein Altes und Newen Testaments” and had performed (“musiciret”) these “bey fürfallenden *occasionen*”.³⁴ Schein already hints at the connection between these compositions and the society for which they were composed; in my study of *Israelsbrünnlein*, I ask what these occasions might have been and how they informed Schein’s texts and their musical settings. A central premise of my study is that the compositions cannot be separated from the occasions for which they were originally composed. The recent completion of the new Schein edition was a watershed in Schein studies and enables for the first time the study of Schein’s extensive output of occasional compositions and the extent to which they shed light on the collections. As Schein suggests in his preface to *Israelsbrünnlein*, many of the compositions published here would have been composed and performed as occasional works before their collection and publication in *Israelsbrünnlein*. By focussing on *Israelsbrünnlein*, I am able also to consider Schein’s polyphonic occasional motets, many of which display similarities with compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein*, and thereby reap the fruits of the editorial work conducted by Claudia Theis. I seek to break down the barriers between the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* and the occasional works, demonstrating thereby their similarities and the extent to which they inform each other. Crucially, the parallels identified between *Israelsbrünnlein* and a number of Schein’s individually published occasional works provides the opportunity for a close reading of the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* not solely in terms of musical style, but in connection with questions of social history and theology. As a musicologist (but by no means a trained theologian), I found myself having to ask questions such as “who was Ephraim?” or “how did Schein understand Zion?”. To understand the texts, I had to look at how they were understood by Lutheran theologians. As the reader will see, I have made extensive use of printed Lutheran funeral sermons.³⁵ These sermons were a crucial source of information concerning the socio-historical and the theological context of Schein’s compositions. Thousands of these

³⁴ See Schein’s dedication to the Leipziger Stadtrat. Schein published *Israelsbrünnlein*, as with the majority of his other works, himself. See Adam Adrio, ‘Die Drucker und Verleger der musikalischen Werke Johann Hermann Scheins’, in Richard Baum & Wolfgang Rehm [eds.], *Musik und Verlag: Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag*, Kassel: 1968, pp. 128-135.

³⁵ Where funeral sermons have been discussed in the musicological literature, it has been as a source of biographical information (e.g. Philipp Spitta, ‘Leichensermone auf Musiker des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts’. *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 3 (1871)) or in connection with funeral compositions printed with them (most prominently Wolfgang Reich, *Die deutschen gedruckten Leichenpredigten des 17. Jahrhunderts als musikalische Quelle*, Dissertation, Leipzig: 1962).

sermons survive, including many held by Schein's Leipzig colleagues, most importantly Leipzig superintendents Vincentius Schmuck (1565-1628) and Polycarp Leiser the younger (1586-1633). Such sermons have a standardised form.³⁶ They are normally preached on a selection of biblical verses, printed at the start of the sermon. Following an introduction, in which the reasons for the selection of these verses as *Predigttext* are given – in many cases, the chosen verses had been expressly selected by the deceased – the *Predigttext* is discussed verse by verse. The sermons typically close with a summary of the deceased's life. In some cases, often for academics or people of high social standing, dedicatory poems ('Epicedien') and even musical tributes are printed following the sermon. Such sermons were useful for my study for a number of reasons. Firstly, the sermons shed light on the reasons for the selection of these *Sprüche* and their use in Lutheran devotional practice, both as personal *Sprüche* when still living and as *Predigttext* at the funeral. Secondly, the sermons offer an exhaustive theological discussion of the respective *Spruch*, showing how Schein's theological colleagues understood the texts and enabling questions such as the identity of Ephraim or Zion and their significance for Schein's society to be resolved. I now had a window into the socio-historical and theological contexts of the *Sprüche* which Schein set. The final task was to relate this to music.³⁷ Schein's printed occasional works provided the missing link. Crucial for my study was the observation that a number of the *Sprüche* which Schein set were frequently preached upon in funeral and wedding sermons. In my first chapter I attempt to piece together the puzzle by discussing the funeral of Leipzig Bürgermeister Theodor Möstel. Two documents offer us a window into the circumstances of this occasion. Firstly, there is the printed funeral sermon which Polycarp Leiser held on a Bible *Spruch* chosen by Möstel. Möstel's reasons for selecting this *Spruch* – his personal *Symbolum* – are outlined in Leiser's sermon and in a text from Möstel himself which follows. The second document is the individually printed motet which Schein composed for Möstel and performed at his funeral. The text which Schein set was the *Spruch* on which Leiser preached his sermon; in addition to selecting it for his *Predigttext*, Möstel had asked Schein to set it to music in anticipation of his funeral. The circumstances of Möstel's funeral allow the connection between the sermon, the *Spruch* and Schein's composition to be reconstructed. We thus have

³⁶ Concerning funeral sermons, see Cornelia Niekus Moore, *Patterned Lives: the Lutheran Funeral Biography in Early Modern Germany*, Wiesbaden: 2006; Eberhard Winkler, *Die Leichenpredigt im deutschen Luthertum bis Spener*, Munich: 1967; Rudolf Lenz, *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften*, 4 vols. (1975-2004). See also Mary Jane Haemig & Robert Kolb, 'Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits in the Age of Confessionalization', in Robert Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550 - 1675*, Leiden: 2008.

³⁷ For a recent attempt at approaching music through the lens of psalm commentaries, see Franz Körndle, 'Musik in Psalmenkommentaren des 17. Jahrhunderts', in Helen Geyer & Brigit Johanna Wertenson (eds.), *Psalmen: Kirchenmusik zwischen Tradition, Dramatik und Experiment*, Köln: 2014.

evidence of a three-fold nexus between theology, Leipzig society and music: the sermon provides a detailed theological interpretation of the text and shows the function of this *Spruch* in the context of the funeral; the identification of the text as Möstel's personal *Spruch* shows how this text had been a source of consolation to Möstel throughout his life; and the publication of Schein's composition shows that Schein set a text which already had a function and integrity before it was set to music.

I hope with my study of *Israelsbrünnlein* to contribute towards an understanding of the connection between Schein's compositions and the society for which he composed, performed and published them. An important premise in my study is the idea that the texts which Schein set had, independently of their musical settings, an integrity and function as *Kraftsprüchlein*. I ask why these texts were set, how they might have been used both in private as part of personal devotional practice and in public in the context of funerals, weddings and civic ceremonies, and how they were understood by contemporary preachers, in many cases Schein's own Leipzig colleagues. I then attempt to apply these insights to Schein's settings. I thus attempt to examine Schein's *Sprüche* from three perspectives: firstly, the possible function of a *Spruch*, then its interpretation by contemporary theologians, and finally its presentation in music. The structure of my study reflects this methodological approach. In my opening chapter I attempt to reconstruct the function that many of these *Sprüche* might have had at a Leipzig funeral. Discussing the example of Schein's individually printed funeral composition for Theodor Möstel, I show that the verses from Psalm 31 which Schein set had been selected in advance of the funeral by Möstel himself, and that they played a role in his private devotions as his *Symbolum*. Möstel had requested that his *Symbolum* be taken both as the *Predigttext* for his funeral sermon and as the text for Schein's funeral composition. I suggest that this is a model relevant for many of the compositions which Schein "composed, revised and published" in 1623 as *Israelsbrünnlein*.³⁸ In the following chapter, I attempt to apply these insights to *Israelsbrünnlein*. Weaving through the various aspects discussed in this chapter are Schein's two settings of different selections of verses from Psalm 90, which I approach from contrasting perspectives. I discuss Schein's 'Unser Leben' (Ps. 90:10) firstly in connection with the circumstances of the funeral of Leipzig mayor Johann Peilicke, arguing that it is conceivable that Schein's setting originated as a fu-

³⁸ "etzliche schöne geistliche Kraftsprüchlein *componiren, revidiren, und publicieren* wollen".

neral composition. I then ask whether the contrasting modes in which Schein set the two *Sprüche* from this psalm could be seen to correspond to the theological ideas with which they were associated, most importantly the contrast between the Law and the Gospel. In chapter 3 I look more closely at the theological interpretation of a selection of Schein's *Sprüche* in printed Lutheran funeral sermons and attempt to transfer these insights into a reading of Schein's compositions. I focus in this chapter on Schein's four *Kraftsprüchlein* taken from the Prophetic books of the Old Testament, showing that these texts were taken from 'psalms' within narrative passages of the Bible which demonstrate the formal features of the biblical psalms, most notably the *parallelismus membrorum*. Discussing Schein's two surviving settings of 'Zion spricht', I consider the annual Leipzig *Ratswahl* as an occasion for the composition and performance of figural music. In chapter 4 I discuss the possible function of Schein's occasional wedding compositions and suggest that several compositions included in *Israelsbrünnlein* might have been intended for performance at wedding feasts, as, in Christian Gerber's phrase, "eine Hochzeit-Music auf Christliche Art". In my final chapter, I ask what Schein might have meant when he wrote that he had composed the works published in *Israelsbrünnlein* "auf eine sonderbar Anmutige Italian Madrigalische Manier". I trace here Schein's use of a characteristic cadential figure found in a number of the *Israelsbrünnlein* compositions and suggest that the application of such musical ornamentation – which Schein, in his preface to *Diletti pastorali*, claims belongs to the duties of the singer rather than the composer – might have been what he meant.

1. SPRÜCHE, SERMONS AND MUSIC: THE FUNERAL OF LEIPZIG BÜRGERMEISTER THEODOR MÖSTEL (1626)

*HErr THEODORE/ noch bey Lebn
habt ihr mir ewren Spruch gegeben/
Ich solt ihn in die Music bringn/
Und dermaleinst zu Grabe singn...³⁹*

Eight-time Leipzig Bürgermeister⁴⁰ Theodor Möstel, responsible for the appointment of Johann Hermann Schein in 1616, made elaborate preparations for his own death. The extent of these, as Leipzig pastor and professor Polycarp Leiser remarked in the sermon held at Möstel's funeral, can be seen "unter andern daraus...daß er alles / wie es mit seiner Leichbestattung solle gehalten werden / selbst angeordnet / auch den Text zur LeichPredigt erkoren...".⁴¹ This "Text zur Leichpredigt" was his personal *Symbolum*, one-and-a-half verses from Psalm 31: "Ich aber HERR hoffe auff dich / und spreche: Du bist mein Gott / meine Zeit stehet in deinen Händen".⁴² In a text published alongside Leiser's sermon, Möstel himself outlined "aus was Ursachen er ihme dasselbige für andern Trostreichen Sprüchen / so in der heiligen Göttlichen Schrifft hin und wieder zu befinden / zu seinem LeichenText erkieset".⁴³

The connection between the *Symbolum* and the sermon was common enough. But Möstel's funeral preparations encompassed a further dimension, that of music. Several years before his death, Möstel asked Schein to set his *Symbolum* to music in anticipation of performance at his

³⁹ Dedicatory verses by Schein included in the printed funeral composition for Theodor Möstel. Printed in Michael Maul, *Dero berühmter Chor: die Leipziger Thomasschule und ihre Kantoren (1212-1804)*, Leipzig: 2012, p. 54 & fig. 15.

⁴⁰ The office was held for a year at a time with three groups of twelve councillors alternating annually. This was the reason for the large number of terms served, and for the annual *Ratswahl*, itself an occasion for which Schein composed and published occasional compositions.

⁴¹ Polycarp Leiser, *LeichPredigt / Aus den Worten des 31. Psalms: Ich aber HERR hoffe auff dich / und spreche : Du bist mein Gott / meine Zeit stehet in deinen Händen. Beym Begräbnis des [...] Herrn THEODORI Möstels / der Rechten Doctorn / auff Schönaw und Großmiltitz / Churf. Sächs. Appellation Raths / des Churf. Sächs. Schöppenstuls Assessorn, und ältesten Bürgermeisters zu Leipzig. Welcher den 19. Maji Anno 1626. [...] eingeschlaffen / und den 22. Maji bey ansehnlicher und volkreicher Versammlung zur Erden bestattet worden*, Leipzig: 1626, 'Eingang'.

⁴² Ps. 31:15-16a.

⁴³ 'PIÆ MEDITATIONES, Oder Gottselige Gedancken / Des selig verstorbenen Herrn Bürgermeisters D. Theodori Möstels / ec. uber dieses PsalmSprüchlein' in Leiser, for Möstel.

funeral. Schein performed for Möstel, his “großgünstiger Patron/ wolgeneigter/ mächtiger Förderer vnd hochge/ ehrter Herr Gevatter”, the three-fold act of “componiren ... musiciren ... offeriren”: he set Möstel’s *Spruch* “noch bey seinem Leben vor etlichen Jahren...mit 5. Stimmen/ sampt dem General.Bass”, performed it “Bey dessen hochansehlichen Leichenbegängnis/ vnd letzten Ehren=Gedechtnis/ In grosser Volckreicher Versammlung”, and offered it “Denen hinterlassenen hochbetrübtten Erben sampt vnd sonders/ zu bezeugung Christlicher vnd (respectivè) Gevatterlicher gebührender Condolentz”.⁴⁴ In this opening chapter, I will discuss this threefold nexus of sermon, *Symbolum* and music as it functioned in Theodor Möstel’s preparations for death, arguing that it is a model which could be extended to other settings of *Kraftsprüchlein* published by Schein in *Israelsbrunnlein*.⁴⁵

1.1 The Lutheran Sterbekunst: Sermons and Sprüche

Theodor Möstel’s extensive preparations for his own death were consistent with the importance of the *Sterbekunst* for Lutheran confessional culture. Polycarp Leiser the Elder (1552-1610), *Oberhofprediger* in Dresden from 1594, described the importance of the *Sterbekunst* for the Lutheran confession in a cycle of seven sermons held following the death of Saxon princess Sybilla Elisabeth in 1606. The importance attached to the *Sterbekunst* is unsurprising, given the fate of the those who neglected it: “Welcher Mensch nun in dieser Welt / die selige Sterbkunst nicht studirt hat / dessen Seel kommet alsbald in Lucifers hauß / an den Orth der qual / da Er in ewigkeit keinen Trost mehr haben kan / unnd wird geworffen in den Pfuhl / der von Schefel unnd Pech brennet immer unnd ewiglich”.⁴⁶ Dying itself was easy enough, “Dan[n] es müssen alle menschen sterben / sie kö[n]nens / oder könnens nicht”. There was, however, a proper way to prepare for this event: “Christlich / seliglich und wol sterben / das ist eine kunst über die

⁴⁴ NGA 10. vol. 1, p. 155.

⁴⁵ Schein’s setting of Möstel’s *Symbolum* is not included in the print of Leiser’s funeral sermon, but was printed separately. In other cases, such as Schein’s setting of the opening verses from Psalm 84 for Maria Magdalena, the setting was included in the printed *Leichenpredigt*. As Stephen Rose explains, “It was relatively common for funerary offerings to be initially printed as independent pamphlets, and then later to be incorporated within the *Leichenpredigt* containing all the verse, speeches and music written for the event”. Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music’, p. 279.

⁴⁶ Polycarp Leiser, *EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ. Oder TodtenSpiegel / Aus dem XC. Psalm. Zu einem Ehrengedechtniß der weiland Durchleuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürstinen und Frawen / Fr. Sibyllen Elisabeth / gebornen Hertzogin zu Wirtenberg / etc. Des auch Durchleuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn IOHANNIS GEORGII, Hertzogen zu Sachsen [...] etc. hertzliebsten gewesenen EheGemahlin. In sieben Predigten verfasst [...]*, Leipzig: 1606[?], p. 284.

andere alle". Although other confessions and philosophies had attempted to find the suitable response to the inevitability of death, they were misguided. Leiser recalls, as an example of certain "Welthummeln" who "wollen die furcht des Todes fein vertreiben", the story of a "Calvinischer Prediger zu Heidelberg" who thought he could cheat death with the bottle:

Den[n] nach dem Er vermercket / das sein Sterbstündlein herzu rücken wolle / hat Er seine Gesellen zu sich gebeten / mit ihnen angefangen auch uber macht und vermögen zu sauffen / un[d] hat solches getrieben so lang / biß ihme die Seel außgegangen. Aber Er wird es wol gewahr worden sein / ob der SauffTeufel die bitterkeit des Todes vertreibe oder nicht. Solche nasse Brüder / schlaffen allhier in dieser Welt also ein / das sie dort in jener welt in der Hell auff=wachen...⁴⁷

The Catholics were equally misguided. Their anointment of the dead, candles, purchased letters of indulgence, and prayers for the intercession of saints were simply ineffective:

Aber ach dieses ist auch ein elendes außrüsten. Was sollen die Heiligen Gottes bey unserm sterben thun? Abraham weis von uns nichts / und Israel kennet uns nicht. Was sollen sie dann für uns bitten? So hat der Satanas döspische fewrige Händ / wann der zugreiff / so schmutzt nicht allein das Wachs / sondern es verbrennen auch alle papirenen und Pergamene[n] brieff. So dienet Chrisam und öhl den Papisten zu nichts anders / dann wann ein Fegfewr were / das sie als geöhlte und gestruste desto besser darinnen brennen köndten. Darumb / weg mit diesen Lehrmeistern / sie lehren nichts guts / das wider den Tod dienen möchte.⁴⁸

The funeral sermon as *memento mori*, a reminder to those gathered of their own mortality, and as an act of consolation for those mourning, was a unique feature of Lutheran confessional culture. In contrast to the medieval Catholic understanding, whereby the requiem mass was held to ensure safe passage for the soul of the deceased, Lutherans were aware of their inability to intercede for their departed brethren.⁴⁹ The rejection of purgatory and the intercession of the

⁴⁷ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, pp. 188-9.

⁴⁸ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, pp. 194-5.

⁴⁹ The rejection of both indulgences and the sacrificial character of the mass was a two-pronged attack on "the established system of solidarity between the living and the dead". See Volker Leppin, 'Preparing for Death. From the Late Medieval *ars moriendi* to the Lutheran Funeral Sermon' in T. Rasmussen & J.Ø. Flæten [eds.] *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*, Göttingen: 2015, p. 13.

living for the dead was a significant consequence of the Reformation.⁵⁰ As Leipzig Superintendent Vincentius Schmuck⁵¹ concedes with reference to the deceased in one of his printed sermons, “können wir numehr für seine Person ferner nicht dienen / als das sein Cörper ehrlich und Christlich bestattet werde”.⁵² Further actions of the individual and the communal action of the church were not only pointless, but represented “eine Lästerung Gottes und des Erlösungswerkes Christi”.⁵³ Given that their actions had no effect on the deceased, preachers might as well turn their attention to those left behind.⁵⁴ The funeral sermon as a “living sermon of our own transience and mortality”, as an act of *memento mori* for the living, is explained by Schmuck as follows:

Wir aber haben das *Memento homo*, Gedencke daß du Aschen bist / etc[.] am besten zu betrachten / und da es zu Hertzen gehe / beym Begräbnis der unserigen / wenn wir dieselbe in die Erden legen / daß sie zu Staub und Aschen werden / und wir sie in der Welt nicht mehr sehen. Denn da haben wir unserer Vergenglichkeit und Sterblichkeit eine lebendige Predigt für uns / und rüfft uns der verstorbene / wenn wir vom Begräbnis heimgehen / hinach / *Hodie mihi, cras tibi*, Heute wars an mir / Morgen ists an dir / ein jeder mag sich schicken. Von solchen sachen hat man denn auch beyn Begräbnissen betrachtungen anzustellen / aus Gottes Wort / welches denn der jenigen Texte / die uns das *Memento homo* fürhalten / viel in sich begreiffet.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ See Craig M. Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450-1700*, Basingstoke: 2000, chapter 2 (pp. 19-39) for discussion of the gradual rejection of purgatory in the thought of Karlstadt and Luther.

⁵¹ “The Leipzig clergy had its own organization the City Ministry (*Stadtministerium*), which met regularly and usually acted as a unified group. At the head of the local hierarchy was the Superintendent. [...] Until 1699, the Leipzig Superintendent presided over a ministry composed of a dozen clerics. Leipzig’s two main churches were each headed by a main pastor, who was assisted by an archdeacon, a deacon, two subdeacons, and a junior, unordained ‘Saturday preacher’ (*Sonnabendprediger*). The Superintendent himself was head pastor of St. Nicholas’s. Additionally, pastors served at the two hospital churches, St. John’s and St. Jacob’s”. Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety*, pp. 84-5.

⁵² Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt / Uber die Historiam der Verklerung Christi / Matth. 17. Bey ansehlicher Leichbestattung des [...] Herrn / Paul Calembergs / beyder Rechten Doctorn, des Churfürstlichen Sächsischen Consistorij, so wol desselbigen Schöppenstuels fürnemen Assessorn, und Bürgermeisters zu Leipzig / Welcher den 6. Augusti Anno 1618. in Christo sanfft und selig entschlaffen / und den 8. desselben Christlicher weise in die Erde geleyet worden*, Leipzig: 1618.

⁵³ Katharina Peiter, *Der evangelische Friedhof – von der Reformation bis zur Romantik*, Berlin dissertation: 1968, p. 71.

⁵⁴ Cf. Moore, *Patterned Lives*, p. 26: “In his Ninety-five Theses [...] Martin Luther rejected the notion that souls in purgatory were helped by the prayers and indulgences of the faithful here on earth, and Luther’s eventual rejection of purgatory made any such intercession superfluous [...]. In Luther’s Reformation the prayers of the faithful were deemed unable to render aid. Rather, it was the deceased, who through a positive example, could help those left behind ‘so that others might follow in their footsteps’”.

⁵⁵ Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt / Aus dem Spruch Salomonis: Der Staub muß wieder zu der Erden / ec. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Frawen / Margaretha / Des [...] Herrn Johann Preisers / des Raths und Bawmeisters*

From around 1550 until the eighteenth century, the sermon was the central aspect of a Lutheran funeral.⁵⁶ By the end of the sixteenth century the funeral sermon was “firmly established as part of the Lutheran funeral; this just precedes the first peak in the printing of funeral sermons in the decade before the Thirty Years’ War”.⁵⁷ Reflecting their increasing importance, funeral sermons “grew in length from fifteen to thirty minutes in the 16th century to some two or three hours long in the 17th”.⁵⁸ The 1580 church agenda for Albertine Saxony, for example, includes a number of stock sermons which could be held as required.⁵⁹ In other cases, funeral sermons were a highly individual expression of the piety of the deceased, the text, as for Möstel, having been selected well in advance and the sermon, often with extensive *Epicedien* or poetic tributes from friends or academic colleagues, printed following the funeral.⁶⁰ The reasons given by Möstel for the preaching of such sermons summarise the justification for this central aspect of Lutheran confessional culture. Sermons were held “nicht zwar so groß und umb des Verstorbenen / als daß ihm Ehr dardurch bewiesen...zum zeugniß auch seines geführten Christenthumbs...Sondern viel mehr umb der Lebendigen willen”.⁶¹ This thought had an established pedigree amongst

zu Leipzig / seligen / nachgelassener Witwe / Welche den 12. Februar. des 1621. Jahrs [...] entschlaffen / und den 16. gedachtes Monats [...] bestattet worden, Leipzig: 1621[?].

⁵⁶ For the development of the Lutheran funeral sermon see Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, p. 108 ff. Rudolf Mohr suggests that the importance of the funeral sermon in Lutheran confessional culture could be ascribed to Luther’s own example. See Rudolf Mohr, *Protestantische Theologie und Frömmigkeit im Angesicht des Todes während des Barockzeitalters*, Marburg: 1964, p. 24.

⁵⁷ Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, p. 110.

⁵⁸ Haemig & Kolb, ‘Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits’, p. 132.

⁵⁹ ‘Kurze gemeine form etlicher leichpredigten’ in ‘Des durchlauchtigsten, hochgebornen fürsten u. herrn, herrn Augusten, herzogen zu Sachsen, Ordnung. Leipzig: 1580’, published in Emil Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts; Sachsen und Thüringen, nebst angrenzenden Gebieten*, vol. 1, Leipzig: 1902, p. 371.

⁶⁰ Schein contributed a latin poem to the *Epicedien* published following the funeral sermon for Möstel (printed in Arthur Prüfer, *Johann Hermann Schein*, Leipzig: 1989 (reprint from 1895), p. 80). Moore summarises the formal structure of the typical *Leichenpredigt*: “The sermon first laid the theological foundation, based on scripture. Following a Latin or German outline, called a concept, the sermon consisted of an exordium, a proposition, an application, a conclusion, and an epilogue, or some variation thereof. The exordium acknowledged the occasion, mentioning the reason that all in attendance were gathered together, proclaiming that it was good to mourn and memorialize the dead. The proposition consisted of a series of topics based on the Bible text, each with their own application. In the applications to each topic, there could be some short reference to the deceased to show how that portion of the sermon applied to the funeral at hand. The conclusion provided the segue into the biography, which was either the last part of the sermon or succeeded it. Its purpose was to show how, in life, the deceased had personified the lessons to be learned from the Bible text, and thus had achieved salvation. In this way, the deceased could be mentioned in various parts of the sermon in addition to the funeral biography”. Moore, *Patterned Lives*, pp. 26-7.

⁶¹ Leiser, for Möstel, ‘PIÆ MEDITATIONES’.

earlier church authorities to which Lutheran preachers could appeal: one preacher attributed it to the authority of St. Augustine who claimed that “Was bey den Begräbnissen geschicht / das geschicht mehr den Lebendigen zum Trost und Unterricht / als den verstorbenen zu Hülff und nachstewr”.⁶²

1.2 Sprüche in Life and in Death

Vincentius Schmuck states how it was preferable to select a *Spruch* for the funeral which had been part of the deceased’s own devotions and a source of consolation to them when dying:

Wenn uns gute Freunde und die uns lieb gewesen sind / absterben / als Eltern / Kinder / Brüder / Schwestern / Ehegatten und dergleichen / und man darnach ihrer gedencket / und von ihnen redet / so erinnert man sich am allerliebsten ihrer letzten Wort und Reden ... So aber das an sich selbst zu loben und billich ist / so geschicht es noch billicher / daß man sich erinnere der jenigen Gebet und Seufftzen / dere sich die seliglich Abgestorbene auff ihrem Todtbette gebraucht / und der Trostsprüche und Glaubensbekenntnis / so man auff ihrem Lager aus ihrem Munde gehöret hat.⁶³

Just as the Evangelists recorded Christ’s last words, and Moses “die letzten Wort und Testament des Patriarchen Jacobs”, “also halten wirs nu auch / Geliebte im HErn / und wird in Leichpredigten mit den Texten gemeiniglich drauff gesehen / unnd die jenigen darzu zu nemen angesucht / dere sich die Verstorbenen am meisten gebraucht haben”.⁶⁴ Although *Trostsprüche* had their use in the hour of death, they were used as part of personal devotions throughout one’s life, in good times and bad. The connection between the collection and use of biblical *Sprüche* in personal devotions, their function as a source of consolation when approaching death, and the provision of favourite verses for the “Leichenargument” is seen in the case of a Leipzig widow who, according to preacher Andreas Schneider,

Gottes Wort / nicht allein in der Kirchen mit fleiß gehöret / Sondern auch daheim fleissig gelesen / und ihr hiermit einen grossen Vorraht von vielen herrlichen Trostsprüchen gesamlet / mit welchen sie sich in ihrem trawrigen unnd betrübten Witwen stand und andern zufällen / und nunmehr herzunahenden Todesstunde unnd Angst / kräftig getröstet: Aber vor allen hat sie diesen abgelesenen zu ihre kräftigste Macht

⁶² Martin Wirth, *Leichpredigt / Bey der Christlichen Sepultur / und Adelichen Leichbegengniß [...] Des [...] Wolffgangi von Ende [...]*, Leipzig: 1615.

⁶³ Schmuck, for Euphrosyna Kramer.

⁶⁴ Schmuck, for Euphrosyna Kramer.

und Trostspruche gebraucht / daher sie auch bey guter Gesundheit begeret / dz [daß] / wen[n] sie dermal einest nach dem Willen Gottes / Todes verblichen were ihr derselbe zu ihrem Leichenargument öffentlich abgehandelt werden möchte.⁶⁵

In his sermon for Gertrud, wife of former Leipzig Bürgermeister Caspar Gräfe, Andreas Schneider comments on the role of the *Symbolum*, a verse selected from the Old or the New Testament, both as a guide and standard to be followed throughout one's life and as a source of strength and consolation in times of trouble:

GELiebten in dem HERRn Christo / Christgleubige fromme HERTZEN / welche nach aussage des Königlich
Propheten Davids im I. Psalm / ihre Lust am Gesetz des HERRn haben / und von demselben Tag und Nacht
reden / pflegen gemeiniglich in guten gebrauch diß zu haben / daß sie ihnen etwa einen besondern schönen
und herrlichen Lehr und Trostspruch / entweder aus dem Alten / oder aus dem Newen Testament erwehlen
/ und zu ihrem *Symbolo* gebrauchen / zu dem ende / daß derselbe ihnen sey entweder *norma vitae*, eine
Norm / Regel / und Richtschnur / nach welcher sie ihr Leben / und ihren Wandel anstellen / oder aber
verbum solatij, ein rechtes Trostwort / aus welchem sie sich krefftigen Trosts erholen / zu der zeit / wenn
ihnen Unglück und Elende / Angst und Noth zuhanden stösset / und alle Menschliche Hülff zerrinnen
wil.⁶⁶

Schneider thus identifies two functions of a *Symbolum*: as a “norma vitae”, as a standard for one's life, and as a “verbum solatij”, a “rechtes Trostwort” for inevitable times of trial. Neither of these functions is specifically related to death itself. The *Symbolum* was not necessarily a text chosen in light of death, but was a text that had often played a role in personal piety and devotions throughout a lifetime. The compiler of a collection of devotional “Krafft-Sprüchlein” selected from the psalms shows how such verses might have been used in domestic devotions, expressing in his preface his “einfeltiger Rath / fromme Eltern liessen ihre Kinder entweder bey Tisch oder zu anderer Zeit / wöchentlich solche Sprüchlein auswendig hersagen / köndten also Eltern an ihren Kinderlein Hauß= und Bußprediger / ja wol in Anfechtungen mechtige Tröster

⁶⁵ Andreas Schneider, Leichpredigt / Bey dem Begräbnis Der [...] Frawen *CATHARINÆ*, Des [...] Herrn *Iohannis Valgrisij* von Venedig / Buchführers allhier in Leipzig selig hinterlassenen Witwen. Welche den 6. *Novembris* dieses 1616. Jars [...] entschlaffen / und den 8. [...] bestattet worden, Leipzig: 1616[?].

⁶⁶ Andreas Schneider, Leichpredigt / Bey dem Volckreichen Begräbnüß / Der Erbar[n] und Ehrentugendsamen Frawen *GERTRVDIS*, Des weiland Ehrnvesten un[d] Hochweisen Herrn *CASPARIS* Gräfen / Bürgermeisters und Churfürstlichen Sächsischen Schöppenstuels in Leipzig *Assessoris* seligen hinterlassenen Widtwin / Welche den 14. Julij dieses 1617. Jahrs [...] abgeschieden / und den 16. darauff Christlich und ehrlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1617.

haben”.⁶⁷ Having armed themselves with such “Sprüchlein” while they had the chance, they would be better able to face adversity later: “Keme es darzu / das bald diese / bald ein andere Noth die Eltern drückete / köndten sie sich durch Eingebung deß H. Geistes bald eines dawider dienlichen Sprüchleins erinnern / und kräftigen Trost darauß schöpfen”.

Sermons were both an act of tribute to the deceased, providing an occasion for the summary of their life and praise of their Christian virtue, and a reminder of mortality for those left behind.⁶⁸ Cornelia Niekus Moore suggests a parallel between the rosy depictions of the deceased in funeral biographies and the ideal of contemporary portrait painting: “Like the paintings of the time, the funeral biography presented a flawless complexion while still aiming to create a likeness”.⁶⁹ Polycarp Leiser, in his first Leipzig funeral sermon held in 1617, comments on these points as follows:

...es ist ein sehr alter und löblicher Gebrauch bey der Kirchen Gottes / daß man den Verstorbenen / sonderlich wolverdienten Leuten / Leichpredigten gehalten hat / in welchen / was an ihnen zu loben / andern zur Nachfolg gerühmet und vorgestellt / die uberlebende ihrer Sterblichkeit erinnert / die trawrigen aus Gottes wort getröstet / alle in gesamt zu Christlicher vorbereitung auff diese bevorstehende letzte Reise ermahnet worden.⁷⁰

Möstel, in the text printed with Leiser’s funeral sermon, likewise writes that it was “ein alter wolhergebrachter Christlicher Gebrauch / das bey dem Begräbniß und Leichnamsbestattung ehrlicher / Gottfürchtiger und frommer Christen pfeget eine Predigt gehalten zu werden”.⁷¹ That there was historical precedent for preaching at funerals is confirmed by Leiser’s father, Dresden *Oberhofprediger* Polycarp Leiser: “...dieses ein alte Regel ist: *Non debet fieri funus*

⁶⁷ Johannes Trautschelius, *CYTHARA POENITENTIÆ ET Mortis Davidicæ*. Das ist: Davids Buß- und Todten-Harpffen / Aus eines jeden Psalm Krafft-Sprüchlein gezogen / Aus Andacht zu Gott / Wider Noth und Tod / Mit 3. Gesetzen zu singen[.] Coburg: 1643, ‘Dem Christlichen Leser...’.

⁶⁸ As Gregory S. Johnston observes, the *Leichenpredigt* encompassed not just the sermon, but “all other items with which the published sermon may be found, including other *ad hoc* orations (e.g., *Abdankungen*), descriptions of the procession and services, epicedia and other poetry, portraits and illustrations, biographical sketches and genealogies, and, of course, funeral music”. See Gregory S. Johnston, ‘Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in 17th-Century German Funeral Music’, in *The Journal of Musicology*, Volume ix, Number 2, Spring 1991, p. 192 footnote 21.

⁶⁹ Moore, *Patterned Lives*, p. 38.

⁷⁰ Polycarp Leiser. Leichpredigt Aus dem 12. Cap. Lucae / Beym Begräbnis des Erbar und Wolgeachten Gerhard Beckers jungen Gesellen und Handelsmans in Leipzig / Welcher den 12. Augusti [...] Anno 1617. [...] entschlaffen / und den 24. Augusti Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1617.

⁷¹ Leiser, for Möstel, ‘PIÆ MEDITATIONES’.

in Israël, sine sermone Prophetiæ, das ist / Im Volck Gottes soll kein Gliedmaß der Christlichen Kirche[n] zur erden bestattet werden / da man nit auß den Prophetischen oder Apostolischen schrifftten ein nützliche Lehr / erinnerung oder trost einführen thete".⁷² Andreas Schneider likewise cites historical precedent, showing how various historical authorities had selected a *Symbolum* and used it throughout their lives. On the political side he mentions the Emperor Ferdinand, who had selected words spoken by Abraham to his son Isaac, and the Saxon elector Johann Friedrich, who had apparently had his court preacher compile a collection of verses from the Old and New Testaments, from which he then selected verses from Isaiah 40 as his *Symbolum*.⁷³ The selection of this *Spruch* – “*verbum domini manet in aeternum*” – fulfilled its purpose in a time of confessional and political instability, ensuring that “*das heilige und seligmachende Wort Gottes...in und bey dem löblichen Chur und Fürstlichem Hause Sachsen / biß auff heutigen Tag / rein und unverfälscht ist erhalten worden*”.⁷⁴ Following these two political figures, Schneider mentions Luther and Melancthon, establishing the Lutheran pedigree for the selection of a *Symbolum*.⁷⁵ Relating these examples to the funeral at which he was preaching, Schneider explains, “*Solchen Exempeln hoher Potentaten / und auch hochgelehrter Männer hat löblich nachgefolget in ihrem Stande die selig verstorbene Fraw Bürgermeisterin Gräffin*”. She had selected from the Book of Psalms “*viel schöner und herrlicher Lehr und Trostsprüch ihr mit eignen Händen*”, her favourite of which, which had “*ihr Hertz in Frewd und Leid / in Glück unnd Unglück / und anderer Widerwertigkeit mechtig gestercket*”, she had “*bey geraumer Zeit gebeten / daß derselbe künfftig bey ihrem Leichenbegängnüß abgehandelt würde*”.⁷⁶

⁷² Leiser, *EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ*, p. 249.

⁷³ “*Von Joanne Friderico, dem löblichen Churfürsten zu Sachsen / melden die Historien / das unter allen schönen und herrlichen Lehr und Trostsprüchen / welche auff gnediges begehren / ihm sein Hoffprediger Herr Georgius Spalatinus, aus dem Alten und Newen Testament hatte zu sam[m]en getragen / ihm keiner besser gefallen als der / welcher Esaïæ 40. stehet / und also lautet: Verbum Domini manet in æternum, Das Wort des HERRn bleibet ewiglich. Der hat nu der fromme Churfürst zu seinem Symbolo gebraucht*”. Schneider, for Gertrud.

⁷⁴ Schneider, for Gertrud.

⁷⁵ At least four funeral sermons were held for Luther: the day following his death (19 Feb. 1546) by Justus Jonas and the day after that by Michael Cölius in Eisleben (published together); then four days after Luther’s death in Wittenberg, with sermons by Bugenhagen and Melancthon (likewise published as a pair). See Volker Leppin, ‘Preparing for Death’, p. 18.

⁷⁶ Schneider, for Gertrud.

1.3 The Selection of Leichensprüche in Schein's Leipzig

As Möstel explains, there were various possibilities for the selection of “das gemeine LeichenArgument oder LeichenText”. It could be selected by the deceased in anticipation of death (“ihm entweder der Verstorbenen nach seiner Andacht selbst erwehlet”) or chosen by the preacher “nach seinem gutachten / und begebene Gelegenheit”.⁷⁷ Möstel recalls that, when the *Spruch* was chosen by the deceased, it was typically a verse which had comforted and consoled them in the midst of suffering and adversity, not just when facing death but throughout their life:

Und viel frommer / Gottseliger Herten / bey ihrem Leben ihnen einen gewissen Spruch / welcher bey ihrem Leichenbegängniß den Leidtragenden und zum Begräbniß mitfolgenden Christen zum Trost / erklärt werden sol / ihnen außgesehen / aus welchem sie bey lebzeiten in diesem Threnen= und Jammerthal / bey vorstehendem ihrem Creutz und Unglück / so in dieser Sterblichkeit des armen Menschen steter Geferte ist / sonderbaren Trost geschöpfft / un[d] sich daran / gleichsam als einen Ancker / gehalten / in ihrem Trübsal auffgerichtet / getröstet / und durch krafft und beystand des heiligen Geistes / Ritterlichen gekämpffet / und endlichen obgesieget und überwunden.⁷⁸

Such a personally chosen verse, often, as on the title page of Möstel's sermon given the Greek term ‘Symbolum’, was not necessarily, or even primarily, a funeral text, but a verse which accompanied the Christian throughout their life. This is seen in Schmuck's sermon for Rosina, wife of Leonhard Schwendendörffer, whose *Symbolum* was selected as her funeral text following her death in childbirth. Commenting on her chosen funeral text, Schmuck writes:

Es wird aber solch Sprüchlein dißmal zur Handlung fürgenommen / zu letztem Ehrendienst der verstorbenen seligen Sechßwöchnerin / die wir itzo Christlicher weise zur Erden bestatten / als eine bezeugung ihres Glaubens und Trostes / darauff sie sich verlassen / und ihr Ende beschlossen hat / weil sie sich solches Sprüchleins sonderlich zum öfftern / und als ihres täglichen Spruchs oder *Symboli* gebrauchet hat.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Leiser, for Möstel, ‘PIÆ MEDITATIONES’.

⁷⁸ Leiser, for Möstel, ‘PIÆ MEDITATIONES’.

⁷⁹ Vincentius Schmuck, Leichpredigt [...] Beym Begräbniß der Erbar / Ehrentugendsamen Frawen *ROSINA*, Des [...] Herrn Leonhard Schwendendörffers / Bürgers und Handelßmanns in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen. Welche den 28. *Decembris Anno 1618.* im HErrn selig entschlaffen / und den 30. deßselben [...] bestattet worden. Gehalten in der PaulinerKirche [...]. Leipzig: 1619[?].

Various models for the selection of funeral texts are found in printed funeral sermons held during Schein's tenure in Leipzig. Some, such as for Möstel, were selected well in advance of death, fitting the idea that "the Christian death was a ritual best learned and rehearsed throughout life".⁸⁰ Other texts were chosen at much shorter notice. Maria Magdalena von Claußbruch, who died in 1628 at the age of 16, suffered from a prolonged illness before she became critically ill. Realising "am vergangenen Freytag acht tage" that her recovery had become unlikely, she informed her sister of her "Leichen Text" and "was man für Lieder singen sollte".⁸¹ The text chosen only days before the funeral – the opening verses of Psalm 84 – was not only preached upon by Leiser; Schein set it to music as a four-part motet which he performed at her funeral in the Leipzig *Johanniskirche*.⁸² The circumstances of the composition of this motet, composed in a matter of days before its performance at Maria Magdalena's funeral, give an indication of what Schein might have meant when he wrote, in the preface to the Tenor partbook of *Israelsbrünnlein*, that "etzliche in eil verfertiget werden müssen".⁸³

In other cases, the funeral text was chosen by the preacher on account of its connection to the deceased or the circumstances of their death. This was often the case with women who died in childbirth, their premature death precluding elaborate funeral preparations. Vincentius Schmuck entitled his sermon for Theodor Möstel's daughter-in-law Magdalena "Von Christlicher Weiber Ampt und gebühr".⁸⁴ In this sermon Schmuck preached on verses from I. Tim. 2 in which Paul outlines his expectations of the female sex. The choice of such a text enabled those present to console themselves with the knowledge that Magdalena's death in childbirth

⁸⁰ Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, p. 22.

⁸¹ Polycarp Leiser, Leichpredigt Aus den ersten Versickeln des 84. Psalms. Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen HErr Zebaoth / etc. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Jungfrawen Marien Magdalenen Des [...] Herrn Heinrich von Claußbruch / Cramers genandt / auff Meißelwitz des Jüngern hinterlassenen Eheleiblichen Tochter / Welche den 30. Martij Anno 1628. [...] in Christo entschlaffen / unnd den 2. April. Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1628.

⁸² Her family emigrated from the Netherlands to Leipzig in the sixteenth century and "galt bis ins 17. Jahrhundert hinein als die reichste Familie der Stadt". Schein was associated with this circle through his second wife, likewise from a family of Dutch emigrees. See Theis, 'Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen', pp. 124-5.

⁸³ As Gregory S. Johnston states: "For residents of Leipzig, the customary interval between death and burial was typically two to four days. Newly written music for the occasion was most likely commissioned and composed during this brief period". Johnston, 'The Funerary Lieder of Johann Hermann Schein's "Cantional" (1627)', p. 105.

⁸⁴ Vincentius Schmuck, Leichpredigt / Von Christlicher Weiber Ampt und gebühr / I. Timoth. 2. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Frawen Magdalena / Des [...] Herrn *Theophili* Möstels / Rathsverwandten in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen / Welche den 1. Maij des 1621. Jahrs in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 4. desselben Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1621[?].

was death in the fulfilment of the Lutheran wife's God-ordained duty to bear children and lead the household.⁸⁵ In his sermon for Veronica Höpfner, likewise following death in childbirth, Schmuck writes that, on account of the circumstances of her death, he could have preached on the story of Rachel from Genesis, “oder einen andern deßgleichen / von der Geburtsarbeit redende”. He chose, however, Psalm 27, Veronica's “tägliches Psalm und Gebet ... / den sie auch noch des Tages ihres abschiedes / früe / ehe sie sich eines solchen vermutet / andächtiglich gesprochen / und ihr Hertz damit getröset”.⁸⁶ Although Maria Elisabeth, who also died following childbirth, had selected verses from Psalm 126 as her “Leichen-Text”, this choice was “allererst nach Ihrem Christlichen Begräbnüß gefunden worden”.⁸⁷ In ignorance of her wishes, her sermon was preached on a verse from the Song of Songs, “einen kurtzen / aber sehr tröstlichen Spruch / wie man bey Christo unserm Seelen=Bräutigam sollen beständig bleiben biß ans Ende”.⁸⁸ Sometimes pragmatic reasons prevailed. At one funeral held on a Monday, Schmuck simply preached on the text heard in church the day before. He justified this by claiming that this text was also “ein außerlesener Leichen Text”, and that many of those at the funeral had missed the sermon the previous day.⁸⁹

A comparison of funeral texts reveals a wide thematic variety. On the one hand, this reflects the personal significance of the texts for the deceased; often it was a text of importance to the deceased throughout their life, or was selected due to a biographical connection. Some texts

⁸⁵ See Thomas Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede*, Tübingen: 1998, pp. 90-91.

⁸⁶ Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt / Uber den 27. Psalm : Der HErr ist mein Liecht / ec. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Frawen VERONICA, Des [...] Herrn Heinrich Höpfners [...] ehelichen Haußfrawen. Welche den 27. Februarij des 1624. Jahrs in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 1. Martij hernach Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1624. Schein paraphrased and set Psalm 126 as a four-part cantional lied for the occasion, included in the printed funeral sermon.*

⁸⁷ Christian Lang, *Der geistl. Braut Beständigkeit / Daß sie Christum feste muß halten / und nicht lassen. Bey ansehnlicher und Volkreicher Leichenbestattung Der [...] Fr. Marien Elisabethen [...]*, Leipzig: 1654, ‘Lebens-Lauff’.

⁸⁸ Christian Lang, *Der geistl. Braut Beständigkeit*, Leipzig: 1654, cf. introduction.

⁸⁹ “Und weil denn diesen tröstlichen Text mit sich hat gebracht die gesterige (als des XXV. nach *Trinitatis*) Sonntags Epistel / so haben wir bey begehrtter Leichpredigt dabey bleiben / und keinen andern für uns nehmen wollen / alldieweil es ein außerlesener Leichen Text ist / und hierzu auch in der Kirchenordnung besonders verzeichnet und fürgeschrieben. Ob er gestern geprediget / und erkläret worden ist / schadet nicht das er heute wieder abgehandelt werde / bevoraus weil die Leidtragende / als der verstorbenen ihr Ehemann und Eltern gesteriges tages theils abwesend gewest / theils aber sonst trawrens halben auß dem Hause und in die Predigt nicht kommen sind”. Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt / Uber die Wort S. Pauli / Wir wollen euch lieben Brüder / nicht verhalten / ec. I Thessal. 4. Beym Begräbnüß der [...] Frawen / Maria Magdalenen / Herrn Caspar Anckelmans Bürgers und Handelsmans in Leipzig / gewesener Ehelichen Haußfrawen. Welche den 16. Novembris, des 1621 Jahrs / in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 19. desselben Christlicher weiß zur Erden bestattet worden*, Leipzig: 1621[?].

were frequently selected for funerals. At the start of a sermon for Ambrosius Bardenstein, “Bey eines Ehrvesten Hochweisen RahtsSchule zu S. *Thomas* in Leipzig gewesen *Rectoris*”, Paul Geringer comments on the chosen *Spruch* from Isaiah 56, “welcher Ewer Christlichen Liebe [i.e., those present in the congregation] gar wol bekand ist / denn er wird offft und vielmals zum Leichenargument genommen / und an diesem Ort erkleret”.⁹⁰ The frequency with which this “*dictum Isaiaē*” was preached upon didn’t, however, detract from its worth:

Sintemal solches / unnd andere dergleichen *dicta*, gleich seind ein *Abyssus divinæ sapientiæ*, das ist ein abgrund Göttlicher Weißheit / so sich in dieser Sterblichkeit nicht lest mit Gedancken erreichen / noch mit der Vernunft begreifen und auslernen / viel weniger mit Worten außzusprechen.

The suitability of other *Leichentexte* for funerals is less immediately obvious. We have already seen this, for example, in the case of texts dealing with the duties of the virtuous Lutheran wife. That funeral texts can speak of hope and joy is explained by Luther in the preface to his ‘Christliche Geseng Lateinisch vnd Deudsch / zum Begrebnis’ (1543). Luther emphasises two points in this seminal publication on Lutheran funeral culture. Fundamentally, the funeral was to be redefined from an occasion of despair and doubt to one of consolation and rejoicing in the confidence of the afterlife. This Lutheran interpretation of death, a radical reversal of the medieval understanding, can be found in Luther’s own adaptations of songs such as *Media vita*.⁹¹ While elements of Catholic practice, namely those that could be justified by biblical precedent, were to be preserved, others were to be discontinued. In his extensive preface to this volume, Luther describes how aspects of the Catholic funeral liturgy, such as vigils and masses, are to be discarded. He suggests that graves should be decorated with biblical verses and offers a list of verses he considers suitable.⁹² Luther writes that the songs of mourning characteristic of the Catholic liturgy should be replaced by songs of consolation (of ‘Trost’):

⁹⁰ Paul Geringer, *Leichpredigt / Bey Begräbnüß des Ehrenvesten / Achtbarn und Wolgelarten Herrn / M. AMBROSII Bardensteins / Bey eines Ehrvesten Hochweisen RahtsSchule zu S. Thomas in Leipzig gewesen Rectoris*, nunmehr in Gott ruhende. Welcher den 21. Augusti dieses 1616. Jahrs / durch den zeitlichen Todt von dieser Welt abgeschieden / und den 23. Christlicher weise / zu seinem Ruhebettlein ist gebracht worden. Leipzig: 1617. Although this funeral was held a matter of weeks before he commenced his duties as Thomaskantor, a Latin dedicatory poem by Schein is included amongst the Epicedien.

⁹¹ See Therese Bruggisser-Lanker, *Musik und Tod im Mittelalter*, Göttingen: 2010, pp. 182-5.

⁹² As Norbert Bolin observes, the texts which Luther cites belong to the most frequently chosen texts for funeral compositions. Cf. Norbert Bolin, “‘Sang- und klaglos’? Musikalische Tradition, gesellschaftliche Kontexte und gottesdienstliche Praxis der Gesangskultur bei Sterben und Begräbnis”, in Hansjörg Becker, Bernhard Einig & Peter-Otto Ullrich (eds.), *Im Angesicht des Todes*, St. Ottilien: 1987, p. 413.

Dem nach haben wir in unsern Kirchen die Bepstlichen Grewel / als Vigilien / Seelmessen / Begengnis / Fegfewr / und alles ander Gauckelwerck / fur die Todten getrieben / abgethan und rein ausgefegt. Und wollen unser Kirchen nicht mehr lassen Klagheuser oder Leidestete sein / sondern / wie er die alten Veter auch genennet / Koemiteria / das ist / fur Schlaffheuser und Rugestete halten... Singen auch kein Trauerlied noch Leidegesang bey unsern Todten und Grebern / sondern troestliche Lieder / von vergebung der sunden / von Ruge / Schlaff / Leben und Aufferstehung der verstorbenen Christen / Damit unser Glaub gesterckt / und die Leute zu rechter andacht gereitzt werden.⁹³

Luther's desire to replace mourning with joy explains how texts such as 'Ich freue mich im Herren und meine Seele ist frölich in meinem Gott' (Isa. 61.10) – a text set by Schein in *Israelsbrünnlein* – were considered suitable fare for funerals. In another sermon, Vincentius Schmuck explains the choice of Psalm 128, which he states is the most well known of all psalms as it was read at all wedding ceremonies ("fürgelesen allen newen Eheleuten / so oft als man *Copuliret*, oder Braut und Breutigam zusammen gibet").⁹⁴ Given its association with weddings, he explains firstly the reasons for the selections of this psalm as a funeral text. Verses from the same psalm had already been preached upon at the funeral of the deceased's wife. But while the earlier selection – vs. 3 "von dem fruchtbaren Weinstock" – could be specifically applied to the duties of the wife, the selection of the entire psalm for the husband required more explanation.⁹⁵ As Schmuck writes, the function of this text at weddings extended beyond the occasion of the wedding itself to serve the couple "hernach ihr lebenslang ihnen zur Lehr / Trost und Vermahnung". This psalm was, therefore, "nicht nur ein Hochzeit Psalm / sondern ein teglicher Hauspsalm / des man sich sein lebenslang zugebrauchen hat / und den man wol hat anzuführen / wenn man dergleichen Exempla an Gottfürchtigen und gesegneten Leuten für sich hat". As for the *Leichensprüche*, the relevance of the text extended beyond the specific occasion of the wedding to function as a standard and reference for the virtuous Christian life. Bringing the process full circle, Schmuck claims that the deceased had indeed lead such an exemplary life, "und ist zu wünschen / daß wir seines gleichen viel haben möchten / und die betrachtung dieses Psalms uns allen darzu anleitung und anmahnung gebe". Again, the role of the sermon as a

⁹³ Martin Luther, 'Christliche Geseng Lateinisch vnd Deudsch / zum Begrebnis', Wittenberg: 1543.

⁹⁴ Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt / Uber den 128. Psalm [...] Beym begräbnis des [...] Herrn Hartman Schachers / fürnehmen Bürgers / Handelsmans und Rathsverwandten zu Leipzig*, Leipzig: 1622.

⁹⁵ "Und weil ich mich denn erinnere / daß hiebevör / bey seiner seligen Haußfrawen begräbnis / der Leichentext aus diesem Psalm genommen worden / da wir das Gleichnis von dem fruchtbaren Weinstock insonderheit haben betrachtet / Als haben wir dißmal den gantzen Psalm wollen für uns nehmen / denselben / wie er an sich selbst kurtz ist / kürztlich zu durchgehen / und E.L. den inhalt desselben zu zeigen und zu befehlen". Schmuck, for Schacher.

means of instruction for the living is clear, the ‘wedding’ text, itself a model of the virtuous life, setting the standard which the deceased, it is claimed, so exemplarily fulfilled.

While Luther is careful to purge Lutheran funeral practice of perceived medieval superstition and superfluity,⁹⁶ Schmuck, in his 1620 funeral sermon for Jacob Griebe, “Bürger und des Raths zu Leipzig”, finds parallels between Lutheran funeral practice and historical Jewish customs with biblical precedent. As Schmuck writes, “wir thuns dem Volck Gottes nach / jedoch auff unsere art / und betrawen und bestatten unsere Todten Christlich und Ehrlich”.⁹⁷ The sermon was preached on Matthew 9.23-26, the miracle of the healing of the leader of the synagogue’s daughter believed dead. In verse 23, Jesus finds the flute players at the woman’s house, there as an instrument of mourning for the dead. Schmuck sees here a parallel to the ringing of the bells for the dead in Lutheran Germany: “Denn als des Obersten Töchterlein gestorben ist / da schickt man zu / daß sie begraben werde / und da der HERR ins Hauß kömt / findet er die Pfeiffer / die zum Grabe blasen sollen / wie man bey uns das Glockengeleute brauchet”. Schmuck saw in this text the “Lehre...vom Trawren uber die Todten / und von Begräbnissen”. Funeral ceremonies and processions were both fitting responses to death:

Denn das ist Christlich / daß wir unsere Todten nicht hinwerffen / wie ein verstorbenes Viehe / sondern begraben sie / und legen sie in den Schoß der Erden / im Glauben der künfftigen Aufferstehung. So ist es Ehrlich / daß wir mitgehen / wenn sie begraben werden / und sie also beleiten.⁹⁸

For Dresden *Oberhofprediger* Polycarp Leiser, funeral ceremonies were neither inherently positive nor negative; the belief, however, that such ceremonies could influence the fate of departed souls belonged to the realm of superstition:

Das Volck Gottes / hat zu allen zeiten / und an einem jedern ort / seine gewisse Ceremonien unnd gebräuch gehabt / welche sie bey ihren abgestorbenen gehalten: an dem einen ort weniger / an dem andern mehr. Und wo fern nur kein Aberglauben darmit unterleuffet / so sind solche Gebreuch Gott nicht entgegen

⁹⁶ Cf. his 1523 ‘von Ordnung Gottesdiens’, in which a key concern was the eradication of ‘Heiligenlegenden’ and other stories not founded in scripture. See, for example, Christoph Albrecht, *Einführung in die Liturgik*, Göttingen: 1989, pp. 26-7.

⁹⁷ Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt / Bey bestattung des Ehrnvesten und Wolweisen Herrn Jacob Grieben / Bürgers und des Raths zu Leipzig / Welcher am tage Catharinæ / als den 25. Novemb. Anno 1620. im HERRN Selig entschlaffen / unnd den 28. desselben / Christlicher weise begraben worden*, Leipzig: 1621.

⁹⁸ Schmuck, for Griebe.

noch zu wieder. Aberglaubig aber ist es / wenn man vermeinet / das des verstorbnen Seel dardurch wol oder wehe geschehe.⁹⁹

Acknowledging that regional variances were permitted, Leiser mentions a number of customs associated with funerals in Saxony in the early seventeenth century:

Wie nun ein jeder ort seine Gebreuch mit den verstorbnen für sich hat. Also helt man allhier / unnd fast im gantzen Land Sachsen / neben andern auch diesen Gebrauch / das wir unsere seliglich verstorbene / wenn sie angekleidet und beschickt sein / öffentlich darzustellen pflegen / damit jederman / der es begehret / sie sehen möge. Die Fürstliche Leichen aber werden in die Kirchen / da man Gottes Wort handelt und prediget / etliche wochen lang menniglich für die Augen gesetzt / biß man sie zu bestimpter zeit in ihr Begrebnuß bringet.¹⁰⁰

A setting for such a “Fürstliche Leichen” survives by Schein. Werbeck attributes the complexity of Schein’s ‘Threnus’,¹⁰¹ the six-part motet for the Saxon princess Dorothea Maria, to the extended timeframe that Schein had for its composition. While a funeral normally took place two to four days after the death (which necessarily limited the degree to which the composer could devote himself to the composition of a fitting musical send-off), the funeral of Dorothea Maria didn’t take place until over two weeks after her passing.¹⁰² Although this was the case for Dorothea Maria, other funerals for which Schein composed polyphonic music took place, as usual, no more than a few days following the death. The reason for the extended timeframe following Dorothea Maria’s death may have been that she, as a member of the aristocracy, would have

⁹⁹ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 42.

¹⁰⁰ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, pp. 43-44.

¹⁰¹ vgl. Demantius’ definition: “*Threnodiae* sind allerley Begräbnis Gesänge”. Christoph Demantius, *ISAGOGE ARTIS MUSICÆ AD INCIPIENTIUM CAPTUM MAXIME ACCOMMODATA*. Kurtze Anleitung recht und leicht singen zu lernen, Freiberg: 1656.

¹⁰² Werbeck, ‘bey fürfallenden occasionen musiciret’, p. 744.

been embalmed.¹⁰³ As with the setting of Theodor Möstel's *Symbolum*, this motet may have been composed well in advance of the death.¹⁰⁴

Schein is often careful to state that his compositions were not just 'componirt' and 'meditirt', but also 'musicirt'. As Wolfram Steude comments, "wissen wir aber, dass bei weitem nicht alle Kasualmusiken als Hochzeits- und Trauermusiken auch zu dem Anlass ihrer Entstehung erklungen sind. Vielmehr müssen wir damit rechnen, dass viele derartige Werke gemeint waren als Geschenk bzw. als "Monumentum" an sich, ohne zwangsläufig klingend realisiert zu werden".¹⁰⁵ One example of such a funeral motet composed as a tribute but not actually performed at the funeral was Schütz's setting of Schein's own *Leichentext* from Paul's letter to Timothy, 'Das ist je gewisslich wahr'.¹⁰⁶ Johann Höpner, according to Schein's wishes, preached on this text at Schein's own funeral. As Höpner explains in the *Leichenpredigt*:

Er hat sich aber seiner Sterblichkeit jederzeit darbey erinnert / sich auch Christlicher Weise darzu gefast gemacht / durch allerley Anordnungen / und in seiner beschwerlichen Kranckheit sich in steter Bereitschaft gehalten / auch nichts liebers gewünschet / als daß sein getrewer Heyland Christus Jesus ihn bald von den Banden des Todes gnädiglichen erlösen wolle. Hat auch diesen abgelesene[n] Evangelischen Trostspruch zu seinem Leichentext selbst erkohren und benennet. Welchen wir zu diesem mahl kürztlich außlegen wollen...¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ The case of Saxon princess Sophia offers a further example of the extended time frame between a noble death and funeral. As Heidenreich recalls the occasion: "Den 7. Decemb. [1622] abends umb 11. Uhr ist in GOtt seliglich von dieser Welt abgeschieden die Durchlauchtigste / und hochgeborne Fraw Sophia, des Durchleuchtigsten / und hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Christiani primi Christmildester Gedächtnis nachgelassene Wittbe / ihres Alters 55. Jahr. Und ist folgens den 28. Januarii Anno 23. in dem Chur und Fürstlichen Begräbniß zu Freybergk Christlich / und Fürstlich zur Erden beygesetzt worden. Und haben dero Churfürstlichen Gnaden tödtlichen Abgang die Unterthanen in gantzem Churfürstenthumb ein gantzes Jahr lang betrawret". Tobias Heidenreich, *Leipzigische Cronicke Vnd zum Theil Historische Beschreibung der fürnehmen vnd weitberühmbten Stadt Leipzig*, Leipzig: 1635, p. 331.

¹⁰⁴ Bolin observes that the text for the six-part 'Threnus' for Dorothea Maria contains a text more representative of a pre-reformation theology of death: "Die Textauswahl (Ps 39, 10, 12) verrät im Gegensatz zu den Inhalten der Begräbnislieder des 'Cantional's ein vom Gedankengut der Renaissance beeinflusstes Todesbild; der Tod, noch als Abkehr vom Leben und als Strafe Gottes begriffen, verurteilt den Menschen zur Sprachlosigkeit im Sterben und zum Eingeständnis seiner Nutzlosigkeit auf Erden". Norbert Bolin, "Sterben ist mein Gewinn" (*Phil 1, 21*): ein Beitrag zur evangelischen Funeralkomposition der deutschen Sepulkralkultur des Barock; 1550 – 1750', Kassel: 1989, p. 283.

¹⁰⁵ Wolfram Steude, 'Heinrich Schütz und Leipzig', in *SJb* (2006), p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ Schütz's setting of Schein's *Symbolum*, initially printed individually (SWV 277), was later included in the *Geistliche Chormusik* of 1648 (SWV 388).

¹⁰⁷ Johann Höpner, *Leichenpredigt Uber das Trostsprüchlein S. Pauli aus der 1. zum Timoth. 1. Das ist je gewißlich wahr / und ein thewer werthes Wort / ec Bey der Leichbestattung des [...] Herrn Johann-Herman Scheins / Chori Musici Directoris, und Cantoris der Schulen zu S. Thomas in Leipzig*, Leipzig: 1630.

Wolff Seyffert, the Dresden bookdealer responsible for the printing of Schütz's composition in 1631, describes further the circumstances of the setting's composition:

...Demnach deroselben Seeliger Ehewirth vnnnd Vater [i.e. Schein] auff seinem Toddbette / den Churf. Sächs. Wolverordneten Herrn Capelmeister / Heinrich Schützen / Alß von demselben Er / kurtz vor seinem Seeligen Abschied besuchet worden / bitlichen angelanget / die Schönen Wort *S. Pauli ad Tim. I.* Das ist je gewißlich war [e]c. in die *Music* zuversetzen / und da Gott der Höchste vber ihn gebieten würde / zu seinem Christlichen andencken / in druck zugeben / vnd damit gleichsam ihme zu=*parentiren*: Alß hatt nunmehr nach geschehenen Todesfal / gedachter Herr Capelmeister / solcher des Seelig verstorbenen letzten bitte gemäß sich erzeiget / vnd solchen Gesang in Druck zuverfertigen mir vbergeben. Derowegen Ihnen allerseits / als desselbigen Nachgebliebenen Witwen vnd Söhnen / ich mehrgedachten ihre Seeligen Ehewirths vnd Vatern Christlichen Ehrengedächtnüß gereicht vnd gemeinet ist / im besten auffnehmen vnd vermercken werden...¹⁰⁸

Although the pedagogical purpose of funeral sermons is typically emphasised, mourning had its appropriate place: “Es ist fein und billich / auch Natürlich / daß wir sie beweinen / als die uns lieb gewesen sind / und daß ein Nachbar und Freund mit dem andern trawret / und sein mitleiden an tag giebt”.¹⁰⁹ While mourning was encouraged, it should be kept within the bounds of moderation: “Und da es sonst hierinnen allenthalben seine masse und ordnung hat / so befihlet S. Paulus denen / so da Leidt tragen / daß sie auch ihr trawren also mässigen und moderiren sollen / damit es Christlich sey / und nicht Heydnisch / und Trawrende sich wieder sollen zu trösten / und dem willen Gottes zu untergeben wissen”.¹¹⁰ This corresponds to Luther's prescription that those left behind shouldn't mourn and despair, but rather find consolation and hope in scripture. This is the very thought with which his preface to his ‘Christliche Geseng Lateinisch und Deutsch zum Begrebnis’ commences. As Paul writes to the Thessalonians, Luther writes “Das sie uber den Todte[n] sich nicht sollen betrüben / wie die andern / so keine Hoffnung haben / Sondern sich trösten / durch Gottes wort / als die gewisse Hoffnung haben des Lebens und der Todten aufferstehung”.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Printed in Philipp Spitta (ed.), Heinrich Schütz, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 12.

¹⁰⁹ Schmuck, for Griebe.

¹¹⁰ Schmuck, for Griebe.

¹¹¹ Luther, ‘Christliche Geseng Lateinisch und Deusch / zum Begrebnis’.

1.4 Funerals in Leipzig

As Vincentius Schmuck wrote in his sermon for Schein's predecessor Seth Calvisius, music, alongside preaching and the ministry of the sacraments, played a central role in Lutheran worship:

...so ist die *Musica*...so gar nicht abkomen / daß noch heutiges Tages singen un[d] *musiciren* neben der Predigt Göttliches worts und Gebet / und *administrirung* der H. Sacramenten das nechste und fürnembste ist / darinnen unser öffentlicher Gottesdienst bestehet / und denselben nit allein herrlich zieret / sondern auch in den Herten mechtiglich bawet / wo Christliche andacht darbey ist / wie das alle from[m]e Herten fühlen und erfahren...¹¹²

Chorales were often sung to accompany the funeral procession to the place of burial.¹¹³ In Leipzig, this was typically the cemetery next to the *Johanniskirche*, outside the city walls beyond the 'Grimmaische Tor'. The Schein literature has known a connection between *Israelsbrünnelein* and the *Johanniskirche* since Prüfer (1895), who attributed to Carl August Grenser a reference to a performance of *Israelsbrünnelein* there in 1623. This was, however, a misquotation, based on second-hand information, of a notoriously unreliable source.¹¹⁴

Ulrich Groß, in his description of Leipzig from 1587, describes the cemetery (the 'Gots Acker') as follows:

¹¹² Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt / Von der Musica*, aus dem 16. Cap. des Ersten Buchs der *Chronica*. Beym Begräbnüß / des [...] Herrn / *Sethi Calvisij* Bey der Schul zu S. Thomas in Leipzig *Collegæ* und wolverdienten *Cantoris*, auch berühmten *Chronologi*. Welcher den 24. *Novembris Anno 1615*. in Gott selig verschieden / und den 27. desselben Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1615, §3.

¹¹³ For a detailed account of Lutheran funeral ceremonies and music, see Norbert Bolin, 'Sterben ist mein Gewinn', especially pp. 26-41.

¹¹⁴ Prüfer, on the basis of second-hand information, cites Grenser's account of an alleged premiere of *Israelsbrünnelein* in the *Johanniskirche* as follows: "Die >>Auserlesenen Kraftsprüchen<< wurden nach der Mittheilung Grensers, der sie freilich ihres Doppeltitels wegen für 2 Werke hält, noch in dem Jahre ihres Erscheinens in Leipzig öffentlich aufgeführt: >>den 29. Oct. sangen die Schüler auf dem Chore in der Kirche zu St. Johannis zum ersten Male Auserlesene Kraftsprüchlein, ferner: Das Israels Brünnelein von 6 St. in 4°. <<"; Prüfer, *Johann Hermann Schein*, p. 61. Despite this assertion, caution is necessary for two reasons: firstly, Grenser, writing in the 19th century, is an unreliable source for earlier music history (see Otto Werner Förster's introduction to his edition of Carl Augustin Grenser, *Geschichte der Musik in Leipzig*, Leipzig: 2005); secondly, Prüfer misquoted Grenser. In Grenser's original (held in the Bibliothek des Stadtgeschichtlichen Museums Leipzig), the references to the *Johanniskirche* and *Israelsbrünnelein* are in two different sentences and are not semantically connected: "d. 29 Oct. [1623] sangen die Schüler auf dem Chore in der Kirche zu St. Johannis zum erstenmale. Gedruckt wurde zu Leipzig Cantor Schein's Auserlesene Kraftsprüchlein, alten und neuen Testaments, für 5 und 6 Stimmen. [later insertion] ferner: das Israels=brünnelein von sechs Stimm, in Quart".

Der Gots Acker, darauff der vorstorbenen Leichen mit Predigen, singen und andern *Caeremonien* christlich und ehrlich zur Erden bestattet werden, ist sehr gros und dermassen mit einer schönen und zierlichen Kirchen, auch inwendig umb und umb mit artigen Schwiebogen unnd kunstreichen *Epitaphijs* gezieret, unnd aussen mit Mauern wohl verwahret, das seines gleichen in gantz *Europa* schwerlich zu finden.¹¹⁵

This “schönen und zierlichen” church is the *Johanniskirche*, rebuilt in the 1580s, only a few years prior to Ulrich Groß’s account. Just as important, however, is his reference to “Predigen, singen und andern *Caeremonien*” at the cemetery. Groß, as historian, describes the execution of ceremonies prescribed in church orders and described in funeral sermons, confirming that preaching and singing typically took place at the site of burial itself. This is seen in descriptions attached to some of Schein’s own individually printed funeral compositions. Schein’s first wife Sidonia was on 2 July 1624, following her death on 29 June, “durch eine ansehn=liche Volckreiche *Procession* zu ihrem Ruhebettlein geführt / begleitet / vnd vnterwehrender Trawer *Music* darein nieder gelassen”.¹¹⁶ A three-part version of ‘Klagt mich nicht mehr ihr lieben Leut’, a funeral composition which Schein reworked and reused multiple times, was printed with the corresponding sermon from 1625; according to the print, the setting was performed “alß baldt nach geendeter Predigt in ihren Namen durch zween *discantisten* vnd einen *Bassisten* vmb ihren noch=eröffneten Sarck stehende”.¹¹⁷

There had been a church on the site of the *Johanniskirche* since at least 1305, attached to the leper hospital that had in 1278 been established outside the city walls.¹¹⁸ The first church had been destroyed during the occupation of Leipzig in 1547, having been turned into a bastion from which the city could be bombarded.¹¹⁹ The church was rebuilt in 1584, by which time the hospital had undergone a change in function. Originally an extramural asylum for lepers, their number had gradually decreased to the point where the church grounds could be used as a general cemetery, first for the inhabitants of the *Vorstadt* and then, following the prohibition of

¹¹⁵ Ulrich Groß, ‘Warhafftige Beschreibung der Stadt Leiptzigk ... durch Ulrich Grossen den Eltern ... Anno MDLXXXVII’, in Gustav Wustmann [ed.], *Quellen zur Geschichte Leipzigs: Veröffentlichungen aus dem Archiv und der Bibliothek der Stadt Leipzig*, Leipzig: 1889-1895, vol. 1 (1889), p. 9.

¹¹⁶ Cited according to Gregory S. Johnston, “‘Der Schein trägt’: A Reappraisal of Johann Hermann Schein’s Funeral Lieder”, in *SJb* 20 (1998), p. 101.

¹¹⁷ Johnston, ‘Schein’s Funeral Lieder’, p. 103.

¹¹⁸ Karl Große, *Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit*, vol. 1, Leipzig: 1842, p. 150.

¹¹⁹ Große, *Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig*, p. 151. For a depiction of “Leipzig under siege” in the Schmalkadic war, see Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, p. 55.

burials within the city walls, for the inhabitants of Leipzig itself.¹²⁰ Initially a temporary measure for times of plague, rapid population growth led from the late 15th century to the establishment of extramural burial in Germany.¹²¹ Although introduced for reasons of hygiene, extramural burial became the subject of confessional disagreement, the physical separation of the dead from the living corresponding to the Lutheran rejection of the intercession of the living for the souls of the dead.¹²² Luther's rejection of the 'Locus sacer' destroyed the "Geschlossenheit von Begräbnisplatz und Altar", removing theological obstacles from the burial of corpses outside churches and permitting a pragmatic approach to the location of burials.¹²³ The city council decreed in 1531 that, for hygienic reasons, all funerals be held outside the city, the Catholic Herzog Georg ("der Bärtige") deciding that "von wegen der mennge deß Volcks und vorstehenden sterb=leufften, so sich fast alle Jahr sorgklich erregt, nit vor guet angesehen, die absterbenden forder in der Stadt zu begraben".¹²⁴ The need to protect the living from the dead was as much a consideration as the need to honour the deceased.¹²⁵ This policy was not, however, immediately popular. Not until 13 January 1536 did Herzog Georg specify that the cemetery next to the *Johanniskirche* was to become the general city cemetery, a decision, "based on sound medical advice".¹²⁶ Following confrontation with university theologians, an exception was soon

¹²⁰ Vgl. Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, p. 58. See also Paul Benndorf, *Der Alte Johannsfriedhof in Leipzig: Ein Beitrag zur Stadtgeschichte*, Leipzig: 1922, pp. 154-5.

¹²¹ See Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, pp. 40-1.

¹²² See Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, pp. 56-7. The (in 1536 still) "staunchly catholic" Leipzig university was opposed by the many Lutheran merchants in the city. Luther's own support of extramural burial in his 1527 treatise *Ob man vor dem Sterben fliehen möge* along with its introduction in Lutheran cities "established a clear connection between the Reformation and extramural burial" (Koslofsky, p. 57). Extramural burial was introduced as 'punishment' for Lutherans who rejected the last rites in Leipzig by the (Catholic) Duke Georg in 1529, a move which enabled Leipzig's Lutherans to conduct funerals according to the Wittenberg custom with "German songs, hymns and ceremonies as are usual in places where the Lutheran sect has the upper hand..." (Koslofsky, pp. 59-60).

¹²³ Peiter, *Der evangelische Friedhof*, pp. 75-7.

¹²⁴ Große, *Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig*, p. 512.

¹²⁵ Luther himself recommended in his treatise 'Ob man vor dem Sterben fliehen möge' (1527) that cemeteries be relocated outside the city boundaries. The fact that this occurred in the 1530s in Leipzig was more the result of a general trend for hygienic reasons than of zealous imitation of the reformer: not until 1539 was the Reformation introduced into Leipzig and Albertine Saxony. See Hans-Kurt Boehlke, 'Kirchhof-Gottesacker-Friedhof; Wandlungen der Gesellschaft – Wandlungen der Pietät', in *Im Angesicht des Todes*, p. 164.

¹²⁶ Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, p. 61; doctors were "agreed that foul air from churchyards promoted the plague".

made allowing intramural burial for members of the university.¹²⁷ Exceptions were still made for prominent citizens allowing burial within the city's churches or, later, in family allotments.¹²⁸ By the time of Schein's tenure, however, the *Johannisfriedhof* was functioning as Leipzig's general cemetery and was the destination of the almost daily funeral processions accompanied by the schoolboys of St. Thomas', before it too fell victim to the Swedish armies in the 30 Years' War.¹²⁹

Möstel's funeral sermon was held on 22 May 1626, three days after his death, as he was "bey ansehnlicher und volckreicher Versammlung zur Erden bestattet worden". Unlike in some other sermons, no mention is made of the location of his burial.¹³⁰ Although his sermon states that he was buried "zur Erden", this act, conducted "bey ansehnlicher und volckreicher Versammlung", must have been accompanied by a service in one of the city's churches at which the sermon was held and Schein's setting, probably alongside other funeral motets and congregational hymns, was performed. Koslofsky shows that the extent of funeral ceremonies in Lutheran Germany was determined by the social standing of the deceased. While for "common people, the Lutheran funeral was often no more than the simple ceremony of procession, song and burial", "[a]t a more elaborate funeral, a ceremony at the church or cemetery would precede the burial".¹³¹ Schmuck outlines the key features of a contemporary Lutheran funeral in Leipzig:

Es ist fein un[d] Christlich / daß man darzu die Glocken leutet / daß die Schüler und Predigamt mitgehen / und werden da gehöret Christliche Gesenge / Trostlieder / Gebet und Collecten / auch daß man zum öfftern Prediget / und aus Gottes Wort etwas handelt / Denn das alles geschicht den lebendigen zu trost /

¹²⁷ See Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, pp. 55-6. But as Koslofsky writes, "With the introduction of the Reformation in 1539, Leipzig's monasteries were closed and extramural burial at St John became the rule for members of the university as well". (Koslofsky, pp. 75-6).

¹²⁸ "Von diesem Zwange, ihre Verstorbenen am bezeichneten Orte zu bestatten, blieben noch immer befreit die Adligen, welche Familienbegräbnisse in der Klosterkirche zu St. Pauli und bei den Barfüßern innehatten oder noch zu erhalten wünschten, ferner die Universitätsverwandten, die mit Erfolg Einspruch erhoben, die Geistlichen, die Bürgermeister und Ratsherren sowie alle Stifter von Kirchenvermächtnissen. Sie erhielten weiter das Recht, ihre Toten im Bannkreise des Allerheiligsten beizusetzen. In späterer Zeit trat an die Stelle dieser Vergünstigung das Gruftrecht auf dem Friedhofe". Benndorf, *Der Alte Johannisfriedhof*, p. 24.

¹²⁹ The original cemetery was considerably larger than the cemetery which still exists in Leipzig between the Prager Str. and the Dresdener Str. Benndorf refers to the cemetery's destruction "durch die Schweden 1637 und 1644 bei der Belagerung Leipzigs". Benndorf, *Der Alte Johannisfriedhof*, p. 34.

¹³⁰ According to Benndorf, "Der noch vorhandene, an der Hospitalstraße gelegene Doppelschwibbogen Nr. 35 und 36 wurde vor 1626 von Dr. Theodor Möstel gekauft, 1598 Ratsherr, 1604 Bürgermeister, † 22. Mai 1626 [sic.], beigesetzt in Nr. 35". Benndorf, *Der Alte Johannisfriedhof*, pp. 105-106.

¹³¹ Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, p. 98.

lehre / und erinnerung / und daß wir ein ander leben mit solchem Christlichen gepreng und Ceremonien bekennen / und unsere Liebe (wie Sirach haben wil) auch an den Toden beweisen.¹³²

Most sermons held in Schein's Leipzig simply state that the deceased was "zur Erde bestattet". In some cases, the location of funeral ceremonies or place of burial – not necessarily the same thing – is given. The lack of information regarding the location of the sermon and concomitant ceremony could be due to one of two reasons: either it was so obvious that a ceremony in a church was held alongside the actual burial that it wasn't worth mentioning, or it really was a notable exception when a sermon was held in a city church which warranted a written record on the printed sermon. In favour of the first interpretation is the prescription in the Herzog-August-Agende of 1580 that a sermon was to be read "Nach dem die leiche, mit beleitung der kirchendiener und des volks, auf den kirchhof getragen, und das volk sich in die kirche versamlet".¹³³ Sermons which do specify the location were often held in the *Paulinerkirche*; the mention of the university church on the printed sermon was surely intended to emphasise the connection between the deceased and the university (in most such cases, the deceased was a student or academic).¹³⁴ The title page of Schmuck's sermon for Constantin Gölnitz, a Leipzig student who died in 1615, states that he was "zur Erden bestattet worden", while the sermon itself was "In der Pauliner Kirchen zu Leipzig / gehalten".¹³⁵ This suggests that, while he was probably buried outdoors in the communal cemetery, he had an accompanying ceremony in the university church at which Schmuck preached and, one imagines, appropriate music was performed. In other cases, the printed sermons confirm that the deceased was buried in the *Paulinerkirche*. Not only did Schmuck preach his sermon for Junker Hans von Berlepsch, who died as a Leipzig student in 1618, in the university church, but the burial also took place there ("mit Christlicher *solennitet* in der Pauliner Kirchen zur Erden bestattet worden").¹³⁶

¹³² Schmuck, for Griebe.

¹³³ Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, footnote 125, p. 198.

¹³⁴ Not until 1710 were regular Sunday services held in the *Paulinerkirche*, a public forum for the theological faculty being perceived as a threat to the authority of the city council and clergy. See Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety*, pp. 201-202.

¹³⁵ Vincentius Schmuck, Leichpredigt / Aus dem 126. Psalm / Beym Begräbnüß des [...] *CONSTANTINI* Gölnitzen / *Lipsensis*, *Sudiosi* [...] In der Pauliner Kirchen zu Leipzig / gehalten[.] Leipzig: 1615.

¹³⁶ Vincentius Schmuck, Leichpredigt [...] Bey Adelichem Begräbnüß des [...] Juncker Hansen von Berlepsch / Welcher am 29. Martii Anno 1618. zu Leipzig / dahin er seiner *studien* halben verschickt [...] entschlaffen /

Only in exceptional cases were burials conducted in Leipzig's two main parish churches. Georg Weinrich, Vincentius Schmuck's predecessor as Leipzig Superintendent, was in 1617 "Bey Volckreicher ansehnlicher Leichbestattung...in der Kirche zu S. Thomas daselbst zur Erden bestattet worden".¹³⁷ Schmuck himself was, according to the print of the sermon held by Leiser at his "Volckreicher und ansehnlicher Leichbestattung" in 1628, "Christlich in der Kirchen zu S. Niclas daselbs zur Erden bestattet worden".¹³⁸ Schein's setting of Schmuck's own *Symbolum*, from Psalm 73, was also performed here. As Schein writes, he had set Schmuck's "SYMBOLUM Oder Täglicher Trostspruch...Mit 5. Stimmen / sampt dem General-Bass", which was "Bey seinem letzten EhrenBegängnis in der Kirchen zu S. Niclas / allda er in seim Ruhbettlein / Christlichem Brauch nach / ehrlich beygesetzt worden / Bey Volckreicher ansehnlicher Versammlung abgesungen von Mir Iohan-Hermano Schein".¹³⁹

Insightful is the case of Maria Magdalena, for whom Schein set verses from Psalm 84. Although her sermon states that she was buried "zur Erde", the title page of the appended composition confirms that Schein performed it "Bey dero sel. Verstorbenen Jungfrawen letzten Ehrenbegängnis in der Kirchen zu S. Johannis"; surely this was the same ceremony at which the funeral sermon was held.¹⁴⁰ Schein's printed motet is evidence of a church ceremony independent of the burial, a ceremony not mentioned in the funeral sermon. This was probably the standard case: a service – often, as for Maria Magdalena, held in the *Johanniskirche* at the cemetery beyond the city walls – accompanied the burial and provided the setting for sermons and, in some cases, the performance of polyphonic music. Seldom do preachers comment on the music performed at the funeral. One notable exception is Schmuck's aforementioned sermon for Seth Calvisius. Schmuck states that Calvisius' final musical composition was a setting of Psalm 90.10, the result of a commission from outside Leipzig. This setting of 'Unser Leben' was, however, "zum Erstenmal jetzo vor der Predigt / wie E.L. gehöret / zum Begräbnüß abgesungen

und den 21. Aprilis allda mit Christlicher *solennitet* in der Pauliner Kirchen zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1618. The delay of three weeks between the death and the burial was to allow his parents to travel to Leipzig for the funeral (but they didn't make it).

¹³⁷ Schmuck, for Georg Weinrich.

¹³⁸ Polycarp Leiser, Christliche LeichPredigt [...] Bey Volckreicher und ansehnlicher Leichbestattung des [...] *VINCENTII* Schmucks / der heiligen Schrift *Doctorn* und *Professorn* [...] Welcher den 1. Februarii des 1628. Jahrs [...] in GOTT verschieden / und den 6. desselben Monats Christlich in der Kirchen zu S. Niclas daselbs zur Erden bestattet worden[.] Leipzig: 1628[?].

¹³⁹ See NGA 10 vol. 1, p. 152.

¹⁴⁰ Leiser, for Maria Magdalena.

worden”.¹⁴¹ That a funeral motet was sung directly before the sermon was presumably so obvious that it was seldom mentioned. It took circumstances as exceptional as the premiere of Calvisius’ final composition at his own funeral for evidence of this practice to be recorded.

1.5 Prescriptive Accounts: The Lutheran Funeral in Kirchenordnungen

The Leipzig visitors’ ordinance following the introduction of the Reformation in 1539 stated that all funerals were to be accompanied by “der cantor oder ein schulmeister mit etlichen knaben mit gesengen”.¹⁴² Accompanying the deceased to the site of burial belonged to the core duties of the *Thomaner* in Leipzig.¹⁴³ Heidenreich’s description of St. Thomas’ school in his ‘Leipziger Cronicke’ of 1634 is predictably entwined with the school’s musical duties: “Eine [der Schulen] ist zu S. Thomas / darinnen die Einheimischen / und frembden armen Kinder in Gottes Wort / und guten Sitten / und Sprachen / sonderlich aber der Music / und Singekunst / mit Fleiß unterwiesen werden”.¹⁴⁴ The effort spend in educating the “armen Kinde” was repaid in musical services: “Denn sie müssen in den Kirchen die *Musicam* und *Cantorey* versorgen / auch die verstorbenen Leichen mit Geistlichen Liedern zu Grabe begleiten”. The ‘Leipziger Schul-Ordnung’ of 1634 confirms that the provision of music at funerals belonged to the core duties of the *Thomaner*: “Demnach auß dieser Schul die *Musica* in beyden Stadtkirchen / wie auch auff Hochzeiten und Begräbnüssen bestellet wird”.¹⁴⁵ That it could be disruptive for the boys is suggested by attempts to reduce the time spent away from their lessons as a result of their musical obligations to the city.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Schmuck, for Calvisius.

¹⁴² ‘Leipzig. Verordnungen der Visitatoren. 1539’ in Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol.1, p. 595.

¹⁴³ Concerning the duties of the *Thomaner* see: Bernhard Knick (ed.), *St. Thomas zu Leipzig. Schule und Chor. Stätte des Wirkens von Johann Sebastian Bach*, Wiesbaden: 1963; Friedrich Blume, ‘Die Thomaskantorei. Ein Kapitel deutscher Musikkultur’, in *Syntagma Musicologicum II; Gesammelte Reden und Schriften 1962-1972*, Kassel: 1973; Martin Petzoldt (ed.), *St. Thomas zu Leipzig*, Leipzig: 2000; Stefan Altner & Martin Petzoldt (eds.), *800 Jahre Thomana: Glauben – Singen – Lernen*, Döbel: 2012; Michael Maul. *Dero berühmter Chor: die Leipziger Thomasschule und ihre Kantoren (1212-1804)*, Leipzig: 2012.

¹⁴⁴ Heidenreich, *Leipziger Cronicke*, p. 9 ff.

¹⁴⁵ ‘Des Rahts zu Leipzig Vornewerte Schul-Ordnung / *Publicirt* Im Jahr Christi *MDCXXXIV. Mense Martio.*’ Leipzig: 1634. §VI.1.

¹⁴⁶ For example, in the Herzog-August-Agende of 1580: “Weil auch durch die begrebnis die knaben in den schulen uber das ganze jar viel von ihrem studieren abgehalten und daran mit grossem nachteil und schaden des

At funerals, and when the first choir ('Primus coetus musicus') sang, the cantor himself was to be present to direct the boys and lead the congregation:

Die Deutschen Lieder in der Kirchen / darinnen *primus coetus musicus* sich befindet / wie auch bey den Leichenbegängnissen sol der *Cantor*, und bey dem *secundo coetu* der *Praecantor*, bey dessen *election* vornehmlich auff die Stimm / daß sie gut und helle sey / acht zu haben / anfahren / unnd die Knaben / so sonderlich beym *Tenor* und *Basso* stehen / ihn *secundiren*, auch auff die Gesetze und *versiculos* fleissig achtung geben / damit nicht einer vor dem andern angefangen / und die Christliche Gemein dardurch / wie bißhero zum öffterer geschehen / irre gemacht werde.¹⁴⁷

The 1634 Schul-Ordnung distinguishes between four categories of musical participation at funerals. When the entire '*Cœtus scholasticus*' is needed, funerals were, to prevent the boys being distracted from their lessons, to be held when possible following the conclusion of the school day at three in the afternoon.¹⁴⁸ Other possible constellations for funerals were the 'grosse halbe Schul', consisting of 'die ersten drey *Classes*, und *Qvintani*', the 'kleine halbe Schul', consisting of 'die in *prima & tertia Classe*, und dann die in *secunda & quarta Classe*' in alteration, and finally the 'Viertelschulen'. These four classes of participation at funerals are reflected in the remuneration offered to the school's staff.¹⁴⁹ The four classes represented four different categories of representation associated with the relative social standing of the deceased; a further aspect of the representation must have consisted simply in the length of the funeral procession, obviously radically lengthened when the entire school was present.

The 1634 Schul-Ordnung hints at the music performed at funerals. Luther's chorales still formed the core of the repertoire. Evidence of music as a means of distinguishing between social ranks is also found. Provision was made for the performance of figural music for those who lived in "vornehmen Ehrenstande" or who had served the church and school:

Bey den Leichenbegängnissen sol er [der Cantor] sich Herrn *D. Lutheri* Gesänge vornehmlichen gebrauchen / und wann in *specie* einer und der ander Gesang zu singen begehret wirt / hievon / über ander sein Gebühr / absonderlich nichts fordern / noch daß solches gefordert werde verstatten / Würde aber iemand

gemeinen nutzes verhindert werden, soll in allen unsern stedten gleichheit gehalten, eine gewisse und gelegene zeit bestimpt werden, zu welcher der tode zur erden christlich bestetiget und die knaben an ihrem studieren, soviel immer müglich und sein kann, hierdurch nicht verhindert werden". Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 438.

¹⁴⁷ Des Rahts zu Leipzig Vornewerte Schul-Ordnung (1634), §VI.7.

¹⁴⁸ Des Rahts zu Leipzig Vornewerte Schul-Ordnung (1634), §X.1.

¹⁴⁹ Des Rahts zu Leipzig Vornewerte Schul-Ordnung (1634), §X.4-5.

begehren / solche Lieder bey der *procession figuraliter musiciren* zu lassen / sol der *Cantor* solches nicht einem jeden thun / Sondern allein den ienigen / welche im vornehmen Ehrenstande gelebt / oder sonsten Kirchen und Schulen gedienet / ihnenn etwas vermacht / und alle gute Beförderung erwiesen.¹⁵⁰

The funeral songs published in Luther's 'Christliche Geseng Lateinisch vnd Deudsch / zum Begrebnis' were still standard repertoire at funerals in the early seventeenth century. In 1606 the elder Leiser could describe 'Mitten wir im Leben sind' as an "alten KirchenGesang / den unser lieber Lutherus verbessert hat / und den wir bey allen Leichen zu singen pflegen".¹⁵¹ Andreas Schneider cites a verse from another German chorale published in Luther's collection, stating that it was, alongside others, sung "bey allen Leichenbegängnissen".¹⁵² Michael Ziegenspeck concludes a sermon in 1624 by stating that "Wir beschliessen mit den feinen Worten unsers gewöhnlichen Leichgesängeins", suggesting that something, presumably one of Luther's funeral chorales, was typically sung following the sermon.¹⁵³ In exceptional cases, with the consent of the city council, a motet could be sung at the *Trauerhaus* before the procession to the cemetery: "Anlangende die *Motet*, so vor den Häusern / ehe das *Funus* außgetragen wird / der *Cantor* auff vorgehendes Begehren / und nach beschehener unserer außdrücklichen Verwilligung / zu singen plegt / sol dem *Cantori* hiervon absonderlich zu seiner Gebühr I. Thaler" (representing at least a doubling of the cantor's fee).¹⁵⁴

Schein's return to Leipzig in 1616 enabled him to renew contacts with members of Leipzig's ecclesiastical, mercantile, civic and academic circles.¹⁵⁵ The *Raths-Personen*, with the Bürgermeister in charge, were at the top of the social order in seventeenth-century Leipzig.¹⁵⁶ The 1595 'Des Raths zu Leipzig vornewerte Ordnung und Reformation' identifies four social classes

¹⁵⁰ Des Rahts zu Leipzig Vornewerte Schul-Ordnung (1634), §VI.10

¹⁵¹ Leiser, *EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ*, p. 120. Leiser offers an analysis of this hymn according to 'drey Gesetz' (See Leiser 1606, pp. 120-126).

¹⁵² Andreas Schneider, Leichpredigt / Bey dem Begräbnis der Erbar und Tugendsamen Frawen *MAGDALENÆ*, Herrn Pauli Marthens / Bürgers und Handelßmans in Leipzig / Hausfrawen seligen / Welche den 5. Maji dieses 1617. Jahrs / in Christo sanfft und selig entschlaffen / und den 7. darauff Christlich und ehrlich zur Erden bestattet worden, Leipzig: 1632.

¹⁵³ Michael Ziegenspeck, *GOTTES Thewrer Sohn und Trawtes Kind [...]* Bey dem Adelichen und Christlichen Begräbnis Weiland des [...] Herrn Hans Heinrichen von Brandenstein, Jena: 1624.

¹⁵⁴ Des Rahts zu Leipzig Vornewerte Schul-Ordnung (1634), §X.5. This and §VI.10 are cited in Rose, 'Schein's Occasional Music' p. 265.

¹⁵⁵ Theis, 'Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen', pp. 122-3.

¹⁵⁶ For discussion of the social hierarchy in Leipzig see Rose, 'Schein's Occasional Music', p. 261.

amongst the “Bürger vnd Einwohnere in dieser Stadt, so irer Iurisdiction vnterworffen”.¹⁵⁷ At the top were the “Rathspersonen vnd vornembste Bürger und Händeler”, followed by “gemeine Bürger und Handwercksleute”, “gemeine Handwercks leute vnnnd eingeborne einheimische Handwercksgesellen”, and finally the “Dienstmägde”.¹⁵⁸ A revision of these regulations in 1640 led to the establishment of five *Stände*, the “Rathsmitglieder” now ahead of the “vornehme Handelsleute”.¹⁵⁹ As Stephen Rose writes, “Occasional music was the privilege of the elite and was often commissioned as a show of power and status”.¹⁶⁰ While only a handful of polyphonic occasional funeral motets by Schein survive, many more cantional lieder have been preserved.¹⁶¹ This imbalance is surely explained by the fact that polyphonic motets were reserved for those who had served school and church. The compositions for Bürgermeister Möstel and Superintendent Schmuck could be thus explained; Schein’s setting of ‘Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen’ could have been justified by the fact that its dedicatee – Maria Magdalena von Claußbruch – belonged to Leipzig’s wealthiest family. Rose argues that Schein, having “standardised” occasional music by composing villanellas or madrigals at weddings and cantional lieder at funerals, could “draw attention to an exceptional social rank” through a departure from these genres.¹⁶² As an example, he cites the composition for solo voice and theorbo for Martin Cramer, suggesting that the modest forces for which this motet is set correspond to Cramer’s social standing as a “relatively lowly member of the learned community”.¹⁶³ Alternatively,

¹⁵⁷ Members of the university were thus excluded, being subject to their own regulations; a latin ordinance was published for the university in 1625 (‘Rector et senatus consilij perpetui in academia lipsiensi’, cited in Thomas Weller, *Theatrum precedentiae: zeremonieller Rang und gesellschaftliche Ordnung in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt: Leipzig 1500 – 1800*, Darmstadt: 2006, p. 106). See also Weller, *Theatrum praecedentiae*, pp. 94-7. The relevant document was printed in 1596 under the title ‘Des Raths zu Leipzig vornewerte Ordnung und Reformation’ by Henning Groß.

¹⁵⁸ Weller, *Theatrum praecedentiae*, p. 97.

¹⁵⁹ Following these two *Stände* came “Kramer und gemeine Bürger”, “Handwerksleute” and “Dienstmägde”. Weller, *Theatrum praecedentiae*, p. 112.

¹⁶⁰ Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music’, p. 254.

¹⁶¹ For a discussion of Schein’s cantional lieder see Johnston, ‘Schein’s Funeral Lieder’; also Walter Reckziegel, *Das Cantional von Johan Herman Schein: seine geschichtlichen Grundlagen*, Berlin: 1963. Stephen Rose suggests that the rise of the German language cantional lied was related to Martin Opitz’s attempts at reforming German-language verse: the “sudden popularity of the cantional lied in the 1620s was perhaps a manifestation of the new acceptability of German verse”. Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music’, p. 257.

¹⁶² Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music’, p. 266.

¹⁶³ A theologian by training, Cramer spent a number of years as Schein’s colleague at the Thomasschule before he returned to church service: “Dieweil aber seine *Erudition in humanioribus* und sonderbare Geschicklichkeit die Jugend zu unterweisen / kundbar gewesen / ist ihme von E. E. Rath allhier das Ampt *Tertii Collegæ* in der Schulen zu S. Thomas im Jahr 1618 angetragen worden / welches er als eine Schickung Gottes nicht in Wind schlagen wollen / sondern auff sich genommen / und darinnen dermassen sich bezeuget / daß er im folgenden

Schein's departure from the norm of wedding madrigals or villanellas could be attributed to the professional and personal relationship between Schein and Cramer. As colleagues at the Thomasschule (Cramer was Conrector), Cramer contributed a Latin poem to the print of *Israelsbrünlein* "In honorem Dn. Auctoris, Collegæ sui honorandi".¹⁶⁴ Given the paucity of surviving occasional motets it is difficult to arrive at a hard and fast rule which determined whether or not Schein actually wrote a polyphonic motet for any given funeral. I would suggest that the social standing of the deceased was a necessary but by no means sufficient factor; in most cases, as with the compositions for Möstel and Schmuck, Schein's compositions could be understood as personal tributes to valued friends and colleagues rather than as a departure from the norm to highlight an exceptional social status.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, the fact that Schein composed 'only' a cantional lied for a given funeral does not necessarily mean that no polyphonic motet was performed at the funeral itself; it is possible that a motet from the school's repertoire was performed at such occasions. Such a performance of figural music could have been understood by those present as a status symbol, with the printed cantional lied, often with a personalised text in the form of an acrostic on the name of the deceased, functioning as an enduring tribute.

1.6 'Das ist meine Freude'; Schein's Setting of Möstel's Symbolum

Möstel's *Symbolum* had accompanied him through life's joys and sorrows. As part of his preparations for death, he instructed Schein to set it to music for performance at his funeral. Schein's relationship with the Möstel family was close both professionally and personally: not only was Möstel Leipzig Bürgermeister at the time of Schein's appointment, but his son Jonas had, a year

1619 Jahre zum *ConRector* in selbiger Schulen bestetiget worden / welches Ampt er gantzer sechs Jahr mit Fleiß versorget / inmassen dann seine *Institution* nicht leer abgangen / sondern viel feine Leute durch ihn erzogen worden / die es ihm noch guten danck wissen". Christian Lang, *STATUA COLLEGARUM*, Das ist / Zwo Christliche Leichen Predigten Uber der *Sepultur* und Leichenbegengnüß zweyer wolverdienter *Collegen* des Predigampts zu S. Thomas in Leipzig / als Des [...] Herrn *MAURITII BURCHARDI* [...] Und dann Des [...] Herrn *M. MARTINI CRAMERI*, der Heil. Schrift *Baccalaurei* und Vesperpredigers[...], Leipzig: 1637.

¹⁶⁴ *Israelsbrünlein*, Tenor partbook. Citing the example of Heinrich Höpner, who wrote a poem for Schein's 1627 *Cantional* after Schein had composed *Lyra Davidica* for his wedding in 1620, Rose suggests that "Some of Schein's colleagues reciprocated the musical presents by contributing commendatory poems to his books". Rose, 'Schein's Occasional Music' p. 271.

¹⁶⁵ One example in which "family ties may have overruled the usual restrictions on occasional music" was the *Scherzo musicale* composed by Schein for the wedding of his sister-in-law Marie von der Perre. See Rose, 'Schein's Occasional Music', p. 266.

prior to his own wedding in 1618, become Godfather to Schein's first daughter Sidonia.¹⁶⁶ Schein composed large-scale wedding compositions for at least four of Möstel's children. Like most of the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein*, however, Schein's setting of Möstel's *Symbolum* is for five parts without obligato instruments; reflecting the practice during the penitential seasons of lent and advent, the participation of such instruments at Leipzig funerals was proscribed.¹⁶⁷ Music joins the nexus of private devotional practice and funeral sermons, with the *Symbolum*, the *Spruch*, in the centre. That the identity of the text as *Symbolum* was maintained in Schein's setting is shown on the title page of the print; the first words are "ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΝ | Psalm.31. v. 15. & 16. | Welches ihme selbst zu seinen Leichen=Predigt=| Text außerkohren| Der Großachtbare/ Ehrveste/ Hoch=|gelarte vnd Hochweise Herr| Theodorus Möstell[...]"¹⁶⁸ That the text which had been set was, in fact, Möstel's *Spruch*, was worthy of communication to those who acquired the print.¹⁶⁹

The musical similarities between Schein's setting of Möstel's *Symbolum* and many of the settings published in *Israelsbrünnlein* extend beyond the five-part complement of voices. The setting begins with a semibreve on 'Herr', followed by a crotchet rest before the following 'ich hoffe auf dich' enters on the off-beat. This technique of an opening long note(s) followed by a short rest leading into syllabic declamation is found on multiple occasions in *Israelsbrünnlein*; noteworthy are 'O Herr, ich bin dein Knecht' and 'O Herr Jesu Christe', both of which likewise begin with appeals to the divine.¹⁷⁰ A further example is found in 'Herr, wie lange willst du mein so gar vergessen', an occasional work preserved in manuscript copy.¹⁷¹ Here a semibreve on the opening word 'Herr' is followed by a crotchet rest before the following text is set (mostly) syllabically. Such a setting of the opening word 'Herr' was one of Schein's favourite devices and may be the reason for the discrepancy between the text of Möstel's *Symbolum* as

¹⁶⁶ Maul, *Dero berühmter Chor*, p. 51.

¹⁶⁷ Theis, 'Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen', p. 123.

¹⁶⁸ Quoted from Schein NGA 10 vol. 1, p. 155.

¹⁶⁹ Leiser's sermon for Möstel's funeral was in the catalogue of books available at the Leipzig book fair of 1626; See Rose, 'Schein's Occasional Music', p. 280.

¹⁷⁰ Also 'Ach Herr, ach meiner schone', which begins with two minims followed by a crotchet rest. Both of the texts set in *Israelsbrünnlein* which, rather than being selected from biblical scripture, were written by Schein himself begin in this manner ('Ach Herr, ach meiner schone'; 'O Herr Jesu Christe'); this could suggest that Schein had a preference for such openings of texts, suggesting that he himself was responsible for the adaptation of the opening phrase of Möstel's *Symbolum*.

¹⁷¹ NGA 10.7.

printed on the funeral sermon and the *Spruch* as set by Schein. While the text in the sermon, following Luther's translation of Psalm 31, presents the first line as 'Ich aber Herr hoffe auff dich', in Schein's setting the text is altered to 'Herr, ich hoffe auf dich'. The significance of the word 'aber', omitted in Schein's version, was commented on by Möstel in his commentary. He outlines five points relevant for his chosen *Spruch*, the first of which – '*vitæ nostræ calamitatem*' – is found in the first two words. These words – 'ich aber' – are significant, in that they are retrospective, referring here to the verses in Psalm 31 that preceded his *Symbolum*. As Möstel writes:

...das Wörtlein **Aber** / ist in Deutscher Sprache ein solch Wörtlein / welches nicht bloß und alleine für sich kan gebraucht werden / man auch keine Rede damit pflēget anzufahen [anzufangen] / sondern wenn es gebraucht wird / so weiset es auff etwas / das vorher geredet / und gesaget worden ist / und ist gleichsam ein wort eines *Respondentis*, der auff etwas seine Antwort thut oder thun wil.¹⁷²

What preceded verse 15 in Psalm 31, to which verse 15, beginning with 'Ich Aber', was a response? As Möstel continues:

Wenn ich mich nun in dem 31. Psalm umbsehe / was denn David zuvorher gesetzt oder gesagt hat und was er von demselbigen halte ... So befindet sich / daß David solchen Psalm gemacht hat / nicht da er im Rosengarten gesessen und gute Tage gehabt ... Sondern zu der zeit / da er in grosser Noth / Trübsal und Gefahr war / ja in kümmerlichen ängsten Leibes und der Seelen...

Möstel understood verse 15 as a response to the trials and tribulations of life, a response to the '*vitæ nostræ calamitatem*' depicted in the preceding verses. This retrospection, the suffering to which his verse was a response, was for Möstel indicated by the word 'Aber': "Auff diese Müheseligkeit / Noth / Creutz und Elend sihet David in meinem außgesehenen Sprüchlein / in dem wort **Aber** / das er *per remotionem*, und gleichsam antwortsweise auff dieselbige andeutet / wie er solche Beschwürigkeiten in vorher gehenden *Versiculis* des Psalm habe beschrieben".

Why was this word omitted in Schein's setting? Perhaps Schein was responsible for this change, recognising the dramatic value of commencing the setting directly with the appeal to the Lord, seeing the chance to set this word to a semibreve in one of his favourite opening devices. Or perhaps its removal enabled Schein to work with a more self-contained text, complete in itself without the backward reference to the previous verses. Möstel hints at this when he states that, with regards to the word 'Aber', "man auch keine Rede damit pflēget anzufahen". We need

¹⁷² '*PIÆ MEDITATIONES*' in Leiser, for Möstel.

simply substitute ‘Komposition’ for ‘Rede’ and we have the answer. A comparison with other settings by Schein is informative. In Schein’s setting of Vincentius Schmuck’s *Symbolum* (Ps. 73:28) the opening word ‘aber’ is similarly removed from the biblical passage.¹⁷³ In a setting of two verses from the same psalm (Ps. 73:23-24) in *Israelsbrünnlein*, however, an equivalent word (‘dennoch’) is retained as the opening word of the text (‘Dennoch bleibe ich stets an dir’).¹⁷⁴

Following the opening semibreve on ‘Herr’, the phrase ‘ich hoffe auf dich’ is set syllabically. Schein is careful to ensure that the notated rhythm and melodic ascent reflect the natural text declamation of the spoken language. As in ‘Wem ein tugendsam Weib’, also in the Dorian plagal mode, this motif describes an ascending triad from the finalis G. Schein emphasises the words ‘hoffe’ and ‘dich’, both in the placement of these two words on downbeats and through the ascending melodic leaps which with they are approached. Significant is the contrast between Schein’s setting of the singular pronouns ‘Ich’ and ‘Dich’. As in many of the *Kraftsprüchlin* set in *Israelsbrünnlein*, each of the phrases in Möstel’s *Symbolum* centres on a juxtaposition between pronouns of the first and the second person. In Möstel’s *Symbolum* we find three of these, each of which Schein takes as the basis for a section of his composition: ‘(Herr) **ich** hoffe auf **dich**’; ‘(und spreche:) **du** bist **mein** Gott’; ‘**Meine** Zeit stehet in **deinen** Händen’. Interesting is, in light of this observation, the relative emphasis placed on ‘ich’ and ‘dich’ in the opening phrase. ‘Dich’ is arguably the goal of the phrase, set as a minim on a downbeat and approached with an ascending leap to the highest note of the motif. ‘Ich’ is, in contrast, set on an up-beat as the melodic low-point from which the following ‘hoffe’ is approached. The relative importance of the second person pronoun is no accident and may have been a further reason for Schein’s reversal of ‘Herr’ and ‘ich’ at the opening of the *Symbolum*.

Schein’s musical interpretation of the text suggests that ‘hoffe’ and ‘dich’ are the important concepts in this verse. Again, Möstel’s own commentary hints at the reasons. The word ‘Aber’ encapsulated the first of five reasons why Möstel was attracted to this *Spruch*. The second

¹⁷³ ‘Das ist meine Freude’ (NGA 10.3); the opening ‘Aber’, with which this verse begins in the psalter and which likewise indicates a contrast from the previous verse (vs. 27 ‘die von dir weichen’ as opposed to vs. 28 ‘dass ich mich zu Gott halte’) is omitted in Schein’s setting. The commencement of a sung text with a conjunction did, however, have an established pedigree; see, for example, the Gregorian introit for Maundy Thursday ‘Nos autem gloriari oportet...’ (*Graduale Triplex* p. 162).

¹⁷⁴ Interesting in the two latter examples is the highlighting of the text in the Luther Bible. Both passages are printed in bold; but while all of vs. 23, including the opening conjunction ‘dennoch’ is printed bold, in vs. 28, the opening word ‘Aber’ is the one word in the verse that *isn’t* printed bold. Perhaps Schein’s usage was simply following Luther’s precedent.

reason – “Vom *refugio nostræ calamitatis*, was in unserer Noth / Trübsal / Creutz und Elend unserer Zuflucht sey” – was found in the verb ‘hoffen’: “Davon brauchet er das wort hoffen / in dem er spricht: Ich aber HERR hoffe / damit er anzeiget / daß einem Christen in allem seinem Christenthumb / Unglück / Jammer und Noth nichts erhalte / tröste und auffrichte als allein die Hoffnung”.¹⁷⁵ Möstel goes on to apply this idea to his personal experience: “So hab ich doch in solchem meinem Elend Hoffnung / daß es nicht ewig währen wird / es wird dermaleins Hülffe und Errettung seyn / und diß elende Creutzwesen ein ende nemen”.

While hope was *refugio nostræ*, Möstel’s third point represented “*cordis nostri in calamitatibus cogitatio*, was denn in solchem unserm zustehendem Trübsal und gefaster Hoffnung / wol unsere Gedancken seyn”. The answer was found in the word ‘Herr’. Schein’s setting reflects the centrality of this word in the verse. Not only does he, by means of the altered opening of the verse, set the initial word ‘Herr’ prominently with an isolated semibreve, but the pronoun ‘dich’, standing here for ‘Herr’, proves to be the melodic and rhetorical goal of the following motif to which ‘ich hoffe auf dich’ is set. “Was unsere Gedanken seyn”, continues Möstel, “besteht in dem Wörtlein HERR / denn David redet in diesem Psalm mit dem HERRN unserm Gott / klaget und bringet denselben seine Noth für / und spricht: In solchem meinem Trübsal und beschwüri-gen Müheseligkeit hoffe ich auff dich / das ist / auff dich HERR / dem ich meine Noth klage”. Bringing the example of King David as recalled in this verse into the present, Möstel concludes: “Also geschicht noch heut zu tage bey einem geängstigtem / und mit Creutz und Trübsal beschwertem Herten ... Mit hoffen und still seyn / werdet ihr starck seyn / Und wol dem / der in Angst / Noth und Trübsal dergestalt seine Hoffnung setzet auff den HERRN...”.

What then of the first-person pronoun ‘ich’ in the opening phrase? The above passage suggests one possible answer: it was a psalm of David, with David himself as subject. But Möstel acknowledges that, although the psalm was originally a prayer of David, it can be read as a prayer of Christ on the cross: “Daher auch solcher Psalm viel in der Person des HERRN Christi redet / und viel wort brauchet / derer der HERR Christus in seinem hochschmerzlichen Leiden / jetzo am Creutz hangende / gebrauchet hat”.¹⁷⁶ As Möstel continues, “etliche alte KirchenLeh- rer” understood this psalm as a psalm which “der HERR Christus in seinem bitterm schmerzlichen Leiden / am Stañ des Creutzes gänzlichen außgebetet / und sich damit getröstet und auffgerichtet habe”. It was a psalm of David which could be read as an anticipation of Christ’s

¹⁷⁵ ‘*PIÆ MEDITATIONES*’ in Leiser, for Möstel.

¹⁷⁶ ‘*PIÆ MEDITATIONES*’ in Leiser, for Möstel.

sufferings on the cross.¹⁷⁷ Möstel, however, found in this verse a source of consolation in his personal experience of suffering. His *Symbolum* was a “Trostsprüchlein / daran ich mich in meinem vielfaltigen mir zugestandenem Creutz / Wiederwertigkeiten und Verfolgung halten und stewren / und daraus Trost und Erquickung nemen könnte”.¹⁷⁸ The first person pronoun ‘ich’ refers therefore to Möstel himself. It was unnecessary to emphasise the ‘ich’ in the setting of the text (or, for that matter, the other first-person pronouns), as Möstel himself was the omnipresent subject not just of the *Symbolum* but the entire funeral proceedings; his presence was taken for granted, the first premise on which the *Spruch*, its setting, the sermon and the funeral itself depended.

The opening motif is presented successively in all five voices, entrances on the final G alternating with tonal answers at the fifth.¹⁷⁹ Such pseudo-polyphonic openings are found in over half the settings in *Israelsbrünnlein*.¹⁸⁰ A further feature of the first part of Schein’s setting, likewise found in *Israelsbrünnlein*, is the contrast between a suspension ‘chain’ in one group of voices against more rapid, syllabic text-declamation through the repetition of an already established motif in a second group of voices. This is found in bars 5-6 in the *Symbolum*, in which the Tenor and Bassus, through alternating stepwise ascent, form a chain of fifths and sixths (the ascent often embellished with quavers) while the upper voices repeat in quick succession the opening ‘ich hoffe auf dich’.¹⁸¹ These functions are exchanged in bar 9, with Cantus I and II providing through the ascending fifths and sixths the structural framework beneath which the lower three voices repeat the ‘ich hoffe auf dich’ motif. The conclusion of the first of the three sections of Schein’s setting sees the opening motif presented in augmentation, starting with the entry in the

¹⁷⁷ The christological reading of psalm verses was an essential part of the selection and interpretation of psalm verses as liturgical texts in the mass and office. Cf. Harald Buchinger: “Diese ‘Christologisierung’ der Psalmen ist ein hermeneutischer Mechanismus, der in der altkirchlichen Exegese grundgelegt ist und einen Großteil der Propriumstexte der Festzeiten betimmt. Im Gottesdienst geht es freilich nicht einfach um Exegese; der liturgische Vollzug ermöglicht vielmehr eine Identifikation zwischen dem aktuellen Beter und dem Subjekt des biblischen Textes, das bedeutet im Falle der Christologisierung eben auch: mit Christus”. Harald Buchinger, ‘Armut oder Reichtum des *Thesaurus Musicae Sacrae*’, in Geyer & Wertenson (eds.), *Psalmen*, p. 12.

¹⁷⁸ ‘*PIÆ MEDITATIONES*’ in Leiser, for Möstel.

¹⁷⁹ The Cantus I part has been reconstructed in the NGA.

¹⁸⁰ *Israelsbrünnlein*: 1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24.

¹⁸¹ A similar technique – the lower voices forming a chain of 7-6 suspensions through descending stepwise movement against more rapid text declamation in the upper voices – is employed in *Israelsbrünnlein*, for example, in 1.26; 3.45; 4.26; 5.26;

Bassus in bar 12; a similar augmentation of the opening motif at the close of a section in *Israelsbrünnlein* is found in ‘Ich lasse dich nicht’ (Bassus from bar 13).

The opening words of the second section of Schein’s setting – ‘und spreche’ – introduce the spoken words which follow. Schein employs a number of musical devices to heighten the distinction between these two perspectives. Firstly, the complement of voices: the five-part complement has been reduced to the three lower voices for the initial exclamation of ‘und spreche’ in bar 17. Secondly, these words are set homorhythmically, an immediate point of difference from the polyphonic opening section. A third point is the new tonality: the five-part D-major chord with which the opening section concludes is followed by F-major, a tonal jump of a third immediately signalling something new. All of these have precedents in *Israelsbrünnlein*.¹⁸² The opening phrase of ‘Zion spricht: Der Herr hat mich verlassen’ likewise begins with an introduction to direct speech; here the introductory ‘Zion spricht’ is similarly declaimed in three voices with the following direct speech beginning on an upbeat after a crotchet rest. The contrast between a polyphonic opening and a homophonic middle section has been discussed in connection with *Israelsbrünnlein*, with one author considering it to be characteristic of Schein’s position as an intermediary between the motet and the madrigal style.¹⁸³ The grouping of the upper and the lower three voices, facilitating antiphonal writing despite the limitations of the five-part texture, is found frequently in *Israelsbrünnlein*. This is seen, for example, at the opening of ‘Zion spricht’, where the grouping of the upper three and the lower three voices is combined with homorhythmic text-declamation. Furthermore, there are multiple examples in *Israelsbrünnlein* of a harmonic shift of a third being used to delineate the opening section of a setting from the following section, often corresponding with the beginning of a new verse in the *Spruch*.¹⁸⁴

Like the first section, the second section is characterised by the juxtaposition between singular pronouns of the first and second persons: ‘(und spreche:) **du** bist **mein** Gott’. As at the opening, Schein emphasises in his setting the second person. The four syllables are set to a descending

¹⁸² It is, of course, likely that Möstel’s *Symbolum* was composed by Schein around the time of many of the settings published in *Israelsbrünnlein*. If so, it presumably was not included in that volume as it had yet to receive its inaugural performance at the occasion for which it was composed.

¹⁸³ See Wolfram Steinbeck, ‘Motettisches und madrigalisches Prinzip in der geistlichen Musik der Schütz-Zeit: Monteverdi - Schütz - Schein’, in *SJb* 11 (1989).

¹⁸⁴ See, for example, ‘Zion spricht’, bar 23 (D to Bb); ‘Da Jacob’, bars 14-15, (C to E); ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’, bars 15-16 (A to F); ‘Siehe, nach Trost’, bars 17-18, (A to F).

tetrachord, the opening ‘du’ both the longest and highest note of the phrase. In contrast, ‘mein’ is set to a single semi-quaver, part of the descending skip through a fourth from the initial ‘du’ to ‘Gott’. A pedal-point in the Bassus in bars 25-26 leads to a preliminary cadence on D major. The first example of melismatic writing is found in the ascending chain of fifths and sixths in the lower two voices from bar 6. A further example is found at the concluding cadence of the second section of the setting, where the Cantus II is decorated melodically in bar 32. The melismatic decoration of one of the five voices at a cadence (see also Cantus II in bars 41-42) is found repeatedly in *Israelsbrünnlein*. A further feature of Schein’s musical language found in the second section of the *Symbolum* is the diminished fourth, used here both melodically and harmonically.¹⁸⁵ Through the introduction of the raised leading note, the descending tetrachord to which ‘du bist mein Gott’ is set is sometimes shortened to span a diminished rather than a perfect fourth, as in the Altus in bar 19. In bar 26, the entry in Cantus II on Bb coincides with the F# in the Altus, creating a diminished fourth harmonically. The diminished fourth is found repeatedly in prominent motives in the *Israelsbrünnlein* settings.¹⁸⁶

The third section of Möstel’s *Symbolum* is again characterised by the syllabic declamation of text. The pattern of text declamation found at ‘stehet in deinen Händen’ – three up-beat quavers leading to two crotchets for ‘dei-nen’ and longer note values for ‘Händen’ – is found in the same form on multiple occasions in *Israelsbrünnlein*, such as the setting of ‘Sei mit euch allen Amen’ in ‘Ich bin die Wurzel’ or, with an initial crotchet replacing the first of the ‘auftaktige’ quavers, at ‘darf sich auf sie verlassen’ in ‘Wem ein tugendsam Weib’. Two manners of antiphonal effects are achieved ‘artificially’ in many of the *Israelsbrünnlein* compositions by means of the division of the five voices into two smaller groups. The first of these consists in the typically homophonic declamation of a unit of text, normally with either the three upper or the three lower voices together, the text then being repeated by the other three-part group.¹⁸⁷ The second type of antiphony consists in the back-and-forth exchange of much shorter motivic fragments. This

¹⁸⁵ As Snyder and Johnston observe, “His [Schein’s] use of unusual intervals and dissonant harmonic figures, especially the diminished 4th, is more frequent in this collection [*Israelsbrünnlein*] than any other”. Kerala J. Snyder and Gregory S. Johnston. ‘Schein, Johann Hermann’, in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed July 12, 2017.

¹⁸⁶ In its ‘melodic’ function: the opening motives in 8. ‘Ich bin jung gewesen’; 19. ‘Ach Herr, ach meiner schone’; 6. ‘Wende dich Herr’ (as in Möstel’s *Symbolum*, as a descending tetrachord based on a diminished, rather than a perfect fourth); in its ‘harmonic’ function, the diminished fourth is found repeatedly in 6. ‘Wende dich Herr’, like Möstel’s *Symbolum* in the Dorian plagal mode: e.g. bar 6 (Bb and F# between Cantus I and Tenor) and bar 27 (Eb and B between Cantus I and Cantus II).

¹⁸⁷ For example, the opening of ‘Zion spricht’ or, the setting of ‘Denn sein Zorn währet einen Augenblick, und er hat Lust zum Leben’ from bar 20 in 16. ‘Ihr Heiligen lobsinget dem Herrn’.

second manner of antiphony is hinted at in the third section of the setting of Möstel's *Symbolum*, most prominently in bar 39, where the motivic fragment 'meine Zeit' enters four times in different combinations of voices. In bar 36, the Cantus II and Bassus have the declamation pattern of 'meine Zeit stehet in deinen Händen' simultaneously, followed by the paired Altus and Tenor a beat later; in the second half of bar 37 the combination is changed, the paired Bassus and Tenor followed a beat later by the coupled Altus and Tenor. The third section of the composition is, as segregated through the placement of repeat signs, followed by a three-bar coda in which the pattern of 'stehet in deinen Händen' is augmented and presented more or less simultaneously in all five voices. The coda is one of the few instances of five-part simultaneous text declamation in Schein's setting of Möstel's *Symbolum*. Although repeat signs are in *Israelsbrünnlein* exceptional, similar 'codas', where a few concluding bars follow what could have been the final cadence, are found in many of the settings there.¹⁸⁸

1.7 Sprüche, Sermons and Israelsbrünnlein

Schein's setting of Möstel's *Symbolum* has features in common with many of the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein*. In addition to the musical similarities described above, there is the common feature of the German bible verses. For Möstel's *Symbolum*, it is possible to reconstruct the connection between Schein's composition, the occasion for which it was composed and performed, and the personal significance of the chosen text for the deceased. I wish to argue that this model can be profitably applied to a number of the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein*. Unlike Möstel's *Symbolum*, none of the *Israelsbrünnlein* settings is known to have been published individually. Nevertheless, funeral sermons were held on many of the *Sprüche* which Schein set in *Israelsbrünnlein*. For some of these *Sprüche*, funeral sermons held in Leipzig between Schein's arrival there in 1616 and the dedication of *Israelsbrünnlein* in 1623 have been preserved. The funerals at which these sermons were preached upon could have been occasions at which Schein himself was present and responsible for the music; it is plausible that there was, as with Schein's setting of Möstel's *Symbolum*, a connection between the circumstances of the funerals held on these verses and the settings of these verses which Schein later compiled and

¹⁸⁸ For example, the last three bars in 6. 'Wende dich Herr'; 8. 'Ich bin jung gewesen', where the last three bars present the concluding phrase in the initial metre following the *proportio tripla*; 22. 'Wem ein tugendsam Weib', where the final words 'sein lebelang' are in the concluding five bars expanded melodically following their previous homophonic setting.

revised for publication. Furthermore, such sermons offer a window into the occasions themselves and the significance of the texts preached upon – and set to music – for various members of Leipzig society.

Paul Froberg, “Stadtrichter und fürnehme[r] *Advocat[us]* zu Leipzig” and alumnus of the Thomasschule, had, a year prior to his funeral on 6 July 1621, selected verses from Hezekiah’s Song of Thanksgiving (Isaiah 38) “zum Leichenargument” and desired “daß es bey seinem Begräbniß abgehandelt möchte werden”.¹⁸⁹ Could he have informed Schein, who, as he did for Theodor Möstel, set the desired text to music in anticipation of the funeral? That Froberg contributed a laudatory poem to Heinrich Schütz in the latter’s *Psalmen Davids* (1619) attests to his connections in musical circles.¹⁹⁰ Presented in 1623 with a setting of this text – ‘Siehe, nach Trost war mir sehr bange’ – in *Israelsbrünnlein*, the members of the Leipzig council would surely have remembered its performance a year and a half earlier at the funeral of their ‘Stadtrichter’. They would likewise have attended the funeral of reigning Leipzig Bürgermeister Johann Peilicke on 4 December 1617. The *Leichenargument* at this occasion, selected “nach dem der Freundschaft begehren gewesen ist / umb des hohen Alters willen des Herrn Bürgermeisters”, was Psalm 90:10, a verse which Schein set in *Israelsbrünnlein* (‘Unser Leben’).¹⁹¹

For the funeral on 23 Nov. 1621 of Euphrosyna,¹⁹² wife of the Conrector of St. Thomas’ School Martin Kramer (who referred to Schein in the print of *Israelsbrünnlein* as “Collegæ sui honorandi”, and for whose wedding in October 1622 to Elisabeth, widow of David Eisentraut,¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Polycarp Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskia, Esa. 38*. Sihe umb Trost war mir sehr bange etc. Beym Begräbniß / des [...] Herrn *PAVLI FROBERGS*, Stadtrichters und fürnehmten *Advocati* zu Leipzig / Welcher den dritten *Julii Anno 1621*. [...] in dem HERRN entschlaffen / und den 6. desselben Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1621, ‘Eingang’.

¹⁹⁰ Printed in the Tenor II partbook. See Werner Breig ed. Heinrich Schütz, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, Vol. 26, Nr. 23-26, p. XXV.

¹⁹¹ Vincentius Schmuck, Christliche Leichpredigt / Bey ansehnlicher Bestattung des [...] Herrn Johan Peiligks / des Churfürst. Sächs. Schöppenstuels zu Leipzig *Assessorn*, Kirchvaters zu S. Niclas / und BurgerMeisters daselbst / Welcher am 30. *Novembris* des 1617. Jahrs in GOtt selig entschlaffen / und den 4. Decembris Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden[.] Leipzig: 1618.

¹⁹² Schein composed for the funeral of Euphrosyna the five-part song ‘Eva durch ihr begangne Schuld’, which was revised as a four-part setting for inclusion in the *Cantional* (1627). See Gregory S. Johnston, ‘Revision and Compositional Process in the Funerary Lieder of Johann Hermann Schein’s “Cantional” (1627)’, *Schütz Jahrbuch (SJB)* 24 (2002), pp. 104-107.

¹⁹³ Vincentius Schmuck preached on Isa. 38:17 at the funeral of David Eisentraut on 30 July 1621.

Schein set a pastoral text “á solo voce uff einer Tiörben”¹⁹⁴), verses from Psalm 25 – including those set by Schein as ‘Wende dich, Herr’ – were selected for the *Leichenpredigt*, “weil die Verstorbene Selige mit dem lieben David zum öfftern von Herten sich des Gebets gebraucht [hat] / das in den verlesenen Worten...begriffen ist”.¹⁹⁵ Schmuck describes Psalm 25 as “der schönsten und bekantesten Psalmen Davids einer”, at least partially accounting for the frequency with which it was selected as a funeral text.¹⁹⁶ At the funeral on 12 Apr. 1622 of Johann Weinman, “Bürger und Handelsmann in Leipzig”, Thomas Weinrich preached on the same selection of verses from Psalm 25 “weil unser im HErrn selig Verstorbener und desselben Erben solches begeren / daß man sie zu seinem Ehrengedächtnis abhandeln und erklären wolte”; furthermore, there was “auch kein zweiffel” that the deceased had “bey seinem langwierigen Lager seinen beständigen Trost daraus geschöpffet und empfunden”.¹⁹⁷ Similar reasons were given by Vincentius Schmuck for preaching on verses from Jeremiah 31 – beginning with ‘Ist nicht Ephraim mein thewrer Sohn’ – at the funeral of Elisabeth, wife of Leipzig “Bürger und Buchhändler” Jacob Apel, on 9. April 1617. As Schmuck writes, these verses were chosen “auff begehren der jenigen / so die Leichpredigt bestellt”; he therefore presumes (“achten solches daher geschehen seyn”) that “die seliglich verstorbene sich desselben zu ihrem trost sonderlich wird gebrauchet haben”.¹⁹⁸ At the funeral on 1 March 1621 of Anna, wife of “Johann Köllens / Bürgers und *Notarij Publici* in Leipzig”, the theme of the chosen *Leichenargument* reflected the topic of the gospel reading from the previous Sunday, Sexagesima. The parable of the divine sower in Luke 8, itself seasonally appropriate to the agricultural enterprises following the post-winter thaw, found its counterpart in Psalm 126 with ‘Die mit Tränen säen’, upon which Leiser

¹⁹⁴ ‘Mirtillo hat ein Schäfelein’, NGA 10.59. Martin Kramer contributed a poem to the print of *Israelsbrünlein* “In honorem Dn. Auctoris, Collegæ sui honorandi”, contained in the Tenor partbook. Could Kramer have contributed a poem to this collection knowing that it contained the composition the which Schein had composed and performed at the funeral of his wife only a year before?

¹⁹⁵ Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt / Aus Davids Gebet / Psal. 25. [...] Beym Begräbnis der [...] Frawen Euphrosyna / Herrn M. Martini Kramers / der Schul zu. S. Thomas in Leipzig Conrectoris, Ehelicher Haußfrawen / Welche den 20. Novembris des 1621. Jahrs in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 23. desselben zur Erden Christlich bestattet worden[.] Leipzig: 1622.*

¹⁹⁶ Schmuck, for Euphrosyna Kramer.

¹⁹⁷ Thomas Weinrich, *Christliche LeichPredigt Aus den worten des 25. Psalms: Meine Augen sehen stets zu dem HErrn/ec. Bey dem ehrlichen Begräbnüß / des [...] Herrn Johann Weinmans / Bürgers und Handelsmannes in Leipzig. Welcher den 9. Aprilis des 1622. Jahres/ nach langwierigem Lager in Gott selig entschlaffen / und hernach den 12. desselben / Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1622[?].*

¹⁹⁸ Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt Aus dem 31. Capitel Jeremiæ / Beym Begräbnüß der [...] Frawen ELISABETH, Herrn Jacob Apels / Bürgers und Buchhändlers in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen / Welche den 9. Aprilis anno 1617. in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 11. desselben Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden[.] Leipzig: 1617.*

preached as a “Sprüchlein von der betrübten Saatzeit und fröhlichen Erndte der Kinder Gottes”.¹⁹⁹

I have attempted to show in my discussion of Möstel’s *Symbolum* a number of points. The text which Schein set to music had a significance and integrity beyond the musical setting. It was a text chosen personally by Möstel years before his death due to its importance to him in his personal devotions. For this reason, he specified that it be preached upon at his funeral and performed as a musical composition which he instructed Schein to compose in anticipation of his death. As both the composition and the funeral sermon were printed individually, the connection between personal devotions, funeral sermons and Schein’s composition can in this instance be reconstructed. I have suggested that this is a model which may be relevant for many of the compositions published in *Israelsbrünnlein*. As none of these compositions are known to have been printed individually, this claim cannot be verified. As I have attempted to show, however, the musical similarities between the setting of Möstel’s *Symbolum* and many settings in *Israelsbrünnlein* are manifold. Both the nature of the texts set and the manner of their musical setting speak for a connection between Möstel’s *Symbolum* and *Israelsbrünnlein* and support my argument that the circumstances of composition and performance were in many cases similar. In the following chapter, I attempt to apply insights gained from my study of Schein’s setting of Möstel’s *Symbolum* to a number of the compositions published in *Israelsbrünnlein*.

¹⁹⁹ Polycarp Leiser, *Christliche Leichpredigt / Aus dem Spüchlein des 126. Psalmens: Die mit Thränen seen / ec. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Frawn ANNEN / Des Erbar und Wolgelahrten Johann Köllens / Bürgers und Notarij Publici in Leipzig seligen Haußfrawen. Welche den 26. Februarij Anno 1621. [...] entschlaffen / und den 1. Martij Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden.* Leipzig: 1621. Tanya Kevorkian notes the popularity of pastoral and agricultural allegories in funerals and their resonance with Leipzig’s citizens: “In an agrarian society, such allegories would have resonated with congregants. It was a rare Leipziger who had never travelled beyond the town walls, and vineyards as well as sheep were common sights in Saxony”. Tanya Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society and Music in Leipzig, 1650-1750*, Aldershot: 2007, p. 48.

2. FONTANA D'ISRAEL – ISRAELIS BRÜNNLEIN

In the previous chapter, I attempted to reconstruct for Schein's composition for Möstel's funeral the connection between the function of the set text as *Symbolum*, the theological interpretation of the text in the funeral sermon, and Schein's setting of the text to music. In this chapter, I attempt to apply these insights to a number of the compositions included in *Israelsbrünnlein*. At the heart of this chapter is the distinction between the Law and the Gospel, two concepts central to the theology of the Wittenberg Reformation. Stemming from my understanding of Schein's compositions as settings of "Krafftspüchlein", I attempt to thread together various strands – musical, theological and social – which emerge from a consideration of Schein's publication. Starting with the title page of *Israelsbrünnlein*, I argue that the contrast between the Law and the Gospel depicted there is central to an understanding of Schein's *Sprüche*. Reflecting the juxtaposition between Moses with the Arc of the Covenant and Christ Triumphant, I suggest that the title *Fontana d'Israel* was more than just a reference to Old Testament scripture: it was a reference to the coming Christ as the fulfilment of the Law in the Gospel. As Dresden *Oberhofprediger* Polycarp Leiser showed in his cycle of sermons on Psalm 90, Moses' Law was a means to redemption inasmuch as it could not be fulfilled; through the failure to fulfil the Law, the sinner becomes aware of his need for divine grace. Not until the sinner had reached this point of crisis did the Gospel have a chance. I will argue that this model of the Lutheran *Rechtfertigungslehre* informs the dynamic found in many of the *Sprüche* set by Schein. Furthermore, I suggest that it may have informed Schein's choice of mode, a decision taken at the commencement of the process of composition based on the content and affect of the text to be set.

I take in this chapter a deliberately interdisciplinary approach to a selection of Schein's compositions. Uniting the various aspects discussed in this chapter are Schein's two settings of *Sprüche* from Psalm 90 – 'Unser Leben' and 'Lehre uns bedenken'. I approach these settings from various perspectives. Leiser's cycle of funeral sermons held on this psalm offers a window into the way in which these verses were understood by Lutheran theologians in Schein's Saxony. Printed sermons held on these verses in Leipzig during Schein's tenure as *Thomaskantor* show that these verses were also preached upon at Leipzig funerals; the parallels with Möstel's funeral invite the speculation that similar Leipzig funerals might have been the occasions for which Schein set a number of the *Sprüche* included in *Israelsbrünnlein*. The funeral of Leipzig Bürgermeister Johan Peilicke is discussed as an example of the sort of occasion for which Schein might have set a text such as 'Unser Leben'. Having discussed the theological and social

context of these *Sprüche*, I ask if these insights could be seen to inform Schein's settings. One such insight, gained from a reading of Luther's commentaries to Psalm 90, proves especially telling. Luther divides this psalm into two halves, associating the first with the Law and the second with the Gospel. While 'Unser Leben' is, according to Luther's interpretation, associated with the Law, 'Lehre uns bedenken' is associated with the Gospel. Observing that Schein sets these two *Sprüche* in two different modes, I ask if a connection can be made between the choice of mode and the theological interpretation of the text. Arguing that this is, indeed, the case, I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the four compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* which Schein sets in the modes which Calvisius describes as the 'Modi laetiores'.

2.1 Fontana d'Israel – Israelis Brünnlein

In his dedication to the "Herren Bürgermeister und gantzem Rath der Stadt Leipzig", Schein refers to "mein erwehtes Wercklein / welches ich *Fontana d'Israel*, Israelis-Brünnlein / *inscribiret*".²⁰⁰ In modernised form, the phrase "ISRAELIS BRÜNNLEIN" has given its name to the collection. As Susan Lewis Hammond observes with regards to anthologies in early modern Germany, the "title of an anthology was a significant marketing tool; a catchy, prominently displayed title became the primary identification tag for the book. This was the name by which book agents referred to their wares, the name that appeared in publishers' catalogs, and what customers asked for when they came into the print shop".²⁰¹ On the title page of the 1623 print this phrase is depicted graphically, the Italian phrase "Fontana d'Israel" engraved around a central fountain. On a pillar to the right stands Moses, one hand grasping the arc of the covenant as a symbol of the Law, the other pointing across to the resurrected Christ with his triumphant banner, symbolising the Gospel:

²⁰⁰ *Israelsbrünnlein* (1623), Tenor partbook, dedication.

²⁰¹ Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, Aldershot: 2007, p. 24.



Moses, holding the Tablets of the Covenant in his left hand, points with his right to the *Fontana d'Israel*.

The eponymous expression “ISRAELIS BRÜNNLEIN” has been understood as a metaphor for the divine scriptures, the source of most of Schein’s *KrafftSprüchlein*.²⁰² Contemporary sources suggest that this interpretation is plausible. In one funeral sermon from 1623, the year of *Israelsbrünnlein*’s publication, the preacher equates the metaphorical “Israelis Brünlein” with the divine word; introducing the funeral text, he states that they are turning to “den heilsamen Trostbrünlein Israelis / dem werthen Wort Gottes”.²⁰³ Hardly a day had passed on which “sie [den seligen Verstorbenen] nicht persönlich besucht / und mit reichem Trost auß dem reinen Brünlein Israelis versehen haben”. The “reinen Brünlein Israelis” was an efficacious medicine. The sick man was, on occasion, “dadurch...dermassen gestercket worden / daß er aller seiner Schmerzen drüber vergessen / und eine rechte innige Seelen=Frewd an seinem lieben GOTT vermercken lassen”. The term “Brunnen Israelis” as a reference to scripture is found in the *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* of 1682, one of the most important and widely distributed hymnals of Lutheran orthodoxy.²⁰⁴ It is, according to the preface of “Bürger und Buchbinder” Christoph Klinger, “eine sonderbare Gnade unsers Gottes [...] Daß nebst der heiligen Schrifft nicht nur viel andächtige Gebeth= sondern auch Geistreiche Gesangbücher von Gottes=gelehrten Männern aus

²⁰² See, for example, Adam Adrio in the preface to his edition of *Israelsbrünnlein* in the NGA: “Der poetische Titel *Fontana d'Israel* entspricht der Hauptquelle Scheins, dessen ‘*außerlesene KrafftSprüchlin*’ in 23 Fällen dem Alten Testament entnommen sind, 11 davon sind Psalmtexte”.

²⁰³ Michael Ziegenspeck, *GOTTES Thewrer Sohn und Trawtes Kind [...] Bey dem Adelichen und Christlichen Begräbnis Weiland des [...] Herrn Hans Heinrichen von Brandenstein*, Jena: 1624, ‘Eingang zur LeichPredigt’.

²⁰⁴ More than fifty years after his death, Schein’s cantional lieder still make up the bulk of this comprehensive collection of hymns edited by Leipzig *Nikolaikantor* Gottfried Vopelius. See Jürgen Grimm, *Das Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch des Gottfried Vopelius (Leipzig 1682): Untersuchungen zur Klärung seiner geschichtlichen Stellung*, Berlin: 1969.

den Brunnen Israelis geschöpffet / zusammen getragen / und zu mercklicher Beförderung Göttlicher Ehre / und viel frommer Christen Kirchen=und Haus=Andacht in öffentlichen Schrifften herausgegeben".²⁰⁵ The term "Brunnen Israelis" stands for the scriptures, paraphrased here as hymns by "Gottes=gelehrten Männern".

Other sources refer to the "Brunnen Israelis" in the context of confessional differences. The *Leichentext* at the funeral of a member of the "Predigamt zu S. Thomas in Leipzig" – Psalm 84:7-8 – contains the phrase "Die durch das Jammerthal gehen / unnd machen daselbst Brunnen". The preacher equates the "Brunnen" with the "Lehre des Evangelii": "Und wird nun durch die Brunnen verstanden die Lehre des Evangelii / so von den heiligen Aposteln / so Christus in die gantze Welt ausgesandt / und andern Dienern Gottes wird fürgetragen. Wie denn das Wort Gottes / und die Lehre des Evangelii der Brunnen Israelis genannt wird..."²⁰⁶ The "Brunnen", the "Lehre des Evangelii", have been blocked by heretics and tyrants; the chief culprit was, of course, the papacy.²⁰⁷ But God sent Luther to unblock the plumbing by purging the teachings of the gospel from their corruption: "Gott hat den trewen Man[n] Lutherum geschickt / der mit seinen Beyständen sie wider auffgegraben / und das geschicht noch heutiges Tages / wan[n] die reine Lehre von allerley Verfälschung wird abgeseubert und geläutert / daß man das helle Wasser des Lebens aus den Evangelischen Predigten schöpfen kan / seine matte Seele und Gewissen damit zu laben und zu erquicken".²⁰⁸ This *Spruch*, often cited to illustrate the roles of preacher and teacher, was also preached upon by Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *Oberhofprediger* at the electoral court in Dresden, at the installation of Vincentius Schmuck as Leipzig Superintendent in 1617. Hoënegg equates the "Brunnen" with the "heiligen Evangelii": the "Brunnen" mentioned in the verse were not "leibliche Brunnen [...] darmit sie für sich Wasser haben / und ihr Vieh träncken kondten / Sondern es werden verstanden die **lieblichen Trostbrünlein des heiligen Evangelii** / welche die Lehrer in die Herten der Menschen leiten und flössen". Hoënegg states further that these "Trostbrünlein" were not limited to a select few but were freely available to the entire house of Israel: "Also sind auch die Evangelischen Trostbrunnen /

²⁰⁵ Gottfried Vopelius, 'Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch', Leipzig: 1682, 'Zuschrift'.

²⁰⁶ Christian Lang, *STATUA COLLEGARUM*, 'Die erste Predigt; Tractatio'.

²⁰⁷ "Im Papstthumb sind sie verstopfft gewesen durch den Papst und seine Knechte".

²⁰⁸ Christian Lang, *STATUA COLLEGARUM*, 'Die erste Predigt; Tractatio'.

freye offne Brunnen des gantzen Hauses Israel / ... da alle mögen Wasser holen / umbsonst / und ohne Geld”.²⁰⁹

Rather than referring specifically to the four gospels of the New Testament, the phrase “die Lehre des Evangelii” can be understood as a reference to the ‘Gospel’ – the ‘Evangelium’ – as opposed to the ‘Law’ – the ‘Gesetz’. At Luther’s death, Melanchthon acknowledged the distinction between the law and gospel to have been Luther’s most important.²¹⁰ The central role that this distinction played in his theology was made clear by Luther himself, when he wrote in 1521 that “almost all scripture and the understanding of all theology depends on the proper understanding of law and gospel”.²¹¹ These two concepts permeated the theology of the Wittenberg Reformation and, as in the case of Luther’s commentaries to the psalms, provided the hermeneutic framework for a reinterpretation of scripture.²¹² Citing a verse from the first chapter of John’s Gospel in a Leipzig sermon for Gertrud, wife of Leipzig Bürgermeister Caspar Gräfe – “Das Gesetz ist durch Moysen gegeben / die Gnade unnd Warheit ist durch Jesum christum worden [John 1:17]” – Andreas Schneider showed the opposition between these two central concepts of Lutheran theology:

In solcher Betrachtung ist nun hieraus klärlich zu ersehen / das zwischen diesen zweyen Worten / zwischen dem Wort des Gesetzes / und dem Wort des H. Evangelij ein grosser und mechtiger unterscheid sey / welcher denn auch wol muß in acht genom[m]en werden. Derselbe aber ereignet sich in dem: Erstlich / das Gesetz ist etlicher massen dem Menschen von Natur bekand [...] Das Evangelium aber ist [...] ein

²⁰⁹ Matthias Hoe von Hoeneegg, *Eine Christliche Predigt / Als Auff gnädigste anordnung / des Churfürsten zu Sachsen / und Burggrafen zu Magdeburg / ec. Herr VINCENTIUS Schmuck [...] zum SuperintendentenAmpt der gantzen Leipzigerischen Diæcess, solenniter, un[d] in grosser ansehlicher Volckreicher Versammlung / den 25. Augusti, Anno 1617. eingewiesen worden[...]*, Leipzig: 1617, §2. Rubrics in the print indicate that, before the service was concluded with the collect and blessing and while Schmuck was still at the altar, the ‘TE DEUM laudamus’ was sung, presumably under Schein’s direction.

²¹⁰ Robert Kolb, ‘Luther’s Hermeneutics of Distinctions: Law and Gospel, Two Kinds of Righteousness, Two Realms, Freedom and Bondage’, in Robert Kolb, Irene Dingel & L’Ubomír Batka (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther’s Theology*, Oxford: 2014, p. 170.

²¹¹ Kolb, ‘Luther’s Hermeneutics of Distinctions’, p. 171.

²¹² Compare the two representations of ‘The Law and the Gospel’ by Lucas Cranach (c. 1529), now in Gotha and Prague, both of which juxtapose Moses and the Tablets with the Crucified and Risen Christ. The Gotha painting depicts the Christian twice, in the context respectively of the Law and the Gospel. The depiction on the left half makes the human state associated with the Law clear. The man is in a state of agony, flailing his arms and running in circles to escape death’s spear. The right half shows the believer being pointed to Christ. He is now the passive recipient of grace, being lead and following obediently. The Prague image is similarly divided into two halves, but here the penitent is depicted only once, sitting on the threshold between them. His physical position indicates the tension between the two; while he sits facing the Law, his head is turned towards Christ and the Gospel, to which two figures are pointing. See, for example, Anne-Marie Bonnet & Daniel Görres, *Lucas Cranach d. Ä: Maler der deutschen Renaissance*, Schirmer Mosel: 2015, pp. 58-59.

Geheimnüß das von der Welt her verschwiegen gewesen [...]. Fürs andere / das Gesetz ist durch Moysen gegebene[n] / d[as] Evangelium aber ist vom Sohn Gottes / auß der Schoß seines Vaters herfürgebracht un[d] uns offenbaret[...]. Fürs dritte / das Gesetz muß den unbußfertigen / gottlosen / sichern / und heuchlern geprediget werden [...] Das Evangelium aber gehöret für betrübte / geengstete und zerschlagene Hertzen / die ihrer Sünden halben recht betrübet und beschweret sind [...]. Das Gesetz fürs vierde und letzte / gibt erkenntniß der Sünden / [...] richtet nur Zorn an / [...] macht die Sünde uberaus sündig / [...] und verflucht / verdammet und tödtet alle die nit halten / was im Gesetz geschrieben ist [...]. Das Evangelium aber prediget von der Gnade Gottes und sagt / daß dieselbige mechtiger sey / als aller Menschen sünde [...]. Verkündiget vergebung der Sünden in Christi Namen [...] und spricht zu das ewige Leben / und die ewige Seligkeit allen die an Jesum Christum gleuben / wie [...] in diesem die gantze heilige Schrifft altes und neuen Testaments einstimmig ist.²¹³

This contrast between the Law and the Gospel is depicted graphically on the title page of *Israelsbrünnlein*. Moses holds the Tablets of the Covenant, the symbol of the Law, in his left hand, but points towards Christ with his right. This depiction fits nicely with Polycarp Leiser the Elder's argument that Moses "sol *pædagogus* und zuchtmeister sein zu Christo. Der [Christus] sol uns darnach in seinem Evangelio diese Gnad Gottes erklären".²¹⁴ Moses was the "*pædagogus* und zuchtmeister" who pointed the way to Christ. He was the teacher who, through his law, reveals to us our innate human weakness and need for redemption through divine grace. The law was the means whereby we are led to Christ; not through the fulfilment of the law, but through our *failure* to fulfil it are we made aware of our need of divine grace. Moses' law culminated in Christ's Gospel. As Leiser summarises: "das Gesetz ist durch Mosen gegeben: die Gnad und warheit aber durch Christum Jesum worden. So ist es nun dem Mosi gnug / wann Er uns biß an das Paradiß hinan führet / oder biß zum Evangelio bringet... Auff solche weise verrichtet Moses sein Ampt: Denn des Gesetzes ende ist Christus".²¹⁵

Leiser also uses the metaphor of the "Heilbrunnen Israelis". Reflecting his claim that "des Gesetztes ende ist Christus", he uses it to refer to Christ himself. Leiser explains that King David's 'spiritual thirst' was "nach dem rechten Heilbrunnen Israelis / dem Messia der zu Bethlehem geboren werden / und der brun des lebendigen Wassers sein solte / der da quillet in das ewige

²¹³ Schneider, for Gertrud.

²¹⁴ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 310.

²¹⁵ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, pp. 310-311.

leben”.²¹⁶ For Leiser, the “Heilbrunnen Israelis” stands for Christ. On the title page of *Israelsbrünnlein*, the fountain engraved with the words “FONTANA D’ISRAEL” also stands for Christ. Although Moses points towards Christ, his finger is directed at the fountain elevated between them. Moses couldn’t, of course, have known Christ himself; rather than pointing directly to the person of Christ, he points to the fountain as a symbol of the coming Christ. Schein’s ‘Fontana d’Israel’ stands not for the Old Testament scriptures, but for Christ himself, to whom Moses and the law point the way. By pointing to the ‘Fontana d’Israel’, Moses is, to use Leiser’s words, showing the way “nach dem rechten Heilbrunnen Israelis / dem Messia der zu Bethlehem geboren werden”.

Moses might not show what God’s grace consisted in, leaving that for the coming Messiah and his Gospel, but he does hint at how the process of redemption will function. Discussing verses from Psalm 90, a psalm attributed to Moses, Leiser finds confirmation of the Lutheran understanding of the *Rechtfertigungslehre*. Grace cannot be acquired actively, but can only be granted by God: “Diß ist aber ein besonders allhier bey Mose / welches sehr wol in acht zu nehmen / das er diese **gnad Gottes** nicht zuschreibet unserm thun / wercken oder verdienst / sondern nur dürr heraus **Gottes werck** nennet / das Er uns **zeigen** müsse”.²¹⁷ With the typically polemical rhetoric of his time, Leiser interprets Moses’ words “Wider die verkehrte und schädliche art zu lehren der Papisten”; although, explains Leiser, the Catholics acknowledged the importance of the concept of Grace, “so verdrehen sie das wort in ein *infusam gratiam*, das ist / das es ein solche Gnad heissen sol / da Gott uns krafft verleihe / das wir mögen gutes wircken / und also durch die gute werck die vergebung der Sünden erwerben”.²¹⁸ For Leiser, however, Moses’ words confirmed the Lutheran understanding that the remission of sin occurs only through divine grace: “Nein / saget Moses / das wir der Sünden loß werden / das geschicht ohne einiges werck aller Menschen / es ist **Gottes werck** / das Er uns **zeigen** muß : darumb ist auch all ehr und ruhm / keines Menschen / auch keiner Creatur / sondern einig und allein unsers Gottes”.²¹⁹

This understanding of redemption, the idea that salvation is achieved solely through God’s grace with no active role played by man, inspired a number of characteristic musical figures in

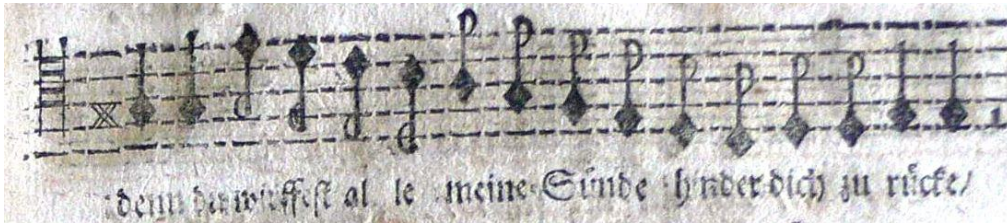
²¹⁶ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 262.

²¹⁷ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 312.

²¹⁸ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 312.

²¹⁹ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, pp. 312-313.

Israelsbrunnlein. In ‘Siehe, nach Trost’, Schein sets the line ‘Denn du wirfdest alle meine Sünde hinter dich zurücke’ to descending quavers with syllabic text declamation, followed by the isolation of ‘Denn Du’. The repetition of ‘Denn du’, with ‘Du’ set as the climax of an ascending leap of a fourth, asserts that it was through God alone “das wir der Sünden loß werden”.



‘Siehe, nach Trost war mir sehr bange’, Tenor (NGA bar 34)

A similar figure is found in ‘O Herr, ich bin dein Knecht’. The phrase ‘Du hast meine Bande zerrissen’ is likewise set syllabically with descending quavers. Again, the accented pronoun ‘Du’ confirms that God was the agent of redemption. The effect is just as sudden as that in ‘Siehe, nach Trost’: the rapid quaver declamation contrasts with the more solemn declamation on semibreves and minims and the spaced polyphonic entrances of the opening. Although the change to crotchet, homorhythmic text declamation at bar 17 anticipates the following increase in declamation rhythm, the higher ambitus of the two Cantus voices at their new entry in bar 19 ensures that the new phrase comes as a surprise. In both examples, the rapidly descending quavers can be seen to break with the expectations established in the compositions thus far. This could be read as a metaphor for redemption as brought about by God alone, through an act overwhelming man and his faculties of perception and understanding. When read in this manner, the text of ‘O Herr, ich bin dein Knecht’ continues exactly as Leiser understands Moses’ psalm, with the concluding line ‘Dir will ich Dank opfern und des Herren Namen predigen’ representing the idea that, following the liberation from sin through divine grace, “ist auch all ehr und ruhm / keines Menschen / auch keiner Creatur / sondern einig und allein unsers Gottes”.



‘O Herr, ich bin dein Knecht’, Cantus I (NGA bars 19-21)

Other *Kraftsprüchlein* in *Israelsbrünnlein* can likewise be characterized with this three-part model of human despair, redemption from sin through divine grace, and concluding praise. In ‘Wende dich, Herr’, Schein sets the first four syllables of the phrase ‘führe mich aus meinen Nöten’ to a descending quaver motif, reminiscent of the figure used at the equivalent points in ‘Siehe nach Trost’ and ‘O Herr, ich bin dein Knecht’:



‘Wende dich, Herr. und sei mir gnädig’, Cantus I (NGA bars 22-23)

Again, the start of the descent represents the highest point in the composition so far. This cry for divine grace is repeated multiple times, ascending from an initial statement in the lower voices (bar 20) to reach a high G in the Cantus I (bar 25). That this psalm was in essence a plea for salvation through divine grace was recognised by Thomas Weinrich in a funeral sermon held in Leipzig in 1622. As Weinrich writes, “das ist nun das aller vornembste *Beneficium*, darauff fast der gantze 25. Psalm gerichtet ist / Nemlich / daß David darinnen bittet / daß ihme doch Gott seinen schweren Sündenfall aus Gnaden verzeihen und vergeben wolle”.²²⁰ This is confirmed by Polycarp Leiser, who, preaching on the same psalm in 1620, asks: “woher haben wir errettung und erlösung zu gewarten / einig und alleine von Gott / den müssen wir bitten / daß er unser Elend ansehen / unsere Sünde aus Gnaden vergeben / und aus allen Nöthen führen wolle”.²²¹ Through his selection of verses 16-18 for this *Spruch*, Schein captures the essence of the psalm and is able to depict musically its central plea for salvation. A further example in *Israelsbrünnlein* of the association of the descending quaver figure with the plea for salvation is found in ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’, where the imploration ‘errette mich nach deinem Worte’ is set syllabically as a stepwise descent through an octave:

²²⁰ Thomas Weinrich, *Christliche LeichPredigt Aus den worten des 25. Psalms: Meine Augen sehen stets zu dem HErrn/ec. Bey dem ehrlichen Begräbnüß / des [...] Herrn Johann Weinmans / Bürgers und Handelsmannes in Leipzig[.] Leipzig: 1622[?]*.

²²¹ Polycarp Leiser, *Leichpredigt Aus den 25. Psalm des Königlichen Propheten Davids. Bey Christlicher Leichbegängniß des [...] Georg Olfelds / Handelsmanns in Leipzig / Welcher den 10. Martii Anno 1620. [...] entschlaffen / und den 13 Martii Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden[.] Leipzig: 1620.*



‘Herr, laß meine Klage’, Cantus I (NGA bars 29-30)

This *Spruch* also concludes with praise, the phrase ‘meine Lippen sollen loben’ repeated homorhythmically on various scale degrees before being combined with the concluding ‘wenn du mich deine Rechte lehrest’.

2.1.1 “de cruce & calamitate Ecclesiae” – Luther’s Theology of the Cross

Luther, in his ‘discovery’ of the righteousness of God, recalls his own struggles as a monk.²²² Although he did his utmost to fulfil his duties, he remained a sinner, unable to achieve through his own actions righteousness before God. Then it struck him. Righteousness could not be gained actively through his own actions, by fulfilling God’s law through his own initiative, but could be granted only by God alone, not as a reward for human merit, but as a free gift of grace. What, then, was the point of the Law? It was still there to lead the sinner to righteousness, but in a different way. The Law could not be fulfilled through human initiative. In attempting to fulfil the law, the sinner can only fail. This leads to a state of crisis, in which the despairing sinner gives up all hope of ever attaining righteousness. This is the turning point, at which the sinner, by abandoning his active attempts at fulfilling the Law, is able passively to receive divine grace. Following redemption comes praise; not out of a sense of obligation, but from a spirit of thanksgiving.

This threefold model of despair, redemption and praise is found in many of the *Kraftsprüchlein* set in *Israelsbrunnlein*. The text of ‘Wende dich, Herr’ is an example of a text weighted towards the first half of the model. The tormented sinner is ‘alone and miserable’ with the ‘Angst’ in his heart; in the second half of verse 17 and verse 18, he pleads for divine mercy:

Ps. 25:16-18

16: Wende dich, Herr, und sei mir gnädig; denn ich bin einsam und elend.

17: Die Angst meines Herzens ist groß; führe mich aus meinen Nöten

²²² For an account of Luther’s ‘discovery’ of divine righteousness see, for example, Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, Göttingen: 2012, pp. 27-28.

18: Siehe an meinen Jammer und Elend, und vergib mir alle meine Sünde

In contrast, the *Spruch* ‘Siehe, nach Trost’, consisting of verses from King Hezekiah’s song of thanksgiving, refers retrospectively to all three stages. The first stage is represented by the opening of verse 17: ‘nach Trost war mir sehr bange’. The remainder of verse 17 addresses the second stage of the process, the remission of sin through divine grace: ‘Denn du wirfest alle meine Sünde hinter dich zurückke’. The *Spruch* concludes with the reference to praise – the third stage of the model – in verse 19: ‘die da leben, loben dich, wie ich jetzt tu’:

Isa. 38:17-19a

17: Siehe, nach Trost war mir sehr bange. Du aber hast dich meiner Seelen herzlich angenommen, daß sie nicht verdürbe. Denn du wirfest alle meine Sünde hinter dich zurückke.

18: Denn die Hölle lobet dich nicht, so rühmet dich der Tod nicht, und die in die Gruben fahren, warten nicht auf deine Wahrheit.

19a: Sondern allein, die da leben, loben dich, wie ich jetzt tu.

According to Luther’s understanding, there was first of all the Law, the Creator’s expectation and demand of humanity.²²³ This codex of rules for the model life can, however, never be fulfilled. The attempt to live by the law leads either to idolatry – the belief that we can live a righteous life through our own efforts alone – or to abject failure to fulfil the Law’s requirements and thereby to condemnation. Nevertheless, the Law was a means to salvation: not insofar as one is saved through its fulfilment, but rather that the failure to fulfil the Law demonstrates to the sinner his inability to gain salvation through his own efforts. Luther expresses this dialectic of salvation when he writes, “I destroy the one I am to help. The one I want to quicken, save, enrich, and make pious, I mortify, reject, impoverish, and reduce to nothing”.²²⁴ The Law is God’s standard for humanity, which humanity through its own efforts can never fulfil. Through the Gospel, sinners are restored to God through Christ’s atonement, which can only follow when the sinner realises, through failure to keep the law, the futility of his own efforts. In this moment of existential crisis, the sinner becomes receptive to redemption through divine grace.

What does this moment of crisis look like, and what leads to it? The “existential nature of faith”, faith as the Lutheran believer experienced it, is intrinsically connected with the idea of

²²³ Karl Barth, in his famous essay ‘Evangelium und Gesetz’ (1935), inverted these two concepts, proposing that the Law followed from the Gospel as an act of divine love.

²²⁴ Kolb, ‘Luther’s Hermeneutics of Distinctions’, p. 171.

Anfechtung.²²⁵ *Anfechtung* is part of the process of redemption, part of the experience of the wrath of God that leads to the self-abasement and humiliation of the individual. “For Luther, death, the devil, the world and Hell combine in a terrifying assault upon man reducing him to a state of doubt and despair”.²²⁶ McGrath distinguishes two aspects of *Anfechtung*: the *objective*, the “assault of spiritual forces upon the believer”, and the *subjective*, the “anxiety and doubt which arise within him as a consequence of these assaults”.²²⁷ *Anfechtung* is an essential aspect of the Lutheran *experience* of faith. It wasn’t just part of the process of becoming a Christian, a process that led to redemption but stopped when this state had been reached, but was a recurrent and continuous experience of faith: “Anfechtung, it must be appreciated, is not some form of spiritual growing pains, which will disappear when a mystical puberty is attained, but a perennial and authentic feature of the Christian life”.²²⁸ *Anfechtung* was a central process in the divine dialectic of redemption. As McGrath writes, divine *Anfechtung* “is specifically linked with the dialectic between law and gospel, between the *opus proprium* and the *opus alienum*, between the *deus absconditus* and *deus revelatus*”.²²⁹ Righteousness *coram Deo* is obtained “through the total humiliation of the individual, following the example set him in Christ”.²³⁰ The complete humiliation, the destruction of the individual, is a necessary step on the path to redemption: “It is only by being forced into recognising one’s total unworthiness – even to the point of total contempt and hatred of oneself – that justification comes about”.²³¹ Righteousness is achieved not through meritorious works, but only through total self-abasement.

Vincentius Schmuck outlined this model of the Theology of the Cross in his discussion of Psalm 73:24 (the second of two consecutive verses which Schein set as ‘Dennoch bleibe ich’) at the Leipzig funeral of Anna Bapst, wife of Leipzig councillor Christian Bapst, in 1615.²³² Like

²²⁵ The term doesn’t have an exact English equivalent. McGrath suggests ‘assault’ as an enhancement of the more common ‘temptation’.

²²⁶ Alister E. McGrath, *Luther’s Theology of the Cross: Martin Luther’s Theological Breakthrough*, Oxford: 1985, pp. 169-70.

²²⁷ McGrath, *Luther’s Theology of the Cross*, p. 170.

²²⁸ McGrath, *Luther’s Theology of the Cross*, p. 171.

²²⁹ McGrath, *Luther’s Theology of the Cross*, p. 172.

²³⁰ McGrath, *Luther’s Theology of the Cross*, pp. 121-122.

²³¹ McGrath, *Luther’s Theology of the Cross*, p. 123.

²³² Vincentius Schmuck, LeichPredigt / Aus dem Spruch des 73. Psalms: Du leitest mich / ec. Beym Begräbniß der [...] Frawen ANNA, Des [...] Herrn CHRISTIANI Bapsts / Bürgers und des Raths zu Leipzig / ehelicher

Theodor Möstel, Anna had “diesen edlen Spruch erkoren / als ihr *Symbolum*, und bey irem Begräbniß zu handeln / für lengsten auffgezeichnet”. Schmuck, speaking of “der gemeinen Lehr vom Creutz”, asks “warumb fromme Christen offft damit beleget werden”. The experience of suffering, the appearance of being abandoned by God, was all part of the plan: “es geschieht nach Gottes weisen und wolmeinenden Rath”. This occurred “nicht zu ihrem verderb / sondern zu ihrem grossen Nutzen und Ehren”. Schmuck describes the purpose of their suffering as follows: “Das bedencken / das Gott hat / ist / daß sie unter dem Creutz Demut und Gehorsam lernen / und sich Gott recht und von Hertzen untergeben / fleissig beten / und ihr Fleisch zuemen lernen / und vielen Sünden gewehret / dagegen die Christliche Gedult in ihnen vermehret werde”. This is the turning point, the arrival at the moment of despair in which the Christian submits himself entirely to divine will: “sich Gott recht und von Hertzen untergeben”. Having reached this nadir, the passive receipt of divine grace had a chance: “Wenn das geschehen / und Gott sihet seine Zeit / so kömpt er gar bald / und kehret ihr Leiden behende in Frewd und Ehren”.

We thus have a model “de cruce & calmitate Ecclesiæ”, as Schmuck puts it, which is captured in many of Schein’s *Krafftspüchlein*, a model of despair in apparent abandonment leading to joy in redemption. “Ist die Summa darvon / Gott hat ursach / daß er die seinen so wunderlich führet / und unter dem Creutz helt / aber das Ende ist allemal gut und herrlich”. The opposite was the case with the godless, who appear to prosper in this world: “da hergegen die Gottlosen / wen[n] sie lang gepralet haben / und sind groß gewest in der Welt / endlich mit schanden fallen und herunter müssen / **sie gehen unter / und nemen ein ende mit schrecken**”. Schmuck asks why King David, to whom Psalm 73 was attributed, “will... lieber ungemach leiden / und es mit Gott halten / als der gottlosen Welt folgen / da es scheint / daß man des ungemachs weniger habe?” Schmuck answers the question for him as follows:

Darumb will ichs thun / denn du mein Gott / wenn ich dir folge / und mich dir ergebe / so **leitestu mich nach deinem Rath / und nimpst mich endlich mit Ehren an**. Das ist / wenn ich meinem Gott trawe / und lasse es den walten / so weis ich / daß er mich in seine Regierung nimpt / und lesst mir nichts widerfahren / als was er nach seinem guten Rath uber mich beschlossen hat / und erkennet / daß es mir sol heilsam und gut seyn. Endlich aber / nimpt er sich meiner also an / und schafft einen solchen Außgang / daß ich dessen Ehre habe / und jederman / auch meine Feinde / erkennen müssen / daß Gott auff meiner Seiten gewesen sey / und habe es herrlich hinaus geführet.

Haußfrauen. Welche den 23. *Octobris anno 1615*. [...] in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 26. Desselben Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1615[?].

Even in the depths of despair, David never strayed, but was led by God to victory. Schein's setting of Psalm 73:23-4 contains musical devices inspired by the images of 'mit Gott halten' and 'leitestu mich'. The words 'hältest mich bei' are set on a single chord (bars 14 & 16), the unchanging harmony corresponding to the image of 'halten'. This is more extreme at the repetition of the phrase (bars 20-24): here the words 'hältest mich bei meiner' are set over a pedal point in the lowest voice, the bass standing firm against the pendulum swings of the 6-4/5-3 chords created by the upper voices. Minim text declamation is again found in the Bassus at 'Du leitest mich nach deinem Rath' (from bar 26), the stepwise descent through an octave suggestive of 'leiten', with the Tenor following a crotchet later to create a chain of 7-6 suspensions. Noteworthy is Schein's isolation and repetition of 'Denn du' in all five voices (bars 18-19), and later in the Cantus I (bar 26); by isolating the subject, Schein emphasises that God alone was the author of righteousness, to whom the Christian must submit.²³³ David, when held "unter dem Creutz", was not tempted to join those who appeared to have it easy, prospering in this world, but remained steadfast and confident in God. In the end "kam das Königreich an David / und wurde ihm zu theil mit allen Ehren / worüber er bißher so lange hatte müssen leiden". So it is with the Christian; following the period of trial, "jederman / auch meine Feinde / erkennen müssen / daß Gott auff meiner Seiten gewesen sey". Schein depicts this joyous outcome by setting the phrase 'und nimmest mich endlich mit Ehren an' homorhythmically in triple time, the first three statements each ending with a chord on a different scale degree. The setting concludes with a return to the initial metre, the repetition of 'mit Ehren' (bars 49-50) reiterating the happy end. Such a use of triple time as the penultimate act in a setting is found repeatedly in *Israelsbrünnlein*, used to depict the act of praise or thanksgiving with follows redemption.

2.2 Leipzig Bürgermeister Johann Peilicke and Paul Calemborg

Theodor Möstel's funeral is indicative of the role of music, preaching and ceremony at the funeral of a Leipzig Bürgermeister. In 1618, two sitting mayors died in office. As Leipzig Superintendent Vincentius Schmuck recalls, "So haben wir hie dieses orts uns solches wol zu Gemüt zu ziehen / die wir innerhalb 8 Monat zweene Bürgermeister bey dem gemeinen Stad-Regiment / und zwar alle beyde wärender ihrer Regierung verloren / und an denselben feine

²³³ Cf. the similar isolation of 'denn Du' in *Siehe nach Trost* (Bar 35). Compare the ambiguity at the end of George Herbert's *The Pearl*, where the tension between the passive and active roles of the Christian remains unresolved ("But Thy silk-twist let down from heaven to me, / Did both conduct and teach me how by it / To climb to Thee.").

verstendige und wolverdiente Menner eingebüset haben / dere tödlicher Abgang billich hoch zu betrawren ist”.²³⁴ While Johann Peilicke had reached an advanced age, the death of his successor Paul Calemborg eight months later was unexpected; as Schmuck comments in his funeral sermon, Calemborg “alters halben noch eine gute zeit / gegen dem Alter des vorigen Herrn Bürgermeisters / herrn Johan Peiligs²³⁵ / zu rechnen / hette leben können”.²³⁶ Calemborg’s funeral text was – presumably due to the unexpected nature of his death – not of his own choosing, but was simply the gospel reading for the feast of the transfiguration, the day on which he died:

Und weil hiebey etwas auß GOTTes Wort zu handeln / so haben wir zu einem tröstlichen argument abgelesen / die schöne Historiam von der Verklärung Christi / auß dem 17 Capitel des Evangelii S. Matthæi. Und hat uns [h]ierzu Ursach gegeben der Tag des Abschiedes des seligen Herrn Bürgermeisters / der 6. Augusti / welcher in den Calendern das Fest der Verklerung Christi mit sich bringet / wie denn diese Geschicht der zeit nach / als man aus der Evangelischen Historia nachrichtung haben kan / im Monat Augusto sich begeben.

Unlike any of the texts set in *Israelsbrünnlein*, the “schöne Historiam von der Verklärung Christi” was taken from one of the gospels. Arguably more relevant though than the origin of the text was the nature of the text: it is a prose text, a narrative account of a biblical story. Schein preferred to set poetic texts, texts which, even if not from the Psalter itself, show evidence of the form of the *parallelismus membrorum*, allowing the division of a text into discrete, self-contained units to correspond with a section of the composition and to facilitate contrast between the units of the parallelisms.²³⁷ Matthew’s account of the transfiguration was, by these measures, an unsuitable text to be set as a five-part vocal composition. Perhaps Schein performed at Calemborg’s funeral a motet from the school’s repertoire such as a polyphonic setting of a text like ‘Si bona suscepimus’, one of the most commonly set texts for funerals. Perhaps, given the standing of the deceased, Schein *did* compose a motet, but to a more suitable text of

²³⁴ Vincentius Schmuck, Leichpredigt / Uber die Historiam der Verklerung CHristi / Matth. 17. Bey ansehlicher Leichbestattung des [...] Herrn / Paul Calemborgs / beyder Rechten *Doctorn*, des Churfürstlichen Sächsischen *Consistorij*, so wol desselbigen Schöppenstuels fürnemen *Assessorn*, und Bürgermeisters zu Leipzig / Welcher den 6. Augusti Anno 1618. in Christo sanfft und selig entschlaffen / und den 8. desselben Christlicher weise in die Erde geleget worden. Leipzig: 1618.

²³⁵ Variant spellings are found for Peilicke’s surname.

²³⁶ Schmuck, for Calemborg.

²³⁷ See my Chapter 3.

his own choosing. At any rate, as Calemborg hadn't specified the text for his funeral, a connection between the funeral text and the funeral composition as for Möstel was not possible.

Johann Peilicke, who died in office eight months before Calemborg, also had a text chosen for his funeral.²³⁸ Like Möstel, Peilicke had distinguished himself through service to both city and school. He was from a long family of mayors and academics; as a boy in Halle he once saw Luther himself, as he recounted at the recent 'JubelFest', the celebrations held in 1617 to commemorate the centenary of the Reformation.²³⁹ In addition to having been a six-time Leipzig Bürgermeister (following his initial election in 1602)²⁴⁰ and 'Kirchvater' at St. Niclas, where he was decisive in the procurement of a new organ,²⁴¹ Schmuck praises his charity towards the poor, including the boys of St. Thomas.²⁴² If, as the 1634 Schul-ordnung suggests, service to school and church were prerequisites for the performance of a polyphonic motet at the funeral, then Peilicke must have been worthy. As with Calemborg, a huge number of Epicedien – 36 leaves for Peilicke – are found in the printed sermon, a testament to his social standing as the "Eltesten und Obersten" member of the "Rathsstandt". As Schmuck states in his sermon, Leipzig had lost at the start of 1617 Georg Weinrich, the "Obersten und Eltesten im Predig=Ampt"

²³⁸ Vincentius Schmuck, *Christliche Leichpredigt / Bey ansehnlicher Bestattung des [...] Herrn Johan Peiligks / des Churfürst. Sächs. Schöpffenstuels zu Leipzig Assessorn, Kirchvaters zu S. Niclas / und BurgerMeisters daselbst / Welcher am 30. Novembris des 1617. Jahrs in GOtt selig entschlaffen / und den 4. Decembris Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden[.]* Leipzig: 1618.

²³⁹ "Mit solcher Gelegenheit hat er Anno 1546. Herrn D. Lutherum zu sehen kriegt / da derselbe durch Hall nach Eißleben (allda er auch zum selben mahl gestorben) gereiset / und zu Hall bey D. Justo Iona, Obersten Pfarerer daselbst / eingekehret / auch allda geprediget / wiewol unser Herr BürgerMeister / als damahls ein Knab / in die Predigt nicht ist gelassen worden / auß der Beysorge / er möchte erdrückt werden / wie Er solches newlich in seinem Lager *referirete*, als das Christliche Evangelische JubelFest angestellet ward". Schmuck, for Peilicke.

²⁴⁰ "Anno 1602. ist er endlich zum BürgerMeister erwehlet worden / welches Ampt er jetzo zum sechsten mal verwaltet / und darinnen von GOtt gnädiglich ist abgefodert worden". Schmuck, for Peilicke. See also Karin Kühling & Doris Mundus, *Leipzigs regierende Bürgermeister vom 13. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, Beucha: 2000, p. 27.

²⁴¹ "Eben in gedachtem Jahr ist ihm auch das KirchvaterAmpt zu S. Niclas auffgetragen worden / welches er ihm denn dermassen hat lassen angelegen seyn / das was zur Zierde und verbesserung der Kirchen in einem oder dem andern nothwendig und dienlich gewesen / er dasselbe in sonderliche fleissige Acht genommen / und ungespartes Fleisses hat anrichten lassen / inmassen der Ort der Bibliotheca, so wol die newe Orgel / Tauffstein und Altar / auch das erhöht Dach uberm Chor / und anders mehr im Augenschein beweisen". Peilicke, S. 13.

²⁴² "...wie er denn neben täglichem Allmosen auch 32. Knaben auff der Schuel zu S. Thomas auß seinem Hause Wöchentlich speisen lassen / und daß solches auch hinfürder zu ewigen Zeiten geschehe / Verordnung gemacht hat". Schmuck, for Peilicke.

and Schmuck's own predecessor as Superintendent;²⁴³ now, at the end of the year, Peilicke, head of the *Stadtregiment*, had been summoned to join him. As Schmuck writes concerning the selection of texts for their funerals:

Wir haben aber bey des Herrn *Superintendenten* seligen Begräbniß / von dem Tode *Aaronis*, als eines Hohenpriesters / auß dem 20. Capittel des vierdten Buchs Mose gehandelt / und möchten jetzo vielleicht nicht unfüßlich von Mosis Todt und Absterben / als eines Regenten / auß dem letzten Capittel des fünfften Buchs Mosi / zu handeln Ursach nehmen / bevorauß / weil *Aaron* und *Moses* auch in einem Jahr gestorben sind / nemlich *Aaron* im fünfften / und *Moses* im eilfften [sic] Monden: Allein nach [S.3v] dem der Freundschaft begehren gewesen ist / umb des hohen Alters willen des Herrn Bürgermeisters / seligen / die verlesene Psalmwort zum Leichen Text zu nehmen / so ist dasselbe mit willen geschehen / sonderlich weil der Psalm Mosis Psalm ist / und sind Mosis Wort / die wir vom Menschlichen Alter und Ziel Menschliches Lebens dißmal für uns haben.²⁴⁴

Schmuck had preached upon the death of Aaron at the funeral of his colleague Georg Weinrich.²⁴⁵ Just as Peilicke died within a year of Weinrich, so did Moses die in the same year as Aaron; seeing this parallel, Schmuck considered it appropriate to select a text by Moses for Peilicke's funeral. The verses chosen from Psalm 90 fitted perfectly; not only was this Psalm traditionally ascribed to Moses, permitting the parallel between Weinrich/Peilicke and Aaron/Moses, it was, with its reference to 'the years of our age', particularly relevant "umb des hohen Alters willen" for the death of the "Eltesten im Predig=Ampt".²⁴⁶ Furthermore, this verse was also "der Freundschaft begehren". No individually printed composition for Peilicke's funeral has survived. Nevertheless, a setting of the same text on which Peilicke's funeral sermon

²⁴³ Schmuck, for Peilicke.

²⁴⁴ Schmuck, for Peilicke.

²⁴⁵ Vincentius Schmuck, *Christliche Leichpredigt Über die Historian vom Tode Aaronis, Num. 20. Bey Volckreicher ansehnlicher Leichbestattung / des [...] Herrn / GEORGII Weinrichs / der H. Schrift Doctorn und Professorn, Pfarrern zu S. Thomas und Superintendenten in Leipzig [...] Welcher den 27. Januarii des 1617. Jars in Gott selig verschieden / unnd den 31. desselben Monats Christlicher weise in der Kirche zu S. Thomas daselbst zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1617.*

²⁴⁶ The exceptional length of Peilicke's 82-year life must be understood in light of the radically shorter life expectancy of early seventeenth-century Germany. As Leiser states in another sermon on this same verse, life in seventeenth-century Germany was perceived to be shorter than in biblical times: "Es redet aber Moses nicht von unsern / sondern seinen Zeiten / unnd wenn er heut zu Tage den Psalm machen sollte / würde er den termin kürzter setzen / vielleicht also: Unser Leben wäret viertzig Jahr / oder nur dreissig / wenn es hoch kömmet / sinds funffzig Jahr". Polycarp Leiser, *Leichpredigt Aus dem 90. Psalm: Unser Leben wäret siebentzig Jahr ec. Beym Begräbnis und Christlicher Bestattung / des [...] Georg Walters / Bürgers und Gastwirths in Leipzig. Welcher den 25. Januarii Anno 1619. [...] abgeschieden / und den 29. Jan. zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1619.*

was preached is found in Schein's 1623 collection. Could it be that Schein did, in fact, set Ps. 90:10 to music for Peilicke's funeral, a setting which has been preserved in *Israelsbrünnlein*?

2.3 *The Passing of Patriarchs: Two Krafftspüchlein from Genesis*

2.3.1 Genesis 49:33 & 50:1 – 'Da Jacob vollendet hatte'

Before we get to Schein's setting of Psalm 90:10, Schmuck's mention of Aaron and Moses invites comparison with a text in *Israelsbrünnlein* which likewise relates the death of an Old Testament figure. Texts recalling the death of Old Testament patriarchs were often chosen as funeral texts. For Weinrich, it was the death of Aaron; for Peilicke, a meditation on death attributed to Moses. One *Krafftspüchlein* set in *Israelsbrünnlein* clearly fits into this tradition: the account of Joseph mourning his father Jacob's death (Gen. 49-50). Luther cites biblical precedent to show that mourning, when kept within the bounds of moderation, was part of an appropriate response to death. Recognising that "Gott hat den Menschen nicht also geschaffen, das er ein stein odder holtz solt sein", he observes that "[n]on est prohibitum in scriptura dolore ac lugere liberos defunctos. Habemus enim multa exempla sanctorum patriarcharum ac regum, qui gravissime luxerunt mortem filiorum".²⁴⁷ Amongst these examples are found, as Peiter writes, "die Trauer Adams um Abel, Abrahams um Isaak, Jakobs um Joseph und an David, 'der zwey gantze jar heulete uber seinen erst gebornen son Ammon, den Absalom erstach'"'.²⁴⁸

Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, then Superintendent in Plauen,²⁴⁹ preached upon the account of Jacob's death (Gen 49:18.29 und seq.) in 1607 at the funeral of Plauen Bürgermeister Matthäus Möstel, "der auch gantzer 40. Jahr lang / eines erbarn Raths MittelPerson gewesen",²⁵⁰ and to

²⁴⁷ Cited by Peiter, *Der evangelische Friedhof*, p. 84.

²⁴⁸ Peiter, *Der evangelische Friedhof*, p. 84.

²⁴⁹ Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg was from 1613-1645 *Oberhofprediger* in Dresden. Polycarp Leiser the Elder invested him in 1604 as Superintendent in Plauen.

²⁵⁰ Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *Eine Christliche Leichpredigt / Bey dem Begrebnis / des [...] Herrn MATTHÆI Möstels / Bürgermeisters zu Plawen. Welcher den 28. Aprilis 1607. selig in Gott verschieden / und den 29. hernach Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1607[?]*.

whom the Leipzig branch of the Möstel family was related.²⁵¹ For Hoënegg, the “einige Hauptlehr” of this biblical story was “daß es dem Christenthumb nicht zu wider / die verstorbenen zu beweinen und zu beklagen”.²⁵² Nevertheless, such mourning should remain within the bounds of moderation, tempered by Christian hope: “Demnach so ist es unverbotten / uber unserer Eltern / Ehegatten / Seelsorger / und Obrigkeiten tödlichem Abgang zu weinen / jedoch mit massen / nicht wie die Heyden / die keine Hoffnung haben[...]. Denn wir sind gewiß [...] daß wir die unserigen nicht verlohren sondern nur voran geschicket haben / Wir wollen sie wider finden / nicht in einem bösen / sondern hochgewünschten / erfrewlichen / himmelischen Zustand / im ewigen Leben / voller Glori und Herrligkeit [...]”.²⁵³

Hoënegg states that this text was selected as the *Leichentext* for two reasons: “nicht allein weil unser verstorbener Herr Burgermeister seliger unzehlich offit in seiner Schwachheit den anfang dieses Texts gebraucht / und ohne auffhören / so wol im Hertzen als im Munde geführet / HErr ich warte auff dein Heil / Sondern auch weil er an sich selbs schön / lieblich / und zu diesem unserm itzo fürhabenden Leichshandel gantz füglich und bequem ist”.²⁵⁴ Hoënegg divides his sermon into two parts, reflecting these two themes. Firstly, he asks “warnach der alte Greiß Jacob in seinem hohen Alter sich am meisten gesehnet / was er beydes von Gott und von den Menschen begeret / Und wie er darauff seinen Abschied von dieser Welt genommen hab”. In the second half, he asks “wie sich Joseph auff den Tod seines Vaters Jacob verhalten”.²⁵⁵ Schein sets only two verses from this much longer biblical narrative. But these verses encapsulate the

²⁵¹ Matthäus Möstel was related to Theodor, Plauen being the original home of their family. He was himself a member of “dem alten fürnemen Geschlecht der Möstel...welches Geschlecht von vielen undencklichen Jahren hie in gutem *Flore*, Ruhm und Vorzug geschwebet / sich auch an andere fürnehme Ort des Churfürstenthumbs Sachsen außgebreitet / und feine Leut im geistlichen und weltlichen Stand gegeben hat”. Hoënegg, for Matthäus Möstel, p. 27.

²⁵² Hoënegg, for Matthäus Möstel, p. 26.

²⁵³ Hoënegg, for Matthäus Möstel, p. 26.

²⁵⁴ Hoënegg, for Matthäus Möstel, p. 4. In another sermon on the death of Jacob, published in Leipzig in 1622, the text was chosen due to the parallel between the deceased pastor and Jacob: “Wir legen jetzo seuberlich in sein Ruhebet / in die Erden / einen frommen ehrlichen Pfarrer / der eine geraume Zeit an diesem Ort / Christo und seiner Gemein trewlich gedienet hat. Darumb haben wir uns zum Leichentext / eine solche Historia erwuhlet / darinnen der heilige Geist uns durch Mosen berichtet / wie der heilige Ertzvater Jacob oder Israel / sanfft und selig gestorben sey / nach dem er alles bestellet / verordnet / und gesaget / was er seinen Kindern hat befehlen und sagen wollen”. Erhart Lauterbach, Christlicher Leichsermon: Bey ehrlicher bestattung / des [...] Herrn *Stephani* Jägers / in das acht und dreyssigste Jahr gewesenen trewen Pfarrers zu Salsitz / im Naumburgischen Stifft naher Zeitz[.] Leipzig: 1622.

²⁵⁵ Hoënegg, for Matthäus Möstel, p. 4.

essence of the narrative, representing the change from Hoënegg's first to his second point, the change from Jacob's desire for a blessed departure to Joseph's mourning of his father.

In the opening of the *Leichentext*, the passage which Hoënegg claimed was frequently recalled by Möstel in his weakness, Jacob states that he was awaiting God's salvation, interpreted as the coming of the Messiah. At the conclusion of the first half of the sermon, Hoënegg makes clear that Jacob did in fact glimpse this salvation, enabling his peaceful passing. This is the point made in connection with the first of the two verses which Schein set: "Das Heil / darauff er gewartet / erschien ihm / und half ihm dieses Leben selig beschliessen / und zu seinem Volck in die ewige himmlische Hütten zu kommen". The second half of the sermon addresses Jacob's mourning. The first reason for Jacob's sadness was his "Betrachtung des Ursprungs des Todes / der Sünde / durch welche der Tod zu uns Menschen allen gebracht worden"; the second was his recollection of "der sonderbaren grossen hertzlichen Liebe seines Vaters / die er gegen im iederzeit gehabt und getragen", to which he responds by demonstrating his "Gegenlieb...mit seinen heissen Threnen und letzten Kuß".²⁵⁶

The two verses set by Schein are fundamentally different from many of the verses set in *Israelsbrünnlein*. As a narrative text, the integrity of the text extends beyond the individual verses and repetition within the verses; whereas in the psalm verses each verse half was related to its corresponding half according to the principle of the *parallelismus membrorum*, the verses of a narrative text are progressive, each leading to the next. The text tells a story, rather than consisting of discrete units of which the second functions as a meditation on the first. This is obvious at first glance at the text. Not only does the biblical narrative extend beyond the division of verses, it also extends beyond the imposed limits of the chapters. The verses are not self-contained thoughts as in the psalms, but arbitrary markings delineating the progress of the text. How is this seen in the text, and what effect does this have on its setting?

(Gen. 49:33) Da Jakob vollendet hatte die Gebot an seine Kinder, tät er seine Füße zusammen aufs Bette und verschied und ward versammlet zu seinem Volk.

(Gen. 50:1) Da fiel Joseph auf seines Vaters Angesicht und weinet über ihn und küsset ihn.

²⁵⁶ Hoënegg, for Matthäus Möstel, p. 25.

The text itself is no longer than the typical *Psalmsspruch*; two verses are selected from the much longer biblical passage which embody the essence of the biblical story. Although the biblical account is radically condensed, its core is present. Schein launches right into the action, leaving the listener to fill in the gaps. That the story was well known is taken for granted by Hoënegg; as he writes at the start of his sermon, “VOn der Person des Heiligen Jacobs / ihr Geliebte im HErrn / die gantze Histori jetzo weitleufftig zu widerholen / achte ich für unnötig”.²⁵⁷ Secondly, it is a text of action: there are multiple verbs, some of which clearly invite a musical depiction and have musical precedents (*verscheiden*, *weinen*).

Immediately striking in Schein’s setting is the sense of calm with which it begins. The semi-breve functions here as the unit of text declamation. A sense of inevitable, calm movement is created through the melismatic expansion of the second syllable of ‘vollendet’. Such melismatic expansion is rare in *Israelsbrünnlein*, Schein generally preferring to expand a passage through the repetition of a rapid, syllabically declaimed unit of text.²⁵⁸ The combination of the flowing melisma with the semibreves of the ‘Da Jacob’ figure creates a sense of spaciousness, reinforced by the slow harmonic rhythm and the moderate rate of text declamation. The serenity of the opening is surely Schein’s musical depiction of the peaceful departure of Jacob, secure in the knowledge of redemption through the coming Messiah. This is only broken at the entrance of the ‘die Gebot’, which emerges organically from the first cadence in the setting (bar 10); the figure on ‘die Gebot’ is the first instance in this setting of syllabic quaver declamation on an upbeat.

The fragmentation of the text into short motives, characteristic of many of Schein’s settings, is conspicuously absent here. Rather than fitting the text to a small motif of rapid quaver declamation, Schein takes a longer division of text, concentrating on its declamation in accord with the accents of the spoken language. This is seen at the phrase, ‘tät er seine Füße zusammen aufs Bette’, itself a continuation of the opening sentence. The declamation is, with the exception of a melismatic embellishment of the final word, syllabic. The syllables that would be naturally stressed in the spoken language – *Fü-ße*; *zu-sam-men*; *Bet-te* – are set to longer notes; in the case of the last two of these words, this elongation is combined with a melodic ascent. This is

²⁵⁷ Hoënegg, for Matthäus Möstel, p. 5.

²⁵⁸ The melismatic expansion of ‘vollendet’ can be seen to correspond to the melismas on words used to depict the span of a human life, such as ‘lebelang’ or ‘siebnzig/achtzig’.

further found at the three-part syllabic declamation of ‘und ward versammelt’. In another setting, Schein could have chosen to set the first three syllables as three quavers leading to the stressed syllable, the first syllable of ‘versammelt’, a short figure which could then be tossed back and forth between the voices. Here, however, Schein lengthens the quavers of the upbeat figure to crotchets and leads directly (without repetition of the text or dividing rests) to the following ‘zu seinem Volk’. Only after the initial presentation of this phrase in its entirety is it divided, the first three words sung antiphonally, still with the crotchet as the unit of declamation. The careful presentation of the text takes priority over melodic elaboration.

A number of characteristic musical devices correspond to specific images in the text. One example is the syllabic setting of ‘und verschied’, the first two syllables of which fall on offbeats punctuated by crotchet rests. The change in perspective from Jacob’s death to Joseph’s mourning occurs at ‘Da fiel Joseph’. The descending fourth at the start of the new motif (‘da fiel’), introduced contrapuntally from bar 31, depicts Joseph’s falling over his father Jacob. This new section contrasts sharply with the setting of ‘und ward versammelt’ at the end of the previous section. While a sense of stasis was created there through the syllabic recitation of the text on unchanging chords, the falling crotchets and contrapuntal entrances now create a sense of movement, contrasting the serenity of Jacob’s death with the outbreak of Joseph’s mourning. That such a polyphonic section is found in the middle of a setting is unusual in the context of *Israelsbrünnlein*. It was surely a deliberate ploy in recognition of the change in perspective in the text.

Schein achieves in this setting a balance between the need to present a narrative text in a manner which preserves the integrity and unity of the biblical narrative, and the wish to depict individual images contained in the text. The particular challenge of composing an expressive setting of a narrative, as opposed to a ‘meditational’, text consists in the need to present the constituent parts of the text without their becoming isolated from the context. Schein’s genius is revealed in the fact that the listener is entirely unaware of the existence of this tension, a tension that would easily reveal itself in a less accomplished setting. The setting of the final verse is an excellent example of this. Although the opening phrase – ‘Da fiel Joseph auf seines Vaters Angesicht’ – is set syllabically, it is set without further fragmentation and, due to the relatively long note values used, spans three bars. Schein thus attains a balance between syllabic text declamation and the sweeping melodic lines that would often be generated through melismas. The descending fourth with which the phrase opens suggests the image of Joseph falling; the musical fall is further enhanced through the entrance of the same motive in the Altus a minim

after the Cantus I. While this figure subtly hints at the image in the text, the following first-inversion chords at ‘und weinet’, sliding up and down a semitone, create one of the most vivid musical images in the collection.

2.3.2 Gen. 32:27b & Ps. 4:9b – ‘Ich lasse dich nicht’

In addition to ‘Da Jacob’, only one of Schein’s *Kraftsprüchlein* had origins in the book of Genesis. Unlike other texts in *Israelsbrünnlein*, however, ‘Ich lasse dich nicht’ consists of verses from two different biblical books.²⁵⁹ Two half verses are combined to create the *Spruch* as Schein set it:

(Gen. 32:27b) Ich lasse dich nicht, du segnest mich denn.

(Ps. 4:9b) Denn du allein, Herr, hilfest mir, daß ich sicher wohne.

The first of these two half verses is taken from the account of Jacob’s all-night wrestling bout with the angel, described in the book of Genesis. The second part is the second half of the final verse of Psalm 4. The ‘denn’ with which it begins immediately creates a semantic connection between these two verses taken from very different biblical contexts: while in its original context (Ps. 4:9) – ‘Ich liege und schlafe ganz mit Frieden’ – the second half verse gives the justification for a peaceful, restful night, in the context of Schein’s composite text it follows a night of relentless struggle and physical exertion. The combination of these two half verses creates a new ‘synthetic’ parallelism; synthetic in the sense of containing a second half which expands the thought of the first half, and ‘synthetic’ in the sense of combined or fused together. Furthermore, it changes the identity of the ‘dich’ in the first half of the text. In its biblical context this pronoun refers to the angel with whom Jacob is wrestling; in the following verse in Schein’s *Spruch*, however, the identity of the second person pronoun is revealed as ‘Herr’: ‘Denn du allein, Herr...’.

Irmgard Hueck considered ‘Ich lasse dich nicht’ to be the earliest composition published in *Israelsbrünnlein*, claiming it to have “das alterstümlichste Aussehen”. She suggests that Schein’s setting of this *Spruch* originated as a funeral motet, possibly paired with the following ‘Dennoch bleibe ich’.²⁶⁰ Preaching at the funeral of Wittenberg professor Friederich Taubmann

²⁵⁹ The other composite texts in *Israelsbrünnlein* consist of non-consecutive verses from the same chapter (Ps. 38 for ‘Ich bin jung gewesen’; Rev. 22 for ‘Ich bin die Wurzel’).

²⁶⁰ Irmgard Hueck, *Die künstlerische Entwicklung Johann Hermann Scheins, dargestellt an seinen geistlichen Werken*, Dissertation, Freiburg: 1943, pp. 73-4.

in 1613, Wittenberg Superintendent Friederich Balduin explains that he chose the story of Jacob and the angel for the funeral text,

[...] weil unser seeliger Herr *Taubmannus* den Abend vor seinem Ende / als ich ihn besuchte / und auß Gotteswort zusprache / sich dieser Historien selber erinnerte / und sagte : Er lege da auff seinem Bette / und ringe mit seinem lieben HErrn Christo / wie Jacob / Christus Jesus wolle im die Krafft verleihen / das er siege / unnd den Segen darvon bringe. Darauß den[n] seine Christliche gedanken und andacht wol abzunehmen waren / und ist kein zweiffel / das er wol damals schon des Todes schmerzen gefühlet / un[d] mit demselben ritterlich gestritten habe die Nacht hindurch / biß das ihm GOTT ehegestern / da fast die Morgenröthe anbrach / mit dem lieben Jacob den Sieg gegeben / durch einen seeligen Todt / da er den verheissenen Segen der Seelen nach nunmehr albereit geneust im ewigen Leben / wie er gewünschet hat...²⁶¹

The parallel is made between Jacob's wrestling with the angel, and with Taubmann's death. Taubmann, in the night of his death, understood himself to be 'wrestling with Christ' ("ringe mit seinem lieben HErrn Christo") to gain his departure from this world to the next. Following a night of struggle, he gained at the break of dawn victory "durch einen seeligen Todt". Discussing the funeral text, Balduin asserts that the man with whom Jacob wrestled was not, as the text suggests, an angel, but rather Christ himself.²⁶² Rejecting the idea that Jacob could have desired the blessing of a good or an evil angel, Balduin concludes that "Es ist aber aus dem Text klar / das dieser Mann niemandt anders ist / als Gottes Sohn / der in Mannsgestalt dem H. Jacob erschienen ist".

Two ideas emerge from Balduin's sermon. Firstly, as shown, this text was understood by Taubmann in metaphorical terms, reflecting the night-long struggle of his suffering, before the granting of Christ's blessing permitted his release through death. A second point is the process of *Anfechtung*, resulting from the experience of having been forsaken by God in suffering. As Balduin explains, Jacob was confident in the blessing he had received from his father Isaac, which had been confirmed by God on the ladder (Gen. 28). "Darauff verließ sich Jacob / und

²⁶¹ Friederich Balduin, *Christliche Leichpredigt / Von des H. Patriarchen Jacobs Kampf / auß dem Ersten Buch Mosis Cap. 32. Bey Volckreicher Leichbegengnus des [...] Herrn FRIEDERICI TAUBMANNI, Vornehmen Poëtae und Professoris bey der löblichen Universitet Wittenberg[.] Wittenberg: 1613.*

²⁶² As the summary in the margin states, "Der Man mit dem Jacob ringet ist kein Engel...Sondern Gottes Sohn". The title of another sermon on this story from 1644 – "Kurtze Erklärung der Historien / wie Jacob mit dem Sohn Gottes gerungen und überwunden" – confirms the identity of the angel with Christ (Jacob Weller, *Christen schwerster Kampf=Schweiß / Das ist: Kurtze Erklärung der Historien / wie Jacob mit dem Sohn Gottes gerungen und überwunden [...] Bey Volckreicher und Ansehnlicher Leichbegängnis [...] Der Ehrenveste [...] Herr Curdt von Dam / Vornehmer Geschlechter und Rathsherr in Braunschweig. Braunschweig: 1644).*

war in seinem Herten gewiss / das Gott solche seine Verheissung halte[n] wurde. Der Sohn Gottes aber stellet sich / als wollte er ihm solchen Segen nemmen". But Jacob wasn't prepared to relinquish his blessing so easily. "Darüber entstunde dieser Kampff / ob Jacob den empfangenen Segen behalten oder einem andern lassen solte / unnd wehret die gantze Nacht hindurch". Jacob thought for a moment that he had been abandoned by God, and struggled all night long as a result. This was, for Balduin, a model relevant for the experience of a Christian. Just as God promised his blessing to Jacob, so does he promise "Göttlichen Segen / Gnad / Heil und ewige Seeligkeit" to all those "die in [ihn] fürchten / an ihn glauben / ihme vertrawenn / fleissig beten / sein wort hören und bewahren / ec.". Nevertheless, many such people "gerathen darüber in ein gros Creutz / in eine harte Kranckheit / oder wol gar in Todes gefahr". In such moments, it can seem even to the most pious believer that God is absent: "Da findet sich wenig Segen / auch wenig Hoffnung der Seeligkeit [...] Da dencket dann manches betrübtes Hertz / es sey von Gottes Augen verstossen / der Herr wise umb ihn nicht / er begehre sein nicht". But, just as a mother plays with her child, "nicht das Kind zu verderben / sondern nur seine liebe dadurch zu prüfen", so does God toy with his children: "Also sind schwere Anfechtungen Gottes spiel un[d] kurtzweil / die er mit seinen Heiligen treibet / er stösset sie bald zur Hellen / bald zeucht sie wider heraus [...] Ja wenn er sein Kind am härtesten truckt / so hat ers am allerliebsten". Jacob's victory shows that the Christian will, however, emerge triumphant in such struggles: "Ja wenn Er uns mit einer Handt zu boden werffen wil / so breitet er die ander unter und hilfft wider auff / daß wir nicht gar fallen...Unnd wenn der gerechte gleich fällt / so wird er doch nicht weg geworffen / denn der Herr erhelt in bey der Hand".

The identification of the angel with Christ solves the problem of the identity of 'Du' and 'Herr' in the second half of Schein's *Spruch*. Luther writes that Ps. 4:9 also referred to Christ.²⁶³ Why were these two half verses from different books of the Bible combined? Ps. 4:9 was also understood to relate to death and burial, fitting the idea that Jacob's struggle with the angel symbolised dying and death. This interpretation is supported by Luther's discussion of Ps. 4:9. The verse in its entirety reads: "Ich liege und schlafe ganz mit Frieden, denn allein du, Herr, hilfst mir, daß ich sicher wohne". As Luther explains, "Die beiden Worte 'ruhen' und 'schlafen' sind schon im verangehenden Psalm reichlich behandelt: sie bedeuten den natürlichen Tod und das

²⁶³ "Ich liege und schlafe ganz mit Frieden. D. h. in geistlichem Frieden, den die Gottlosen nicht haben. 'Ganz' d. h. zusammen mit den andern Heiligen ... Daß er im Frieden mit den andern Heiligen schlafen werde, war ja völlig gewiß. Warum sollte er solches allein sich zuschreiben, als ob nicht auch andre Leute so schlafen würden? Also spricht er von Christus...". Erwin Mülhaupt (ed.), *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, Göttingen: 1959, vol. 1, pp. 68-9.

Begräbnis”.²⁶⁴ The association of ‘ruhen’ and ‘schlafen’ with ‘den natürlichen Tod’ and ‘das Begräbnis’ made this verse a fitting complement to the verse from Genesis, understood in terms of wrestling with death. The phrase ‘Denn du allein, Herr, hilfest mir’ is an allusion to the blessing desired from Christ in angelic guise, a blessing which, at least for Taubmann, manifested itself in the final release from his suffering. The concluding ‘daß ich sicher wohne’ is, as ‘ruhen’ and ‘schlafen’ in the same verse, a reference to his victory in death.

Schein’s musical education was firmly rooted in the tradition of classical vocal polyphony. Nowhere is this more evident than in the polyphonic openings of three compositions in the Dorian mode which begin in a remarkably similar manner. ‘Ich lasse dich nicht’, ‘Der Herr denket an uns’ and ‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’ all begin polyphonically with a theme based on the notes D, A and C, a common motivic figure in the Dorian authentic mode²⁶⁵:



‘Ich lasse dich nicht’ - Opening Cantus I



‘Der Herr denket an uns’ - Opening Tenor



‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’ - Opening Cantus I

²⁶⁴ Mülhaupt (ed.), *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, Göttingen: 1959, vol. 1, p. 68-9.

²⁶⁵ cf. Bernhard Meier, *Alte Tonarten: dargestellt an der Instrumentalmusik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Kassel: 1992, pp. 38ff. The similarity can also be observed between this opening and the Gregorian first-mode chorale melodies in the German/‘East-Franconian’ tradition which begin with a leap of a fifth followed by a minor third (eg. Gaudeamus omnes in domino; Rorate coeli de super...).

That Schein was fluent in the expectations of classical vocal polyphony can be seen at the opening of 'Ich lasse dich nicht'. The opening motif enters successively in each voice, with a new voice entering at each of the first five bars. The *soggetto* begins alternately on the final of the mode and the fifth. In the Cantus I and Tenor, the *soggetto* begins on the final of the mode, the opening interval of a fifth followed by a further ascent. As both the fifth- and the fourth-species are above the final, both these voices use the authentic ambitus of the Dorian mode; the importance of the Tenor's ambitus for determining the mode in polyphonic music is here preserved. In the Altus and Bassus, the opening leap in the *soggetto* outlines not the fifth-species above the final, but the fourth-species below the final: these two voices therefore build a pair with the plagal ambitus.

Although Schein uses this standard Dorian opening figure in 'Ich lasse dich nicht', he adapts it carefully to his text. Two words are emphasised: the word 'lasse' follows the characteristic leap of a fifth from the opening word 'Ich', and the word 'nicht', on C, represents the highest point of the Dorian opening and is the destination of the opening ascending figure. Schein's interpretation of the text is clear: 'nicht lassen' is, for him, the central statement which is to shape his setting. This was by no means inevitable: another composer could easily have chosen to instead accentuate the 'dich', the object of the text. The following 'du segnest mich denn' is, by comparison, somewhat static, more an elaboration of the 'A' to which the Dorian figure resolves rather than an attempt at further rhetorical accentuation. When the text is seen in the context of its biblical origin, the incessant, unrelenting polyphonic momentum of Schein's setting makes sense: it is less a symptom of compositional immaturity than a creative response to the text, a depiction in music of 'nicht lassen', the central message established by Schein at the outset of the composition.

The phrase 'Denn du allein, Herr, hilfest mir' is broken up into two smaller units divided by the comma before 'Herr'. The first unit is associated with an ascending, the second with a descending motif.²⁶⁶ While the second motif often follows the first (as in Cantus I at the opening of this section), generating what initially appears to be a contrapuntal theme spanning two bars, these

²⁶⁶ Such a division of a single line into two motives was, for Irmgard Hammerstein, a feature of Schein's madrigalian text-setting. She finds, from bar 26, "die typisch madrigalische Textvertonung, nämlich Zerlegung der Zeile in zwei charakteristische Motive sowie den für das klassische italienische Madrigal so typischen Simultankontrast der nun gegeneinandergeführten gegensätzlichen Themen: Ligaturenketten in langen Werten absteigend ('daß ich sicher wohne') gegen aufsteigend in Vierteln deklamierende Gegenstimmen ('denn du allein, Herr...')". Hammerstein, 'Zur Monteverdi-Rezeption in Deutschland', p. 184.

motivic units also enter and are repeated individually. The text declamation is syllabic throughout. A cadence in bar 26 on A, the fifth degree in the Dorian mode, heralds what could be seen as a third section in the composition. Against the continued syllabic declamation in crotchets of the phrase ‘Denn du allein, Herr, hilfest mir’ is now juxtaposed the concluding ‘daß ich sicher wohne’, set in minims, descending stepwise through the interval of a sixth. An offset second voice follows the first in a chain of suspensions. Did Schein intend the stability of the unchanging minims and the inevitable resolution of the suspensions – the introduction of an element of stability into a setting otherwise characterised by relentless momentum – to reflect the idea of security, divine comfort, ‘sicher wohnen’ in the text? Given Balduin’s interpretation of Jacob’s wrestling with the angel and Luther’s association of sleep with death, this image of ‘sicher wohnen’ can be understood as representing the final release from suffering through death and the peace and tranquillity of life beyond.

2.4 Psalm 90:10 – ‘Unser Leben währet siebentzig Jahr’

As we have seen, Psalm 90:10 was preached upon at Peilicke’s funeral “umb des hohen Alters willen des Herrn Bürgermeisters”. Furthermore, the parallel was made between this text as a Psalm of Moses, and the account of the death of Aaron preached upon at the sermon of Georg Weinrich, Pelicke’s counterpart in seniority in the *Kirchenregiment*.²⁶⁷ Fitting the choice of text, Peilicke’s death is simply attributed to his advanced age.²⁶⁸ This psalm verse was a favourite for funeral sermons, having been preached upon at numerous funerals between Schein’s arrival in Leipzig and the publication of *Israelsbrünnelein*. For Polycarp Leiser, in his sermon for Georg Walter, “Bürger und Gastwirth in Leipzig”, held in 1619, the fact that the deceased had reached the 70-year deadline described by Moses, along with the verse’s reminder of human mortality, were the reasons for its selection: “Zu dem Ende ich auch gegenwertigen Text für mich genom[m]en / nicht allein dieweil wir einen alten frommen ehrlichen Mann begraben / der den *terminum* von Mose gesetzt / erreicht / und uber siebentzig Jahr hienan gelebet ... sondern auch daß wir das Elend des Menschlichen / auch siebentzigjährigen Leben ist / welches in unsern Augen ein langes Leben ist / beschawen / und die gantze Zeit unsers Lebens / es sey kurtz

²⁶⁷ Schmuck, for Peilicke.

²⁶⁸ “Sein Ende letztlich betreffende / so hat er sich einlegen müssen bald nach dem Michaelis Marckt / und ist seine Kranckheit nichts anders gewesen als ein *Marasmus senilis*, ein Natürliches abnehmen der Kräfte in dem hohen Alter”. Schmuck, for Peilicke.

oder lang / nach dem himlischen zu sehnen bewogen werden”.²⁶⁹ Andres Tielman, “Bürger und Handelßman in Leipzig” who died in 1617, specified on account of his advanced age a selection of verses from Psalm 90, beginning with verse 10, for his funeral. As Schmuck explains, “weil er seine Lebenszeit uber das siebentzigste und bey nahe auff das achtzigste Jahr seines Alters gebracht hat / als hat er sich des abgelesenen Textes aus dem 90. Psalm oft erinnert / auch begehret und verordnet / daß derselbe bey seinem Begrebnis zum Text der Leichpredigt möchte abgehandelt werden / welches die Ursach ist / daß wir denselben dißmal haben für uns genommen”.²⁷⁰ The advanced age of the deceased was likewise the reason for the selection of this verse as the *Leichenargument* for two women who died shortly after *Israelsbrünnlein’s* publication. For Barbara, wife of a Leipzig book merchant, for whose funeral in 1624 Schmuck preached on Psalm 90:10, Schmuck explains that, “weil sie ein hohes Alter erreicht / und weiter kommen / als Moses in unserm Text den *Termin* setzt / als ist solcher Text / bey ihrem Leichbegängniß zur Predigt abzuhandeln begeret worden”.²⁷¹ Leiser likewise begins his sermon in 1627 at the funeral of Magdalena, wife of the Leipzig merchant Valentin Boner, with reference to the age of the deceased: “wir haben jtzo zur Erden bestattet eine Weibes Persohn / welche ihr Leben hoch / unnd bis ins 83. Jahr gebracht hat / dergleichen wenig gefunden werden / und unter tausenden kaum einem wiederfehret / Darumb ich dieses Sprüchlein verlesen habe”.²⁷²

In addition to suggesting the function that *Sprüche* might have had at funerals and the reasons for their selection, funeral sermons show how the text itself was understood and interpreted by contemporary theologians. Schmuck finds three ideas in Psalm 90:10 upon which he elaborates in his sermon for Peilicke: “Erstlich / von der Lenge des Menschlichen Lebens / und dessen ördentlichem Termin. Zum andern / von des Lebens Köstlichkeit / worinne sie bestehe. Und zum

²⁶⁹ Leiser, for Georg Walter.

²⁷⁰ Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt / Aus dem 90. Psalm / Beym Begrebnis des [...] Herrn Andres Tielmans / Bürgers und Handelßmans in Leipzig / Welcher den 16. Maij Anno 1617. im HErrn selig entschlaffen / und den 19. desselben Christlicher wise zur Erden bestattet worden.* Leipzig: 1617[?].

²⁷¹ Vincentius Schmuck, *Christliche Leichpredigt / Vom Alter / Aus dem Spruch des 90. Psalms / Unser Leben wehret / ec. Beym Begräbniß der [...] Frawen BARBARA, Herrn Abraham Lamberg / Bürgers und Buchhändlers in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen. Welche den 15. Januarij des 1624. Jahrs / in Gott seliglich entschlaffen / und den 19. desselben / zur Erden Christlicher wise bestattet worden.* Leipzig: 1624.

²⁷² Polycarp Leiser, *Leichpredigt / XVI. Aus den Worten des 90. Psalms: Unser Leben weret siebenzig Jahr / und wenn es hoch kömpt / so sind achtzig Jahr / ec. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Frawen MAGDALENEN, Des [...] Herrn Valentin Boners des Eltern Bürgers und Handelsmans in Leipzig seligen hinterlassenen Wittben. Welche den 21. Januarij Anno 1627. [...] verschieden und den 24. Januarij Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden.* Leipzig: 1627.

Dritten / von des Lebens Ende / daß es letztlich gewinnet”.²⁷³ Schmuck considers 70 to be, compared with the standards of his day, an advanced age which very few actually reach: “suche zusammen die siebentzigjährige Männer in einer ziemlich Volckreichen Stadt / du wirst sie gar leichtlich uber eine Taffel setzen können / und darff dieselbe wol nicht gar groß seyn”. As such, states Schmuck, upon seeing a man who has reached this age, it can be justifiably said that “Der hat seine Zeit gelebet / er mag zu Bette gehen / wenn er wil / er hat sich nichts zu beschweren”. The moral of this observation was that we should remain conscious of our own mortality: “Wozu sol solches dienen? Dazu / daß ihm keiner hie eine Ewigkeit des Lebens einbilde / oder Gedancken mache / er werde nicht dürffen sterben / wie etwan mancher mit süßen Gedancken sich selbst bekriegen möchte / sondern wer da lebet auff Erden / der lebet in der Zeit”. Those who had reached the “natürliche *Termin*” of 70 years in this mortal life were advised to prepare themselves for death: “solche Leute sollen nichts anders thun / und ihnen mehr angelegen seyn lassen / als daß sie sich bedächtiglich auffs Ende schicken / und alles drauff zurüsten”.

In the second point, ‘Mühe und Arbeit’ are actually praised by Schmuck. Rather than being negative, signs of a tiresome and exhausted condition which terminates with death, he reads Moses’ words in a positive sense, suggesting that ‘Mühe und Arbeit’ are, in fact, the highest ideals in life to which a person can strive. As Schmuck writes of Moses’ words, “Es ist nicht schmähhlich geredt”, rather, it is “dem Menschen eine Ehre / Mühe und Arbeit nicht zu fliehen / sondern auff sich nehmen...dessen hat sich ein Mensch hernach zu rühmen am meisten / wenn er sich wol und redlich hat brauchen lassen und viel außgestanden”.²⁷⁴ Schmuck draws three conclusions from this. “Lernet hiebey...daß ein Mensch gern arbeiten sol / und faule und müsige Tage nicht suchen noch begehren / denn es ist nichts köstliches dran”. Secondly, one should not be surprised when, despite one’s industriousness, one has to suffer misfortune along the way, “denn es ist auch ein stück der Köstligkeit dieses Lebens”. Finally, one should not be afraid of death, as there will be found their reward, their “Ergetzung ... für ihre allhie gehabte Mühe und Arbeit”. Schein sets this second phrase of the *Spruch* through chains of descending suspensions, a musical representation of ‘Mühe und Arbeit’, suggesting that it was the struggle of daily life rather than a sublime, deep joy in labour which resonated here with him.

²⁷³ Schmuck, for Peilicke.

²⁷⁴ Schmuck, for Peilicke.

The third point which Schmuck addresses in his sermon for Peilicke is the question “Was nimpts Letzlich für ein Ende mit diesem müheseligen Leben / wenn es auffs höchste kommen ist?”²⁷⁵ This final phrase in the *Spruch* is, as Schmuck puts it, “eine Beschreibung unsers Sterbens / welche sihet auff die zwey ding / die eim Sterbenden begegnen”. The first of these “zwey ding” is expressed in the poetic imagery of an earlier verse in Psalm 90: “Eins / daß sein Leben sich endet / und wird ihm ab=gehawen / wie ein Graß mit der Sichel oder Sensen”. The second point, significant for Schein’s musical depiction of the *Spruch*, emphasises the instantaneity with which the passage from life to death occurs: “das Andere / daß die Seele darvon wandert und hinweg fleugt in eim Augenblick / daß man sie nicht mehr spüret oder mercket... darnach ists geschehen in eim Augenblick / so ist der Mensch hin / und kömpt nicht wider / so lang der Himmel bleibet”. Although the text for the sermon of Magdalena in 1627 was likewise Ps. 90:10, Leiser concentrated in his sermon on the phrase ‘Es fehret schnell dahin’. Appealing to the authority of Luther, he explains the concept of time, as depicted in the final phrase of the verse, with the images of a flowing stream and a flying bird:

Es wird uns aber in diesen Worten [Ihr Leben fehret schnell dahin / als flögen sie darvon] die Flüchtigkeit und geschwinder Außgang des menschlichen Lebens abgemalet / in zweyen Gleichnissen : Denn mit den ersten Worten sihet Herr Lutherus in seiner Verdolmetschung auff das vorige Gleichniß vom Strom genommen / der fehret schnell dahin / unnd lesset sich nicht auffhalten : In den andern Worten stelt uns Moses für ein Vögelein / daß sich ein wenig niedersetzet / bald in einem Augenblick fleugt es davon / und ist nicht mehr vorhanden.²⁷⁶

Polycarp Leiser Snr., court preacher in Dresden from 1594 until his death in 1610²⁷⁷ and father of Schein’s Leipzig colleague Polycarp Leiser, held a cycle of seven sermons on Psalm 90 over the course of two months at the funeral ceremonies which followed the death of the Saxon Princess Sybille Elisabeth in childbirth in December 1605.²⁷⁸ Numerous similarities are found between his discussions of the psalm verses and his son’s sermons on the same verses two decades later, suggesting that this cycle of sermons, printed in 1606, had a place on the Leipzig bookshelf. Leiser states at the start of the seventh and last sermon of the cycle, held “Zu Dreßden in der Schloßkirchen”, that, although it wasn’t his intention to preach seven sermons on the

²⁷⁵ Schmuck, for Peilicke.

²⁷⁶ Leiser, for Magdalena.

²⁷⁷ Moore, *Patterned Lives*, p. 236 ff.

²⁷⁸ For discussion of funerals sermons of the Saxon electress, see Moore, *Patterned Lives*, p. 262 ff.

same psalm, “weil ich befunden / das die Lehren dieses Psalmen sehr reich weren / solche sich auch nicht [ubel?] zu den fürstehenden Leichpredigten schicken würden / habe ich gleich im namen Gottes bey diesem Psalmen bleiben / und ihn etwas weitleufftiger außführen wöllen”.²⁷⁹ An essential point which emerges from Leiser’s discussion of Psalm 90:10 is the difference between the human and the divine perception of time. This idea is worth discussing, as it illuminates Schein’s setting of this verse. In the fourth sermon from his cycle of Psalm 90, Leiser addresses the “*Antithesin, unnd Gegensatz*” presented by Moses: “Er helt gegen einander / Erstlich / dieses zeitliche Leben / in welchem wir in dieser Welt sind / unnd weiset / was das für ein kurtz elend Leben sey: Darnach das ewigwehrende selige leben / darinnen GOtt wohnt / in welches die seliglich abgestorbene treten”.²⁸⁰ Leiser confirms that 70 years was an unusually long life-span for seventeenth-century standards: “Wenn der Mensch Sechzig oder Siebenzig Jahr alt wird / so ist es ein hohes Alter. Tausent und aber Tausent sterben dahin / die nicht das Funffzigste Jahr erreichen”.²⁸¹ Leiser shows, however, that the perception of a seventy-year life is different depending on whether it is seen from the human or the divine perspective. While a seventy-year life was, for Moses, undoubtedly a good innings, for contemporary Lutherans it was an exceptionally long life attained by very few.²⁸² But this was only so when considered from the flawed human perspective; only on account of its flawed nature can we perceive 70 years to be a long life. Leiser makes this clear when he begins the following passage with an exclamation of the opposite: “Aber / Ach du lieber GOtt / wie ist dieses so eine kurtze zeit!”.²⁸³

The nature of time and its passing permeates Leiser’s discussion of this verse. Referring to a rhetorical turn in a previous verse in this Psalm, he describes divine perception of time as “ein Nun das da **für und für** bleibt”.²⁸⁴ Contrasting human time with God’s time, Leiser writes, “so hat Gottes leben auch diese eigenschafft / das desselben Jahr nicht flüssig und flüchtig sein /

²⁷⁹ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 306.

²⁸⁰ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 134.

²⁸¹ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 137.

²⁸² Theresa Schmotz suggests that “Die übliche Lebenserwartung lag bei 40 Jahren; das ‘Greisenalter’ begann mit etwa 50 Jahren”; she cites, however, a further source which suggests that these figures were misleading; once adulthood had been reached, the chances were good that one would live to 60 and beyond. Theresa Schmotz, *Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert: eine Studie über Herkunft, Vernetzung und Alltagsleben*, Leipzig: 2012, p. 143.

²⁸³ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 137.

²⁸⁴ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 166.

sondern immer stillstehen **für und für**. Die Zeit unsers lebens / die verfleust wie das Wasser im Strom”.²⁸⁵ While humans experience a time divided into past, present and future, God perceives time as a “*Nunc constans* ein immerwerend Nun...Dann bey Gott ist nichts daforne / nichts dahinden / nichts vergangens / nichts zukünfftiges / sondern alles gegenwertig und für augen”.²⁸⁶ The image of flowing water, understood to be depicted in the phrase ‘denn es fehret schnell dahin’, is compared with the river Elbe in its course through Saxony to the North Sea: “Das wasser das in der Elb heut bey Dreßden fürüber fleust / das ist uber ein stund nicht ehr hier / sondern morgen etwa zu Torgaw / uber morgen zu Wittenberg / bald zu Magdeburg / und also fortan / biß es sich in die offenbare See verleurt / und haben wir allhier von der langen / grossen / breiten und weiten Elb mehr nicht / denn das wenig Wasser das wir etwan ein halb viertel stund ansehen können / das uberig ist entweder bereit verflossen / oder doch noch nicht anhero kommen”.²⁸⁷

Leiser discusses three concrete images which Moses presents in Psalm 90 to illustrate the transience of human life, in contrast to the solidity and length of the 70 years from a human perspective. As Leiser writes, Moses doesn’t present ‘unser leben’ to us “in gleichnis eines Steins und Felsens / oder in gleichnis Stahl unnd Eysens / welches nothfeste ding sind”, but rather “in gleichnis eines flüssigen wassers / eines trägen schlaffs / und eines verwelckenden grasses”; this was to show “das es ein nüchtiges und flüchtiges / ein flüssiges und unbleiblichs ding umb der Menschen leben sey / darbey durchaus nichts bestendiges zugewarten”.²⁸⁸ While the images of sleep and wilting grass are found in earlier verses in Psalm 90, that of the flowing river was found in verse 10, the first of the selection of verses from this psalm which Schein set. “Saget Er [Moses]: Du lessest sie dahin fahren wie einen Strom. Er vergleicht unser Leben einem Wasser auß dem Strom”.²⁸⁹ Leiser shows how the phrase ‘Denn es fehret schnell dahin’ was understood in pictorial terms through the concrete image of a flowing river as representative of passing time. With this in mind, can we find evidence that Schein, in his setting of Psalm 90:10, attempted to depict this same image through musical means?

²⁸⁵ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, pp. 164-5.

²⁸⁶ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, pp. 166-7.

²⁸⁷ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 164.

²⁸⁸ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, pp. 150-151.

²⁸⁹ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 140.

2.4.1 Calvisius: Unser Leben

Before we get to Schein's setting, however, it is worth looking at Calvisius' setting of the same text. When discussing stylistic influences on Schein, musicologists have often cited Italian models. A comparison of Calvisius' setting of 'Unser Leben' with Schein's setting of the same text reveals, however, the influence of the former composer on the latter. Schein's predecessor as *Thomaskantor*, Seth Calvisius had a towering reputation as an 'Universalgelehrter': a mathematician, astronomer and – keeping with the ideal of the Quadrivium – scholar of *Musica*.²⁹⁰ In addition to works of music theory and pedagogical compositions, ten motets have been preserved.²⁹¹ That these were never published as a single volume may have contributed to their neglect; one wonders how many of the compositions in *Israelsbrunnlein* would be known and performed today if they had remained occasional works, distributed only in the original pamphlets or in hand-written copies.²⁹² Nine of Calvisius' ten surviving motets were included in the collections compiled by Erhard Bodenschatz for Schulpforta.²⁹³ The remaining motet – 'Unser Leben' – survives as a printed pamphlet from Calvisius' own funeral (printed separately from Schmuck's *Leichenpredigt 'von der Musica'*). This motet, originally composed for the mayor of Weissenfels Paul Horn²⁹⁴, was first performed before the sermon at Calvisius' own funeral.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁰ For an overview of Calvisius' life and his role as Thomaskantor see Stefan Altner, 'Sethus Calvisius, das Thomaskantorat und die Thomasschule um 1600. Zum 450. Geburtstag von Sethus Calvisius "Astronomus, Chronicus, Musicus, Poeta"', in Gesine Schröder [ed.], *TEMPUS MUSICÆ – TEMPUS MUNDI: Untersuchungen zu Seth Calvisius*, Hildesheim: 2008, pp. 1-18.

²⁹¹ According to Vincentius Schmuck in his funeral sermon for Calvisius, Calvisius "war seiner Kunst mechtig / der sich auff gute Muteten und das *decorum* im singen verstunde / derwegen auch die besten Stücke und Muteten zu singen beflissen war / und selbst auch einen guten und statlichen Componisten gegeben hat".

²⁹² Cf. Preface to Albrecht Tunger (ed.), Sethus Calvisius, *Geistliche Chormusik* (Stuttgart-Hohenheim: 1965).

²⁹³ *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum* (Leipzig: 1603); *Florilegium Portense* (Leipzig: 1618); *Florilegii musici Portensis ... pars altera* (Leipzig: 1621).

²⁹⁴ Rose suggests that the "rich eight-part texture" of Calvisius' setting of 'Unser Leben' was intended as a fitting musical correspondence to the social standing of its original dedicatee, Weissenfels Bürgermeister Paul Horn. Rose, 'Schein's Occasional Music', p. 268.

²⁹⁵ As the title page of the printed pamphlet states, the setting was "kurz hernach dem *Authori* selbstem am 27. Nov. dieses 1615. Jahres / bei seinem Begräbnis in Leipzig / zum ersten mal gesungen" (Title page printed in Calvisius, *Geistliche Chormusik*). Vincentius Schmuck states in his funeral sermon that the motet was performed directly before the sermon: "Sein letzte Arbeit in *Musica* ist gewesen / daß er newlicher zeit einem ehrlichen Mann / ausser Leipzig / und der noch am Leben / auff sein begehren zu eim Begräbnüß Lied die Wort des 90. Psalms / **Unser Leben wehret siebenzig Jahr** / etc. *componiret* hat / und dieselbe *composition* ist ihm selbst zum Erstenmal jetzo vor der Predigt / wie E. L. gehöret / zum Begräbnüß abgesungen worden".

Amongst Calvisius' ten motets are settings of two texts which Schein set in *Israelsbrünnlein*; 'Zion spricht: Der Herr hat mich verlassen' (Is. 49:14-15) and 'Unser Leben währet siebzig Jahr' (Ps. 90:10). The printed pamphlet of the second of these shows that 'Unser Leben' was conceived of, performed and published as a funeral composition; it is plausible that 'Zion spricht' originated in similar circumstances. If 'Unser Leben' was composed around 1615, it precedes *Israelsbrünnlein* by only a few years. Given the institutional (Thomaskirche and, as their inclusion in Bodenschatz's collections suggests, Schulpforta), geographic (Leipzig, Weißenfels) and temporal proximity, it is probable that Schein knew these works. As I will show through a comparison of Calvisius' setting of 'Unser Leben' with Schein's setting of the same text, similarities abound between the two works, suggesting that Schein may have modelled his setting on Calvisius' example.

The perception of time, a central theme in the sermons on this verse, informs Calvisius' setting of 'Unser Leben'. The first syllable of two words in the first phrase – 'Lé-ben' and 'Síebzig' – is set melismatically, contrasting with the syllabic declamation of the remaining syllables. The expansion of these two words in Calvisius' setting – the melismatic elongation of 'Leben' to cover a bar, and 'siebzig' expanded to three bars – can be seen to reflect the exorbitant length that 70 years represented for a human life in early modern Germany. By setting these words to such melismas, Calvisius confirms that 70 years was, from the perspective of his time and society, an enormous span. He thus sets up the contrast with the following 'Denn es fährt schnell dahin'; although a human life can last 70, even 80 years, this passes in the twinkling of an eye and 'fähret schnell dahin'. Two musical aspects of Calvisius' setting contribute to this impression. Firstly, the melismas depict Leiser's claim that, "Wenn der Mensch Sechzig oder Siebenzig Jahr alt wird / so ist es ein hohes Alter. Tausent und aber Tausent sterben dahin / die nicht das Funffzigste Jahr erreichen".²⁹⁶ A further musical aspect which supports this interpretation is the use of long note values for the remaining words. Although the other words in the phrase are set syllabically, they are set with semibreves or minims (as in the opening bar at 'unser' or in bar 3 at 'währet'). The long note values combined with the homorhythmic text setting result in a slow rate of text declamation and harmonic movement, contributing to a sense of stasis and space. This effect is confirmed retrospectively at the setting of the following phrase, 'und wenn es hoch kommt'. Upbeat entries with crotchets and quavers, staggered between all four voices in the upper choir, immediately increase the rate of declamation and rhythmic activity, creating

²⁹⁶ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 137.

a marked contrast with the static opening. The ascending quavers on ‘hoch’ demonstrate Calvisius’ attention to the text and his concern with its depiction. The following melismatic setting of ‘achtzig’ (from bar 23) complements the setting of ‘siebzig’, the melisma in the highest voice spanning four bars, even longer than that at ‘siebzig’.

A further feature of Calvisius’ setting which invites comparison with Schein’s five-part settings is his use of double-choir writing. Unlike the corresponding settings in *Israelsbrunnlein*, Calvisius’ settings of ‘Unser Leben’ and ‘Zion spricht’ are set for two four-part choirs. Although Schein’s settings in *Israelsbrunnlein* are written for only five voices, Schein frequently creates an ‘artificial’ antiphony through the contrast between the three upper voices with the three lower voices. The Altus joins in with both choirs; awkward leaps of over an octave at the moment of change between the two ensembles suggest that Schein conceived such passages antiphonally, with the linear integrity of the Altus sacrificed in the process:



Leap of an octave and a fifth as the Altus switches between the ‘upper’ and the ‘lower’ ensemble. ‘Wem ein tugendsam Weib bescheret ist’ (NGA Bar 22).

Calvisius’ settings of ‘Zion spricht’ and ‘Unser Leben’ are both written for eight parts, grouped into two choirs of four voices; the clefs show that these were respectively a higher – with two of the four voices written in the treble clef, the lowest voice notated with a C3 clef – and lower – the highest voice notated with a C2 clef, the lowest with an F3 clef – ensemble.²⁹⁷ Calvisius’ settings thus offer an example of the ‘real’ double-choir antiphony on which the ‘artificial’ antiphony in many of Schein’s five-part settings might have been modelled. Calvisius’ setting of ‘Unser Leben’ begins with a complete statement of the opening phrase ‘Unser Leben währet siebzig Jahr’ in the upper four-part choir, followed by a repetition in the lower choir. Both statements, when transcribed, encompass around six bars. A further repetition of the phrase, condensed into two-and-a-half bars, follows in the upper choir. The lower choir answers with an affirmation of ‘währet siebzig Jahr’ before a *tutti* statement of the same text concludes the open-

²⁹⁷ Calvisius’ original is transposed down a minor third in the 1965 edition.

ing of the motet. Although Schein is restricted to five voices in *Israelsbrünnlein*, a similar approach to antiphony informs many of his settings there. Two manners of antiphony can be identified. The pattern of an initial statement of a phrase in the ‘upper’ ensemble (consisting of Cantus I, Cantus II, and Altus) followed by its repetition in the ‘lower’ ensemble (Altus, Tenor, and Bassus) and a concluding *tutti* is found repeatedly in *Israelsbrünnlein*. Examples of a different manner of antiphony – rapid back-and-forth exchanges between the two ensembles as opposed to the antiphonal presentation of an entire verse or phrase – are also found in Calvisius’ setting; in bar 84, the phrase ‘als flögen’, set syllabically to crotchets, is thrown back and forth between the two ensembles.

Calvisius sets the phrase ‘und wenn es köstlich gewesen ist’ syllabically in triple metre. Antiphonal exchanges between the upper and lower choirs are followed by a concluding *tutti*. The time signature changes back at ‘so ist es Müh und Arbeit’; longer note values (dotted semibreves and minims), the stepwise descent in all voices, and the suspensions created between the descending *fauxbourdon* chords in the upper three voices and the lowest voice contribute to Calvisius’ depiction of the struggles of human existence. Again, the phrase is presented initially by each ensemble separately, before it is sung *tutti*. Calvisius thus contrasts the supposed ‘Köstlichkeit’ of the earthly sojourn, depicted in a dancing triple metre, with the burdens of care and travail; rather than, with Schmuck, finding virtue in work and struggle, he agrees here with Leiser, depicting the ‘Müh und Arbeit’ of human life as “ein kurtz elend Leben”. Calvisius uses triple time as a targeted means of expressing the joyful affect in a specific phrase of the text, here life’s ‘Köstlichkeit’. As Calvisius does here, Schein often combines triple time with syllabic, homorhythmic text setting and, often, antiphonal exchanges between the two ensembles.²⁹⁸ In *Israelsbrünnlein*, a change to triple time is often the penultimate musical act in a setting, followed by a return to the initial time signature for the final bars or phrase. In some cases, such as at ‘und nimmest mich endlich mit Ehren an’ in ‘Dennoch bleibe ich’, this is achieved through the repetition of the final phrase of the text, set initially in triple metre, in the opening time signature to conclude the setting. In other settings, such as ‘Die mit Tränen säen’, a phrase (here ‘und kommen mit Freuden’) is set in triple time as the penultimate act, before a

²⁹⁸ Examples in *Israelsbrünnlein* include: ‘Freue dich des Weibes’ (‘und ergötze dich allewege’); ‘Die mit Tränen säen’ (‘und kommen mit Freuden’); ‘Dennoch bleibe ich’ (‘und nimmest mich endlich mit Ehren an’); ‘Der Herr denket an uns’ (‘Ihr seid die Gesegneten des Herrn’); ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’ (‘Spricht der Herr’); ‘Ich freue mich im Herrn’ (‘und wie eine Braut’); ‘Siehe, nach Trost war mir sehr bange’ (‘sondern allein, die da leben’); ‘Nun danket alle Gott’ (‘Er gebe uns ein fröhliches Herz’). Similar instances of homophonic writing without a change to triple metre are found in: ‘Lehre uns bedenken’ (‘so wollen wir rühmen und fröhlich sein’); ‘Ich bin die Wurzel’ (‘Die Gnade unsers Herrn...’); ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’ (‘meine Lippen sollen loben’).

return for the final phrase of text ('und bringen ihre Garben') concludes the setting. As in Calvisius' composition, the homorhythmic declamation necessitates the repetition of the text. In many cases, Schein's repetitions each end on a different scale degree, creating harmonic variation to contrast with the repetition of the text and declamation pattern.

The rate of text declamation picks up again at 'Denn es fährt schnell dahin'. Isolated quaver melismas enhance the rhythmic activity created by the syllabic crotchet declamation. Interesting is the implied metre of the text. Luther's translation of this phrase contains a regular pattern of accentuation:

Dénn es fä-hret schnéll da-hín
als Flö-gen wír da-vón

Calvisius recognizes this feature, combining the syllabic crotchet declamation of 'denn es fährt schnell dahin' with a harmonic rhythm in minims. The resulting harmonic change at each of the accented syllables thus corresponds with the implied metre in the verse. The most extreme melisma in the setting is found at the first statements of 'als flögen wir davon'. The outer voices of the upper choir sing in parallel tenths an ascending quaver melisma with a turn figure, ascending through an octave. The combination of this stepwise ascent with the wave-like meanderings imposed by the turn figure invites the comparison with the image of the flowing stream which both Leisers and Schmuck mention in their sermons. Calvisius depicts musically the "gleichnis eines flüssigen wassers", showing "das es ein nüchtiges und flüchtiges / ein flüssiges und unbleiblichs ding umb der Menschen leben".²⁹⁹

2.4.2 Schein: Unser Leben

The contrast between the human and the divine perceptions of time is likewise at the heart of Schein's setting. Like Calvisius, Schein sets the opening phrase with relatively long note values. In the Cantus I voice, both settings begin with a dotted semibreve and minim at 'Unser', and both set 'währet' to a semibreve and minim before a melismatic setting of 'siebzig':

²⁹⁹ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, pp. 150-151.



Calvisius: 'Unser Leben', Opening Sopran I



Schein: 'Unser Leben', Opening Cantus I

Unlike Calvisius' setting, Schein's setting begins with staggered polyphonic entries in all five voices, each beginning on 'E' and ascending or descending from this note of departure.³⁰⁰ Schein depicts the vastness of a human lifespan when considered from a human perspective through the stepwise expansion of a single note. We find here an organic development, an expansion from a single note (E) which functions as an axis of symmetry for the tetrachord which emerges from it stepwise in both ascending and descending form. Schein creates a sense of both stasis and expansion in his setting of this opening phrase. Stasis is created through the reaffirmation of the central tone 'E' with each successive vocal entry, a reassertion of the point of departure, the central mirror-axis of the scene. The sense of expansion is created through the regular stepwise melodic movement away from this central tone, the ascent in one voice immediately mirrored by a descent in another. The result is the creation of a musical space, the expansion of a single omnipresent tone as a musical depiction of the vastness of time when seen from a human perspective. It is a depiction of temporal space built up to be shattered in an instant by the "Nun das da **für und für** bleibt", the divine 'now' for which all stages on time's continuum are simultaneously present and which debunks as an illusion the human perception of time as composed of a series of discrete events. We have seen that Calvisius expanded the words 'siebzig' and 'achtzig' through melismas. This is also found in Schein's setting, albeit within the individual voices as opposed to simultaneously within a choir at 'siebzig' (see above example, bar 4), and less extreme than Calvisius' four bars at 'achtzig'.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ Calvisius' setting also contains entries in canon of an ascent through a fifth, beginning in Sopran II on the fourth minim in bar 1, followed by the Sopran I on the first minim in bar 2 and the bass from the second minim of bar two.

³⁰¹ Schein similarly makes use of such an extended melisma to depict the span of a human life and the passage of time in *Israelsbrunnlein*, for example at the conclusions of 'Nu danket alle Gott' (so lán-ge wir leben), of 'Lehre uns bedenken' (unser lé-belang), and of 'Wem ein tugendsam Weib bescheret ist' (sein lé-belang). In

As in Calvisius' setting, Schein uses ascending quavers to set 'und wenn es hoch kömmt'. While Calvisius placed his quavers as a melismatic turn figure on 'hoch', Schein sets 'und wenn es' to quavers as an upbeat to the minim on 'hoch', set each time as the highest pitch. Like Calvisius, Schein employs a descending chain of suspensions to depict 'Müh und Arbeit'. Unlike Calvisius, he approaches 'Müh' with the same ascending upbeat quavers with which 'und wenn es (hoch)...' was set. This could be understood in two ways. On the one hand, the three up-beat ascending quavers could be considered to be a stock declamation figure, a means of presenting unimportant syllables quickly. On the other hand, we could ascribe more significance to the repetition of the ascending upbeat quavers. Could it be that, by using this device at both 'und wenn es hoch' and 'so ist es Müh', Schein was striving to depict a connection between these two phrases, the connection between a long life and the inevitable toil and travail that accompany it? Noteworthy is the relation between 'und wenn es köstlich gewesen ist' and the following 'so ist es Müh und Arbeit gewesen'; while the first phrase is presented without repetition (bars 24-25), the second phrase, with its characteristic suspension figure, is sung five times; that life's 'Köstlichkeit' turns out to be nothing more than 'Müh und Arbeit' is thus hammered home.

Schein sets the phrase 'Denn es fähret schnell dahin' with syllabic quaver declamation. The whole phrase is declaimed in the space of two minims and repeated only once in the lower voices following its initial statement in the upper voices. The rapid rate of declamation contrasts markedly with the drawn-out suspensions at the setting of the preceding 'Müh und Arbeit'. This is a pivotal moment in the setting. While the opening has emphasized the length of a human life, showing how long 70 or 80 years were from the perspective of early modern Germany, Schein depicts here the instantaneity with which the span of a human life passes when perceived from the divine perspective. Schein offers a musical depiction of Schmuck's statement that "die Seelen darvon wandert und hinweg fleugt in eim Augenblick", passing in an instant from this world to the next. The concluding phrase 'als flögen wir davon' is, as in Calvisius' setting, set melodically. Again, contemporary sermons offer insights into its interpretation. As Leiser put it, "stellt uns Moses für ein Vögelein / daß sich ein wenig niedersetzet / bald in einem Augenblick fleugt es davon / und ist nicht mehr vorhanden".³⁰² One manifestation of this is just as extreme as the melisma found at the corresponding point in Calvisius' setting.³⁰³ Like Calvisius,

the latter setting, the melisma is all the more prominent due to the fact that the text declamation in the rest of the composition is almost exclusively syllabic.

³⁰² Leiser, for Magdalena.

³⁰³ Irmgard Hueck commented on the madrigalian character of Calvisius' setting of this passage: "In diesem Alterswerk hat sich Calvisius offensichtlich der modernen Art der Madrigalmotette noch genähert. Motive wie

Schein sets ‘flögen’ as a quaver melisma through an octave; while Calvisius’ melisma is ascending, Schein’s is descending:

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schnell dahin, als flö - - gen wir da-von.

Detailed description: This musical notation is for Schein's setting of the word 'flögen'. It is written on a single staff in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody begins with a dotted quarter note (F#4), followed by eighth notes (G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4). The word 'flögen' is set to a descending quaver melisma that spans an octave, starting on G4 and ending on G3. The rest of the phrase 'gen wir da-von.' is set to a more conventional melody.

Calvisius: ‘Unser Leben’, Sopran I

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als flö - - gen wir da - von,

Detailed description: This musical notation is for Calvisius's setting of the word 'flögen'. It is written on a single staff in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody begins with a quarter note (F#4), followed by eighth notes (G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, F#4). The word 'flögen' is set to an ascending quaver melisma that spans an octave, starting on G4 and ending on G5. The rest of the phrase 'gen wir da - von,' is set to a more conventional melody.

Schein: ‘Unser Leben’, Cantus I

Here at the latest we have proof that Schein knew Calvisius’ setting of ‘Unser Leben’ and that his setting was conceived as a response to that of his famous predecessor. Although Schein’s depiction of ‘flögen’ is one of the most extreme examples of madrigalian text setting in *Israelsbrünnlein*, it had an obvious precedent in Calvisius’ setting; rather than being dependent on new impulses from Italy, Schein needed to look no further than Schulpforta and Leipzig in his Saxon homeland. Perhaps such instances of intertextuality between two settings of the same text is the feature that most clearly associates these settings with the learned musical milieu of Italian madrigal culture.

2.5. Luther: Commentaries on Psalm 90 – the Law and the Gospel

I have attempted thus far to consider Schein’s setting of Psalm 90:10 from various perspectives. Following on from my thesis that Schein’s compositions are best understood as settings of *Kraftsprüchlein*, settings of texts that had a function and identity independently of the music, I began with a discussion of the *Spruch* itself. Citing contemporary funeral sermons, I have

das genannte “als flögen wir davon” oder “denn es fährt schnell dahin” haben schon das Aussehen des im Barock sich festigenden musikalischen Formelschatzes, der “Figuren”, die die Komponisten vor allem im Auge haben, wenn sie ihre Werke “auf madrigalische Art” setzen”. Hueck, *Die künstlerische Entwicklung Johann Hermann Scheins*, p. 28.

looked at how the *Spruch* might have functioned as *Predigttext* at a Leipzig funeral, and outlined the way in which preachers interpreted this text at funerals held in Leipzig during Schein's tenure as *Thomaskantor*. In light of these readings of the *Spruch*, I then discussed Schein's setting. The remainder of this chapter will be based around a comparison between Schein's setting of 'Unser Leben' and 'Lehre uns bedenken', his setting in *Israelsbrunnlein* of a further *Spruch* from the same psalm (Ps. 90:12-14). My starting point is the observation that Luther divided this psalm into two parts, the first associated with the Law and the second with the Gospel. While 'Unser Leben' belongs to the first part, 'Lehre uns bedenken' belongs to the second. I then ask if this contrast is revealed musically in Schein's settings, suggesting that Luther's contrast between the Law and the Gospel might be found in Schein's choice of mode. While Schein set 'Unser Leben' in the Aolian mode, one of the modes which Calvisius described as the 'Modi tristiciores', he set 'Lehre uns bedenken' in the transposed Ionian mode, one of Calvisius' 'Modi laetiores'. The choice of contrasting modes can be interpreted as a musical contrast corresponding with the theological contrast inherent in Luther's discussion of this psalm.³⁰⁴ I conclude the chapter by discussing the four *Sprüche* in *Israelsbrunnlein* which Schein set in the 'Modi laetiores', arguing that these *Sprüche* are associated with the final stage – praise and thanksgiving – of the three-part model which I proposed at the start of this chapter.

The concepts of the Law and the Gospel are at the heart of Luther's interpretation of Psalm 90. Luther divides this psalm into two parts, each associated with one side of the Law/Gospel divide:

Der erste Teil des Psalms soll die verstockten und sicheren Epikuräer und Sadduzäer zerknirschen, die es für Kunst und Wissenschaft halten, den Tod zu verachten und zu leben wie die Tiere. Mose³⁰⁵ aber macht den Tod zu einem grausamen und wilden Tyrannen, um diese verstockten und hartnäckigen Heuchler zu erschrecken, die weder Gott noch Menschen fürchten noch auch sich um ihr Elend Sorgen machen. Solche Leute muß man zerknirschen, an ihnen muß man das Amt des Gesetzes treiben und ihnen die Sünden und den Zorn Gottes anzeigen [...] Solchen soll man nichts Süßes predigen.

³⁰⁴ The importance of the choice of mode and its connection with the theological content of the text has been recognised by Heide Volckmar-Waschk in her dissertation *Die "Cantiones sacrae" von Heinrich Schütz: Entstehung, Texte, Analysen*, Kassel: 2001.

³⁰⁵ The first verse of this psalm mentions that the psalm is "Ein Gebet Mose's, des Mannes Gottes".

Der zweite Teil des Psalms aber zeigt, daß, wenn sie so erschrocken sind, sie dennoch nicht umkommen und verzweifeln, sondern Raum zur Reue haben sollen. Das ist ein Doktor!³⁰⁶

So tut Mose beides in rechtem Maß: die Erschrockenen sollen nicht verzweifeln und die Verblendeten sollen sich nicht verhärten. Die einen will er erschrecken, die Ängstlichen aber und Verzagten will er gewiß machen [...] Man singt wohl: Mitten wir im Leben sind mit dem Tod umfangen. Das ist die Stimme des Gesetzes. Die Stimme des Evangeliums aber ist: mitten in dem Tode wir im Leben stehen, weil wir nämlich Vergebung der Sünden haben.³⁰⁷

Luther's reading of Psalm 90 encapsulates the process of *Anfechtung* leading to existential crisis as the prerequisite of redemption. The first part of the psalm, as Luther reads it, outlines the role of the apprehension of mortality in bringing about this crisis in the lives of "stubborn and self-confident Epicureans and Sadducees", who go about "scorning death and living like animals". In a life given over to pleasure, the awareness of one's own mortality provided the wake-up call, an uncomfortable truth which caused one to question the very premises of such an existence. As Luther puts it, Moses preached death as a "cruel and wild tyrant", to "terrify these stubborn and obdurate hypocrites who fear neither God nor man and don't give a fig about their own wretchedness". Such people needed a bitter medicine; they had to be broken down, shown their sin and the wrath of God. This process of *Anfechtung* is the first part of the three-part model which I proposed at the opening of this chapter. The contemplation of mortality and death is, paradoxically, the step that leads to life. Once the point of existential crisis has been reached ("wenn sie so erschrocken sind"), the door is open to repentance. Verse 12, the verse with which Schein's second setting of verses from Psalm 90 in *Israelsbrünnlein* begins, represents for Luther the point at which the dialectic is inverted, at which the switch from Gesetz to Evangelium takes place. The psalmist now prays that he can apprehend his mortality. Here is the Evangelium, the idea that life is found in the midst of death. While the first part of the psalm contains the exhortation to the contemplation of mortality, the second concerns the life that emerges from this apprehension of our mortal nature. The uniquely Lutheran model of redemption, starting with *Anfechtung*, reaching a culmination in an existential crisis which itself is the turning point towards redemption, and concluding with praise and thanksgiving, is found both in Luther's reading of Psalm 90 and in the two selections of verses from this psalm which Schein set in *Israelsbrünnlein*. While Psalm 90:10 was, for Luther, still associated with the Law, Psalm 90:12 represented the shift towards the Gospel. Schein's setting of 'Lehre uns bedenken' concludes

³⁰⁶ Mülhaupt (ed.), *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, Göttingen: 1962, vol. 2, p. 527.

³⁰⁷ Mülhaupt (ed.), *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, Göttingen: 1962, vol. 2, p. 528.

with Ps. 90:14 (“so wollen wir rühmen und fröhlich sein unser lebelang”), a verse which encapsulates the final stage of the process, namely praise stemming from a spirit of gratitude.

2.5.1 Modes and their Affects

An obvious musical distinction between Schein’s settings of ‘Unser Leben’ and ‘Lehre uns bedenken’, which could be seen to correspond to the theological dynamic inherent in Luther’s interpretation of Psalm 90, is his choice of mode. While ‘Unser Leben’ is one of ten compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* in the untransposed Aeolian mode, ‘Lehre uns bedenken’ is one of two settings in the transposed Ionian mode. As Bernhard Meier states, the “choice of mode was the first decision to be taken by the composer; however, this choice was determined by the character of the text to be set”.³⁰⁸ Starting in the fifteenth century, the humanist interest in ancient music theory led to a revival of the idea that music in certain modes could create certain effects in the listener.³⁰⁹ Prior to Glarean, modality was conceived of in terms of the eight modes of the *Oktoechos* based on the finals D, E, F, and G, with either an authentic or plagal ambitus depending on the manner of combination of the fifth- with the fourth-species. These species differed according to the placement of the single semitone. Heinrich Glarean, in his *Dodecachordon* (1547), added four further modes based on the finals C and A in both their authentic and plagal variants.³¹⁰ These were accepted by Zarlino in his *Istitutioni harmoniche* (first published in 1558). Zarlino suggested that the quality of the imperfect consonances influenced the character of a composition: “The property or nature of the imperfect consonances is that some of them are lively and cheerful, accompanied by much sonority, and some, although they are sweet and smooth, tend somewhat toward sadness or languor. The first are the major thirds and sixths and their compounds: and the others are the minor [thirds and sixths]”.³¹¹ The importance of Zarlino’s ideas in seventeenth-century Germany was in no small part due to their transmission through the writings of Seth Calvisius. Calvisius’ account of the affects of the modes in his *Melopoia* (1592) distinguishes between “laetiores” and “tristiores” depending on the quality of

³⁰⁸ Bernhard Meier, ‘Rhetorical Aspects of the Renaissance Modes’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 115, no. 2 (1990), p. 184. See also Meier’s seminal study *Die Tonarten der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie*, Utrecht: 1974.

³⁰⁹ See Harold S. Powers, ‘Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34, no. 3 (1981), pp. 430-31.

³¹⁰ For a succinct overview see Joel Lester, *Between Modes and Keys: German Theory 1592-1802*, Stuyvesant, NY: 1989, Introduction and Chapter 1.

³¹¹ Quoted from Lester, *Between Modes and Keys*, p. 13.

the third: “the more joyful modes are Ionian, Lydian, and Mixolydian, because the fifth is divided harmonically. The sadder and more languid [modes], on the other hand, [are] Dorian, Phrygian, and Aeolian because of the arithmetic division of the same interval”.³¹² One trend in the discussion of modes in early seventeenth-century Germany is the gradual erosion of the distinction between the authentic and plagal variants of modes on the same final. In his *Exercitationes musicæ duæ* (1600), Calvisius writes of “six principal modes”, their plagal variants building cadences on the same scale degrees.³¹³ Calvisius claims that both the authentic and plagal forms of the modes have three principal cadential degrees: the final, the fifth and the third, designated respectively primary, secondary and tertiary. Modes could be transposed through the addition of a single flat; the distinction is made between untransposed modes (‘Cantus durus’; ‘Cantus naturalis’) and transposed modes with a key-signature of one flat (‘Cantus mollis’). The importance of the modes for text expression is likewise found in Michael Altenburg’s treatise *De musica*. He distinguishes between the function of the mode and the function of intervals: “res soll man richten auf dem modum, verba auf die intervalla, und ist also die musica recht perfecta”.³¹⁴ As Meier observed for the sixteenth century, the choice of mode was a preliminary decision taken by the composer on the basis of the text seen holistically. The importance of the choice of a certain mode and its association with the theological contents of the set text has been recognised in recent studies of Heinrich Schütz. Heide Volckmar-Waschk, reflecting Calvisius’ usage in the *Exercitationes Musicae Duæ*, contrasts the “Modi laetiores”, consisting of the Ionian, the Mixolydian, and the Lydian modes, with the “Modi tristiores”, the Dorian, Phrygian, and Aeolian.³¹⁵ For her discussion of Schütz’s *Cantiones sacrae* she builds what she terms a ‘Tristis-Skala’, a scale of the modes based on their respective affect from ‘tristis’ to ‘laetus’.

³¹² Lester, *Between Modes and Keys*, p. 13. The ‘harmonic’ division of the fifth resulted in a major third above the final, while the ‘arithmetic’ division of the fifth resulted in a minor third. See Lester, *Between Modes and Keys*, p. xxi.

³¹³ Lester, *Between Modes and Keys*, p. 23.

³¹⁴ Inga Mai Groote & Dietrich Hakelberg, ‘Circulating Musical Knowledge in Early Seventeenth-Century Germany: Musica Poetica Treatises of Johann Hermann Schein and Michael Altenburg in the Library of Johann Caspar Trost’, *Early Music History* 35 (2016), p. 178.

³¹⁵ Heide Volckmar-Waschk, *Die “Cantiones sacrae” von Heinrich Schütz: Entstehung, Texte, Analysen*, Kassel: 2001, p. 39.

Schein's introduction to practical music was recently discovered together with Altenburg's *de musica* in a manuscript copied by Caspar Trost.³¹⁶ Groote and Hackelberg suggest that the pairing of these two complementary works was deliberate. Altenburg's treatise presents the twelve 'legitimate' modes and their transpositions, based on which the following table of the modes used in *Israelsbrünnlein* has been compiled:

Spruch	Mode
1) O Herr, ich bin dein Knecht	Aeolian
2) Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend	Aeolian
3) Die mit Tränen säen	Aeolian
4) Ich lasse dich nicht	Dorian
5) Dennoch bleibe ich stets an dir	Dorian
6) Wende dich, Herr, und sei mir gnädig	g-Dorian
7) Zion spricht	g-Dorian
8) Ich bin jung gewesen	Aeolian
9) Der Herr denket an uns	Dorian
10) Da Jakob vollendet hatte	Aeolian
11) Lieblich und schöne sein	Aeolian
12) Ist nicht Ephraim mein teurer Sohn	d-Aeolian
13) Siehe an die Werk Gottes	Dorian
14) Ich freue mich im Herrn	Aeolian
15) Unser Leben	Aeolian
16) Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herren	Mixolydian
17) Herr, laß meine Klage	F-Ionian
18) Siehe, nach Trost war mir sehr bange	Aeolian
19) Ach Herr, ach meiner schone	Dorian
20) Drei schöne Ding sind	Dorian
21) Was betrübst du dich, meine Seele	Phrygian
22) Wem ein tugendsam Weib bescheret ist	g-Dorian
23) O, Herr Jesu Christe	Aeolian
24) Ich bin die Wurzel des Geschlechtes David	Phrygian
25) Lehre uns bedenken	F-Ionian
26) Nu danket alle Gott	Mixolydian

³¹⁶ 'Etzliche Lehren so einem Incipienten in der Musica Poëtica (wie sie genennet wirdt) fürnemlich zu wissen von nöthen, aufgesetzt, von Johann. Hermano Schein'. See Groote & Hackelberg, 'Circulating Musical Knowledge'.

2.5.2 Luther's Tischreden – Music interpreted as Law and Gospel.

The distinction between the Law and Gospel was at the heart of Luther's understanding of Psalm 90. This contrast is reflected in Schein's choice of two contrasting modes for his settings of two selections of verses from this psalm. As my discussion of modality suggests, the choice of mode was no accident. It was, rather, an decision made by the composer in response to the text; as Altenburg put it, "res soll man richten auf dem modum".³¹⁷ How do we connect these two observations? Luther's own works suggest that music could and was understood to represent theological concepts, including specifically the contrast between the Law and the Gospel. Wolfgang Silber, in a wedding sermon published in Leipzig in 1621, cites a passage from Luther's *Tischreden*, in which the 'BfaBmi' is understood in terms of the Law and the Gospel:

In seinen *piiss: Colloquiis cap. 12. mihi fol.123.b.* stehet ein artig gleichniß / da er [i.e. Luther] spricht: Das Evangelium ist gleich wie das *Bfabmi* in der *Musica*, als die von ihm regieret wird. Die andern *Claves* sind Gesetz. Und gleich wie das Gesetz dem Evangelio gehorchet / also sind auch die andern *Claves* dem *Bfabmi* gehorsam. Und gleich wie das Evangelium eine libliche / holdselige Lehre ist / also ist das *mi*, und *fa*, unter allen Stimmen die lieblichste. Aber der ander *tonus* ist ein armer schwacher Sünder / der lest im *Bfabmi* beyde das *mi*, und *fa* singen.³¹⁸

That Silber cites this passage in a sermon dedicated to music suggests that it was known in theological and musical circles in Schein's time and that sufficient importance was attached to its meaning to warrant its citation.³¹⁹ Silber himself states where he got this idea from: chapter 12 of Luther's *Colloquia* or *Tischreden*, in which point 36 is entitled "Das Evangelium ist dem b fa b mi in der Musica gleich". With a few exceptions, Silber has clearly modelled his account of the *Bfabmi* on the representation of Luther's account in the *Tischreden*.³²⁰ The 'Claves' (in German, 'Schlüssel') were the seven notes of the scale from A to G. The 'Voces' or 'Stimmen'

³¹⁷ See Groote & Hackelberg, *Circulating Musical Knowledge*, p. 161 & p. 178.

³¹⁸ Wolfgang Silber, *ENCOMION MUSICES* Lob der Edlen Kunst der Musicen: Zu Hochzeitlichen Ehren Des Erborn Wolgelahrten Herrn JOHANNIS SCHEFFLERI, *Pförtensis Lusatii*, Wolverordneten CANTORIS der Kirchen und Schulen zu Greiffenberg in Schlesien [...] Gehalten Zu Greiffenberg in Schlesien / Mittwochs nach CANTATE, wahr der 4. Maij [...] Anno Christi M. DC. XVI. Leipzig: 1621, 'Vorrede'.

³¹⁹ Rovin A. Leaver cites a sermon by Christoph Frick (*Music-Büchlein*, Lüneburg: 1631) in which this passage from Luther's *Tischreden* is integrated into a final prayer. See Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*, Grand Rapids: 2007, p. 388, note 156.

³²⁰ For the original, see Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, p. 388, note 155.

were, in contrast, the solmisation syllables.³²¹ Demantius describes ‘Tonus’ not as a key or mode, but as an interval: “*Tonus* ist in der *Musica* das *intervallum* oder die weite / so weit sich im Singen und Klingen das *ut* biß zum *re*, oder von *re*, biß zum *mi*, erstreckt”.³²²

This passage from Luther’s *Tischreden* shows that the theological concepts of the Law and Gospel, central to Luther’s theology and, as we have seen, his interpretation of Psalm 90, were also applied directly to music. Robin A. Leaver offers an interpretation of this passage, arguing that the ‘BfaBmi’ referred to the realisation of the ‘corda mobile’ as Bb (solmised as ‘Fa’) or as B natural (solmised as ‘Mi’). For Leaver, Luther’s distinction between the Law and the Gospel reveals itself in the contrast between the musical notation and the realisation of the composition in performance. Musicians had to know through training and experience whether a notated ‘b’ was to be realised as such or be altered according to the principles of *musica recta* or *musica ficta*. As Leaver writes: “There was therefore a distinction between the pitches in the written music and the sung pitches that were actually heard. This reveals that Luther had a sophisticated understanding of the nature of music: the ‘law’ of music, as enshrined in written notation on the page, must be tempered by ‘grace’ in performance by the singers and players as they make the music live”.³²³ In the following, I will suggest that theological concepts of the Law and Gospel are also relevant with respect to the selection of mode.

2.5.3 Chromaticism in ‘Unser Leben’

Schein used contrasting modes for his two settings of verses from Psalm 90 to reflect the placement of a *Spruch* along the dynamic of redemption between the Law and the Gospel. The choice of mode, while itself a fundamental decision reflecting the content of the text, had furthermore an effect on the means of text depiction at Schein’s disposal. Schein makes much of the chromatic ambiguity permitted by his use of the ‘modi tristiores’ on the third, sixth and seventh degrees of the scale. Altenburg’s prescription that “res soll man richten auf dem modum, verba auf die intervalla” invites a discussion of chromaticism on two levels. Firstly, there is the superficial use of chromaticism corresponding to Altenburg’s ‘intervalla’, as a temporary departure from the mode for the sake of the depiction of a specific concept or image in the text. Then

³²¹ Cf. Demantius, *ISAGOGE ARTIS MUSICÆ*, ‘Von den Music Schlüssel’.

³²² Demantius, *ISAGOGE ARTIS MUSICÆ*.

³²³ Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, p. 102. Interesting is Schein’s use of chromatic alteration to set the key word ‘Gnade’ in ‘Lehre uns bedenken’.

there is the more fundamental choice of mode itself, corresponding to the ‘general topic’ of the text, as a facilitator for chromatic ambiguity. 22 of the 26 compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* are set in Calvisius’ ‘modi tristiores’. More so than the ‘modi laetiores’, which have a major third above the final, the ‘modi tristiores’ facilitate the use of chromatic alteration and ambiguity within a composition. When Schein uses the ‘modi laetiores’ in *Israelsbrünnlein*, it is to set texts associated with the Gospel. In many cases, Schein uses the ‘modi tristiores’ to set texts associated with the Law; the chromatic ambiguity which these modes facilitate is, I will argue, an important means by which Schein depicts the torments of *Anfechtung* associated with the Law.

Three degrees of the scale are often altered chromatically in ‘Unser Leben’, a composition in the Aeolian mode: the third (C/C#), the sixth (F/F#) and the seventh (G/G#). At the opening of the setting, F# and G# feature in the ascending tetrachord from E to A; the Bassus in bar 15, for example, shows how the sixth and seventh degrees were often raised when ascending and left alone when descending. More interesting is the chromatic alteration of the third before the first cadence, on the final A, in bar 11. The C# found in the chord on the final in bar 11 is anticipated in the Bassus at the start of bar 9; between this anticipation of the raised third and the raised third at the cadence, the ‘natural’ third degree of the scale is re-asserted. Such chromatic colouring, a characteristic feature of Schein’s musical language in *Israelsbrünnlein*, is facilitated by the use of ‘minor’ modes which, as here, facilitate the ambiguity between the minor and major third. Chromatically altered scale degrees are found in much closer proximity to their unaltered versions at the entrance of ‘und wenn es hoch kömmt’ from bar 16; a G in the Bassus clashes with a sustained G# in the Cantus II, while the C# and F# in the Altus (bar 17) are followed two minims later by F and C in the same voice. Bar 25 contains the single instance in this composition of the chromatic alteration of a scale degree other than the third, sixth or seventh; unlike in the other cadences on E, which feature D and F as part of a Phrygian cadence, this cadence employs a D# as the leading note of E. In bars 24 and 25, chords on E and A appear in both their major and minor variants; following the initial E major on the first two words of ‘und wenn es köstlich...’, the E major at the cadence on ‘ist’ is approached through a 6-4/5-3 suspension on B, with the ‘6’ of the 6-4 suspension a G, not a G#. Again, the chromatic alteration is employed for musical colour. G and G# are found in direct proximity at the setting of ‘als flögen wir’ in bar 37-8, the G# on ‘wir’ in Cantus II (bar 38) being immediately followed by G in Cantus I. The cadence on the unison A at bar 40 plays on the ambiguity between the major and minor third, with both C and C# featuring in the Altus directly before the cadence.

The cadence in bar 44 is similar; as in bar 25, the cadence on A (with raised third) is approached by a 6-4/5-3 suspension, the ‘6’ a C.³²⁴

Tonality performs various tasks in this setting. An important one is to delineate different parallelisms from one another or, as the case may be, to assert unity between the various constituent elements of a parallelism. Interesting is the manner in which the integrity of the parallelisms as created by Schein does not inevitably correspond to the structure of the parallelisms as found in the psalm verses. Nevertheless, Schein is keenly aware of the parallel structures which govern the form of the psalm verses, seizing upon natural parallel structures in the text and modeling the structure of his settings on them. Although the text of ‘Unser Leben’ consists of only a single psalm verse (Ps. 90:10), it contains three discrete parallelisms. Schein was aware of this, making use of the multiple parallelisms to create musical contrast in his setting. Tonality is an important means by which Schein demonstrates the integrity of the parallel structures in the text. The first of these is the fusion of the opening phrase ‘Unser Leben währet siebzig Jahr’ with the corresponding ‘und wenn es hoch kömmt so sind achtzig Jahr’. That these two units of text belong together is shown tonally; the first phrase concludes with a Phrygian cadence leading to E on the final word ‘Jahr’ (bar 16) while the corresponding second half – ‘und wenn es hoch kömmt’ (bar 16-17) – begins on the same chord. In the middle of both following parallelisms created in this setting, the integrity of the parallelism is likewise preserved through the introduction of the second half on the tonality with which the first half ends. In this manner, the pairing of ‘und wenn es köstlich...’ with ‘so ist es Müh...’ is indicated through the common tonality of E in bar 25, and the integrity of the final parallelism, consisting of ‘denn es fährt...’ and ‘als flögen wir...’ is shown through the common chord of C major in bar 37. Just as a common tonality is employed to show that two units of text belong to the same parallelism, so are tonal contrasts used to distinguish between the parallelisms themselves. Tonal shifts of a third are found in this setting between the first and second (from C to E, bars 23-4), and the second and third parallelisms (bar 36). The three main cadential degrees of the Aeolian mode – A, E and C³²⁵ – all feature at important structural points, namely at the delineations between

³²⁴ The voice leading in the Altus at the start of bar 44 is awkward, with a leap of a diminished fourth from G# to C. The leading note G# cannot be resolved to the final A, as this would lead to parallel octaves between the Altus and Cantus I. If Schein were to have resolved the final A in the Altus in bar 43 (part of the *fauxbourdon* chain of first inversion chords created with the Cantus I and Cantus II) upwards to B, he would have ended up with parallel fifths between the Altus and the Bassus. Resolving down a fourth to A would have resulted in the Tenor being doubled.

³²⁵ Calvisius’ primary, secondary and tertiary cadential degrees.

the parallelisms; C at the conclusion of the first (bar 23), E to conclude the second (bar 36), and the final cadence on A. Through this use of the principal cadential degrees of the mode, tonality becomes a means to unify the various contrasting elements – both textual and musical – into an organic whole.

2.6 Psalm 90:12-14 – ‘Lehre uns bedenken’

Psalm 90:12, the verse with which Schein’s ‘Lehre uns bedenken’ begins, represents the turning point in this psalm from *Anfechtung* to salvation. As Polycarp Leiser Snr. outlines in his cycle of funeral sermons on Psalm 90, redemption through the receipt of divine grace and the praise which follows – the features which complete the process of redemption begun with *Anfechtung* – are the subjects of these verses. In the seventh and final sermon of the cycle, Leiser addresses the remaining verses of Psalm 90, verses 13-17, the first two of which Schein set with verse 12 as ‘Lehre uns bedenken’. In these verses was found “der letzte Punct dieses Psalmen / da Moses ein ernstlich Gebet thut zu seinem Gott / das Er seinen zorn väterlichen abwenden / und sein Volck wider mit gnädigen augen ansehen wölle”.³²⁶ This is consistent with the interpretation developed so far from the reading of Luther’s commentary. Having reached the moment of crisis, we now find the “ernstlich Gebet” that the torments of *Anfechtung* cease. Leiser intended to demonstrate two points: “Wir wollen auff dißmal I. in einer Summa hören / was Moses eigentlich in seinem Gebet von Gott begere. 2. Wöllen wir etliche erinnerungen hinzu thun / an die jenigen / welche Mose nachbeten werden”.³²⁷ The fact that Moses addresses his God directly shows that it is the ‘Herr’ who is the master of the *Sterbekunst*; furthermore, the simple fact that Moses is engaged in prayer was taken as evidence that prayer was an essential part of the *Sterbekunst*. Leiser identifies two things which Moses desires from his God: “Den einen heisset Er / **Gottes werck**: den andern heisset Er / **das werck unser Händ**”.³²⁸

Of these two points, it is the first – ‘Gottes werck’ – which is most relevant for Schein’s setting. The concept of divine grace (Gnade) is a central feature of Ps. 90:13-14, the two verses which follow consecutively from Ps. 90:12 to complete the *Spruch* ‘Lehre uns bedenken’ as Schein

³²⁶ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 306.

³²⁷ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 307.

³²⁸ Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 307.

sets it. It appears in both the second half of verse 13 and the first half of verse 14: “**Sey deinen Knechten gnädig / und fülle uns früe mit deiner gnad**”. The “Plag und Unglück” described in Ps. 90:15 have, explains Leiser, always been with us; the origin of these afflictions was sin.³²⁹ Leiser outlines the appropriate course of action for this predicament: “Derowegen so lehret uns Moses / das wir beten sollen / das uns Gott aus gnaden unsere Sünde wölle verzeihen. Wann die Sünde aus den Augen Gottes hinweg gethan ist / so hat es hernach durchaus keine noth mehr: **Plag und unglück** verlieren sich selbst”.³³⁰ In accordance with the Lutheran understanding of the *Rechtfertigungslehre*, the remission of sin can, explains Leiser, be granted only through divine grace; freedom from sin is unattainable through good intentions and works. As Leiser summarises, “solte Recht für recht gehen / so würde für Gott kein lebendiger bestehen. Un[d] wo Gott nicht aus gnaden seinen zorn wider unsere Sünde fahren lesset / so drucken und pressen uns dieselbige biß in abgrund der Hellen”.³³¹

Leiser extends the idea of ‘Gnade’ to verses 13 and 14. The wish, “der gnaden Gottes genießen”, necessitates firstly that “wir von allen dingen sehen / das wir **Gottes Knecht oder Mägd** sein”.³³² Just as Christ prayed not for the world, but for his disciples, so is Moses’ prayer in this psalm “nicht für die gottlose Welthummeln / sondern für die fromme Gottes diener : **Sey / spricht er / deinen knechten gnädig : und zeige deinen knechten deine werck**”.³³³ The remission of sin through divine grace, obtained through submission to God as “Knecht und Diener”, was cause for celebration: “wann nun einer Gottes Knecht und Diener ist / wird auch auff sein vorhergehend gebet erhöret / das ihm Gott seine Sünde verzeihe / sein Gnad erweist / gibt gedeyen und glücklichen fortgang zu seines Ampts geschäft / was ist dessen einer hernach gebessert? Da saget Moses: **so wöllen wir rühmen und frölich sein unser lebenslang**. Dieses ist fürwar ein herrlicher nutzen / das einer sein lebenslang frölich sein möge”.³³⁴

³²⁹ “Wo kommet aber solche **plag** und solch **unglück** her? Nirgends anders / dann von der Sünde. Von unserer Sünden wegen plaget uns der Teuffel / drucket uns das unglück in der Welt / und wirget uns der Tod”. Leiser, *EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ*, p. 309.

³³⁰ Leiser, *EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ*, pp. 309-10.

³³¹ Leiser, *EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ*, p. 310.

³³² Leiser, *EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ*, pp. 322-323.

³³³ Leiser, *EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ*, p. 323.

³³⁴ Leiser, *EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ*, p. 324.

The division between the first two verses set in ‘Lehre uns bedenken’ is, following the pattern observed in ‘Unser Leben’, reflected musically through the shift between two chords a third apart; the D major chord with which verse 12 concludes (bar 16) is followed by a chord on Bb for the first word of the following verse. More interesting – in a way, the exception which proves the rule – is the manner in which Schein handles the transition from verse 13 to verse 14. In bar 25, not only does verse 14 begin with the same tonality with which verse 13 ended (F major), but, unlike in the transition between verses 12 and 13, a single crotchet on the final syllable of verse 13 leads directly to the opening words of verse 14. This seamless transition creates a synonymous parallelism which extends beyond a single verse: by avoiding a musical break between verse 13 and verse 14, Schein shows that the second half of verse 13 – ‘sei deinen Knechten genädig’ – and the first half of verse 14 – ‘Fülle uns früh mit deiner Gnade’ – are essentially synonymous. As we have seen, the concept of ‘Gnade’, found in both of these phrases, was for Leiser the central element of this excerpt from Psalm 90. It is at the heart of the understanding of these verses in terms of the Gospel, the reason for the opening plea ‘Herr kehre dich doch wieder’, and the reason for the following outburst of joy at the concluding ‘So wollen wir rühmen...’.

Schein emphasises the key concept of ‘Gnade’ through chromatic alteration. Although his setting of verse 14 begins in bar 25 with a continuation of the F major tonality with which verse 13 ended, the key word ‘Gnade’ is elevated chromatically from its tonal context, set at its first three statements in the Cantus I (bars 26-7) to F#, C# and F#. These chromatically altered notes create a brief departure from the predominant F major tonal context with which the setting of verse 14 began (bar 25) and to which it returns (bar 28). This is an example of chromaticism used as an expressive device, used to elevate a specific word through a departure from the tonal context. Other accidentals have a less concrete function concerning text depiction, resulting rather from the approach to cadences on certain scale degrees. This is found, for example, at cadences on the fifth scale degree, C, which typically feature an Eb in the approach to the cadence. Such examples of Eb in the lead-up to cadences on C (with the raised third again upon arriving at the final chord of the cadence on C) are found in bars 22-3 (the F major of ‘und sei deinen’ leading to c minor for ‘Knechten’, followed by a ‘Dominant’ (G) and the resolution back to C major), bars 33-35 and bars 39-40. Just as Eb is found in the approach to cadences on the fifth scale degree, so are the chromatically altered notes F# and C# typically found at cadences on the sixth scale degree; while C# functions as the leading note, F# appears, if not in the approach to the cadence, at the latest as the raised third of the final chord of the cadence itself. Cadences on the sixth scale degree typically contain the raised third: at the first such

example (bar 5), the F# of the chord on D is anticipated in the turn figure in the Altus; other examples are found at the conclusion of the setting of verse 12 (bar 16) and at bar 30.

The ambivalence between the tonal context of the mode's final 'F' and the tonal context of D major, the sixth scale degree which features F# and C# as the chromatically altered third and leading note respectively, is utilised repeatedly by Schein in his two *Israelsbrunnlein* settings in the transposed Ionian mode. I have mentioned this at the initial setting of the word 'Gnade', suggesting that the chromatically altered notes F# and C# were intended to highlight the significance of this central concept through the deliberate departure from the surrounding F-major tonality. This ambivalence is found also at other moments in Schein's setting, including the beginning and the end, allowing it to be understood as a musical device intended to create unity and coherence. The opening musical gesture, to which 'Lehre uns bedenken' is set, leads (bar 2-3) to a Phrygian cadence on A (with raised third), the G of the discant clausel in the Tenor delayed to create a 7-6 suspension with the tenor clausel (on Bb) in the Bassus. This opening phrase is repeated, leading to D major (bar 5), before a repetition of the final word 'bedenken', concluding on A, is completed through a return to the initial F major by means of a *fauxbourdon* sequence at the setting of 'daß wir sterben müssen'. The tension created both through the repetition of the initial 'Lehre uns bedenken' and through the contrast between the tonal areas based respectively on F and D (the latter including chromatically altered tones) is (from bar 7) resolved both semantically (through the presentation of the following phrase 'Daß wir sterben müssen') and musically (through the return to the initial F tonality). The use of C# as the leading note to D within an F major tonal context also features at the conclusion of the setting. The final statement of 'Unser lebelang' (from bar 49) leads from F major through an A major chord to d minor, before the final return to F major, a C# in the Cantus II (bar 52) functioning within an interrupted cadence leading to Bb, itself part of the final plagal cadence on F. The ambivalence between the F and D tonal areas, with C# as the intermediary, is encapsulated by the motif to which 'Unser lebelang' is set in the Bassus (bar 49-51), Cantus I (bar 50-52) and Cantus II (51-53), based on the tones F-C#-D-A, the diminished fourth between the first two notes again prominent.

As Leiser states, 'rühmen und fröhlich sein' was the natural response to the receipt of divine grace. Schein's settings often feature a section in triple time as the 'penultimate' musical act, often in connection with a word such as 'Freude'. These are typically combined with a homorhythmic, homophonic manner of text declamation and the double repetition of the pattern of rhythmic declamation, each time leading to a chord on a different scale degree. Although

‘Lehre uns bedenken’ does not contain a section in triple time, we find the other two features – homorhythmic text declamation and repetition on different scale degrees – at the setting of ‘so wollen wir rühmen und fröhlich sein’. This phrase is initially presented in three parts, with the lowest voice reminiscent of a pedal-point on a single note. From bar 39, the phrase is sung homorhythmically in five parts, with each repetition concluding on a different scale degree (C; G; Bb; F). Although Schein doesn’t employ triple metre, his depiction of ‘fröhlich sein’ reflects his settings of similar expressions of praise and thanksgiving at the conclusion of other *Sprüche* in *Israelsbrünnlein*. Schein separates this phrase from the concluding ‘unser lebelang’; the setting of ‘lebelang’ as a three-bar melisma in all five voices is similar to Schein’s setting of other words concerning time, including ‘siebnzig’ and ‘achtzig’ in ‘Unser Leben’.³³⁵

2.7 The ‘*Modi Laetiores*’ in *Israelsbrünnlein*

In this chapter I have considered in detail Schein’s two settings of verses from Psalm 90, showing that each belonged to a different side of the existential crisis which represented the turning point from *Anfechtung* to redemption. I have argued that the interpretation of these verses as belonging to either side of this theological divide is represented by Schein’s choice of contrasting modes. At the conclusion of this chapter I propose to examine the remaining *Sprüche* which Schein in *Israelsbrünnlein* set in the ‘*modi laetiores*’. As we will see, these *Sprüche* can likewise be associated with a ‘post-redemption’ perspective. The identification of theological content with the choice of mode observed in the settings of verses from Psalm 90 was no accident; rather, it was an essential part of Schein’s compositional process.

Only four *Sprüche* in *Israelsbrünnlein* are set in modes which Volckmar-Waschk, following Calvisius, associates with the ‘laetus’ side of the ‘tristis-laetus’ divide.³³⁶ Two of these are in the transposed Ionian mode (‘Lehre uns bedenken’; ‘Herr, lass meine Klage’), and two (‘Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herren’; ‘Nun danket alle Gott’) are in the Mixolydian mode. I have suggested that Schein’s choice of the Aeolian mode for ‘Unser leben’ and the transposed Ionian mode for ‘Lehre uns bedenken’, two modes associated with opposite sides of the tristis-divide, can be seen as a parallel to Luther’s division of Psalm 90 into two halves associated respectively

³³⁵ The melismatic setting of ‘Lebelang’, with melismas in all voices spanning multiple bars, is likewise found at the setting of ‘sein lebelang’ in ‘Wem ein tugendsam Weib’, and at ‘so lange wir leben’ in ‘Nun danket alle Gott’. Calvisius took a similar approach to the setting of the opening of ‘Unser Leben’.

³³⁶ See Volckmar-Waschk, *Die “Cantiones sacrae” von Heinrich Schütz*, p. 45.

with the Law and the Gospel. Schein's use of the Mixolydian mode can also be seen in connection with the 'tristis-scale'. Both *Sprüche* set in this mode begin with praise and thanksgiving. In other *Sprüche*, praise and thanksgiving often conclude the verses set, finding their musical counterpart in the use of triple time as the penultimate musical act. Although other *Sprüche* in *Israelsbrünnlein* conclude with praise, this is presented following the *Anfechtung* and despair with which the believer was afflicted. In the two *Sprüche* set in the Mixolydian mode, the redemption from *Anfechtung* is taken for granted; both texts represent expressions of praise from the perspective of redemption. At the conclusion of this chapter I will discuss Schein's three remaining settings from *Israelsbrünnlein* in the 'laetiores' modes, arguing that the choice of these modes for these texts was deliberate, corresponding to a 'post-redemption' perspective characterised by thanksgiving.

2.7.1 Psalm 119:169-171 – 'Herr, laß meine Klage'

Alongside 'Lehre uns bedenken', *Israelsbrünnlein* contains one further setting in the transposed Ionian mode, namely 'Herr, laß meine Klage', a setting of three verses from Psalm 119. Due to its emphasis on divine word, this psalm's significance for the Lutheran confession was not lost on Schein's theological colleagues in Leipzig. At the 1617 funeral of the wife of Leipzig Bürgermeister Caspar Gräfe, Andreas Schneider recalls that Luther himself preached on this psalm at Worms in 1521.³³⁷ The text, in as much as it serves as a model of the Lutheran *Rechtfertigungslehre*, shares certain similarities with 'Lehre uns bedenken'. It could be interpreted as a prayer at the moment of despair when faced with *Anfechtung*, as the moment of crisis when the believer despairs of his own efforts to achieve salvation, throwing himself instead at the mercy of his God. The two key words in the first two of the three verses set here, which suggest that this excerpt stands at the threshold to the Gospel, are 'Klage' and 'Flehen'; two cries of distress from the depths of despair. Significant is the fact that both of these are followed by pleas for instruction and redemption 'nach deinem Wort'; the despairing soul, having realised that his

³³⁷ "Sonsten sol Ewer Christliche Liebe von dem 119. Psalm wissen dieses / daß derselbe der lengste Psalm sey / in dem gantzen Psalterbüchlein des Königlichen Propheten Davids / und vom Herrn D. Luthero seliger gedechtnuß in seinem *Pathmo* unter dem Reichetage / der *Anno Christi 1521.* zu Worms gehalten worden / mit Kirchen *Scholiis* erklaret / und gelehret / daß man ihn wider das Bapstthumb fleissig mercken und beten soll / weil dasselbe die Leute von Gottes Wort abführen / und zu haltung Menschlicher Satzung treiben wil / da im gegentheil dieser Psalm uns das Göttliche Wort trewlich *commendirt* und anbefiehet". Schneider, for Gertrud. Ian Boxall explains the reference to Luther's 'Patmos': "...already in the early 1520s Luther began to read his own experience through the lens of John's, actualizing the latter in his own career. The aftermath of his trial at Worms was interpreted by him as his own Patmos, just as his performance at Worms was likened by some of his contemporaries to that of Elijah on Mount Carmel". Hidden away at the Wartburg from 1521 to 1522, Luther "sent letters to his friends 'From the Isle of Patmos'". Ian Boxall, *Patmos in the Reception History of the Apocalypse*, Oxford: 2013, p. 158.

own efforts at achieving salvation have led to nothing, appeals now to God and his word. As in ‘Lehre uns bedenken’, the idea of the passive receipt of divine grace is important; the plea ‘sei deinen Knechten genädig’ (Ps. 90:13) finds its counterpart here in ‘errette/unterweise mich nach deinem Worte’ (Ps. 119:169/170). The response to this receipt of divine grace was in both texts that of joy; the depiction of joy in the concluding line of ‘Lehre uns bedenken’ – ‘So wollen wir rühmen und fröhlich sein’ – is mirrored in ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’ at ‘Meine Lippen sollen loben’, the first half of the final verse set.

The ambiguity between F and D, which Schein employed in ‘Lehre uns bedenken’, is also found in ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’. The importance of ‘Klage’ as the central concept in the opening verse is reflected in Schein’s setting. The opening statement of ‘Herr, laß meine Klage für dich kommen’ (bars 1-6), the first half of verse 169, begins and ends in F major. Schein introduces a C# at the word ‘Klage’, elevating this central concept from its tonal context. Two musical devices contribute to the expressive depiction of this word. In addition to the C# on the final syllable, the first syllable is depicted through a 7-6 suspension. The importance of the isolated departure from the F major tonal area to a d minor tonal area for ‘Klage’ is confirmed in bars 12-14: here each of the five voices presents successively the ‘Klage’ motif of D-C#, initially over a pedal-point on A in the Bassus. The result is the expansion of the tonal area used to depict the affect of ‘Klage’.

In addition to the internal synthetic parallel structure found in both verse 169 and verse 170, these two verses can be considered together as a ‘meta-parallelism’: verse 170 substitutes ‘Flehen’ and ‘errete’ for verse 169’s ‘Klage’ and ‘unterweise’. Two observations can be made with regards to the setting of ‘Laß mein Flehen für dich kommen’. Firstly, as at ‘Klage’, chromaticism is employed as a means of depicting the equivalent word ‘Flehen’. In this case, a chromatic ascent is found in both Cantus I and Cantus II, the chromaticism functioning in the context of an ascending sequence. Secondly, this phrase is presented only once, declaimed syllabically and homorhythmically on crotchets in the space of less than two bars. This contrasts with the repetition of phrases often found in *Israelsbrunnlein*, often a necessity given the relative brevity of the texts. In the context of ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’, it contrasts with the sense of musical expansion and space at the setting of the synonymous phrase – ‘Herr, laß meine Klage für dich kommen’ – in the first of the set verses, with its staggered entries, longer note values and the harmonic stasis of the pedal-point. The contrast between the lengthy depiction of the opening phrase and the brevity of its synonymous repetition is simply one part of the contrast in the weighting between the two halves of the parallelisms. While the setting of ‘Herr, laß

meine Klage für dich kommen' spans 16 bars, the following 'unterweise mich nach deinem Wort' is restricted to four bars. The declamation of the first word 'unterweise' on a single note, the more or less homophonic setting and the relatively low ambitus of the upper voices further cement the contrast with the first half of the parallelism. In verse 170, the relative weighting between the two parallelisms is inverted; while 'laß mein Flehen für dich kommen' is presented only once, homorhythmically over the space of less than two bars, the following 'errette mich nach deinem Worte' is set with a dramatic descending octave, resolving the tension created through the ascending sequence and chromaticism at 'laß mein Flehen...'. 'Errette mich nach deinem Worte', set to the descending scale, is repeated with various combinations of voices; from bar 25 the phrase is fragmented, the dotted quaver and semi-quaver repeated as a rhythmic motif facilitating the repetition of the plea 'errette mich' in all voices. The condensation of verse 169b and 170a and the lack of a clear tonal break between them ('Laß mein Flehen' begins on F, continuing the tonality in which 'unterweise mich...' ends, thus, as at the corresponding point between verses 13-14 in 'Lehre uns bedenken', avoiding either a tonal break or a literal break with rests) enables Schein to emphasise both halves of the parallelism in his setting (but as the contrast between verse 169a and 170b) while avoiding the potential tedium that could result from the setting of synonymous verses. Rather than giving equal weight to four discrete units of text, Schein highlights the meta-parallelism that results from their combination.³³⁸

As at 'So wollen wir rühmen und fröhlich sein' in 'Lehre uns bedenken', the phrase 'Meine Lippen sollen loben', which can be likewise understood as an expression of joy following salvation, is set as a penultimate musical act entirely homorhythmically and repeated on various scale degrees without the change to triple time found in other settings. Unlike in 'Lehre uns bedenken', however, the rhythm of the text declamation of the phrase is taken up, appearing in various voices in combination with the following 'wenn du mich deine Rechte lehrest', set initially as a ligature chain with longer note values. In this manner, the two halves of the final parallelism are presented simultaneously, emphasising the relation between the two as effect and cause. Such a simultaneous musical presentation of two discrete elements which occur successively in the text, typically by means of the rapid text declamation and repetition of one phrase (the 'rhetorical' voice) against the declamation of the other with longer note values (the 'structural' voice), is found in other settings in *Israelsbrünnlein*.

³³⁸ For an example of the opposite, the musical depiction of the affect of discrete units of text despite a second parallelism functioning as a synonym of the first, see 'Die mit Tränen säen'.

2.7.2 The Mixolydian Settings

2.7.2.1 Ecclesiasticus 50:24-26 – ‘Nu danket alle Gott’

Schein’s last setting in *Israelsbrünnlein* is in many respects an outlier. It is one of two *Sprüche* taken from the apocryphal book Ecclesiasticus.³³⁹ Most obviously, it is the only setting in the collection for six voices, with a second Tenor part included in the Tenor partbook. Like other settings in *Israelsbrünnlein*, Schein uses triple time to depict a phrase describing joy (‘Er gebe uns ein fröhliches Herz’). This isn’t, however, as the ‘penultimate’ act at the conclusion of the setting, but rather in the middle. Furthermore, while Schein’s use of triple time in other compositions is often characterised by each repetition of the phrase concluding with a chord on a different scale degree, the first three presentations of this phrase all end with a chord on C. The reason for the earlier use of triple time is surely the same as the reason for the use of the Mixolydian mode; unlike other settings, which conclude with praise or joy following anguish, this *Spruch* begins as a song of thanksgiving: ‘Nu danket alle Gott’. This *Spruch*, untypically in the context of *Israelsbrünnlein*, recalls solely the final stage in the process of redemption, namely praise and thanksgiving from a spirit of gratitude. The text itself is characterised throughout by a joyful affect, the reason for the choice of the Mixolydian mode. The earlier use of triple time is simply evidence of this.

Many of the characteristic musical devices found in *Israelsbrünnlein* are found in this setting. The six voices enable Schein to create two groups of three voices for antiphonal effects. This is first seen at the setting of ‘an allen Enden’, where the phrase is thrown back and forth by two ensembles, each presenting the text homorhythmically. Unlike in other settings, in which the antiphonal effects are achieved through the creation of an ‘upper’ ensemble of the Cantus voices and Alto, and a ‘lower’ ensemble of Altus, Tenor and Bassus, the six-part scoring permits more flexibility. At ‘an allen Enden’, Schein pits the Cantus I together with the two Tenor voices against the Cantus II, Altus and Bassus. A similar case of antiphonal exchanges involving rapid text declamation on a single chord is found at the setting of ‘der uns von Mutterleibe an’ (bars 15-16); here the two Cantus voices are grouped with the Tenor I, answered by the Altus, Tenor

³³⁹ These verses are today best known in the version by Martin Rinckart. The first two of the three verses of his famous hymn ‘Nun danket alle Gott’ are based on the verses which Schein sets here (the final verse is a doxology). The earliest known source of Rinckart’s text is from 1636, but it may have been written a number of years earlier. See Wolfgang Herbst & Ilse Seibt [eds.], *Liederkunde zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch*, Heft 16, Göttingen: 2011, p. 35 ff.

II and Bassus before a final *tutti* repetition. The division into an upper and lower ensemble (the Altus now singing solely with the upper group) is hinted at at ‘und tut uns alles Guts’ (bar 20-22) before it features at the setting of ‘Er gebe uns ein fröhliches Herz’ (bars 26-30).

Further examples of *tutti* homorhythmic text declamation, suggestive of *falsobordone*, are found at ‘und verleihe immerdar’ (bars 34-35) and at ‘und daß er seine Gnade’ (bars 44-46; 55-57). At the latter example, tonality again plays a role in the elevation of the word ‘Gnade’: the phrase itself is distinguished tonally from its surroundings, the E-major chord at ‘und’ following directly from G-major. Melismas are found at the words ‘Ding’ (bars 8-10) and ‘Enden’ (bar 14), both of them with a dotted rhythm in some voices. Longer melismas are found before the change to triple metre (bars 23-25, on ‘tut’ and ‘alles’), and on the words ‘Frieden’ (bars 37-39) and ‘lange’ (bars 49-53; 60-64). The last of these contains a melisma encompassing four bars in the Cantus I, in which a descending octave leap followed by the stepwise ascent is sequenced; the Cantus II voice anticipates then follows the Cantus I, creating the effect of a canon. This melismatic expansion of the word ‘leben’ is reminiscent of melismas on similar words associated with the passing of time or the span of a human life in *Israelsbrünnlein*.

2.7.2.2 Psalm 30:5-6 – ‘Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herren’

Like ‘Nun danket alle Gott’, the *Spruch* ‘Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herren’ begins with praise at the conclusion of the redemption process. Psalm 30, from which the verses set here are taken, was for Luther a ‘Dankpsalm’: “Der 30. Psalm ist ein Dankpsalm, darin er dankt, daß Gott ihn (den Psalmisten) von der hohen geistlichen Anfechtung des Teufels erlöst, welche ist Traurigkeit Schwermut Erschrecken Verzagen Zweifeln Todesnot und dergleichen vergiftete feurige Pfeile des Teufels”.³⁴⁰ This is a psalm written from the perspective of redemption, in which the psalmist recalls his past experience of *Anfechtung*, seeing now that it was all part of the divine plan: “Daneben tröstet er zugleich fein, daß Gott (nur) einen Augenblick zürne und nicht Lust noch Willen zu unserm Tod und unsrer Trübsal hat, sondern uns lieber lebendig und fröhlich sieht”.³⁴¹ The main affect of the text is not *Anfechtung* itself, but the praise and thanksgiving which follow the receipt of divine grace. Although the text’s main affect is clearly one of praise,

³⁴⁰ Mülhaupt (ed.), *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, Göttingen: 1962, vol. 2, pp. 26-27.

³⁴¹ Mülhaupt (ed.), *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, Göttingen: 1962, vol. 2, p. 27.

there are references to past struggles. This is reflected in Schein's choice of mode. The Mixolydian mode, on the 'laetus' side of the divide, is used to capture the prevailing affect of praise. Within this context of praise are set the isolated departures, the 'Zoren' and 'Weinen', which remind of the past experience of *Anfechtung*.

Schein's setting of 'Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herren' begins contrapuntally with a soggetto emphasising the quint-species of the Mixolydian mode. The initial presentation of the soggetto in the Tenor is followed tonally in the Altus which maps the corresponding fourth-species. The soggetto is presented successively in all five voices; in the Altus and Bassus it is presented twice, in the latter case in both its tonal (bar 4) and real (bar 7) versions. The setting of the opening phrase concludes with an entrance in the Bassus followed successively in the other voices at the distance of a crotchet (bar 9). Homophonic, antiphonal writing features at the setting of 'danket und preiset seine Heiligkeit'; the phrase is sung twice in the upper then in the lower ensemble before a final pair of statements *tutti*. Although the setting of 'Danket und preiset' uses contrasting musical devices from the opening, Schein emphasizes the continuity of this phrase – the concluding half of Psalm 30:5 – with the opening of the *Spruch* through the 'dovetailing' in the Cantus I and by beginning the new phrase on 'G', the chord with which the opening of the setting ended. In contrast, Schein differentiates the phrase 'Denn sein Zoren' from the preceding phrase through the tonal shift of a third from the G major of 'Heiligkeit' to the E major of 'Denn'. Psalm 30:6 contains two parallelisms, both of which juxtapose the experience of divine wrath with the joy that follows:

Denn sein Zoren währet einen Augenblick, und er hat Lust zum Leben.
Den Abend lang währet das Weinen, aber des Morgens die Freude.

Schein's setting differentiates between the contrasting affects in both halves of the verse. The setting of 'Denn sein Zoren' begins with longer note values – semibreves and minims – combined with a punctuating rest following 'Denn'. The key word 'Zoren' is decorated with a turn figure. The phrase is completed with 'währet einen Augenblick', the syllabic declamation on quavers contrasting with the longer note values of 'Denn sein zoren' to reflect the juxtaposition in the text. Schein's setting of the second half of the verse is similar. The rate of text declamation is reduced for 'Den Abend lang währet das Weinen'. A connection is made between 'Zoren' and 'Weinen' through the use of the same turn figure on both words; common to both half-verses is also the punctuating crotchet rest within the phrase. Schein thus reflects musically the synonymous character of the first halves of both parallelisms. 'Weinen' is further embellished through

melismatic setting and a descending sequence (bars 33-35). Again, the rate of text declamation picks up for the concluding ‘aber des Morgens die Freude’, for which the five voices are initially divided into the upper and lower ensembles.

In his setting of the first of the two psalm verses comprising this *Spruch*, Schein asserts the Mixolydian mode from the outset through his use of a *soggetto* spanning the mode’s fifth- and fourth species. The setting of the opening phrase – ‘Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herren’ – never departs from a G-major tonality. Tenor and discant clausulae repeatedly lead to G at the start of new bars (bar 3; 7; 9) before the phrase concludes on G in bar 10. The mode is thus asserted through the choice of *soggetto* and, resulting from it, the harmonic stability created by the repetition of cadences on G. Although, beginning with the phrase ‘danket und preiset seine Heiligkeit’, Schein’s writing changes from polyphonic to homophonic, the final of the Mixolydian mode is still asserted at cadences. ‘Danket und preiset’ begins with a G major triad, the same tonality with which the opening phrase ended (bar 10). The new phrase is presented initially twice in the upper ensemble; while the first statement ends on ‘A’, the second statement again concludes on G, with tenor, discant and bass clausulae leading to the final (bar 13). The same cadences are found when the passage is repeated in the lower ensemble: a cadence on ‘A’ is followed by a return to ‘G’. The final *tutti* statements of the text begin again on ‘G’, overlapping with the final cadence in the lower ensemble. An intermediary cadence on ‘C’ (bar 18) is again followed by a cadence on the final G to close the setting of the first of the two verses.

Schein emphasises the final ‘G’ of the Mixolydian mode throughout his setting of the first of the *Spruch*’s two verses; crucially, this is so not just at the polyphonic opening, where modal stability would be the expected result of the polyphonic writing, but also at the following homophonic setting of ‘Danket und preiset’, where harmonic experimentation would have been possible. While the text talks of praise – ‘lobsinget; danket; preiset’ – Schein’s setting remains oriented on the finalis of the Mixolydian mode G, the Mixolydian mode, as one of the ‘*modi laetiores*’, reflecting the joyful content of the text. Interesting is the manner in which Schein briefly departs from this G tonal centre for the two reminiscences of past *Anfechtung*, namely ‘Zoren’ and ‘Weinen’. As we have seen, Schein’s setting of the second verse is delineated from the first through the tonal shift of a third, beginning with E (bar 20). Schein uses tonality as a means of depicting the juxtaposition between ‘Denn sein Zoren’ and ‘Lust zum Leben’. ‘Denn sein Zoren’ is set over a pedal-point on E in the lowest voice, before the final ‘G’ is reached with the first statement of ‘Lust’ (bar 22). The following phrase is set similarly: ‘Weinen’ is set over a pedal-point on A, over which the upper voices create 5-3/6-4 shifts in d minor. Again,

the setting of the contrasting ‘aber des Morgens die Freude’ begins on the final G. The concluding three cadences in the setting, all settings of the word ‘Freude’, are likewise all on the final (bars 47; 49; 51). While the departures from the final G correspond with the reminiscences of past suffering, the association of ‘Freude’ with the final of the Mixolydian mode is confirmed.

Schein’s setting thus suggests that the Mixolydian mode was, for him, associated with the affect of joy, praise and thanksgiving. Having identified these as the defining affects of the text, Schein chose the Mixolydian mode as the mode best suited to the depiction of these affects in music. On a global level, the mode corresponded to the affect of the text. But also within the setting, the affirmation of or the isolated departure from the final of the mode were important means of reflecting departures in the text from the main affect. The first verse contains a synonymous parallelism, both halves reflecting the main affect of ‘lobsingen’ or ‘danken/preisen’:

Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herren, danket und preiset seine Heiligkeit.

The affirmation of the final of the Mixolydian mode throughout the setting of this verse corresponds to theme of praise found in both its constituent halves. The first departure from the final is found with the reference to ‘Zoren’ at the start of the second verse; this point in the text is likewise an isolated departure from the theme of praise. The same applies to the reference to ‘Weinen’; it is an isolated departure, before the final of the Mixolydian mode is reasserted with the concluding word ‘Freude’.

2.8 Conclusion

Taking Schein’s two settings of verses from Psalm 90, I have attempted to show that the dialectic of the Law and the Gospel permeates many of Schein’s *Sprüche*. On the one hand, the Christian experience of *Anfechtung* on the path to salvation is the central theme encapsulated in many of these verses: the three-part model of despair, redemption through the passive receipt of divine grace, and finally praise and thanksgiving as a response, is the model which weaves together Schein’s *Sprüche* into a coherent whole, even if various aspects of this continuum are in individual settings more prominent than others. I have suggested that the choice of mode was a deliberate decision to reflect the relative position of the individual *Sprüche* along this continuum. Luther divided Psalm 90 into two halves, the first of which was associated with the Law, the second with the Gospel; this distinction is, I have argued, reflected in Schein’s choice of the Aeolian mode for the first – one of Calvisius’ ‘modi tristiores’ – and the transposed Ionian –

belonging to the ‘*modi laetiores*’ – for the second. This interpretation is supported by a consideration of the other *Sprüche* which Schein set in the ‘*modi laetiores*’. The two settings in the Mixolydian mode – ‘Nun danket alle Gott’ and ‘Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herrn’ – are the *Sprüche* most clearly associated with the final stage of the continuum, with praise and thanksgiving. In the first, the *Spruch* begins with praise and never departs; in the second, retrospective references to the struggles of *Anfechtung* are embedded within a context of praise.

In my discussion of Schein’s settings of verses from Psalm 90 I have touched on other aspects of these compositions. I have suggested that intertextual references are found between Schein’s setting of ‘Unser Leben’ and Calvisius’ setting of the same text. Indeed, some of the most extreme features of Schein’s setting – most prominently the melismatic setting of the final phrase ‘als flögen wir davon’ – are also found in Calvisius’ setting, suggesting that such ‘*madrigalisms*’ were not necessarily the result of a direct indebtedness to Italian models. Drawing on the connection between funeral text and funeral composition shown to have existed for Leipzig Bürgermeister Theodor Möstel, I have in this chapter discussed two funerals of other Leipzig Bürgermeister, both of which were held in the years between Schein’s assumption of duties as Thomaskantor and the publication of *Israelsbrunnlein*. At the funeral of Johan Peilicke in 1617, Vincentius Schmuck preached on the selection of verses from Psalm 90 which Schein set as ‘Unser Leben’. Could this have been the occasion for which Schein set this text?

3. THE INTERPRETATION OF SCHEIN'S *SPRÜCHE* IN CONTEMPORARY SERMONS: THE PROPHETICAL TEXTS

My approach to Schein's *Sprüche* has been threefold. In my first chapter I attempted to reconstruct the possible function that many of these *Sprüche* might have had in the context of a Leipzig funeral. In this chapter I focus more closely on the second and third aspects of my methodological approach, namely on the interpretation of the *Sprüche* as revealed in the printed sermons, and on Schein's setting of them to music. I argue that Schein was familiar with the manner in which these *Sprüche* were interpreted and attempt to use insights gained from a reading of sermons held by his theological colleagues to shed light on his settings. I have selected for closer examination in this chapter the four *Sprüche* set in *Israelsbrunnlein* which stem from the Prophetical books of the Old Testament. I have decided to look at these texts for a number of reasons. Firstly, as the quantity of surviving funeral sermons preached on these verses in seventeenth-century Saxony indicates, these verses belonged to the most commonly selected *Sprüche* for Lutheran funerals. For three of these four *Sprüche* I was able to find funeral sermons preached in Leipzig between Schein's arrival there in 1616 and the publication of *Israelsbrunnlein* in 1623. These might, therefore, have been occasions at which Schein himself was present. If the model reconstructed for Möstel's funeral is applicable to at least some of the *Israelsbrunnlein* compositions, we could speculate that these could have been representative of the occasions for which Schein might have set these three *Sprüche* to music. Secondly, a study of the verses from the Prophetical books reveals a striking feature of the verses set: these four *Sprüche*, although not from the biblical psalter, nevertheless display the formal features of psalm verses. They are taken from 'psalms' within narrative passages in the Prophetical books of the Old Testament. This must have been an important feature for Schein when determining the suitability of a text to be set. On the one hand, the structure of the psalm verses, divided into discrete units, the second of which could confirm, contradict or develop the thought presented in the first, could be reinforced by Schein through the use of contrasting musical devices. On the other, this observation might reveal more about the nature of the connection between funeral text and musical setting. Not all funeral texts were taken from the psalms or from a text similarly conducive to musical exegesis. Others were narrative texts or, especially in the case of texts selected from the Pauline epistles, somewhat dry statements of theological argumentation. Where such a text was taken as *Predigttext*, as for Leipzig Bürgermeister Paul Calemburg, at whose funeral Vincentius Schmuck preached upon the "schöne Historiam von der Verklärung Christi", Schein, faced with its unsuitability for musical setting, might have decided to set for

the occasion another text of his own choosing or simply revert to a motet from the school's repertoire. A third reason for examining the *Sprüche* from the Prophetical books is the opportunity that it offers to compare Schein's different settings of 'Zion spricht'. This *Spruch*, set by Schein in *Israelsbrünnlein*, was set again for the Leipzig *Ratswahl* of 1629. Through a comparison of these two compositions I conclude that it is unlikely that the *Israelsbrünnlein* setting of 'Zion spricht' was composed for the occasion of the annual *Ratswahl*, but was more likely to have been originally conceived as a funeral composition. And finally, these were the *Sprüche* which initially puzzled me the most. I wanted to find out what 'Zion' and 'Ephraim' meant for Schein and why he might have decided to set these texts. In the printed funeral sermons, I found answers. Before I examine each of the four *Sprüche* from the Prophetical books individually, I outline the origins of the 26 *Sprüche* set in *Israelsbrünnlein* and the formal feature common to most of them, namely the form of the *parallelismus membrorum*. Uniting this chapter with the previous chapters is my argument that Schein's compositions are best understood as *Kraftsprüchlein* set to music.

3.1 *Kraftsprüchlein*

Schein refers three times to the texts set in *Israelsbrünnlein* as "Kraftsprüchlein": on the title page of the 1623 print as "Auserlesener KrafftSprüchlin", in the dedication in the Tenor part-book as "außerlesene Kraftsprüchlein", and in the preface to the continuo partbook as "schöne geistliche Kraftsprüchlein". An anecdote from the opening of a funeral sermon suggests what this phrase might have meant. A simple fellow named Bruno tells a group of Parisian academics that they cannot refute the logic of death: death asks if they are human, from which premise he concludes that they are sinners and will be condemned. While the professors have no scientific arguments to answer death's dilemma, Bruno rebuts by happily quoting verses from John's gospel. As the preacher explains, "Solche und dergleichen Sprüche hat er viel nacheinander erzehlet / und gesagt / das sind die kräftige *solutiones*, darüber der Todt *acutissimus Logicus* nichts kan auffbringen".³⁴² As he continues: "Was aber fromme Brunonisten und Christen anlangt / die können sich viel besser in die Sacher schicken / und dem Todt seine Argumenta

³⁴² Gerog Reinhard, *SUSPIRIVM HISKIACUM* Das ist : Gewaltiger Hertzens Seufftzer *Hiskiaë*, des Königs in Juda zu Hierusalem / Aus dem Propheten Esaia am Acht und dreyssigsten Capittel / *vers. 17*. Auff vorhergehends / Im 1623. Jahrs den 26. *Januarij*, begehren Des [...] Johan. Eyteln Truchsessens / von und zu Wetzhausen [...] *disponiret*, zusammen gebracht / und demselbigen Schrifftlichen übergeben : Als aber Ihre G. und V.

solvirn und zurückschlagen / wenn sie aus der H. Bibel / als dem Buch des Lebens / sich mit kräftigen Gründen / Sprüchen / Jesu Christi Creutz / Todt und Blut / in rechter Bereitschafft und Glauben darwider rüsten und gefast machen”.

Bruno’s verses were ‘kräftig’ in the sense that they could negate the finality of death as the inevitable termination of human life. While for logic and reasoning, the tools of the Parisian intellectuals, death was the great unresolvable problem, the simple but faithful Bruno, armed with his ‘kräftige’ *Sprüche*, could overcome death’s power. Bruno found in these verses a source of consolation and strength when confronted with death and the anguish and insecurity that resulted. There is a parallel here to the use of *Sprüche* by Lutherans as a source of consolation in death. But the metaphor can be extended to encompass the broader use of such verses when confronted with hardship, suffering and *Anfechtung*, as arguments which invert the hopeless state of affairs as perceived by the faculties of reason. Alongside ‘tröstlich’, ‘kräftig’ was one of the most common adjectives associated with *Sprüche*: both of these are found alongside others in one preacher’s reference to the selection of a favourite biblical passage for use “bey LebensZeiten [...] als ein Symbolum” and “im Tode [...] als ein *Cordiale* unnd Hertzstreckung”: “dennoch aber ist immer ein Buch / ein Capitel / ein Spruch / ein Wort kräftiger / säfftiger / wichtiger / tröstlicher / als das ander...”.³⁴³ Schein’s multiple references to ‘Krafftspüchlein’ thus suggest an affinity with the verses used in Lutheran devotional practice in life and when faced with death.

Tobias Michael, Schein’s successor as Thomaskantor, also had his private devotions praised in his funeral sermon. He too was not just an attentive listener to “die Predigten Göttliches Worts” in public worship,

über die vierdhalb Jahr hernach / als 1626. den 15. Augusti [...] abgeschieden / und den 28. desselbigen Monats / recht Adelichem / Christlichem Gebrauch nach [...] beygesetzt [...] gehalten worden. Coburg: 1627, ‘Vorrede’.

³⁴³ Sigismund Höfer, *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ* Zwo Adelige Ehreñseulen gesetzt und aufgerichtet in Zwey Christlichen Leich= und Trost= Predigten [...], Jena: 1655, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnüß=Predigt: ΕΡΤΑΣΙΑ’.

sondern sich auch zu Hause täglich in Betrachtung desselbigen geübet / an schönen Kernsprüchen H. Schrifft seine sonderbare Beliebung getragen / dieselben seinen lieben Kindern fleissig eingeildet / derselben auch eine grosse Anzahl unter schöne Melodien gesetzt / welche zum theil in offenen Drucke sein / und in vielen Kirchen mit Erfreung Christlicher Herten gebraucht werden.³⁴⁴

The link is made here between *Kernsprüchen* from the scriptures as used in private domestic devotions, and musical settings of such verses. Tobias Michael thus extended the common practice of the learning and recitation of biblical *Sprüche* to include a musical dimension, setting “eine grosse Anzahl” of the verses which he and his children had used in their domestic devotions to music (“unter schöne Melodien gesetzt”). It is clear from the above description that, even after they had been set, they retained their identity as “Kernsprüche”; they had simply been enhanced through music. With this in mind, we can understand what Schein might have meant when, on the title page of *Israelsbrünnlein*, he described the works contained therein as “Auserlesener KrafftSprüchlin Altes und Newen Testaments” or, in his preface to the continuo partbook, “etzliche schöne geistliche KrafftSprüchlein”. Schein’s texts had a function and integrity as “KrafftSprüchlein” before they were set to music.

3.1.2 The Psalms as a Source of *Sprüche*

All but two of the 26 ‘schöne geistliche KrafftSprüchlein’ which Schein set in *Israelsbrünnlein* were selected from the biblical scriptures. Of these, all but one (23 in total) were from books of the Old Testament. And of these, twelve were from the Book of Psalms.³⁴⁵ At the start of his sermon for Veronica, widow of former Leipzig Bürgermeister Leonhart Oelhafen the Elder, Vincentius Schmuck suggests why this was the case, describing the psalter as a source of *Trostsprüche* for daily personal devotion (a “tägliches Handbuch”) and, by extension, for *Leichentexte*:

³⁴⁴ Martin Geier, *Köstliches Aqua vitæ Oder Lebens=Wasser: aus Joh. 4/13.14.* (Wer dieß Wasser trincket / den wird wieder dürsten; Wer aber des Wassers etc.) Betrachtet bey Christlicher Leichenbestattung Des Ehrenvesten / VorAchtbaren und Wohlgelehrten Herrn Tobiaë Michaelis / Weitberühmten *Musici*, und bey dieser Stadt Leipzig wohlverordneten *Directoris Chori Musici*, Seel. am Tage seiner Begräbnis / Welcher war der 30. Junii Anno 1657 [...], Leipzig: 1657, p. 45. Included in the print for Tobias Michael is a five-part cantional song composed by Michael in anticipation of his death (Christliche Gedancken über den mühseligen Lebenslauff Hn. Tobias Michael / *Chori Musici Directoris* allhier / Welche er etliche Jahr vor seinem seligen Absterben mit eigener Hand 5. Stimmig gesetzt / und bey seiner Beerdigung zu *musiciren* begehret / Welches geschehen den 30. Junii 1657).

³⁴⁵ One of these – ‘Ich lasse dich nicht’ – is an amalgamation of a psalm verse (Ps. 4:9b) with an excerpt from the book of Genesis (Gen. 32:27b).

Es hat unter den Büchern altes Testaments das liebe Psalterbüchlein den Ruhm / daß es die rechte übung der Gottseligkeit zu weisen / das schönste Buch sey unter allen / und solches nicht unbillich. Denn alles was man auß den Historien der heiligen Schrifft / und auch auß den Predigten der Propheten nimmet / das leuffet da hinauß / daß ein Christ dasselbe ihm zu Lehr und Trost nütz mache / und in der Gottseligkeit erbawet werde / auch im Creutz lerne gedültig seyn / und beten / und wiederumb für empfangene Wolthaten Gott dancken / und andere auch also auffrichten / trösten / unterweisen / und zum guten anführen ... Solches aber alles hat und findet man heuffig und reichlich in dem Psalter / da ist lehren / vermahnen / unterrichten / trösten / da ist beten und anrufen / da ist loben und dancksagen / und in Summa / was man bedarff / wo man nur im Psalter hinsihet / daß sich ein Christliche Seele zur gnüge erholen kan / was sie haben sol. Daher wird der Psalter ein *Promptuarium* genennet / das ist eine Speisekammer aller geistlichen Notturfft / und was S. Jacobus befiehet / das ein Christ thun sol / nemlich / wenn er leidet / daß er bete / und wenn er guts muths ist / daß er Psalmen singe / deß hat er da ein gantzes Buch voll / vom heiligen Geist ihm fürgeschrieben / neben allerley Lehre / Trost / Warnungen und Vermahnungen / ec. also daß billich der Psalter aller Christen tägliches Handbuch ist und seyn sol / daß ihm ein jeglicher mit täglicher übung leufftig unnd gemein machen sol.³⁴⁶

Reflecting the importance of the psalms, Schmuck states how Veronica had made use of psalm verses in her personal devotions:

Und also hat es die seliglich verstorbene Fraw Bürgermeisterin / so wir dißmal zur Erden bestatten / auch gehalten / und ihr das Psalterbuch wol bekandt gemacht / daher sie der fürnembsten Sprüche und Psalmen / beydes sonst jederzeit / und auch fürnemlich in ihrer Kranckheit sich zu ihrem Trost und in Gebeten heilsam und kräftiglich hat zugebrauchen gewust.

The Book of Psalms was, states Schmuck, “das schönste Buch...unter allen”, encapsulating the essence of the Historical and Prophetical books. The psalter contained appropriate spiritual food for all manner of suffering and tribulation as experienced by the Christian, and thus played a key role in daily prayers and personal devotions. It is no surprise that the psalter, this “Speisekammer aller geistlichen Notturfft”, was the most importance source of *Sprüche* from which personal *Symbola* and *Leichentexte* were selected. Polycarp Leiser confirms that this was the case:

In den Psalmen aber finden wir beydes bey einander / ja zugleich ein Muster / wie ein Christ sein Hertz und Seele uber die Wolcken zu Gott erheben / von seinem Creutz sich mit ime unterreden / sein Hertz für im außzuschütten / und um[b] errettung un[d] erlösung anhalte[n] sol. Dannhero fromme Christen an dem

³⁴⁶ Vincentius Schmuck, LeichPredigt / Uber den Spruch Psal. 116. Sey nu wieder zu frieden meine Seele / ec. Beym Begräbniß der [...] Frawen *VERONICA*, Deß [...] Herrn *LEONHART* Oelhafens deß Eltern / Churf. Sächs. Schöpffen / und Bürgermeisters zu Leipzig / seligen / nachgelassener Witwen / Welche den 8. *Augusti* deß 1620. Jahres [...] entschlaffen / und den 11. desselben [...] bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1620.

heiligen Psalterbüchlein besondere lust und gefallen haben / die schönen Sprüchlein heraus verzeichnen / außwendig lernen / als ihre *Symbola* täglich gebrauchen / und ihres Hertzen grund offenbaren.³⁴⁷

Schmuck's discussion of the psalms in 1620 reflects the significance which Luther ascribed to the psalter. In the prefaces to his psalm commentaries, Luther outlines the importance of the psalms. Firstly, he claims that the psalms represent the Bible in miniature: "Er könnst wohl eine kleine Bibel heißen, darin alles, was in der ganzen Bibel steht, aufs Schönste und Kürzeste gefaßt und zu einem feinen Enchiridion oder Handbuch gemacht und bereitet ist".³⁴⁸ He laments the fact that stories and legends of saints, along with other *Exempelbücher*, have recently appeared and distracted from the psalms.³⁴⁹ The psalter remains, according to Luther, the best 'Exempelbuch' of all. In his psalm summaries from 1531, Luther assigns each of the 150 psalms to one of five possible categories: "prophecy, doctrine, comfort, prayer, or praise".³⁵⁰ That Luther's psalm commentaries were still authoritative in 1620s Leipzig is seen in the funeral sermon for Maria, wife of Sigismund Deuerlin,³⁵¹ in which Vincentius Schmuck discusses the appropriate category of Psalm 121, the funeral text on that occasion: "Dis sind des Herrn Lutheri Wort / in den Summarien uber diesen Psalm. Als nu im Psalterio die Psalmen unterschiedlicher arte sind / Als es sind Betpsalmen / Lehrpsalmen / Trostpsalmen / Danckpsalmen / unnd etliche auch Weissagungen / so gehöret dieser eigentlich unter die Trostpsalmen...".³⁵² Representatives of the first four categories are found amongst the psalms from which Schein's *Krafftspüchlein*

³⁴⁷ Leiser, for Georg Olfelds.

³⁴⁸ 'Vorrede zum Psalter von 1528 bzw. 1545' in Erwin Mülhaupt [ed.] *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, Göttingen: 1959, vol. 1, p. 2.

³⁴⁹ The removal of legends and hagiography was an important feature of Luther's 1523 'von Ordnung Gottesdienstes'. See, for example, Albrecht, *Einführung in die Liturgik*, pp. 26-27.

³⁵⁰ See Christopher Boyd Brown, 'Devotional Life in Hymns, Liturgy, Music and Prayer', in Robert Kolb [ed.], *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550 - 1675*, Leiden: 2008, p. 241.

³⁵¹ Schein set Psalm 150 "Mit 8.16. oder 24. Stimmen/ Nach anleitung des Textes/| auff Drommeten und Pauken gerichtet" for Sigismund Deuerlin's marriage to the daughter of "Leonhard Oelhafen/ vornehmen des Raths und Stadt=| Richters allhier", "Bey dero ansehlichen Copulation, den 24. Octobr [1620]". See NGA 10.18.

³⁵² Vincentius Schmuck, Leichpredigt / Uber den 121. Psalm / Beym Begräbnis der Erbarñ und Ehrentugendsamen Frawen *MARIA*, des Ehrnvesten / Wolweisen Herrn Sigismund Deuerlins / des Rahts / und zu S. Niclas Kirchvaters in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen / Welche den 27. Maij / Donnerstag nach Trinitatis / des 1619. Jahrs im HErrn selig entschlaffen / und Sontags hernach / den 30. Maij zur Erden Christlich bestattet worden, Leipzig: 1619.

were taken. Amongst them are four *Dankpsalmen* (30; 115; 116; 126), three *Trostpsalmen* (4; 37; 119), two *Betpsalmen* (25; 42/3)³⁵³ and two *Lehrpsalmen* (73; 90).³⁵⁴

In his second point, Luther claims that the psalter presents the saints to us in a manner unlike any other book. Rather than simply showing us a saint's actions, the psalms present "sein Herz und den Schatz seiner Seele".³⁵⁵ Luther describes the human heart metaphorically as "ein Schiff auf einem wilden Meer", battered about by stormy winds. "Hier stößt her Furcht und Sorge vor zukünftigem Unfall, dort fährt Grämen her und Traurigkeit von gegenwärtigem Übel, hier west Hoffnung und Vermessenheit von zukünftigem Glück, dort blast her Sicherheit und Freude in gegenwärtigen Gütern". These emotions – encompassing both the deepest distress and the highest elation of human existence – are all brought to expression in the psalter. They offer not merely a narrative account, but reveal the humanity of the saints, grappling with the same challenges with which we are faced; as Luther writes, "Da siehst du allen Heiligen ins Herz". This enables a unique form of consolation in recognition, when one sees that "es sei allen Heiligen gegangen, wie es ihm geht". The psalms have a practical use in terms of providing guidance; Luther wished that every person were to know the psalms by heart and have a fitting verse at hand whenever required to speak or act.³⁵⁶

The third point, a characteristic feature of Luther's earlier writings on the psalms, is the interpretation of the psalms in a Christian context. As Luther writes, "Und allein deshalb sollte der Psalter teuer und lieb sein, weil er von Christi Sterben und Auferstehen so klar verheißt und sein Reich und der ganzen Christenheit Stand und Wesen vorbildet".³⁵⁷ The psalter is often interpreted by Luther in light of the New Testament. This second layer of interpretation must have been essential to the understanding of the psalms in the educated Lutheran milieu to which

³⁵³ Mülhaupt [ed.] *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, vol. 2, p. 133. Ps. 42:12 & Ps. 43:5 – 'Was betrübst du dich meine Seele...' – are identical. As Luther writes concerning Ps. 43: "Der 43. Psalm ist des gleichen Schlages wie der vorige Psalm und hat fast die gleichen Worte wie er".

³⁵⁴ See Mülhaupt [ed.], *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen-Auslegung*, vol. 1-3.

³⁵⁵ 'Vorrede zum Psalter von 1528 bzw. 1545' in Mülhaupt [ed.] *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, vol. 1, p. 4.

³⁵⁶ "...daß ein jeglicher Christ denselben so übe und so geläufig drin würde, daß er ihn von Wort zu Wort auswendig könnte und immer im Munde hätte und, sooft ihm etwas zu reden oder zu tun wäre, einen Spruch daraus führen und beiziehen könnte wie ein Sprichwort". 'Vorrede zum Neuburger Psalter 1545' in Mülhaupt [ed.] *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, vol. 1, p. 5 ff.

³⁵⁷ 'Vorrede zum Psalter von 1528 bzw. 1545' in Mülhaupt [ed.] *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, vol. 1, p. 3.

Schein belonged. But it is a layer of meaning that doesn't reveal itself in the selected psalm verses when taken at face value. It must be reconstructed through an examination of contemporary psalm commentaries, and could lead to new insights both into the reasons for the selection of a *Spruch* and its musical setting. To the selection, because commentaries might reveal more about possible associations with liturgical or societal events, and show how certain verses within a psalm were emphasised in the commentaries. And to the music itself, as emphases found in the commentaries might reveal themselves in the setting.

Most of the remaining *Kraftsprüchlein* set in *Israelsbrünnlein* were from other books of the Old Testament. To these belong three selections of verses from Proverbs which may have been intended for wedding celebrations. Two *Sprüchlein* are from the apocryphal book Ecclesiasticus. In the case of 'Drei schöne Ding', Schein found a (in the context of *Israelsbrünnlein*) unique formal solution to the setting of the text, using a ritornello and number symbolism. The other, 'Nun danket alle Gott', is the only six-part setting in *Israelsbrünnlein*. 'Ich lasse dich nicht' is the only *Spruch* comprised of excerpts from two different biblical books: a verse from Jacob's wrestling bout with the angel in Genesis 32 is forged with an excerpt from Psalm 4. While this is the only *Spruch* which consists of verses from two different books, both 'Ich bin jung gewesen' and 'Ich bin die Wurzel' are comprised of non-consecutive verses from within a single chapter. Four of the *Sprüchlein* were taken from the Prophetic books of the Old Testament. Significant is the observation that these are not 'narrative' texts, but 'psalms', songs governed by the formal features of Semitic poetry, embedded within narrative passages. 'Siehe, nach Trost war mir sehr Bange', for example, is from the book of Isaiah, but is an excerpt not from a narrative prose passage but from Hezekiah's song of thanksgiving following his recovery from illness. One passage set by Schein, however, is clearly narrative in nature: the account of the death of Jacob in the book of Genesis. Accounts of the deaths of Old Testament Patriarchs were often selected as funeral texts; Schein's setting of 'Da Jacob' fits into this tradition.³⁵⁸ Only one text in Schein's collection of "Kraftsprüchlin altes und newen Testaments" was taken from the New Testament: 'Ich bin die Wurzel' is from the book of Revelation. Two of the texts were not taken from the scriptures at all, but were presumably written by Schein himself.³⁵⁹ To

³⁵⁸ See my discussion of 'Da Jacob' in Chapter 2.

³⁵⁹ See Wilhelm Schulte, *Music and Language in Johann Hermann Schein's Sacred Works*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Cincinnati, 1998, pp 25-9.

these belong ‘O, Herr Jesu Christe’, the only text in *Israelsbrunnlein* in which Christ is mentioned by name, and ‘Ach Herr, ach meine Schone’.

3.1.3 The Parallelismus Membrorum: ‘The Poetic Form of the Psalms’

The importance of the *parallelismus membrorum* as a structural and poetic device in the psalms has long been recognised in the theological and musicological literature. Hans-Joachim Kraus summarises its features with regards to the ‘poetische Form der Psalmen’, outlining the four forms which a parallelism could take:

Schon sehr früh wurde eine hervorragende Eigentümlichkeit der hebräischen Dichtung beobachtet: der Parallelismus membrorum... Es wurde immer deutlicher erkannt, daß zwei (gelegentlich auch drei) Stichen einen Vers bilden, dessen Glieder nach Form und Inhalt parallel liegen. Die “Stichen” wurden auch “Glieder” oder “Halbverse” genannt. Eingehende Erforschungen des Parallelismus membrorum haben ergeben, daß vier verschiedene Typen in der Parallelität der Glieder zur Ausprägung kommen: a) Der *synonyme* Parallelismus, der den Inhalt des ersten Stichos im parallelen Versglied mit anderen Worten variiert... b) Der *antithetische* Parallelismus, der im zweiten (parallelen) Versglied eine gegenüber dem ersten Stichos gegensätzlich gerichtete Äußerung enthält... c) Der *synthetische* Parallelismus, der im zweiten Halbvers den Gedanken des ersten Gliedes weiterführt und ergänzt... d) Der *klimaktische* Parallelismus, in dem der zweite Stichos ein Wort des vorhergehenden wiederaufnimmt... Für Israel war der Parallelismus membrorum die elementarste poetische Aussageform. Der Dichter sah sich veranlaßt, das jeweils zur Rede Stehende in zwei Versstichen, d.h. aber auch in zwei Aspekten – wie immer sie beschaffen sein mochten – zum Ausdruck zu bringen... Es handelt sich also um eine poetische Grundform, die als Unterscheidungsmerkmal von Prosa und Poesie unbezweifelbar ist.³⁶⁰

Kraus writes from the perspective of biblical scholarship, observing the fundamental parallel structure of the psalm verses themselves. Just as important for the musical tradition of the psalms was the manner in which they were sung to plainchant. The liturgical singing of psalms necessitated the imposition of the two-part structure of the recitation models onto all psalm verses. As Jeffrey Kurtzman writes, “Whatever the original organization of lines of texts, Gregorian chant, in the form of psalm tones, has always treated the texts as a series of individual verses, with each verse further subdivided into two hemistichs. From a musical point of view, therefore, psalm settings in plainchant have a musical structure of paired phrases related to the

³⁶⁰ Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalmen*, 1. Teilband Psalmen 1-59, vol. XV/1 in *Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament*, Neukirchener Verlag: 1989, pp. 29-30.

syntactical organization of the text”.³⁶¹ As Kurtzman continues, this “imposition of the verse and hemistich structure on more flexible texts in their plainchant settings” was later adopted as a structural principle for polyphonic settings of these texts.³⁶² The two-fold structure inherent in the liturgical performance of psalms to plainchant thus remained decisive in polyphonic settings of these texts. Pietro Pontio, in his ‘Ragionamento di musica’ of 1588, outlines three categories of psalm performance.³⁶³ The first two of these were based on verse by verse alternation, either between two choirs each singing polyphonic settings of a verse (‘Salmi a versi con le sue risposte’) or between polyphonic settings of odd-numbered verses alternating with verses sung in plainchant. In both cases, the division of the texts into verses served as the natural principle which determined the structure of the composition; furthermore, the discrete musical sections which resulted prevented the subdivision of individual psalm verses and their association with discrete musical ideas. The third category mentioned by Pontio were the ‘Salmi spezzati’, “works written for two four-part choirs in continuous polychoral dialogue, without *caesura* between verses”.³⁶⁴ In such settings, the “subdivision of verses” became possible; as Kurtzman writes, these “subdivisions were normally associated with double-choir settings where the exchanges between choirs might take place not only from one verse to the next, but within a verse, whether according to the hemistich, or even smaller textual units”.³⁶⁵ This “subdivision of verses”, the fragmentation of a psalm verse or couplet into smaller units which the composer can associate with discrete musical ideas, is an important feature of Schein’s text setting in *Israelsbrünnlein* and is decisive for the ‘madrigalian’ quality of many of the settings.

Psalms had a unique form which resulted in a unique tradition of musical setting. In Möstel’s *Symbolum*, which consists of verse 15 and the first half of verse 16 from Psalm 31, the division of the psalm verses according to the *parallelismus membrorum* gives rise to the three-part structure of Schein’s setting. Each of the three parallelisms in Möstel’s *Symbolum* juxtaposes a pronoun of the first person singular with a corresponding pronoun in the second person singular,

³⁶¹ Jeffrey Kurtzman, ‘Polyphonic Psalm Structures in Seventeenth-Century Italian Office Music’, in Helen Geyer & Birgit Johanna Wertenson (ed.) *Psalmen: Kirchenmusik zwischen Tradition, Dramatik und Experiment*, Köln: 2014, p. 119.

³⁶² Kurtzman, ‘Polyphonic Psalm Structures’, p. 119.

³⁶³ See Marta Marullo, ‘The Structure of the Polyphonic Psalm in some Italian Treatises of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century’ in Geyer & Wertenson (ed.) *Psalmen*, p. 95 ff.

³⁶⁴ Marullo, ‘The Structure of the Polyphonic Psalm’ p. 97.

³⁶⁵ Kurtzman, ‘Polyphonic Psalm Structures’, p. 119.

representing respectively the individual Christian and his God. That the form of the psalm verses set by Schein in *Israelsbrünnlein* is governed by the *parallelismus membrorum* is obvious enough. Psalm 126:5-6 will serve as an example:

5: Die mit Tränen säen, werden mit Freuden ernten.

6: Sie gehen hin und weinen und tragen edlen Samen und kommen mit Freuden und bringen ihre Garben.

Both verses can be divided into two discrete halves, the second of which comments on the first. Verse 5 contains the juxtaposition between the contrasting emotional states represented by ‘Tränen’ and ‘Freuden’, and between the actions of ‘säen’ and ‘ernten’. Verse 6 similarly combines the contrast between ‘weinen’ and ‘Freuden’ with contrasting actions. This is consistent with the above description of the form of the *parallelismus membrorum* as a characteristic feature of the psalms.

In *Israelsbrünnlein* we find a group of texts from books of the Old Testament which, although not from the biblical psalter, nevertheless demonstrate the formal features of the psalms. In many cases, the *Sprüche* were taken from ‘psalms’ – poetic texts governed by the form of the *parallelismus membrorum* – embedded within passages of prose text. We can recall here Kraus’s statement that the *parallelismus membrorum* was “eine poetische Grundform, die als Unterscheidungsmerkmal von Prosa und Poesie unbezweifelbar ist”. As an example, we can take Isaiah 61:10:

10: Ich freue mich im Herren, und meine Seele ist fröhlich in meinem Gott;

denn er hat mich angezogen mit den Kleidern des Heiles und mit dem Rock der Gerechtigkeit gekleidet, wie ein Bräutigam mit priesterlichem Schmuck gezieret und wie eine Braut in ihrem Geschmeide bärdet.

Within this one verse are found three distinct synonymous parallelisms. In the first, ‘freue mich’ and ‘fröhlich’ function as synonyms, along with ‘im Herren’ and ‘in meinem Gott’. In the second parallelism, ‘Kleidern des Heils’ is repeated as ‘Rock der Gerechtigkeit’. In the final parallelism, the ‘Schmuck’ of the bridegroom finds its counterpart in the ‘Geschmeide’ of the bride.

The form of the psalms extends to many of the other *Sprüche* set in *Israelsbrünnlein*. Embedded within prose texts of the Prophetic books are songs which reflect the poetic structure of the psalms. It is from such ‘psalms’ that those texts set in *Israelsbrünnlein* which originate in the Prophetic books of the Old Testament were taken. Hermann Gunkel comments on the presence of psalm-like poetic verse in the Prophetic books of the Old Testament: “Besonders viele

psalmenartige Stücke finden sich in den prophetischen Büchern. Zwar hat die Prophetie Israels ursprünglich nichts mit der religiösen Lyrik zu tun; aber auf einer gewissen Stufe ihrer Entwicklung hat sie sich, um sich voll aussprechen zu können und zugleich, um auf ihr für Poesie in hohem Grade empfängliches Volk zu wirken, wie anderer literarischer Gattungen so auch der Psalmendichtung bemächtigt”.³⁶⁶ The verses from other books of the Old Testament that Schein set are typically songs, psalms within the context of a narrative passage. As Gunkel writes, “[s]olche Stücke [psalmenähnliche Dichtungen außerhalb des biblischen Psalters] haben wir nun in Hülle und Fülle. Den Verfassern der erzählenden Bücher war die erfreuliche Wirkung wohlbekannt, die der Fluß schöner Verse macht, wenn er den Paßgang der Prosa unterbricht. Daher haben sie an gewissen Stellen Lieder eingeschoben und sie den Helden ihrer Erzählungen in den Mund gelegt”.³⁶⁷

Although a plurality of texts set in *Israelsbrunnlein* is taken from the biblical psalter, many of the others display formal and thematic similarities with the biblical psalms.³⁶⁸ Many of these are poetic texts, songs – ‘psalms’ in its wider meaning beyond those contained in the biblical Book of Psalms – found in the context of narrative texts. Many of these *Sprüche* share the formal characteristics of the *parallelismus membrorum*. In addition, there were also thematic similarities. That the Prophetical books of the Old Testament were, like the Psalms, a valuable source of *Sprüche*, was recognised and commented upon by Schmuck in connection with the selection of a *Leichentext* from the book of Jeremiah:

Und das ist des lieben GOTTes höchster Ruhm umb welches willen sonderlich die Bibel geschrieben ist / daß sie denselben außbreite / Nemlich / daß wir einen GOTT haben / der da gütig ist / unnd barmhertzig / und von grosser gnade und trewe / und vergibet ubertretung / missethat und Sünde ... Bey den Propheten

³⁶⁶ Hermann Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen: Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, 4 ed. Göttingen: 1985, p. 5.

³⁶⁷ Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, p. 4.

³⁶⁸ Cf. Demantius’ distinction between ‘Psalmodia’ as “gemeine KirchenGesänge / welche aus den *Psalmen* des Königlichen Propheten Davids genommen und *Choraliter* oder *Figuraliter* gemacht seyn” and ‘Psalmus’ as “ein Musicalisches Gebet / als vornemlich sind die *Psalmen* Davids”. Christoph Demantius, *ISAGOGE ARTIS MUSICÆ AD INCIPIENTIUM CAPTUM MAXIME ACCOMMODATA*. Kurtze Anleitung recht und leicht singen zu lernen / neben kurtzer / doch gründlicher Erklärung / der Griechischen / Lateinischen und Italiänischen Wörtlein [...], Freiberg: 1656.

gibt es nun solcherley Sprüche auch mit hauffen / sonderlich wo sie Trostpredigten thun für das betrübte Israel[.]³⁶⁹

As Schmuck writes, the “Trostpredigten” from the Prophetical books served as a source of *Trostsprüche*. In this chapter I will discuss the four *Sprüche* from the Prophetical books of the Old Testament which Schein set in *Israelsbrunnlein*. I will show that the poetic form of the *parallelismus membrorum* governs many of Schein’s texts selected from biblical books other than the Psalms of David. Even when his texts were not from the biblical psalms, Schein was careful to select poetic texts with the typical *parallelismus membrorum* form. These texts were taken from ‘psalms’ within narrative passages of scripture; poetic texts embedded in prose. I will argue that Schein’s texts have a clear poetic structure that facilitated the musical contrasts observed in his settings.

3.2 Isaiah 49:14-16a – ‘Zion spricht: Der Herr hat mich verlassen’

The Leipzig funeral of Johan Fritsch, at which Johann Höpner preached on 21 October 1616 (a matter of weeks following Schein’s installation as Thomaskantor)³⁷⁰ shares a number of features with the funeral of Theodor Möstel.³⁷¹ Like Möstel, Fritsch was a member of Leipzig’s academic and civic circles. Himself a member of the Stadtrat, his father-in-law Johann Seibel served as Bürgermeister in 1603 and his grandfather had “bey dieser löblichen *Universitet* das *Rectorat* [...] mit sonderlichem ruhm verwaltet”. The Epicedien contributed to his printed funeral sermon confirm his standing in Leipzig society. A second parallel with Möstel’s funeral is found in the selection of the funeral text. The text upon which Höpner preached was the exact “sprüchlein aus dem 49. Capitel des Propheten Esaiaë” which Schein set as ‘Zion spricht’ in *Israelsbrunnlein*. Fritsch had selected it “selbst zum Leichen Text” for the same reason as

³⁶⁹ Vincentius Schmuck, Leichpredigt Aus dem 31. Capitel Jeremiaë / Beym Begräbniß der [...] Frawen *ELISABETH*, Herrn Jacob Apels / Bürgers und Buchhändlers in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen [...], Leipzig: 1617.

³⁷⁰ Prüfer places Schein’s installation in “den letzten Tagen des September oder in den ersten des Oktober 1616”. Prüfer, *Johann Hermann Schein*, p. 26. Snyder and Johnston write concerning Schein’s appointment: “On 19 August 1616 [Schein] was called to Leipzig to audition for the position of Thomaskantor, which had been vacant since the death of Calvisius the previous November. He was accepted [and] began work in late September or early October”. Snyder and Johnston, ‘Schein, Johann Hermann’, in *Grove Music Online*.

³⁷¹ See Johann Höpner, Leichpredigt / Bey dem Christlichen und Volkreichen Leichbegengnis / des [...] Herrn *M. Iohan. Fritschen / Canonic.* zu Wurtzen / unnd Rahtsverwandten zu Leipzig. Welcher den *18. Octob.* dieses *1616.* Jahrs [...] entschlaffen / unnd folgendes den *21. Oct.* ehrlich zur erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1616.

Möstel: “weil es sein *Symbolum* gewesen / und er zu jederzeit aus solcher Prophetischen verheissung reichen Trost geschöpffet”. Schein composed his setting of Möstel’s *Symbolum* in anticipation of the funeral. As Fritzsche’s funeral was held only a matter of weeks after Schein’s arrival in Leipzig, this would have been unlikely in Fritzsche’s case. Nevertheless, the connections of the deceased with the Leipzig Stadtrat and the selection of the *Symbolum* as the sermon text suggest that an event such as Fritzsche’s funeral could have been the occasion of the initial composition and performance of Schein’s ‘Zion spricht’; perhaps Schein, as with the setting of ‘Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen’, whipped up a setting in the days before the funeral.

The parallels between Schein’s setting of Möstel’s *Symbolum* and his five-part setting of ‘Zion spricht’ give reason to suppose that Schein’s setting of ‘Zion spricht’ from *Israelsbrunnlein* was initially conceived as a funeral composition. But Schein set exactly the same *Spruch* for the annual Leipzig *Ratswahl* in 1629; both the composition and the printed pamphlet, along with a dedicatory letter from Schein to the council, survive. There are in total four works known to have been written by Schein for the annual *Ratswahl*; the music for two of these – from 1629 and 1630 – survives completely. Two partially surviving copies may have been written for the *Ratswahl* in 1620 and 1621 respectively.³⁷² Schein received payment in the years both before and after the publication of *Israelsbrunnlein* for further compositions for the *Ratswahl*, some of which are unaccounted for.³⁷³ Michael Maul confirms that entries in the city account books show that Schein, “zumindest bis zum Jahr 1624”, was remunerated for supplying his patrons with “außergewöhnlich prächtigen Kompositionen” for such festive civic occasions.³⁷⁴ One possibility is that some of the larger scale occasional works which have only survived in manuscript copies were composed and performed in the years which are unaccounted for. Another possibility is that some such works, rather than having been printed individually, were included in printed collections such as *Israelsbrunnlein*. Could Schein’s setting of ‘Zion spricht’ in *Israelsbrunnlein* have been originally composed for one of the missing years?

³⁷² ‘Gott, der du uns verstoßen’ (NGA 10.71); ‘Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich’ (NGA 10.76).

³⁷³ “Seine Ratswahlmusiken trugen Schein 1620 10 Taler, 1621 und 1622 (in der Kipperzeit) je 36 Gulden, 1624 bis 1626 wieder je 10 Taler ein, in den letzten Jahren, als der Rat mit ihm unzufrieden geworden war, wie es scheint, nichts mehr”. Rudolf Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig; Berlin: 1909, p. 117.

³⁷⁴ Maul, *Dero berühmter Chor*, p. 55. See also Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, Leipzig; Berlin: 1909, p. 116 ff.

3.2.1 Occasional works for the *Ratswahl*

The Leipzig council consisted of three groups of 12 members, alternating in a three-year cycle.³⁷⁵ Until 1627, the *Ratswahl* took place on the Monday following Invocavit.³⁷⁶ Although this was formally the occasion of the election, the actual decisions were made earlier according to the pattern of rotation; the *Ratswahl* itself had largely ceremonial meaning.³⁷⁷ The transition of power took place in a ceremony in the town hall eight days later following confirmation of the results of the election by the electoral authorities in Dresden.³⁷⁸ Schein's two surviving printed compositions for the *Ratswahl* were written in a period of turbulence. Due to the city's alarming economic situation, an electoral commission had, with a decree issued on 15 February 1627, assumed oversight of Leipzig's finances.³⁷⁹ As a result, the city's accounts were to be examined by the commission before the annual rotation of the council was permitted to take place. The books were in such an appalling state that in 1628 no election was able to take place; the sitting council had to continue in office for a further year.³⁸⁰ A new petition from Leipzig of 17 March 1629 drew attention to the problems which the postponement of the election had caused for the councillors, suffering under "stets wehrende Arbeit und geringe Besoldung".³⁸¹ Approval for elections was granted, but the Bürgermeister first had to swear an oath in the presence of the commission. As the members of the latter would only travel to Leipzig after

³⁷⁵ "So waren immer ein 'sitzendes' und zwei 'ruhende Ratsmittel' vorhanden, die sich in der Geschäftsführung ablösten". Otto Günzel, *Die Leipziger Ratswahlen von 1630 bis 1830. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Städtewesens im Absolutismus*, Leipzig: 1922, p. 5. "Das jeweilige engere Ratskollegium bestand aus dem regierenden Bürgermeister, zwei Baumeistern und neun Beisitzern". Schmotz, *Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien*, p. 39.

³⁷⁶ I.e. the Monday following the first Sunday in Lent.

³⁷⁷ "Die 'Wahl' in den drei Räten trug nur noch formalen Charakter, wurde aber im 17. Jahrhundert mit um so grösserer Feierlichkeit durchgeführt". Günzel, *Die Leipziger Ratswahlen*, pp. 7-8.

³⁷⁸ "Während des 17. Jahrhunderts wurde acht Tage nach der Wahl die 'Publication' und Ratsabwechslung gehalten". Günzel, *Die Leipziger Ratswahlen*, p. 11. See also Thomas Weller, 'Ritual oder politisches Verfahren? Zum Status der Ratswahl im frühneuzeitlichen Leipzig' in Markus Cottin et.al. [eds.] *Stadtgeschichte; Mitteilungen des Leipziger Geschichtsvereins*, Jahrbuch 2008, especially pp. 18-26.

³⁷⁹ Decree of 15 Feb. 1627 "des Raths zu Leipzig Haushaltung betr."; see Günzel, *Die Leipziger Ratswahlen*, pp. 17-18. See also Weller, 'Ritual oder politisches Verfahren?', pp. 31-32.

³⁸⁰ See also Weller, *Theatrum Precedentiae*, p. 171; Wustmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte Leipzigs*, vol. 2 (1895), p. 89.

³⁸¹ Günzel, *Die Leipziger Ratswahlen*, p. 20.

Easter, the election of Friederich Meyer to replace Ernst Moßbach had to be further postponed.³⁸² Deficiencies in the accounts were found again in 1630; not until 30 March did the commission grant permission for new elections. As Günzel shows, the new Bürgermeister Adam Harre “charakterisierte die Zustände recht treffend” when he stated at the rotation of the council on 12 April: “Der Gehorsamb bey der Bürgerschafft schwach, der Creditoren viel, teils potentes, teils universabiles”.³⁸³ Given the chaotic state of the civic administration in these years, the publication of Schein’s compositions may have been a deliberate attempt at asserting continuity with tradition. The arrival of imperial troops in Leipzig in 1631 made the council’s job no easier; between 1631 and 1638 the city was occupied four times.³⁸⁴ Not until 1634 was a regular date again settled upon for the annual rotation: the Monday before the feast of St. Bartholomew.³⁸⁵

The ceremony and symbolism of the annual *Ratswahl* were intended to legitimize the rule of the council over its citizens. As Thomas Weller writes, “der Wahltag selbst began um sieben Uhr morgens mit einem allgemeinen Gottesdienst, bei dem der Superintendent eine Wahlpredigt hielt und eine vom Thomaskantor eigens komponierte Kirchenmusik aufgeführt wurde”.³⁸⁶ Initially held in the Nikolaikirche, from 1515 the service was held alternately in the Nikolai- or the Thomaskirche.³⁸⁷ Following the service, the members of the council assembled in the *Ratsstube*, where the actual election was preceded by biblical readings and prayers.³⁸⁸ The transition of power to the new council followed eight days later. Antje Diener-Staeckling contrasts the exclusivity of the proceedings in the *Rathaus* with the public character of the church service: “War das Rathaus für die Gemeinde ein geschlossener, in vielen Fällen ein Arkanbereich, so

³⁸² Günzel, *Die Leipziger Ratswahlen*, p. 20. The title page of Schein’s composition for the 1629 *Ratswahl* confirms that Moßbach had served a two-year stint: Schein refers to Moßbach’s “durch Gottes Gnade nunmehr zwey Jahre lang rühmlichen geführtes Bürgermeisterliches Regiment”.

³⁸³ Günzel, *Die Leipziger Ratswahlen*, p. 23.

³⁸⁴ Günzel, *Die Leipziger Ratswahlen*, p. 26.

³⁸⁵ Günzel, *Die Leipziger Ratswahlen*, p. 33. See also Jeffrey S. Sposato, “‘The Joyous Light of Day’: New Year’s Day Music in Leipzig, 1781-1847”, *Music and Letters* 92, no. 2 (2011), p. 215; Wustmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte Leipzigs*, vol. 2 (1895), p. 90; Weller, *Theatrum praecedentiae*, p. 171.

³⁸⁶ Weller, *Theatrum praecedentiae*, p. 163.

³⁸⁷ Wustmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte Leipzigs*, vol. 2 (1895), p. 67.

³⁸⁸ To the readings belonged Ps. 20 (see Günzel, *Die Leipziger Ratswahlen* p. 8); a setting of this psalm’s first five verses is found in NGA 10.15.

war der Gottesdienst nach dem erfolgreichen Ratswechsel für jedermann zugänglich. Der Rat war bereits im Rathaus zum neuen Rat geworden und zeigte sich in der Kirche als neues Regierungsgremium der Stadt”.³⁸⁹ The council then withdrew to the *Rathaus*, where the ringing of the bells instructed the townsfolk to gather at the *Marktplatz* for the public reading of the names of the new councillors.³⁹⁰

The role of music at the celebration of the *Ratswahl* was well established by the time of Schein’s arrival in Leipzig, fitting the public and festive nature of the occasion. Referring to the *Ratswahl* in German cities between the Elbe and Saale, Antje Dieter-Staeckling writes; “Schon im Spätmittelalter wurden die Danksagung und die kirchliche Einsetzung des neuen Rates in allen Städten mit Musik verbunden”.³⁹¹ The annual *Ratswechsel* was “das stadtpolitische wichtigste Ereignis, das würdig begangen werden wollte”.³⁹² This was the reason why Bach devoted “besondere Aufmerksamkeit” to the composition of cantatas for these occasions, making use of a “große Instrumentenauswahl” including trumpets and timpani as appropriate “für den hochfeierlichen Anlass”.³⁹³ Specifically with reference to Bach (but a sentiment surely valid a century earlier), she continues, “Der Einsatz von Pauken und Trompeten war an dieser Stelle durchaus angebracht, war es doch ein königliches Regiment das in der Kantate gepriesen wurde”.³⁹⁴ Wustmann describes how in Leipzig the *Montagsprediger* of the Nikolaikirche held the *Ratswahlpredigt*, followed by “eine Kirchenmusik [...], die der Thomascantor gewöhnlich für diesen Tag besonders componirte”.³⁹⁵ In some cities, the singing of the ‘Te Deum laudamus’ as part of the ceremonies is recorded.³⁹⁶ The public, festive nature of the occasion necessitated a fitting music.

³⁸⁹ Antje Diener-Staeckling, *Der Himmel über dem Rat: zur Symbolik der Ratswahl in mitteldeutschen Städten*, Halle: 2008, p. 224.

³⁹⁰ Diener-Staeckling, *Der Himmel über dem Rat*, p. 110.

³⁹¹ Diener-Staeckling, *Der Himmel über dem Rat*, p. 106.

³⁹² Diener-Staeckling, *Der Himmel über dem Rat*, p. 107.

³⁹³ Diener-Staeckling, *Der Himmel über dem Rat*, p. 107.

³⁹⁴ Diener-Staeckling, *Der Himmel über dem Rat*, p. 108.

³⁹⁵ Wustmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte Leipzigs*, vol. 2 (1895), p. 67.

³⁹⁶ E.g. in Bremen and Lübeck; see Dietrich W Poeck, *Rituale der Ratswahl: Zeichen und Zeremoniell der Ratssetzung in Europa (12. - 18. Jahrhundert)*, Köln: 2003, pp. 162 & 181.

A letter following the 1629 *Ratswechsel* shows that Schein had 30 copies of a setting of ‘Zion spricht’, which he had performed “Nach jüngst gehaltener Newen Rathswahl Predigt”, printed as pamphlets.³⁹⁷ The composition survives, published in the NGA (10.25). Schein states that he himself chose ‘die trostreichen Wort’ from Isaiah to set ‘*de novo*’ for this occasion. This setting was, on the title page of the printed pamphlets, entitled “LAMENTATIO Ecclesiae, & CONSOLATIO JEHOVAE”. In his accompanying, handwritten letter to the council, Schein contrasts “dießen gefehrlichen Kriegsläufften vnd schwierigen Zeiten” with his “*Congratulation* vndt Christlichen Wunsch für dero vndt gemeiner Stadt glücklichen Wolstandt”, possibly in awareness of the fact that war, while having devastated much of Germany, had yet to strike Leipzig directly.³⁹⁸ More likely, it was simply a necessary rhetorical flourish for a composition dedicated to the council whose irony, given that the city was bankrupt, its finances had recently been taken over by the electoral authorities and, as Heidenreich recalls, panic had erupted at the news of the fall of nearby Halle, was apparent to anyone who read it. Perhaps Schein’s decision to publish his compositions for the *Ratswahl* both in 1629 and in 1630 was intended to lend legitimacy to the event, compensating for the increasingly chaotic proceedings and the Leipzig council’s impotence at the hands of the electoral commission. If the threat of war and the reality of economic hardship are implied in Schein’s words of 1629, the title of his composition performed “Bey jüngst angekündigter Rathswahl” the following year – *Precatio Ecclesiae pro pace* – makes the shadow cast by the threat of war over this most festive of civic occasions explicit.³⁹⁹

Four of Schein’s compositions for the annual Leipzig *Ratswahl* are known to have been printed. Although the prints of two of these were held in Königsberg and have since been lost, the compositions themselves partially survive in manuscript and are included in the NGA.⁴⁰⁰ Two of the works – ‘Verleih uns Frieden’ and ‘Da pacem Domine’ – are described as prayers for peace; the title of the former commences with ‘Votum pro pace, Frieden Wunsch’, that of the latter (the only Latin text of the four) as ‘*Precatio Ecclesiae Pro Pace*’. In contrast to the majority of

³⁹⁷ Suggesting that the print followed the event itself and wasn’t used for the initial performance. Whether these copies were intended for use at later performances is uncertain; as Stephen Rose concedes, “The possibility remains...that the pamphlet was not used in performance but served a purely symbolic purpose”. Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music’, p. 261.

³⁹⁸ Printed in full in Prüfer, *Johann Hermann Schein*, pp. 114-5.

³⁹⁹ Cf. Prüfer, *Johann Hermann Schein*, p. 104.

⁴⁰⁰ NGA 10.71; NGA 10.76.

the sacred texts which Schein set polyphonically, neither of these is taken directly from the Bible. ‘Verleih uns Frieden’ is a setting of two verses, the first by Luther, the second from Johann Walter. This text was itself a German translation of the Latin antiphon, ‘Da pacem domine’, set separately by Schein for the *Ratswahl* in 1630. Perhaps Schein was unwilling to set the same text for the same occasion twice, so simply set the text in its Latin original in 1630, explaining the untypical use of Latin.

Only one of the four prints states explicitly the location of the performance. ‘Gott, der du uns verstoßen’ was performed at the *Ratswahl* ‘in templo D. Nicolai’, confirming the performance of music during the public ceremony in one of the city’s churches. Schein’s letter of 1629 shows that such compositions were performed at the *Ratswahl* directly following the sermon. While the settings of ‘Zion spricht’ and ‘Da pacem’ are dated 1629 and 1630, the years of the other two compositions can be deduced indirectly. Prüfer’s suggestion that ‘Gott, der du uns verstoßen’ and ‘Verleih uns Frieden’ were composed and performed in 1620 and 1621 respectively, has implications for our understanding of *Israelsbrünnlein*.⁴⁰¹ We want to know if any of the works in *Israelsbrünnlein* could have been composed for a *Ratswahl* in the years before the print in 1623. But two of the years immediately preceding the print of *Israelsbrünnlein* are accounted for. This reduces the potential occasions for which any *Ratswahl* works in *Israelsbrünnlein* could have been composed and suggests that, if any of them were in fact for the *Ratswahl*, it cannot have been more than a couple: only the years 1622 and 1618-1620 would seem to come into contention, not, of course, considering the fact that further works may have been printed and since lost.

The nature of Schein’s compositions known to have been composed for the *Ratswahl* speaks against the possibility that any of the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* may have been intended for this occasion. All four works, spanning a timeframe from 1620-1630 and so ruling out possible changes in requirements or conventions over time, are set for considerably larger forces than the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein*. Schein’s setting of ‘Zion spricht’ for the *Ratswahl* in 1629, for example, requires in addition to singers a considerable instrumental apparatus to perform solo instrumental parts in *sinfonia* sections. All four works make use of real antiphonal effects between independent ensembles. While in ‘Zion spricht’ Schein alternates between sections for instruments, a solo bass, and employs the distinction between a *coro favorito* and *coro cappella*, the setting of ‘Da pacem’ is for two five-part choirs, the repetition of larger passages

⁴⁰¹ See Prüfer, *Johann Hermann Schein*, pp. 104-105 & pp. 48-49.

by the second choir alternating with short back-and-forth exchanges between the choirs – at ‘qui pugnet’ or ‘nisi tu’. This was music for public performance that served a representative function. It was music to be heard and to impress. This is an obvious point of difference with respect to the settings in *Israelsbrünnlein*, none of which require additional instruments and which often utilise figurative, solo-style writing. Such musical differences alone make it difficult to imagine that any of the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* were originally composed and performed for the occasion of the Leipzig *Ratswahl*. While the later setting of ‘Zion spricht’ was demonstrably composed for the Leipzig *Ratswahl* of 1629, the setting of the same text in *Israelsbrünnlein* was more likely conceived as a funeral composition. We have seen that this *Spruch* had a function as the *Predigttext* at the Leipzig funeral of Johan Fritzsche; the next step is to establish how the *Spruch* was interpreted and what insights this might permit into Schein’s setting.

3.2.2 Zion spricht – das *Sprüchlein*

Höpner, in the funeral sermon he held for Johan Fritzsche, divides his discussion of this *Spruch* into two parts, centred respectively on the concepts of *Anfechtung* and *Trost*.⁴⁰² The first consisted of “eine betrübtte Klage der geistlichen Zion / der Christlichen Kirchen / darin[n]en sie mit der anfechtung von der verlassenung Gottes ringet”. Following this comes “der herrliche Trost / damit der HERR Christus seine liebe Kirche in solcher hohen Anfechtung tröstet unnd wieder auffrichtet”. The opening of the *Spruch* is applied to the experience of despair and *Anfechtung* as faced by the individual believer. Of all the “fewrigen Pfeilen” with which “der bösewicht der Teufel from[m]er Christen Herten verwundet”, one of the most common was “daß er sie mit den zweifelhaftigen Gedancken anficht unnd plaget / Gott wolle ihrer keine gnade haben sie hetten sich keiner hülffe zu ihm zu versehen / sie weren von seinem Angesicht verstossen ewiglich”. The thought that one had been forsaken by God was obviously a cause of significant distress for the Christian: “Diese anfechtung macht manchem frommen Christen angst und bange / das er weder zu Him[m]el noch zu Erden weis”. In other troubles, the Christian could at least console himself with the thought that God was there to look out for him; “Aber wenn wir damit angefochten werden / daß uns Gott verlassen habe...so wissen wir weder zu Himmel noch zu Erden / wir können nicht das geringste Unglück vertragen”.

⁴⁰² Johann Höpner, Leichpredigt / Bey dem Christlichen und Volckreichen Leichbegengnis / des [...] Herrn M. Iohan. Fritzschen [...] Welcher den 18. Octob. dieses 1616. Jahrs [...] entschlaffen / unnd folgend den 21. Oct. ehrlich zur erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1616.

Firstly, Höpner addresses the identity of Zion. It stood as a symbol for “die Kirche Gottes”. It was not just a reference to the literal mount Zion in Old Testament times, “Sondern auch die Kirche des Newen Testaments wird auch Zion genennet”.⁴⁰³ Although the text is from the Old Testament, it is interpreted here in light of the New Testament, with the lament of the Christian church followed by the consolation of Christ: “diese geistliche Zion und Kirche Christi führet alhier eine sehnliche Klage uber ihren betrübten kümmerlichen zustand / und spricht: **Der HERR hat mich verlassen / der HERR hat mein vergessen**”. Like Höpner, other preachers define Zion first in its literal sense, as the mountain in Jerusalem on which, following David’s conquest, divine services were held before the completion of Solomon’s temple. “Daher haben die H. Propheten die gantze Kirch Altes Testaments mit solchen Namen genennet / und sie Zion geheissen”.⁴⁰⁴ In the Christian context, Zion becomes a metaphor for the church and its members: “Wird demnach durch die betrübte Zion / so die Jammer=Klag führet / allhie verstanden die Christliche Kirch / das betrübte Häufflein des Volckes Gottes / wie dan auch *in specie* und insonderheit an jedes glaubige / angefochtene / bekümmerte Hertz unter demselben”.⁴⁰⁵ The interpretation of the text on both the communal (die Christliche Kirch) and the individual (jedes glaubige...Hertz) level is again prominent. Höpner draws the parallel between the lamentation of Zion in the Old Testament and the sufferings of the early Christian church: “**Gott hat der Zion gar vergessen / Er hat sie verlassen**. Das was die klage der geistlichen Zion im Alten Testament. Solche klage hat auch die Kirche im Newen Testament offtermals *intoniren* und führen müssen”. The tension between the understanding of this *Spruch* in its relevance to society at large on the one hand and the troubled conscience of the individual believer on the other is evident throughout Höpner’s exegesis. Having outlined the trials faced by the early church, he extends the application of the *Spruch* to its members: “Was nu also in gemein die gantze

⁴⁰³ “IN der Epistel an die Hebreer am 12. Capit. wird angezeigt / was mit dem Namen Zion verstanden wird / nemlich die Kirche Gottes / nicht allein die im Alten Testament die da an einem gewissen Ort und stelle ist verbunden gewesen an den Berg Zion und an die Stadt Jerusalem / die zum theil auff diesen Berrg erbawet war. Sondern auch die Kirche des Newen Testaments wird auch Zion genennet / darumb daß die Evangelische Predigt am aller ersten von Zion solte außgehen / nach der Weissagung Esaiae 2. Capitel”. Höpner, for Fritsch, ‘De Primo’.

⁴⁰⁴ Konrad Mislér, Zions Klag auß dem Propheten Esaia am 49.v.14.15.16. In gehaltener Trauer=und Trost=Sermon Bey sehr kläglicher Leich=Procession Johan Jacob Weisen / Des [...] HERRN M. JOHANNNIS WEISEN / Wohlverordneten *Professor. Ordinar.* bey hiesiger Löblichen *Universität* als Höchbetrübten Vatters. Und dan Der [...] Frawen ANNÆ BARBARÆ WEISIN [...] als Höchbetrübten Mutter / Hertzgeliebten Söhnleins / So Montags den 29. Tag *Octobr. Anno 1660.* [...] entschlaffen / und [...] den 4. Tag Novembr. mit christlichen Ceremonien / unter vieler Eltern Threnen=Vergiessung / Ehrlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Gießen: 1661, p. 11.

⁴⁰⁵ Mislér, Zions Klag auß dem Propheten Esaia, p. 11.

Kirche klaget / das begegnet auch allen derselbe[n] lebendigen Gliedmassen / Gott lest sie auch offtermals in die Noth gerathen / daß sie mit dieser hohen Anfechtung ringen müssen”.

The ambivalence between the application of the *Spruch* to the church as an institution and to its individual members sheds light on Schein’s multiple settings of this text. Significant is the answer to the question “Worüber klaget nu die Kirche”. As Höpner continues, “Sie klaget nicht uber eusserlich Unglück / als uber Krieg / Pestilentz / Tewrung unnd andere Straffen Gottes... sondern sie klaget uber die Geistliche Anfechtung / dadurch ihr von dem Teuffel so hefftig zugesetzt wird / der sie einiger nöthe bereden wil / Gott habe sie gantz und gar von seinem Angesicht verstossen”.⁴⁰⁶ “Geistliche Anfechtung” is given as the reason for Zion’s complaint. The contrast between these rejected “eusserlich Unglück” and the actual “Geistliche Anfechtung” suggests that Höpner understands this verse to relate to the church as the collection of individual believers. Höpner rejects the very “eusserlich Unglück” which, when taken to stand communally for the church and city, would have been the cause for complaint; although “Krieg / Pestilentz / Tewrung” were very actual issues afflicting 1620s Leipzig, they are rejected as the true cause of Zion’s lament. The interpretation hinges on the understanding of the ‘church’: is it understood as a collective, a synonym for society at large and a counterpart to the ‘weltliches Regiment’, or is it understood as referring to the sum of individual Christian believers? Are *Anfechtung* and *Trost* applied here to the ‘external’ tribulations experienced communally by society, or to the personal experience of *Anfechtung* in the life of the individual Christian? Although Höpner follows the latter interpretation in this sermon, scope is left open for the former. This *Spruch* therefore could – and in Schein’s hands did – function in two different roles. It could appear in a funeral sermon, the text having been the *Symbolum* of the deceased and a comfort to him in his individual experience of *Anfechtung*. This ‘internal’ understanding of the text is the one found in the funeral sermon. The other possibility was the ‘external’ interpretation of this text, an interpretation relevant in the context of the *Ratswahl*. As a *Consolatio ecclesiae*, the church could here have been understood as referring to the institution, to society at large, plagued by the ‘external’ tribulations of “Krieg / Pestilentz / Tewrung unnd andere Straffen Gottes”. Although Höpner rejects these in his funeral sermon, they must have been the most pressing concerns of the Leipzig city council, as Schein’s reference in connection with his 1629 setting to “dießen gefehrlichen Kriegsläufften vnd schwierigen Zeiten” and his “Christlichen Wunsch für dero vndt gemeiner Stadt glücklichen Wolstandt” imply.

⁴⁰⁶ Höpner, for Fritzsche, Leipzig: 1616.

The second part of Höpner's sermon, beginning at 'Kann auch ein Weib...', addressed the "herrliche Trost / damit der HErr Christus seiner bedregten Kirchen tröstliche zuspricht". Höpner's identification of the speaker with the "HErr Christus" shows that this verse from the Old Testament was reinterpreted to apply to the Christian church. Höpner finds two images – "zweyerley Gleichnisse" – with which "der HERR Christus...seine innbrünstige liebe unnd seine trewe fürsorge für die Kirche und für seine liebe gleubigen abbildet". The first of these was "von der Mütterlichen *affection* gegen ihr leibliches Kind". As Höpner explains, "Aus solcher Mütterlichen liebe schleust nu der HERR Christus also: So wenig eine Mutter ihres Kindleins vergessen kan / so wenig kan ich / O meine liebe Kirche / O du gleubige Seele / deiner vergessen". Noteworthy is again the ambivalence between the collective "liebe Kirche" and the individual "gleubige Seele". The second "gleichnis" is found at 'Sihe / in die hände hab ich dich gezeichnet', the final phrase of the *Spruch*. As Höpner explains, "Solche gleichnis ist genommen von der gewonheit fürnehmer Leute und grosser Herren / wen[n] dieselbe an etwas gedencken wollen / so stecken sie einen gedencksring an / oder wickeln einen denckzedel umb die finger / damit sie sich allezeit erinnern können / wen[n] sie die hand ansehen". In this manner, Christ etched his believers into his own hands on the cross: "Freilich hat uns der HErr Christus in seine hände gegraben / da er sich aus grosser liebe zu unser erlösung hat creutzigen lassen / er hat seine hände und füsse durchgraben lassen / damit er bey solchen negelmahlen unser allzeit gedencke".

Nicolaus Selnecker, professor of theology in Leipzig and one of the sixteenth century's most prolific theologians, summarises the significance of this *Spruch* in his commentary to the prophet Isaiah: these verses (14-16a) show us "Wie wir uns aber mit rechtem trost sollen gefast machen wider alle anfechtung".⁴⁰⁷ Not all verses are selected for individual commentary: directly preceding Selnecker's discussion of verses 14-16a is verse 7, in which, as Selnecker notes, a change of addressee occurs: "Nachdem bisher Gott der Vater zu seinem lieben Son geredt / und von seinem Ampt gepredigt hat / und im nu alles befohlen und uber geben / was er thun und ausrichten sol / so wendet er sich nu durch seinen Redner und lieben Son zu uns / die wir seine Kirche und Volck sind / und zeigt uns zwey ding an / Erstlich / wie es uns Christen in der Welt gehen werde / zum andern / was wir für ein trost haben / und waran wir uns halten sollen".

⁴⁰⁷ Nikolaus Selnecker, *Der herrliche Prophet Esaias / in diesen schweren und kümmerlichen zeiten / zur lehre / zum trost / und zum gewissen und waren unterricht in den gefährlichen spaltungen / so in die Kirchen von alten und newen Rottengeistern eingefüret werden. Christlich / kürztlich / und einfeltig für den gemeinen Man / erkleret / allen Christen nütz und tröstlich zulesen. Durch Nicolaum Selneccerrum, Leipzig: 1569, p. 750.*

Selnecker initially gives the ‘personal’ reading of the text, seeing the application of *Anfechtung* and *Trost* to the Christian believer: “Es haben je die Christen mancherley Creutz und elend in der Welt / innerlich und eusserlich / Geistlich und leiblich beschwerung. Aber wider alle anfechtung sollen wir erstlich in unser hertz hinein diesen trefflichen trost schreiben / der hie stehet”.⁴⁰⁸ The ‘Trost’, “der hie stehet”, is the *Spruch* which Schein set. That it is exactly the same passage set by Schein, including only the first half of verse 16, shows that this selection of verses was conceived of as a unity decades before Schein set it; Schein’s indebtedness to his theological predecessors is evident.

A rhymed paraphrase of this *Spruch*, included in Selnecker’s commentary to chapter 49, confirms that ‘Zion’ was understood metaphorically as referring to the church and God’s people. Zion is here “die Kirche Gottes klein”, while the addressee in verse 15 is “mein Volck”.⁴⁰⁹ The application of Isaiah 49 not only to the church, but to society in general, is found in Selnecker’s concluding summary of this chapter. In five concluding points of prayer, Selnecker asks “Das er unsere Maueren / Kirchen / Schulen / Regiment / Policey / Ordnung / Fried / Haushaltung / wolle gnediglich erhalten / schützen und handhaben / und ihme unter uns ein ewige Kirchen samlen”.⁴¹⁰ That prayers for the worldly regiment were an appropriate conclusion for his discussion of this chapter hints at the suitability of ‘Zion spricht’ for the *Ratswahl*. All the institutions mentioned here – the churches, schools, and other institutions of society – were the responsibility of the council. Both the communal and the personal application of this text are thus demonstrated by Selnecker: on the one hand, the text represented *Trost* in the face of *Anfechtung*, a reflection of the personal experience of the Lutheran believer. On the other hand, the text represents the church and Leipzig society in light of external and internal challenges and threats, threats encompassing “nicht allein die öffentliche Feinde / Türcken / Papisten / Tyrannen und Ketzer / sondern auch inwendige heimische Judas / Heuchler und Fladergeister”.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁸ Selnecker, *Der herrliche Prophet Esaias*, p. 751.

⁴⁰⁹ Selnecker, *Der herrliche Prophet Esaias*, p. 752.

⁴¹⁰ Selnecker, *Der herrliche Prophet Esaias*, p. 761.

⁴¹¹ Selnecker, *Der herrliche Prophet Esaias*, p. 759.

One of the ‘external’ issues facing both church and civic administration in Leipzig was confessional discord. In addition to the crystallisation of political and confessional fronts in the conflict that was rapidly consuming Germany, polemical incitement from Catholic or Calvinist fronts was perceived as a very real danger. Such prominent civic occasions as the *Ratswahl* were occasions for the display of confessional solidarity, for the affirmation of the Lutheran faith which, through its function as the ‘worldly regiment’, the city council was part of and which it sought to uphold in the face of increasingly confrontational challenges from the Catholic and Calvinist camps.⁴¹² Veit Dietrich’s preface to his translation and commentary of Isaiah from 1548 places his reading of Isaiah in the context of confessional disagreement.⁴¹³ Dietrich contrasts the extravagance and wealth of the Catholic church, one great party led by the pope, with the perceived poverty of his evangelical church. But only one church can be right: “Da hat man wider ursach zu zweyffeln / welches theil recht hab / Er [der Papst] sitzt in einem herrlichen ambt / hat grosse macht und gewalt / Keyser und König betten in an / und ist alles köstliches ding”.⁴¹⁴ This papal luxury is juxtaposed with the state of affairs on the protestant side: “Auff unser seyten / haben vnd rhümen wir nichts / denn das wort Gottes / vnnd vmb des selben willen / müssen wir vns lestern vn[d] schenden / verjagen / vn[d] erwürge[n] lassen”. Dietrich places Isaiah on the judge’s bench, looking to him to resolve the conflict: “halte dich zu dem einzlichen Esaia / sihe wie er von der kirchen redet / vnd sie abmalet / so wirst du finden / das ers für vnd für ein armes ellendes heuffleyn nennet / das sich allenthalb leyden müsse / nicht allein von der welt vnnd dem Teufel / sonder es hat den schein / alß hab Gott selb von ir gesetzt / vnd sie verlassen/ vnnd ir vergessen. Wie denn die sprüch in Esaia vber auß gewaltig vnd klar sind / das ers einem armen weyblein vergleycht / welche ihr man verstossen und verlassen hat”. Later preachers also refer to the conflicting churches on earth as the source of Zion’s lament: “Weiln aber dieses Zion eine sehnliche Klage führet / ist daraus gnugsam abzunehmen / daß allhie von

⁴¹² Polycarp Leiser the Elder claimed that, while it was obvious that the Muslim Turks were the Antichrist from the orient, the Antichrist of the occident, also prophesied in the Book of Revelation, was the Calvinist confession. While both the Catholics and Lutherans, so argues Leiser, were content to work together to preserve the Holy Roman Empire and thus, by prolonging the existence of the fourth and final empire as prophesied by Daniel, delaying the return of the Messiah, the Calvinists were working from within to tear the empire apart. See Polycarp Leiser [d. Ält], *Eine wichtige / und in diesen gefährlichen Zeiten sehr nützliche Frag: Ob / wie / und warumb man lieber mit den Papisten gemeinschaftt haben / und gleichsam mehr vertrauen zu ihnen tragen solle / denn mit / und zu den Calvinisten*, Leipzig: 1620.

⁴¹³ Veit Dietrich, *Der gantz Prophet Esaias Außgelegt durch Vitum Dietrich. Zu disen schweren un[d] küm[m]erlichen zeyten / allen christen nütz vnnd tröstlich zu lesen*. Nuremberg: 1548, Cf. Dietrich’s dedication.

⁴¹⁴ Veit Dietrich, *Der gantz Prophet Esaias*, Cf. Dietrich’s dedication.

der streitenden Kirchen auff Erden geredet werde / und demnach die Gläubigen sind das rechte geistliche Zion”.⁴¹⁵

By appealing to Isaiah’s authority, Dietrich settles the matter in favour of the protestants. Although by worldly standards the papacy appears to flourish, it is the opposite of the church which Isaiah desires. “So nun der kirchen eygenschafft dise ist / das sie / wie ir haubt vnd Herr der Sone Gottes Christus Jesus / in der welt arm vnd ellend ist / vnd von yederman sich leiden / vnnd im fewer offen wol leutern / vnd probieren muß lassen”.⁴¹⁶ This ideal of ecclesiastical poverty was obviously not fulfilled by the pope and his crew who, as Dietrich writes, “die grösten Herren auff erden sind / vnnd nicht allein nichts leyden / sonder die allein anfenger aller verfolgung / vnd vnschuldiges plut vergiesens vnter den Christen sind”. Although (protestant) Christians might seem to suffer in the world, they can comfort themselves by knowing that their suffering is in accord with Isaiah’s ideal of the church. Although “die Christen ellend sind / vnd sich leyden ires glaubens vnd bekentnuß halb müssen / vnnd Gott der halb durch sein wort inen so freundlich zu spricht / vnnd so hertzlich tröstet / soll niemand solches sich irren noch ergern lassen / ob man vbel von inen redt / vnd sie Ketzer / verführer / vn[d] auffrührer schilt”. The ‘spruch’ to which Dietrich refers to resolve the matter in favour of the protestant side – the reference to the church as “verlassen und vergessen” and as “einem armen weyblein” – is Isaiah 49.14-15. Dietrich’s account indicates the importance of this text in the Lutheran confessional context, an importance surely reflected in the frequency with which it was set to music. ‘Zion’ in the opening verse was understood metaphorically as referring to the reformed church which, for the sake of its creed, had to tolerate “lestern vn[d] schenden / verjagen / vn[d] erwürge[n]”. The second half of verse 15 represents God’s answer: even though it may appear to the church that they are forgotten, God will not forsake them. This is the ‘Trost’ referred to by Dietrich, consolation in the face of perceived neglect. But it is also the confidence of a church which knows that it is right.

3.2.2.1 Zion spricht; 1629

The distinction between the *Spruch*’s two speakers – the despairing church and God’s consoling voice – is found in Schein’s setting of ‘Zion spricht’ for the Leipzig *Ratswahl* of 1629. This

⁴¹⁵ [Unknown Author], *SION AFFLICTA NON DERELICTA*. Oder Das von GOtt schmerzlich betrübte / und doch hertzlich geliebte Zion. Nach Anleitung der Worte aus dem Esaia *Cap. XLIX. v.14.15.16.* [...], Lüneburg: 1680, p. 17.

⁴¹⁶ Veit Dietrich, *Der gantz Prophet Esaias*, Cf. Dietrich’s dedication.

setting, “Mit 9. vnd 14. Stimmen/ Sampt seinem General-Baß für die Orgel”, makes use of the alternation between *tutti* and solo passages as well as instrumental *sinfonie* and belongs, in Claudia Theis’ judgment, to Schein’s “avanciertesten Konzerten”.⁴¹⁷ The participation of the *capella* is, in the setting of the first two verses, limited to two-bar interjections of the introductory ‘Zion spricht’, the words which introduces the following first-person account from the perspective of Zion. Following this opening two-bar *tutti*, the Tenor of the *coro favorito* sings alone ‘Der Herr hat mich verlassen’, the crotchet rests dividing the phrase into units of two syllables in a manner reminiscent of Schein’s handling of the following phrase, ‘der Herr hat mein vergessen’, in the five-part setting from *Israelsbrünnlein*. The phrase is presented four times in succession in the Tenor, the rising sequential entries heightening the intensity of Zion’s lament. After a two-bar *tutti* interjection of ‘Zion spricht’, the Canto voice from the *coro favorito* repeats ‘Der Herr hat mich verlassen’, as in the Tenor, an octave higher. ‘Der Herr hat mein vergessen’ is, following a repetition of the ‘Zion spricht’ refrain, sung syllabically in crotchet declamation. The repetition of both the initial statement in the Tenor (an octave higher in the Canto) and of the following sequenced entry in the Alto (an octave higher in the Canto) are suggestive of echo effects, the acoustical fading into the distance symbolising ‘vergessen’ in the text.

With the end of verse 14, the role initially fulfilled by the *tutti* interjections of ‘Zion spricht’ is taken over by an instrumental *sinfonia*. A five-part *sinfonia* scored for viol consort effects a modulation to Bb – a tonality avoided in the setting of the first verse – for verse 16. The new tonality and the *sinfonia* combine with the introduction of a new solo voice, the bass of the *coro favorito*, to symbolise the change from the lament of the church to divine consolation, the bass voice symbolising ‘Jehovah’ as speaker. As Gregory S. Johnston has shown, the idea of ‘Prosopopoeia’ which “pervaded every type of funeral music current in seventeenth-century Germany”, could function in a musical composition through the “representation of the deceased by a solo voice”; rather than the deceased himself, we have here an example of ‘Jehovah’ as speaker ‘personified’ in the composition through the use of a solo voice.⁴¹⁸ It is obviously the presence of an independent basso continuo – unlike the basso seguente of *Israelsbrünnlein* –

⁴¹⁷ Theis, ‘Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen’, p. 131. Concerning the instrumentation of this setting see also Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music’, p. 260.

⁴¹⁸ See Gregory S. Johnston, ‘Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in 17th-Century German Funeral Music’, *The Journal of Musicology*, Volume ix, Number 2, Spring 1991, p. 198. Johnston shows that in both Schütz’s *Musikalische Exequien* and in funeral compositions by Michael Wiedemann the deceased is ‘personified’ in the composition through a single voice.

which permits the use of the solo voice for semantic purposes here, a technique which Schein could not exploit in *Israelsbrünnlein*. A second *sinfonia* – three times as long as the first (here spanning 12 bars) – follows the bass’s presentation of the first half of verse 15. Noteworthy is the complete exchange of instruments: the viol consort has been replaced with a violin, traverse flute, two trombones and a bassoon.⁴¹⁹ The second half of the verse is again sung by the solo bass, sequential repetitions again heightening the urgency of the setting. The setting of verse 16a commences with a *tutti* declamation of the opening word ‘Siehe’, dramatic interest created through the alternation of chords a third apart (Eb & C; F & D). Staggered, overlapping entries in all voices (the instruments at the end of verse 15 having been put down so the musicians of the first choir can resume singing) at the following ‘in die Hände hab’ ich dich gezeichnet’ contrast this closing section with the sparse vocal complement of the opening, perhaps symbolising the church’s re-orientation after the comforting words of its God. Strictly speaking, verse 16a is a continuation of verse 15, the ‘ich’ still referring to ‘Jehovah’ as speaker. That Schein nevertheless departs from his solo bass to employ the full complement of choral voices suggests that the depiction of the result of the direct speech in verse 15 – the newly found confidence of the church, the inner consolation and overcoming of its doubt at the state of worldly affairs – is what he strived for here. Antiphonal exchanges between the two choirs precede a *tutti* closing.

3.2.2.2 Zion spricht; *Israelsbrünnlein*

While the public nature of the *Ratswahl* required the understanding of the text as addressing the communal suffering of the church, a suffering manifest both in war and confessional strife, the reading of this *Spruch* on the level of personal distress was appropriate in the context of a funeral sermon. Both readings centre on the idea of perceived neglect and abandonment in suffering.⁴²⁰ But while from the human perspective it may seem that we have been abandoned by God, from the divine perspective suffering and *Anfechtung* were instruments of God’s love towards his people, intended not to punish but, motivated by love, to turn his people back to

⁴¹⁹ Theis mentions that, although the first, third and fourth *sinfonie* in this setting are to be performed by strings alone, the second was for a mixed instrumentation of violin, flute, two trombones and bassoon – “in Scheins Gelegenheitswerken ein Novum” (Theis, Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen, p. 133). Could the unique instrumentation of the second *sinfonia*, which divides the verse sung from the perspective of Jehovah by the solo bass, have been intended to further differentiate the divine voice as speaker?

⁴²⁰ A moving example of a cantional lied depicting the human experience of being forsaken in suffering is Schein’s song following the death of his daughter Johanna-Susanna: “Ich heul und wein in meiner großen Not / Ich ruf und grein: Wo bist du denn, mein Gott? / Ach daß du doch so gar / verbirgst dein Antlitz klar! / Bewegt dich nicht mein Schmerz? / Wo ist den Vaterhertz?”. Cited from Rose, *Schein’s Occasional Music*, p. 274.

him: “Also wan GOTT der himlische Vatter seine Kinder stäupet / so geschichts gleichfals nicht auß einem Haß / sondern auß einer vätterlichen Lieb”. The paradox of Zion’s afflictions resulting from divine love is found on the title page of a sermon on this *Spruch* from 1680: “Das von Gott schmerzlich betrübte / und doch hertzlich geliebte Zion”.⁴²¹ Conrad Misler preached on Isa. 49:14-16 at the burial of a Gießen professor’s son, these verses having been chosen “von den hochbetrübten Eltern” as the “Leich-Text”.⁴²² He applies the idea of perceived abandonment by God to the suffering of the parents who, following the death of their son after a 16-week illness, could easily think themselves abandoned: “...daß Gott der Herr Ihnen abermahl hinweg genom[m]en Ihr liebstes Söhnlein / ihr einiges Söhnlein / an de[m] sie in allem Creutz und Widerwertigkeit ihre Wonne und Freude bißhero gehabt / daher sie vermeinen / daß sie billig Ursach laut zu ruffen und zu schreien: Der Herr hat uns verlassen / der Herr hat unser vergessen”.⁴²³ Its use at funerals shows how ‘Zion spricht’ was a source of personal ‘Troost’; be it, as here, for the grieving parents left behind, or be it for those who, like Fritzsche, during their lives “jederzeit aus solcher Prophetischen verheissung reichen Troost geschöpffet”.⁴²⁴ Although in the midst of suffering and loss they might perceive themselves to have been abandoned, they haven’t been forgotten.

‘Zion spricht’ is characterised by a number of changes in speaker and perspective. Schein depicts musically the opening distinction between the third-person ‘Narrator’, the speaker of the words ‘Zion spricht’ before the colon, and the following direct speech of ‘Zion’ in the first person, ‘der Herr hat mich verlassen’. A punctuating quaver rest on the downbeat is the musical equivalent of the colon in the text. That this setting is the only composition in *Israelsbrünnlein* to begin *piano* is surely no coincidence; it is surely intended as an expressive device to depict the forsakenness of Zion. The exact repetition of ‘der Herr hat mich verlassen’ is suggestive of further echo effects. Characteristic for the opening is the liberal use of rests, an expressive gesture following the word ‘verlassen’, with the setting of ‘verlassen’ literally fading away in the following rest. The descending bass line at ‘der Herr hat mich verlassen’ leads to an implied

⁴²¹ [Unknown Author], *SION AFFLICTA NON DERELICTA*, Lüneburg: 1680.

⁴²² Misler, *Zions Klag auß dem Propheten Esaia*, p. 5.

⁴²³ Misler, *Zions Klag auß dem Propheten Esaia*, pp. 25-6.

⁴²⁴ Höpner, for Fritzsche, Leipzig: 1616.

Phrygian cadence at ‘verlassen’, further enhancing the impression of forsakenness.⁴²⁵ The opening phrase is repeated twice, firstly in the lower ensemble, again *piano*, then *forte* with all five voices. At each repetition of the text, Schein chooses to repeat also the narrative ‘Zion spricht:’; is this a deliberate ploy to contrast the two perspectives, emphasising that the perceived forsakenness is subjective, perceived alone by the sufferers? The crotchet rests which, in the 1629 composition, suggest sobs between the words at ‘der Herr hat mich verlassen’, are found here at ‘der Herr hat mein vergessen’, set as a *fauxbourdon* for three voices, again over a linear descending bass. Noteworthy is the dynamic contrast at the final repetition of ‘vergessen’ (bar 22), which follows the five-part statement of the phrase. While *forte* and *piano* markings had until now been used to contrast sections or lines clearly divided by cadences and rests, Schein changes his dynamic marking from the *forte* of the five-voice section to the *piano* for the final word *within* a phrase, the resulting echo effect symbolising the abandoned Zion.

The harmonic independence created by the independent basso continuo was the feature of the 1629 setting which enabled Schein to depict an individual speaker through the use of a solo voice, a device which was, due to the basso seguente, not possible in the *Israelsbrünnlein* setting. Nevertheless, Schein finds other musical means to depict the change in speaker at verse 15. As in the 1629 composition, it is signalled tonally: in both settings, a shift to Bb heralds the change, contrasting with the opening tonic/dominant polarity in g minor. As found frequently in *Israelsbrünnlein*, a tonal contrast – here the shift of a third from D to Bb – signifies the start of the new verse; in this setting, it further signals the change in speaker from Zion to God. The repetition of the opening words, the following ascent through a fifth in the upper voice, as well as the following sequential repetition of the phrase a tone higher are common to both settings. In addition, there is the contrast between the five voices which concluded verse 14 and the three lowest voices. The register is – especially for the Altus – untypically low. Simple, unpretentious text declamation – the repetition of the opening words on the same chord reminiscent of *falsobordone* style – contrasts with the interruption caused at the opening by the sobbing rests. The text setting is brutally homorhythmic, the first four words simply recited on an unchanging chord. Does this suggest a (male) voice in the distance? Was this Schein’s attempt, as in the 1629 setting, at depicting God as speaker despite the limitations imposed by the scoring?

The repetition of the passage ‘über den Sohn ihres Leibes’ highlights the filial relationship between God and his church, between ‘Jehovah’ and ‘Ecclesia’ as mentioned on the occasional

⁴²⁵ Compare the use of the Phrygian cadence in a similar context at the start of ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’.

print. The word 'vergessen' occurs four times in this *Spruch*. Its penultimate occurrence is at 'und ob sie desselbigen vergesse'. Although the phrase is sung twice, it is sung both times only by the upper ensemble. Perhaps this was deliberate, the upper voices used to suggest the mother to which the text refers. At any rate, the use of the upper ensemble enables the contrast with the entrance of the lower voices at 'so will ich doch', the phrase in which divine love is contrasted with flawed human love. The final instance of 'vergessen' follows ascending thirds at 'so will ich doch'; the sighing, descending setting of the two statements of 'vergessen' in verse 14, punctuated both times by hesitant rests, has been replaced by a rapidly ascending, exultant figure. The experience of 'vergessen' from the flawed human perspective is thus contrasted with the reality from the omniscient perspective of the Deity. Starting in bar 46, Schein furthermore combines this with the start of verse 16; the repeated semibreves of 'Siehe' function as a structural background, contrasting with the rapid syllabic declamation and repetition of 'so will ich doch...'

One point of difference with regards to the text declamation is found at the setting of the phrase 'So will ich doch dein nicht vergessen'. In the 1629 composition, Schein sets the word 'dein' as the highest and longest note of the phrase, approached through an ascending leap and syllabic quaver declamation. The melodic descent to the final word 'vergessen' and the placement of its accented second syllable on an off-beat confirm that 'dein' rather than the following 'vergessen' is the rhetorical goal. Schein thus emphasises the contrast between 'ich' (God) and 'dein' (Zion), and the preceding 'sie' (the mother) and 'desselben' (her child). The declamation of the same phrase in the 1623 setting is less sophisticated; while there are evident similarities between the two settings (such as the almost identical declamation rhythm at 'und ob sie desselben/desselbigen vergesse', with crotchet and minim declamation, followed by syllabic quaver declamation at 'so will ich doch...'), the use of quaver declamation is more haphazard. From bar 46, the word 'doch' is generally aimed for, the upbeat quavers on 'so will ich' leaping to the minim on 'doch'. Where the phrase is completed, such as in the lower voices in bars 49-50 or the upper voice from bar 53, 'doch' remains the melodic high point. The rhetorical emphasis on 'doch' again suggests the contrast between the mother and God; it is more the contrast itself, rather than the specific contrast between 'dein' and 'desselben' that is brought out here. Could the emphasis on 'dein' in the later composition be explained by the fact that 'dein' was, in the context of the civic ceremony, interpreted as representing the Lutheran church, referring essentially to those who were present at the ceremony itself? If so, then it was not just the fact that divine love is more dependable than maternal love which was important here, but the fact that

God will not forget *his church* which was the key concern of those present, a concern which Schein understood and implemented in his setting.

3.3 Jeremiah 31:20 – ‘Ist nicht Ephraim mein teurer Sohn’

Leipzig was, at the time of *Israelsbrünnlein*'s publication, in the midst of difficult times economically, suffering from rampant inflation and skyrocketing costs from unprofitable investments in the *Erzgebirgen*. Following the city's bankruptcy in 1625, the electoral authorities in Dresden assumed control of Leipzig's finances.⁴²⁶ Heidenreich mentions how in 1620 a “geschwinde Thewrung” in Saxony resulted in the death of “viel Leute” from hunger.⁴²⁷ In December 1621, the cost of bread and beer “stieg auch noch täglich höher wegen des geringen Geldes”.⁴²⁸ By the start of 1622, extreme inflation had led to protests and unrest amongst the townsfolk:

Immittelst hat sich wegen der außgewipten / leichten / und geringen Münzsorten / und der daraus erwachsenen grossen Thewrung an unterschiedenen Orten ... ein auffstand ereignet: Wie denn zu Wittenbergk / Hall / Magdeburgk / und Eißleben etliche Becken / und andere Häuser angefallen / und gestürmet worden / auch dergleichen sich allhier ereignen wollen.⁴²⁹

In an attempt to remedy the situation, a new mint was established “vor dem Kanstätter Thor”, but was soon taken out of action. Heidenreich mentions that, while those in commerce could prosper, those dependent on fixed salaries (“von gewissem Besoldung”), such as “die Kirchen / und Schuldiener / *Professores* ... Item arme *Stipendiaten*, und andere gute Leute”, were particularly hard hit.⁴³⁰ Schein writes in his preface to *Israelsbrünnlein* that inflation had a direct

⁴²⁶ See Maul, *Dero berühmter Chor*, p. 57; see also Weller, *Theatrum precedentiae*, p. 58.

⁴²⁷ Heidenreich, *Leipzigerische Cronicke*, p. 277.

⁴²⁸ Heidenreich, *Leipzigerische Cronicke*, p. 325.

⁴²⁹ Heidenreich, *Leipzigerische Cronicke*, p. 326.

⁴³⁰ Heidenreich, *Leipzigerische Cronicke*, p. 334.

effect on the modalities of publishing this work. Although not without “schwer fallende Unkosten”, Schein resolved, on account of the “unerhörte unmenschliche Thewrung”, to publish and finance the collection himself.⁴³¹

The fear of war soon made itself felt in Leipzig. Heidenreich recalls how the news of the fall of neighbouring Halle in 1625 caused alarm amongst Leipzig’s citizens:

Den 26. *ejusdem* [Octobr. 1625] ist allhier nicht wenig Furcht unter den Leuten entstanden / weil Post ankommen / das Käyserlicher Majestät General der Herzog von Friedland die Stadt Halla eingenommen / und viel Volck bey den Bürgern hin und wieder einquartiret.

Financial difficulties combined with the threat of war to ensure that the 1620’s were not an easy decade for Leipzig and Saxony. The elector himself had by 1626 recognised as much, attributing the downturn in the electorate’s circumstances to divine punishment. Believing “rechtschaffene wahre und gleich durchgehende Busse” to be the only means of redemption from the “grassirenden Seuchen und anfälligen Kranckheiten / so wol anhaltender Thewrung und Hungersnoth / Insonderheit höchstgefährliche Kriegsempörungen und Blutvergiessen”, he issued in this year a new “Buß- und Betordnung” for his electorate.⁴³² Although, as he writes, weekly ‘Betstunden’ had already in 1619 been prescribed, these had been largely ignored. As such, he commanded that “eine sonderliche BußPredigt” be observed every Friday “durchs gantze Land”. As these services were meant to assuage divine wrath, attendance at them was compulsory. In addition to abstaining from “alles unsötes / wüstes / Epicurisches Leben und Wesen”, the newly instigated penitential services were to be attended without exception by “Alten und Jungen / Reichen und Armen”. To facilitate attendance in cities, courts were not to hear cases on Fridays and tradesmen were not to open shop or engage in commerce until the services had concluded. Following penitential readings and preaching, the school boys were to lead the congregational singing of the litany while kneeling before the altar.⁴³³

⁴³¹ See preface to *Israelsbrünlein* print. Hyperinflation was a phenomenon that struck well beyond Leipzig at this time: the German term ‘Kipper- und Wipperzeit’ describes a period of mass inflation which reached its climax between 1620 and 1623: only in the course of 1623 was a semblance of order restored.

⁴³² ‘Buß= und BetOrdnung / wie es in Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen / ec. Unsers gnädigen Herrn / Churfürstenthumb und Landen biß auff andere Anordnung sol gehalten werden’, printed in Heidenreich, *Leipzigerische Cronicke*, p. 355 ff.

⁴³³ “...alsdan so balden im Chor vor dem Altar die Litaney von den Knaben / (die den Bußpredigten jedesmal beyzuwohnen schuldig seyn sollen/) kniend zu singen angehoben / und von der gantzen Gemein andächtig mit gesungen...”. ‘Buß= und BetOrdnung’, in Heidenreich, *Leipzigerische Cronicke*, p. 355 ff.

Similarities abound between the *Sprüche* from the Prophetical books of the Old Testament which Schein set in *Israelsbrünnlein*. The congregation of Christian believers is referred to allegorically by multiple terms: as the ‘Braut Christi’ (Isa. 61:10), as ‘Zion’ (Isa. 49:14-16a), or as ‘Ephraim’ (Jer. 31:20). Like ‘Zion spricht’, ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’ is interpreted as a message of consolation in light of the perception of being forsaken in *Anfechtung*. Contemporary preachers were aware of the similarities between these verses, with references from one often being cited in sermons on another. In the above discussed sermon on ‘Zion spricht’, for example, Johann Höpner cites Jer. 31:20 to demonstrate the function of ‘mütterliche Liebe’.⁴³⁴ The similarities between these two selections of verses, recognised by theologians such as Höpner, extend beyond this model of lamentation and divine inclination. There is the common origin in the Prophetical books of the Old Testament, there is the common theme of the perception of divine neglect followed by divine consolation, and there is the fact that both of these *Sprüche* are found repeatedly in funeral sermons, including sermons held in Leipzig between Schein’s arrival in 1616 and the publication of *Israelsbrünnlein*. Finally, despite their origin in the Prophetical books, both *Sprüche* demonstrate the formal poetic features of the psalms – they are psalms within prose texts.

The text of ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’ is, like ‘Zion spricht’, taken from a poetic passage within a Prophetical book. Artur Weiser describes the poetic character of this passage (Jer. 31:15-20) and the contrast with the surrounding verses as follows: “Das folgende Stück setzt völlig neu ein; es steht unverbunden in seiner Umgebung und unterscheidet sich nach seiner Struktur, seinem Inhalt und seiner Tonart von dieser, so daß hier der Kompositionscharakter des Heilbüchleins ganz deutlich erkennbar ist. V. 15-20 ist ein Gedicht, das sich in drei Teile gliedert mit jeweils scharf umrissenem Thema: I V. 15-17 die Klage der Mutter, II V. 18-19 der verlorene Sohn, III V. 20 Gottes Vaterliebe”.⁴³⁵ The two verses which precede the verse set by Schein

⁴³⁴ “Aus solcher Mütterlichen liebe schleust nu der HERR Christus also: So wenig eine Mutter ihres Kindleins vergessen kan / so wenig eine Mutter ihres Kindleins vergessen kan / so wenig kan ich / O meine liebe Kirche / O du gleubige Seele / deiner vergessen. Unnd wie sich eine Mutter erbarmet über den Sohn ihres Leibes: Also gehet mir auch dein elend unnd Unglück zu Herten / ich habe ein mitleiden mit dir / mein Hertz bricht mir gegen dir / wie die tröstliche verheissung beym Propheten Jeremia am 31. Capitel lautet: Ist nicht Ephraim mein thewrer Sohn / unnd mein trawtes Kind? Denn ich dencke noch wol [S.8] daran / was ich im geredt habe. Darum bricht mir mein Hertz gegen ihm / das ich mich sein erbarmen mus / spricht der HERR. Also Mütterlich ist Gott gegen uns gesinnet auch im Creutz unnd anfechtung / wenn wir dencken / Gott sey ferne von uns / und er sey unser Feind / ja er tregt noch eine grössere liebe gegen uns / als alle Mütterliche liebe seyn kan. Denn die Mütterliche liebe ist nur ein igniculus ein füncklein der Liebe / Gott aber ist die Liebe selbst”, Höpner, for Fritsch, Leipzig: 1616.

⁴³⁵ Artur Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia*, Teilband 20/21 in *Das Alte Testament Deutsch: Neuer Göttinger Bibelwerk*, Göttingen: 1977, p. 279.

represent the repentance of Ephraim, of the people: “Das ‘Volksklagelied’ ist eine offene Beichte mit dem Bekenntnis der Sünde, der Reue und der Bitte um Wirksamwerden der Buße”.⁴³⁶ Verse 20, the verse set by Schein, is God’s response to the people’s repentance; the question with which the verse opens expresses “die tiefwurzelnende, nie erlöschende Vaterliebe, die ihn mit dem verlorenen Sohn verbindet”.⁴³⁷ Two points emerge from the consideration of this verse in its biblical context. Firstly, it is a setting of a poetic text, part of a poem which distinguishes itself through literary and textual features from its surroundings. Secondly, although it, as with many of the verses set in *Israelsbrünnlein*, is a text describing the recognition of fault and repentance as leading to divine mercy and forgiveness, it describes this, at least in Weiser’s reading, not as between the individual believer and God, but between a people, a society and God. The tension between the individual and communal reading of the *Spruch* informed my discussion of ‘Zion spricht’. Read on the communal level, ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’ can likewise be seen as an expression of communal guilt and communal repentance, a theme which was in 1620s Leipzig on account of war and economic hardship very much current and which found similar communal expression through the weekly ‘Bußpredigten’. The text opens with a question expressing the psychological tension between sin and forgiveness. Two concepts clash at the opening of this verse: the image of the wrathful God, the God who, as punishment for the sins of his wayward people, inflicted torments and tribulations on them; and the merciful God, moved to mercy through the repentance and pleas of his despairing people. Exactly this paradigm – the acknowledgement of social hardships as divine punishment for sin and the hope of alleviating this through the unification of the city’s inhabitants in repentance and acknowledgement of guilt – is found in the ‘Bußpredigten’ in 1620s Leipzig. Whether or not it was actually intended for a civic ceremony, the text must have struck the *Zeitgeist* in a city that was struck by plague, bankruptcy and the threat of war, and was searching for the reasons why.

The parallel between ‘Zion spricht’ and ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’, made by Höpner in his sermon on ‘Zion spricht’, is also made by Vincentius Schmuck in a funeral sermon on ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’, held on 11 April 1617 for Elisabeth, who died while her husband Jacob Apel, “Bürgers und Buchhändlers in Leipzig”, was away on business in Frankfurt am Main.⁴³⁸ As Schmuck writes,

⁴³⁶ Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 280.

⁴³⁷ Weiser, *Das Buch Jeremia*, p. 281.

⁴³⁸ Vincentius Schmuck, Leichpredigt Aus dem 31. Capitel Jeremiae / Beym Begräbniß der [...] Frawen *ELISABETH*, Herrn Jacob Apels / Bürgers und Buchhändlers in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen / Welche den 9.

this *Spruch* was chosen as *Leichenargument* “auff begehren der jenigen / so die Leichpredigt bestellet / vor uns genomen / und achten solches daher geschehen seyn / daß die seliglich verstorbene sich desselben zu ihrem trost sonderlich wird gebrauchet haben”. As in ‘Zion spricht’, the text described divine consolation and *Trost* towards the church, for which ‘Ephraim’, as did ‘Zion’ in the previous text, stands allegorically: “Ewre Liebe hören / daß vom Ephraim allhie geredt werde / welchen Gott seiner gnade und erbarmung verträsten lesset”. One preacher sees a further parallel in the common use of a rhetorical question. Although the opening line of the verse – ‘Ist nicht Ephraim mein thewrer Sohn / und mein trautes Kindt?’ – is posed as a question, it is, claims Ziegenspeck, a question in which its own affirmation is inherent: “Göttliche Majestet stellet ihre Resolution Fragweise / aber also daß die Frage / das Jawort mit sich führet”. While the opening question in Jer. 31:20 must be affirmed, the question posed in Isa. 49:15 – ‘Kann auch Weib ihres Kindeleins vergessen?’ – contains for Ziegenspeck its own negation.⁴³⁹

The Prophetical verses which Schein set in *Israelsbrünnelein* were preached upon at numerous contemporary funerals. Michael Ziegenspeck selected Jer. 31:20 as the text for the sermon he held at the funeral of Hans Heinrich von Brandenstein in the church in Ranis in September 1623.⁴⁴⁰ He ascribes his choice of this verse to the fact that, in addition to having been a source of consolation to the deceased in his illness, it had been “unter schöner Melodey bey dergleichen Sepulturen gesungen / wie auch jetzund nur geschehen / sonsten aber nicht viel erkäret und geprediget worden”.⁴⁴¹ Ziegenspeck’s claim that this verse had often been sung at funerals – presumably in a strophic paraphrased version to a well-known melody – is interesting; could Schein, when required to select a text for a funeral motet (perhaps when no *Leichenspruch* was at hand, or the one which he did have was deemed unsuitable), have also picked this verse due to its association with musical performance at funerals? Gabriel Güttener chose this verse for the funeral of Peter Reich in Freiberg in 1616; as he states in the published sermon, he preached on this verse “weil doch wir allesamt nun mehr / in den letzten Zeiten der Welt leben / da die Noth und Gefahr / mit uns fast am grösten und schwersten ist / und freylich wol unserer viel fast verschmachten wollen / für furcht und warten der dinge / so noch kommen sollen auff

Aprilis anno 1617. in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 11. desselben Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden[.] Leipzig: 1617.

⁴³⁹ Michael Ziegenspeck, GOTTES Thewrer Sohn und Trawtes Kind [...] Bey dem Adelichen und Christlichen Begräbnis Weiland des [...] Herrn Hans Heinrichen von Brandenstein, Jena: 1624, §II.

⁴⁴⁰ Ziegenspeck, GOTTES Thewrer Sohn und Trawtes Kind.

⁴⁴¹ Ziegenspeck, GOTTES Thewrer Sohn und Trawtes Kind, ‘Postilla’.

Erden”.⁴⁴² Due to these difficult times – probably a reference to the coming of the last judgment, believed by the church reformers to have been imminent, rather than as an anticipation of confessional warfare – “wir freylich des lieben Trostes aus Gottes Wort gar hoch bedürffen / und uns desselben nicht zu viel hören können”. Ziegenspeck summarises by recalling the application of this verse to suffering, emphasising the suffering associated with death: “So ziehe hin / lieber Christ / und practicire diß Sprüchlein im Leben und im Sterben / kömpst du in Noht / sonderlich in Todesnoht / welches die letzte Noht / eine gewisse Noht / und bey ihr etlichen eine schwere grosse Noht”. Güttener applies this verse to the problem of inflation and the associated danger of poverty – no doubt already in 1616 a pressing point of concern for his congregation.⁴⁴³

While Jer. 31:20 was in the above-mentioned sermons chosen by the preacher, Catarina Neumargkt, at whose funeral Johann Cramer preached in 1620 in Zeitz, herself chose the text for the sermon and the songs for her funeral once her death was imminent.⁴⁴⁴ Cramer praises her timely preparations for death: “Und weil sie gesehen / daß schwerlich Besserung zu hoffen / hat sie sich auch zu sterben in allem zeitlich geschicket”. This *Spruch* had been a source of consolation to her in her enduring sickness: “dorumb hat sie fast für einem halben Jahre aus sonderlicher Andacht / diesen Spruch ihr zum Leichentext außerkohrn / und gebeten / daß dieser ihr / und für ihrem Todte / sonst keinen andern bey ihrer Leichenpredigt ... möchte gebraucht werden”. She was, however, distressed to find that “auch ein anderer Christlicher Creutzträger / in seinem Creutz ihme eben diesen Text außerslesen / und gebeten / wann ihm GOtt außspannet / dieser ihme möchte geprediget werden”. She thereupon resolved to beat this other “Creutzträger” to the grave, a feat which she accomplished. Cramer’s account of her death is presented in the imagery of the “himmlische Hochzeit” between the deceased and the bridegroom Christ, an

⁴⁴² Gabriel Güttener, *Das Brechende Vater Hertz Gottes : Gegen alle seine thewre Söhne und Trawte Kinder. Das ist: GEgen alle Christliche Creutzträger / die in dem Finstern Thal dieser Welt / allerley Widerwertigkeit / Noht / Elend / Anfechtung und Verfolgung / eine gute lange Zeit / leiden und ausstehen müssen. Aus dem Sprüchlein Jerem. 31. v. 20. Ist nicht Ephraim mein thewrer Sohn [...]*, Freiberg: 1618.

⁴⁴³ “Mercke und behalte / aus diesem schönem erklernten Trostsprüchlein / wider langwirige Armuth und Thewrung...”; “O unserm barmhertzigem / from[m]en und reichen Gott / bricht noch heutiges Tages sein Hertz gegen uns Armen / wenn gleich die reichen Korn Jüden und Wücherer / noch einsten so sehr auff Thewrung hoffeten / Noch muß sich Gott unser (wie er selbst spricht) erbarmen”. Güttener, *Das Brechende Vater Hertz Gottes*, ‘USUS, §I S. 27-8.

⁴⁴⁴ Johann Cramer, *Der ewige Hertzbrecher Welcher das Gerechte / zornige / gestrenge Hertz Gottes gebrochen und versöhnet mit dem Menschlichem JESUS Geschlecht. Aus dem 31. Cap. Jeremiae / und dem 11. Oseae: Darumb BRICHT nur mein Hertz / ec. Bey dem Adelichen Begräbnis / der [...] Jungfrawen CATHARINÆ, Des [...] Herrn Pauln von Naumargkts [...] hinterlassenen Adelichen Tochter*, Leipzig: 1620.

obvious similarity to Isa. 61:10. Shortly before her death she had been invited to the wedding of a relative, which she intended to attend, having already bought a gift for the occasion. But her ‘heavenly bridegroom’ had other plans, summoning her instead to a heavenly wedding: “Es hat aber dem himlischen ihren trewen Bräutigam Christo JEsu / mit ihr ein anders und bessers gefallen / und ... ihr einen andern Hochzeitbrieff geschicket / und sie eingeladen zur himlischen Hochzeit”. She had no need of further presents for this wedding, as she had for this occasion been prepared “eine geraume Zeit...in dem in ihrem Herten das rechte hochzeitliche Kleid / der Glaube an JEsu Christum”.

Schmuck’s first task in his discussion of this *Spruch* is to establish the role of ‘Ephraim’. He begins with its identity in the context of the Old Testament: “Es wird aber durch Ephraim verstande[n] das zerstreute Volck Israel / nemlich die zehn Stämme / die dazumal in frembden Landen weit zerstreuet waren / nach dem sie von den Assyern waren hinweg geführet / und hatte das ansehen mit inen / als ob sie nicht mehr zum Volck Gottes gehörten... daher kam es / daß man das Königreich Israel mit einem Namen Ephraim nante / als sonderlich bey den Propheten breuchlich ist”.⁴⁴⁵ On account of their sins the ten tribes were scattered and sent into “eine ewige Gefängniß” while their own lands were destroyed and plundered. As Schmuck puts it, “Diß war ein groß Exempel Göttliches Zorns / und hatte das ansehen / als were gantz Ephraim ewig verstossen und verlohren”. Their consolation wasn’t to be found in their physical return to their homeland, but in the coming of the Messiah, who would reunite the scattered tribes as a ‘spiritual’ kingdom: “durch diß mittel wurden sie mit dem Volck Gottes wiederumb ein hauffe / und wurden aus allen Stämmen unter ein Häupt / welches ist Christus der HErr / gebracht / und wurden ein geistliches Israel und Königreich”. As Schmuck continues, “Von solcher Gnade und erbarmung redet allhie Gott durch den Propheten Jeremiam unnd versichert das zerstreute Volck derselben / aus diesen gründen / daß Ephraim (das ist das zerstörete Volck) were sein tewrer Sohn und sein trawtes Kind”. The relationship between mother and child at the heart of ‘Zion spricht’ finds its counterpart here in the filial relation between God and his ‘son’ Ephraim: “Und werden also die Trostargument in dieser verheissung hergeführet / aus dem grunde der verwandniß / die da ist zwischen eim Vater und seinem Sohn / daß wie einen Vater das natürliche Liebesband beweget zur erbarmung gegen sein notleidentes Kind / unnd daß er demselben vergebe und zu gut halte / wenn es ihn gleich etwan erzürnet hat / also auch Gott als ein Vater nicht

⁴⁴⁵ Schmuck, Leichpredigt Aus dem 31. Capitel Jeremiae, Leipzig: 1617.

fürüber könne / er müsse dem verstossenen Ephraim wiederumb gnade erzeigen. Denn er ist mein Sohn / spricht er / und mein Kind / und darzu mein tewrer Sohn / den ich werth halte”.

Schmuck turns in the second half of his sermon to the question “wie dieser Trostspruch auch uns angehe / und ob auch wir uns dessen heutiges tages zu gebrauchen haben?” As with Zion, Ephraim could be understood allegorically as standing both for the Christian church as an institution and for the individual believers of which it was comprised: “Darumb setzen wir nur an statt Ephraims die Christliche Kirche / oder die Gemeine GOTTes zu jeder Zeit / sonderlich wenn sie unterm Creutz ist und ungemach leidet / ja ein jeglicher nothleidender Christ / kan sich selbst mit seim eigenen Namen dahin und an Ephraims statt setzen / so ist schon die *Application* gemacht / und lautet der Spruch auff uns alle und auff die gantze Kirche: **Ist nicht Ephraim** / ist nicht meine Christliche Gemeine / meine Kirche / ist nicht Petrus / Paulus / Johannes / Maria / Elisabeth / etc. und wie wir heissen / **mein tewrer Sohn** / mein Tochter / und **mein trawtes Kind**?”⁴⁴⁶ Ephraim in the Old Testament is thus identified with the contemporary Christian church: “Also ist diß ein ewiges Wort unnd ewiger TrostSpruch / und bleibt uns GOTT / die wir sein Volck und Ephraim sind / und seine Kinder / verbunden / wie er vor alters dem Volck Israel und allen Gläubigen und Heiligen im alten Testament gewesen ist”.⁴⁴⁷ Schmuck makes the connection with ‘Zion spricht’ explicit when he applies this verse to the modern day issue of the church oppressed by the papacy. Just as the tribes of Israel were scattered, so was “der arme Ephraim / die liebe Christenheit gewlich zerrissen unter dem Pabstumb”.⁴⁴⁸ Schmuck compares the ‘Jammer’ of the church in this state with the lamentation of the church in Isaiah 49; ‘Zion spricht / der HErr hat mich verlassen / der HErr hat mein vergessen’. The parallel with Isaiah 49 is continued through the following reference to God’s maternal care for his suffering son by restoring his “liebes Wort und Evangelium”: “Aber sihe / der HErr hat sich erbarmet

⁴⁴⁶ Güttener interprets the phrase ‘mein trawtes Kind’ not just as a synonym for ‘mein tewrer Sohn’, but as confirmation that God’s fatherly care extends also to the female sex: “Es ist noch tröstlicher / daß nicht wir Manespersonen allein / Gottes thewre Söhne / erzehleter massen / worden seyn / sondern auch das Weibliche Geschlecht / Gottes trawte Kinder heissen sollen. Denn / wir sind freylich allesamt / die verlobte und ver-trawte Braut Christi / seine liebe Gemeine”. Güttener, *Das Brechende Vater Hertz Gottes*, §III. ‘Trawtes Kind’.

⁴⁴⁷ Schmuck, *Leichpredigt Aus dem 31. Capitel Jeremiae*, Leipzig: 1617. This interpretation is confirmed by Ziegenspeck: “so werden nun [...] alle Christgläubige Menschen allhier gemeynet und verstanden”. He includes those present in his congregation amongst those addressed by God as Ephraim: “Wolan / so redet nun / du liebes Christliches Hertz / der gnedige und barmhertzigte allhier auch mit dir und mit mir / und mit einer jeglichen Gläubigen”. For Ziegenspeck, “Wir Christen sind Ephraim”. Ziegenspeck, *GOTTES Thewrer Sohn und Trawtes Kind*, §1.

⁴⁴⁸ Schmuck, *Leichpredigt Aus dem 31. Capitel Jeremiae*, Leipzig: 1617.

uber Ephraim / wie sich ein Mutter erbarmet uber ihr Kind / un[d] uber den Sohn ires Leibes / un[d] hat hülffe geschafft / und sein liebes Wort und Evangelium wieder herfür gebracht / daß den zubrochenen Herten trost widerfahre / un[d] den irrenden das Liecht wieder geschienen hat / und noch scheint / GOtt lob unnd danck”. Just as God’s paternal care was directed towards the church, so too was it directed towards each individual Christian in their personal suffering; in this manner, concludes Schmuck, “Ein jeglicher Christ fasse nur solch Wort / und mache es ihm zu Nutz”. As was the moral in ‘Zion spricht’, the despairing Christian can be confident that, even when it might appear otherwise, he will not be forsaken in his suffering: “Wir haben sein Verheissungs=Word daß er uns in nöthen nicht verlassen wil / sondern trewlich beystehen / das Creutz lindern und endlich mit ehren außhelffen. Unsere Sünden wil er uns vergeben / unser schwachheit uns zu gut halten / in Kranckheiten trösten / im Todt erhalten / und zum Leben hindurch führen. Das alles hat er uns geredt / er wil es auch thun”.

Ziegenspeck finds in this verse “drey herrliche Trostseulen” erected by God “auff Grund der göttlichen Kindschafft”: “Weil ich lieber Christ dein trewer Vater / Du mein thewrer Sohn / und trautes Kind bist / so hastu dich daher ferner jederzeit zu verstehen u. zu erfrewen I. Meines warhafftigen Mundes / 2.Meines erbarmenden Hertzens / 3. Und dan[n] meiner allmechtigen hülfreichen Hand”.⁴⁴⁹ In answer to the first of these – “Was hat der HERR mehr seinem thewren Sohne und trauten Kinde geredt” – Ziegenspeck, in an act of typical protestant thoroughness, rattles off a list of selected Bible verses to show what God had promised his church – ‘was ich ihm geredet habe’. The essence boils down to the following: “Summa / der HERR hat und Hülf und Beystand zugesagt / in allen vorfallenden Nöhten”. Assistance and support in times of need is here that which God had promised to his people and which he will in times of need deliver: “Was mein wahrer Mund versprochen / das soll ihm trewlich geleistet werden / Denn Gott ist nicht ein Mensch / das ihm etwas gerewe / Solt er etwas sagen und nicht thun?”

The second of the “herrliche Trostseulen” is found in the phrase ‘darumb bricht mir mein Hertz’. God’s benevolence and his promises to his people cause him to treat his suffering children with mercy: his ‘heart breaks’ at the sight of their misery. Divine constancy is again contrasted with human fickleness: “Wolan / wil der HERR sagen / Menschenkinder mögen dergleichen Herten haben / Mein Hertz ist ein Zartes / Edles / Göttliches Hertz / das uber den Elend der armen Sünder vor Erbarmung bricht”. The fundamental message of divine support in the midst of suffering and perceived abandonment is hammered home: “Ich hob dich ein klein Augenblick

⁴⁴⁹ Ziegenspeck, GOTTES Thewrer Sohn und Trawtes Kind, §3.

verlassen / aber mit grosser Barmhertzigkeit wil ich dich wieder samlen”. This message explained the use of this verse as a source of *Trost*, as consolation for those dying and mourning, and those suffering the torments of *Anfechtung*: “Hier schöpffe abermals himlischen Trost / betrübtes Hertz / schleuß dich auff / und fasse dieses Trostsprüchlein / wenn der HERR spricht: Mein Hertz bricht / Vergiß es nicht o Hertze mein / Besonders / wenn einmal dein Hertz brechen wil / da gedенcke dran / und erfreuwe dich darob / Ein solch gläubig Hertz kan nicht verzagen / es wird einmahl seuberlich brechen / und in himlischer Seligkeit mit Frewden auff und angenommen...”.

The final phrase of the *Spruch* – ‘Daß ich mich seiner erbarmen muß’ – represents God’s response to the suffering of his children. Deeply moved, he is compelled to console them in their suffering. This verse shows for Ziegenspeck how God will extend his hand to his people; he not only hears and feels compassion, but is compelled to offer practical, tangible assistance: “Mein Hertz bricht und treibt mich an / daß ich euch in hertzlicher Barmhertzigkeit mechtiglich helffen muß”. The *Spruch* was a verse of consolation, inasmuch as it assured the believer of the certainty of divine assistance in the midst of suffering. Although suffering was, for Güttener, an inevitable part of the Christian experience, this verse gives the believer the certainty that they will not be tried beyond their means to endure: “Drumb muß ich...mich seiner / meines thewren erworbenen / und vertrawten Kindes / annemen / ihn nicht uber sein vermögen versuchen / in die lenge strecken und verderben lassen / sondern heraus reissen / ihn helffen und erretten. Das ist die kurtze Erklerung dieser schönen Wort”.⁴⁵⁰

In his sermon for Catarina Neumargkt, Johann Cramer shows the relevance of this *Spruch* for the Lutheran doctrine of justification, contrasting it with the Catholic and Calvinist approaches. Cramer emphasises that salvation is available to *all* believers through the acknowledgement of their sin and acceptance of Christ.⁴⁵¹ Essential to Cramer’s understanding is the idea that Christ’s role as mediator – as “Herzbrecher” – is both necessary and sufficient for salvation. In his “Widerlegung der falschen Lehrer” he rejects the idea, which he associates with the Ca-

⁴⁵⁰ Güttener, Das Brechende Vater Hertz Gottes.

⁴⁵¹ Cramer, Der ewige Herzbrecher. The Law as a means of showing the necessity of divine grace is presented by Cramer as follows: “Endlich zu solcher wahren Busse...kom[m]en wir durch die Predigt des Gesetzes / durch Betrachtung unnd hertzliche offte Erwegung des Gesetzes / und dessen inhalts / welches GOTT uns auch aus Gnaden darumb lesset allen predigen / daß wir in Warheit erkennen / daß wir Sünder sind / auch wiederumb gläuben / Er wolle unser aller sich erbarmen / wann wir darauff zu Christo uns weisen lassen / in wahrer Erkenntnis unserer Sünden”.

tholics, that salvation can be achieved by other means: “Diejenigen aber / die andere Hertzbrecher Gottes erfinden...die Papisten und dergleichen / die durch verstorbener Heiligen vorbitten / durch ihre eigene gute Werck / durch ihr Gelübde / unnd klösterliches unkeusches Leben / durch ihre Messen und Vigilien / oder Wallfahrten / das Hertz Gottes brechen / erweichen / und versöhnen wollen”. The other pole was represented by the Calvinists, whose doctrine of predestination denied that Christ’s intercession was sufficient for the salvation of all: “Auch / die den Hertzbrecher zu schwach unnd gering halten / als der nicht vollkömlich und allen Menschen zu gut das Hertz Gottes gebrochen und versöhnt / wie das thun die Calvinistische Rotte / mit ihrer Particularitet / wenn sie lehren / d[ass] Christus für die meisten nicht gestorben”.

3.3.1 Ist nicht Ephraim, *Israelsbrünnlein*

The opening of Schein’s setting depicts the psychological tension inherent in the text. The opening bars, in which the phrase ‘Ist nicht Ephraim mein teurer Sohn’ is sung homorhythmically, repeated and divided between the upper and lower choir, are harmonically static, each phrase in every voice ending on the note with which it began.⁴⁵² The text is initially repeated by the upper choir, following which it is divided into two units and further repeated antiphonally over a static harmonic foundation. The intensification of the questioning, initially enhanced through the division of the phrase, is further heightened through the specification of dynamics: the final instance of ‘mein teurer Sohn’ in the two Cantus voices is marked *piano*, suggesting an echo effect. The effect is that of an incessant, anxious questioning having incapacitated the subject, whose inability to act is represented by the static harmony. The setting is busy, even hectic, but is going nowhere. Schein’s setting of this opening suggests less the certainty of a “Resolution” so asked, as Ziegenspeck put it, “daß die Frage / das Jawort mit sich führet”, but rather of the tension between divine wrath and divine mercy before Christ as “Herzbrecher” could break his father’s “zorniges gerechtes Hertz”.

A number of musical devices contribute to the tension of the setting’s opening. ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’ is the only setting in *Israelsbrünnlein* in the transposed Aeolian mode (with the final D and one flat in the key signature). Although D is the final, a root-position triad on D is used for the first time at the last repetition of ‘mein teurer Sohn’ in bar 10. A second device is the melodic use of the diminished fourth on the first three syllables of ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’. A third feature is the unique choice of mode. The bass of the opening bars is centred on A, the fifth of

⁴⁵² Cf. the setting of ‘denn du hältst mich bei meiner rechten Hand’ to a pedal point in ‘Dennoch bleibe ich stets an dir’.

the mode. The two departures from the fifth are on the words ‘nicht’ and ‘teurer’. At the first of these, the bass springs upwards to D; the Bb in the Tenor (bar 1) or Altus (bars 3; 5; 6), however, prolongs the modal ambiguity. The reason for the use of the transposed Aeolian mode is found at the setting of ‘teurer’. Thanks to the flattened sixth of the Aeolian mode Schein is able to set the word ‘teurer Sohn’ each time as a Phrygian cadence on the fifth scale degree with the bass singing the tenor clausel from Bb to A. The Tenor creates a 7-6 suspension against the Bb in the Bassus on the word ‘teurer’, further enhancing the effect. The Phrygian cadence on the fifth scale degree is found again at the final cadence on ‘trautes Kind’ (bar 15), again as a symbol of questioning and uncertainty combined with the *piano* dynamic. Although the Phrygian cadence is so prominent at the opening of this setting, it plays no further role in the composition.⁴⁵³ It was a musical feature which Schein used to depict despair and doubt; while it was an essential part of Schein’s depiction of the opening of the *Spruch* (and the feature which explains the unusual choice of mode), it is deliberately avoided once the dynamic in the *Spruch* changes in favour of resolve and action.

The harmonic stasis is broken at the final repetitions of ‘mein teurer Sohn’ in the lower choir (bar 8) before the introduction of the following ‘mein trautes Kind’. Finally there is harmonic movement, each of the three instances of ‘mein teurer Sohn’ forming a simple cadence, on F, A and D respectively. This hint of a resolution to the tension established at the opening is confirmed at the entrance of the three upper voices with ‘und mein trautes Kind’. The *forte* indication, the excursion into the upper part of the Cantus’ vocal range, and the descending melodic figure on the first syllable of ‘trau-tes’ are all indicative of this. Schein depicts the change in the mind of God; the tension between sin and forgiveness present at the opening has swung in favour of the latter through a new appreciation of the “Vaterliebe, die ihn mit dem verlorenen Sohn verbindet”. The potential for a happy resolution to the conflict has been suggested; that this has not yet lead to action, however, is suggested by the return to *piano* and the Phrygian cadence at the end of the phrase (bars 13-15).

The intensity and emphasis of the following ‘Denn ich denk noch wohl daran’ is at each repetition enhanced through harmonic means; starting on F (bar 16), the text is repeated on C, G, D and A, a march through the circle of fifths, each new statement intensified through a chord one step further along the sharp side of the continuum. A return is effected with the following phrase,

⁴⁵³ It is found only once more in the composition, namely at the second of multiple repetitions of ‘bricht mir mein Herz’ (bar 35). Here, however, its use is accidental rather than deliberate, the result of Schein’s wish to repeat the fragment of text each time on a different scale degree.

‘was ich ihm geredet habe’, returning from E at bar 22, through A (bar 23), D (bar 24), G (bar 25) and C (bar 26) to F (bar 26) and Bb (bar 27). If the harmonic stasis of the opening symbolised the incapacitation caused by the psychological tension, this regular harmonic progression, moving decisively through the circle of fifths, suggests that a resolution is imminent. This outcome is revealed at the following verse, ‘darum bricht mir mein Herz’. The homorhythmic, *tutti* declamation of ‘darum’ is the decisive moment: the opening of the text – the account of *Vaterliebe* – is revealed to be sufficient justification for forgiveness and mercy, the reasons which compel God to action. The following ‘bricht mir mein Herz’, each word punctuated by a crotchet rest, is the moment when this is expressed. The questioning and thinking (denn ich *denk* noch wohl daran), the psychological tension and indecision, have finally resolved themselves into action. The recollection of his paternal love has ‘broken’ the heart of God; mercy and forgiveness have overpowered wrath and punishment. The result of this – ‘daß ich mich sein erbarmen muß’ – is similarly pronounced with the homorhythmic *tutti*, trumpeted *forte* with following *piano* echo. The same phrase is then set through the combination of ‘rhetorical’ voices, in which the phrase is declaimed syllabically to quavers, and ‘structural’ voices, in which the same phrase is set to minims and semibreves.

Schein’s setting thus does justice to the tension and its resolution inherent in this one Bible verse. A lesser composer could have set the whole verse simply as a confirmation of *Vaterliebe*, anticipating from the outset the resolution of the initial question. Similarly, if this verse had been set not as a single verse, but as part of a larger biblical passage, the composer may not have had the scope or opportunity to present the dynamic *within* the one verse. That Schein achieves this is testament to his familiarity with the scriptures and their interpretation. Schein’s composition, as is the case with all great sacred music, is a theological interpretation of the text through music.

3.4 Isaiah 38:17-19a – ‘Siehe, nach Trost war mir sehr bange’

King Hezekiah’s song of thanks from Isaiah 38 was a favourite source of funeral texts. Preaching on Isa. 38:17 at the funeral of David Eisentraut in July 1621, Vincentius Schmuck explains that Hezekiah was “einer auß den Königen Juda”, one of the “frommen Königen” who enjoyed “das gröste Lob der Gottseligkeit”.⁴⁵⁴ Although divine assistance enabled him to defeat King

⁴⁵⁴ Vincentius Schmuck, LeichPredigt / Auß dem Gebet Hiskiae / Esai. 38. Beym Begräbniß des [...] Herrn M. DAVIDIS Eisentraut / *Not. Publ.* und der *Philosophischen Facultet Assessoris* zu Leipzig: Welcher den 27.

Sanherib of Assyria, he fell thereafter “in eine Kranckheit / und kriegt eine gifftige Drüse oder *Apostema*, daran er des todes hette seyn müssen / wie ihm denn Gott auch anzeigen und befehlen liesse durch den Propheten Esaia: **Bestelle dein Hauß / denn du wirst sterben / und nicht lebendig bleiben**”.⁴⁵⁵ Unsurprisingly, he was distressed at this news: “Über dieser Ankündigung bekümmert sich Hiskia nicht wenig / und gehabt sich kläglich / also / daß er sich zur Wand wendet / bitterlich weinet / und spricht: **Gedencke doch HERR / wie ich für dir gewandelt habe in der Warheit mit vollkommenem Hertzen / und habe gethan was dir gefallen hat**”. Schmuck explains why Hezekiah was reluctant to depart the world of the living: he had no son to succeed him as king; he desired to bring order back to his kingdom following the war; and he wished to further serve the temple, divine service and his subordinates. His prayer worked: “Und sihe / Gott erhöret sein Gebet und Flehen / und befiehlt alßbald dem Propheten Esaia / daß er muß wieder zurück gehen / unnd dem krancken Könige anmelden...Und als Hiskia deme glaubet / heisset Esaias / daß man ein Pflaster von Feigen nehmen / und auff seine Drüß legen sol / und also wird er gesund / und gehet am dritten Tage hinauff zum Hause des HErrn”. This was the background to King Hezekiah’s song of thanksgiving, from which the verses set by Schein as ‘Siehe nach Trost’ were taken. In response to God’s intervention “settel nu Hiskia eine Schrifft zu ewigen gedächtniß / und bringet dorinn / wie ihm zu muth gewesen sey in seiner Kranckheit und Bekümmerniß / und wie er gedacht / und dancket Gott / der sich seiner also angenommen habe”.

Isaiah 38 consists of two distinct sections; an initial prose account of Hezekiah’s illness and recovery (verses 1-9), and Hezekiah’s song of thanksgiving (verses 10-20) in the poetic form of the psalms. The similarity of Hezekiah’s song to the biblical psalms has been recognised not just by modern biblical scholarship, but was known to Schein’s theological contemporaries in the seventeenth century. Michael Calert, in the sermon he held for the “Wol=Edelgebohnen” Heinrich von Büнау at Weißenfels in 1647, describes Hezekiah’s song as a “Lobpsalm”, a song of praise incorporated into a body of prose text: “Als er [King Hezekiah] aber nun wieder genesen ... *componirte* [er] ein Lied / schrieb es auff / und brauchte es hernach / als eine[n] Lobpsalm / den er täglich hat zu sprechen pflegen”.⁴⁵⁶ This similarity of Hezekiah’s song to the

Julij des 1621. Jahrs in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 30. desselben zur Erden Christlicher weise bestattet worden, Leipzig: 1621.

⁴⁵⁵ Schmuck, LeichPredigt / Auß dem Gebet Hiskiae, ‘DE I’.

⁴⁵⁶ Michael Calert, *HISKIAS DECUMBENS*, Oder: Des Königs Hißkias schwere und tödtliche Kranckheit / außm Esaia am 38. Cap. Bey ansehnlicher und Volckreicher *Sepultur*, Des [...] Herrn Heinrichs von Büнау [...]

form of the biblical psalms is an important first point; despite the text's origin in a Prophetical book, the verses which Schein set share with the majority of the *Sprüche in Israelsbrünnelein* the formal poetic structure of the psalms.

Multiple funerals were preached on verses from Hezekiah's song of thanksgiving during Schein's tenure in Leipzig. In the introduction to a funeral sermon on Isa. 38:17-19a, the exact selection of verses which Schein set in *Israelsbrünnelein*, Polycarp Leiser describes these verses as a "Sprüchlein...welches sehr tröstlich ist / und wol werth / daß sich Christen des gebrauchen / und von dem Könige Hißkia ein Exempel nehmen / wie man sich im Elende dieses Lebens verhalten sole".⁴⁵⁷ Paul Froberg, the Leipzig Stadtrichter and *Advocatus* at whose funeral Leiser preached this sermon, "hat...sich mit diesem Exempel und Sprüchlein getröstet" and selected it for his funeral, held on 6 July 1621: "Er hat es auch schon vor einem Jahr ihm zum Leichenargument ersehen / und daß es bey seinem Begräbniß abgehandelt möchte werden / jtzo begehret worden". Froberg was an alumnus of the Thomasschule and member of the Leipzig Stadtrat, his final illness striking him "*in laboribus Vocationis* in seinem Studierstüblein".⁴⁵⁸ As his contributions to the *Noctes musicae* of 1609 show, he was also active in musical circles.⁴⁵⁹ He was, as the abundance of *Epicedien* printed with his sermon testify, a valued colleague who exercised his vocation as *Stadtrichter* "dermassen... daß zu wünschen wehre / wann ihm Gott sein Leben länger hette fristen wollen / daß er dem gemeinen Nutz mit seinen Gaben / als ein aufrichtiger ehrlicher Mann / und Liebhaber der Gerechtigkeit noch lenger hette können dienstlich seyn".⁴⁶⁰ Froberg had selected his *Leichenargument* a year before his death. Could he have had the new Leipzig cantor set his *Spruch* to music, a setting which, having been performed in 1621, was revised and published in *Israelsbrünnelein*? Interesting is the final contribution to the *Epicedien*, a paraphrase of Isa. 38, in Latin with German translation, entitled "Oda Regis Hiskiaë". Here is

Welcher zu Weißenfels [...] den 14. Octob. im HErrn selig verstorben : Hernach darauff den 19 Novemb. nach Adelichen Christ=Ritterlichen Gebrauch bestattet[.] Leipzig: 1647[?], 'Erklärung'.

⁴⁵⁷ Polycarp Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskiaë*, *Esa. 38*. Sihe umb Trost war mir sehr bange etc. Beym Begräbniß / des [...] Herrn *PAVLI FROBERGS*, Stadtrichters und fürnehmen *Advocati* zu Leipzig / Welcher den dritten *Julii Anno 1621*. [...] in dem HErrn entschlaffen / und den 6. desselben Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1621, 'Eingang'.

⁴⁵⁸ Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskiaë*, 'COMMENDATIO PIÈ DEFUNCTI'.

⁴⁵⁹ Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, p. 491, note 195;

⁴⁶⁰ Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskiaë*, 'COMMENDATIO PIÈ DEFUNCTI'.

evidence that the *Leichenargument* played a part in a poetic, artistic response to death, serving, perhaps, as a poetic pendant to Schein's musical setting.

Further supporting a connection between Froberg's *Leichenargument* and Schein's setting is the correspondence between the two texts: in both cases, two-and-a-half verses (Leiser's sermon and Schein's setting include only the first half of verse 19) from Hezekiah's song of thanks form the *Spruch*. In other Leipzig sermons, only the first of these verses – Isa. 38:17 – is included. This was the case for a sermon held by Vincentius Schmuck on 30 July 1621, the same month as Leiser's sermon for Froberg, at the funeral of David Eisentraut, "*Not. Publ. und der Philosophischen Facultet Assessoris zu Leipzig*". Like Froberg, Eisentraut found comfort in Hezekiah's words, leading him to select this verse for his funeral: "...desselbigen Exempels / unser seliglich verstorbenen / und sonderlich der abgelesenen Wort zu seinem Trost sich auch gebrauchet / und die Verordnung gethan / daß solche bey seinem Begräbniß zum Leichentext möchten genommen werden".⁴⁶¹ Johann Höpner, Superintendent of St. Nicholas' Church, described this *Spruch* (as with Schmuck's sermon for Eisentraut, consisting only of Isa. 38:17) and its selection in similar terms at the 1641 funeral of Sebastian Seidel: "Ist demnach dis Trost=Sprüchlein Hiskiaë ein hertzliches und sehnliches Gebet umb vergebung der Sünden / welches auch unser im HErrn Christo seliglich verstorbenen Mit=Bruder zu seinem Leichen=Text erwehlet / und damit sein zeitlich Leben seliglich geendet und beschlossen hat".⁴⁶²

The selection of verses from Hezekiah's *Lobpsalm* can in other funeral sermons be attributed to biographical parallels between Hezekiah and the deceased, including aristocratic birth, long-enduring illness, and premature death. For Johan. Eyteln Truchsessen von und zu Wetzhausen,

⁴⁶¹ Schmuck, *LeichPredigt / Auß dem Gebet Hiskiaë*.

⁴⁶² Johann Höpner, *Christliche Leichen=Predigt / Uber das Trost=Sprüchlein des Propheten Esaiaë am 38. Capitel: Sihe / umb Trost war mir sehr bange / ec. Bey Christlicher Leichbestattung Des [...] Herrn Sebastiani Seidels auff Funckenburgk / Welcher Anno 1641. den 26. Maij [...] verschieden / und den 30. dito Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden, Leipzig: 1641, 'Exordium'*. The role which the recitation of Bible verses, including that chosen as the *Leichen Text* – played in Seidel's domestic devotions is revealed in Höpner's concluding comments concerning Seidel's piety. In addition to regularly receiving communion, he had "nichts minder auch zu Hause / frühe und spat / auch vor als nach Tische / mit den seinigen und Gesinde in dem Gebet und Gottseligkeit geübet / viel schöne Sprüche Göttliches Wortes / durch offermaliches durchlesen der Bibel / ihm gemein und bekant gemacht / und darbey sein selig Abschied=Stündlein / und wie er sich darbey in einem und andern verhalten wolte / sich vielfältig erinnert / diesen Leichen Text aus dem Esai. am 38. Capitel selbsten *eligiret* und auffgezeichnet". See *Ibid*, 'Bericht'.

Georg Reinhard wrote and presented him with a sermon on Isa. 38:17, “sein lang zuvor be-
gehrtes Sprüchlein”, in 1623, three and a half years before it was held at his funeral.⁴⁶³ In con-
trast, the preacher at the funeral of Heinrich von Büнау in Weißenfels in 1647 himself chose
the text for the sermon. Two parallels are found between his choice of verses from Hezekiah’s
Lobpsalm and the situation of the deceased: not only did both suffer sustained illness, but von
Büнау, a member of the nobility, was buried “nach Adelichen Christ-Ritterlichen Gebrauch”,
his social standing inviting comparison with King Hezekiah.⁴⁶⁴ A further biographical parallel,
for example, between Hezekiah and Johann Caspar von Bernstein (also a long-suffering aristo-
crat) who died in 1657, was the deceased’s “frühzeitigen Todesfall”; Hezekiah himself was only
39 when he was struck by illness.⁴⁶⁵ Wolfgang Jünger, for whom Jeremia Albert preached on
Isa 38:17 in 1647, had in common with Hezekiah the fact that, in addition to his long sickness,
he remained childless.⁴⁶⁶

Leiser’s interpretation of this *Spruch* is reminiscent of discussions of ‘Zion spricht’ and ‘Ist
nicht Ephraim’. It too was a source of consolation – *Trost* – in the midst of adversity, when it
appears that we have been forsaken by God. As Leiser states, “solches Elend und Jammer [...] trifft
nicht alleine die Gottlosen...sondern auch die frommen heiligen Männer”.⁴⁶⁷ Hezekiah
was, continues Leiser, such a “frommer Mann”, “Deren Exempel wir denn viel in H. Schrift
haben / welche zur Lehr und Trost auffgezeichnet sind / daß wir in unser Noth wissen sollen /
wir sind nicht alleine / die der HErr züchtiget / sondern alle Heiligen für und sind der züchtigung
theilhaftig worden / wir sollen aber von inen lernen / wie sie sich zum Creutz geschicket /

⁴⁶³ Georg Reinhard, *SUSPIRIVM HISKIACUM* Das ist : Gewaltiger Hertzens Seufftzer *Hiskiaë*, des Königs in
Juda zu Hierusalem / Aus dem Propheten Esaia am Acht und dreyssigsten Capittel / *vers. 17.* Auff vorherge-
hends / Im 1623. Jahrs den 26. *Januarij*, begehren Des [...] Johan. Eyteln Truchsessen / von und zu Wetz-
hausen [...] *disponiret*, zusammen gebracht / und demselbigen Schriftlichen übergeben : Als aber Ihre G. und V.
über die vierdhalb Jahr hernach / als 1626. den 15. *Augusti* [...] abgeschieden / und den 28. desselbigen Mo-
nats / recht Adelichem / Christlichem Gebrauch nach [...] beygesetzt [...] gehalten worden. Coburg: 1627,
‘EXORDIUM GENERALE’.

⁴⁶⁴ Calert, *HISKIAS DECUMBENS*.

⁴⁶⁵ Andreas Besser, *HISKIÆ Leid und Freud* / Aus dem *Propheten* Esaia am 38. *Cap. v.17.* Bey Christ=Adelicher
und Volckreicher *Sepultur*, Als der [...] Herr Johann Caspar von Bernstein / Erb= und Gerichtsherr auff
Herrngosserstedt / Welcherden 16. Julii / des 1657 Jahrs [...] entschlaffen / und am 23. *Ejusdem* in der Kir-
chen *S. Viti* mit ansehnlichem *Conduct* beygesetzt ward[.] Jena: 1657[?].

⁴⁶⁶ Jeremia Albert, *HISKIÆ Qverela & Medela* Deß Gottfürchtigen Königes *Hiskiaë* Klage und Trost Auß dem
geistreichen Propheten Esaia am 38. *Cap.v.17.* Als der Leichnam deß [...] Herrn Wolfgang Jüngers [...] in die
Prediger Kirche mit sehr grosser / und Volckreicher Begleitung [...] den 21. *Martij* dieses 1647. Jahrs uber-
bracht / und daselbst in den Chor [...] beygesetzt worden. Erfurt: 1647[?].

⁴⁶⁷ Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskiaë*, ‘Eingang’.

darin[n]en Christlich verhalten / kräftiglich getröstet / auch wenn sie Gott erlöset / danckbarlich erwiesen und erzeiget haben / damit wir ihrem Exempel folgen / Trostes und Erlösung theilhaftig werden". Schmuck sees in Hezekiah's fate proof "daß es nichts neues sey / daß Christen auch auff allerley weise mit dem lieben Creutz / und also auch offft mit schweren oder langwirigen Kranckheiten beladen werden. Denn solches bringet der Christen Orden mit sich".⁴⁶⁸ Leiser states that they are discussing "den Trost Göttliches Worts in zeiten" so that future adversities can be better endured; "auff daß wir desto gedültiger im Creutz erfunden werden".⁴⁶⁹

Jeremia Albert suggests that Hezekiah suffered "zweyerley Beschwerde", namely "Eusserliche" and "Innerliche".⁴⁷⁰ To his external concerns can be counted the prospect of a premature death, the "elende und zerrüttete" state of his kingdom (depicted in Isaiah 36-7), the threat of religious laxity in his kingdom following his death, and finally his "Unfruchtbarkeit / oder Einsamkeit". But as Albert continues, "Doch waren solches alles nur eusserliche Beschwerden / welche er mit beständiger Gedult / mit einem dapffern unerschrockenen Heldenmuth / mit einem inbrünstigem gläubigen Gebet hätte können ertragen / oder lindern / oder gar abwenden; darumb ist es bey denen nicht blieben / sondern es hat sich gefunden eine Innerliche Beschwerde [...]". The true cause of Hezekiah's anguish was the internal cause: the experience of *Anfechtung* and the appearance of being forsaken by God.⁴⁷¹ Andreas Besser expands on the cause of Hezekiah's despair – "weil so gar viel innerliche Anfechtung zu schlugen" – as follows: "Die Einbildung Göttlicher Verlassung / daß sich ein zerplaget und ermüdetes Hertz / wegen grossen langwierigen Creutzes / Angst und Schrecken seiner Seelen lässet bedüncken / es sey gar von Gott verlassen ... Solches ist nun bey unserm Könige Hiskia die Principal und Haupt=Ursach ... gewesen".⁴⁷² As in 'Zion spricht', also from Isaiah, the text is read as an account of *Anfechtung* and the despair stemming from the (false) perception of abandonment. For Isa. 38:17, some preachers extend this to refer specifically to *Anfechtung* in the hour of death,

⁴⁶⁸ Schmuck, LeichPredigt / Auß dem Gebet Hiskiae, 'DE II'.

⁴⁶⁹ Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes Hiskiae, 'Eingang'.

⁴⁷⁰ Albert, *HISKIÆ Qverela & Medela*, 'TRACTATIO I. De qverela'.

⁴⁷¹ This was, according to Albert's sermon, the relevance of this verse for Wolfgang Jünger: "Diese Worte [Isa. 38:17] / weil sie sehr lieb gehabt / und dieselbe offft und viel geführt und gebraucht der Selige Herr Jünger / daß so offft ihn seine Sünden wollen betrüben / so offft er Anfechtung und Beschwerde dererhalben in seinem Herten und Gewissen gefühlet und empfunden[.]" Albert, *HISKIÆ Qverela & Medela*, 'EXORDIUM'.

⁴⁷² Besser, *HISKIÆ Leid und Freud*, 'Das erste Stück'.

an interpretation fitting its function as a *Trostspruch* in sickness. As Albert writes: “Wir Menschen umb der Sünden willen / allerley Elende / Müheseligkeit und Beschwerung müssen unterworffen seyn / welche sich häuffen und vermehren zur Zeit und Stunde des Todes / zu der Zeit sind die Anfechtungen und Versuchungen am allerheftigsten und gefehrlichsten”.⁴⁷³ The presence of *Anfechtung* at the time of death is explained by Michael Calert: “der Teuffel feyret nicht: In der letzten Todesstunde wil er gern erndten / was er die gantze Zeit unsers Lebens an uns gearbeitet hat”.⁴⁷⁴ Leiser presents Hezekiah’s actions as an example to be followed. Faced with illness, Hezekiah “hat das liebe Gebeth für die Hand genommen / Trost und Hülffe bey Gott gesucht”.⁴⁷⁵ This was, claims Leiser, exactly what we should do too: “er ist der Gott alles Trostes / der uns reichlich tröstet in allen nöthen / zu deme sollen wir uns in unser Noth halten / er wird uns nicht trost= und hülfloß lassen”.

In the remainder of verse 17, Leiser discusses three attributes of God which were the source of Hezekiah’s consolation.⁴⁷⁶ “Erstlich sihet er Gott an als einen *Amatorem* einen Liebhaber der Menschen / sonderlich der Gleubigen. Du hast dich / sagt er / meiner Seelen hertzlich angenommen...Du hast mich mit Liebe umbfangen”. It is easy, claims Leiser, when confronted with sickness to think we have been abandoned by God, “welches dann der schwersten Anfechtungen eine ist / die uns bange macht”. Here is again the perception of being forsaken by God as the cause of *Anfechtung*, central to both ‘Zion spricht’ and ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’. As Leiser continues, we should avoid capitulating to this “Einbildung des Satans”, remembering that what appears an act of punishment is actually an act of divine love: “so ist doch nicht alle Züchtigung eine Straffe des zornigen Gottes / sondern ein Vater der seinen Sohn lieb hat / der züchtiget ihn....Bißweilen wil er die Seinigen in solchem Creutz probieren / ob sie im Glauben rechtschaffen seyn / zum Gebeth auffmuntern et. Und also muß denen / die Gott fürchten / solch Creutz zum besten dienen”. Schmuck argues likewise; Hezekiah’s afflictions “hat sein Hertz wollen kräncken / als ob er einen ungnädigen Gott hette / und hette es mit demselben also gemacht / daß er ihn auß einer Ungnade nicht länger wolte leben lassen”. Schmuck claims that Satan was responsible; “Da hat der Satan zugeschürt / und hette ihm lieber allen Glauben und Hoffnung auß seinem Hertzen gerissen / daß er sich hat zu wehren gehabt in solchem

⁴⁷³ Albert, *HISKIÆ Qverela & Medela*, ‘TRACTATIO I. De qverela’.

⁴⁷⁴ Calert, *HISKIAS DECUMBENS*, § II.

⁴⁷⁵ Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskiaë*, ‘Vom Ersten Pünctlein’.

⁴⁷⁶ Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskiaë*, ‘Vom Andern Pünctlein’.

Kampff”.⁴⁷⁷ Leiser concludes with a cross reference to Isaiah 49, showing how the ‘Troost’ for which the Christian church longed must be appropriated by its individual members: “Der Christlichen Kirchen war auch bange nach Trost in ihrem Elend bey dem Propheten Esaia am 49. Cap. Sie sprach: Der HERR hat mich verlassen / der HERR hat mich vergessen... Diesen Trost müssen wir / die wir Gliedmassen der Kirchen Christi sind / auch *appliciren* und eigen machen”.⁴⁷⁸

Both Leipzig preachers confirm that Hezekiah suffered from external and internal afflictions. The second manner, according to Leiser, in which Hezekiah apprehended God was as “einen *Liberatorem ex ærumnis*, einen Erretter aus allen Nöthen / denn sagt er / Du hast dich meiner Seelen angenommen / daß sie nicht verdürbe / *in foveá corruptionis*, im Grabe / da die Verwesung geschihet / Das ist der andere Trost=grund”.⁴⁷⁹ God’s help is not limited to his presence in adversity, but is accompanied by a desire for action: “Er ist nicht alleine bey uns in der Noth / sondern er wil uns auch heraus reissen...er wil uns erretten”. Schmuck finds the root of Hezekiah’s suffering in his tormented conscience. Unlike Leiser, Schmuck presents the phrase “Du hast dich meiner Seele hertzlich angenommen / daß sie nicht verdürbe” as a semantic unit, seeing here a causal connection between the consolation of the soul and the preservation of the body.⁴⁸⁰ As Schmuck states, “darauß haben wir zu erkennen / daß aller Kranckheit Ursach die Sünde sey / wie auch des Todes selbst”. Schmuck makes clear that, until one’s troubled conscience has been stilled, there is no hope of physical recovery: “Denn von der Gewissens Angst wird das Hertz und alle Kräfte verzehret / und hilfft kein eusserliche trösten oder artzneyen / so lange dem Gewissen nicht gerahten ist”. Schmuck interprets Hezekiah’s words in light of the New Testament, finding in his words a reference to Christ: “darauff hat Hiskia auch gebawet / und seinen Trost auff den Mitler den Sohn Gottes gesetzt / in dessen Glauben er zu GOTT sagt: Du aber hast dich meiner Seele hertzlich angenommen / daß sie nicht verdürbe”.

⁴⁷⁷ Schmuck, LeichPredigt / Auß dem Gebet Hiskiae, ‘DE II’.

⁴⁷⁸ Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskiaë*, ‘Vom Andern Pünctlein’.

⁴⁷⁹ Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskiaë*, ‘Vom Andern Pünctlein’.

⁴⁸⁰ Schmuck, LeichPredigt / Auß dem Gebet Hiskiae, ‘DE II’. Besser describes the phrase “das sie nicht verdürbe” as the *causam finalem*, as the answer to the question “zu was Ende sich Gott Hiskiaë Seelen angenommen?” The answer is “Nehmlich / daß sie nicht verdürbe”. Besser, *HISKIÆ* Leid und Freud, ‘Vom andern Stück’.

The third manner was for Leiser as “*Redemptorem à peccatis*, einen Erlöser von allen Sünden / in dem er ferner saget : Denn du wirffest alle meine Sünde hinter dich zu rücke”.⁴⁸¹ As Leiser continues, “Er wil so viel sagen: GOTT du bist war ein barmhertziger GOTT / der die Menschen nicht gerne plaget / du bist aber auch ein gerechter Gott / der die Sünde nicht ungestraffet lesset. [...] Aber du nimmest dich meiner hertzlich an / unnd erlösest mich von der Sünde welche du hinter dich zu rücke wirffest / daß sie nicht vor dein Angesicht ins Gericht kommen”. Schmuck too describes God’s disposal of sin in poetic language: “**Du wirffst alle meine Sünde hinder dich zurück** / das ist / du vergibest meine Sünde gnädiglich / du schaffest sie ab und vertilgest sie / daß sie mir nicht zugerechnet werden / du stellet sie nicht für dein Angesicht [...] sondern wirffest sie zu rück und hinder dich / als weren sie nie da gewest. Ist gar eine schöne Beschreibung der Vergebung der Sünden / nemlich / daß Gott die Sünde hinweg thue / als etwas das nie gewesen were / und schaffets auffm Gesicht / und gedenckt nicht mehr dran / wenn sie einmal gnädig verziehen sind. [...] Er wird unsere Missethat dempffen / und alle unsere Sünde in die Tiefe des Meers werffen”.⁴⁸² In the twinkling of an eye, sin is forgotten, cast off forever. God discards “nicht nur eine / oder nur etliche wenig Sünden / etwa die Erbsünde / welche er nicht gethan / sondern von seinen Eltern ererbet / etwa die Sünden / welche er in seiner Jugend auß Unwissenheit und Einfältigkeit vollbracht / Sondern alle / alle Sünden / spricht er / hastu hinter dich zurücke geworffen”.⁴⁸³ It was this act of forgiveness, an act of divine grace, which consoled Hezekiah in his anguish. As Albert explains: “Dieses war ein rechter Warhafftiger / Kräftiger / und Lebendiger Trost / dadurch sein arme geängstete und angefochtene Seele / sein unruhiges schweres Gewissen wider genesen / heil und gesund worden”.⁴⁸⁴ Of all the reasons for Hezekiah’s suffering, the ‘internal’ reasons – his apprehension and despair when faced with his own sin – were the critical ones. Divine forgiveness is fundamentally different from human forgiveness: while we like to hold grudges against others, keeping their misdeeds before our eyes, God ‘throws them away’, never to be mentioned again. Fitting with the Lutheran model of *Anfechtung*, the active role played by God in the process of redemption contrasts with the passivity of the believer: the despairing believer, unable to redeem himself through the fulfilment of the law, is freed from sin through an act of divine grace.

⁴⁸¹ Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskiae*, ‘Vom Andern Pünctlein’, §3.

⁴⁸² Schmuck, LeichPredigt / Auß dem Gebet *Hiskiae*, ‘DE II’, §4.

⁴⁸³ Albert, *HISKIÆ Qverela & Medela*, ‘II. De medela’.

⁴⁸⁴ Albert, *HISKIÆ Qverela & Medela*, ‘II. De medela’.

Leiser's third division concerned verses 18 and 19, in which he shows "Wie wir Gott danken sollen / so wol im Creutz / als auch wenn er uns darvon erlöset".⁴⁸⁵ "Die Helle und Todt loben dich nicht / sondern die da leben. Durch die Helle verstehet er das Grab". The highest purpose of humanity was found in "Gottes Ehre / daß seines Namens Lob verkündigt werde". This was something unable to be realised by "die todten Leichnam in den Gräbern", but only by "die da leben". Just as Hezekiah praised his God for his recovery from sickness, so too was, for the Lutheran, divine praise the appropriate response to the receipt of God's grace; for Luther, good works were not the cause of salvation, but the appropriate response to it. Andreas Besser juxtaposes the initial "Faciem Hiskiae tristiozem, des Angstschmeckenden Königs Hiskiae grosses Leid" with the following "Faciem Hiskiae laetiozem, des Hertzzerquickten Königes Hiskiae süsse Freud".⁴⁸⁶ Although Reinhard's sermon was held on Isa. 38:17, he comments also on the following verses, presenting them as part of Hezekiah's prayer. As his recovery from illness was uncertain, "Es sey ihm [Hiskia] umb Trost sehr bang gewest".⁴⁸⁷ As Reinhard continues: "Darumb hat er sich zur Wand gewendet und geweinet / und GOTT umb Verlengerung seines Lebens hertzlich angeruffen : Gedenck doch Herr / spricht er / wie ich für dir gewandelt habe in der Warheit mit vollkommenen Herten / unnd habe gethan / was dir gefallen hat". Reinhard presents verses 18-20 as part of Hezekiah's heart-felt prayer: "Er [Hiskia] helt auch unsern HERN Gott / in seiner Dancksagung starcke *motiven* für / warumb er ihn soll wiederumb lassen gesund werden / und das Leben verlengern?". The "starcke *motiven*", the arguments given by Hezekiah while pleading his case for recovery, are, for Reinhard, found in verses 18-20:

Denn die Helle lobet dich nicht / so rühmet dich der Todt nicht / und die in die Gruben fahren / warten nicht auff deine Warheit: Sondern allein die da leben / loben dich / wie ich jetzt thue / der Vatter wird den Kindern deine Warheit kund thun / HERR hilff mir / so wollen wir meine Lieder singen / so lang wir leben / in dem Hause des HERN.

Hezekiah's arguments were sufficient to win the case, convincing his Lord that recovery was desirable: "Solches Gebet und *motiven* sind unsern HERN Gott nicht zu wider gewesen / sondern Er hats erhöret".

⁴⁸⁵ Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskiae*, 'Vom dritten Pünctlein'.

⁴⁸⁶ Besser, *HISKIÆ* Leid und Freud, 'Eingang'.

⁴⁸⁷ Reinhard, *SUSPIRIVM HISKIACUM*, 'Ander Theil'.

3.4.1 Siehe, nach Trost war mir sehr bange, *Israelsbrunnlein*

A number of preachers commented on the significance of the opening word of this text, ‘Siehe’, describing it as a German pendant to the Latin exclamation ‘Ecce’. Rheinhard terms this word a “*particula attentionis*”, “welches eine sonderliche Auffmerckung von uns fordert”.⁴⁸⁸ Albert states the importance of this word as an attention-grabbing opening: Hezekiah “wil mit diesem Wörtlein jederman auffmundern und auffmercksam machen; Siehe / nim solches wol in acht / du seyst wer du wollest / der du diese meine Worte liesest / hörest / oder dich derselben erinnerst”.⁴⁸⁹ Andreas Besser goes a step further, suggesting that the opening ‘Siehe’ (which he defines as a “*vocula observatione dignissima*”) is directed towards three different audiences: “Sihe / ist ein solch Wörtlein / daß gar wohl in acht zu nehmen / weil Hiskia damit seinen respect und Absehen hat 1. auff Gott : 2. auff sich selbst : 3. auff seinen Nechsten”.⁴⁹⁰ The word ‘siehe’ thus enhances the opening statement, drawing attention to the following: “hernach ... sihet Hiskia mit dem Wort Sihe / auff die Ursach seiner Angst und Betrübniß / wenn er saget : Sihe / umb Trost war mir sehr bange”.

This interpretation can be readily read into Schein’s setting of the text. ‘Siehe’ is declaimed in the opening bar in the Cantus I, its two syllables set to two semibreves a minor sixth apart. This word is separated from the following phrase, which is set with contrasting crotchet text-declamation and stepwise melodic movement, by a crotchet rest at the opening of the following bar. These contrasting musical features for ‘Siehe’ and the immediately following ‘nach Trost war mir sehr bange’ suggest that Schein was acutely aware of their different functions within the phrase. ‘Siehe’ could be read as an opening fanfare, two proud semibreves heralding the statement of grief and despair – the plaintive lament of his grief, unaffectedly presented in crotchet declamation – that follows. The exclamation ‘Siehe’ returns with each new voice entry, each time drawing attention to Hezekiah’s fate.

The opening line of the *Spruch* – ‘nach Trost war mir sehr bange’ – was understood in the funeral sermons as describing Hezekiah’s ‘Anliegen’. Although his external problems were bad, it was the ‘innerliche Beschwerung’ – his experience of *Anfechtung*, despair and abandonment – which formed the core of his complaint. Schein’s setting of ‘nach Trost war mir sehr bange’

⁴⁸⁸ Rheinhard, *SUSPIRIVM HISKIACUM*, ‘Erster Theil’.

⁴⁸⁹ Albert, *HISKIÆ Qverela & Medela*, ‘TRACTATIO I. De qverela’.

⁴⁹⁰ Besser, *HISKIÆ Leid und Freud*, ‘Das Erste Stück’.

suggests that he too took this interpretation, choosing to emphasise the state of grief and despair by setting ‘bange’ – the state of anxiety, fear, apprehension (in short, the experience of *Anfechtung*) – as the climax of the phrase. ‘Bange’ is, at the opening of Schein’s setting, both the highest note of the phrase (the goal of the stepwise melodic ascent) and the longest (set in bars 2-3 in Cantus I to minims, in bars 3-4 as a semibreve creating a suspension with the following Altus entry). The intensity of this emphasis on ‘bange’ is increased with each statement of it: in bar 2-3 it is set to two minims, contrasting with the preceding crotchet declamation; in bar 3-4 it is set as a suspension between the two Cantus voices and the following Altus entry; in the Altus at bar 5-6 the setting of the first syllable is expanded through a melismatic flourish, chromatic colour created through the juxtaposition of F and G with F# and G#. Only the words ‘sehr bange’ are within this phrase singled out for isolated repetition, as in Cantus II in bar 12.

The candence in bar 17 marks the shift from the description of Hezekiah’s ‘Anliegen’ to “wie denn [er] in seinem Anliegen getröstet worden”. A number of features of Schein’s setting make this shift immediately apparent. Again, tonality indicates the contrast: the first chord of the new section – F major – contrasts with the opening section, which was characterised by the opposing tonic and dominant poles in a minor. Secondly, we find a change in the manner of text declamation. While the opening made use of staggered polyphonic entries of a repeated subject, we now find, as in ‘Zion spricht’, text declamation in *falsobordone*-style. Schein’s concern here with the natural declamation of the spoken language contrasts with the regular crotchet declamation of the opening bars and the following artificial text accents necessitated by the counter-voices. Although all of ‘Du aber hast dich meiner Seelen’ is declaimed on one chord, the opening ‘Du aber’ is, through the elongation of the first syllable of ‘aber’, given a rhetorical emphasis which further enhances the contrast between this phrase and the opening. This emphasis on ‘Du aber’, on the new subject, suggests Besser’s contrast between being forsaken by men but finding consolation with God. Although the homorhythmic declamation is preserved, the *falsobordone*-style recitation on a single chord gives way to harmonic movement for ‘herzlich angenommen’, the melodic descent in the Altus (bar 19) used at the repetition of these words as the subject for a canon with staggered entries at the space of a minim (from bar 25). This passage is noteworthy for its harmonic stability; a pedal point on C in the Bassus provides the foundation for the staggered entries of the cascading melodic descent stepwise through a sixth in the upper voices. This harmonic stability contrasts with the instability and chromaticism of the opening, symbolising the consolation found after the opening state of despair; a musical depiction of Leiser’s phrase “Du hast mich mit Liebe umfassen”.

Hezekiah was in despair, but was consoled by God. The cause of his despair was, as multiple preachers claimed, his ‘innerliche Beschwerung’, his sin. The third division of this text is concerned with ‘die Ursach solches Trostes’, namely the remittance of sin by God. This casting off of sin was not effected by the sinner himself, but accomplished only through divine grace. This interpretation can be found in Schein’s cataclysmic setting of the phrase ‘Denn du wirfest alle meine Sünde hinter dich zurücke’, set to descending first-inversion chords with quaver declamation above a stepwise descent through almost two octaves in the bass. God has thrown “unsere Sünde in die Tiefe des Meeres”. The following interjections of ‘Denn du’ in the upper voices remind the listener “daß Gott die Sünde hinweg thue”; salvation, for the Lutheran, was gained not actively through the will and actions of the sinner, but only through divine grace with God as agent.⁴⁹¹

The setting of verse 18 is unusual. The entire verse is set homorhythmically in the lower three voices, marked *piano*. There is no repetition of text; the internal divisions of the verse are marked simply through short rests and an elongated final note. Neither is there any attempt at antiphonal effects between the three lower voices and the upper voices. One way to understand this is in light of the contrast between ‘Hölle’ and ‘Tod’ depicted in verse 18, and ‘Leben’ in verse 19. While the use of the lower voices, the sparse homorhythmic declamation and the *piano* dynamic represent death, the following combination of the upper voices, the use of triple time and the return to *forte* symbolise the living. Although this interpretation is plausible, there is an alternative reading suggested by Reinhard’s sermon. Reinhard understood verse 18 as part of Hezekiah’s prayer of recovery, during which he prayed in solitude before a wall, reciting a list of “starcke *Motiven*” to convince his God that his recovery was desirable. Could the homorhythmic declamation here suggest a single speaker, namely King Hezekiah? The *piano* marking, one of very few in *Israelsbrunnlein*, could be suggestive of his solitary prayer. And the silence of the upper voices throughout this verse could be the result of the musical incarnation of a single male speaker. Following the setting of ‘Sondern allein, die da leben’ in triple metre at the start of verse 19a, the declamation of ‘loben dich’ with staggered entries of a melodically descending motif in the four upper voices above a pedal-point on C in the Bassus (from bar 59) is reminiscent of the setting of ‘herzlich angenommen’ earlier in the composition. Could Schein

⁴⁹¹ The extent of the vocal range found here – down to a bottom E in the bass and a high A in Cantus I – would rule out the idea that any major transpositions took place. Possibly scope for transposition upwards? A highest note in *Israelsbrunnlein*?

have intended to connect these two ideas as cause and effect – praise as the inevitable response to the receipt of divine grace – through the use of a similar musical idea?

3.4.2 Excuse: Dynamics in *Israelsbrünnlein*

‘Siehe, nach Trost’, is one of the few compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* in which Schein specifies dynamics. Although signs for both *piano* and *forte* are found in the print, talk of them as separate dynamic indications is misleading. On the occasions when Schein does make use of dynamic indications, they refer to those passages that are to be sung *piano*. *Forte* represents the norm, *piano* the exception. This is seen in the passages where Schein indicates *piano* in only some of the voices. One example is the setting of verse 18 in ‘Siehe, nach Trost’. The entire verse is set for the lower choir. The three lower voices are marked *piano* at their entrance in bar 40. The following ‘Sondern allein, die da leben’ begins with the upper choir (bar 44). Decisive is the fact that, of the three upper voices, only the Altus is here marked *forte*. This does not mean that the Altus is to sing *forte* while the two other voices sing at a more moderate ‘normal’ volume. Rather, the *forte* simply represents the annulment of the previous *piano* indication, indicating a return to the standard. As neither of the Cantus voices were involved in the *piano* at the previous passage, they do not now need to be marked *forte*. They had never diverted from the *forte* norm, so there was no need for Schein to indicate a return to it. The same principle can be observed in ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’. The first dynamic indications are found in the Cantus voices at bar 6, where the passage ‘mein teurer Sohn’, sung by the Cantus I & II alone, is marked *piano*. The next entry of these voices occurs in bar 10, where they sing alongside the Altus as the ‘upper ensemble’. Although three voices sing here, only the Cantus I & II are marked *forte*. Again, *forte* indicates a return to the norm, a norm from which the Altus never deviated.

3.5 Isaiah 61:10 – ‘Ich freue mich im Herren’

A first glance at this *Spruch*, and Schein’s setting of it, could lead to the suspicion that it was selected and set with a wedding in mind. Not only does the final parallelism (of three contained within this one verse) use the image of a bride and bridegroom, but Schein’s setting of this phrase – his use of triple time and text repetition, in contrast to the composition’s generally more sober text declamation – highlights the final image of the bride in her finery. The reference in this *Spruch* to the wedding couple’s regalia was seized upon by one writer to justify the expense and extravagance of the preparation of a wedding wreath “mit allem fleiß auf das

herrlichste und schönste / ungesparter kosten...”.⁴⁹² Isa. 61:10 is interpreted literally to justify this practice: “Deß dürfften sie beyde / Breutigam und Braut / sich nicht schemen / sondern müssen bedencken / es gehe nach deß Propheten Esaiaë 61. Weissagung: Wie ein Breutigam mit Priesterlichem Schmuck gezieret / und wie eine Braut in irem geschmeide berdet”.

Surviving funeral sermons show that this *Spruch* was also selected and preached upon at funerals, and it is again for this purpose that I suggest that Schein composed his setting. Funerals did not necessitate mournful texts. On the contrary, Luther himself prescribed for funerals texts of consolation and hope rather than of mourning.⁴⁹³ The image of the bride was, in the context of funeral sermons, understood not literally but allegorically, the ‘bride’ symbolising the Christian church adorned for the spiritual marriage with her divine husband.⁴⁹⁴ Furthermore, the texts preached upon were often chosen by the deceased. Sigismund Höfer, preaching on this *Spruch* at the *Leich=Proces* of Anna-Sybill von Breitenbauch, comments on the apparent contradiction between the joyful theme of the text and its function as a funeral text:

Von [...] traurigen Materien könnte bey diesem *tristi ministerio* ferner einfältiger Bericht geschehen. Aber weil der sel. Frauen von Breitenbauch nicht beliebt hat / bey ihrem Leichbegängnüß von traurigen vergänglichlichen / sondern von frölichen / herrlichen und himlischen Dingen zu handeln und zu predigen / gestalt die wohl sel. Frau noch bey guten und gesunden Tagen ... einen solchen Leich=Text / den sie auch mit eigener Hand geschrieben / in ihrem Hand und Gebetbüchlein hinterlassen / erwehlet / welcher nicht von traurigen / sondern von recht frölichen / him[m]lischen / Geist= und Hertz=Seel und Gemüth=Leib= und Leben=erquickenden Dingen / hochzeitlichen Herrlichkeiten / Bräutigams=Schmuck un[d] Braut=Geschmeide handeln thut...⁴⁹⁵

The funeral print for Anna-Sybill von Breitenbauch, who died following childbirth in 1655, contains two sermons, both held by Sigismund Höfer, pastor in St. Ulrich. The first was held at

⁴⁹² Jacob Zader, *Bräutigams Ehrenkrantz / Welchen er seiner Braut zu Ehren tragen muß / mit seinen Rosen lieblich und schön abgebildet. Allen Ehrliebenden Mannes= und Weibes Personen / sonderlich jungen Leuten / zur Frewde und Trost zugerichtet[.]* Wittenberg: 1620, pp. 5-7.

⁴⁹³ Cf. Luther’s preface in ‘Christliche Geseng Lateinisch vnd Deudsch / zum Begrebnis’, Wittenberg: 1543.

⁴⁹⁴ A point also made by Zader: “Denn GOTT der HErr nennet sich eben so wol einen Breutigam / und helt seine Christliche Kirche für seine Braut [...] Meinet ein Breutigam seine Braut hertzlich / so meinet Jesus Christus seine Christenheit noch tausentmahl besser”. Zader, *Bräutigams Ehrenkrantz*, p. 35.

⁴⁹⁵ Sigismund Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnüß=Predigt von Seligverstorbnerer Sechswöchnerin allerfröligsten Kirchgange / Auß den schönen geistreichen Worten Esaia / Cap. 61. vers. 10’ in *DUE HONORIS STATUÆ* Zwo Adelige Ehreenseulen gesetzt und aufgerichtet in Zwey Christlichen Leich= und Trost= Predigten [...] Als der Adelige Leichnam Der [...] Frauen Annen=Sibyllen / von Breitenbauch [...] den 23. Martii des 1655sten Jahrs / in der Kirchen zu S. Ulrich [...] beygesetzt / und darauf den 9. *Maij* der Adelige Leich=*Process solenniter* gehalten worden[.] Jena: 1655, ‘Exordium’.

her burial on 23 March 1655, a few days following her death, in the church in St. Ulrich.⁴⁹⁶ The second was held on 9 May at her “Adeliche Leich=Process”, which, along with the burial of her infant son, took place a month and a half after the burial. The second of these sermons was preached on Isa. 61:10, a verse of personal significance to the deceased which she had, despite her young age and premature death, specified as her funeral text: “Unsere in Gott ruhende sel. Frau von Breitenbauch hat bey guten unnd gesunden Tagen ihre Freude gehabt an dem abgelesenen Leich=Text / den hat sie aus dieser volle[n] Schatzkam[m]er des allein seligmachende[n] göttlichen Worts vor andern eligiret / vor etzlichen Jahren schon in ihr Handbüchlein geschriben / daß er ihr uff begebenden Todesfall zum Leich=Text möge genommen und erkläret werden”.⁴⁹⁷

Jacobina Hentschlin, wife of Augsburg Bürgermeister Christoph Hentschel, also selected this verse “zu ihrem Leiche=Text”; in accordance with this wish, Georg Paul Jenisch held her funeral sermon on this verse in St. Anna’s church on 24 February 1680.⁴⁹⁸ Isa. 61:10 belonged to the favourite *Sprüche* of Magdalena Zembschen, who died aged 81 in Treben in 1681; She herself had chosen “zu ihrem Leichen=Text diese prophetische Worte”.⁴⁹⁹ The preacher, Michael Heinigke, praises Magdalena’s piety, stating that “sie hat recht *exemplarisch* gelebet [...] Ja fast alle ihre Zeit mit Lesen und Bethen / oder doch mit Christlichen guten Gedancken und Seuffzen hin und zugebracht”. As evidence is printed a prayer which “die höchstselige Frau mit eigener Hand [...] in ein absonderlich Büchlein gezeichnet und täglich offft gebetet”.⁵⁰⁰ Reference is made in this prayer to the imagery in Isa. 61:10: “ach! mein lieber HERR JESU / laß mich

⁴⁹⁶ Today incorporated into the town of Mücheln in Sachsen-Anhalt.

⁴⁹⁷ Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnüß=Predigt’ in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, ‘ΕΡΤΑΣΙΑ’.

⁴⁹⁸ Georg Paul Jenisch, *Glaubiger Kinder Gottes Allerschönster Seelen=Schmuck / Aus dem 61. Cap.v.10. deß Propheten Esaiaë. Bey Volckreicher und Ansehenlicher Leich=Bestattung / Der [...] Fr. Jacobina Hentschlin [...] Deß [...] Herrn / Christoph Hentschels / Deß Inneren Raths und Hoch-Löblichen Burgermeisters allhie Seel. Haus=Frauen[.] Augsburg: 1680[?], p. 5.*

⁴⁹⁹ Michael Heinigke, *OPTIMUM AC VERUM VERI CHRISTIANI GAUDIUM*. Das ist Eines wahren Christen beste und gröste Freude / Aus denen Worten des Geistreichen Propheten *Es. c.61. 10.* [...] Welche die [...] Frau Magdalena gebohrne Lossovin / Des [...] Herrn M. Friederich Wilhelm Zembschens [...] *Superintendentens* zu Glaucha und Remse [...] Wittbe [...] aus dieser Jammer=vollen Welt genommen zu Treben am 19. Maji / dieses ietzlauffenden 1681. Jahres. Und bey deroselben wohlangestellten Priesterlichen Beerdigung am 24. dieses [...] in der Kirchen allda / ihrem eigenen Begehren nach einfältig fürgestellt / auch nachgehendes auff der Leidtragenden / höchstbetrübtten Kinder Anhalten zum Druck abgegeben. Jena: 1681, ‘Præloquium’.

⁵⁰⁰ Heinigke, *OPTIMUM AC VERUM VERI CHRISTIANI GAUDIUM*. A list of her favourite verses is printed under ‘Personalialia’; included in this list are all three passages from Isaiah which Schein set in *Is-raelsbrünnelein*.

bereit und willig sterben / so soll ich das Himmelreich ererben / und da meinen himmlischen Bräutigam von Angesicht zu Angesicht sehen / da werde ich das rechte Hochzeit=Kleid anhaben / nemlich deine Gerechtigkeit / und Heiligkeit / bekleide mich mit dem Rocke des Heils...”.

Magdalena’s prayer suggests the manner in which this text was understood: as referring to the spiritual marriage – “eine warhafftige geistliche Ehe” – between Christ as bridegroom and the church as his bride. The text becomes an allegory for redemption from sin through Christ; Christ himself clothing the church with the metaphorical ‘Rock’ and ‘Kleid’ of ‘salvation’ and ‘righteousness’.⁵⁰¹ As Höfer writes, Christ clothes “seiner lieben Braut / einer ieden gläubigen Seelen uf Erden” with the garments of salvation and righteousness.⁵⁰² In the context of Isa. 61, verse 10 (the verse which Schein set) represents a change of speaker, a change not made explicit in the biblical text. As Jenisch puts it, the words of verse 10 “Seyn Wort der jüdischen Kirchen / darzu sie veranlaßt worden / durch die Predigt / welche der Evangelische Prophet Esaias dem Volck Gottes im Namen und under der Person deß HErn Messiae gehalten”.⁵⁰³ The words of verses 1-9 are understood as being spoken by Isaiah in the name of the future Messiah. Hearing these words, the church is filled with joy; by verse 10, it can no longer hold back, bursting out into its song of thanks: “So wird die Kirche Gottes hierüber / aus dem Gehör dieser Trostreichen Predigt dermassen hocheufreut, daß sie es nicht lassen kan / sie muß hierauff mit einem schönen Liede ihre schuldige Danckbarkeit gegen ihren GOTT und ihren liebsten Heylande nach ihren besten Vermögen herfürgeben”.⁵⁰⁴ Verse 10 represents the change of speaker. While the first-person speaker at the chapter’s opening stood for the Prophet Isaiah, it now stands for the church. Höfer shows that the first-person pronouns in verse 10 now stand for the church, while the third-person pronouns refer to Christ: “Anlangende nun den Inhalt dieser schönen Wort / so

⁵⁰¹ An interpretation made explicit in the hymn ‘Ich freu mich in dem Herren’ by Bartholomäus Helder (1585-1635), a contemporary of Schein who studied theology in Leipzig (See Wolfgang Herbst [ed.], *Wer ist wer im Gesangbuch*, Göttingen: 2001, pp. 138-9). Helder’s paraphrase of Isa. 61:10 is still sung, included in the German *Evangelisches Gesangbuch* (nr. 349). The second and third of the hymn’s four verses show that Isa. 61:10 was interpreted as referring to redemption from sin through Christ. In verse two, Christ fits into the role of the Bridegroom (‘...nun bin ich neu geboren in Christus, Gottes Sohn / der hat mir Heil erworben durch seinen bitteren Tod...’); that redemption through Christ is symbolised metaphorically by the clothes and jewellery is shown in the third verse (‘All Sünd ist nun vergeben / und zugedecket fein, / darf mich nicht mehr beschämen / vor Gott, dem Herren mein. / Ich bin ganz neu geschmücket / mit einem schönen Kleid, / gezieret und gesticket / mit Heil und G’rechtigkeit’).

⁵⁰² Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnüß=Predigt’ in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, ‘In Nomine Jesu!’.

⁵⁰³ Jenisch, *Glaubiger Kinder Gottes Allerschönster Seelen=Schmuck*, p. 11.

⁵⁰⁴ Heinigke, *OPTIMUM AC VERUM VERI CHRISTIANI GAUDIUM*, ‘Tractatio’.

ist darinne begriffen ... *sponsae spiritualis* ... Eine hertzliche Dancksagung / so des HERRn JESu liebe Braut / die streitende Kirche uff Erden / ihrem lieben Ehren= und Seelen=Schatze Christo Jesu ... vor [für] die vielfältigen / herrlichen und vortrefflichen Gut= und Wohlthaten / derer sie geneusst [genießt] in der streitenden Kirchen allhier auff Erden / unnd einmahl in der triumphierenden geniessen wird in alle unendliche ewigkeit”.⁵⁰⁵ Henigke confirms this change of speaker, adding “so ist doch nichts Ungewöhnliches / sondern bey denen Propheten gantz gebräuchlich / daß die Personen abgewechselt werden”.⁵⁰⁶ He therefore sees no problem in interpreting this verse as the church’s response to the Messiah’s words.

All three preachers divide the verse into two parts. As Höfer puts it: “Es hat diese Dancksagung zwey Stück. Das I. ist *propositio*, worvon die Braut des HERRn JESu hier handele. Von lauter Hertzens- und Seelen=Freude”.⁵⁰⁷ This “Dancksagung”, the “Antwort der Christl. Kirchen N.T. (oder der Gläubigen)” in response to “des HERRn Messiae Predigt”, is contained in the verse’s opening parallelism:

Ich freue mich im Herren, und meine Seele ist fröhlich in meinem Gott.

Höfer draws attention to three points concerning the content of this parallelism: “Beym ersten haben wir unsere Gedancken zu richten uff dreyerley / und zu erwegen I. *Subjectum*, wer alhier diese Freuden=Wort führe. 2. *Objectum*, auf wen sie gerichtet seyn. 3. *Materiam*, was sie in sich halten”.⁵⁰⁸ Citing various church fathers, he asks whether the Messiah himself or the church speaks, before deciding for the latter.⁵⁰⁹ The subject of the phrase, the church, is “wie eine Trostlose / über welche alle Wetter gehen [...] Aber dessen allen ungeachtet / hat sie auch ihre hertzliche Freude. Worüber denn?” In answer to this question, the object of the church’s joy, Höfer states that the church “Versteht durch den HERRn und durch ihren Gott / niemand anders

⁵⁰⁵ Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnuß=Predigt’ in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, ‘ΕΡΤΑΣΙΑ’.

⁵⁰⁶ Heinigke, *OPTIMUM AC VERUM VERI CHRISTIANI GAUDIUM*, ‘Tractatio’.

⁵⁰⁷ Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnuß=Predigt’ in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, ‘ΕΡΤΑΣΙΑ’.

⁵⁰⁸ Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnuß=Predigt’ in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, ‘ΕΡΤΑΣΙΑ’.

⁵⁰⁹ Höfer decides against the interpretation of “Der alte Kirchenlehrer Origenes in der Griechischen / Tertullianus und nach ihm Augustinus in der Lateinischen Kirchen” who “verstehen und erklären diese Wort von Messia dem damals noch zukünftigen / nunmehr aber geleisteten Seelen=Bräutigam Christo Jesu selbst”. Höfer, *Ibid.*

als ihren Ehren=Schatz / Hertzens=Schatz / Seelen=Schatz / ja Himmels=Schatz Christum Jesum". The third point, the 'Materiam', is found in answer to the question "Was hat denn nun die Kirche vor [für] eine Freude über den[?] HErrn ihrem Gott?" The church's joy is not a worldly, transient joy, but spiritual joy in Christ: "diese Freude ist keine schlechte / keine vergängliche / keine flüchtige / sondern eine recht grosse / beständige / hertzliche Seelen=Freude". Höfer lists various recipients of this divine joy, concluding with "*omnes ex vitâ emigrantes. Alle Sterbende*", demonstrating thereby the verse's applicability as consolation for the dying and mourning: "Wenn zuletzt...der bleichgelbe Todt ankömmt...und man sich alle Augenblick des letzten Hertzens=stichs vom Tode vermuthen muß / da ist keine gewisse / bewehrtere Freude / als die Freude am HErrn / die Freude an unserm Bräutigam Jesu Christo". As Höfer continues, "eine solche Hertzens=Freude hatte auch biß in den Todt die sel. Frau von Breitenbauch"; now, following her death, she "geneusst [genießt] solcher herrlichen Freude itzo diesen Augenblick". This text, understood as an expression of the believer's joy at certain redemption through Christ, represents Luther's imperative to replace mourning and despair with consolation and confidence in the world to come.

The second part of the verse contains the reason for the church's joy. As Höfer continues, "Das II. ist *propositionis ratio*, die treibende *motio* und wichtige Ursach / darumb die Kirche Gottes in solche Hertzens= und Seelen=Freude gerathen".⁵¹⁰

denn er hat mich angezogen mit den Kleidern des Heiles und mit dem Rock der Gerechtigkeit gekleidet, wie ein Bräutigam mit priesterlichem Schmuck gezieret und wie eine Braut in ihrem Geschmeide bärdet.⁵¹¹

The two reasons given by Höfer, encapsulating "die grosse *liberalität* und Freygebigkeit / so der Himmels=Bräutigam bewiesen an seiner Gespons und Braut", are taken directly from the verse itself: "I. *Stolam salutaris Justitiae donando*. In dem Er sie angezogen mit den Kleidern des Heils / und mit dem Rock der Gerechtigkeit bekleidet...2. *Ornamenta sacerdotalia cum monilibus praesentando*. In dem er sie wie einen Bräutigam mit priesterlichem Schmuck gezieret / und mit wunderschönen Geschmeide / als eine liebe Braut *orniret* und geschmücket hat".⁵¹²

⁵¹⁰ Höfer, 'Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnuß=Predigt' in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, 'ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ'.

⁵¹¹ In Jenisch (1680) and Heinigke (1681) the *Leichenspruch* ends at "...mit dem Rock der Gerechtigkeit gekleidet".

⁵¹² Höfer, 'Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnuß=Predigt' in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, 'ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ'.

Höfer establishes that it is no worldly king, but Christ who clothed his bride, the church. This act stands for the redemption of the church, the collection of the faithful, through Christ. The fall of Adam and Eve is juxtaposed with redemption through Christ. God made clothing for Adam and Eve once their fig leaves became inadequate, “damit sie nur ihres Leibes blöße damit bedeckten”.⁵¹³ While such an act could hide their corporal shame, the decking of their “geistliche Blöße” had to await the coming of another redeemer: “Wie viel weniger konte nun der gefallene Mensch...seine geistliche Blöße bedecken? Es muste ein ander kommen / der die Kleider des Heils / unnd den Rock der Gerechtigkeit erstlich wieder schaffte / und hernach seiner lieben Braut verehrete”.⁵¹⁴ Jenisch likewise sees a parallel with Adam and Eve: “Wann wir diß Kleid durch den Glauben anziehen / so können wir unsere Sünden=Blösse besser bedecken / als unsere erste Eltern ihre Blösse mit den Feigen=Blättern”.⁵¹⁵ The garments of salvation and righteousness stood for redemption through Christ’s suffering: “Durch die Kleider des Heils und den Rock der Gerechtigkeit wird nicht anders verstanden als das hochtheure und allein gültige Verdienst / Unschuld und vollkommene Gnugthuung unsers HErrn und Heylandes Jesu Christi / sampt alle dem / was Er uns zu gute gethan / gelitten und erworben hat / welches alles des HErrn Christi Braut mit wahren Glauben ergreifet / und in solchen Schmuck gar statlich vor ihrem him[m]lischen Hochzeit=Vater pranget”.⁵¹⁶ For Höfer, the ornaments of the bridegroom and the jewels of the bride in the verse’s final parallelism symbolise the righteous life led by those who, having been redeemed, are thereafter inclined towards righteousness and the performance of good works. Good works are not the prerequisite of redemption, but its result: “Dieser Bräutigams und Priesterschmuck / und die schönen Brautgeschmeide ist nichts anders als *sanctimonia vitæ*, die Heiligkeit des Lebens / wenn nemlich eine gläubige und mit Christo vermählete Seele in den Geboten des HErrn unsträfflich einher gehet / den Glauben thätig erweist durch die Liebe / unnd den Tugenden des HErrn Christi nachfolget / und also den Rock der Gerechtigkeit in den Wercken der Liebe hindurch schimmert”.

⁵¹³ Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnuß=Predigt’ in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, ‘ΕΡΤΑΣΙΑ’. Jenisch also contrasts “den sündlichen Adams=Rock deß verderbten Fleisches” with “der Gerechtigkeit JESU Christi”. Jenisch, *Glaubiger Kinder Gottes Allerschönster Seelen=Schmuck*, p. 32.

⁵¹⁴ Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnuß=Predigt’ in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, ‘ΕΡΤΑΣΙΑ’.

⁵¹⁵ Jenisch, *Glaubiger Kinder Gottes Allerschönster Seelen=Schmuck*, p. 18.

⁵¹⁶ Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnuß=Predigt’ in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, ‘ΕΡΤΑΣΙΑ’.

3.5.1 Ich freue mich im Herrn, *Israelsbrünnlein*

The opening phrase of this verse could be read as a synonymous parallelism, each half of which presents two ideas; the ‘ich freue mich’ of the opening is repeated as ‘fröhlich’, while the initial ‘im Herren’ is repeated as ‘in meinem Gott’. The setting of this opening parallelism begins and ends with homorhythmic ‘pillars’, short *tutti*-passages delineated from their surroundings through rests. Interesting is the manner in which the parallelism is subdivided. The first half – ‘ich freue mich im Herren’ – is presented as a textual unit, presented by all five voices homorhythmically and syllabically. The final word ‘Herren’ is the phrase’s goal both textually and musically. Unlike the first half of the couplet, its paraphrase – ‘und meine Seele ist fröhlich in meinem Gott’ – is further subdivided into its two constituent ideas. The staggered entries and the ascending up-beat motif of the first of these – ‘und meine Seele ist fröhlich’ – contrast with the preceding homophony. The reason for this surely lies in the text. While Schein’s setting of the opening couplet emphasised the concluding ‘im Herren’, the staggered entries of the ascending up-beat quavers with which Schein sets ‘und meine Seele ist fröhlich’ suggest a contrasting depiction of human joy. This compensates for the emphasis on ‘Herren’ to the detriment of ‘freue mich’ in the opening half. This technique – the musical depiction of only one of two ideas in the first half of a synonymous parallelism in the first couplet, and the other idea in the second half of the couplet – is also found in other settings in *Israelsbrünnlein*. The phrase ‘und meine Seele ist fröhlich’ is set three times with the contrapuntal ‘up-beat’ motive, each time leading to a cadence on a different scale degree. Following this, the phrase ‘ist fröhlich’ is isolated and repeated by all five voices homophonically, leading to the five-part homophonic declamation of the phrase ‘in meinem Gott’ with which the couplet concludes. Schein’s repetition of ‘in fröhlich’ is sophisticated in that it reinforces the semantic connection between the two ideas of the second half of the couplet. On the one hand, it has been repeated three times as part of ‘und meine Seele ist fröhlich’; on the other hand, its five-part homorhythmic setting at its final repetition (bar 8) reflects the setting of the following ‘in meinem Gott’, showing the semantic connection between these two ideas through the use of similar musical means. On the one hand, the homorhythmic, *tutti* setting of ‘in meinem Gott’, with its single repetition and punctuating rests, could be seen to create a symmetrical form for the opening parallelism, with homophonic *tutti* passages framing the staggered entries of the more active quaver motif. But it also corresponds to the contents of the text. The homophonic, five-part setting of the opening phrase ‘Ich freue mich im Herrn’ and the concluding ‘in meinem Gott’ draws attention to the ‘*objectum*’ of Höfer’s opening ‘*propositio*’; not joy for its own sake, but joy founded in the

redeeming acts of God was the source of the spiritual joy in which confidence and consolation in the confrontation with death was rooted.

As often in *Israelsbrünnlein*, the first and second parallelisms are delineated through a tonal shift of a third, here from E to C. The *'propositionis ratio'* is announced with a return to the homorhythmic *tutti* writing with which the first couplet opened and closed; the phrase 'denn er hat mich angezogen' is set homorhythmically for all five voices with a following rest. By returning to the five-part homorhythmic writing with which he set 'im Herren' and 'in meinem Gott', Schein draws attention to the subject of this phrase, to Christ as the metaphorical 'dresser' and source of righteousness. The text declamation could be described as 'trochaic', a further aspect of the contrast with the double quaver up-beat with which the motif of 'mit den Kleidern des Heiles' begins. Noteworthy is the return to the five-part texture for the setting of 'Heil' in bar 13. The following 'und mit dem Rock der Gerechtigkeit gekleidet' is set similarly, the upper choir's 'und mit dem Rock' repeated directly in the lower choir before the phrase is completed with a homorhythmic *tutti* setting of 'der Gerechtigkeit gekleidet'. The return to five-voices for 'Heil' and 'Gerechtigkeit' and the homorhythmic, syllabic text declamation of 'der Gerechtigkeit gekleidet' are likewise reminiscent of the setting of 'Herrn' and 'in meinem Gott' in the opening couplet. Schein's setting thus suggests the connection between these concepts, the garments of salvation and righteousness standing for redemption through Christ's suffering: "Durch die Kleider des Heils und den Rock der Gerechtigkeit wird nicht anders verstanden als das hochtheure und allein gültige Verdienst / Unschuld und vollkommene Gnugthuung unsers HErrn und Heylandes Jesu Christi".⁵¹⁷

The first half of the final parallelism – 'wie einen Bräutigam mit priesterlichem Schmuck geziert' – is set homophonically in the lower three voices without any further textual subdivision.⁵¹⁸ The text is repeated in the same voices from bar 23; Schein doesn't use the opportunity provided by the repetition to vary the combination of voices. The use of the lower voices could be seen to symbolise the male figure of the 'Bräutigam'; alternatively, the simplicity of the homorhythmic three-part text declamation could be reflective of the 'Einfältigkeit' of the *sanc-timonia vitæ* which, for Höfer, the text stands. Particularly striking is the weighting of the final phrase, 'und wie eine Braut in ihrem Geschmeide bärdet': Schein's setting of this phrase spans, in the NGA, bars 27-50, encompassing almost half of the composition. The phrase is initially

⁵¹⁷ Höfer, 'Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnüß=Predigt' in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, 'ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ'.

⁵¹⁸ Similar to the setting of 'Denn die Hölle lobet dich nicht...' in 'Siehe, um Trost war mir sehr bange'.

set with antiphonal exchanges of ‘und wie eine Braut’ between the upper and lower three-part ensembles in quaver declamation, concluding with a five-part setting of ‘in ihrem Geschmeide’. Although the setting could end here, Schein repeats the phrase ‘und wie eine Braut’ in triple time, each homorhythmic, syllabically declaimed statement of the text as usual ending on a different scale degree. Schein returns to the initial time signature for the concluding ‘in ihrem Geschmeide bärdet’, antiphonal exchanges between the three-part groups concluding with a final *tutti* statement. The disproportionate length of Schein’s setting of the final phrase could represent the importance of this phrase for the allegorical interpretation of the verse. While the setting, through the recurring homophonic *tutti* pillars, had been until here centred on God, its conclusion switches to the Christian believer, the metaphorical ‘bride’ of Christ, expressing the confidence that the deceased, having departed the ‘streitende Kirche uff Erden’, is now, through the “Verdienst / Unschuld und vollkommene Gnugthuung unsers HErrn und Heylandes Jesu Christi”, rejoicing in “der triumphirenden [Kirche]...in alle Ewigkeit”.⁵¹⁹

3.6 Conclusion

I wanted to examine in this chapter the significance of texts such as ‘Zion spricht’ and ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’ for Schein and his society, to find the reasons why these texts were set as frequently as they were. Contemporary funeral sermons show that ‘Zion’ and ‘Ephraim’, although acknowledged as Old Testament figures, were understood as applying to the individual believer: as Ziegenspeck put it, “Wir Christen sind Ephraim”. For three of the *Sprüche* examined in this chapter, we know of funeral sermons held on the exact verses in Leipzig in the years before the publication of *Israelsbrünnlein*. As such, the parallel between Schein’s settings of these verses and his settings of *Symbola* for Möstel and Schmuck begs to be made, suggesting that it is plausible that these settings too originated as occasional funeral compositions. Multiple settings of ‘Zion spricht’ by Schein survive, one of which is known to have been composed for the *Ratswahl* of 1629. This setting offers a fascinating comparison with the setting of the same text in *Israelsbrünnlein*. When discussing the reasons for Zion’s lament, multiple preachers contrast ‘äusserliche’ afflictions with ‘innerliche’ torments. While the former were arguably relevant to the interpretation of this *Spruch* in the context of the civic occasion of the *Ratswahl*, preachers

⁵¹⁹ Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnuß=Predigt’ in *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ*, ‘ΕΡΤΑΣΙΑ’.

are careful to point out in discussions of this *Spruch* at funerals that the ‘innerliche’ afflictions were the cause of the individual Christian’s disquiet.

A single theme permeates these *Sprüche* as outlined in funeral sermons: the individual Christian is afflicted by the perception of having been forsaken by God, the worst form of ‘innerliche’ *Anfechtung*. Seeing this state of despair, God is moved to mercy. This can be read as a model of the Lutheran *Rechtfertigungslehre*. The believer despairs at having failed to gain righteousness through his own efforts at fulfilling the law. In the moment of deepest despair in which all hope of actively gaining righteousness is abandoned, grace is granted from God. Rather than gaining righteousness actively through their own efforts, righteousness is gained passively through the receipt of divine grace. Schein’s choice of texts was by no means accidental. Although none of the *Sprüche* discussed in this chapter was from the biblical psalter, they were nevertheless taken from poetic passages of the Old Testament which display evidence of the *parallelismus membrorum*, the formal structural device which governed the psalm verses. The *Kraftsprüchlein* discussed here encapsulate in miniature form a process. Within a few verses are found verbal depictions of extreme emotional states, from deepest despair to confidence in redemption. In ‘Zion spricht’ and ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’ a further dynamic is found; in addition to the transformation in the believer is found the transformation in God, the moment in which God is moved to mercy at the apprehension of his children’s despair.

That Schein set these texts can be seen as a genuine expression of Lutheran faith on multiple levels. Firstly, there is the fact that these settings probably were conceived specifically for performance at funerals. In this sense, they are a continuation of the Lutheran piety which expressed itself in the selection of *Symbola* in personal devotions and the preaching of funeral sermons. Secondly, these verses from the Prophetic books of the Old Testament express concisely the essence of the process of Lutheran *Rechtfertigung*, the dynamic from human despair to redemption through divine grace. In as much as Schein’s compositions represent this central aspect of Lutheran faith, they are genuinely Lutheran works. This point should not be underestimated, as it represents a uniquely Lutheran voice in contrast to the largely shared body of ‘interconfessional’ sacred music, settings of Latin texts which found use in both Lutheran and Catholic contexts, in the sixteenth century. Thirdly, there is the resonance of confessional conflict found in these texts. Although these verses were in the first instance read on the personal level of inner affliction, Lutheran theologians show that this model of perceived abandonment was also applied specifically to the state of the Lutheran church and society, seen to suffer in the world while the papacy prospered.

4. MUSIC AND TEXT AT LUTHERAN WEDDINGS

Was soll ich sagen ... von der Jubals-Brut⁵²⁰, die auch nothwendig dabey zu seyn geglaubet wird. Es wäre aber zu wünschen, dass sie weit davon wären, denn sie mehr böses, als gutes schaffen, wenigstens befördern helfen. Es sind das gemeinlich die leichtsinnigsten, frechesten Menschen, gräuliche Zotenreisser, zumal unter den gemeinen Thor- und Dorff-Musicanten. Man könnte sie mit allem Recht aus der Christenheit verbannen. Besser wäre es, dass Cantores und Organisten, und Schulmeister eine Hochzeit-Music auf Christliche Art machten...⁵²¹

Christian Gerber, 1732

Gerber paints a grim picture of music at a Saxon wedding. Music, practiced by the dregs of society, is associated with excess and debauchery.⁵²² Not only should such rabble be banned from weddings, they should, wishes Gerber, be ‘banished from Christendom’. In its place, he wishes that ‘Cantors, Organists and Schoolmasters’ would create wedding music ‘auf Christliche Art’. Christian, devotional music, composed and performed for the edification of the guests, should take the place of rowdy, lascivious performances. Shining through Gerber’s description is, however, the assumption that music is an integral part of a wedding celebration. He doesn’t wish for music to be banned, just reformed. Music itself is not the problem; the problem was the ends to which it was put.

In this chapter I will discuss the Lutheran wedding as a potential context for the composition and performance of Schein’s *Krafftspüchlein*. The suitability for weddings of several compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* has often been observed.⁵²³ A Lutheran wedding provided scope for

⁵²⁰ Cf. Gen. 4.21: “Und sein Bruder hieß Jubal; von dem sind hergekommen die Geiger und Pfeifer”. Gregor Strigenitz, in a wedding sermon from 1590, gives the following account of Jubal and his crew: “Und ob wir wol finden in heiliger Schrift / Gen. 4. daß Jubal ein Nachkömmling Cains / der erste anfänger sol seyn der Musica / denn von ihm sollen herkommen seyn die *Musici Instrumentales* und *Vocales*, so müssen wir doch diß auch sagen / daß die Nachkommen Cains der Musica haben mißbraucht / und unartige Rei[h]en und Bullen=Lieder gesungen / wie der Prophet Esaias über seine Zuhörer und Pfarrkinder auch klaget / daß sie des Morgens frühe auffgestanden / sich des Sauffens zu fleissigen / und biß in die Nacht gesessen sind / daß sie der Wein erhitzt / und haben Harffen / Pfalter / Paucken / Pfeiffen und Wein gehabt in ihren Wolleben / da verwirffet er nicht die Musica / die Kunst an ihr selbst / sondern straffet den Mißbrauch”. Gregor Strigenitz, *VOTA NUPTIALIA*, Leipzig 1617, p. 358.

⁵²¹ Wolfgang Ratzmann (ed.), *Evangelische Gottesdienstkultur im Barockzeitalter: Christian Gerbers "Historie der Kirchen-Ceremonien in Sachsen"* (1732), Markkleeberg: 2014, p. 230.

⁵²² For a discussion of the social standing of musicians in the seventeenth century and the stigma attached to their profession, see Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach*, Cambridge: 2011.

⁵²³ Adam Adrio, in his ‘Hinweise zur Verwendung in Gottesdienst und Kirchenmusik’ appended to his edition of *Israelsbrünnlein* in the NGA, describes multiple compositions as suitable for ‘Hochzeit’ or ‘Trauung’: ‘Freue dich des Weibes’; ‘Lieblich und schöne sein ist nichts’; ‘Drei schöne Ding sind’; ‘Wem ein tugendsam Weib

music at various stages and in various contexts, both during the liturgical celebration in the church and at the following wedding feast. I will attempt to outline the course of a Lutheran wedding and, through a comparison with Schein's surviving occasional works for weddings, the prints of which often offer detailed information as to the date, occasion and location of the performance, attempt to show how Schein might have composed and performed music for these occasions. The stylistic and thematic variety characteristic for Schein's compositions is also evident with regards to his known compositions for weddings. These can be divided into three broad categories. Firstly, there are occasional wedding compositions known to have been performed in the wedding ceremony in the church. Figural music was commonly performed during the 'Trauung', and contemporary accounts shows that Schein's Leipzig was no exception. These compositions are characterised by larger forces than those found in the *Israelsbrünnlein* compositions; Schein often makes use here of the contrast between a *coro favorito* and *ripieno*, specifies obligato instruments, and provides scope for polychoral performance. The texts set in these extroverted compositions were typically psalms of praise, possibly intended to reflect the theme of the Te Deum, prescribed for performance at the conclusion of wedding services in Duke August's church ordinance (1580) for Albertine Saxony.⁵²⁴ To the second category of wedding compositions belong Schein's settings of pastoral texts in the manner of the compositions included in *Diletti pastorali* and the three volumes of *Musica boscareccia*. Some of the compositions included in these publications were printed individually in commemoration of Leipzig weddings. If they were performed at the occasion, it was surely at the wedding feast which followed the church service. To the third category belongs a handful of settings of sacred texts in five parts without obligato instruments. One individually published occasional composition fits this category: Schein's setting of 'Hoffe auf den Herren', verses from Psalm 37 for the wedding of Vincentius Schmuck the younger in February 1623. A group of compositions from *Israelsbrünnlein*, settings of verses from Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, likewise belong to this category. The purpose of these compositions is less immediately obvious. It is plausible that they were performed in the wedding service, perhaps given a touch of grandeur by the

bescheret ist'. Adrio is admittedly more concerned with suggesting how they could be used in a modern liturgical context, rather than with showing how they were used historically.

⁵²⁴ "ZUm beschlus / sol man auch das *Te Deum laudamus* lateinisch oder deudsch / oder den 128. Psalm singen lassen". Des Durchlaughtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Augusten, Hertzogen zu Sachsen [...] Ordnung. Leipzig: 1580, p. XXXIII.

doubling of voices with instruments, a performance possibility for which Schein makes provision.⁵²⁵ A second possibility is that Schein attempted with this third group of compositions to create the sort of wedding music that Gerber desired: a wedding music – music for the wedding feast – ‘auf Christliche Art’, settings of biblical texts intended as devotional entertainment as an alternative to the worldly offerings of the ‘Jubals-Brut’.

4.1.1 Lutheran Church Ordinances: Prescriptive Accounts

A Lutheran wedding was a momentous event, not only for the bride and groom, but for society at large. It occurred in multiple stages over a course of days. Heidenreich’s description of a (not entirely successful) Leipzig wedding in 1627 suggests the usual course taken by wedding festivities. A printer’s apprentice was due to marry on February 5; although the invited guests had arrived,

so ist doch der Bräutigam aussenblieben / und hat also der Kirchgang / und die Trawung verbleiben müssen. Es haben aber die Hochzeit Gäste nichts desto weniger der Braut geschenket / bey der angestalten Mahlzeit sich lustig erzeiget / und mit einander gessen und getrunken.⁵²⁶

Wedding celebrations took place in two parts: the liturgical ceremony in the church (the ‘Kirchgang’ or ‘Trauung’; also termed the ‘Copulation’⁵²⁷), and the party afterwards (the ‘Mahlzeit’). In his ‘Erinnerung vor der Copulation’ held at a wedding in 1615 “auffm Schloß zu Wittengaw”, Valentin Winter confirms this division of weddings into two parts. As preacher and officiant, he sees himself responsible for the ‘ecclesiastical’ part; the following ‘political’ (i.e. secular) part was left to others:

Es beruhet aber gegenwertige hochzeitliche *Solenitet* in zweyerley *Tractation* und handlung / dern die ein ist *Ecclesiastica*, oder eine Kirchenweise / die andere eine *Politica*, das ist weltliche gewonheit / welche / weil sie meiner *profession* nicht ist / *Politici*s und Weltverstendigen muß *demandiret* werden. Aber die

⁵²⁵ “Sowol für sich allein mit lebendiger Stim und *Instrumenten* / Als auch in die Orgel / *Clavicimbel* bequemlich zugebrauchen ...“

⁵²⁶ Heidenreich, *Leipzigische Cronicke*, p. 365.

⁵²⁷ Wolfgang Ratzmann, editor of Gerber’s history, defines the ‘Copulation’ as “der liturgisch-rechtliche Akt in der Kirche”. Gerber criticises the “Geringachtung der copulation” and states that “Es sollten aber billig alle und jede Gäste gedachter Copulation fleißig beywohnen”. Ratzmann [ed.], *Gerbers “Historie der Kirchen-Ceremonien in Sachsen”*, p. 229.

Kirchenweise / weil dieselbe auff Gottes Wort gegründet / unnd billich für allen den Vorzug haben sol / zu diesem mahl für die Hand zu nehmen ist.⁵²⁸

Both parts were integral to the wedding celebration. In the first part, marriage is enacted according to divine will, while in the second it is ratified by society. Taken together, the sacred and the secular halves of the event show how a marriage should be begun, lead and consummated:

Diese lehret uns *Salutarem matrimonij Inchoationem & continuationem*, wie ein Ehestand heilsam und glücklich sol angefangen und geführt: Der Welt brauch aber *consummationem* wie ein Christliches hochzeitliches Fest / mit fröligkeit unnd allerhand kurtzweiligen Frewdenspielen / können *celebriret* und beschlossen werden / damit Anfang / Fortgang und Außgang / GOTT und Menschen gefallen möge.⁵²⁹

The second part of the wedding ceremony, the ‘political’ part, was an essential part of the celebration. One preacher cites Christ’s own example as justification for worldly pleasures at wedding feasts. While the groom is present, those at the feast are content: “Wie können die HochzeitLeuthe Leide tragen / solange der Bräutigam bey ihnen ist?”.⁵³⁰ Although the story was meant as a parable, the groom standing metaphorically for Christ and the wedding guests for the disciples who rejoice with him, the preacher interpreted this passage as a literal reference to actual wedding festivities. Just as the disciples rejoiced with their Lord, so too could – and should – the wedding guests rejoice with the bridegroom. The preacher states categorically that the worldly pleasures at these events were also pleasing to God:

Gereicht das nicht dem Ehestande zu grossen Lob? Und HochzeitLeuthen zu sondern Trost? Es lesset ihm der heilige keusche Gott wolgefallen / auch die freundlichen und frölichen Ceremonien und Zusammenkunfften / do man isset / trincket / singt / klingt / und guter Ding ist / bey eintretung des heiligen Ehestandes.⁵³¹

⁵²⁸ Valentin Winter, Ehrenpredigt. Zusampt beygefüger Erinnerung vor der *Copulation*, bey dem Christlichen Beylager / Des Wolgeborenen [...] Herrn Otto Wilhelmbs [...] Und des auch Wolgeborenen [...] Frewleins Benignæ [...] Den 4. vnd 5. *Augusti* Anno 1615. auffm Schloß zu Wittengaw gehalten. Leipzig: 1615, p. 7.

⁵²⁹ Winter, Ehrenpredigt, p. 7.

⁵³⁰ Martin Röber, *COMMENDATIO CONJUGII*, Das ist: Gebürlicher Ruhm und Lobspruch des heiligen Ehestandes [...], Halle: 1615.

⁵³¹ Martin Röber, *COMMENDATIO CONJUGII*, Halle: 1615.

Although ‘Unzüchtige Tänze’ and ‘Jubals-Brut’ performed by “die leichtsinnigsten, frechesten Menschen” and “gräuliche Zotenreisser” were condemned, the wedding feast itself was unobjectionable. The key lay in moderation. The text of a ‘Brautlied zu singen/spielen und tantzen’ by Johannes Eccard reads as a programme for the function of wedding feasts in protestant Germany; “Frölich zu sein in dieser Zeit/ Da braut und breutigam wird getrewt / Ist recht und gut/ Wans gschieht mit mas/ Beid Gott und menschen gfellet das”.⁵³² Festivities have their place and the wedding should be celebrated, but excess should be avoided. Nevertheless, “Der gesang und tanz vermehrt die freud / In Gottes furcht und erbarkeit”.

The distinction between the two parts of a wedding is reflected in the remuneration offered to pastors and cantors; the ‘Hochzeits-Ordnung’ for Leisnig of 1579, for example, prescribes that the pastor receive two Groschen for an “öffentlicher Kirchgang” when he doesn’t attend the following “Hochzeit”, but receives neither gifts nor “Biergelt” if he does attend.⁵³³ The same applied for the cantor and organist: if they attend the ‘Hochzeit’, they receive payment in kind in soup, bread and beer. The two parts of the wedding took place in different locations. The authors of some church orders found it necessary to emphasise the requirement that weddings be held exclusively in churches. Observing that some couples had been married “daheim in ihren heusern, höfen, auch wol unter dem himel und nicht in der kirchen”, the 1580 church order for Saxony prescribes that “hinfüro die copulierung und zusammen gebung oder einseugunge der braut und breutigams, ausserhalb der not, anders nicht, denn in der kirchen vor christlicher gemeine und mit beiderseits eltern, vormündern, oder nechsten freundschaft vorwisse, und sonsten gar nicht, geschehen”.⁵³⁴

Music and dancing were integral parts of any wedding feast. The special treatment of wedding festivities by the church authorities demonstrates their social importance. Following a visitation in Meissen in 1574, it was decreed that “der gemeine Tanz” be forbidden in towns and cities; a sole exception was made for “hochzeit und verlobnus”.⁵³⁵ A similar exception is made in the “Buß- und Betordnung” for electoral Saxony, issued by the elector Johann Georg I in 1626. In

⁵³² Johannes Eccard, ‘Brautlied zu singen / spielen und tantzen’, in *EPITHALAMIA: IN NVPTIALEM FESTIVITATEM ORNATISSIMI IVVENIS STEPHANI HILLEBRANDI PATRICII REGIOMONTANI; SPONSI* [...], Königsberg: 1593.

⁵³³ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 610.

⁵³⁴ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 437.

⁵³⁵ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 355.

light of the difficult times, it was decreed that “keine Tänze noch Spielleute sollen geduldet / sondern die Tänzte und *Music* allein bey Hochzeiten / Adelichen Veransamlungen / und andern ehrlichen *Conviviis* zu gelassen werden”.⁵³⁶ Weddings were (at least for common people) the sole exception to the general proscription of dancing and music-making. It must have been these very ‘Tänze [und] Spielleute’, present as a matter of course at wedding festivities, which Gerber was to criticise so harshly.

Given their social importance, the timing of weddings had to be carefully planned to avoid conflicting with religious obligations and commerce, “damit keines andern tages verordnete geschefte und ubungen verwirret oder verhindert [werden]”.⁵³⁷ Mornings were often preferred for the church ceremony, not least to preclude drunkenness and inappropriate behaviour in the church. As the 1555 Kirchen-Ordnung for Senftenberg specifies, “Die copulation der neuen eheleute sol nicht spet uf den abent, oder wen die hochzeit geste trunken sein, sondern zu geburlicher zeit, nuchtern und ehrlich gehalten werden”.⁵³⁸ An ordinance for Weimar from 1570 confirms this point: the ‘copulation’ of the bridal couple was not to be performed in the evening, “sondern uf den morgen mit dem christlichen kirchengang und gebet angefangen, desselben tags mittag und abends zwo malzeit und des andern tages kegen abend eine malzeit zum beschluss gegeben und darbei gelassen werden”.⁵³⁹ The ‘Ordnung der Hochzeiten und Taufen’ for Belzig from 1574 similarly suggests that the feast was to be measured in days, offering a number of suggestions for the planning. But again, it should be over by the third day: “Des dritten tags soll es alles aus sein, trummel und tanz aufgehoben”.⁵⁴⁰ In many places, weddings could not be celebrated on Sundays or other feast days.⁵⁴¹ An ordinance from 1575 went a step further,

⁵³⁶ Heidenreich, *Leipzigische Cronicke*, p. 355 ff.

⁵³⁷ For Henneberg, ‘Des [...] herrn Georg Ernsten, kirchen ordnung’, in Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 2, p. 314.

⁵³⁸ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 672.

⁵³⁹ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 689.

⁵⁴⁰ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 530.

⁵⁴¹ For example a visitation report of 1540 (Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 285): “Darzu sol verboten sein, das man am sonntag und andern feiertagen hochzeit anrichte und seuferei treibe”.

saying that weddings were to be celebrated in church “nur einmal des montags und nicht auch des sontags, wie bishero geschehen”.⁵⁴²

Weddings were occasions in which entire communities participated. Although the liturgical part of the proceedings was held in church “vor christlicher gemeine, und mit beiderseits eldern, vormüenden, oder nechster freundschaft”, the attendance was by no means limited to close friends and family.⁵⁴³ At a Leipzig wedding in 1630, the church was overfilled to the extent that the wedding party could not move within the church; it was therefore necessary to decree that the doors of the church be closed:⁵⁴⁴

Den 9. Augusti [1630] ist bey dem Kirchgang Braut / und Bräutigams etwas neues bey / und in der Kirchen angeordnet / und fürgenommen worden. Denn nachdem bißhero bey den Trawungen die Kirchthüren offen gelassen / daß jedermann hat können hienein gehen / die junge Pusch aber sich nicht stille gehalten / sondern in der Kirchen hin / und widergangen / und ein Getümmel gemacht / sonderlich aber vor den Thüren sich hefftig getränget / und den Hochzeitleuten / bevoorauß den Jungfrauen fast keinen raum zugehen gelassen / und sonsten sehr beschwerlich gewesen / So seynd auff Anordnung der Obrigkeit / und des *Ministerii* von dem Tage an bey den Trawungen die Kirchthüren zugehalten / auch draussen vor denselben etliche Wächter mit Helleparten gestellet worden / die haben niemand als die HochzeitGäste in die Kirchen gelassen / und vor den Thüren raum zugehen gemachet.⁵⁴⁵

Weddings, and the excess that inevitably came with them, were a trigger for bad behaviour. The 1580 visitors' ordinance for electoral Saxony specifies four issues to be investigated in visitations.⁵⁴⁶ The first, “Ob sie auch zuvor, ehe sie in den kirchen gehen, ein ergerlich gefres und geseuf halten”, maintains that the party was to follow the ceremony, not the other way around. The second point, “ob auch die geladene gest sich zu dem kirchgang finden”, suggests that some guests viewed the church ceremony as an optional prelude to the feast. The third point

⁵⁴² Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 2, p. 481.

⁵⁴³ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 437.

⁵⁴⁴ The problem of crowds was addressed in the second of the 1625 *Mandata*, which deals with “was für Unordnung eingerissen / wenn Braut und Bräutigam an ihren hochzeitlichen Ehrentage den Christlichen Kirchgang halten”. Due to crowds, the bridal couple often ended up “wol eine gute weile für den Kirchthüren stehen müssen / ehe dann sie vor dem Gedränge in oder auch aus der Kirchen kommen können”. The council commanded the residents of Leipzig “daß / wann sie Braut und Bräutigam zur Kirchen gehen sehen / sich dabey still und eingezogen verhalten / Braut und Bräutigam / neben ihren eingeladenen Hochzeitgästen / den Weg zur Kirchen nicht vertreten / sondern denselbigen samptlichen und sonderlichen gebührenden Raum geben / auch schuldige Ehr erzeigen”. Des Rahts Zu Leipzig MANDATA [...], Leipzig: 1625, ‘Das ander Mandat’.

⁵⁴⁵ Heidenreich, *Leipzigerische Cronicke*, p. 416.

⁵⁴⁶ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, pp. 392-3.

asks whether alms for the poor were given; provision for the poor at weddings is prescribed by numerous ordinances. The fourth concerns appropriate behaviour at the feast: “ob sie auch auf den höchzeiten unzüchtige tenze mit verdrehung der weibs personen...oder andere ergerliche leichtfertigkeit gebrauchen”. While dancing was tolerated, it had to remain within the bounds of decency. That the authorities saw the need to enforce this suggests that, in practice, this wasn’t always the case.

4.1.2 Figural Music at Weddings

Figural music was a status symbol for the well-to-do. Access to it was limited both financially and legally. A visitors’ report from 1582 specifies the cantor’s fee for singing psalms before and after the ‘copulation’, a fee which is to be tripled if ‘figural’ music is desired: “ihn soll 1 gr. geben werden, do aber figural von ihn begert wurde sollen ihn 3 gr. werden”.⁵⁴⁷ The access to music, especially figural music, was a legally enforced symbol of social rank. The Leipzig ‘Polizey-Ordnung’ of 1612 specifies the sort of musical entertainment permitted at a wedding feast according to social class, distinguishing between “[d]en Handwergsleuten oder andern gemeinen Bürgern” and “fürnehmen Hochzeiten”.⁵⁴⁸

Provision was often made for figural music at weddings, performed by the school cantor and schoolboys. Motets could be substituted for the congregational chorales. The ordinance from 1537-8 for the St. Wenzelkirche in Naumburg distinguishes between the singing of German congregational hymns, and wedding ceremonies “wan man figurirt”.⁵⁴⁹ The presence of the choir provided scope for more complex music, facilitating and necessitating a change in repertoire. In place of a congregational hymn, at weddings with figural music “singet man erstlich das nuptiae oder das te deum laudamus oder andere muteten ante copulam”. Following the sermon, the chorale “Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht” – Luther’s paraphrase of Psalm 128 – was to be sung, as was the custom here at weddings without the choir. The entrance of the bridal pair into the church provided a further occasion for musical splendour. According to an ordinance from 1582 for the principality of Henneberg, this could be in the form of organ music, figural music or a sacred wedding song: “So dann breutgam und braut in die kirchen komen,

⁵⁴⁷ ‘Verordnung der Visitatoren für Oelsnitz. 1582’ in Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 621.

⁵⁴⁸ Policy Und KleiderOrdnung / Des Durchlachtigsten / Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn JOHANNES GEORGEN / Hertzogen zu Sachsen [...], Leipzig: 1612, pp. 62-63.

⁵⁴⁹ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 73.

sol man, wofern ein orgel verhanden, etwas zu schlagen anfahen, wo nicht, figuriren, oder sonst ein geistlich hochzeit lied singen”.⁵⁵⁰

According to the Leipzig ordinance of 1539, the groom should inform the cantor when he expects to arrive at the church so the cantor can, with “etliche knaben”, sing “für und nach dem zusammengeben und benediciren”.⁵⁵¹ This probably meant that the cantor and boys took a break from their lessons to cross the street and lead the congregation in the singing of a few well-known chorales, perhaps with a motet from the school repertoire. The ordinance also makes provision for the wish “das figuriret und auf der orgel zu eer und zu rum des heilig eestandes gespielt werde”. Figural choral music, sung by the cantor and schoolboys, was even at this time a characteristic feature of a Leipzig wedding, a feature which doubtless served the display of the social standing of the bridal party.

In addition to the prescriptive accounts of wedding music found in the church ordinances and visitors’ reports, we have a descriptive account of a Leipzig wedding for which Schein himself directed the music.⁵⁵² Schein had for the centenary of the Reformation in 1617 composed a work which, due to illness, was first performed at the wedding of Jonas Möstel in 1618.⁵⁵³ The wedding caused quite a stir, the presence of trumpeters from Naumburg (and 120 horses decked in gold) invoking the ire of the electoral authorities in Dresden; such an ‘überauß großer Pracht’ did not befit a commoner, even the son of the Bürgermeister. The written response from Leipzig on August 17 to the inquiries from Dresden three days earlier shows that Schein performed music both before and after the service: “Die Musicam in der Kirchen hat der Cantor allhier bestellet, dabey denn für [vor] der Trauung ein Stück, so er, der Cantor, dem Breutigamb zu Ehren componiret, uff gewöhnliche Artt musicirt worden, Nach der Trauung aber ist ein Stück,

⁵⁵⁰ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 2, p. 314.

⁵⁵¹ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 592.

⁵⁵² See Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, p. 80-81. See also Theis, ‘Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen’, pp. 126-7, and Maul, *Dero berühmter Chor*, p. 52.

⁵⁵³ Allegrezza spirituale, Geistliche Fröligkeit Auff das frewdenreiche solennische JubelFest der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen..., NGA 10.23. The music performed at the 1617 jubilee was still legendary a century later: Gerber criticises the “grosser Lermen mit Instrumental-Music, Paucken und Trommeten, Pfeiffen und Geigen” which took place. Ratzmann [ed.], *Gerbers “Historie der Kirchen-Ceremonien in Sachsen”*, p. 106. For discussion of the 1617 jubilee see Hans-Jürgen Schönstädt, *Antichrist, Weltheilsgeschehen und Gottes Werkzeug: Römische Kirche, Reformation und Luther im Spiegel des Reformationsjubiläums 1617*, Wiesbaden: 1978.

welches gedachter Cantor uffs Jubelfest componiret gehabt, aber wegen seiner damaligen Leibeschwachheit nicht singen können, musiciret worden”.⁵⁵⁴ Music was, just as the clothing and dishes served, part of the representation of social standing and as such was subject to conventions and laws of decorum: “Auch ferner in der Kirchen bey der Trauung, Trommeten und Heerbaucken gebraucht, und sonsten in der Kleidung neben der Speisung ein überauß großer Pracht getrieben”.⁵⁵⁵ Tellingly, trumpeters had to be brought in from Naumburg for the occasion; their Leipzig colleagues were surely aware that their participation was inappropriate at a commoner’s wedding. When Möstel requested their presence they excused themselves, stating that they “uf den Trommeten nicht blasen könnten”.⁵⁵⁶ Although Möstel was reprimanded by the authorities in Dresden for the overly conspicuous nature of the wedding, the – as Wustmann claims – ice had been broken for the use of timpani; following their use at a celebratory service for the baptism of Prince Moritz, Schein composed further works for weddings “nach Anleitung des Textes auf Drommeten und Pauken gerichtet”.⁵⁵⁷

Of the two works mentioned in the letter of 17 August 1617, only the latter – the work originally written for the ‘Jubelfest’ – survives. We can only speculate as to the work that Schein composed and performed ‘uff gewöhnliche Artt’, presumably in this context a reference to its performance without trumpets and drums. Other polychoral occasional wedding concertos survive, both in print and in manuscript. These works often invite a flexible approach to instrumentation, facilitating performance with various combinations of instruments and voices and allowing the contrast between a *coro favorito* and *ripieno*. These were compositions which, “den feierlichen Anlässen entsprechend”, were “auf eine möglichst große Pracht- und Klangentfaltung hin angelegt”.⁵⁵⁸ As such, it is unlikely that any of the more modestly scored compositions from *Israelsbrünlein* would have been performed here. The description here does, nevertheless, document the performance of figural music at a Leipzig wedding both before and after the service;

⁵⁵⁴ Zitiert nach Maul, *Dero berühmter Chor*, p. 52.

⁵⁵⁵ Maul, *Dero berühmter Chor*, p. 52.

⁵⁵⁶ Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, pp. 80-81.

⁵⁵⁷ For the wedding of Sigismund Deuerlin on 24.10.1620, a setting of Ps. 150. Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, p. 81.

⁵⁵⁸ Theis, ‘Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen’, p. 125.

potential ‘fürfallenden Occasionen’, even if not for the compositions later included in *Israelsbrunnlein*.

Contemporary documents suggest that, on some occasions, the cantor and schoolboys were present at both the ‘Trauung’ and the feast. The Leipzig ordinance of 1539 reflects the already mentioned practice concerning the cantor’s fee. He either attends the feast and receives “eine suppen und trunk” as payment in kind, or receives an appropriate monetary fee, a practice “als nemlich nach altem herkommen”. The Leisnig wedding-ordinance of 1579 states that the cantor was to share his portion of the feast and his beer “mit den collegis und andern so im chor singen helfen”.⁵⁵⁹ Further evidence that the cantor and schoolboys were often present at the wedding feast is found in letters from the school rector, complaining that the boys stay out too late at weddings and drink too much beer. Their tarrying at the feast is surely an indication that they had earlier sung for their dinner.

4.1.3 Wedding Sermons: Descriptive Accounts

In the parable of the bridegroom and the wedding guests cited by Valentin Winter, the guests are joyful while the bridegroom is present. But soon the party is over; it is then that consolation and perseverance, strength and comfort are required. The wedding sermon was seen as a precautionary measure in a time of joy to prepare the bridal couple for the day-to-day drudgery of domestic life. As Winter explains:

So pflegt auch die Flitterwoche im lieben Ehestande zu weilen zimlich bald sich zu enden. **Es wird die zeit kommen / sagt Christus / das der Bräutigam wird von ihnen genommen / als denn werden sie fasten:** Da ists von nöthen / daß man einen bessern Trost bey der Hochzeit eingesteckt / davon wir auch in Wiederwertigkeiten / (wo nicht guter Dinge / doch) gedültig seyn mögen.⁵⁶⁰

A collection of wedding sermons published in Leipzig in 1617 states that such texts “vom H. Ehestande” taught not only “wie man denselben recht anfahen” and “darinnen leben”, but furthermore how the bridal pair “in allerley HaußCreutz mit Gottes Wort sich trösten soll”.⁵⁶¹ In many cases, while a short address was held before the copulation, a more substantial sermon was held the following day. While Winter held a short homily at the altar immediately before

⁵⁵⁹ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 610.

⁵⁶⁰ Martin Röber, *COMMENDATIO CONJUGII*, Halle: 1615.

⁵⁶¹ Strigenitz, *VOTA NUPTIALIA*, Leipzig 1617, title page.

the copulation, the actual wedding sermon – “das ander Stück / so in löblicher Kirchenordnung üblich” – was held the following day “zu *continuation* dieses instehenden Christlichen Ehren= unnd Frewden=wercks”.⁵⁶² In the introduction to his wedding sermon for Rudolff von Bünaw and the “WolEdlen und Vieltugendsamen Jungfrawen MARIEN”, Johann Ehrenberger comments on the homily held at the copulation the previous day: “Zu solchem Ende haben wir gestriges Abends / vor der Christlichen Copulation, und Einsegnung / aus Gottes Wort / als aus der unfehlbaren Richtschnur aller Glaubens und Gewissens Sachen / Ewer Christlichen Liebe kürztlich vorgetragen / erzehlet und erkläret / drey vornehme Stücke / welche alle Christliche freyende Personen in acht nehmen und gebrauchen sollen”.⁵⁶³

Unlike funeral sermons, held for a wide range of social classes, most printed wedding sermons were for aristocratic weddings. Ehrenberger refers to wedding sermons as an “Adelichem Brauch”: “Zu diesem mal / do wir Adelichem Brauch nach / eine gantze gewöhnliche Hochzeitpredigt halten sollen / wollen wir fortfahren / und aus den verlesenen worten ferner lehren und anhören”.⁵⁶⁴ Referring to the publication of a sermon held at the wedding of Johann Philipp, Duke of Saxe-Altenburg in 1618, Dresden *Oberhofprediger* Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg likewise makes the connection between wedding sermons and the upper social classes, recalling “daß dergleichen sonsten auch hat vielfaltig pflegen zu geschehen / wann hohes Standes Personen sich Christlich haben copuliren und einsegnen lassen”.⁵⁶⁵

The preaching on scripture at weddings is in other sermons given an historical justification. In a sermon from 1582, the preacher states that the sermon was held “Christlichem löblichem / altem wolhergebrachtem gebrauch nach”.⁵⁶⁶ The printed sermons for the wedding held “Bey der Fürstlichen Trawung und Einsegnung” of Friedrich of Norway and the Saxon princess Maria Elisabeth at the residence in Dresden in 1630 show that the first sermon was held before the

⁵⁶² Winter, *Ehrenpredigt*, p. 15.

⁵⁶³ Johann Ehrenberger, *Dotalia Conjugalia Binioschönbergiaca*, *Christliche Hochzeitpredigt* [...] Aus dem 31. Capitel der Sprichwörter Salomonis [...], Leipzig: 1630, ‘EXORDIUM’.

⁵⁶⁴ Ehrenberger, *Dotalia Conjugalia Binioschönbergiaca*, ‘EXORDIUM’.

⁵⁶⁵ Matthias Hoe von Hoënegg, *Fürstliche und Christliche Trawung und Einsegnung / Des Durchlauchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Johann Philippons / Hertzogs zu Sachsen [...] Und der [...] Frawen Elisabeth / Hertzogin zu Sachsen [...] den 25. und 26. Octobris Anno 1618* [...], Leipzig: 1619, ‘Vorrede’.

⁵⁶⁶ Johann Oertel, *Hochzeitpredigt / Gehalten zu Teuchern / am vierdten Martij / im Jare 1577. bey Ehelicher ver-trawung des Gestrengen / Edlen und Ehrnuehsten Junckern / Georgen Wilhelms von Berbistorff / Und der Edlen und Vieltugendsamen Jungfraw Katharinen von Bünaw*. Leipzig[?]: 1582.

‘Copulation’ (which, unusually, is printed out in full rather than with a reference to the Kirchen-Agende), while the second was associated with the blessing of the couple the following day. Rubrics in the print show that the ‘Einsegnung’ which followed the second sermon was concluded with music, perhaps an indication of the aristocratic practice to which Möstel and his family aspired: “Nach diesem ist die Einsegnung mit gewöhnlichen *Ceremonien*, geschehen und verrichtet / der gantze *Actus* auch mit einer herrlichen *Music* beschlossen worden”.⁵⁶⁷

The publication of wedding sermons was the exception rather than the rule.⁵⁶⁸ Michael Sax, in the introduction to a printed sermon from 1590, claims that he was “von vielen / GOtt und sein Wort liebhabenden män[n]ern / mündlich unnd auch schriftlich ... ersucht unnd gebeten worden / daß ich ihnen schriftlich mittheilen solte / die Hoch=zeitpredigt / so ich in diesem 89. Jare ... gethan habe / auff dem ehelichen und Christlichen Kirchgange / deß Erbarn und wolgeachten Conrad Lindens / Ampt und Küchenschreibers zu Pymont / und seiner lieben Vertraweten Elisabeth Krolachs”.⁵⁶⁹ The printed sermon was a revised and expanded version of the sermon initially held orally: “So hab ich unter andern vielen geschefften / diese Mühe und Arbeit endlich auff mich genommen / und das jenige / so damals nach Gelegenheit der Zeit und Kälte / zum kürzesten von mir mündlich berühret worden / in Schrifften verbessert und vermehret / unnd jedermenniglich zur Besserung in den Druck verfertiget”.⁵⁷⁰ The first reason given for the publication was for the sake of those guests who “von wegen deß weiten / und bösen Weges zum Kirchgange un[d] Anhörung der Predigt / nit habt kommen können”. The second reason plays at the contrast between the spiritual and the political dimensions of the wedding. The

⁵⁶⁷ Matthias Hoe von Hoenege, *Zween Christliche Hochzeit=Sermonen. Bey der Fürstlichen Trawung und Einsegnung / Deß [...] Herrn Friederichs / Erbens zu Norwegen [...] Und der Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürstin und Fräwlein / Fräwlein Mariæ Elisabeth [...] Hertzogin zu Sachsen [...] gehalten / auff dem Schloß / der Churfürstlichen Sächsischen Haupt Residenz zu Dreßden / den 21. und 22. Februarij, Anno 1630.* Leipzig: [1630], p. 52.

⁵⁶⁸ As Mary Jane Haemig and Robert Kolb note, “Individual wedding sermons were not generally published. One result is the existence of far less scholarly investigation of these works”. *Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits*, S. 132. A church ordinance from 1575 for Aschersleben in the bishopric of Halberstadt states “Es sollen forthin alle hochzeitpredigten abgeschafft sein”. Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 2, p. 481.

⁵⁶⁹ Michael Sachs, *Eine Hochzeitpredigt / uber die Wort Oseæ am 2. Ich will mich / etc. Von der Geistlichen Ehe Christi und seiner Kirchen / darinne die fürtrefflichen Brautschätze / so wir von CHRISTO bekom[m]en / gar tröstlich erkleret werden.* Gethan zu Oestorff bey Pymont. Erfurt: 1590.

⁵⁷⁰ Sachs, *Eine Hochzeitpredigt / uber die Wort Oseæ*, Erfurt: 1590.

sermon, as a spiritual counterpart to the corporal pleasures of the wedding feast, is described as a “Geistliche Speise”; the preacher is the “Geistlicher Küchenmeister”.⁵⁷¹

4.1.4 Weddings in Civic Ordinances in Leipzig: 1612 & 1625

The opening sentence of Johann Georg’s ‘Policey Und KleiderOrdnung’ of 1612 shows how excesses at weddings, leading to the blurring of social distinctions, have become a problem: the elector laments that “nicht allein die Hoffart und übermuth in Kleidungen / sondern auch übermässiger pracht / unordnung / schwelgerey und andere üppigkeit auff Hochzeiten / Kindtäuffen / Begräbnissen und dergleichen zusammenkunfften / aller geschehenen vielfeltigen Gebot oder verbot ungeacht / dermassen überhand genommen / daß fast kein Stand mehr vor dem andern zuunterscheiden”.⁵⁷² Following a ‘Kleiderordnung’ comes the ‘HochzeitOrdnung’, in which is prescribed “Wie es mit anstellung der Hochzeiten solle gehalten werden”.⁵⁷³ The avoidance of “übermässigen unkosten und pracht” was key.⁵⁷⁴ The number of tables and dishes permitted at a wedding feast is prescribed according to social standing. While those ‘von Adel’ were permitted “auff der Wirthschafft...auffs höchste...acht tische Gäste...auch...zwölff Gerichte / ausser das Obst”, at other weddings, “mehr nicht als fünff Gerichte / ausserhalb Käse / Kuchen und Obst” were to be served. At each table were to be seated “mehr nicht dann zehen oder zwölff personen”. Breaches were punished with hefty penalties; offenders ‘von Adel’ were to be fined 100 Thalers “do er im geringsten darwider handelt”. The city council was to be informed of the wedding arrangements no later than 14 days in advance, following which it would decree “was und wie viel Tische einheimischer Hochzeitgäste / nach gelegenheit seines standes / Ampts und vermögens /... ihme zuerlauben / welches dann in allwege auff erkenntnis und ermessung des

⁵⁷¹ “Daß also / wie ihr der leiblichen Speise und Getränckes / so ewer guter Freund der Bräutigam / euch und allen Gästen zur Genüge gantz mildig=[S.7]lich hat fürtragen lassen / theilhaftig / und dadurch an Leib und Gemüthe seid erquicket und erfrewet worden. Also ihr auch der Geistlichen speise / so ich / als ein darzu erbetener Geistlicher Küchenmeister / damals nach verleihung Göttliches Segens unnd Gnade / für getragen habe / zur Erfrewung ewer Seelen / nicht aller dinge beraubet bleibet”. Sachs, Eine Hochzeitpredigt / uber die Wort Oseæ, Erfurt: 1590.

⁵⁷² Policey Und KleiderOrdnung, Leipzig: 1612, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁷³ ‘HochzeitOrdnung. Wie es mit anstellung der Hochzeiten solle gehalten werden’ in Policey Und KleiderOrdnung, Leipzig: 1612, pp. 46-64.

⁵⁷⁴ “DAmit auch auff Beylagern und Wirtschafften / mit einladung der Hochzeitgäste / derselben bewirtung und sonsten / eine gebürende masse gehalten / auch alle unordnung / so viel müglichen / vermieden werde / Sintemahl unterschiedene Exempel vor augen / daß auch durch deroselben übermässigen unkosten und pracht / mancher sich mit außrichtung einer Wirtschafft dermassen verstecket und in ungelegenheit gebracht / daß er drüber in abfall seiner nahrung kommen / Mit welchem aber doch weder Braut noch Bräutigam / viel weniger den Hochzeitgästen gedienet ist”. Policey Und KleiderOrdnung, Leipzig: 1612, p. 46.

Rahts stehen sol". The council then issued a "Hochzeit= oder Bittzeddel" permitting a certain number of guests.

Wedding feasts were to be so planned, "daß der Bräutigam auff einer Frühehochzeit umb zehen uhr / und auff einer Abendhochzeit / es sey winter oder sommer / umb vier uhr in der Kirchen seyn möge". If, however, the bridegroom "zu dieser bestimpten zeit nicht in der Kirchen befunden wird / vor dem sol die Kirchthür zugeschlossen / und er hernach umb fünff thaler unnachlässig gestrafft werden". On the second day, dining was, at morning feasts, to begin punctually at 11, at evening feasts at 6.⁵⁷⁵ Following the feast came the dancing, again with set times for the first and second days of the wedding. "Weil auch nicht an allen orten öffentliche Tantzplätze / so wol in allen Häusern / in welche die Hochzeit gehalten wird / vor Jungkfern und Jungegesellen zum tantz raum und gelegenheit / Als sol der Rath auff der jenigen / so die Wirthschafft außrichten / anhalten / einen zum Tantz bequemen ort ihnen ernennen". On the evening of the first day of the wedding, the "Jungkfern und Jungegesellen / so wol Mannes= und Weibespersonen / so zum tantz sich zubegeben lust", were to be at the specified place by 8, "und des abends gegen zehen uhr wieder abgehen". On the second day, dancing was to begin at two in the afternoon and be over by five. The dancing was not to descend into lasciviousness.⁵⁷⁶

Of the professions which, according to the ordinance, are typically engaged at weddings ("so man auff Wirthschafften zugebrauchen pflaget") – "die Stadtpfeiffer / Geiger / Trommelschläger / Köche / Ober=und unter Schencken / und dergleichen Leute" – the first three had to do with music.⁵⁷⁷ The Stadtpfeiffer were permitted only "auff fürnehmen Wirthschafften", and were at such occasions to receive for a day's service no more than five Thalers. Perhaps in recognition of the dubious moral standards associated with their profession, they were to be seated "weder auff des Bräutigams / noch der andern eingeladenen Hochzeitgäste / ausser der Junggesellentische". "Den Geigern", on the other hand, were to be given "mehr nicht / dann einen tag drey

⁵⁷⁵ "Sonsten sol es des andern tages mit der speisung / wie es an einem jeden ort bräuchlich / gehalten / aber doch diese Ordnung nicht überschritten / und früe *in puncto* umb elfff / des abends umb sechs uhr / wofern des andern tages die Abendmahlzeit gebräuchlich / es seyen von den Gästen viel oder wenig personen verhanden / das essen auff den tisch gesetzt / und solches / zu vieler Leute ungelegenheit / länger nicht verzogen werden / bey sechs Thaler straffe". *Policey Und KleiderOrdnung*, p. 59.

⁵⁷⁶ "Wie dann bey solchen Tänzten / sie geschehen in Häusern oder auff deme darzu benannten Boden / alles verdrehen und andere ungebehrde und leichtfertigkeit / sonderlich wie es eine zeithero bey den Jungengesellen auffkommen wollen / in Hosen und Wammes ohne Mäntel zutanzten / vermieden / und wer dawider handeln würde / nach gelegenheit der verbrechung / unnachlässig gestrafft werden sol". *Policey Und KleiderOrdnung*, p. 60.

⁵⁷⁷ See *Policey Und KleiderOrdnung*, pp. 61-64.

Thaler”. Common folk were subject to different conditions: “Den Handwergsleuten oder andern gemeinen Bürgern sollen zu ihren Wirthschafftten die Stadpfeiffer nicht verstattet werden / sondern mögen sich an den Geigern / oder / wie von alters bräuchlich gewesen / den Trommelschlägern begnügen lassen”. While the fiddlers were to be given no more than two thalers, the “Trommerschläger” had to be content with one thaler per day. No mention is made here of ‘Cantores und Organisten’; while this ordinance was for all of Saxony, practices in the ‘Handelsstadt’ Leipzig and the ‘Residenzstadt’ Dresden could well have expanded upon this universal framework.

Recognising that this ordinance had in Leipzig been neglected, the Leipzig Bürgermeister and council issued in 1625 a further document to enforce the prescriptions outlined in 1612.⁵⁷⁸ Ironically, it is now Theodor Möstel who, as Bürgermeister, commands his citizens to adhere to the electoral decree; as the 1618 wedding of his son Jonas shows (and the weddings of Möstel's other children suggest), he had hardly led by example.⁵⁷⁹ Underlying the issues raised in the 1625 *Mandata* – rampant breaches of propriety concerning the number of guests and tables at feasts, and the wearing of clothing and jewellery not befitting one’s standing – was again the need to limit the ostentation which had led to social distinctions being blurred. Not much can have changed, if a renewed ordinance from 1634 is anything to go by; its authors could still complain “daß bey Hochzeitlichen Kirchgängen unterschiedene und vielfeltige *Excesse* begangen werden / in dem es so weit eingerissen / daß nunmehr gar schlechte gemeine Leuthe / auch wohl die Hauptknechte / und Dienstmägde so viel Gäste zum Kirchgange einlade[n] lassen / als bey mannichen vornehmen Man[n] nicht geschicht”.⁵⁸⁰

⁵⁷⁸ Des Rahts Zu Leipzig *MANDATA*, Die Kleider / Hochzeit / Braut und Bräutigams Kirchgang / sol wol das Stände halten auff den Bohrkirchen / und andere Ordnung belangende. Leipzig: 1625.

⁵⁷⁹ The date of the ordinances, 26 June 1625, suggests that it was issued during Theodor Möstel’s final term as Bürgermeister. See Kühling & Mundus, *Leipzigs regierende Bürgermeister*, p. 27.

⁵⁸⁰ Eines E. Raths der Stadt Leipzig Anno 1634. und 1640. publicirte / und anietzo wiederholte und erklärte Kleyder=Ordnung / Auch wie es auff Verlöbnüssen / Hochzeiten / Kindtauffen und Leichenbegängnissen zuhalten, Leipzig: 1649.

4.2 Occasional Works for Weddings and the ‘Modern Italian’ Styles

In some cases, ‘secular’ Italian vocal styles – Canzonetta, Villanella and Madrigal – were, in the decades before *Israelsbrünnlein*, associated with weddings in protestant Germany.⁵⁸¹ Johannes Eccard composed occasional works for weddings “Nach Villanellen art” for various numbers of voices; unlike Schein’s compositions in the villanella style in *Musica boscareccia*, all of which are composed for three voices, features other than the scoring characterised the essence of the “Villanellen art” for Eccard.⁵⁸² A four-part composition, dedicated to a wedding couple as a ‘Braut-Lied’, is a simple, strophic homophonic song with four verses; the text is freely composed, referring to the nature of marriage in religious terms.⁵⁸³ Similar to Eccard’s print is a pair of wedding villanellas – *villanellae nuptiales duae* – composed around 1610 by Valentin Hausmann.⁵⁸⁴ Like Eccard’s compositions, Hausmann’s are simple, strophic homophonic settings with multiple verses. The texts of the two villanellas form acrostics, the first on the name of the groom, the second on the name of the bride. Two wedding compositions by Nicolas Gottschovius and Abraham Rumbheld⁵⁸⁵ in a 1618 publication are entitled “Musicalische Lieder nach *Villanellen* arth mit fünff Stimmen”.⁵⁸⁶ The term ‘nach *Villanellen* arth’ probably refers to the fact that multiple verses are repeated to the same music, rather than indicating a certain number of voices. Eccard, for example, describes a six-part ‘Epithalamium’, composed for the wedding of the daughter of a deceased professor and member of the Stadtrat

⁵⁸¹ For further discussion of occasional wedding poetry from Lutheran Germany see Jörg-Ulrich Fechner, ‘Ein unbekanntes weltliches Madrigal von Heinrich Schütz’. *SJb* 6 (1984).

⁵⁸² Hochzeit Lied Zu Ehren und besonderm gefallen / dem [...] Casparo Maraunen: Und [...] der Jungfrauen Reginae [...] Mit fünff Stimmen nach Villanellen art Componiret[.] Königsberg: 1596; *EPITHALAMIVM* Zu Hochzeitlichen Ehren / Dem [...] Friederich Reuter: und seiner vielgeliebten Braut [...] *ANNÆ* [...] Mit sechs Stimmen nach Villanellen art componiret[.] Königsberg: 1596.

⁵⁸³ Braudt Lied Zu Hochzeitlichen Ehren und wolgefallen / Dem Edlen und Ehrvesten Balthasar von Sangerhausen [...] und der [...] Jungfrauen Mariae / des [...] Andreae Lorentzen [...] Tochter. Nach Villanellen art mit Vier Stimmen Componiret und in Druck verfertiget. Königsberg: 1598.

⁵⁸⁴ *VILLANELLÆ NVPTIALES DVÆ*. Zu Hochzeitlichen Ehren Dem Erbar[n] [...] Herrn *LAVRENTIO SCHMIT* [...] und der [...] Jungfrauen *MARIÆ GEDICKENS* [...] Mit vier Stimmen *componiret*. durch *Valentinum Hausmannum*[.] Frankfurt an der Oder: [um 1610].

⁵⁸⁵ Both songs were dedicated to one bridal pair. This print is an example of two compositions having been composed for the occasion. It could very well have been that Schein composed settings of both pastoral and sacred texts for the *same* wedding, simply for the purposes of creating a musically and thematically varied programme.

⁵⁸⁶ Zwo Musicalische Lieder Nach *Villanellen* arth mit fünff Stimmen / Zu Hochzeitlichen Ehren und gefallen / Dem [...] Herrn *JOHANNI RUMBHELD* [...] Unnd Der [...] Jungfrauen *MARIÆ* Benecken...Gestellet von *NICOLAE GOTTSCHOVIO* Und *ABRAHAMO RUMBHELD*. Rostock: 1618.

in Königsberg, as “Mit sechs Stimmen nach Villanellen art”.⁵⁸⁷ It is a setting of four metrical verses.

Johann Steuerlein, in the preface to his *Epithalamia* (1587), writes that he had composed “auff begeren und anlangen / gutter ehrlichen / Gelehrten und Redlichen leute / zu ihrem Christlichen angefangenen Ehestande und gehaltenen hochzeitlichen ehrentägen /etzliche *Epithalamia* oder Brautlieder / Mit Vier/ Fünff und Sechs Stimmen”; some of the compositions now included in this volume had already been printed “eintzelich / auff schlechte Bogen Bapir”.⁵⁸⁸ Some of the 20 settings in the collection name the bridal couple for which they were composed, some in the form of acrostic verses. The texts are generally strophic, to be sung to a repeated musical setting. They refer to marriage in religious terms, often with explicit biblical references. Three of the settings are adaptations of Psalm 128; these are the only texts set in the collection whose scriptural origins are mentioned. Amongst these are the first and second settings in the publication, the first a motet in three parts, the second a setting with four verses. A further verse setting of this psalm⁵⁸⁹, adapted to fit as an acrostic over seven verses to the names of the bridal pair, is also found.⁵⁹⁰

The prints of Eccard’s occasional wedding compositions have much in common with those by Schein. The print of a five-part composition for the wedding of Christoff Kersten and Dorothea Montfort published in 1600 begins with a statement of its purpose: “*Epithalamion* zu hochzeitlichen Ehren und wolgefallen”.⁵⁹¹ The bridegroom and bride are named, along with the bride’s father and his occupation. Eccard’s setting, although not specifically described as being in the ‘villanella style’, is a simple strophic setting. The text consists of three metrical verses, each containing eight lines (with the rhyming pattern a b a b / c d d c). The text is loosely religious

⁵⁸⁷ *EPITHALAMIVM* [...] Mit sechs Stimmen nach Villanellen art componiret[.] Königsberg: 1596.

⁵⁸⁸ Johann Steuerlein, *EPITHALAMIA*: Deutsche und Lateinische Geistliche Hochzeit Gesenge / Gott und dem heiligen Ehestande zu Ehren / Auch allen Christlichen Eheleuten zu trost / und wolfäriger glückwünschung / Item / Zum gebrauch in Kirchen und Schulen / Mit vier und mehrern Stimmen *Componirt* und in Druck verordnet[.] 1587.

⁵⁸⁹ The ninth setting in the collection, falsely termed ‘XI’ in the print

⁵⁹⁰ “Abgesehen von den 3 Gesängen mit 5- und 6-stimmiger Besetzung handelt es sich durchweg um liedmäßige Arbeiten, Oberstimmen-Melodik ohne rhythmische Verschiebung; es zeigt sich hier ein Bestreben nach Vereinfachung”. Günther Kraft, *Die thüringische Musikkultur um 1600. II. Teil. Johann Steuerlein (1546-1613) (Leben und Werke)*, p. 22.

⁵⁹¹ Johann Eccard, *EPITHALAMION* Zu Hochzeitlichen Ehren und wolgefallen / Dem [...] Christoff Kersten / Und [...] der [...] Jungfrauen Dorotheæ [...] Mit fünff Stimmen componiret[.] Königsberg: 1600.

in nature, unifying scriptural references to marriage with the festivities of the wedding celebration. Christ's transformation of water into wine for the sake of the 'Fröhlichkeit' of the guests is cited as biblical precedent for the invitation of guests to the present wedding celebration.

Wo Christus wird geladen
 Zu hochzeitlicher Freud/
Da hat man sein kein schaden/
 Er wendet alles Leid/
 Aus Wasser macht er wein/
Braut/ Breutgam und Gesten
Denselben gibt zum besten/
 Will das sie frölich sein.⁵⁹²

Eccard wrote simple Villanella settings of frivolous texts, clearly intended for use at the wedding celebration. But, as is the case for Schein, we also have settings of Latin texts taken straight from the scriptures set and published as dedicatory wedding works. One such example is a setting of Psalm 127 – one of the few psalms that, as the liturgical orders suggest – had an established place in the church ceremony.⁵⁹³ Did Eccard set Psalm 127 here so it could be performed in the church ceremony? Or did he revert to Latin on account of the dedicatees – a professor marrying a professor's daughter? It could well have been that the academic company at the wedding party was the reason for the choice of a text in Latin, rather than doggerel German verse. Perhaps it was still intended for the wedding celebration, but was simply geared linguistically to the more sophisticated company present.

4.3 Schein's Occasional Wedding Music

Although Schein writes that some of the compositions published in *Israelsbrünnlein* had already been performed "bei fürfallenden Occasionen", he doesn't explain what these occasions might have been.⁵⁹⁴ A glance at the texts reveals a group of settings whose texts seem suitable

⁵⁹² Eccard, *EPITHALAMION Zu Hochzeitlichen Ehren und wolgefallen / Dem [...] Christoff Kersten / Und [...] der [...] Jungfrauen Dorotheæ [...] Mit fünff Stimmen componiret[.] Königsberg: 1600.*

⁵⁹³ Johann Eccard, *PSALMVS CXXVII. IN HONOREM NVPTIARVM VIRI CLARISSIMI ET DOCTIS-simi, Dn. Magistri Iohannis [...] Et [...] Virginis Vrsulæ [...] Sex vocum Harmonia concinnatus[.] Königsberg: 1607.*

⁵⁹⁴ Steuerlein, in the preface to his *Epithalamia* (1587), writes that individual prints of some of the compositions now included in this collection had been "blos in den Henden getragen / oder nur an eine Wandt gehefftet / und verworffen ... das sie leichtlich schaden nemen". Many copies had as such become "zum gebrauch

for weddings: texts describing the virtuous wife and the joys of matrimony. Two methods might enable us to shed light on the original occasions. Schein composed and had printed individually a large number of occasional works, the prints of which often reveal the circumstances of composition and performance. Furthermore, some of the texts set by Schein in *Israelsbrünnlein* feature prominently in contemporary wedding sermons or were set by his contemporaries as occasional wedding works, enabling parallels to be made with Schein's compositions. A Lutheran wedding offered scope for the performance of figural music at various stages, both in the course of the 'Trauung' and at the following feast. Even if we cannot conclude with certainty that these works were indeed written and performed for weddings, we can at least, through a comparison with Schein's individually printed occasional works and with texts discussed in printed wedding sermons, make a plausible case.

Many of Schein's printed and datable occasional works for weddings have been preserved and published in the *Neue Gesamtausgabe*. The majority of Schein's settings of sacred texts for weddings are larger scale, often polychoral works. Whereas the majority of the occasional works for smaller forces were for funerals, most of the larger scale occasional works⁵⁹⁵ were composed for weddings. Such printed copies were probably intended less for performance than for private presentation; they were typically not published or advertised for sale.⁵⁹⁶ Although none of these was included in *Israelsbrünnlein*, Schein included some of them in later collections. The works in question are all settings of pastoral texts: six three-part settings were later printed in the three volumes of *Musica boscareccia*, and three five-part settings were printed in *Diletti pastorali*.⁵⁹⁷ Similarly, many individually printed compositions for funerals were later included in the *Cantional*. These examples provide evidence for a model – the collection and republication of occasional works as a larger volume – that could also be valid for *Israelsbrünnlein*.

undüchtig". Perhaps a similar fate had befallen individual prints of some of the compositions later included in *Israelsbrünnlein*.

⁵⁹⁵ NGA 10 vol. 2: 'Motetten und Konzerten zu 7 bis 24 Stimmen'

⁵⁹⁶ See Rose, 'Schein's Occasional Music', p. 275.

⁵⁹⁷ *Musica boscareccia*: vol. I (1621), #9; vol. II (1626), #7 & #9; vol. III (1628), #5, #6, #10; *Diletti pastorali* (1624): #3, #7, #12.

4.3.1 Occasional Wedding Compositions for the ‘Copulation’

A close personal relationship between composer and bridegroom is found in a dedicatory motet for Christoph Pincker, whom Schein describes as “Seinem insonders günstigen vnd vertraulichen brüderlichen Freunde”.⁵⁹⁸ The bridegroom or the bride’s father often had connections with the Leipzig Stadtrat, to whom Schein dedicated *Israelsbrünnlein*. Four of Schein’s surviving wedding compositions were performed at the weddings of Theodor Möstel’s children: 1618 (Jonas Möstel), 1618 (Dorothea Sophie, née Möstel), 1622 (Sigemundt Möstel), 1625 (Theophil Möstel).⁵⁹⁹ Schein’s setting of Psalm 150 was composed for the wedding in 1620 of a member of the Stadtrat (Sigißmund Deüerlin) and the daughter of another member (Magdalena, daughter of Leonhard Oelhafen): both men are described by Schein as his ‘wolgeneigten Förderer’.

The prints of the wedding compositions for the Möstel family shed light on the circumstances surrounding their composition and performance. Members of the Möstel family were related by marriage to other prominent Leipzig families, for many of whom Schein also provided compositions. In his funeral sermon for Theodor, Polycarp Leiser mentions Möstel’s marriage, and those of his children. Theodor was married to a member of the Peilicke family, members of which had, like Möstel himself, assumed the office of Bürgermeister:

Belangende seinen Ehestand / hat er sich ... anno 1585 in ein Christlich Ehegelöbniß eingelassen / mit seinem verstorbenen hertzlieben Weibe / damals Jungfrauen Ursulen / Herrn Wolfgang Peiligkens des jüngern / der Churf. Sächs. Schul zu Grimma Verwaltern / nachgelassener Tochter / so sich damals / nach absterben ihres Vaters / bey ihrem Großvater Herrn Wolfgang Peiligken dem ältern / seligen / Bürgermeister / des Churf. Sächs. Schöppenstuels Assessorn auffgehalten.⁶⁰⁰ Mit welcher er den 1. Novembris angeregtes 1585. Jahrs / Ehelichen getrawet und copuliret worden ... Wie denn auch der liebe Gott in solchem Ehestande sie mit Leibesfrüchten gesegnet / und zehen Kinder / als siebe[n] Söhne / und drey

⁵⁹⁸ Christoph Pincker was possibly the man behind the pseudonym ‘Chariteius Philomusus’, author of the poem ‘RELATIO PASTORALIS’ performed for the guests at Schein’s second wedding. See David Paisey, ‘Some Occasional Aspects of Johann Hermann Schein’, in *The British Library Journal* vol. 1, no. 2 (Autumn 1975), p. 174.

⁵⁹⁹ That the composition from 1625 was composed for a Möstel could explain its outlier status with regards to the date, which is considerably later than that for other polychoral wedding motets: it was composed simply as a personal favour for the Möstel family and must have by 1625 been very much the exception. See also Theis, ‘Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen’, p. 126.

⁶⁰⁰ “Der Leipziger Schöppenstuhl war, wie die Leipziger Juristenfakultät, im so genannten Aktenverspruch tätig. Er fällte somit keine eigenen rechtskräftigen Urteile, sondern erarbeitete Urteilsverschlüge über strittige Fälle, die von anderen Gerichten eingeschickt worden waren. Sieben Schöppen, darunter die drei regierenden Bürgermeister, wurden auf Lebenszeit eingewählt...Die Arbeit der Leipziger Schöppen genoss große Akzeptanz und hohes Ansehen”. Schmotz, *Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien*, pp. 39-40.

Töchter / bescheret / darvon aber der getrewe Gott fünffe / als vier Söhne / und die älteste Tochter / zu sich in das ewige Frewdenleben wiederumb abgefodert.⁶⁰¹

Möstel lived to see his own surviving children wed, starting with his son Jonas. As Leiser recalls:

Ob ihn nun wol der allmächtige Gott zu einem ehrlichen Alter / seines Leibes zustande und beschwerung nach / kommen lassen / und er darbey / nach Gottes gnädigem Willen / seine Kinder allesamt / Söhne und Töchter / ehrlich versorget / dergestalt / daß er seinen ältesten Sohn Herrn *Jonam* Mösteln / beyder Rechten *Doctorn*, und des Churf. Sächs. Schöppenstuels *Assessorn*, ec. an damals Jungfrauen Margarethen / weyland Herrn Georg Leuschners der *Medicin Doctorn*, und Churf. Sächs. ältesten / und in die 41. Jahr wolverdiente[n] Leib*Medici* Eheleiblichen Tochter / welchen Gott der HERR gerade vier Wochen zuvor / als den 20. *Aprilis*, vor unserm seligverstorbenen Herrn Bürgermeister von dieser Welt seliglich abgefodert hat.

The second son to marry was Theophil. His first wife was daughter of former Bürgermeister Ernst Moßbach⁶⁰²; following her death in childbirth he married the daughter of another member of the *Rath*:

Seinen andern Sohn / Herrn *Theophilum* Mösteln / des Raths allhier / an damals Jungfrauen Magdalenen / Herrn Ernst Moßbachs / Bürgermeisters und des Churf. Sächs. Schöppenstuls *Assessoris*, hernacher aber / nach derselbigen seligem Absterben / an damals Jungfrauen Magdalenen Elisabeth / Herrn Johann Vetzers / des Raths und Bawmeisters allhier.

Then came his son Sigismund, also married to the daughter of a councillor:

Seinen jüngern Sohn aber / Herrn Sigismund Mösteln / an damals Jungfrauen Sabinen / Herrn Johann Rotheupts / nunmehr seliger / gleichfalls des Raths und Bawmeisters allhier.

His two surviving daughters were both found suitable husbands:

Seine älteste Tochter / damals Jungfrauen Rosinen / Herrn D. Adam Herren / des Churf. Sächs. Oberhofgerichts und Schöppenstuels / auch des Raths allhier *Assessorn*. Und seine jüngste Tochter / damals Jungfrauen Dorotheen=Sophien / Herrn Johann Christoph Braunen der Rechten *Doctorn*, ec. verheyrathet / auch von ihnen acht Kindeskinden gesehen und erlebet[.]

⁶⁰¹ The following excerpts are from Polycarp Leiser, *LeichPredigt / Aus den worten des 31. Psalms [...]* Beym Begräbnis des [...] Herrn *THEODORI* Möstels. Leipzig: 1626.

⁶⁰² For the Moßbach family-tree, see Schmotz, *Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien*, pp. 412-3.

As Leiser writes, Theodor understood the death of his family members as a test of faith, part of the “Creutzschule / darinnen / wie auch zuvorhin / in viel wege der gnedige gütige Gott seinen Glauben und Beständigkeit *probiret*”.⁶⁰³ In the years before his own death, Theodor Möstel witnessed the deaths of his own wife and the wives of his sons Sigismund and Theophil:

So hat ihn doch der liebe Gott ... seines lieben Sohnes *Theophili* Möstels Eheweib / Frawen Magdalenen / gedachtes Herrn Bürgermeister Moßbachs Eheleibliche Tochter / nach dem sie wenig Tage zuvor einer jungen Tochter genesen ... den *1. Maji Anno. 1621.* aus diesem Jammerthal zu sich in sein ewiges FrewdenReich abgefodert. Wobey es der getrewe fromme Gott nicht bleiben lassen / sondern als er diesen hertzbetrübten Fall kaum vergessen / und verschmertzet / hat er ihm den *29. Octobris Anno 1623* sein hertzliebes Eheweib ... seliglich und sanfft von hinnen weggenom[m]nen / und in seinen ewigen FrewdenSaal versetzt. Als auch diese tieffe geschlagene Hertzwunde noch nicht heil worden / hat der getrewe Gott anderweit nach seinem gnädigen wolgefallen / seines lieben Sohns *Sigismundi* Möstels Eheweib / Frawen Sabinen / ermeldtes Herrn Johann Rotheupts seligen / Eheleibliche Tochter / sampt ihrer Leibesfrucht / derer frölichen Entbindung sie täglichen gewartet / den *24. Februarii Anno 1625.* seliglich von dieser Welt abgefodert / do er von newem Hertzleid und Bekümmernis empfunden.

Of Möstel’s three sons and two daughters, it is only the eldest daughter, Rosine, for whom no wedding music by Schein survives; the reason surely that she, as the eldest daughter, was married before Schein’s appointment as cantor. Rather than composing a new work for Jonas Möstel’s wedding in 1618, Schein performed the work composed for the centenary of the Reformation the previous year.⁶⁰⁴ The participation of the Naumburg trumpeters was a breach of propriety that proved costly for Möstel. Not, however, to be deterred, Schein’s setting of the German *Te Deum* for the wedding of Dorothea-Sophie a few months later, “mit 24. Stimmen/ in 4. Chor/ vnd 2. Capellen ausgetheilet”, based on the third-mode melody of the *Te Deum*, is, of all of Schein’s known compositions, set for the largest complement of voices.⁶⁰⁵ While numerous string, wind and brass instruments are specified in the print, trumpets and drums are conspicuously lacking; perhaps the expanded total complement of voices and instruments was

⁶⁰³ Leiser, for Möstel.

⁶⁰⁴ The composition was printed. The title page states that this work was performed (‘musicirt’) at the jubilee celebrations: “Auff das frewdenreiche solennische Jubelfest der Evangelischen Lutherischen Kirchen...Componirt, vnd Musicirt” (See NGA 10.23); from the correspondence between Dresden and Leipzig following Jonas Möstel’s wedding, we know that, due to Schein’s illness, the work wasn’t performed as planned in 1617.

⁶⁰⁵ As Claudia Theis has shown, Schein’s polychoral works invite a flexible approach to instrumentation. While the print of the motet for the *Jubelfest* contains only eight parts, a later manuscript copy contains 16, with parts doubled in the *Ripieno* sections. Similarly, the *Te Deum*, also scored for six four-part choirs, never exceeds eight real parts. See Theis, ‘Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen’, p. 128 ff.

an attempt to provide a music no less extravagant than that for her brother Jonas while, by doing without trumpets and timpani, avoiding the wrath of the electoral authorities.

For the wedding of the youngest son Sigemundt, Schein composed a setting of Psalm 122 and performed it “bei dero Christlichen Copulation, in der Kirchen zu S. Thomas” on 4 December 1622.⁶⁰⁶ This composition, mentioned by Prüfer, has since been lost.⁶⁰⁷ The last of Schein’s known large-scale wedding compositions was a setting of Psalm 23 for the second wedding of Theophil Möstel on 16 August 1625. If Schein’s setting of Psalm 150 for the 1620 wedding of Sigismund Deüerlin, “vornehmen des Raths und Bawmeistern Auch der Kichen zu S. Niclaß”, to the daughter of Leipziger councillor Leonhard Oelhafen, which employed trumpets and timpani “nach Anleitung des Textes”⁶⁰⁸ is further indication of the disdain in which the 1612 ordinance was held in Leipzig, perhaps it is significant that Schein’s last known polychoral wedding composition was for the second wedding of Theophil Möstel in 1625. Was this the last such ostentatious wedding composition performed before the spirit of the 1612 resolution was, with the publication of the *Mandata* in 1625, finally enforced in earnest?⁶⁰⁹ A striking feature of this setting is the freedom with regards to musical forces: Schein states that it can be performed “Mit 3. 11. 18. vnd 22. Stimmen” that are “auff 3. 5. oder 6. Chore abzutheilen”.⁶¹⁰ As Claudia Theis explains, the three-part option consisted in performance of the three parts marked *voce* with continuo accompaniment.⁶¹¹ The setting itself is written in 11 parts, which can be expanded to 18 or 22 through the doubling of various voices. Could the flexible scoring have been intended to facilitate performance at both the church ceremony and at the wedding feast, the former exploiting instrumental and spatial effects, the second using smaller forces available at the feast? Or could the indication à3 show that Möstel started to comply with his *Mandata* issued two months previously, and that Schein was faced with the paradox of creating music fit for a Bürgermeister while avoiding the ostentation condemned in the edict? Was it, in August 1625,

⁶⁰⁶ Cited in Prüfer, *Johann Hermann Schein*, p. 59.

⁶⁰⁷ Possibly the partially transcribed setting of this text under NGA 10.72.

⁶⁰⁸ NGA 10.18. The text set being Ps. 150, containing the verses “Lobet jn mit Posaunen / Lobet jn mit Psalter vnd Harffen. Lobet jn mit Paucken vnd Reigen / Lobet jn mit Seiten vnd Pfeiffen”.

⁶⁰⁹ The day of Möstel’s wedding was, according to the title page of the print, August 16, 1625, less than two months after the publication of the *Mandata* on 26 June that year.

⁶¹⁰ Vgl. NGA 10 vol. 2, p. 474. See also Rose, ‘Schein’s Occasional Music’, p. 266.

⁶¹¹ See NGA 10 vol. 2, p. 475.

for political reasons only possible to perform such works à3, but Möstel wished to commend the splendour of the occasion to posterity through a print allowing for polychoral performance?

Although no wedding composition is known to survive from Theophil Möstel's marriage to Magdalena Moßbach, such a work – given the date of the wedding (they were on 25 October 1619 “bey gehaltenem Kirchgang in der Kirchen zu S. Thomas allhier öffentlich *copuliret* und Ehelichen vertrawet worden”⁶¹²), the precedent established by the earlier two Möstel weddings, and the fact that both bride and bridegroom were children of Leipzig Bürgermeisters (Magdalena was the daughter of Leipzig Bürgermeister Ernst Moßbach and god-daughter of her husband's father Theodor) – must have been composed and performed at this occasion. Perhaps this work has indeed been lost; or perhaps it has survived in a manuscript copy and is ‘anonymously’ present in the NGA (for example, NGA 10.27, a setting of the opening verses of Psalm 103 for “8. voc. cum 2 Trombettis ad placitum”).

4.1.1.1 The Texts of Wedding Compositions

Schein's polychoral setting of Psalm 150 for the wedding of Sigismund Deüerlin was, like his setting of Psalm 122 for Sigemundt Möstel, performed “Bey dero ansehlichen Copulation”.⁶¹³ This leaves no doubt that it was performed as part of the ‘Kirchgang’. A number of texts are repeatedly mentioned in church orders as being suitable for weddings. The Oelsnitz visitors' report of 1582 specifies that the cantor should sing “ein deutschen psalm den 127. oder 128. vor die copulation und auch einen hernach”.⁶¹⁴ The ordinance for Albertine Saxony of 1539 specifies that one of these psalms be sung first thing in the service; the service could be concluded with “das te deum laudamus lateinisch oder deutsch”.⁶¹⁵ An ordinance for the St. Wenzelkirche in Naumburg (1537/8) lists German hymns that could be sung at various stages in the service. Luther's paraphrase of Psalm 128 (‘Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht’) was to be

⁶¹² Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt / Von Christlicher Weiber Ampt und gebühr / I. Timoth. 2. Beym Begräbniß der [...] Frawen Magdalena / Des [...] Herrn Theophili Möstels / Rathsverwandten in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen / Welche den 1. Maij des 1621. Jahrs in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 4. desselben Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1621[?], ‘Beschluß’.*

⁶¹³ NGA 10.18.

⁶¹⁴ Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 621.

⁶¹⁵ “Erstlich das man singe den 127. psalm latinisch oder deutsch [...] oder den 128. psalm. [...] Wo man will, mag man auch das te deum laudamus lateinisch oder deutsch singen lassen und zuletzt mit der gemeinen benediction über sie beschliessen”. Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, pp. 273-4.

sung following the sermon; when figural music was performed, “singet man erstlich das nuptiae oder das te deum laudamus oder andere muteten ante copulam und nach der predigt Wohl dem der in gottes furcht”.⁶¹⁶ The Herzog-August-Agenda of 1580 states that the ‘Copulation’ could be concluded with singing: “ZUm beschlus / sol man auch das *Te Deum laudamus* lateinisch oder deudsch / oder den 128. Psalm singen lassen”.⁶¹⁷ Vincentius Schmuck wrote in 1622 that Psalm 128 was “fürgelesen allen neuen Eheleuten / so offt als man Copuliret, oder Braut und Breutigam zusammen givet”.⁶¹⁸ Another preacher, preaching on Psalm 128 at a wedding sermon, states that “dieser Psalm des H. Geists ist nichts anders als ein Brautlied / dadurch einen Christlichen Bräutigam und seiner Braut Glück gewünscht: Ihnen und ihren künfftigen Leibesfrüchten GOTTES Segen und Güte versprochen wird”.⁶¹⁹ Schein himself, in the index to his *Cantional*, lists Psalms 23, 67, 121, 127 and 128 under the category of songs suitable for performance “bey Brautmessen oder Trawungen”.⁶²⁰ Although none of the *Sprüche* set in *Israelsbrünnlein* is from one of these psalms, many of Schein’s polychoral wedding works were.

Of the polyphonic works known to have been composed for weddings, there is a remarkable correlation between their texts and the texts specified for weddings in liturgical ordinances and the appendix to Schein’s *Cantional*. This is a first point of difference between the settings in *Israelsbrünnlein* and the surviving works printed individually following performance at weddings. We have eight polychoral wedding works from Schein. Amongst these are settings of verses from Psalm 23 (1625), Psalm 121 (1617), Psalm 127 (1620), Psalm 128 (1618); settings of four of the five psalms which Schein lists in the *Cantional* for “Brautmessen oder Trawungen”. Of the further sacred works that we know Schein set polyphonically for weddings are settings of Psalm 112 (1618), Psalm 150 (1620), and the German *Te Deum* (1618). Psalm 112 is thematically similar to Psalms 127 and 128 and could have been set due to this similarity.

⁶¹⁶ “Nach der predigt singet man Wol dem der [ps. 128] etc”, Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 2, p. 73.

⁶¹⁷ Des Durchlauchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Augusten, Hertzogen zu Sachsen [...] Ordnung, Leipzig: 1580, p. XXXIII.

⁶¹⁸ Vincentius Schmuck, *Leichpredigt / Uber den 128. Psalm [...] Beym begräbnis des [...] Herrn Hartman Schachers / fürnehmen Bürgers / Handelsmans und Rathsverwandten zu Leipzig*, Leipzig: 1622.

⁶¹⁹ Martin Röber, *COMMENDATIO CONJUGII*, Halle: 1615.

⁶²⁰ Johann Hermann Schein, *CANTIONAL, Oder Gesang-Buch Augspurgischer Confession In welchem des Herrn D. Martini Lutheri, und anderer from[m]en Christen, auch des Autoris eigene Lieder und Psalmen [...] allhier zu Leipzig bräuchlich. Verfertiget und mit 4. 5. und 6. Stimmen componiret [...] Zum andern mal gedruckt, und mit 27 schönen Gesängen vermehret[.] Leipzig: 1645, ‘Kirchen=Ordnung. Dieser Christlichen Lieder ec. auff die Jahr=Fest und Sontage gerichtet’.*

The setting of Psalm 98 was originally composed for the centenary celebrations of the Reformation; its recycling at Jonas Möstel's wedding could have been because Schein simply had this composition available for performance. Even if this text wasn't chosen specifically for a wedding, both it and Psalm 150 could, however, as psalms of praise have functioned as alternatives to the much longer *Te Deum*, provision for which at the conclusion of the 'Trauung' was made in the *Herzog-August-Agende*.

Some of the occasional prints give specific information concerning the context and occasion of performance, enabling us to establish a link between the settings of these wedding texts and the 'copulation', the liturgical ceremony in the church. The title page to Schein's setting of Psalm 122, composed for the wedding of Sigemundt Möstel and Sabina, daughter of Johan Rothhäupt on 4 December 1622, states that this work was performed "bei dero Christlichen Copulation, in der Kirchen zu S. Thomas". This work, for '14. overo 26. voci', must have been performed by singers and instrumentalists from the galleries of the Thomaskirche, possibly at the conclusion of the 'Trauung' as for Jonas Möstel.⁶²¹ The setting of Psalm 150 (1620) for Deuerlin likewise describes its performance; "Bey dero ansehlichen Copulation, den 24. Octobr". Other polyphonic occasional works for weddings have more general descriptions. Schein's setting of Psalm 112, composed 'Auff den Hochzeitlichen Ehrentag' of Johann Weber and Sabina, daughter of Sebastian Schweickhart, was "Componirt Vnd Musicirt" by Schein "Zu besonderem gefallen vnd dienstlicher Glückwünschung". Not all the occasional prints are specific with regards to performance at the 'Copulation'. A setting of a freely composed text by Schein from 1630 – *Liebe ohne Gegenlieb* – was, according to the title page of the surviving print, "Auff dero Hochzeitliches Ehren= vnnd Frewden=Fest zu dienstfreundlicher Glückwünschung präsentirt".⁶²² This reference to the presentation – presumably meaning the actual performance – at the "Ehren= vnnd Frewden=Fest" places this composition in the context of the wedding feast as opposed to the church service. On account of the text set – a meditation on requited love with a concluding mention of the shepherd Coridon – this would be expected.

4.3.2 Other Settings of Sacred Texts for Weddings

While the larger-scale works found their place in the 'Trauung', some of the settings in *Israelsbrünnlein* may have originated as a 'Hochzeit-Music auf Christliche Art' for the wedding

⁶²¹ Or, reflecting the first verse of Ps. 122, at the entrance into the church.

⁶²² NGA 10. vol. 4, p. 183

feast. While the majority of Schein's surviving wedding compositions were settings of pastoral texts (22 of 32), the remaining ten are settings of sacred texts. Although the majority of the texts are in German, two are in Latin. The sacred texts themselves are, with the exception the German 'Te Deum', from the scriptures; of these, all but one are from the Book of Psalms. The one exception – 'Anima mea liquefacta es', a setting of verses from the Song of Songs in Latin – is something of an outlier.⁶²³ It is the last setting of a sacred text for a wedding that we know of from Schein, composed for the wedding of Wilhelm Avian, rector of the Thomasschule, on 21 September 1630. The next most recent surviving sacred wedding composition is that for Theophil Möstel from 1625; with the exception of these and two further works from 1622 and 1623, all Schein's printed wedding compositions on sacred texts (six in total) were composed between 1617 and 1620. If we take the surviving printed occasional works to be representative of Schein's actual output of occasional works⁶²⁴, we can observe a dramatic shift in emphasis from sacred to secular occasional works for weddings. Of the nine surviving printed works for weddings between 1617 and 1620, six of these are settings of sacred texts. For the remainder of Schein's career, however, this emphasis on sacred works is inverted: of the 23 works printed between 1622⁶²⁵ and 1630, only four are settings of sacred texts. The 'Concertum nuptiale' of 1630 appears to be an outlier in contrast to the three-voice secular 'villanellas' which seem, by the second half of the 1620s, to have become Schein's most commonly printed style of wedding music. The second point with regards to this composition's outlier status is the complement of voices and instruments employed. This work, entitled 'Concertum Nuptiale', is set for only two voices – 'Duo Cantus vel Tenores' – and basso continuo. This contrasts with the much larger complement used for many of the earlier settings of sacred texts, most of which are written for 7 to 8 voices or are conceived polychorally with various performance possibilities. Tying in with the shift from sacred to secular works from 1617 to 1630 is a reduction in the performing

⁶²³ For discussion of various allegorical readings of the Song of Songs see Robert L. Kendrick, "*Sonet vox tua in auribus meis*" in *SJb* (1994), p. 99 ff. The 'Epithalamial' reading of the text, with the lovers understood as a married couple, was found most prominently in Lutheran Germany, despite Luther's own 'political' interpretation of the text as symbolising the protestant ruler and his state (p. 103 [footnote 19], p. 104).

⁶²⁴ An assumption which can be contested for at least two reasons: 1) all of the lost occasional works ('verlorene Gelegenheitskompositionen') mentioned by Theis (NGA 10) are settings of sacred texts: as there are 69 of these in total, some of which must have also been composed for weddings, the actual proportion and dating of the sacred works in comparison to the secular works that we can glean from the surviving printed works could throw any conclusions drawn here entirely out of kilter; 2) if we assume that the majority of the works published in the first volume of *Musica boscareccia* and *Diletti pastorali* also originated as occasional wedding works, then the ratio of sacred to secular works in the early years of Schein's cantorate would tip significantly towards the 'secular' end.

⁶²⁵ No printed occasional works survive from 1621.

forces and scale of the occasional compositions, possibly the result of the declining musical standards of the Thomaner in the course of the 1620s.⁶²⁶

Perhaps it was only in the 1620s that the craze for settings of pastoral texts at wedding feasts really took off, an explosion of interest to which the two successor volumes which promptly followed *Musica boscareccia* testify. Although 1623 is an obvious *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the works in *Israelsbrünnlein*, it is possible that they were composed earlier, in the first years of Schein's tenure in Leipzig. If so, they may have been composed before the real craze for pastoral wedding works – a trend which Schein initiated and fuelled – ignited. Maybe in the first years of Schein's reign Leipzig's citizens were still content with settings of 'sacred' texts for wedding feasts, settings in the tradition of Steuerlein and Eccard, amongst others, discussed above. This could explain why few similar works exist as individual prints from Schein's later years. A possible explanation could be that the wedding compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* were for performance at wedding feasts in the early years of Schein's cantorate, before the new fad for settings of pastoral texts took over, a fad to which the three volumes of *Musica boscareccia* testify and which they must have helped sustain.

Printed pamphlets survive containing verses performed at wedding feasts. Two such pamphlets survive from Schein's second wedding. One of these, a German language account of Corydon and his 'Beeren', standing respectively for Schein and his bride, Elisabeth de Perre, was "Denen domals anwesenden Hochzeit-gästen erzehlet und verehret"; as the wedding itself was celebrated in the Thomaskirche, this must surely have been recited at the following feast.⁶²⁷ This mythological account of the love of Corydon and "seiner liebsten Beeren" closes with an eight-verse song, sung to congratulate Corydon on his marriage. David Paisey raises the possibility that these verses, which display similarities to other pastoral verses set to music by Schein, were actually sung at the wedding: "We may be sure that music accompanied the celebration, and I have no doubt that some of Schein's choristers from St. Thomas's would have sung in his honour. It is tempting to think that these were some of the words they sang, but there is no evidence either way."⁶²⁸ If not actually sung, the eight verses of this 'Liedlein' nevertheless show that

⁶²⁶ See Maul, *Dero berühmter Chor*, pp. 61-3. Werbeck mentions further the war as a reason for the decline in the composition of polychoral works. Werbeck, 'Bei fürfallenden occasionen musiciret', p. 745.

⁶²⁷ Hopefully, wishes David Paisey, once "the guests were already well fortified with wine". Paisey, 'Some Occasional Aspects of Johann Hermann Schein', p. 174.

⁶²⁸ Paisey, 'Some Occasional Aspects of Johann Hermann Schein', p. 174.

the performance of music at a wedding feast to congratulate the bridal couple was an integral part of the proceedings. A further example from Schein's Leipzig is a dedicatory text from the wedding of Leipzig rector Wilhelm Avian, the dedicatee of Schein's 'Anima mea liquefacta est', in which the meetings of the bridal pair at the bride's father's bookshop are described.⁶²⁹

Schein's setting of verses from Psalm 37 for the wedding of Vincentius Schmuck 'der Jüngere' on 17 February 1623, is a further exceptional work amongst Schein's occasional wedding works, most obviously on account of the complement of voices used.⁶³⁰ The wedding took place in February 1623, less than two months after Schein's dedication of *Israelsbrünnlein* on New Year's Day of that year. It is the only surviving occasional wedding composition composed for the five-voice complement found in the majority of works in *Israelsbrünnlein*, inviting the thought that, had this work been composed a few months earlier, it might have been included in *Israelsbrünnlein* itself. This composition is, like 'Ich bin jung gewesen', in which Schein also sets verses from Psalm 37, in the Aeolian mode. The term 'Regula vitae', the title given the composition in the print, is reminiscent of Andreas Schneider's claim that good Lutherans often select a *Spruch* as their "norma vitae, eine Norm / Regel / und Richtschnur / nach welcher sie ihr Leben / und ihren Wandel anstellen"; it is plausible that Schein set these verses from Psalm 37 because they were Schmuck's personal *Spruch*.⁶³¹

Schein's setting commences with the pseudo-polyphony commonly found in *Israelsbrünnlein*: an initial entry on E in the Canto I is followed a semibreve later a fifth lower in the Alto. Variants of the opening theme enter in the other three voices. The written-out ornamentation in Canto I is not initially repeated in the other parts; this could suggest that the Canto I was conceived of as an ornamented solo-voice with accompanying lower voices, or that the singers – presumably Schein's Thomaner, well-drilled and familiar with modern Italian ornamentation – would have themselves improvised ornaments and embellishments in their own parts. The polyphonic opening yields to more homophonic writing for the completion of the line 'und tu Gutes'. Artificial

⁶²⁹ Poetisches Brauthuhn / Auff Hochzeitlichen EhrenFest M. WILHELMI AVIANI, der Phil. Fac. Assessoris und anjetzo Decani, auch Rectoris der Schul zu S. Thomas. Breutigams und Der Erbarb und Vielehrentugentsamen Jungfraw ANNEN / Des Ehrenvesten und Wolgeachten Herrn Christoph Ellingers Bürgers und Buchführers zu Leipzig eheleiblichen Tochter / als Braut / von guten Freunden aufgesetzt. Den 21. Sept. ANNO CHRISTI 1630. Schmotz explains that book stores were a common meeting place for academics (See Schmotz, *Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien*, pp. 248-9); Kevorkian confirms that "Bookstores were another venue for the exchange of gossip as well as for meeting people". Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety*, p. 90.

⁶³⁰ NGA 10.8.

⁶³¹ See my chapter 1.2.

antiphony features in the following phrase (Bleibe im Lande...), with the lower three voices alternating with the upper three, the alto joining in with both. A clear *tutti* cadence rounds off the phrase. The text – encompassing three psalm verses – is of a similar length to those in *Israelsbrunnlein* and permits the repetition of phrases and parts of phrases, a feature found often in *Israelsbrunnlein* and which distinguishes Schein’s settings of *Sprüche* from settings of, for example, entire psalms or longer liturgical texts where the length of the text generally precludes any significant repetition. Many features of this setting – the contrast of polyphonic with homophonic writing and the creation of antiphonal effects through the division of the five voices into three-voiced upper and lower groups – are all found in *Israelsbrunnlein*.

4.4 *Israelsbrunnlein: Wedding Compositions?*

Two biblical books account for the possible wedding compositions in *Israelsbrunnlein*: Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. While the Book of Proverbs belonged to the canon of the Old Testament, ‘Ecclesiasticus’, known also as ‘Jesus Sirach’, was following the Reformation reduced to the status of an apocryphal book. Schmuck describes these two books as models for “Christliche Weiber”: “So wollen nu hiernach sich richten alle Christliche Weiber / und es ihnen für eine Ehre unnd Trost achten / daß der H. Geist in der Bibel auch für sie sorget / und sie ihres Amptes und gebühr im Alten und Newen Testament / in Sprüchen und Exempeln erinnern lesset / wie denn bekandt ist / wasermassen Syrach und Salomon in Sprüchwörtern auch viel hievon haben...”.⁶³² Maximilian Ritter, in a wedding sermon from 1623, recognised Salomon as “ein schön Vorbild unsers HERRN Christi”. As such, “SALomons Schrifften...sollen wir billich in hohem Werth / und in grossen Ehren halten”.⁶³³

4.4.1 Ein Tugendsam Weib

The dissolution of the monasteries in the course of the Reformation had significant consequences for women.⁶³⁴ Whereas monks could marry or find a parish position, former nuns found

⁶³² Schmuck, sermon for Magdalena Möstel.

⁶³³ Maximilian Ritter, *MARGARITA NUPTIALIS* [...] Christliche Hochzeit=Predigt / uber die Wort in den Sprüchwörtern Salomonis am 31. Capitel. Wem ein Tugendsam Weib bescheret ist / die ist viel Edler / denn die köstlichen Perlen [...], Gießen: 1623, ‘Explicatio Thematic’.

⁶³⁴ See, for example, Susan R Boettcher, ‘The Social Impact of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany’, in Robert Kalb [ed.] *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture, 1550 - 1675*, Leiden: 2008, pp. 351-355.

themselves once again economically and socially dependent on their families, in as far as these were willing to provide for them until they could marry. Marriage was, for Luther, “der gemeinste und doch der fürnemeste stand”.⁶³⁵ The new ideal for women in Lutheran Germany was as housewife and mother, as aptly demonstrated by a woodcut from 1524.⁶³⁶ On the left is a nun, depicted with devil’s horns, standing in front of her monastery’s church. She is greeting a messenger, who is about to deliver the news of the dissolution of her monastery, with a friendly ‘Ave Maria’. Opposite the monastery, on the right-hand half of the woodcut, is depicted a housewife. That hers is the blessed ideal life, in contrast to the misguided monastic life, is proved by the dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit, perched on her head. Luther’s own biography provides another example.⁶³⁷ He was himself involved in the attempt to marry off the ex-nun Katharina von Bora, who in 1523 had fled from her monastery one night. After first attempts to find a husband for her in Nuremberg and Wittenberg were unsuccessful, Luther himself – who, by remaining unmarried, was exposing himself to the accusation of failing to practise what he preached – agreed to marry her in 1525.⁶³⁸

Descriptions of virtuous women in funeral sermons show that these Lutheran gender roles persisted unchanged through the period of Lutheran orthodoxy.⁶³⁹ As Cornelia Niekus Moore puts it, “In funeral works for women, it is emphasized that being a wife and mother is an occupation (*Beruf*), and that giving birth is one of the occupational dangers”.⁶⁴⁰ Thomas Kaufmann describes childbirth as a “Weibliches ‘Amt’”, seeing it as the female version of “des christlichen

⁶³⁵ Martin Luther, ‘Ein Hochzeit predigt / uber den spruch zun Hebreern am dreizehenden Capitel’, in *Zwo Hochzeit Predigten*, Wittenberg: 1536.

⁶³⁶ depicted in Martin H. Jung, *Reformation und Konfessionelles Zeitalter (1517-1648)*, Göttingen: 2012, p. 141.

⁶³⁷ As Volker Leppin states: “Although he was not the first to get married, Luther provided the image for married pastors, and this should be understood literally: The portrait of Martin and Catherine made it obvious that there was a way of life for pastors within the bounds of civil matrimony”. Volker Leppin, ‘Preparing for Death. From the Late Medieval *ars moriendi* to the Lutheran Funeral Sermon’ in T. Rasmussen/J.Ø. Flæten [ed.] *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*, Göttingen: 2015, p. 13.

⁶³⁸ See, for example, Charlotte Methuen, ‘Luther’s Life’, in Robert Kolb, Irene Dingel & L’Uboomír Batka (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther’s Theology*, Oxford: 2014, p. 24.

⁶³⁹ As Patrice Veit shows, gender distinctions at funerals extended to the choice of hymns. See Patrice Veit, ‘Private Frömmigkeit, Lektüre und Gesang im protestantischen Deutschland der frühen Neuzeit: Das Modell der Leichenpredigten’, in Rudolf Vierhaus [ed.], *Frühe Neuzeit - frühe Moderne?: Forschungen zur Vielschichtigkeit von Übergangsprozessen*, Göttingen: 1992.

⁶⁴⁰ Moore, *Patterned Lives*, p. 71.

Lebenskampfes”.⁶⁴¹ Theresa Schmotz confirms that “Die Forschung ist sich weit gehend darüber einig, dass die Pflichten der Frau im Erweis der Fruchtbarkeit, in der ehelichen Treue, der Häuslichkeit und der Sorge um die Keuschheit der Töchter bestanden, während die erste Pflicht des Mannes im Unterhalt seiner Familie lag”.⁶⁴² For Dagmar Lorenz, “Den größten Einfluß auf die kulturelle Entwicklung der nächsten Jahrhunderte mag wohl Luthers Rollenbeschreibung von Mann und Frau innerhalb der Ehe gewesen sein”. In opposition to the husband’s role as “der berufstätige Ernährer”, “ist der Beruf der Frau ausschließlich das Kindergebären und das Erleiden der Schmerzen der Geburt... Die Seligkeit der Frau liegt im Erzeugen von Kindern und deren Erziehung, beide durch den Glauben geheiligt”.⁶⁴³ Despite its re-evaluation in the Reformation, marriage remained a privilege: “Die Tatsache, dass die Eheschließung in der Frühen Neuzeit keine kulturelle Selbstverständlichkeit war, darf bei der Betrachtung nicht außer Acht gelassen werden. Da über die Institution Ehe die Verteilung von Besitz und Vermögen wie die Teilhabe an Macht und Herrschaft organisiert wurde, war sie nicht jedem ohne Einschränkung zugänglich”.⁶⁴⁴ This was, on account of their precarious employment status, especially problematic for academics: “Die zahlreichen Beispiele von Professoren, die unverheiratet blieben oder, bedingt durch ihre Ämterlosigkeit, erst sehr spät eine Ehe eingehen konnten, lassen sich aus dieser Annahme erklären”.⁶⁴⁵

Vincentius Schmuck’s funeral sermon for Magdalena Möstel exemplifies the role of the housewife in Schein’s Leipzig. Magdalena, ‘eheliche Hausfraw’ of Theophil Möstel, died as a ‘Sechswöchnerin’ in 1621.⁶⁴⁶ Her printed sermon, held on 1. Tim. 2., is entitled ‘Von Christlicher Weiber Ampt und gebühr’. Schmuck begins by citing verses from Proverbs 31, verses

⁶⁴¹ Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg*, p. 90.

⁶⁴² Schmotz, *Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien*, p. 61.

⁶⁴³ Dagmar Lorenz, ‘Vom Kloster zur Küche: Die Frau vor und nach der Reformation Dr. Martin Luthers’, in Barbara Becker-Cantarino [ed.] *Die Frau von der Reformation zur Romantik*, 1980, p. 23.

⁶⁴⁴ Schmotz, *Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien*, p. 62.

⁶⁴⁵ Schmotz, *Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien*, p. 62.

⁶⁴⁶ “War die Geburt glücklich überstanden, so begann die Phase der Sechswochen, des Kind- oder Wochenbettes, welche der Mutter zur Schonung zugestanden wurde. Sie empfing während dessen häufig Besuch und prä-sentierete sich in ihrer Mutterrolle. Diese Frist erstreckte sich auch auf den öffentlichen Bereich: Die Wöchnerin durfte dem Gottesdienst fern bleiben und das Elternpaar musste nicht vor Gericht erscheinen, falls es eine Vorladung bekommen hatte... Die Wöchnerin hatte drei Wochen im Bett und drei außerhalb desselben, alle sechs jedoch in ihrer Wochenstube zuzubringen. Das Wochenbett war meist prächtig ausgestattet und diente repräsentativen Zwecken, vor allem für den erwähnten reichlich empfangenen Besuch”. Schmotz, *Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien*, pp. 115-116.

which Schein set in *Israelsbrunnlein*: “Lieblich und schöne seyn / ist nichts / ein Weib das den Herrn fürchtet / sol man loben”. He explains why he selected his funeral text: “Weil wir denn auch jetzo ein junges Christliches Eheweib zur Erden bestatten / dere wegen ihrer Gottesfurcht mit lobe ist zu gedencken / so haben wir einen solchen Text wollen für uns nehmen / der von Christlicher Eheweiber Tugenden redet / und dieselbe ihrer gebühr unterrichtet und erin[n]ert / aus welchem darnach die *Application* auff die Verstorbene leichtlich zu machen seyn wird”. The virtues of the Lutheran housewife followed her in life and in death. In marriage, the wife assumed a new social role, her identity now defined through her relation to her husband and his family. Her duties as housewife, which started in marriage, persisted until death. The description of uxorial virtue doesn’t necessarily indicate the context of a wedding; matrimonial duties pervaded the married woman at all stages of her life, even, as Schmuck’s sermon demonstrates, in death.

Given their importance in Lutheran society, it is hardly surprising that musicians set texts extolling the virtuous woman for wedding celebrations. Heinrich Schütz, for a wedding in 1618,⁶⁴⁷ set the following verses from Eccus. 26, in which the virtues of the ‘häuslich Weib’ for her husband are praised:

- (1) Wohl dem, der ein tugendsam Weib hat, des lebet er noch eins so lang.
- (2) Ein häuslich Weib ist ihrem Manne eine Freude, und macht ihm ein fein ruhig Leben.
- (3) Ein tugendsam Weib ist eine edle Gabe, und wird dem gegeben, der Gott fürchtet.
- (4) Er sei reich oder arm, so ists ihm ein Trost, und macht ihn allzeit fröhlich.
- ...
- (21) Wie die Sonne, wann sie aufgegangen ist, an dem hohen Himmel des Herren eine Zierde ist, also ist ein tugendsam Weib eine Zierd in ihrem Hause.

Schütz sets the first verse as a ritornello, beginning in *proportio tripla*, with each repetition confirming the virtuous wife’s value for her husband. That the virtues of the wife were to be practised in the household is suggested by the equation of ‘ein häuslich Weib’ with ‘ein tugendsam Weib’, each of these phrases beginning an ‘Intermedium’, a passage for voices alone with basso continuo. The declamation of the text is almost exclusively syllabic; melismatic writing is confined to the words ‘Freude’ and ‘fröhlich’, a musical emphasis on the joy brought to the husband by his virtuous wife.

⁶⁴⁷ SWV 20, Composed for the wedding of Joseph Avenarius and Anna Dorothea Görlitz in Dresden, 21 April 1618. Philipp Spitta (ed.), Heinrich Schütz, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 14.

4.4.2 Proverbs 31:10-12 – ‘Wem ein tugendsam Weib bescheret ist’

Schein included in *Israelsbrunnlein* a setting of a similar text from Proverbs 31, a chapter “welches sonderlich von Tugentsamen Frawen ein sehr schönes und außführliches *Encomium* und Frawen Lob in sich fasset”.⁶⁴⁸

(10) Wem ein tugendsam Weib bescheret ist, die ist viel edeler, denn die köstliche Perlen.

(11) Ihres Mannes Herz darf sich auf sie verlassen, und Nahrung wird ihm nicht mangeln.

(12) Sie tut ihm Liebs und kein Leid sein lebelang.⁶⁴⁹

These verses are often found in Lutheran wedding sermons, both as the text on which the sermon itself was preached, and within sermons to lend biblical authority to discussions of marriage. In a sermon held and published for the wedding of Heinrich Volrath, Graf zu Stolberg, with “Der Hochwolgeborenen Gräffin [...] Margarethæ” in 1623, the first of these verses was chosen on account of the bride’s name: “*Margarita* oder Margretha / heist in unser Sprach so viel / als ein Perlen oder Edelgestein...so wöllen wir auch unsere Gedancken auff lauter Geistliche Margariten / und Perlen lassen gerichtet seyn”.⁶⁵⁰ In another case, this exact selection of verses – Prov. 31:10-12 – was preached upon at the second day of the “Adelichen Beylager” of Rudolff von Bünaw and his bride Maria in 1630, published in Leipzig the same year.⁶⁵¹ Having given a short address directly before the ‘Trawung’ the previous day, the preacher Johann Ehrenberger preached on the second day of the wedding “Adelichem Brauch nach” on these verses. Ehrenberger interprets these verses as referring to a spiritual dowry, finding three things which bride and groom should bring to the marriage; “Darzu gibt nun guten heilsamen Rath der König Solomon in den verlesenen Textworten / in welchen er beydes Mann und Weib vorschreibt und lehret / was jedes Theil dem andern zubringen und zuwenden soll”. Firstly, the three aspects of the bride’s “dowry” are presented in connection with a specific phrase from the selected verses. The first of these was a “herrliche ansehnliche Tugendsamigkeit”: “Erstlich sol die Braut oder das Eheweib ihrem Manne zubringen / Zucht / Tugend und Erbarkeit. Das deutet Salomon an / wenn er spricht: **Wem ein Tugendsam Weib bescheret ist**”. The second point

⁶⁴⁸ Ritter, MARGARITA NUPTIALIS, ‘Explicatio Thematicis’.

⁶⁴⁹ Schein sets only verses 10-12, not verse 13, as claimed in the NGA.

⁶⁵⁰ Ritter, MARGARITA NUPTIALIS, ‘Exordium’.

⁶⁵¹ Johann Ehrenberger, *Dotalia Coniugalia Binioschönbergiaca*, Christliche Hochzeitspredigt/ Von der rechten Mitgabe oder Zubringen newer Christlicher Eheleute, Leipzig 1630.

was her “Trewhäußliche Sorgfeltigkeit”: “Zum Andern / sol die Braut oder das Weib ihrem Bräutigam und Ehemann zubringen Häußliche Sorgfeltigkeit. **Ihres Mannes Hertz darff sich auff die verlassen / und Nahrung wird ihnen nicht mangeln** / sagt der weise Mann in unserm Text”. Finally, she was to bring her “Anmutige Freundlichkeit”, as expressed in the phrase “**Sie thut ihm liebes und kein leid / sein lebenslang**”.

Concerning the bridegroom’s dowry, “finden wir abermal in unserm Text dreyerley: Er sol seine Braut und Ehegemaal achten / halten und ehren / als einen dreyfachen vornehmen Schatz”. His first duty was to honour his wife as a divine gift: “Erstlich sol ein jeglicher Christlicher Breutigam und Ehemann seine Braut achten vor seinen lieben Schatz / welcher von Gott ihm bescheret gewesen ist... Der Herr *Lutherus* gibt es / und sagt: **Wem ein Tugendsam Weib bescheret ist**”. While with regards to the wife the emphasis was in this phrase on the adjective ‘tugendsam’ as a description of her character, the word ‘bescheret’ leads now to a consideration of the wife as bestowed – ‘bescheret’ – by God. As found repeatedly in wedding sermons, it was emphasised that a virtuous wife is a gift from God, to be sought “Nicht durch Zauberey / nicht durch Koppeley / nicht mit Gelde / nicht mit Gewalt”, but solely “mit dem lieben Gebet”. Secondly, he was to esteem his wife more highly than pearls: “Zum Andern / sol auch ein jeder Breutigam und Ehemann seine Braut und Eheweib achten und halten / als einen thewren und edlen Schatz ... Von den Perlen wird sehr viel gehalten / und werden sie offft sehr thewrer gekaufft / nach deme daß sie groß seyn”. With regards to his wife, however, he was to remember that, as Solomon writes, **die ist viel edeler, denn die köstliche Perlen**. The final verse was a reminder to the bridegroom to honour his wife “als einen nothwendigen und nützlichen Schatz / auff welches sein Hertz in aller Noth und Unfall / wie auch in der Haußsorge / kühnlich sich kan und mag verlassen / dessen er im geringsten nicht entperen könne”.

Schein’s priority in his setting is the natural and comprehensible presentation of the text, being careful to reflect the declamation and accents of the spoken language. Although much of the setting is characterised by homorhythmic, syllabic text declamation, Schein sets the first half of the first verse in a pseudo-contrapuntal manner, paying careful attention to the natural declamation of the text within a polyphonic framework. Characteristic for classical vocal polyphony are the staggered voice entries and the modal ‘pairing’ of the Cantus II with the Tenor, and the Altus with the Bassus. The opening *soggetto*, answered tonally in the Altus/Bassus voice pair, is carefully moulded around the text. For Schein, in keeping with the Lutheran understanding of the virtuous housewife, it was her *virtuous* character – her intention and ability to fulfil the ‘Christlicher Weiber Ampt’ – that was key here. The rhetorical emphasis of the opening

verse half is therefore placed on the word ‘tugendsam’; the jump of a third from the previous word, the elongation of the first syllable and the contrasting shorter second syllable (reflecting the declamation of the spoken language), and the creation of tension/suspension through the introduction of the new voice a sixth lower (an interval that wants to resolve a semitone downwards to the stable fifth) contribute to this. Also indicative is the contrast with the setting of the following word ‘Weib’; this word is set to a single crotchet lower than the previous ‘tugendsam’. This leaves the listener in no doubt as to what was being celebrated here. It wasn’t simply the fact that the marriage had taken place; simply having a ‘Weib’ could itself turn into a blessing or a curse, as both the above cited passages from Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, when seen in their broader context, make clear. It was the ability of the Lutheran wife to fulfil the duties ascribed to her, duties that she entered into through the covenant of marriage, that constituted her virtue. It is this that Schein, in accord with the conventions and expectations of his society, emphasises at the commencement of this setting.⁶⁵²

Following the contrapuntal opening, the second half of verse 10 – ‘die ist viel edeler denn die köstlichen Perlen’ – is set with homorhythmic, simultaneous text-declama- tion in crotchets and quavers. One of the two exceptions to the prevailing syllabic text-declama- tion in this setting is found at the final cadence on ‘Perlen’ (bars 15-16); the dotted melismatic figure in the Cantus I contrasts markedly with the syllabic text-declama- tion which preceded it. Could this have been an in-joke, an attempt, as found in Ritter’s identification of the bride Magdalena with the pearls, at associating the bride – symbolised through the highest voice – with the pearls? A syllabic setting of a short text inevitably necessitates the repetition of the text in order to create a musical work of suitable length. As is his standard practice in *Israelsbrünnlein*, Schein confines his repetition to units of text within the individual Bible verses; he doesn’t employ repetition in the form of a refrain or ritornello as Schütz did above. Variation is created by the use of antiphonal effects, with small units of text being thrown back and forth between groups of voices. This is found extensively in the setting of verses 11 and 12.⁶⁵³ Schein sets the phrase ‘Ihres Mannes

⁶⁵² Kaufmann discusses the Leichenpredigten with a view to forms of Lutheran piety that are revealed therein. While the metaphor of the soldier is often applied to men, women’s lives are discussed in terms of the “weibliches ‘Amt’” of childbearing. See Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg*, pp. 83-95.

⁶⁵³ The frequent antiphonal exchanges make life at times difficult for the Altus, the voice which, in the five-part complement, takes part in both the upper and lower choirs. In bar 22 the Altus has successive crotchets spanning the interval of an octave and a fifth; while the lower note functions as the concluding bass note of an upper choir passage, the higher note is the result of the Altus’ new function as highest voice in the lower choir.

Herz darf sich auf sie verlassen’ with the for *Israelsbrunnlein* typical ‘artificial’ antiphony. After initial statements in the lower and upper three-voiced ensembles, the phrase is divided, with the fragment ‘darf sich auf sie verlassen’ repeated as an antiphonal echo; the final statement of ‘Ihres Mannes Herz’ (bar 25) is followed by seven antiphonal affirmations of ‘darf sich auf sie verlassen’ before a concluding *tutti*. The particular value of not just any wife, but of a ‘virtuous’ wife, thus resonates in Schein’s composition.

The conclusion of verse 11 – ‘und Nahrung wird ihm nicht mangeln’ – is presented as a discrete unit; although each of the statements begins with three voices, the remaining voices enter successively to suggest the increase in material comforts resulting from the wife’s “Trewhäußliche Sorgfeligkeit”. Schein returns to three-part antiphonal writing at the final verse ‘Sie tut ihm Liebs und kein Leid sein lebelang’, following which the verse is repeated with homophonic *tutti* statements. The final word is singled out for melismatic treatment. Unlike ‘Perlen’, at which a single voice was ornamented with a melismatic dotted figure, the word ‘lebelang’ is expanded with melismas in all five voices; the expansion of a word relating to time is found at the conclusion of other settings in *Israelsbrunnlein*.

4.4.3 Proverbs 5:18b-19 – ‘Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend’

As with all the compositions published in *Israelsbrunnlein*, no date or details of composition are given for Schein’s setting of ‘Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend’. Nevertheless, we know of multiple contemporary settings of this same text by other composers written specifically for wedding celebrations.⁶⁵⁴ These verses were often preached upon in wedding sermons. One such example, Gregor Strigenitz’ sermon on Prov. 5:18-19, held the day following the marriage of a Lutheran pastor with a pastor’s daughter in 1600 (published both individually in 1602 and again in 1617 in a collected volume of Strigenitz’ sermons), shows how such a text could be interpreted in light of confessional division.⁶⁵⁵ Strigenitz preaches on this text to show the appropriateness of marriage for pastors in light of the Catholic proscription of clerical marriage. While

⁶⁵⁴ Amongst settings of this text listed in RISM are: Melchior Franck, Neues Hochzeitgesang (Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend) [...] Mit 5. Stimmen de novo componirt, Coburg: 1619; Zwey Neue Hochzeit Gesäng zu Hochzeitlichen Ehren [...] durch M. Francken (Wol dem der den Herren fürchtet) ... das Ander ... durch H. Hartmann (Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend) ... mit sechs Stimmen componirt, Coburg: 1616; Balthasar Hildebrand, Geistliche Ehren-Freude (Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend [a 5 v, 3 Instrumente]) [...], Liegnitz; Samuel Scheidt, [Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend. Hochzeitsgesang für Jeremias Aeschel | 3 Sing-St., 3 Instrumental-St., Kapellchor a 4 v, bc], [Leipzig ...], s.n., (1628); Caspar Trost, HochzeitGesang (Freue dich des Weibes) mit 6. Stimmen [...] Jena, 1623; Matthias Weckmann, Hochzeitlicher Ehren-Gesang (Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend) [...] mit fünff Stimmen als 2 Geigen und 3. zu singen, Hamburg: 1650.

⁶⁵⁵ Gregor Strigenitz, *CERVA CHARISSIMA, & Hinnulus gratissimus*. Das ist / Eine Hochzeit Predigt / von der lieblichen Hinde / und holdseligem Rehe. Aus den Sprüchen König *Salomonis* [...], Leipzig: 1602 [=VOTA

funeral sermons were held and published for Christians of a variety of social standings and occupations, wedding sermons, less frequently published, were typically printed for two social groups: members of the nobility and Lutheran pastors. In Strigenitz' sermon, the bridegroom, Matthaeus Purman, was deacon of "der Kirchen zu Zehren", while his bride was the daughter of Paul Kirchbach, "Pfarrer zu Neunkirchen". A second observation is the frequently polemical language used to assert the noble status of matrimony against the Catholic requirement of clerical celibacy. In his preface to 'Vota Nuptialia', Strigenitz contrasts the Lutheran understanding of marriage with the perceived hypocrisy of chastity as practiced by Catholic priests.⁶⁵⁶ He was unsurprisingly critical of the Catholic practice, in which "die vermeinte[n] un[d] falsch=genannten Geistlichen / aus verkehrtem Sinn" considered the state of marriage to be "eine unreinigkeit des Fleisches". That they then "den unreinen und heillosen *Cœlibat* gar hoch zu rühmen und zu loben", is shown in the sermon to be contrary to divine word: "Solches alles aber / daß es dem lieben Wort Gottes *è diametro*, und stracks zu wider lauffe / stehet gar leichtlich zubehaupten". Not only was clerical celibacy contrary to the scriptures, it was, claims Strigenitz, blatantly hypocritical: although Catholic priests "immer keusch und züchtig wollen leben", they "halten aber solche gelübde wie der Hund die Fasten / und treiben selbst darüber das gespötte und sagen: ... Kanstu nicht leben keusch und reinlich / so treib Hurerey und Ehebruch heimlich".

The reason for such polemical language is clear when the circumstances of this wedding are considered: this sermon, preached at the wedding of a Lutheran pastor, is a defence of the practice of clerical marriage. The verse on which it was preached – 'Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend' – confirms that the young pastor is right to marry and enjoy marital life. Strigenitz argues that marriage was a sacred institution created for all, including those "so zu geistlichen Emptern sich bestellen lassen": "Gott hat ja den Ehestand selbst gestiftet aus hochweisen Göttlichem Rath [...] Gott hat keinem Menschen den Ehestand verboten". The Catholic insistence on clerical celibacy was, for Strigenitz, proof that the pope was indeed the Antichrist: "Ja Gottes Wort saget klar / das Eheverbot sey eine Teuffelspforte / dabey man den Antichrist kennen werde / ... Kan demnach nimmermehr fehlen / der Bapst zu Rom mus auch in erwegung dieser

NUPTIALIA, 'Die 17. Predigt']. The sermon was held in church the day following the 'Trauung': "weil wir jetzo eben einen solchen Breutigam in dieser Kirchen haben / der nichtalleine nach Gottes wunderbahrer Schickung / zum anfang seines Predigampts / an einen solchen ort / ordentlicher weise beruffen ist / da er beydes in der Schuel und Kirche dem HERRN Christo dienen sol / sondern auch mit eines ehrlichen und ehlichen Priesters Kinde gesterichs Tages ehelich vertrawet worden ist".

⁶⁵⁶ Strigenitz, VOTA NUPTIALIA, Leipzig: 1617, 'Vorrede an den Christlichen Leser'.

seiner Lehre der leibhafftige Antichrist / der Mensch der Sünden / und das Kind des verderbens seyn". God, however, sent Luther to clear matters up: "wir haben dem lieben Gott hoch zu dancken / der uns dieselbige zeit der Offenbarung des Antichrists / durch den tewren und seligen Werckzeug D. Lutherum aus Gottes krafft geschehen / hat erleben lassen".

What are the implications for Schein's compositions? Firstly, we have an occasion at which we know that the set texts featured, namely the sermon the day following the marriage. Secondly, we have an insight into the way in which this text might have functioned. The verses 'Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend' were thematically appropriate to a wedding generally. But the printed sermons suggest that these verses were chosen for more specific reasons. Preached upon at the wedding of a pastor to a pastor's daughter, these verses can be seen in light of the rejection of clerical celibacy following the Reformation, a theme which permeates the preface to 'Vota Nuptialia'. They can be seen as a justification of clerical marriage, a confirmation that the pastor was right to marry. Rather than seeing marriage as a capitulation to the flesh, the young pastor, embarking on a clerical career, is instructed to give himself to marriage wholeheartedly and "rejoice with the wife of thy youth".

The wedding sermons show how, at weddings of the nobility and for those in the service of the church, sermons were often held the day following the 'Trauung'. Could such sermons have been the original occasion for Schein's five-part wedding compositions? The polychoral settings served representational purposes, concluding the 'Trauung' on the first day. Could the five-part compositions have been intended for the second day, on which the couple and their guests were gathered a second time in the church? This would explain one of the unresolved questions concerning the occasional works, namely the original function of the five-part setting of 'Hoffe auf den Herren'. The title page to its individual print tells us that it was composed and performed at a wedding. As a smaller scale setting of biblical verses, it is something of an outlier amongst Schein's known occasional wedding compositions; all other five-part settings of Bible verses were composed for funerals, while the occasional wedding works with biblical texts are generally for much larger forces. The bridegroom, a doctor of laws, was the son of Superintendent Vincentius Schmuck. Perhaps the individually published motet, unlike the polychoral occasional works which served representational purposes, was performed alongside a sermon (on the same text?) at a more sober gathering following the marriage, with Gerber's "gräuliche Zotenreisser" replaced by a "Hochzeit-Music auf Christliche Art" for the educated company. Or perhaps an initial function of wedding sermons – to justify the marriage of pastors – was simply modified here to justify the marriage of a pastor's son and the corresponding

extension of the pastor's family; something not to be kept behind closed doors as in Catholic days but something to be proudly celebrated as befitting a Lutheran minister.

Strigenitz discusses two points in his sermon on these verses. In the first verse – Prov. 5:18 – he finds Solomon's wishes and blessings for the man recently come of age; “Was König Salomo den jungen Gesellen und MannsPersonen / die zu ihren Jahren und Verstand kommen / und zum Ehestand tüchtig sind / von Gott dein HErrn guts wünsche”.⁶⁵⁷ In the remaining verses he finds the responsibilities of marriage; “Was er von den Eheleuten erfordere und haben wolle / wie sich die in wehenden Ehestande gegen einander erzeigen und verhalten sollen”. In verse 18, Strigenitz sees “zwey Stücke / die König Salomo zu seiner zeit einem zukünfftigen Breutigam gewünschet hat”: his own ‘Brunnen’ and a wife. The first of these is interpreted metaphorically as meaning “Ein eigen Hauß und gesegnete Nahrung”. The second is summed up with language reflecting that found in verse 19; Solomon wishes for the young man not just a wife, but “[e]in eigenes / ein junges / ein frommes und züchtiges / ein freundliches und holdseliges / und dann auch ein schönes Weib / dessen er sich frewen / an ihrer Liebe settigen und ergetzen mögen”. Schein's selection of text begins with the second half of verse 18. Perhaps Schein's omission of the first half of verse 18 corresponded to the text preached upon in a Leipzig sermon, held orally or since lost. Or maybe Schein himself omitted these words (as the setting of Möstel's *Symbolum* suggests, Schein did not hesitate to adapt the texts he was given) so that the *Spruch* begins immediately with the wife, as in other settings of this passage by Lutheran composers. If this text was, in fact, intended to justify clerical marriage, the commencement of the setting not with a reference to material prosperity (the ‘Brunnen’), but rather with the appeal to rejoice in one's wife, would surely have increased the effect.

In the second half of his sermon, Strigenitz discusses the answer to the question “Was erfodert aber König Salomo von Braut und Breutigam?”⁶⁵⁸ Firstly, the groom was to rejoice both in his God, the giver, and in his wife, the gift:

Letare, frewe dich / sagt Salomon / wenn dir GOtt ein Weib mit Ehren / mit wissen und willen deiner und ihrer Freundschaftt bescheret hat / so frewe dich von Herten / und dancke GOtt dafür / sey nicht bekümmert und trawrig / frewe dich / erstlich in Datore, in dem HErrn / Der dir solch Weib geben und bescheret hat. Darnach In dono uber der Gabe / und uber dem Geschencke / denn alle fromme

⁶⁵⁷ Strigenitz, *CERVA CHARISSIMA*, ‘Vom ersten Pünctlein’.

⁶⁵⁸ Strigenitz, *CERVA CHARISSIMA*, ‘Von andern Pünctlein’.

und Tugendsame Weiber sind rechte *Theodore* und *Dorotheæ*, das ist / Gottes Gaben / Gottes Geschenke / damit er die jenigen verehret / die ihn fürchten / und ihn darumb bitten.

Secondly, “Meldet er / was für eines Weibes er sich frewen sol / Nemlich / nicht eines frembden Weibes / daß ihn nichts angehet / **sondern des Weibes seiner Jugend** / die er ihm in der Jugend / da er ein junger Breutigam gewesen ist / hat vertrauen lassen / an derselbigen sol er seine Frewde und Wonne haben”. This is consistent with Prov. 5, from which these verses are taken. This chapter admonishes a young man not to fall for another woman; despite her apparent beauty, this will only lead to one’s downfall. Next comes the reason “warumb er sich ihrer frewen solle”, namely “**Sie sey lieblich wie ein Hinde / und holdselig wie ein Rehe**”. The fourth point was the admonition not to cast one’s eye at other women, but to be content with one’s own wife: “Es ermahnet auch König Salomon den Ehemann / Er solle sein Weib hertzlich lieb haben / sich nicht nach andern Weibern umbsehen / sondern ihme an seinem Weibe genügen / sich ihre Liebe settigen lassen / daß er gleich truncken davon werde / wie der Ebreische Text mit sich bringet / und in ihrer Liebe ergetzen”. Finally, Strigenitz sees in verse 19b the nature of marital love as an eternal bond: “Endlich zeigt er auch an / wie lange solches wehren solle / bestimmet ihme gar einen wunderlichen und gewissen Termin : Wie heisset er? Allezeit / Allewege / denn so spricht er : **Laß dich ihre Liebe allezeit settigen / omni tempore. Und ergetze dich allewege in ihrer Liebe**”. The expectations of the wife were predictable enough: “Sie sol seyn und bleiben / lieblich wie eine Hinde / und holdselig wie ein Rehe”. In answer to the question, why Solomon describes her duties as such, Strigenitz writes: “Darumb / daß er hiemit die Braut unnd das Weib erinnern wil / daß sie auch solle sanfftmütig seyn / sich mit Freundlichkeit zu ihrem Manne halten / in der Haußhaltung fleissig seyn / und ihm ursach geben zur Frewde und Liebe / und zur Ergetzlichkeit”.

(18b) Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend.

(19) Sie ist lieblich wie eine Hinde, und holdselig wie ein Rehe.

(19b) Laß dich ihre Liebe allezeit sättigen, und ergötze dich allewege in ihrer Liebe.

The text is characterised by a number of parallelisms. Verse 18b stands alone, complete in itself. The first two words ‘Freue dich’ find their counterpart in ‘ergötze dich’ near the end of the following verse. Although this text is not from the Book of Psalms, verse 19 contains two parallelisms of the sort characteristic of psalm verses. The first half consists of the parallel between ‘Hinde’ and ‘Rehe’, essentially synonyms, and ‘lieblich’ and ‘holdselig’. The second half of this verse consists of a further parallelism, whereby the second half is essentially synonymous with the first; both halves are focussed on the word ‘Liebe’, imploring the lover to indulge

copiously in its joys. Verse 19 thus consists of four self-contained thoughts that together make up two parallelisms. Schein's placement of cadences suggests that the musical form was generated from the structure of the verses. Clear cadences on the 'tonic' chord A major with semi-breves in all voices and without dovetailing occur at the conclusion of verse 18b, verse 19a (on 'Rehe', at the end of the first parallelism in this verse), on the final syllable of 'sättigen' (this cadence could, however, be seen, not least on account of the final A major chord doubling as the dominant of the following d minor, to be leading directly into the triple meter following rather than functioning as a structurally dividing cadence), and at the work's conclusion on the final syllable of verse 19.

Schein is aware of the structure of the biblical verses and incorporates this into the structure of his composition. But within these broader passages he frequently divides the text into smaller units which can be repeated and contrasted. This is a characteristic feature of the compositions in *Israelsbrunnlein* and is arguably Schein's primary strategy for composing a work of sufficient length on the basis of comparatively short texts. But it also enables Schein to emphasise a different element of the text in each half of a synonymous parallelism. This aspect of his process of fragmentation is evident in the opening section of 'Freue dich'. The six words of verse 18b are further divided by Schein into discrete units. The setting begins with the repetition of the first two words, 'Freue dich', associated with an ascending figure of two quavers and a crotchet. The incessant repetition of this motif – bar 4 is a good example, where it is repeated with staggered entries in all five voices – creates a celebratory mood, suggesting further the cheering and jubilation of an increasingly rowdy crowd of wedding guests.

It is only through the fragmentation of the text into the two-word block that Schein can accentuate the opening words and the corresponding image of jubilation. The rhetoric of the German language necessitates the placement of the main accent of a sentence on one selected word; once this 'goal' word has been reached, the intonation of the speaker drops to a consistent, lower 'base' tone. After the words 'Freue dich' have been sung twice in succession by the Cantus I, the text is extended to encompass the first four words, 'Freue dich des Weibes'. The accent shifts from the opening verb to the genitive object of the sentence. Schein achieves an emphasis on 'Weib-es' through the use of longer note values, in this first case contrasting the quavers of 'Freue dich des' with the minim on the first syllable of 'Weibes'. The rapid declamation of the preceding words and the elongation of the accented word correspond to the natural declamation of the spoken language. Within the space of the opening bar, Schein has managed through the fragmentation of the text to place rhetorical accents on two different images, emphasising in his

setting both the verb and its object. Not until the end of bar 5 is the verse completed with the phrase ‘deiner Jugend’. This figure is heard for the following two bars in isolation; not until bars 8-9 is verse 18b presented in its entirety. In order for the text to be heard as a complete entity, all five voices sing here the first phrase ‘Freue dich des Weibes’ homorhythmically. With the melismatic completion of the verse at ‘deiner Jugend’ in bar 9, the final two words are emphasised as the destination of the verse. Through the fragmentation of the first verse into three entities, Schein can overcome the rhetorical limitation of the spoken language and accentuate in his setting all three ideas – the verb, the object and the genitive attribute – contained in the verse 18b.

Schein’s placement of a structural cadence at the end of the first parallelism in verse 19 shows his awareness of the form of the biblical text. But rather than presenting the two halves of the following parallelism as self-contained, complete units, he initially fragments them further in order to depict musically the images they contain. The initial unit set by Schein consists of the first three words: ‘Sie ist lieblich’. The first syllable of ‘lieblich’ is depicted through a sequence of suspensions, a typical device for the depiction of love and beauty found in the vocal works of Schein and his contemporaries.⁶⁵⁹ The second instance of ‘sie ist lieblich’ leads directly into the following ‘wie eine Hinde’, but with a radical change in character. The luxurious suspensions give way to homorhythmic text declamation, the skipping quavers and crotchets suggesting the graceful movement of the deer. The entire phrase is then repeated, this time in the three lower voices, but with a shift in weighting between the two halves of the phrase: while the harmonic depiction of ‘lieblich’ is shortened, the setting of ‘wie eine Hinde’ is expanded through the introduction of a dotted figure in the Altus, again suggesting the skipping deer. The phrase is presented as a unified thought, with both ‘lieblich’ and ‘Hinde’ emphasised and depicted through contrasting musical means.

The first half of verse 19 is completed with a five-part setting of ‘und holdselig wie ein Rehe’; the word ‘Rehe’, the parallel synonym of ‘Hinde’, is accentuated through a brief melismatic departure from the homorhythmic setting of the remainder of the phrase. Two aspects can be seen here. Schein’s setting of verse 19a is concerned with both the depiction of the unity of the verse and of the individuality of the two halves of the parallelism contained within it. To the initial musical contrast created between ‘lieblich’ and ‘Hinde’ comes a further juxtaposition

⁶⁵⁹ In addition to the three separate instances in this setting can be mentioned the opening of Schein’s setting of ‘Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen’ (1628, NGA 10.2) and his setting of the phrase ‘Denn ich bin krank vür Liebe’ in ‘Lobe den Herren, meine Seele’ (NGA 10.73).

with the following phrase ‘und holdselig wie ein Rehe’. The entrance of five-part homorhythmic writing at ‘und holdselig...’ draws attention to the feature that both ‘lieblich’ and ‘Hinde’ had in common, namely the three-part writing for upper then lower voices, a feature emphasising the unity of the two initially contrasting images. Secondly, Schein’s setting of ‘und holdselig wie ein Rehe’ lacks the fragmentation found at ‘Sie ist lieblich...’. Schein could similarly have broken up the phrase into two units with emphases on ‘holdselig’ as a parallel to ‘lieblich’ in addition to ‘Hinde/Rehe’. But he chooses not to, treating the passage as one phrase directed towards ‘Rehe’. Perhaps a further emphasis on ‘holdselig’ would have been redundant after the expressive setting of ‘lieblich’.

Schein’s setting of verse 19b is also characterised by contrast both within and between the halves of the parallelism. Strigenitz saw in this half-verse the idea of eternal love, focussing on Solomon’s description of love as ‘Allezeit / Allewege’ in the respective halves of the parallelism. In settings of other texts in *Israelsbrunnlein* which conclude with images of time, Schein did find characteristic means of expressing this musically. Schein’s interpretation of this verse differs however from Strigenitz’. Rather than emphasising the synonyms ‘Allezeit’ and ‘Allewege’, Schein focusses on ‘Liebe’, depicting this word expressively in both halves, and in the joy of ‘ergötze dich’, depicted with a change to triple time. Both halves of the parallelism in verse 19b contain the word ‘Liebe’, a feature reinforced in both instances through similarly bold musical devices. This is especially prominent at the first instance of ‘Liebe’, set with a turn to g minor, the only time a Bb is used in the composition. The phrase is then repeated and completed with the following ‘allezeit sättigen’; the staggered entries of these three-syllable words in all voices are reminiscent of the setting of ‘freue dich’. The diversity of the images in the phrase is again balanced with an appreciation of their unity. After Schein has presented the verse as two fragments, the entire phrase is from bar 33 repeated, emphasising the connection between them. The second half of the parallelism in verse 19b is likewise divided into a depiction of joy (‘ergötzen’) and a renewed expressivity on ‘Liebe’. The phrase ‘und ergötze dich allewege’ is, as on multiple occasions in *Israelsbrunnlein*, depicted through a change to triple metre. The three-fold repetition of the text, each time culminating in a cadence on a different chord (C, D and finally G), is likewise a typical feature of Schein’s use of triple metre. The original metre returns for the final words ‘in ihrer Liebe’, ‘Liebe’ again being depicted expressively through longer note values and suspensions.

Schein’s expressive setting of ‘lieblich’ takes on a new meaning when seen in light of the remainder of the composition. Although the word ‘Lieblich’ means sweet or beautiful, the first

syllable, the accented syllable, sounds the same as the word for love, ‘Liebe’. By choosing to depict the word ‘lieblich’ through similar musical means as the two later instances of ‘Liebe’, Schein creates a motivic link that spans his setting, extending beyond the narrow structure of the parallelisms contained in each verse. ‘Liebe/lieblich’ becomes a recurring musical device that lends unity and coherence to the setting. Schein’s focus on the image ‘Lieblich/Liebe’ was by no means inevitable, as a comparison with Schütz’s setting of the same text for a wedding in 1626 shows.⁶⁶⁰ Like Schein, Schütz isolates the opening two words ‘Freue dich’ for repetition. The three-fold repetition of these two words, each time a third higher, ensures that the emphasis remains on the verb even when the phrase is completed. ‘Freue dich’ is the emphasis of the first phrase. And, through the repetition of verse 18b as a ritornello, the imperative ‘freue dich’ comes to define Schütz’s setting as a whole. Schütz repeats the ritornello at the important structural points in the text: in the middle of verse 19 following the first parallelism, and again at the conclusion of the setting. Schein’s setting concludes with ‘Liebe’; Schütz’s concludes with a renewal of the imperative to rejoice. Schütz’s emphasis on ‘Freuen’ corresponds with a decrease in the importance of ‘Liebe’. While he depicts the sweetness of ‘lieblich’ through the juxtaposition of two chords a major third apart, he passes over the chance to set the word ‘Liebe’ in 19a with similar boldness. ‘Ergetzen’, on the other hand, is set melismatically in all voices; this combines with the following repeat of the ritornello to further ensure that Schütz’s interpretation of the text is centred on the concept of ‘Freude’ as opposed to Schein’s ‘Liebe’.

4.4.4 Proverbs 31:30-31 – ‘Lieblich und schöne sein ist nichts’

While it may seem surprising to find a text such as Prov. 31:30 preached upon at a funeral, there was good reason for doing so. Schmuck’s sermon for Magdalena Möstel, held in 1621, begins with this verse to praise the virtue of a wife who died in fulfilment of her Christian duty in childbirth.⁶⁶¹ The same idea is reflected in the title of Christoph Pelargus’ funeral sermon on these verses held in 1629 for Catharina Hartmann: “Speculum Virtutum Matronalium, Aller Christlichen Matronen helleuchtend TugendtSpiegel”.⁶⁶² As Pelargus states, these verses were

⁶⁶⁰ SWV 453, in Philipp Spitta (ed.), Heinrich Schütz, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 14.

⁶⁶¹ Could Schmuck’s remarks have followed a performance of Schein’s setting of ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ directly before the sermon? Given Schein’s relationship with the Möstel family, it would be unlikely that Schein didn’t make a musical contribution for the funeral of Theodor Möstel’s daughter-in-law.

⁶⁶² Christoph Pelargus, *Speculum Virtutum Matronalium*, ALler Christlichen Matronen helleuchtend Tugendt-Spiegel / Welchen der Heilige Geist selbst fürgestellt In Sprüchen Salomonis am 31. Cap. auß den letzten zweyen Versiculn / Lieblich und schön seyn ist nichts / Ein Weiß das den HERRn fürchtet / sol man loben / etc.

chosen “damit wir öffentlich bezeugen / daß die in Gott selig verstorbene Matron auch ein solches frommes / Tugendtsames Weib gewesen [...] Sonderlich daß sie Gottfürchtig / Erbar / Auffrichtig / Gotthätig gewesen / an den Thoren / das ist / in der Gemeine [...] gerühmet werde”. Pelargus shows how the text can be read allegorically, its application extended beyond the deceased and other ‘Christliche Matronen’ to encompass, in line with the pedagogical, edifying function of the funeral sermon, all those present: “...daß nicht allein Weibesbilder ein Tugendtspiegel hieran haben / Sondern alle Christliche Hertzen unnd Seelen / die da Gesponß unnd Bräute sein wollen deß heiligen Lambs / unnd von ihm zur himlischen Hochzeit begehren eingeführet zu werden”. As in Isa. 61:10, the imagery of the bride can be read allegorically as standing for the Christian church preparing for its heavenly marriage.

Kaspar Schlenckricht, preaching at a funeral in 1647, explains the selection of this text as the *Leichentext* by stating that it encapsulates the character and virtue of the deceased. Dorothea was a wife, “von welcher recht gesagt werden kan eben diß / was ietzt verlesen worden [the verses follow]: Allermassen wie es die Außlegung mit mehren geben und zeigen wird. Dahero auch billich dieser Text vor vielen andern bey ihrem Leich=Begängnüß zuerörtern außerlesen worden / und meiner wenigen Person vor dißmahl zukommen”.⁶⁶³ Schlenckricht describes the text as “das hübsche Weiber=Lob / welches sich nicht unfüglich schicken wird auff heutiges gegenwärtiges Leich=Begängnüß / eines recht frommen Gottsfürchtigen Weibes [...] So Gottselig gelebet / und Gottselig gestorben”. In the concluding *Applicatio individualu* he states that he himself was witness to Dorothea’s physical and moral beauty: “Nun die Hübschheit und Schönheit / liebe Hertzen / davon zuvor geredet worden / hat auch an Ihr bey LebensZeit geführt und vermercken lassen / unsere im HERRN selig verstorbene Frau Mitt=Schwester [...] Die noch bessere Hübschheit und Schönheit gehet schon bey Ihr an / der Seelen nach”.

(30) Lieblich und schöne sein ist nichts; ein Weib, das den Herren fürchtet, das soll man loben

(31) Sie wird gerühmet werden von den Früchten ihrer Hände, und ihre Werk werden sie loben in den Toren.

Bey dem Christlichen Begräbniß Der Erbar / VielEhr unnd Tugendreichen Frawen Catharinae Hartmannin [...], Frankfurt [Oder]: 1629[?].

⁶⁶³ Kaspar Schlenckricht, Hübsches Weiber=Lob / Aus dem 31. Cap. Proverb. gezeiget und gegeben: Bey Christlichem ansehnlichen und Volkreichem Leichbegängnüß / Der [...] Frauen Dorotheen gebohrnen Hübschin / Des [...] Herrn *ELLÆ ZEETSCHII* [...] hertzliebsten Hauß=Ehren / Welche [...] entschlaffen den 11. Novembr. [...] Anno 1647. [...] darauff den folgenden 14den [...] der Erden beygesetzt worden[.] Dresden: 1648, ‘Exordium’.

Verse 31 contains a synonymous parallelism: this is seen both in the synonymous verbs (rühmen/loben), the person being praised ('sie', the woman), and the reasons for which she is praised ('ihre Werk'/'den Früchten ihrer Hände'). Verse 30 contains a synthetic parallelism, in which the second half completes the thought of the first. While its first half states that charm and beauty are of no account, the second half completes the thought, stating what is to be valued in their place (a woman who fears the Lord). Both preachers divide this *Spruch* into two sections, reflecting the division between verses 30 and 31. The first contrasts physical with spiritual beauty. Pelargus refers to "zweyerley Schönheit: Eine gemachte / oder getünchte; und eine natürliche". As he writes, "Manche machen sich mit Schmincke unnd Farben schön [...] und werden hertzlich für den Angesicht Gottes".⁶⁶⁴ This was, however, "nicht der rechte *Ornat* unnd Zier einer Christlichen Matron oder Weibesbild; Sondern der innerliche Mensch muß gezieret seyn". Schlenckricht contrasts the relative worth of physical and moral beauty, claiming that the verse distinguishes "auff zweyerley Weyse / als an einem Theil / Welches wegen ein Weib nicht zuloben sey: Und am andern Theil / Welches wegen ein Weib zuloben sey".⁶⁶⁵ The second section of the *Spruch* describes the "woher" and "wie ein Weib zuloben". The 'woher' is revealed in the line 'Sie wird gerühmet werden von den Früchten ihrer Hände'. The virtuous wife is to be praised for her good works stemming from her Christian virtue: as Pelargus puts it, "Lobet sie von wegen ihrer Wercke".⁶⁶⁶ He is, however, quick to point out that her good works are not the cause, but the evidence of her righteousness, the "Zeugniß ihres Glaubens und Gottseligkeit".⁶⁶⁷ The remainder of the verse concerns the 'how': as Schlenckricht writes, her virtue was to be praised 'In den Thoren', which "heist so viel als öffentlich".⁶⁶⁸ Pelargus states that his funeral sermon was an act of praise of the deceased's virtue, thus fulfilling this incite-

⁶⁶⁴ Pelargus, *Speculum Virtutum Matronalium*, 'Vom Ersten'.

⁶⁶⁵ Schlenckricht, *Hübsches Weiber=Lob*, 'Tractatio'.

⁶⁶⁶ Pelargus, *Speculum Virtutum Matronalium*, 'Vom Andern'.

⁶⁶⁷ This point is further emphasised in the following passage: "Denn ob schon auß Gottes heiligen Wort gewiß und unfeilbar / das niemandt durch gute Wercke selig werden [...] So sind doch gute Wercke Zeugen eines waren rechtschaffenen Glaubens". Pelargus, *Speculum Virtutum Matronalium*, 'Vom Andern'.

⁶⁶⁸ Schlenckricht, *Hübsches Weiber=Lob*, 'Tractatio'.

ment to public praise: “Weil man denn auch Weibesbilder ihrer Werke halben loben soll / geschiehet solches je billich bey derselbigen Begräbniß / damit kundt werde / wie sie gelebet / wie sie gegläubet haben”.⁶⁶⁹

Schein’s setting of this *Spruch* begins with a harmonic depiction of the word ‘lieblich’. Both this word, repeated for rhetorical emphasis, and the following ‘schöne’ are set by Schein with suspensions, a device he used similarly in ‘Freue dich des Weibes’. Nevertheless, the word ‘lieblich’ has a different function in each of these *Sprüche*. While in ‘Freue dich’ the emphasis was on the positive enjoyment of feminine beauty, ‘lieblich’ and ‘schön’ are in ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ revealed to be negative characteristics, references to the physical beauty – the “Theil / Welches wegen ein Weib nicht zuloben sey” – to be rejected in favour of “der rechte *Ornat* unnd Zier einer Christlichen Matron”. Schein’s setting shows that he was aware of this contrast. His setting begins with the upper three voices, which present the first half of verse 30 with the exception of the negating ‘ist nichts’. ‘Lieblich’ and ‘schöne’ are repeated in the first phrase, facilitating the repetition of the expressive suspension. The emphasis here is on the musical depiction of the very qualities which are negated later in the verse. The phrase is repeated by the lower three voices; this time, however, the concluding words ‘ist nichts’ follow, declaimed homorhythmically by all five voices and repeated immediately following a rest. The image of charm and beauty, carefully established over the opening seven bars, is suddenly negated. The syllabic, homorhythmic text declamation and the following rests break the luxurious musical flow created by the suspensions and the longer note values at the opening, just as the words ‘ist nichts’ throw the two qualities depicted there – charm and beauty – into a negative light.

The rhythmic figure at ‘ist nichts’ – a crotchet, minim and crotchet rest – is taken up for the following first words of the next half-verse ‘ein Weib’. This motivic bridging of the two verse halves could be seen to neglect the parallelism inherent in the verse. But Schein’s use of this motif is more sophisticated. The negation of the opening images (lieblich und schön), brought about at the words ‘ist nichts’, is continued through the following half-verse in which the actual praiseworthy qualities are mentioned. Schein’s use of the ‘ist nichts’ figure at ‘ein Weib’ could therefore be seen as a musical counterpart to the continuation of the negation.

⁶⁶⁹ Pelargus, *Speculum Virtutum Matronalium*, ‘Vom Andern’.

Schein creates a musical image of ‘Lieblich und schön’ in the opening of this composition which he then negates. This is done in response to the text. But it was a musical device made possible thanks to the Lutheran translation of the scriptures. Proverbs 31.30 reads as follows in the Latin vulgate and the English Authorized Version (‘King James Bible’):

Fallax gratia, et vana est pulchritudo: mulier timens Dominum, ipsa laudabitur.⁶⁷⁰

Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain: but a woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.⁶⁷¹

Schlenckricht recognised this divergence of the Lutheran translation from its sources and offered an alternative German translation “nach dem Hebreischen Texte: Holdseligkeit ist Betrug / und Schöne ist Eitelkeit”.⁶⁷² Only with the concluding two words of the first half of this verse in Luther’s translation were the adjectives ‘Lieblich/Schön’ cast in a negative light. This was the feature of the *Spruch* that enabled Schein to create his tableau of suspensions, a musical depiction of these two words together. In both the above cited translations, however, the counterparts of ‘lieblich’ and ‘schöne’ are paired with their corresponding negative adjectives; in the vulgate, the negative adjectives (fallax/vana) even precede the terms they refer to. ‘Gratia’ and ‘pulchritudo’, the two qualities lavishly depicted by Schein, are in the other translations immediately presented with negative connotations; the surprise factor and sudden negation at the end of the first half-verse, which Schein in his setting exploits, are lacking.

4.4.4.1 Martin Roth, ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’

Schein attended the Saxon electoral school in Schulpforta, the institution for which Bodenschatz compiled the volumes of the *Florilegium portense*. Although Bodenschatz had left Schulpforta by the time Schein arrived, the repertoire he compiled must be indicative of the music that Schein encountered during his formative years.⁶⁷³ From 1606 his music teacher at

⁶⁷⁰ Michael Tweedale [ed.], *Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Clementinam editio electronica*, London: 2005.

⁶⁷¹ Robert Carroll & Stephen Prickett [eds.], *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, Oxford: 1997.

⁶⁷² Schlenckricht, *Hübsches Weiber=Lob*, ‘Tractatio’.

⁶⁷³ Cf. Snyder and Johnston in *Oxford music online*: “He [Schein] arrived there [Schulpforta] just after Erhard Bodenschatz had ceased to be its Kantor. Bodenschatz had compiled his famous motet collection *Florilegium Portense* (1618¹–1621²; the first part appeared in a different form and with a different title, 1603¹) for the edification of the students, who sang the motets before and after meals. Schein must have been thoroughly familiar with this repertory, though he was actually taught music by Bodenschatz’s successors, first Bartholomäus Scheer and then, from 1606, Martin Roth”. Kerala J. Snyder and Gregory S. Johnston, ‘Schein, Johann Hermann’, in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed July 12, 2017.

Schulpforta was Martin Roth, whose own setting of ‘Lieblich und schön seyn’ was included in the second volume of the *Florilegium portense*.⁶⁷⁴ It is a setting for seven voices, characterised by a predominantly homophonic style of writing combined with antiphonal effects. Roth’s *tutti* setting of the first half-verse contains two suspensions between the upper voice and the bass, but these fall on the unimportant words ‘und’ and ‘ist’. As such, they do not have the expressive quality found in Schein’s setting, but are part of a fairly homogeneous wall of sound. Following this short *tutti* opening, the setting resorts to antiphonal effects. Verse 30b is sung without interruption firstly by a four-part ‘choir’;⁶⁷⁵ the rhythm of the syllabic declamation of the words ‘ein Weib, das den Herren’ is similar to the corresponding point in Schein’s setting. The phrase is repeated by a new four-part choir; the Quinta vox sings in both choirs, enabling the creation of two ‘four-part’ choirs in a seven-part composition. The verse concludes with a *tutti* repetition of ‘sol man loben’. This is a pattern used repeatedly by Schein, who creates two three-part choirs from his five available voices by having the Altus join both. Although such antiphonal effects are also found in the Italian polyphonic madrigal, they were, as seen here, a feature of Lutheran polyphonic music around 1600 and must have been part of the musical language which Schein inherited in his school days.⁶⁷⁶

Schein’s setting of the second half of verse 30 reflects the formal similarities mentioned above. The text is initially sung by the three-voice ‘upper choir’, consisting of Cantus I, Cantus II and Altus. Both Cantus voices sing in parallel thirds, reminiscent of the composition’s opening where these two voices similarly sang in parallel thirds against the Altus. In Roth’s setting, verse 30b was repeated by a second four-part choir; in Schein’s setting, the passage is repeated by the ‘coro grave’ of Altus, Tenor and Bassus, again reminiscent of the same device at the

⁶⁷⁴ Erhard Bodenschatz, *FLORILEGII MUSICI PORTENSIS, Sacras Harmonias sive Motetas [...] PARS ALTERA [...]*, Leipzig: 1621. Although the second volume favours Italian composers, Martin Roth is, with 15 contributions, the best represented composer. See Otto Riemer and Clytus Gottwald, ‘Bodenschatz, Erhard’, in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed July 12, 2017.

⁶⁷⁵ four-voice if the texted *Bassis generalis*, which at this point simply doubles the Tenor, is not taken to be an independent part.

⁶⁷⁶ Cf. Arno Forchert, ‘Überlegungen zum Einfluß Italiens auf die deutsche Musik um 1600: Voraussetzungen und Bedingungen’, in Wolfram Steude [ed.] *Aneignung durch Verwandlung: Aufsätze zur deutschen Musik und Architektur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Laaber: 1998; Forchert emphasises that the double-choir motet was in the early seventeenth century still the standard for protestant Germany. With reference to the two volumes of the *Florilegium portense*, Riemer and Gottwald write: “Both parts contain mostly eight-voice pieces and thereby naturally favour double-chorus writing. The inclusion of a few five-voice pieces by Handl and Lassus and of Handl’s four-voice *Ecce quomodo moritur* was probably consciously retrospective”. Riemer and Gottwald, ‘Bodenschatz, Erhard’, *Oxford Music Online*.

opening. Roth completes his setting of this phrase by singling out the concluding ‘sol man loben’, setting it *tutti*. Schein does the same, with a final repetition of ‘das soll man loben’ set for all five voices; with the exception of the interjecting ‘ist nichts’, this is the only instance in the composition thus far of all five voices singing simultaneously, showing the extent to which Schein exploits in his five-part compositions the antiphonal writing that he knew from the choral repertoire at Schulpforta.

Schein’s setting concludes with the fragmentation of verse 31b into two motives which are then combined; a rhetorical figure is juxtaposed with a ‘structural’ figure. The phrase ‘werden sie loben in den Toren’ is set syllabically to a figure consisting of crotchets and quavers. This musical foreground is pinned onto a structural foundation, namely the setting of the words ‘und ihre Werk’ to semibreves in the two remaining voices. The much quicker ‘rhetorical’ figure is repeated with its text multiple times, suggesting the praise brought to the wife through her works. The surface layer of praise contrasts with the structural, foundational layer of the works: just as the background layer (ihre Werk) supports the surface layer in the composition (werden sie loben in den Toren), so does the praise of the wife stem from her (often unnoticed) constancy.

4.4.4.2 Adaptation – from three to five voices?

Evidence of the revision and reworking of compositions, sometimes encompassing an adaptation for a different number of parts, is found in Schein’s output.⁶⁷⁷ Could some of the settings in *Israelsbrünnlein* have been subjected to a similar reworking?⁶⁷⁸ A manuscript from the collection of the Thomasschule, now held in the Bacharchiv in Leipzig, contains the continuo parts from a number of compositions from *Israelsbrünnlein*, including ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’.⁶⁷⁹ While the continuo part of another setting copied in this collection – ‘Nun danket alle Gott’ – contains the indication à 6, corresponding to the number of voices as printed in *Israelsbrünnlein*, the continuo part for ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ contains in the upper left corner

⁶⁷⁷ Gregory S. Johnston has shown how the number of voices of some cantional lieder written for funerals was changed when they were republished in the *Cantional* of 1627. Johnston, ‘Schein’s Funeral Lieder’, *SJb* (1998), pp. 103-4.

⁶⁷⁸ For all but three of Schütz’s publications (the Italian madrigals, *Symphoniae sacrae I* and the *Cantiones sacrae*) earlier versions, either printed or in manuscript, of some of the included works are known. See Werner Breig, ‘Zur Vorgeschichte zweier Werke von Heinrich Schütz’, in *SJb* (1994), p. 87 ff.

⁶⁷⁹ D-LEb, Rara II, 81. See Andreas Glöckner [ed.], *Die ältere Notenbibliothek der Thomasschule zu Leipzig*, Hildesheim: 2011, p. 231. Concerning the dating of this basso continuo partbook, Glöckner observes: “Auf dem äußeren Buchdeckel befindet sich die Aufschrift ‘BASSUS CONT. / ANNO 1633’”.

the indication ‘à 3’. Does this suggest that this setting, which Schein published for five voices plus basso continuo in *Israelsbrünnlein*, was also performed for three voices, perhaps Cantus I, Cantus II and Bass?⁶⁸⁰ We know of other occasional compositions composed for and performed with three voices. A funeral composition was in 1625 performed “alß baldt nach geendeter Predigt in ihren Namen durch zween *discantisten* vnd einen *Bassisten* vmb ihren noch=eröffniten Sarc stehende”.⁶⁸¹ Similar was the case with wedding music. Friedrich Blume suggests that the three-part compositions in *Musica boscareccia* (1621) – “zu denen er nur zwei Diskantisten brauchte und selbst den Generalbaß spielen konnte” – represent Schein’s attempt at compensating for the decline in the number and quality of singers at his disposal; as Blume continues: “Das fand der weise Rat dann zu wenig und bestimmte, daß mindestens fünf Thomaner anzutreten hätten, worauf Schein drei Jahre später seine *Hirtenlust* für fünf Stimmen und Generalbaß herausgab”.⁶⁸² Could something similar have taken place with ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’? Could it have been composed for three voices and, in light of the new requirements, been adapted for five voices for publication and to ensure its suitability for practical use in Leipzig? Or was the indication ‘à 3’ simply a mistake? The care with which the part was copied and the accuracy of the scoring indications in the other compositions here suggest that this is unlikely. Could this three-part version have been a later adaptation, made after Schein’s death, possibly reflecting the declining musical fortunes of the Thomasschule and the lack of suitable singers for the realisation of the original five-part version? Or does it represent an original version of the composition, either printed separately and since lost (following the funeral of Magdalena Möstel?) or preserved in the Thomasschule by local tradition, which Schein adapted for five-parts in the process of ‘revidieren’ in *Israelsbrünnlein*?

The copied continuo part in the version ‘à 3’ differs in a number of points from the version in *Israelsbrünnlein*. Firstly, rather than being written out again in full (as in the 1623 print), the repetition of the opening section is indicated with repeat marks. The reason for the written-out repetition in 1623 was that the Cantus I and Cantus II parts are at the repetition exchanged; in all other respects it is an exact repetition. Secondly, the continuo part in the manuscript copy is written throughout in the bass clef without the changes of register found in *Israelsbrünnlein*. In

⁶⁸⁰ Cf. the various performance possibilities for the realisation of three-part compositions outlined in Schein’s preface to *Musica boscareccia*.

⁶⁸¹ Cited according to Johnston, ‘Schein’s Funeral Lieder’, in *SJb* (1998), p. 103.

⁶⁸² Friedrich Blume, ‘Die Thomaskantorei’ in *Syntagma musicologigum II*, Kassel: 1973, p. 163.

Israelsbrünnlein the notation of the continuo part alternates between the bass clef and a C3 clef. The passages notated with the C3 clef are notated an octave higher than in the manuscript, corresponding to the range of the voice being doubled (when the Bassus is the lowest voice, the basso continuo doubles it, but when the Altus is the lowest voice, as in the sections with the ‘upper-ensemble’, the basso continuo is notated an octave higher than in the manuscript to correspond to the range of the Altus as ‘Bass’). The changes of clef in *Israelsbrünnlein* correspond with the changes in register between the upper and lower ensembles. That this isn’t the case in the three-part version could suggest that no such ‘antiphonal’ effects were intended; rather, two upper voices sang throughout with continuo accompaniment. As such, it confirms that the indication ‘à 3’ was no mistake. A third point is the text. Bits of the continuo part are texted with a corresponding ‘Bass’ indication. Does this imply that sections of the continuo part were to be performed vocally? Interestingly, the text does not begin at the start of the continuo part, but rather at the repetition of the opening bars to which ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ are set (as in the Bassus voice in *Israelsbrünnlein*). The text incipits in the three-part manuscript do not, however, correspond to the bass voice in *Israelsbrünnlein* in every detail. The incipit ‘Sie wirdt:’ is found in the manuscript only at the position which corresponds to bar 37 in the NGA, whereas the Bassus in the NGA, following the 1623 print, presents this text already in bar 33. Even if we accept that the indications in the manuscript suggest that a bass voice was to sing in a manner broadly consistent with the bass in *Israelsbrünnlein*, the question of why the bass at the opening – before the Bassus voice enters – is an octave lower than in *Israelsbrünnlein* remains to be answered. One possibility is that the indication ‘à 3’ referred to a performance for two upper voices, which sang throughout with an independent basso continuo accompaniment, and a bass voice which joined in at the repetition of phrases for variation. Perhaps the alternative to antiphonal effects between the ‘upper’ and the ‘lower’ ensembles was two upper voices with or without a sung bass; the opening ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ set initially for the two upper voices with continuo (corresponding to the three-part ‘upper’ ensemble in *Israelsbrünnlein*, NGA bars 1-4) answered by the two upper voices with sung bass voice, reflecting the ‘lower’ ensemble in *Israelsbrünnlein* (NGA bars 4-7).

The two upper voices may have been complemented by a bass to create interest and variation through the contrast of voices despite the repetition of musical material. Repetition occurs on various levels in this setting. ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ is one of the few settings in *Israelsbrünnlein* in which the first half is repeated entirely. Whereas Schein’s text setting is generally characterised by the fragmentation of verses and parallelisms into smaller units, the repetition reinforces the unity of the text and the dependence of the verse halves on one another

for their meaning. It is interesting that Schein chooses to repeat the verse containing a synthetic parallelism – in such a case, the unity and dependence of the verse halves is even more present, as the second half is not simply a rewrite, but a completion of the first. In only two compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* are sections repeated in their entirety. In ‘O, Herr Jesu Christe’, both halves of the setting are to be repeated, as printed repeat-marks in the 1623 print indicate.⁶⁸³ Schein’s setting of ‘Was betrübst du dich, meine Seele’ is divided into three parts, each of which is to be repeated.⁶⁸⁴ ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ differs from these two settings in as much as the initial repetition is written out in full rather than being indicated through repeat marks. The ‘repetition’ differs from the initial instance in only one point: Cantus I and Cantus II are exchanged, so that the Cantus I sings the part initially given to Cantus II and vice versa. The same procedure is found in ‘Ach Herr, ach meiner schone’: the repetition of the initial phrase ‘Ach Herr, ach meiner schone, nach dem Grimm mir nicht ablohne’ is likewise fully written out on account of the exchanged Cantus I and Cantus II voices.

In addition to the repetition of an entire section, made explicit in the manuscript through the repeat marks, ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ is characterised by the repetition of individual phrases. The setting of the first phrase – ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ – is, following its initial statement, repeated almost exactly (from bar 4) with the subsequent ‘ist nichts’. In the 1623 print, the only difference between the initial statement and its repetition consists in the complement of voices: the three upper voices are followed at the repetition of the text in the three lower voices. The following phrase – ‘ein Weib, das den Herren fürchtet, das soll man loben’ – is treated similarly: the initial presentation of the text in the upper three voices (bars 8-11) is followed by a repetition in the lower voices (bars 11-14), rounded off by a concluding *tutti* statement of ‘das soll man loben’. This pattern of repetition is further expanded at the following phrase, ‘sie wird gerühmet werden von den Früchten ihrer Hände’. The initial statement in the upper voices is followed, according to the established pattern, by a repetition in the lower voices. This is, however, followed (from bar 35) by further repetitions of the text, the declamation rhythm and motivic integrity retained despite transposition. This model of repetition and consistent three-part writing in the *Israelsbrünnlein* setting could be taken as evidence that the setting was originally composed for three parts and was later adapted for five. The process of adaptation could have been,

⁶⁸³ The NGA edition, which specifies that only the second half of the composition be repeated, diverges in this point from the original print.

⁶⁸⁴ Again, the NGA diverges from the original print, omitting the repetition of the final section, itself a repetition of the entire text.

at least for the passages considered thus far, as simple as the transposition of voices to fit the ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ three-part choirs: for the upper choir, the original basso continuo was transposed up an octave and became the Altus (with corresponding transposition for the sake of the basso seguente); for the ‘lower’ ensemble, the original two upper voices were transposed down an octave to be sung by the Altus and the Tenor, the Bassus doubling the continuo part (as the Altus did in the upper ensemble).

‘Zion spricht’ and ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’ betray obvious formal similarities with ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’. These settings begin not with an imitative, polyphonic opening (evidence that a composition was from the start conceived for five voices) but with the homorhythmic setting of a phrase for three voices and its (exact) repetition in the other voices. Aspects of ‘Zion spricht’ would seem ideally suited for two solo voices. The two upper voices share a decorative turn figure in the opening bar, and the *fauxbourdon* setting of ‘Der Herr hat mein vergessen’ could easily be understood as a dialogue between the two upper voices, the third voice simply a doubling of the original continuo (again, the decorative turn-figure is found only in the upper two voices, perhaps an indication of their original soloistic character). A further consideration is the awkward writing in the inner voices, for example in the Altus in bar 58-9, where a step-wise ascent from E to F# is followed by F, then a few crotchets later again by F#. The range of the Altus – spanning from D to b', almost two octaves – is exceptionally large. Does this suggest that the Altus was added simply to fill in the original chords as played by the basso continuo, with little regard to voice-leading, in the process of the adaptation of a three-part composition for five-parts?

4.4.5 Ecclesiasticus 25:1-2 – ‘Drei schöne Ding sind’

This *Spruch* – Ecclus. 25.1-2 – had an established wedding pedigree in Lutheran Germany. Luther, in the introduction to a wedding sermon published in 1536, discusses these “drey stücke”, which “die Schriftt...so hoch [preiset]”.⁶⁸⁵ Reflecting its importance in the context of wedding celebrations, it was often set to music. Caspar Trost set a strophic paraphrase of these verses as a ‘Hochzeitgesang’ for eight voices for a wedding in Jena in 1622; Samuel Scheidt set these verses as part of a wedding composition for Halle in 1641.⁶⁸⁶ A sermon on these verses

⁶⁸⁵ Martin Luther, ‘Ein Hochzeit predigt / uber den spruch zun Hebreern am dreizehenden Capitel’, in *Zwo Hochzeit Predigten*, Wittenberg: 1536.

⁶⁸⁶ Caspar Trost, *Hochzeitgesang mit 8. Stimmen Genommen aus dem 25. Cap. v. 1 & 2. Syrachs / auff die Hochzeitliche Ehrenfrewde Des [...] Herrn PETRI PANCRATII Saltzmans [...] Bräutigams: Und Der [...]*

by Gregor Strigenitz, held directly before a ‘Trauung’,⁶⁸⁷ was included in ‘Vota Nuptialia’, published in Leipzig in 1617. Just as the name ‘Magdalena’ recalled the pearls in ‘Freue dich’, Strigenitz writes that the bride’s name, Concordia, corresponded with the central virtue discussed in these verses: “Es stehet aber darinnen gar ein herrliches *Encomium* und trefflicher Lobspruch der Tugend / die man nennt *Concordia*, das ist / auff unser Deutsch / Einigkeit oder Ein=trechtigkeit. Dieselbe weiß er nit gnung heraußzustreichen / noch gnung darvon zu sagen / was für ein liebliches unnd nütliches ding es darumb sey unter Brüdern / Nachbarn und Eheleuten”.⁶⁸⁸ Strigenitz, “Umb der Einfeltigen willen”, discussed these verses in two parts. The first concerned the three aspects “die zur Einigkeit gehören / oder darinnen die Einigkeit stehen”; these three aspects of ‘Concordia’ are clear in the verses: “1. ist / Wenn Brüder eins sind. Das 2. Wann die Nachbarn sich unter einander lieb haben. Das 3. Wenn Mann und Weib sich mit einander wolbegehen”.⁶⁸⁹ In the second point, Strigenitz finds in the first verse three reasons which demonstrate the importance of “Einigkeit und Eintrechtigkeit unter Brüdern / Nachbarn und Eheleuten”; “1. Es sey solches fein / und ein schön ding. 2. Gefalle Gott wol. 3. Gefalle es auch den Menschen wol”.⁶⁹⁰

Schein’s setting of this text in *Israelsbrunnlein* is something of an outlier. Not only is it the only composition to employ a ritornello, it is the only work in which the basso continuo departs from its typical role as a basso seguente, in which it simply doubled the lowest vocal line, to function as an independent bass line necessary for the harmonic integrity of the setting. Ritornelli are used as structural devices in some of Schein’s large-scale wedding compositions, such as that for Deuerlin; as mentioned above, Schütz, in his setting of ‘Wohl dem, der ein tugendsam Weib hat’, used the opening phrase as a ritornello. A second feature of Schein’s setting of ‘Drei schöne ding’ is his use of musical number-symbolism to represent images in the text, likewise unique

Jungfrauen Hedwig *ELISABETHÆ MARIÆ* [...] Braut. In Jehna den 25. Nov. Anni 1622. gehalten. Zu besondern Ehren und Glückwünschung componirt und verehret[.] Jena: 1622[?]; Hendrick Dochhorn [ed.], *Samuel Scheidt: Drei schöne Ding sind. Geistliches Madrigal zu fünf Stimmen mit Generalbaß, 1641* (SSWV 370), Hamburg-Altona: 2009.

⁶⁸⁷ The act of marriage is referred to in the sermon as still to come: “Damit wir nun gegenwertigen Christlichen Personen / die heute durch GOTTES Wort / in dieser Kirchen sollen zusammen gegeben und verbunden werden...”. Strigenitz, *VOTA NUPTIALIA*, p. 312. The sermon concludes with a Vater Unser and a prayer for the bridal couple as a transition to the act of marriage (the Vater Unser directly precedes the ‘Trauung’ in the Herzog-August-Agenda).

⁶⁸⁸ *VOTA NUPTIALIA*, 1617, pp. 312-313.

⁶⁸⁹ *VOTA NUPTIALIA*, 1617, p. 313.

⁶⁹⁰ *VOTA NUPTIALIA*, 1617, p. 321.

in the context of *Israelsbrünnlein*. A third observation is the relative importance which Schein attaches to each of the ‘drei schöne Ding’ presented in this *Spruch*; his setting of the last of these – “wenn man und Weib sich mit einander wohl begehén” – is by far the longest. The emphasis on this image of matrimonial harmony is evidence from within the composition that Schein set this text with a wedding in mind.

- (1) Drei schöne Ding sind, die beide Gott und Menschen wohlgefallen;
- (2) wenn Brüder eins sind, wenn die Nachbarn sich lieb haben, wenn man und Weib sich mit einander wohl begehén.

Schein sets the first verse as the ritornello. The setting commences with the ritornello sung by the three-voice upper ensemble, followed by the three-voice lower group; although such mock antiphonal writing is frequently found in Schein’s settings, the use of the two three-part ensembles could, in light of further number symbolism in the composition, be understood here as a musical symbol for the number three. The second half of the phrase – ‘die beide Gott und Menschen wohlgefallen’ – is further expanded in all five voices through the *aufaktiges Motiv* and sequences, leading to a cadence which closes the first section in bar 16. After this introduction comes the second verse, but with the first verse recurring as a refrain between each of the ‘Drei schöne Ding’. In order for the entire first verse to function as a refrain between much shorter units of text, it is now set syllabically with the quaver functioning as the main unit of declamation.

The first instance of ‘wenn Brüder eins sind’ provides a rare example in *Israelsbrünnlein* of the basso continuo as a harmonically essential voice, independent of any of the vocal parts. That only two voices sing – here both Cantus parts – is also unusual; the reduced complement of voices provides scope for the virtuosic dotted rhythm and ascent of over an octave. The two voices sing in canon, the Cantus II entering a crotchet after Cantus I. The reason is found in the text. Two separate voices singing the same melody, drawing to a close at the unison, is Schein’s image of unity in diversity, of the two brothers as separate voices acting in concord.⁶⁹¹ There is here only one virtuosic melody line, which clearly cannot double as the bass. The simple harmonic bass provided in the basso continuo was a necessary consequence of Schein’s symbolic depiction of the text. Following the syllabically declaimed refrain comes the second image: ‘wenn die Nachbarn sich lieb haben’. This is again set for two voices, beginning with a canon

⁶⁹¹ Reminiscent, at least to our ears, of Monteverdi’s setting of ‘et hi tres unum sunt’ in ‘Duo seraphim’ from the *Vespro della Beata Vergine*. Concerning a possible connection between Monteverdi’s Vesper and Schein’s compositions, see Theis, ‘Claudio Monteverdi und Johann Hermann Schein’.

at the fifth. Again, the canon symbolises unity; that it is here at the fifth rather than in unison suggests the different degree of intimacy between family relations (the unity of brothers) and that of wider social relations (neighbours). Schein finds a further device to depict symbolically the third image, ‘wenn Mann und Weib sich mit einander wohl begehen’. ‘Wenn Mann’ is sung syllabically by the lower three voices, followed by ‘und Weib’ in the upper three, an example of Schein using vocal range to represent gender.⁶⁹² The following ‘sich mit einander wohl begehen’ is depicted through two voices singing in parallel thirds: the result is two voices that, like the man and wife in the text, ‘sich mit einander wohl begehen’, again an image of unity in diversity.

By bar 30 the entire text has been presented. At this stage, however, Schein repeats the pattern of refrain preceding each of the ‘schöne Ding’ a further two times. These are not, however, simply repetitions. The phrase ‘sich mit einander wohl begehen’ was already at its first mention emphasised through repetition; whereas the first two images were sung without repetition of the text, this phrase was repeated five times. But the weighting now shifts further in favour of this third image, the image of matrimonial concord. This is firstly achieved through a reduction in emphasis on the first two images: ‘Wenn Brüder eins sind’ is at bar 33 presented in less than a bar without the symbolic canon. The same figure is now used in bar 34, the rhythm slightly adapted to facilitate the presentation of the longer text ‘und die Nachbarn sich lieb haben’. In contrast, the final image is again presented over the space of a number of bars with considerable textual repetition, revealing itself to be the climax of the statement. The third repetition of the entire text follows this same pattern, the final image however made even more conspicuous through virtuosic melismas, rapidly ascending and descending octave scales and the return of the parallel thirds. The listener is left with no doubt as to which of the three ‘schöne Ding’ is most relevant, perhaps the result of Schein’s interpretation of this text in the context of a wedding celebration.

4.4.5.1 Samuel Scheidt – A Wedding Madrigal

Samuel Scheidt, in a letter from 19 June 1642, mentioned that he was in the process of composing “Geistliche Gesänge mit 5. stimmen auff Madrigalische Manier”, hoping to have soon

⁶⁹² Similar examples are found in other settings in *Israelsbrunnlein*. In ‘O Herr, ich bin dein Knecht’ (bars 18-19), the phrase ‘Deiner Magd Sohn’ is sung by the three lower voices; in ‘Ich freue mich im Herren’, the phrase ‘wie einen Bräutigam...’ is sung and repeated in the lower three voices, following which the upper ensemble sings ‘wie eine Braut...’.

completed over 100 such works.⁶⁹³ The particular feature of these works for Scheidt was their *a cappella* nature; although they could be performed with optional instrumental accompaniment, the works could be performed adequately by vocalists alone; this was, of course, a feature of the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* to which Schein drew attention.⁶⁹⁴ This must have been an advantage when such a work was to be performed at a wedding feast, where the usual instruments available in the church may not have been readily available. Schiedt's understanding of the *a cappella* essence of the madrigal style was very much in keeping with other composers in protestant Germany, who similarly labelled their occasional works for weddings 'Madrigals'.

Although the fruits of Scheidt's declared intention to compose 100 "Geistliche Gesänge mit 5. stimmen auff Madrigalische Manier" are not known to have survived, a composition for a wedding in Halle in 1641, printed individually, has been preserved. In this composition, Scheidt set selected Bible verses "auff madrigalische Manier mit 5. Stimmen". Although not specifically referred to as a 'sacred madrigal', the term 'Madrigal' appears in the headings to each voice. These features indicate similarities with, if not the direct influence of, Schein's *Israelsbrünnlein*. Unlike the majority of the works in *Israelsbrünnlein*, however, Scheidt combines in this wedding composition verses from three separate biblical sources. Two of these *Sprüche* were also set by Schein. Between the two verses of 'Drey schöne Ding', with which Scheidt's setting begins, and 'Lieblich und schöne sein' with which it ends, Scheidt inserts the verse 'Denn daselbst verheisst der Herr Segen und Leben immer und ewiglich'.⁶⁹⁵ Although the verses were from different biblical books, their combination creates a new coherence, the inserted verse complementing the text of 'drei schöne Ding' and confirming that Sirach's 'three things' were divinely ordained.

⁶⁹³ See Hendrick Doehorn [ed.], *Samuel Scheidt: Drei schöne Ding sind. Geistliches Madrigal zu fünf Stimmen mit Generalbaß, 1641* (SSWV 370), Hamburg-Altona: 2009, 'Vorwort'. For Scheidt's letter of 19 July 1642, in which he declares his intention "Geistliche Gesänge mit 5 Stimmen auf Madrigalische Manier zu verfertigen", see Friedrich Chrysander, 'Geschichte der Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttelschen Capelle und Oper vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbücher für musikalische Wissenschaft* (1863), p. 158.

⁶⁹⁴ "wann 5. Vocalisten beysammen, solche ohne Orgel oder Corpus und dergleichen, wie auch ohne Instrumentisten können gesungen, und wann eine Orgel und Instrumentisten verhanden, und einer darzu beliebung trüge, selbige gar wol und füglich darmit mögen gemacht werden". Chrysander, 'Geschichte der Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttelschen Capelle', p. 158. Cf. Schein in *Israelsbrünnlein*: "Sowol für sich allein mit lebendiger Stim und *Instrumenten* / Als auch in die Orgel / *Clavicimbel* / bequemlich zugebrauchen...".

⁶⁹⁵ Ps. 133:3. This psalm itself begins with a reference to the beauty of brotherly love, a similarity with the text from Ecclesiasticus.

The first part of Scheidt's setting – 'Drei schöne Ding sind' – immediately reveals similarities with Schein's setting of the same verses. The opening words – 'Drei schöne Ding sind' – are again symbolised through the use of three voices; in Scheidt's composition a first statement of the phrase in the 'upper' ensemble is repeated in the 'lower'. The quaver functions as the unit of declamation in the following 'die beide Gott und Menschen wohl gefallen', as in the refrain of Schein's setting. The repetition of a phrase with antiphonal effects and a concluding *tutti*, a device found frequently in *Israelsbrünnlein*, is often used in Scheidt's setting: each of the 'drei schöne Ding' is repeated with different combinations of voices before a concluding *tutti*. The opportunity to depict gender through vocal register is similarly seized by Scheidt through a duet, initially between the Cantus and Tenor II, at 'und Mann und Weib'. After the Cantus has repeatedly answered the words 'und Mann', sung by the Tenor II, with its own 'und Weib', parallel thirds and sixths at the following 'sich mit einander wohl begehen', most noticeably at the melisma on 'wohl', symbolise the desired concord between husband and wife. Scheidt establishes from the outset of this phrase the Tenor II as the husband and the Cantus as the wife, providing the listener with a framework for understanding the following passages of thirds and sixths as a depiction of matrimonial unity. The duet is then repeated – showing how antiphonal thinking could even encompass soloistic writing for only two voices – by the Tenor I and Bassus.⁶⁹⁶ A concluding *tutti* is effected through the repetition of 'sich mit einander wohl begehen'; the soloistic nature of the duet is preserved in the Cantus and Altus which are set against the three lower accompanying voices.

An interlude in *proportio tripla* follows. This passage is again characterised by antiphonal writing. Two-bar units initially sung by three upper voices are repeated an octave lower; there are no dynamic indications, but it is easy to imagine Scheidt having conceived the repetitions in the lower voices as echo effects.⁶⁹⁷ Like Schein, Scheidt depicts the opening of the following verse – 'lieblich und schöne sein' – expressively through the use of longer note values and suspensions. Having developed this image, Scheidt negates it through the syllabic declamation of 'ist nichts'; like Schein, he makes use of sudden rests to symbolise 'nichts' and break with

⁶⁹⁶ With the Tenor I, as the higher voice, taking on the role of wife. It was the contrast between a higher and a lower voice, not the fact that one voice was actually sung by a man and the other by a woman, which Scheidt utilised here as a musical symbol. Cf. Schein's setting of 'Wenn Mann und Weib' in 'Drei schöne Ding' (bars 24-5); here the lower ensemble sings 'Wenn Mann', followed by the upper ensemble with 'und Weib'.

⁶⁹⁷ Although the fact that the tenor voices participate at various stages in both choirs would suggest that a spatially divided arrangement of singers wasn't intended. Nevertheless, the influence of the antiphonal/poly-choral motet makes itself clearly felt in this smaller scale work.

the luxurious suspensions. The word 'loben' is, following the usual antiphony between three voices choirs and concluding *tutti* at 'Ein Weib, das den Herren fürchtet', depicted with a lavish melisma, a further example of virtuosic, soloistic writing. This is juxtaposed with an extended, concluding *tutti* to the same text; stepwise melodic movement and suspensions generate momentum over a fairly static bass line. Within the space of one phrase of text, Scheidt's writing betrays the influence of both the virtuosity of the modern solo motet and the sumptuous splendour of the polychoral motet. Their integration and contrast in a five-part choral texture is similarly characteristic for Schein's conception of the works in *Israelsbrunnlein*, suggesting that, rather than thinking in terms of clearly defined styles with their own rules and expectations, these composers were conscious of the various musical means at their disposal which they could draw on and combine creatively.

4.5 Conclusion

Wedding celebrations typically occurred over a matter of days. As evidence from wedding sermons demonstrates, their division into two parts, an 'ecclesiastical' and a 'political' part, was evident to those involved. With this distinction in mind, we can ask how Schein's wedding compositions may have functioned. Concerning both the nature of the texts set and their musical style, Schein's wedding compositions are a varied bunch. On the one hand, Schein set to music his own pastoral texts, poetic texts in German reflecting the imagery and the protagonists of Italian pastoral poetry, publishing them as individual pamphlets commemorating specific occasions. A number of these individual prints survive and can be shown to have been included in Schein's published collections *Diletti pastorali*, containing five-part madrigals, and the various volumes of *Musica boscareccia*, which contain three-part villanellas. Such compositions can readily be seen in connection with wedding feasts, with the 'political' part of the occasion. At the other extreme are large-scale, often polychoral, settings of mostly biblical texts, many of which were composed for the Leipzig weddings of members of Theodor Möstel's immediate family. Such works were likely intended to be performed at the conclusion of the 'copulation', the ecclesiastical part of the wedding celebration. The correspondence following the breaches of propriety at Jonas Möstel's wedding shows that Schein performed music at various stages in the church ceremony; the print of Schein's setting of Psalm 122 for the wedding of Sigemundt Möstel states explicitly that this work was performed "Bey dero ansehlichen Copulation". The texts set here are in most cases German psalm verses of praise. I have suggested that they can be seen to reflect the theme of the Te Deum, for the performance of which at the conclusion of

the ‘Copulation’ the Herzog-August-Agenda of 1580 for Albertine Saxony makes provision and which Schein himself set as a wedding composition for up to 24 parts.

What then could have been the role of Schein’s smaller-scale settings of biblical texts? Thematically, a group of *Sprüche* included in *Israelsbrünnlein* seems to be suited for performance at weddings. As my discussion of wedding sermons has shown, a number of these *Sprüche*, including ‘Wem ein tugendsam Weib bescheret ist’, ‘Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend’ and ‘Drei schöne Ding sind’, were often preached upon and cited at Lutheran weddings, suggesting that musical settings of these texts may have been intended for performance at these occasions. A similar composition, Schein’s setting of the *Spruch* ‘Hoffe auf den Herren’, composed for a wedding in 1623 and printed as an individual pamphlet, shows that compositions of this nature were composed and performed at weddings at the time of *Israelsbrünnlein*’s publication. The claim on the title page of this composition for the younger Vincentius Schmuck that it was “componirt und musicirt” by Schein “Als derselbe [Schmuck] seinen hochzeitlichen Ehrentag [...] durch göttliche Verleihung glücklichen und in Frewden celebrirt” makes specific mention of neither the ‘Copulation’ nor the wedding feast. Two scenarios concerning the intended performance context of this composition and the similar settings of wedding *Sprüche* in *Israelsbrünnlein* are plausible. They may have been intended as a sacred equivalent to the pastoral madrigals for performance at wedding feasts, as a, to use Gerber’s phrase, “Hochzeit-Music auf Christliche Art”. In the decades prior to *Israelsbrünnlein*, simple settings of devotional texts were set and presumably performed in this manner. Perhaps it is significant that ‘Hoffe auf den Herrn’ was composed for Schmuck; the family of the Leipzig Superintendent may have wished to replace the then fashionable pastoral entertainment – compositions along the lines of those in *Musica boscareccia* – with a setting of a sacred text. A second possibility is that such compositions, settings of biblical texts, were performed during the ‘Copulation’. Again, the letters exchanged following Jonas Möstel’s wedding show that, in addition to the offending composition originally written for the Reformation centenary the previous year, a composition “uff gewöhnliche Artt” was also performed. Could this have been a reference to a composition in the manner of those in *Israelsbrünnlein*, intended for performance at the ‘Copulation’ and, perhaps, performed with instruments to enhance the splendour of the occasion?

5. “AUF EINE SONDERBAR ANMÜTIGE *ITALIAN MADRIGALISCHE* MANIER”.

...ob wol die Deutschen Componisten sich bishero vielfältig bemühet hätten / der heutigen neuen Poesie schöne Erfindungen mit guter Manier in die Musik zu versetzen / sie sich doch allezeit darneben beklagt hätten / daß dasjenige genus Poeseos, welches sich zu Auffsetzung einer künstlichen Composition am allerbesten schickete / nehmlich der Madrigalien / bißhero von ihnen nicht angegriffen / sondern zurück geblieben were.⁶⁹⁸

Heinrich Schütz, 1653

Three decades after the publication of *Israelsbrünnlein*, Heinrich Schütz could still write that the madrigal – for him in its original sense as a “genus Poeseos” – had been neglected by German composers. While Schütz refers here to the madrigal as a literary form, Schein, on the title page of *Israelsbrünnlein*, refers to the madrigal as a manner of composition, writing that the pieces in this collection were composed “auf eine sonderbar Anmütige *Italian Madrigalische* Manier”. Furthermore, at the end of (almost) every folio in the 1623 print is found the phrase “*Madrigale di Gio: Hermano Schein*”. Wolfgang Caspar Prinz made in 1690 the oft-cited remark that Schein was a master in the “*Stylo madrigalesco*”.⁶⁹⁹ Clearly Schütz and Schein used the term ‘Madrigal’ in different ways. In this chapter I attempt to broach the question of what Schein might have meant by these references to the ‘Italian Madrigalische Manier’ and the ‘Madrigale’ from two perspectives. Firstly, I ask whether the ‘Italian Madrigalische Manier’ might have been a reference not to the style of the late sixteenth-century polyphonic Italian madrigal, works composed and distributed in Germany before Schein’s birth, but rather to a manner of embellishment coming to be associated with the most recent developments in Italian vocal music, be it the continuo madrigals of Monteverdi or the flourishing solo motet. My starting point is Schein’s comment in his preface to *Diletti pastorali*, his collection of five-part pastoral madrigals published in 1624, that, while it is typically the composer’s task to compose

⁶⁹⁸ “Extract Aus Herrn Heinrich Schützens [...] Schreiben an mich Caspar Ziegler”, in Caspar Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen / Einer schönen und zur Musik bequemsten Art Verse / Wie sie nach der Italianer Manier in unserer Deutschen Sprache auszuarbeiten* [.] Wittenberg: 1685 [first edition 1653].

⁶⁹⁹ Wolfgang Caspar Prinz, *Historische Beschreibung der Edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst*, Dresden: 1690, p. 136. Prinz likewise states that Tobias Michael was “fürnemlich aber in *Stylo Madrigalesco* glücklich gewesen” (Ibid., p. 138).

the piece, the embellishment in performance belongs to the duties of the singer. Schein, however, as an aid to German singers unfamiliar with the “Italiänische jetzo gebräuchliche anmutige manier zu singen”, had in some cases notated “ein klein Leuff- oder Schleifflein”. Suggesting that Schein is referring here to a manner of embellishment which he takes to be characteristic of the modern Italian manner, a manner of performance not yet widely known in Germany, I trace Schein’s use of an ornamental figure used repeatedly as a cadential embellishment in *Israelsbrünnlein*. Secondly, I approach the madrigal ‘genre’ from the perspective of the performance context, asking how such music was performed as *Tafelmusik* in ‘secular’ contexts in the sixteenth century. While I have argued throughout my study that many of Schein’s *Kraftsprüchlein* were composed originally for occasions such as funerals and weddings, their collection and publications as *Israelsbrünnlein* might have been with multiple functions in mind. Schein acknowledges as much in his preface, stating that one reason for the publication of *Israelsbrünnlein* was for the sake of those “so mit Christlicher Music sich delectiren, die gute devotion zu vermehren”. At the same time, some of the compositions from *Israelsbrünnlein* were copied by hand in partbooks from the library at St. Thomas’ school. Later in the century, the catalogue of the music held by the school prepared by Johann Schelle shows that *Israelsbrünnlein* still had pride of place in the school’s bookshelf; Kuhnau’s reference to these partbooks together with copies of Tobias Michael’s *Musikalische Seelenlust* as the “Leichen Stimmen” suggests that they may have had a role as funeral repertoire – perhaps due to their, when considered from the perspective of the late seventeenth century, retrospective character – up until the early eighteenth century. Although I have argued that many of the *Israelsbrünnlein* compositions were originally composed for specific occasions, they must have had diverse functions once published. Indeed, the omission of paratextual information concerning the original context of composition and performance could be seen to have ‘neutralized’ their association with the original occasion, paving the way for their more general use, be it as a devotional musical pastime at gatherings of educated Leipzig citizens or as the basis of the school’s repertoire of polyphonic compositions for performance at funerals. The fact of the collection and publication of the individual compositions can thus be seen as a process from the specific to the general. I hope to show that, rather than working with clear-cut definitions of ‘sacred’ and ‘secular’ music, composers in late sixteenth-century Germany readily included settings of ‘sacred’ texts alongside ‘secular’ texts in publications and argued that their performance as recreational music was allowed and encouraged by biblical precedent.

5.1 Literature Review: Schein and the Madrigal

The term ‘madrigal’, describing in the *trecento* a literary form consisting of two or three *terzetti* followed by a concluding two-verse *ritornello*, was revived in the *cinquecento*. Pietro Bembo, in his ‘Prosa della volgar lingua’ of 1525, applied the term ‘madrigal’ to the freest of three literary forms, that characterised by “rime libere”.⁷⁰⁰ The *cinquecento* madrigal did not develop out of the *trecento* madrigal: Schulz-Buschhaus suggests that Bembo’s use of the term was a “mißverständliche Benennung”. It was, however, a convenient term and as such had more success than Minturno’s more accurate, but less memorable, “canzoni scritte alla libera”.⁷⁰¹ As a literary genre, a madrigal consisted of somewhere between six and fifteen lines, freely alternating between lines of seven (‘settenario’) or eleven (‘endecasillabo’) syllables.⁷⁰² The metre and the rhyme scheme were left to the author; a concluding rhyming couplet was desirable, but not a requirement.⁷⁰³ Also characteristic, and further reflecting the tradition of Italian poetry, was an accented penultimate syllable. One feature, however, was decisive for the madrigal as a literary form: unlike other texts, madrigals consisted of only a single verse.⁷⁰⁴

As Alfred Einstein wrote, the *cinquecento* madrigal, as a literary form, was “as it were made to order for music”.⁷⁰⁵ Nevertheless, although the literary madrigal was often set to music, it was by no means the only text form set to music as ‘madrigals’. As Schulz-Buschhaus writes, “der

⁷⁰⁰ As Schulz-Buschhaus writes, the term ‘madrigal’ was, for Bembo, a “Sammelbezeichnung für all jene Gedichte, die in ihrer metrischen Freizügigkeit nicht näher zu klassifizieren sind”. Ulrich Schulz-Buschhaus, *Das Madrigal: Zur Stilgeschichte der italienischen Lyrik zwischen Renaissance und Barock*, Bad Homburg v. d. H.; Berlin; Zürich: 1969, p. 57.

⁷⁰¹ See Schulz-Buschhaus, *Das Madrigal*, pp. 57-8. See also Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, ‘Madrigal’, *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (40. Auslieferung, Herbst 2005), p. 1.

⁷⁰² See Schulz-Buschhaus, *Das Madrigal*, p. 42 for a summary of the formal features of the *cinquecento* madrigal as a literary form.

⁷⁰³ Alfred Einstein comments on the “absence of a rigid metre such as characterizes the frottola and sonnet” which made madrigalian poetry especially conducive for musical setting. Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, Princeton: 1949, p. 105.

⁷⁰⁴ Schulz-Buschhaus cites Juan Caramuel von Lobkowitz’s definition “Nihil est aliud Madrigal quam unica et simplex Strophä” (Schulz-Buschhaus, *Das Madrigal*, p. 43) and concurs with Alfred Einstein’s observation that “As a poetic form the new madrigal is simply a canzone stanza”. (Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, p. 172).

⁷⁰⁵ Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, p. 172.

literarische Madrigalbegriff [steht] nur in verhältnismäßig lockerer Verbindung zum musikalischen Begriff eines polyphonen mehrstimmigen profanen Gesanges”.⁷⁰⁶ As he continues, “Ein musikalisches Madrigal konnte ebensogut eine Ballata oder ein Sonett wie ein literarisches Madrigal zur Textvorlage haben”. He cites the example of Cipriano de Rore’s “Primo libro di madrigali a 5 voci” of 1542, which, despite its title, contains only settings of sonnets. Einstein agrees: “By 1535 the word madrigal had become a *musical* term ... a piece of music is called madrigal no matter whether the text upon which it is based happens to be a real madrigal, or whether it is a sonnet, an ottava or canzone stanza, a ballata, or a series of tercets”.⁷⁰⁷ While in the *trecento* the music to which a madrigal was set was concerned with reflecting the *form* of the text, from the early *cinquecento* composers were more concerned with depicting the *contents* of the text; the imitative style of the contemporary motet was adopted, allowing individual phrases to be coupled with an appropriate *soggetto*.⁷⁰⁸

As Susan Lewis Hammond writes, the “Italian madrigal was Italy’s most successful musical export of the sixteenth century”.⁷⁰⁹ The distribution of Italian madrigals in Germany took off in the 1580s, the publication of *Sdegnosi ardori* (1585) by Adam Berg in Munich paving the way for the three volumes of Lindner’s *Gemma musicales* (1588, 1589, 1590) published by Katharina Gerlach in Nuremberg; the latter contain Italian madrigals and villanellas from 38 composers, with Luca Marenzio by far the most represented composer.⁷¹⁰ Alongside further anthologies, including Paul Kaufmann’s series *Fiori del giardino* (from 1597), a complete edition of Marenzio’s five-part madrigals was issued in 1601, containing a preface in which the composer’s fame in Germany is noted.⁷¹¹ In addition to the publication of Italian madrigals in Germany, German musicians composed and published their own works modelled on Italian

⁷⁰⁶ Schulz-Buschhaus, *Das Madrigal*, p. 13, footnote 16.

⁷⁰⁷ Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, pp. 118-9.

⁷⁰⁸ Ehrmann-Herfort, ‘Madrigal’, p. 7.

⁷⁰⁹ Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, p. 2.

⁷¹⁰ See Ludwig Finscher, ‘Lied and madrigal, 1580-1600’, in John Kmetz [ed.] *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, Cambridge: 1994, p. 186. Also Basil Smallman, ‘Pastoralism, Parody and Pathos: The Madrigal in Germany, 1570-1630’, in *Miscellanea musicologica: a publication of the Libraries Board of South Australia in association with the University of Adelaide*, Adelaide: 1988, p. 12. For a table of anthologies containing Italian secular vocal music published between 1570-1630 in Germany see Sara E. Dumont, *German secular polyphonic song in printed editions, 1570 – 1630*, New York: 1989, Vol. 2 Appendix 1a.

⁷¹¹ Finscher, ‘Lied and madrigal’, p. 189.

madrigals. Some German composers, such as Lechner and Hassler⁷¹², set Italian texts; more common however was the adoption of the musical language of the Italian madrigal for settings of German texts.⁷¹³ Smallman considers Hassler's two volumes of *Neue teutsche Gesänge* (1596; 1601) to come closest to "the writing of genuinely Italian-style German madrigals"; both the musical language and the German texts were clearly indebted to Italian models.⁷¹⁴ A further manner in which Italian secular compositions were made known in Germany was as *contrafacta* with German texts.⁷¹⁵ Valentin Diezel, for example, issued in 1624 an anthology of "lieblicher, welscher Madrigalien, auss den berühmtesten Musicis italicis mit allem Fleiss zusammen colligirt, [...] darunter deutsche weltliche Text applicirt".⁷¹⁶ In addition to the substitution of the original text with a secular German text, sacred *contrafacta* were possible; Heinrich Schütz, for example, adapted Luca Marenzio's 'Deh poi ch'era ne' fati' as a 'Madrigale spirituale' with the verse 'Ach Herr, du Schöpfer aller Ding' from Luther's Christmas song 'Vom Himmel hoch'.

A number of writers have addressed *Israelsbrünnlein* in terms of an apparent contradiction between the genres of the German motet, to which the *Fontana* compositions are attributed due to their texts, and the Italian madrigal, on account of Schein's expressive musical language which far surpasses that found in the typical German *Spruchmotette*. Werner Braun introduced the term "deutsches geistliches Madrigal" for a group of works published between 1610 and 1670, which typically set verses from Luther's Bible in five parts and refer explicitly to a 'madrigal' style.⁷¹⁷ As he summarises, "Der ausdrückliche Bezug der Komponisten aufs Madrigal, die Fülle der Belege und deren stilistische Gemeinsamkeiten berechtigen dazu, das deutsche

⁷¹² Lechner's 'alchuni madrigali in lingua Italiana' appended to his *Neue teutsche Lieder* (1579) and his setting of 'Ardo si' for *Sdegnosi Ardori* (1585); Hassler's 26 madrigals for 5-8 voices (1596). Both mentioned in Smallman, 'The Madrigal in Germany'.

⁷¹³ Smallman however suggests that, unlike in England, it was the facility with the Italian language amongst the members of German song societies which checked the development of a native madrigal tradition. Smallman, 'The Madrigal in Germany', p. 17.

⁷¹⁴ Smallman, 'The Madrigal in Germany', pp. 13-14.

⁷¹⁵ See Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, especially chapters 3 and 4.

⁷¹⁶ Cited in Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, p. 31.

⁷¹⁷ See Werner Braun, *Die Musik des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft, Wiesbaden: 1981, p. 191 ff.

geistliche Madrigal als eine eigenständige musikalische Gattung des 17. Jahrhunderts aufzufassen – wie zuvor die achtstimmige Motette”.⁷¹⁸ The recourse to Luther’s Bible translation for ‘madrigals’ in Germany simply reflected, for Braun, the lack of a native German language tradition of madrigalian verse. Magdalena Walter-Mazur has suggested that the term ‘Madrigal motet’ is a better fit, arguing that seven collections published between 1619 and 1652 belong to this genre.⁷¹⁹ Walter-Mazur considers Schütz’s *Cantiones sacrae* (1625) (which Braun, on account of their Latin texts, excluded from his genre of ‘Deutsches Geistliches Madrigal’) and Schein’s *Israelsbrünnlein* to represent “the most perfect examples of melding the features of the motet and the madrigal”.⁷²⁰ Finding in these two collections “two poles in the area of interaction between the traditions of the motet and the madrigal”, she argues that “the pieces by Schütz are closer to the former, while those by Schein are closer to the latter”.⁷²¹ Wolfram Steinbeck has also discussed compositions from *Israelsbrünnlein* in connection with an observed polarity between the motet and the madrigal.⁷²² Steinbeck writes that the motet, epitomised by Schütz’s *Geistliche Chormusik*, and the madrigal, whose “grundlegende Gattungskriterien für das 17. Jahrhundert” were defined by Marenzio, Gesualdo and Monteverdi, were related to one another “durch fundamentale Gemeinsamkeiten ebenso wie durch polare Gegensätze”.⁷²³ While the ‘madrigalisches Prinzip’ was characterised by chordal textures and a freer approach to dissonance, the ‘motettisches Prinzip’ remained in essence contrapuntal. Steinbeck discusses Schein’s setting of ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’, concluding that “dieses Werk, wie etliche im ‘Israelsbrünnlein’, zeigt Scheins geniale Fähigkeit der Verknüpfung der beiden pola-

⁷¹⁸ Braun, *Die Musik des 17. Jahrhunderts*, p. 193.

⁷¹⁹ Magdalena Walter-Mazur, ‘The Madrigal Motet in Protestant Germany’, in Helmut Loos & Eberhard Müller [eds.] *Musikgeschichte in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, Leipzig: 2006.

⁷²⁰ Walter-Mazur, ‘The Madrigal Motet’, p. 220.

⁷²¹ Walter-Mazur, ‘The Madrigal Motet’, p. 220.

⁷²² Wolfram Steinbeck, ‘Motettisches und madrigalisches Prinzip in der geistlichen Musik der Schütz-Zeit: Monteverdi - Schütz - Schein’, in *SJb* 11 (1989).

⁷²³ Steinbeck, ‘Motettisches und madrigalisches Prinzip’, p. 5. As Steinbeck describes the oppositions between the two genres: “Die wichtigsten Unterscheidungsmerkmale dagegen sind nicht nur im Gegensatz weltlich – geistliche gegeben, sondern vor allem auch in der Besetzung: das Madrigal ist solistisch und einhörig, die Motette chorisch und fakultativ mehrchörig besetzt (und konzipiert); das Madrigal ist kammermusikalisch und für den kleinen Kreis bestimmt, die Motette wendet sich an eine Öffentlichkeit, an die Gemeinde oder an den Hof”. Steinbeck finds, however, the main opposition in the compositional technique (“Satzprinzipien”).

ren Satzprinzipien, des neuen madrigalischen in der Nachfolge Monteverdis sowie des motettischen der Art, wie Schütz sie bis zur ‘Geistlichen Chormusik’ bewahrte”.⁷²⁴ Walter Werbeck comments on the “Trend einer Mischung der Gattungen und Schreibarten”, finding in *Israelsbrunnlein* evidence that Schein had “diese hybriden italienischen Entwicklungen [...] ganz gezielt aufgegriffen”.⁷²⁵

Attempts have been made to show that Schein’s ‘madrigalische Manier’ was the result of his study of Italian models. Irmgard Hammerstein has compared passages from the *Fontana* compositions with models from Monteverdi’s third, fourth and fifth madrigal books, arguing that Monteverdi’s influence was decisive for the development of Schein’s madrigal style as revealed in *Israelsbrunnlein*.⁷²⁶ Hammerstein argues that the German Sacred Madrigal was developed by Schein in the space of five years between his ‘Threnus’ for Maria Dorothea and the publication of *Israelsbrunnlein*. She argues that a change in style takes place, with Monteverdi providing the impulse. The difficulty with such an approach lies in distinguishing between direct influences as opposed to similarities which simply reflect a shared musical language; as Peter Wollny observes: “To assess the impact of Monteverdi’s music on the works of German composers is a difficult task. One is constantly confronted with the danger of merely establishing a general affinity to the Italian style, but that would not necessarily indicate the influence of Monteverdi”.⁷²⁷ Responding to Hammerstein’s essay, Claudia Theis presents further examples from Marenzio and Schütz to show that “die angeblichen Monteverdi-Übernahmen an Beweiskraft verlieren, wenn sich ganz ähnliche Satztypen nicht nur bei Schein und Monteverdi, sondern auch bei anderen Madrigalkomponisten finden lassen”.⁷²⁸ Wolfram Steude has likewise questioned Hammerstein’s approach, expressing doubt that the similarities between Monteverdi

⁷²⁴ Steinbeck, ‘Motettisches und madrigalisches Prinzip’, p. 12.

⁷²⁵ Walter Werbeck, ‘Gabrieli-Schule und “italian-madrigalische Manier”’: Schütz und Schein’ in *SJb* 28 (2006), p. 32.

⁷²⁶ Irmgard Hammerstein, ‘Zur Monteverdi-Rezeption in Deutschland. Johann Hermann Scheins Fontana d’Israel’, in Ludwig Finscher [ed.], *Claudio Monteverdi: Festschrift Reinhold Hammerstein zum 70. Geburtstag*, Laaber: 1986, pp. 175-212.

⁷²⁷ Peter Wollny, ‘The Distribution and Reception of Claudio Monteverdi’s Music in seventeenth-century Germany’, in Silke Leopold & Joachim Steinheuer [eds.], *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen: Bericht über das Internationale Symposium Detmold 1993*, Kassel: 1998, p. 52.

⁷²⁸ Claudia Theis, ‘Claudio Monteverdi und Johann Hermann Schein’, in Silke Leopold & Joachim Steinheuer [eds.] *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen: Bericht über das Internationale Symposium Detmold 1993*, Kassel: 1998, p. 435. Theis suggests instead that Schein’s setting of *Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott* from the *Opella nova II* (1626) is the best contender for a composition directly influenced by Monteverdi, in this case Monteverdi’s *Sancta Maria* from the *Vespro della Beata Vergine*.

and Schein which she observes are sufficient “um eine tiefgehende Monteverdi-Rezeption zu konstatieren”.⁷²⁹

5.2 “nach art der Welschen Madrigalien” – the Madrigal Style in Germany

Schein’s *Israelsbrunnlein* was by no means unique amongst German publications in emphasizing its connection with the styles of Italian secular vocal music.⁷³⁰ Johann Andreas Herbst dedicated on New Years’ Day 1613 – 10 years to the day before Schein’s dedication of *Israelsbrunnlein* to the Leipzig council – his *Theatrum Amoris*, a collection of “NEwe / Teutsche / Amorosische Gesäng / mit schönen / lustigen Texten”.⁷³¹ Like Schein’s *Kraftsprüchlein*, Herbst’s compositions were “nicht allein gantz lieblich zu singen: Sondern auch auff allerhand Musicalischen Instrumenten wol zu gebrauchen”. Herbst writes that his settings were composed “nach art der Welschen Madrigalien / mit 5. und 6. Stimmen”. Unlike Schein’s settings, however, Herbst’s compositions (with the exception of two six-part settings with which the collection concludes) are not through-composed but are strophic. An obvious difference distinguishing the madrigals of Schein’s *Diletti pastorali* from the villanellas of *Musica boscareccia* is the distinction between through-composed and strophic settings. Herbst, however, claimed that the strophic settings in his *Theatrum Amoris* were composed “nach art der Welschen Madrigalien”. Was the through-composed nature of the *Israelsbrunnlein* compositions less the inevitable result of a decision to write in a madrigal-style than the necessary result of setting Bible verses of irregular length? The “art der Welschen Madrigalien” would seem, for Herbst, to apply to his use of *note nere*, frequent melismas and – as seen, for example, at the opening ascent through a chromatic fourth in the tenor part of ‘Ob schon Amor übt seine Tück’, the first setting in the collection – the use of chromaticism as an expressive device.

⁷²⁹ Wolfram Steude, ‘Zur Frage nach einer deutschen Monteverdi-Rezeption im 17. Jahrhundert’, in Markus Engelhardt [ed.], *In Teutschland noch gantz ohnbekandt: Monteverdi-Rezeption und frühes Musiktheater im deutschsprachigen Raum*, Frankfurt am Main: 1996, p. 233.

⁷³⁰ As Karl Vossler observed: “Überaus gross ist die Zahl der Madrigale, oder wie meist der Titel heisst, deutschen Gesänge, oder deutschen Lieder nach Art der welschen Madrigale. Denn wie gesagt, ob ein Werk als Madrigal zu bezeichnen war, oder nicht, das hing nicht sowohl von der Form des Texts, als vielmehr von der Kompositionsweise ab”. Karl Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal: Geschichte seiner Entwicklung bis in die Mitte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*. Weimar: 1898, p. 22.

⁷³¹ Johann Andreas Herbst, *Theatrum Amoris*. NEwe / Teutsche / Amorosische Gesäng / mit schönen / lustigen Texten / nicht allein gantz lieblich zu singen : Sondern auch auff allerhand Musicalischen Instrumenten wol zu gebrauchen / nach art der Welschen Madrigalien / mit 5. und 6. Stimmen *componirt*, und in Druck verfertiget[.] Nuremberg: 1613.

The language found on the title page of Melchior Schramm's *Neuwe außerlesene Teutsche Gesäng*, published in 1579, anticipates in many details that used by Schein almost half a century later.⁷³² Schramm likewise emphasizes the novelty of his creations and their flexible performance possibilities, describing them as “auff ein besondere art vnd manier, mit vier Stimmen, welche gantz lieblich zu singen, vnd auff allerley Instrument zu gebrauchen”. One of the texts – ‘Der Ehelich standt ist lobens wehrt / deß gleichen keiner ist auff Erd’ – is a praise of matrimony and would seem to belong to the tradition of freely composed ‘madrigals’ for performance at wedding feasts. Like Schein, Otto Siegfried Harnisch described the contents of his *Neuwe kurtzweilige Teutsche Liedtlein*, published in 1587, as “einen Theil meiner *lucubrationum*”; the description of these works on the title page – “gantz Lieblich zu singen vnd auff Instrumenten Zugebrauchen Auff ein sondere arth vnd Manier Gesetzt” – likewise draws attention to their novelty, flexible performance possibilities and their ‘Lieblichkeit’.⁷³³

5.3 The Madrigal in German Treatises: Praetorius and Ziegler

Karl Vossler begins his dissertation on the German Madrigal by warning his reader: “Wir haben daher, so oft immer die beiden Begriffe ineinander fließen, sorgfältig zu unterscheiden zwischen dem Madrigal als Dichtungsform und dem Madrigal als musikalischer Gattung”.⁷³⁴ Christoph Demantius, cantor in Freiberg and author of an influential music dictionary, offers a definition of the madrigal which emphasises both its origins as a style of verse and the style of musical treatment that has come to be associated with it: “*Madrigalia* sind sonderliche Italiänische *carmina* oder *vers*, welche hernach auch auf sonderliche Manier in eine *Musicalische Harmoni* versetzt werden”.⁷³⁵ A first important point is thus, to speak with Demantius, the distinction between the ‘madrigal’ as a literary form, as a form of “sonderliche Italiänische *carmina* oder *vers*” and the ‘madrigal style’ as the “sonderliche Manier” with which such texts were “in eine *Musicalische Harmoni* versetzt”. Caspar Ziegler’s treatise *Von den Madrigalen*,

⁷³² Melchior Schramm, *Neuwe außerlesene Teutsche Gesäng / auff ein besondere art und manier / mit vier Stimmen / welche gantz lieblich zu singen / und auff allerley Instrument zu gebrauchen / Dergleichen zuvor nie gedruckt worden*[.] Frankfurt am Main: 1579.

⁷³³ Otto Siegfried Harnisch, *Neuwe kurtzweilige Teutsche Liedtlein / Zu dreyen Stimmen / Welche gantz Lieblich zu singen / und auff Instrumenten Zugebrauchen / Auff ein sondere arth und Manier Gesetzt*. Helmstedt: 1587.

⁷³⁴ Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal*, p. 5.

⁷³⁵ Demantius, *ISAGOGE ARTIS MUSICÆ*.

published in 1653, was ennobled with a preface by Heinrich Schütz, showing its importance in the context of poetry and music in Germany.⁷³⁶ Schütz describes here the madrigal as a *genus poeseos*, a literary form, “welches sich zu Auffsetzung einer künstlichen Composition am allerbesten schickete”. Although a successful adaptation of Italian madrigalian poetry to the German language has not yet taken place, Schütz writes that German composers have nevertheless endeavoured to set “der heutigen neuen Poesie schöne Erfindungen mit guter Manier in die Musik”; this could be interpreted as a tacit reference to a manner of expressive text-setting typically associated with the Italian madrigal which had in Germany, due to the lack of the madrigalian poetry with which such a manner of text-setting was typically associated, found its outlet in the setting of other texts. Having already dealt with “denen Gesängen / Welche Geistliche und gravitetische weltliche Texte haben”, Michael Praetorius, who had dedicated the second part of his *Syntagma Musicum* to the Leipzig Stadtrat,⁷³⁷ includes madrigals under the rubric of “Gesängen/ welche weltliche possirliche Texte in gewissen Versen haben: Als /Madrigalia Stanza, Sestini und Sonetti”.⁷³⁸ Praetorius concurs with Schütz in defining the madrigal initially as a literary genre: “Die *Madrigalia*, wie auch nechstfolgende / als *Dialogi, Stanza, Sestini, Sonetti, Canzoni, Canzonette*, haben ihren Namen nicht von der Melodey des Gesanges / sondern *à textu & versibus*. Denn Madrigale ist ein Nomen Poematis, und nicht Cantionis...”.⁷³⁹ Suggesting that the “Text meistens aus dem *Francisco Petrarcha, Bocatío, Petro Bembo, und Dante*, genommen seyn”, he includes as an example Petrarch’s madrigal ‘Perch’al viso d’Amor portava insegna’. Praetorius admits that sacred madrigals are possible; these must, however, fit the formal requirements of the literary madrigal: “Do aber geistliche in so viel reymen oder reymen geschrieben / und vom *Componisten zur Harmoni* gesetzt werden / so nennet was es *Madrigalia Spirituality*”.⁷⁴⁰

Ziegler’s initial definition of the Italian madrigal emphasises both its formal freedom and its role as a vehicle for the author’s wit: “So ist demnach ein *Madrigal* bey den Italianern ein

⁷³⁶ Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*. Concerning the relationship between Ziegler and Heinrich Schütz see Wolfram Steude, ‘Heinrich Schütz und Leipzig’, *SJb* (2006), p. 18 ff.

⁷³⁷ See Maul, *Dero berühmter Chor*, p. 47. Praetorius, in his dedication, names Schein as a worthy successor of Calvisius. Praetorius and Schein must have met in Leipzig during the former’s sojourn there in 1619.

⁷³⁸ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici Michaelis Praetorii C. Tomus Tertius*, Wolfenbüttel: 1619, p. 11.

⁷³⁹ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 11.

⁷⁴⁰ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 12.

kurzes Gedicht / darinnen sie ohne einige gewisse *mensur* der Reime etwas schaffsinnig fassen / und gemeiniglich dem Leser ferner nachzudenken an die Hand geben”.⁷⁴¹ Describing the madrigal as a “kurtzes und nachdenckliches Gedichte”, Ziegler claims that it corresponds to the Epigramma: “Weil es demnach kurtz gefaßt und nachdencklich gemacht sein muß / so ist es nichts anders / als ein *Epigramma*, darinnen man offtermals mehr nachzudencken giebt / und mehr verstanden haben will / als man in den Worten aufsetzt und begriffen hat”.⁷⁴² Reflecting Bembo’s description of the madrigal as ‘rime libere’, Ziegler writes that the madrigal is characterised by a greater degree of freedom than other literary forms: “Was nun die Form solcher Madrigalen / nach der sie gemacht werden sollen / betrifft / so ist zu wissen / daß in keinem einzigen *genere Carminis* grössere Freyheit zu finden sey / als eben in diesem”.⁷⁴³ Ziegler recognises that the author is “an keine gewisse Anzahl Verse gebunden”, as was the case “in den Sextinen / Sonneten und dergleichen”. The shortest madrigals, according to Ziegler, have no fewer than five lines and the longest no more than fifteen, at most sixteen. Most common are madrigals consisting of between seven and eleven lines.⁷⁴⁴ The second point concerns the number of syllables within each line. Again, Ziegler recognises the degree of formal freedom left to the author: “so dörrffen die Verse nicht gleich lang / oder einer so lang / als der andere seyn / sondern da steht es abermahls in des Poeten wilkühr / welchen er kurtz und welchen er lang machen will”.⁷⁴⁵ Ziegler recognises “daß die Italianer nur zweyerley / als sieben und eilfsylbichte Verse unter einander schrencken”. Although Ziegler states that he considers this “in unserer Deutschen Sprache nachzuthun vor [für] gut”, he acknowledges that, on account of the differences between the accentuation of the Italian and German languages, a degree of flexibility is necessary: “Und weil der Italianer zarte Reime alleine auff die weibliche Endung [...] ausgehen / die Deutschen aber nach art der Frantzosen allezeit die Männlichen mit untermischen / so laß Ich in den Madrigalen die kürztzen Verse sechs oder sieben / die längste[n]

⁷⁴¹ Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*, p. 2.

⁷⁴² Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*, p. 5.

⁷⁴³ Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*, p. 10.

⁷⁴⁴ Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*, pp. 10-11.

⁷⁴⁵ Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*, p. 11.

zehen oder eilff Sylben [...] haben”.⁷⁴⁶ Finally, Ziegler comments on the formal freedom concerning the rhyme scheme. Recognising that “ein Madrigal so gar keinen zwang leiden kan”, Ziegler states that not all lines have to rhyme, “sondern Ich kan wohl einen / zwey / auch wohl drey darinnen ungereimt lassen / gleich als ob es vergessen worden”.⁷⁴⁷ The examples which Ziegler includes in his treatise show that madrigalian poetry was not bound to certain themes or contents; included are paraphrases of Bible verses, imitations of Italian and classical poets, verses for a wedding, and politically motivated verses, including verses addressing “den Cardinal *Giulio Mazzarini*” as “du Pfaffen=Knecht”, guilty of “allen diesen Sachen / die Franckreich mürbe machen”.

5.4 Excuse: *Schein's own sacred texts*

24 of the 26 texts which Schein set in *Israelsbrunnlein* are German Bible verses, and as such cannot be termed madrigals in the sense of Heinrich Schütz's *Genus poeseos* or Praetorius' 'Nomen Poematis'; neither do they fit Praetorius' allowance for spiritual madrigals, “in so viel reymen oder reyhen geschrieben”. The texts which Schein wrote and set to music in *Diletti pastorali* have, however, been extolled as amongst the best examples of the German adaptation of the formal principles of Italian madrigalian poetry.⁷⁴⁸ As R. H. Thomas describes the “Italian influence” on *Diletti pastorali* with reference to ‘Die Vöglein singen’: “The pastoral background (influenced by the Italian madrigal), lines ranging between seven and fifteen and of varying length (not less than four syllables as a rule or more than nine), the modish insertion of an Italian phrase, and memories of folk-song (*auf grüner Heiden*) are among the characteristic features of this kind of poetry”.⁷⁴⁹ Basil Smallman comments on the similarity between the imagery found in Schein's ‘Mein Schifflein lief im wilden Meer’ and Lechner's ‘Come nave

⁷⁴⁶ Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*, pp. 11-12. See also Judith P. Aikin, ‘Creating a Language for German Opera: The Struggle to Adapt Madrigal Versification in Seventeenth-Century Germany’, *DVFLG* 62, no. 2 (1988), p. 269.

⁷⁴⁷ Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*, p. 13.

⁷⁴⁸ As Vossler observed: “Vielleicht nicht der Einzige, aber jedesfalls der Bedeutendste der mit Bewusstsein danach strebte, auch in seinen Texten die Form der italienischen Muster wiederzugeben, ist Johann Hermann Schein”. Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal*, p. 22. See also Smallman, ‘The Madrigal in Germany’, p. 15.

⁷⁴⁹ R.H. Thomas, *Poetry & Song in the German Baroque*, Oxford: 1963, pp. 22-23.

ch'in mezzo all'onde sia', the latter published in 1579.⁷⁵⁰ This last example, while indebted to Italian models for the favourite image of the rocking boat on stormy seas, reveals a number of differences between Italian madrigals and Schein's German imitations. While the Italian madrigal, in the sense of Bembo's "rime libere" (echoed in Ziegler's observation that there is, next to the madrigal, "in keinem einzigen *genere Carminis* grössere Freyheit"), typically knew neither a regular rhyme scheme nor metre, Schein's effort is characterised by a regular iambic metre and rhyme pattern. The lines themselves contain either seven or eight syllables, depending on whether the verse ended with a 'feminine' or 'masculine' ending. As Ziegler suggested, the masculine endings, untypical for Italian verse, may have been the necessary result of the differences between the two languages. German, unlike Italian, was founded on a strongly accented, regular metre; as Susan Lewis Hammond observes: "While German meter depended upon stress, the metrical character of Romance languages was determined by the number of syllables in a line".⁷⁵¹

Nevertheless, the pastoral thematic of Schein's madrigals is clearly indebted to Italian models, most obviously to Tasso, whose *Aminta* was published in Frankfurt in 1615 and in German translation in 1625, and Guarini, whose *Il pastor fido* was published in German translation in 1619.⁷⁵² Praetorius, enquiring as to the origins of the term 'Madrigal', suggests that it may be derived from the sort of "*Carmen pastorale*" which "noch heutiges tages die Hirten und Schäfer mit der Sachpfeiffen ihren Schäßlein vorzupfeiffen pflegen".⁷⁵³ Did the sort of pastoral poetry that was en vogue in Italy in the late sixteenth century, while for the Italians simply one strand of madrigalian poetry, come to embody for Schein the genre as a whole? In the two texts set in *Israelsbrünnlein* which are not from the scriptures, Schein adapts the pastoral language of his *Hirtenlieder* into the sacred sphere. By transferring imagery from the Italian pastoral madrigal, Schein may have considered himself to be adapting an essential aspect of madrigal poetry into a sacred context.

⁷⁵⁰ Smallman, 'The Madrigal in Germany', p. 15.

⁷⁵¹ Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, p. 86.

⁷⁵² Basil Smallman, 'Johann Hermann Schein as Poet and Composer', in Malcolm Hamrick Brown & Roland John Wiley [eds.], *Slavonic and Western Music: Essays for Gerald Abraham*, Ann Arbor: 1985, p. 34.

⁷⁵³ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 12.

Two texts in *Israelsbrünnelein* are exceptional, in that they are not “Krafftspüchlin altes und neuen Testaments” but freely composed texts, presumably by Schein himself.⁷⁵⁴ Both have a more or less regular metre and rhyme scheme, two features atypical for the (Italian) madrigal as a *genus poeseos*. In the first, ‘Ach Herr, ach meiner schone’, the individual lines contain between six and eight syllables. There are in total eight lines, in keeping with Ziegler’s observation that “Die gemeinsten sind von 7. 8. 9. 10. oder 11. Versen”.⁷⁵⁵ The first verse, with its seven syllables and accented penultima, recalls the *settenario* characteristic of Italian verse:

Ach Herr, ach meiner schone
nach dem Grimm mir nicht ablohne.
Denn deine Pfeil zumal
machen mir große Qual.
O weh, mein armes Herz
empfindet großen Schmerz.
O du, mein lieber Herre Gott,
hilf mir in meiner großen Not.

The rhyming couplets are evident, even if, at least for modern ears, the final ‘rhyme’ of “Gott” with “Not” pairs a short with a long vowel.⁷⁵⁶ While the lines in each of the first three couplets typically have three accented syllables, the final couplet departs from this pattern, with each line containing four accented syllables. Did Schein intend the final couplet to function as a climax, as the ‘scharffsinnige’ resolution which Ziegler suggests is typical for the madrigal? ‘O Herr Jesu Christe’ has a similar form with, in the case of ‘Christe/vorübergeh’, an even more awkward rhyme:

O Herr Jesu Christe
doch nicht vorübergeh
bleib mit dem Wort
an diesem Ort.
Dein heilige Sakrament
erhalt an diesem End
sonst sein wir wie die Schaf verirrt.
Ach, weid uns selbst, du guter Hirt.

⁷⁵⁴ Concerning Schein’s ‘Villanellen’, Wolfgang Casper Printz points out that Schein “hat [...] die Texte dazu selbst getichtet”. Printz, *Historische Beschreibung*, p. 136.

⁷⁵⁵ Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*, p. 11.

⁷⁵⁶ *Israelsbrünnelein* was published the year before Martin Opitz’s much celebrated *Von der deutschen Poëterey* (1624), in which Opitz outlines measures for the reform of the German language, addressing such points as irregular metre and dodgy rhymes. For a concise summary of Opitz’s reform principles see Robert Marcellus Browning, *German Baroque Poetry 1618-1723*, University Park: 1971, pp. 14-15.

Unlike the pastoral texts of *Diletti pastorali*, both ‘Ach Herr’ and ‘O Herr Jesu Christe’ begin with an appeal to the divine, immediately placing them in a sacred context; the latter is the only text in *Israelsbrünnlein* in which ‘Jesu Christe’ is referred to by name. Nevertheless, both texts make use of pastoral imagery with parallels in *Diletti pastorali*. In ‘Ach Herr’, the ‘Pfeil’ is shot by God himself, a metaphor for the sufferings of *Anfechtung* experienced by the speaker, blind to the fact that such suffering had a purpose in the path to salvation. Contemporary preachers used the image of the ‘Pfeil’ as a metaphor for externally imposed afflictions, with Satan as the agent. Leiser, in a funeral sermon held for Martha, wife of Christian Rothaupt, in Leipzig in 1619, states that the funeral text was “ihr Trostsprüchlein gewesen / damit sie die fewrigen Pfeil des Satans außgeschet / und ihren Glauben und vertrauen an Gott gestercket”.⁷⁵⁷ In a sermon from Augsburg, the preacher also uses martial imagery, referring to “das rechte Kriegskleid” as armour for when “der Teuffel seine feurige vergiffte Pfeil auf uns loß drucken”.⁷⁵⁸

Multiple references to the ‘Pfeil’ are found in Schein’s texts in *Diletti pastorali*.⁷⁵⁹ The text of *Amor, das liebe Räuberlein* outlines Cupid’s designs on Filli. The combination of fire and arrows, found above in connection with the Devil, is also made in Schein’s text: Cupid, “das liebe Räuberlein”, “viel tausend, tausend Pfeil verschossen, die manch Herz ungeheuer gebrennt wie lauter Feuer”. In the final lines, we learn that “Filli Augenäpfelein / mit ihren Liebesblickelein / gnug Feur und Pfeile geben”. In the final madrigal of *Diletti pastorali*, Cupid has another crack at Filli’s heart; he “pickt dran mit seinem Pfeil so hart als an ein Feuerstein”. ‘Als Filli schön und fromm’ recalls Filli’s encounter with Cupid “einstmals am Elbestrom”. While Filli was tending her “durstge Schäfelein”, Cupid, with Fortune’s blessing, came sailing along the

⁷⁵⁷ Polycarp Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Spruch des 73. Psalms: HErr wenn ich nur dich habe / so frag ich nichts nach Himmel / etc. Beym Begräbniß und Christlichen Bestattung / der Erbarn und Tugendsamen Frauen. MARTHEN / Des Erbarn und Ehrengachten Herren Christian Rothaupts / Bürgers und Handelßmanns in Leipzig seligen Haußfrauen. Welche den 28. *Januarii Anno 1619*. [...] entschlaffen / und den 1 *Februarij* Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden, Leipzig: 1619.

⁷⁵⁸ Georg Paul Jenisch, Glaubiger Kinder Gottes Allerschönster Seelen=Schmuck / Aus dem 61. Cap.v.10. deß Propheten Esaiæ. Augsburg: 1680[?], pp. 18-19.

⁷⁵⁹ Vossler has commented on precedents in Tasso’s madrigals: “Das von Schein verwendete Motiv des Liebesgottes, der das erloschene Feuer seiner Pfeile am Herz der Geliebten, oder des Liebhabers wieder anzündet, findet sich ebenfalls in Tasso’s Madrigalen”. Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal*, p. 25.

river: “Alsbald es Filli ward ansicht, sein gülden Pfeil es auf sie richt, ihr Herzlein in flammie- ret”. Schein sets here the word “Pfeil” with a rapidly descending figure, surely meant as a musical depiction of the shooting arrow:⁷⁶⁰



***Diletti pastorali*, ‘Als Filli schön und fromm’, Tenor, bar 20**

Schein uses a similar figure to depict the same word in ‘Ach Herr, ach meine Schone’:



***Israelsbrünnlein*, ‘Ach Herr, ach meine Schone’, Cantus I, bars 14-15**

Schein’s reference to the ‘Pfeil’ in ‘Ach Herr’ may have been an attempt at transferring the language and symbolism of the pastoral madrigal into the sacred sphere. ‘O Herr Jesu Christe’ offers an even more compelling example. The image of Christ as the good shepherd is, of course, found in the New Testament.⁷⁶¹ In Schein’s text, the image of the sheep gone astray (‘wie die Schaf verirrt’) is contrasted with Christ as the ‘guter Hirt’. Schein’s *Musica boscareccia* shows just how readily pastoral imagery could be adapted from the secular to the sacred. The three-part pastoral villanellas of *Musica boscareccia* (1621; 1626; 1628) were republished (1644-51) with sacred texts as *Musica boscareccia sacra*. A poem in this print addresses the sacred transformation of pastoral imagery.⁷⁶² Christ slips into the role of the shepherd (“mein Hirt”), watching over his sheep, pastures, hills and woods (“Deine Schafe/ deine Felder/ Deine

⁷⁶⁰ Described by Praetorius (*Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 236) as *Tiratæ*: “*Tiratæ*: Sind lange geschwinde Läuflin / so *gradatim* gemacht werden/ und durchs *Clavier* hinauff oder hervnter lauffen. Je geschwinder und schärffer nun diese Läuflin gemacht werden/ doch also das man eine jede *Noten* recht rein hören und fast vernemen kan: Je besser und anmütiger es sein wird”.

⁷⁶¹ Cf. John 10.11-18.

⁷⁶² ‘Schluß-Ode’ from *Musica boscareccia sacra*, Erster Theil, Erfurt: 1644, printed in Joachim Thalmann [ed.], Johann Hermann Schein, *Musica boscareccia*, NGA vol. 7, p. xx.

Berge/ deine Wälder”). This probably explains why ‘O Herr Jesu Christe’ is the only text in *Israelsbrünnlein* in which Christ is referred to explicitly by name; the adaptation of the image of the shepherd from pastoral poetry was most obviously facilitated through the parallel with Christ. Similarly, the theme of pastoral love, the highest ideal for the inhabitants of Arcadia, could readily be reinterpreted: if love was the pastoral ideal, divine love was its highest manifestation (“Ist die Liebe singens wehrt?/ Deiner Lieb muß alles weichen”).

5.5 *The Madrigal Style*

Praetorius, Schütz and Ziegler recognise that the madrigal was in the first instance a literary form. But, as Demantius stated, such texts were set by composers “auf sonderliche Manier in eine *Musicalische Harmoni*”; it was a literary form associated with a particular manner of composition. Praetorius makes various references in his *Syntagma Musicum* to the madrigal style of composition. Discussing Lucofoco Viadana’s motets, he contrasts the new manner of writing facilitated by the basso continuo with the “Madrigalien” over which they are now preferred: “Wie es denn auch am Tage / daß jetziger zeit in Italia fast alle / oder ja die meisten *Componisten* gar wenig von *Madrigalien*, meistentheils aber uff diese und dergleichen Art gerichtete sehr herrliche Sachen / welche sie mit einer eintzigen / zwo / dreyen und vier Stimmen *cum Basso generali pro Organo* [...] in druck herfür kommen lassen / *Concertos, concentus ac Motettas indifferenter* nennen und *inscribirt*”.⁷⁶³ The contrast is that between ‘madrigals’ as compositions whose harmonic integrity is provided by the sung voices alone, and works for one to four solo voices which depend on the figured bass. A few pages later, however, Praetorius associates such ‘Concerti’ with the ‘Madrigalische Art’. Trying to get to the bottom of the – apparently quite arbitrary – usage of the terms ‘Motetti’ and ‘Concerti’ by Italian composers, Praetorius observes that “die meisten / eben derselben Art *Cantiones* unnd *Concentus* mit dem Namen *Motetti inscribiret*: Die wenigsten aber den unterscheid gehalten / daß die *Motetten* uff rechte Orlandische *Motetten* / die *Concert* aber uff Madrigalische Art gesetzt haben”.⁷⁶⁴ In this instance, Praetorius associated the ‘Madrigalische Art’ with the manner of singing associated with the ‘Concert’; as Praetorius argues here, compositions “mit 2. 3. 4. 5. Stimmen” can be unproblematically termed ‘Concerti’, as “in etlichen die beyde / drey oder vier Stimmen / einer dem

⁷⁶³ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, pp. 4-5.

⁷⁶⁴ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 8.

ändern die *Harmoniam*, und bey etlichen die Passaghien oder *diminutiones* nachfugiren / und was vorher gesungen / nachmachen / dann bald zugleich zusammen fallen / und also gleichsam miteinander *concertiren*, wer es zum besten heraus bringen kan”.⁷⁶⁵ The contrast between the “Orlandische *Motetten*” and the “*Concert* aber auff Madrigalische Art” seems here to be that between the *stile antico* motet, characterised by equality of voices and harmonic completeness, and the soloistic virtuosity on the foundation of the basso continuo in the ‘concert’. A decade earlier, however, Praetorius contrasted in his *Musae sioniae IX*. chorale settings “*ad imitationem Orlandi de Lasso* auff Muteten Art” with settings of the same chorales “mit 5. Stimmen *ad imitationem Lucae Marentij* und anderer *Italorum* auff Madrigalische Art”.⁷⁶⁶ Had Praetorius’ understanding of the madrigal, in awareness of the radical transformations that had occurred with the advent of the continuo madrigal, changed in the decade between this reference to the polyphonic madrigal style of Luca Marenzio (whose five-part madrigals were published in Germany in 1601) and his association in the *Syntagma Musicum* of the “madrigalische Art” with the “Concert”?

Praetorius refers to the combination of the “Motettische und Madrigalische Art” within a single composition, revealing thereby the musical manner which he associated with each of these. While he describes here the motet style as “pathetisch”, “langsamb” and “gravitetisch”, he associates the madrigal style with “geschwinde *Clausulen*” and “geschwindere umbwechselung”:

Ettliche wollen nicht zu geben / daß man *in compositione alicujus Cantionis* zugleich Motettische und Madrigalische Art untereinander vermischen solle. Deroselben Meynung ich mir aber nicht gefallen lasse; Sintemahl es den *Motecten* und *Concerten* eine besondere lieblich: unnd anmütigkeit gibt unnd *conciliiret*, wenn im anfang etliche viel *Tempora* gar pathetisch und langsamb gesetztet seyn / hernach etliche geschwinde *Clausulen* daruff folgen: Bald wiederumb langsam und gravitetisch / bald abermahl geschwindere umbwechselung mit einmischen / damit es nicht allezeit in einem *Tono* und *Sono* fortgehe / sondern solche und dergleichen verenderungen mit eim langsamen und geschwinde[n] *Tact*: So wol auch mit erhebung der Stimmen / unnd dann bißweilen mit gar stillem Laut mit allem Fleiß in acht genommen werde / wie kurtz vorher angezeigt worden.⁷⁶⁷

⁷⁶⁵ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 8.

⁷⁶⁶ Commented upon by Braun (1981); this was one of the publications which Braun considered to belong to the genre of the German Sacred Madrigal.

⁷⁶⁷ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 80.

5.5.1 “Tardioris signum est C, quo signantur Madrigalia...”

The contrast between the motet as ‘langsamb’ and ‘gravitetisch’, and the madrigal as ‘geschwind’ is reflected in Praetorius’ recommendation that different mensuration signs be used for each manner of composition.⁷⁶⁸ The distinction between motet and madrigal was revealed in notational differences. The more modern “alle semibreve”, indicated by the C, is taken to signify the Madrigal, while the “alla breve” signature represents the motet: “Tardioris signum est C, quo signantur Madrigalia: celerioris C, quo signantur Motetae”.⁷⁶⁹ Despite this assertion, Praetorius concedes that there has been in practice little agreement amongst composers as to the association of these signatures with particular styles. Marenzio uses both signs for his spiritual madrigals.⁷⁷⁰ Giovanni Gabrieli used exclusively the “alla breve” signature; Praetorius knows of no examples of “alle semibreve” in his oeuvre. Monteverdi uses the “alla breve” for works in the motet style, and “alle semibreve” for everything else, in which there are “mehr schwarze als weisse Noten”. Viadana used C for all works with text and C for works without.⁷⁷¹ Still others mix up the signatures arbitrarily.⁷⁷² Praetorius himself states that he prefers C for “Motetten, so uff des Orlandi de Lasso ... Art gesetzt” and for everything else, in particular for “*Concerten*, weil dieselbe *in mixto genere*”, the C. Praetorius, unable to find evidence of a standard practice amongst the Italians, offers his own preference. But this was surely not a hard-and-fast rule.

Schütz, in his *Cantiones sacrae* (1625), a collection that, like *Israelsbrünnlein*, has been taken to exemplify a madrigalian art of motet composition, uses throughout the *Tactus tardior* ‘C’. Schütz likewise uses the ‘C’ for his Italian madrigals, but uses *Tempus imperfectum diminutum* (C) in his *Psalmen Davids* and *Auferstehungshistorie* (1623). Volckmar-Waschk argues that Schütz’s use of C was a deliberate choice reflecting a madrigalian manner of composition: “Mit

⁷⁶⁸ Cf. Hans Otto Hiekel, ‘Der Madrigal- und Motettentypus in der Mensurallehre des Michael Praetorius’, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 19./20. Jahrg., H. 1. (1962/1963), pp. 40-55. See also Carl Dahlhaus, ‘Über den Motettenbegriff des Michael Praetorius’, in Uwe Haensel [ed.], *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Nordeuropas: Kurt Gudewill zum 65. Geburtstag*, Wolfenbüttel: 1978.

⁷⁶⁹ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 48.

⁷⁷⁰ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 50.

⁷⁷¹ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 51.

⁷⁷² “Etliche vermengen es durch einander / bald in diesem C, im andern das C. vnnd kann man gleichwol an den Noten / oder ganzem Gesange keinen unterschied erkennen”. Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 51.

der Wahl des ‘Tactus tardior’ scheint Schütz in den *Cantiones sacrae* der madrigalischen Schreibweise anzuschließen, und man könnte daher auch aufgrund der Taktangabe die *Cantiones sacrae* als ‘geistliche Madrigale’ bezeichnen”.⁷⁷³ If the time signature of the *Cantiones sacrae* is a reason for Schütz’s works to be termed ‘Geistliche Madrigale’, Schein’s *Israelsbrünnlein* must for the same reason be excluded. While Schütz, in his *Cantiones sacrae*, uses the ‘madrigalian’ C, with the semiminim as the unit of declamation, Schein uses in all the *Israelsbrünnlein* settings ‘Tempus imperfectum diminutum’. By this account, Schein’s consistent use of Tempus imperfectum diminutum would speak *against* an attribution of his collection to the genre of ‘Geistliches Madrigal’. In practice, the choice of mensuration sign was probably due more to convenience or the composer’s own preference rather than representing the result of a deliberate decision to write ‘madrigals’ as opposed to ‘motets’. Praetorius writes that he has nothing against the use of the C-signature in “Motecten und andere geistliche Gesänge” that contain many black notes. Praetorius names sacred works from both Lassus (Magnificat 4. Vocum) and Marenzio (the aforementioned spiritual madrigals) to demonstrate this.⁷⁷⁴ As Praetorius writes, anyone can judge this for themselves on the basis of the text and the harmony.⁷⁷⁵

5.6 “die Italiänische jetzo gebräuchliche anmutige manier zu singen”

The ‘Avertimento’ included in the bass partbook of *Diletti pastorali* offers an approach to decoding Schein’s understanding of the distinction between the madrigal and the madrigal style. Schein begins with a description of the role of the composer as opposed to the singer (Cantor). While it is the composer’s task to compose the piece, the performer is responsible for its execution, which included the ornamentation and embellishment (“passagieren”) of the composer’s notes. Schein states that, although he is aware of this distinction, he nevertheless decided to

⁷⁷³ Volckmar-Waschk, *Die “Cantiones sacrae” von Heinrich Schütz*, p. 53.

⁷⁷⁴ “Darumb deuchtet mich nicht über gethan seyn / wenn man die Motecten, und andere geistliche Gesänge / welche mit vielen schwarzen Noten gesetzt seyn / mit diesem Signo C zeichnet; anzuzeigen / daß alßdann der Tact etwas langsamer und graviterischer müsse gehalten weden: Wie dann Orlandus in seinen Magnificat 4. Vocum und Marentius in vorgedachten Spiritualibus und andern Madrigalibus solches in acht genommen”. Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 50. Again, Lassus and Marenzio are taken as the paradigm examples of the Motet and the Madrigal respectively.

⁷⁷⁵ “Es kann aber ein jeder den Sachen selbst nachdenken / und *ex consideratione Textus & Harmoniae observieren*, wo ein langsamer oder geschwinder Tact gehalten werden müsse”. Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 51.

make use in his compositions of “ein klein Leuff- oder Schleifflein”, the sort of “passagieren” for which the singer is typically responsible.⁷⁷⁶ This apparent confusion of the roles of the composer and performer results not, claims Schein, from ignorance, but represents his attempt to provide “eine kleine Anleitung” for “den einfeltigen”. His reason for doing so is explicitly stated: “weil die Italiänische jetzo gebräuchliche anmutige *manier* zu singen in gemein nicht sonderlich bekant”. Schein takes the phrase “Italiänische...anmutige Manier” – which recalls the formulation “auf eine sonderbar Anmütige *Italian Madrigalische* Manier” on the title page of *Israelsbrunnlein* – to refer to the manner of the performance, to the manner of ornamentation characteristic of contemporary Italian vocal music:

Vielgünstiger lieber Leser / Daß ich in meine *Compositionen* je bißweilen ein klein Leuff- oder Schleifflein zu *inseriren* pflege / geschicht nicht / wie etliche wol vielleicht ihne[n] einbilden mögen / ohne ursach / viel weniger aus Unverstand / als ob ich nicht wüste / daß einem *Compositor* / den Gesang zu *componiren* / einem *Cantor* aber denselben zierlich zu *passeggioniren*, eigentlich zustünde : Sondern zu deme ich anderer vornemer Autoren Exempel vor mir habe / weil die Italiänische jetzo gebräuchliche anmutige *manier* zu singen in gemein noch nicht sonderlich bekant / Als will ich hiermit nur den einfeltigen (vornehmen *Capell Musicis* hiermit nichts *praejudiciret*) eine kleine anleitung / den Sachen ferner nachzufragen / an die hand geben. Verstendige / auffrichtige Hertzen werden auch in diesem meine wolmeynende *Intention* im besten vermecken / *candide judiciren*, und meine günstige geneigte Freunde seyn und bleiben : Auch das hievor vertröstete *Opus* Geistlicher *Moteten* und *Concerten* ehestes von mir erwarten. *Vale.*⁷⁷⁷

Praetorius similarly describes the ‘jetzige Italianische Manier’ of singing in terms of ‘passagieren’, the embellishment of intervals through improvised ornamentation. Like Schein, Praetorius comments on the difficulty of finding singers in Germany familiar with the modern Italian manner of singing. Describing a cantor’s selection of singers for the “Concertat-Stimmen” he writes: “Darumb muß man zu diesen Stimmen die besten *Cantores* und Sängers außlesen / die nicht allein *secur*, gewiß unnd freymütig seyn / sondern auch auff die jetzige Newe Manier und weise / *gratiata mente* und mit guter *Disposition* singen können ... Jedoch weil solche *Cantores* unnd Sängers / bey uns in Teutschland / noch zur zeit an wenig Ortern vorhanden: So findet man gleichwol unter den *Studiosis* und in Schulen / offtmals etliche feine reine / artige und frische Stimmen / welche ja so anmütig zu hören seyn / als offtmals andere / die viel *diminuirens* als

⁷⁷⁶ Demantius shows that the term ‘Läuflein’ was used as a German translation of ‘Diminutiones’ or ‘Colloraturen’: “*Diminutiones* sind Läufelein im Gesang sonsten *Colloraturen* genand”. Demantius, *ISAGOGE ARTIS MUSICÆ*.

⁷⁷⁷ *Avertimento* from the basso continuo partbook to *Diletti pastorali*, printed in Adam Adrio [ed.], Johann Hermann Schein, *Diletti pastorali: Hirtenlust 1624*, p. XII.

passaghyrens, ohn unterscheid und *absque judicio* zu machen / sich unterstehen wollen”.⁷⁷⁸

Few and far between are those who understand the new manner, but there are often a few talented boys in the schools.⁷⁷⁹ Would Schein, as one of the few who obviously *did* understand the modern Italian manner, with his well-drilled Thomaner have further embellished his compositions in performance?⁷⁸⁰

Praetorius refers repeatedly to the ‘jetzig: Newen Italianischen Manier / zur guten Art im singen’.⁷⁸¹ Again, the reference is made to ‘new’, ‘Italian’ and ‘manner’ together, exactly as found in Schein’s description. Praetorius gives as his authority for the technical features of his modern Italian manner of singing *Le nuove musiche* of Giulio Caccini. Caccini’s collection contains many compositions entitled ‘Madrigal’; these are, however, not polyphonic madrigals, but monophonic compositions characterised by virtuosic vocal embellishments. By attributing the modern Italian manner of singing to Caccini’s *Le nuove musiche*, Praetorius *does* tacitly associate this new manner of singing with a ‘Madrigal-maniem’; the ‘Madrigal-Manier’ in question is, however, not that of Marenzio but rather the monophonic *manier* which he associates with Caccini.⁷⁸² Praetorius offers a summary of the technical features which belong to the new Italian style as revealed by Caccini and his *Le nuove Musiche*. He declares his intention soon to publish a volume (Tractätlein) in which he outlines the “Newen Italienischen Manier” in detail, taking as his models Caccini’s *Le nuove Musiche*, in which are contained numerous *monophonic* madrigals prefaced by a treatise on the art of figuration, and Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, likewise author of a theoretical work on *passagi*.⁷⁸³

⁷⁷⁸ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, pp. 196-197.

⁷⁷⁹ As Arno Forchert writes, the typical school cantor, “in der Regel nur zur Hälfte Musiker, zur anderen aber Lehrer”, was out of his depth with the realisation of the figuration, independence of voices and the continuo bass required by modern Italian works. See Forchert, ‘Überlegungen zum Einfluß Italiens’ pp. 144-5.

⁷⁸⁰ Gregory S. Johnston has shown that it was necessary for Schein, when revising funeral Lieder for incorporation in his *Cantional* (1627) with a mind to the difference in ability between his Thomaner and the broader market for which the *Cantional* was intended, to smooth over some of the more challenging passages in the original versions of the Lieder. See Johnston, ‘Revision and Compositional Process’, in *SJb* (2002).

⁷⁸¹ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, here p. 230.

⁷⁸² By discussing the “Italiänische...anmutige Manier” in *Diletti pastorali*, a collection of five-part compositions “Auff Madrigal-maniem Componirt”, Schein tacitly associated the one with the other.

⁷⁸³ Giovanni Battista Bovicelli, *Regole, passaggi di musica, madrigali et motetti passeggiati*, Venice: 1594. Cf. ‘Diversi Modi di Diminuire’, p. 17 ff.

Wie aber / und welcher Gestalt dieses geschehen / und einer nach der jetzig : Newen Italianischen Manier / zur guten Art im singen sich gewöhnen / die *Accentus* unnd *affectus exprimirn*, auch die *Trillen*, *Gruppen* und andere *coloraturen*, Am füglichsten unnd bequemsten *adhibiren* könne : dasselbige sol in einem absonderlichen Tractätlein (Worzu Mir denn sonderlich der *Giulio Romano* sonsten *Giulio Caccini de Roma* genant / in seiner *Le nuove Musiche*, und *Gio : Battista Bovicelli* dienlich gewesen) in kurtzen mit Göttlicher hülffe herfür kommen.⁷⁸⁴

5.6.1 ‘Anmut’: The Execution of a Composition in Performance

Schein writes that the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* were composed according to a “sonderbar Anmutige” Italian madrigal manner. In his discussion of how schoolboys might best learn the “jetzige Italianische Manier”, Praetorius suggests what ‘anmütig’ might have meant. He makes the comparison with the orator, trained in the art of decorating his speeches with rhetorical figures: “GLEich wie eines *Oratoris* Ampt ist / nicht allein eine *Oration* mit schönen anmutigen lebhaftigen Worten / unnd herrlichen *Figuris* zu zieren / sondern auch recht zu *pronuncijren*, und die *affectus* zu *moviren*”, it is not sufficient for a singer to be blessed by nature with a good voice. He must also be trained in the ‘science’ of singing: “Also ist eines *Musican*ten nicht allein singen / sondern Künstlich und anmütig singen : Damit das Hertz der Zuhörer gerühret / und die *affectus* bewegt werden / und also der Gesang seine Endschafft / dazu er gemacht / und dahin er gerichtet / erreichen möge”.⁷⁸⁵ Praetorius shows that, while ‘Lieblichkeit’ was the adjective associated with a naturally beautiful voice, ‘*gratia*’ or ‘Anmut’ referred to the application of the science of singing to the execution of a musical composition. It wasn’t enough for a singer to be blessed “mit einer herrlichen Stimme von Natur”; he must also be equipped “mit gutem Verstande / und vollkommener Wissenschaft der *Music*”. An essential part of this “Wissenschaft” consisted in knowing when to apply *passaggi* in the execution of a composition: “Daß er wisse die *Accentus* fein artlich und *cum Iudicio* zu führen / unnd die *modulos* oder *Coloraturen* (so von den *Italis Passaggi* genennet werden) nicht an einem jeden Ort des Gesanges / sondern *appositè*, zu rechter zeit und gewisser maß anzubringen und zu *appliciren*, damit neben der Lieblichkeit der Stimmen / auch die Kunst wol eingenommen und gehöret werde”.⁷⁸⁶ ‘Lieblichkeit’ was the result of a naturally pleasing voice, but it must be combined with ‘*gratia*’, the ‘Anmütigkeit’ of one acquainted with the science of singing; a

⁷⁸⁴ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 230.

⁷⁸⁵ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 229.

⁷⁸⁶ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 229.

singer who knew the art of “Künstlich und anmütig singen”. Where a good voice was combined with musical ignorance, the singer’s injudicious application of *passaggi* could destroy the composition:

Sintemal die jenigen gar nicht zu loben / welche von Gott und der Natur / mit einer sonderbahren lieblichen zitterten und schwebenden oder beben=den Stimm / auch einem runden Halß unnd Gurgel zum diminuiren begabet / sich an der *Musicorum leges* nicht binden lassen / sondern nur fort unnd fort / mit ihrem allzuviel *colorirn*, die im Gesang vorgeschriebene *limites* überschreiten / unnd denselben dermassen verderben und verdunckeln / daß man nicht weiß was sie singen / Auch weder den Text noch die Noten (so der Componist gesetzt / und dem Gesange die beste Zier und *gratiam* giebt) vernehmen / viel weniger verstehen kan.⁷⁸⁷

The true goal of the singer was therefore ‘Anmütig singen’. The voice’s natural ‘Lieblichkeit’ must be combined with the artful application of figures to give “dem Gesange die beste Zier und *gratiam*”. The ‘gratia’, the ‘Anmütigkeit’, was the result of the singer’s artistry and judgment in the execution of *passagi*: read in these terms, Schein’s reference to the ‘anmütige’ Manner could suggest a reference to the science of performance, a science that is in *Israelsbrünnlein* included in the notation of the composition.

5.6.2 ‘Lobet den Herrn alle Heiden’: A Birthday Madrigal

An occasional birthday composition by Schein survives in manuscript and predates the *Israelsbrünnlein* compositions.⁷⁸⁸ The first word of its dedication is ‘Madrigale’, suggesting a connection with the *Israelsbrünnlein* works, each of which is individually labelled with this term. It was composed in 1615, before Schein’s move to Leipzig, “Auff den frölichen Geburtstag” of “Herrn Fridrichen, Hertzogen zu Sachßen”, whom Schein describes as his “gnedigen fürsten vndt Herrn”. The ‘madrigalian’ feature of ‘Lobet den Herrn alle Heiden’, a setting of the two verses of Psalm 117, was the ornate coloratura soprano voice, a voice written out and embellished according to the modern Italian manner. Schein sets this text, described as a “Lob- unnd Danck=psälmlin”, in the Mixolydian mode, the mode which, as the two settings in this mode from *Israelsbrünnlein* suggest, Schein associated with such texts of praise. The piece is described further as “mit 4. stimmen cum Canto colorato, nach Italiänischer Inven=tion”. Could this connection between the title ‘Madrigale’ and the following ‘nach Italiänischer Invention’

⁷⁸⁷ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 229-230.

⁷⁸⁸ This suggests that this might be the only composition preserved in Schein’s own hand (NGA 10 vol. 1, p. 157).

hint at Schein’s understanding of ‘madrigal’ in terms not of the ‘old’ madrigal style as epitomised by Marenzio, but of the ‘new’ madrigal style, at the modern Italian manner which Praetorius associates with Caccini’s compositions in *Le nuove musiche*?⁷⁸⁹

The equation of the art of “ein klein Leuff- oder Schleifflein zu *inseriren*”, which Schein associated in the ‘Avertimento’ from *Diletti pastorali* with “die Italiänische jetzo gebräuchliche anmutige *manier* zu singen”, with the “sonderbar Anmütige *Italian Madrigalische Manier*” would be one way of explaining Schein’s description of this birthday composition as a ‘madrigal’. This composition, written for a single solo voice with instrumental accompaniment,⁷⁹⁰ is an example of Schein having applied the principles of diminution which, for both Schein and Praetorius, characterised the modern Italian style. Although written out in five parts, the composition contains only four real voices. The single vocal voice, the “Canto Colorato”, is a heavily decorated version of the highest instrumental part, the diminutions in the vocal part modelled on the corresponding instrumental voice:

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'Canto Colorato. Voce.' and contains a highly decorated vocal line with many sixteenth-note runs and trills. The bottom staff is labeled 'Canto. Violino.' and contains a simpler instrumental line with mostly quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics 'Lo - - - bet den Herrn, lo - - -' are written under the first staff, and 'bet den Herrn, al - - - le Hei -' are written under the second staff. A measure number '3' is written above the second staff.

We have here an example of Schein’s application of the art of diminution to a single voice. Could it be that, while Schein conceives here of the Italian invention as applied to a single solo voice, he applies in *Israelsbrünnlein* such figuration – necessarily in a less extreme manner – to all five voices? Obviously it would be impossible to embellish five voices to the same extent

⁷⁸⁹ Schein included a German adaptation of Caccini’s solo madrigal ‘Cruda amarilli’ in his *Diletti pastorali* (as ‘O Amarilli zart’). See Werbeck, ‘Gabrieli-Schule’.

⁷⁹⁰ Concerning ‘Lobet den Herren’, Werbeck writes: “Es handelt sich also um ein geistliches Stück mit den Merkmalen eines virtuosen Solo-Madrigals in Form einer Canzonetta mit der Gliederung AA’BB’CC”. Werbeck, ‘Gabrieli-Schule’, p. 32.

to which the solo voice is here embellished. Could Schein have intended in *Israelsbrünnlein* to apply the principles of the modern Italian invention to polyphonic vocal writing, as a notated example for German singers unfamiliar with Italian models and their execution?

5.7 Approach 1: The Madrigal Manier as “Leuff- oder Schleifflein”

My first attempt consists in a discussion of the idea that Schein’s reference to the “*Italian Madrigalische Manier*” was meant as an indication of his indebtedness not, in the first instance, to the expressive musical language of the Italian polyphonic madrigal, the madrigal, to use Praetorius’ phrase, “mit 5. Stimmen *ad imitationem Lucae Marentij*”, but rather to the inclusion of modern Italian figuration, of “Leuff- oder Schleifflein”, in his polyphonic vocal compositions. As Schein states in the ‘Avertimento’, the ornamentation of a composition typically occurred in its performance; it was an improvised practice belonging to the role of the performer, not typically recorded in the composer’s notation of the composition. In the following discussion I will examine Schein’s use of a recurring cadential figure – a figure which I will, for convenience, term the ‘krümmet-figure’ – to show that Schein may have intentionally provided written-out examples for the practice of improvised embellishment. I offer a number of reasons for doing so. Firstly, I wish to examine the idea that Schein may have equated the ‘Madrigalische Manier’ with the ‘modern Italian manner’, a manner which Schein was careful to describe in his ‘Avertimento’ of 1624. The ‘Madrigal manner’ could then have been a reference to a manner of performance associated with *monophonic* madrigals, the sort of works found in Caccini’s *Le nuove musiche* which Praetorius considered to represent the modern Italian style. The application of this art of improvised figuration, typically associated with the performance of monophonic music, was necessarily limited when applied to five-part vocal compositions. I will suggest in my discussion, however, that some such embellishments are ‘written-out’ in a number of Schein’s compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein*. The reader may, however, not be convinced by the simplicity of this parallel, seeing instead the reference to the madrigal manner as a reference to the musical language of the polyphonic madrigal as opposed to a more conservative motet style. Both interpretations are probably valid: in light of the “Mischung der Gattungen und Schreibarten” Schein was surely influenced by both the expressive depiction of the text and the freer approach to the use of dissonance characteristic of the polyphonic madrigal, and the innovative approach to diminution and figuration facilitated by the continuo madrigal. A second goal is to examine the reasons for which Schein applied figuration such as the ‘krümmet-figure’.

I will suggest that Schein uses this one figure in three different ways. Firstly, as a true ‘madrigalism’, as a means of representing symbolically through a musical figure an image in the text; secondly, as a means of emphasising an important word or concept without such a symbolic connection; and finally, as a simple cadential embellishment, as a decoration of, in this case, a descending cadential semitone. My third goal is to suggest that Schein departed from normal practice in notating such cadential figuration. If this is correct, the implication would be that performers in Schein’s own time surely expanded in performance on the notes in the partbooks, giving licence to modern performers, who seek to capture the spirit of Schein’s performance practice in their own interpretations, to do the same.

5.7.1 The ‘krümmet-figure’

I propose to examine Schein’s use of a cadential figure found repeatedly in *Israelsbrünnlein*. The figure itself is simple enough, essentially the decoration of a descending cadential semitone. Characteristic for this figure in all of its appearances in *Israelsbrünnlein* is its placement on a descending semitone at a cadence, its rhythmic profile (two quavers followed by four semiquavers), and its melodic profile (the anticipation of the lower note of the semitone and the leap of a third from the final semiquaver to the actual goal of the figure on the lower semitone). The figure is found in the example below on the word ‘krümmet’ in the upper voice; for convenience, I will refer to this cadential decoration throughout as the ‘krümmet-figure’:

5.7.2 ‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’

10

C. I demn wer kann das schlecht ma - chen, das er krüm - met,

C. II demn wer kann das schlecht ma - chen, das er krüm - met,

A. wer kann das schlecht ma - chen, denn wer kann das schlecht ma - chen, das er krüm - met, denn wer kann das schlecht

‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’, Cantus I, Cantus II, Altus, bars 10-11

Firstly, to the figure itself. Praetorius, in his discussion of Italian diminutions, mentions the figure ‘gruppo’, a figure used to embellish an interval at cadences. He offers the following definition: “*Gruppo: vel Groppi: Werden in den Cadentiis und Clausulis formalibus gebraucht*

/ vnd müssen scherffer alß die *Tremoli* angeschlagen werden”.⁷⁹¹ The combination of trill and turn which make up the ‘krümmet-figure’ features in most of Praetorius’ examples. The reference to this figure’s use at cadences is consistent with Schein’s use. Demantius also offers a definition of ‘Groppi’, mentioning both the mordent figure from which they are composed and their placement at cadences, two points relevant for Schein’s usage of the ‘krümmet-figure’: “*Groppi* oder *gruppo* sind *mordanten* so zu letzt in den *Clausulis con fratta gula* geschlagen werden”.⁷⁹² The use of this figure’s rhythmic profile as a decoration of an existing melody is found in instrumental music based on vocal models; in the following example from Andrea Gabrieli’s *Canzon detta ‘Qui La Dira’* the figure decorates the melodic ascent through the interval of a third:



Andrea Gabrieli, ‘Canzon detta QUI LA DIRA’,⁷⁹³

In Schein’s setting of ‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’ this figure is found repeatedly on the word ‘krümmet’ at cadential semitones. While Gabrieli, in the above example, uses the figure to decorate a stepwise ascending third, Schein applies the figure to a descending semitone; in the first example below, in the Altus (bar 12) from D to C#, and in the Cantus II (bar 13-14) from G to F#. The characteristic features of this figure as Schein uses it – the rhythm (two quavers followed by four semiquavers), the anticipation of the lower note, and the concluding leap of a minor third – are all evident here:

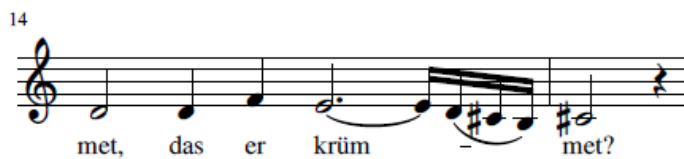
‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’, Cantus II und Altus, bars 12-14

⁷⁹¹ Praetorius, *Syntagmatis Musici* [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 236.

⁷⁹² Demantius, *ISAGOGE ARTIS MUSICÆ*.

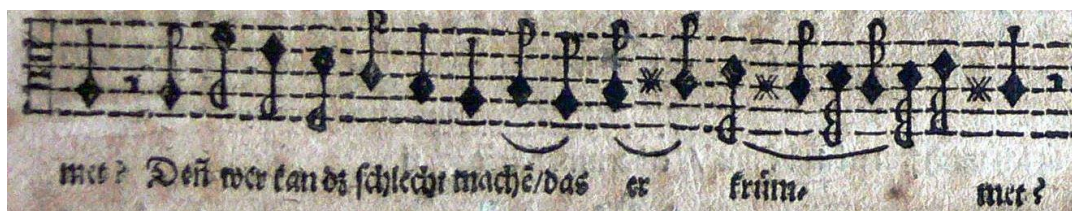
⁷⁹³ From Pierre Pidoux [ed.], Andrea Gabrieli, *Canzoni alla Francese*, Kassel: 1966.

The decoration of the fourth and final instance of the word ‘krümmet’ in ‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’ is an elaboration of the interval of a descending third, not a descending semitone. This could be the reason why the ‘krümmet-figure’ is not used here; the turn is suitable for the decoration of a descending semitone, not a third. When a descending third is to be embellished, the figure must be correspondingly adapted. One conclusion would be that the characteristic form of the ‘krümmet-figure’ is thus not an essential feature of the text depiction (otherwise Schein would surely have repeated it at the final cadence), but a superficial decoration resulting from the cadential voice-leading.



‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’, Altus, bars 14-15

Irmgard Hueck, however, offered an alternative reading of the significance of the ‘krümmet-figure’ in ‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’. She argues that the contrast between the words ‘schlecht’ [schlicht, i.e. straight] and ‘krumm’ [crooked] is here “im Notenbilde festgehalten”.⁷⁹⁴ Her argument is convincing. The linear descent in all three voices at ‘wer kann das schlecht machen’ is a musical symbol of ‘straight’, contrasting with the back-and-forth of the turn figure at the following ‘das er krümmet’, a musical representation of ‘crooked’:



‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’, Altus, bars 11-12

In this case, the ‘krümmet-figure’ is an integral part of the depiction of the text through music. It is, however, the combination of the text and musical figure which give meaning to the figure: the notes alone remain ambiguous. In the following, I will consider further instances of the ‘krümmet-figure’ in *Israelsbrunnlein*. While in some instances a similarly clear connection between textual image and musical symbolism can be found, this is not always the case. I will

⁷⁹⁴ Irmgard Hueck, *Die künstlerische Entwicklung Johann Hermann Scheins, dargestellt an seinen geistlichen Werken*, Dissertation, Freiburg: 1943, p. 97.

suggest that the same figure that can be read here as a ‘madrigalism’, as a musical symbol for an image in the text, is in other settings simply a cadential embellishment.

5.7.3 ‘Ihr Heiligen lobsinget dem Herrn’

The ‘krümmet-figure’ can, in ‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’, be interpreted as a musical device corresponding to the image of ‘krumm’ in the text. But exactly the same figure appears in settings of other *Sprüche* in *Israelsbrunnlein* where the connection between the figure and the text is less obvious. The ‘krümmet-figure’ is found on two separate occasions in ‘Ihr Heiligen lobsinget dem Herrn’. At its first instance, it is used to decorate a descending semitone on the word ‘Herren’. In addition to the interval decorated, the rhythmic and melodic profile of the figure are exactly the same as in ‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’:



‘Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herrn’, Cantus II, bars 5-6



‘Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herrn’, Cantus II, bars 8-9

The opening of this setting is contrapuntal, with ‘ends-of-phrases’ not coinciding in all voices. Although the interval decorated is similarly a descending semitone, its context is different from that in ‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’: in the examples from ‘Siehe an’ the decorated semitone occurred as the decoration of the ‘tonic-leading note’ in an imperfect cadence. In the first example above, this is similar, the semitone decorated being that from the tonic to the leading note. In the second example above it is found as a decoration of a descending semitone from the fourth to the third scale degree (as at the third instance in ‘Siehe an’).

Interesting is the comparison with the setting of the same word at cadential points where Schein *doesn't* use the ‘krümmet-figure’. In the example below, the answer must be that there is simply no descending semitone leading to the cadence (bar 7) to decorate:

6

C. I
sin - get dem Her - ren, lob-sin - get dem Her - ren,

C. II
ren,, ihr Hei - li gen, lob - sin - get dem

A.
lob sin - get dem Her - ren,, lob -

T.
8 lobsin - get dem Her - ren,,

B.
ren,, ihr Hei-li-gen, lob -

‘Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herrn’, bars 6-7

This observation suggests that Schein’s use of the ‘krümmet-figure’ in the setting of this *Spruch* was simply the result of the voice leading; in the above example, the figure is not applied as nowhere is there a suitable descending semitone. Unlike the examples discussed in ‘Siehe an’, there is no apparent connection between the figure and the text depicted; the figure would seem, in this case, to be simply the decoration of a cadence, an afterthought resulting from the voice-leading. If it was an essential feature of Schein’s setting, he surely would have been more careful about repeating this figure when he had a chance to do so. Rather than being a true ‘madrigalism’, it could be seen as an example of Schein’s inclusion of the sort of figuration normally improvised in performance in his notated composition as an ‘Anleitung’ for those in Germany unfamiliar with such performance techniques.

5.7.3.1 Schein’s settings of ‘Weinen’

If the use of the ‘krümmet-figure’ at the word ‘Herren’ is little more than a superficial cadential embellishment resulting from the voice-leading, Schein’s use of the figure at the word ‘Weinen’ in the same setting is again suggestive of its use as a ‘madrigalism’, as a compositional device intended to depict musically the contents of the text. The ‘krümmet-figure’ recurs in this setting at the word ‘Weinen’ (bars 33 & 42), here in two voices simultaneously as the most extreme elongation of a melismatic figure:

A. - nen, das Wei - nen,
 T. - nen, das Wei - nen,
 B. nen,

'Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herrn', Altus, Tenor & Bassus, bars 32-33

C. I. - nen, das Wei - nen,
 C. II. - nen, das Wei - nen,
 A. nen,

'Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herrn', Cantus I, Cantus II & Altus, bars 41-42

The word 'Weinen' is found multiple times in the *Israelsbrunnlein* settings, each time set with a similar musical device. In 'Die mit Tränen säen', it is set harmonically with suspensions in the melismatic upper voices above a static bass. The line 'und weinet über ihn' in 'Da Jacob' is reminiscent of a faux-bourdon style, with three voices alternating between two first inversion chords a semitone apart. Suspensions created by melismatic voice leading are further found at 'währet das Weinen' in 'Ihr Heiligen lobsinget dem Herrn'. In all three cases, Schein depicts this word through melismas, harmonic tension, suspensions and chromaticism.

We can identify three different functions of the setting of 'Weinen' in 'Ihr Heiligen'. Firstly, we can view it in isolation, as an expressive harmonic depiction of the word and its affect. Recognising that Schein sets this word similarly on multiple occasions, we could conclude that he associated this musical device with this word and its affect and categorize it as such. This is all very well, but stopping at the consideration of the figure in isolation of its context would be premature. The setting of 'Weinen' acquires a new role when seen in the context of the parallelism in the text. The melismatic writing and harmonic tension created at 'Weinen' create a musical contrast with the syllabic, homorhythmic setting of the second half of the parallelism ('aber des Morgens die Freude'), reflecting through musical means the juxtaposition inherent

in the psalm verse. On a third level, Schein uses a turn figure in the Altus and Tenor at ‘Weinen’ to establish a semantic connection between this parallelism and the preceding one in the same verse. This turn figure is also found on the word ‘Zoren’ in the first half of the preceding parallelism, creating a connection between the two initial halves of two consecutive parallelisms. The setting of ‘Weinen’ in this composition can as such be examined on three levels: firstly, in isolation, as a figure associated with the affect of the word set; secondly, in the context of the juxtaposition between the two contrasting halves of one antithetical parallelism; and finally as a feature of an ‘interparallelism’, a musical device creating unity *between* parallelisms.

As in ‘Ihr Heiligen’, the word ‘Weinen’ is in Schein’s setting of ‘Die mit Tränen säen’ set with expressive dissonances between the melismatic Cantus I and Cantus II. Firstly, the melismatic setting of ‘Weinen’ stands out from the syllabic setting of the surrounding words. Following the chromatic, melismatic setting of the initial phrase ‘Die mit tränen säen’, syllabic declamation takes over, dominating the composition until the final repetition of the closing line ‘und bringen ihre Garben’, at which melismas in the Cantus I and Cantus II embellish the last word. ‘Weinen’ is a prominent exception to the syllabic declamation, creating further a connection with the melismatic setting of ‘Tränen’ at the opening; as in ‘Ihr Heiligen’, Schein thus creates a link between the opening halves of two consecutive parallelisms.

Polycarp Leiser preached upon these verses at the 1621 funeral of Anna, wife of “Johann Köllens / Bürgers und *Notarij Publici* in Leipzig”.⁷⁹⁵ He summarises his understanding of the *Spruch* in his introduction:

ob wol dieser Psalm eigentlich handelt von dem schweren und harten Stand der Kinder Israel in der Babylonischen Gefängnis / und von der Erlösung und frölichen Wiederkunfft in ihr Vaterland [...] wir auch dieses Gleichnis auff die geistliche und himlische Saat unnd Erndte der Christen deuten / und lernen wollen / wie wir die betrübtte Saatzeit in dieser Welt recht gebrauchen sollen / damit eine fröliche Erndte darauff folge.

The imagery is similar in both verses. Each contrasts an initial image of ‘Tränen’/‘Weinen’ with the following ‘Freuden’. The division between the two psalm verses is marked by a cadence on C in bar 17; with all five voices participating and holding the final note for a semibreve, and without any dovetailing of voices, this is the strongest internal cadence in the composition,

⁷⁹⁵ Polycarp Leiser, Christliche Leichpredigt / Aus dem Spüchlein des 126. Psalmens: Die mit Thränen seen / ec. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Frawn ANNEN / Des Erbarn und Wolgelahrten Johann Köllens / Bürgers und *Notarij Publici* in Leipzig seligen Haußfrawen. Welche den 26. *Februarij Anno 1621*. [...] entschlaffen / und den 1. *Martij* Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1621.

reflecting in the structure of the composition the division between the two psalm verses. While the first half of verse 5 – ‘Die mit Tränen säen’ – is set with polyphonic entries of a chromatically ascending motif, the words ‘Tränen’ and ‘säen’ being decorated melodically, the contrasting ‘werden mit Freuden ernten’ is set with syllabic declamation in quavers and crotchets, the octave leap to ‘Freuden’ contrasting with the laboured chromatic ascent of the opening. Verse 6 differs from the preceding verse inasmuch as each half of the parallelism is itself divided into two halves. ‘Sie gehen hin und weinen’ leads to a cadence on E in bar 22; although the performer could be tempted to emphasise the new movement and momentum created through the syllabic quaver declamation with which the following ‘und tragen edlen Samen’ begins, this phrase must, in light of the text, still be seen to belong to the mood of mourning present in the first half of the verse. The real change in sentiment occurs with the change to triple time for ‘und kommen mit Freuden’ from bar 26. The following phrase ‘und bringen ihre Garben’ returns to the original metre, with syllabic quaver declamation set against descending ‘structural’ suspension chains.

5.7.4 ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’

21

23

‘Herr, laß meine Klage’, bars 21-25

The ‘krümmet-figure’ is found in ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’ on the word ‘Worte’ as a decoration of the descending semitone from the fourth to the third scale degree. This use of the figure has already been noted in ‘Ihr Heiligen, lobset dem Herrn’; it is the major third in the respective modes of these two settings which enables this. When decorating the third, the figure typically appears, as in the latter two examples here, in an inner voice. Schein had the opportunity to apply this figure at further cadences on ‘Worte’; one possible occasion would have been the semitone descent in the Altus in the following passage (bar 28). That he chose not to do so could be because, unlike at the previous cadences on ‘Worte’, further musical activity is created here by the isolation and repetition of ‘errette mich’ in other voices. As the first entry in Cantus II

dovetails with ‘Worte’ in the Altus, additional embellishment of the cadence might simply have resulted in musical confusion:⁷⁹⁶

28

‘Herr, laß meine Klage’, bar 28

If, however, Schein’s claim that his notation of the “Leuff- oder Schleifflein”, normally added by performers skilled in the ‘Wissenschaft’ of singing, was intended to be ‘den einfeltigen [...] eine kleine anleitung’ is true, then we could reasonably suppose that Schein would have permitted, even expected, the judicious application of such figuration by singers even when it is not specifically notated. A further opportunity for the application of the ‘krümmet-figure’ in this setting is found at the opening. The setting begins polyphonically, the melodically descending opening phrase – ‘Herr, laß meine Klage für dich kommen’ – introduced successively in all voices from bottom to top. The melodic descent combines with the declamation unit of the minim to create a sense of spaciousness. As the setting progresses the text declamation becomes more rapid; the crotchets of ‘unterweise mich’ and ‘laß mein Flehen’ are followed by quavers at ‘errette mich’ and ‘meine Lippen sollen loben’. Attention is drawn in the opening phrase to the word ‘Klage’ through two musical devices: a 7-6 suspension on the first syllable and the C#

⁷⁹⁶ There are other examples in *Israelsbrunnlein* where Schein could have applied the ‘krümmet-figure’ to embellish a cadential passage but chose not to. One such case is bar 22 in ‘Ach Herr, ach meiner schone’; the first syllable of ‘liebe’ is set as an exposed, unadorned semibreve in the four upper voices. Schein could easily have ornamented the descending semitone in either the Cantus I or the Tenor (or both) with the ‘krümmet-figure’ to avoid the nakedness of the semibreve. There are at least two reasons why he didn’t. Firstly, perhaps the ‘nakedness’ of this semibreve was exactly what he wanted. The second reason could lie in the fact that this motive is immediately repeated and extended, revealing it not to be a true cadential figure after all. There are, however, other cadences in this setting that invite embellishment, including that in the previous bar, bar 21 (Cantus I would be a contender here).

on the second syllable, effecting an isolated departure from the mode. ‘Klage’ is set to a descending semitone, the interval which Schein, in other cases, ornaments with the ‘krümme-figure’. Could it also be applied here? There are reasons which speak against it. Unlike in the other cases seen so far, the descending semitone comes not at the end of a phrase, but within it. More decisively, the activity created through the application of the figure could conflict with the spaciousness created through the long phrases, the melodic descent and the solemn tempo of text-declamation. The application of the figure, if not in all voices then, perhaps, at the fifth entry in Cantus I, could, however, heighten the depiction of the word ‘Klage’. The first entry in the Cantus I (bar 7):



could, for example, be performed like this:



Why did Schein notate this figure where he did? The first notated instance of the ‘krümme-figure’ in ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’ (bar 22) follows rapidly descending scales in parallel thirds between the Altus and Bassus. The leap to ‘errette’, following the chromatic ascent at ‘Laß mein Flehen für dich kommen’,⁷⁹⁷ combines with the rapid, rhythmic descent to suggest a dramatic musical depiction of ‘Erretten’. In Luther’s commentary to this psalm, however, the following word ‘Worte’, the word which Schein repeatedly decorated with the ‘krümme-figure’, is pivotal. Andreas Schneider comments on the historical and theological importance of Psalm 119, from which this *Spruch* is taken, in the introduction to the sermon he preached at the 1617 funeral of Gertrud, wife of former Leipzig Bürgermeister Casper Gräfe. That Luther preached

⁷⁹⁷ The use of chromaticism and the text is reminiscent of Haßler’s ‘Ad dominum cum tribular clamavi’ (like Herr, laß meine Klage, from Ps. 119).

on Psalm 119 at Worms in 1521 to justify the importance of divine word for the evangelical confession was a fact still known and discussed in Schein's Leipzig:

Sonsten sol Ewer Christliche Liebe von dem 119. Psalm wissen dieses / daß derselbe ... vom Herrn D. Luthero seliger gedechtnüß in seinem *Pathmo* unter dem Reichetag / der *Anno Christi* 1521. zu Worms gehalten worden / mit Kirchen *Scholiis* erkleret / und gelehret / daß man ihn wider das Bapstthumb fleissig merken und beten soll / weil dasselbe die Leute von Gottes Wort abführen / und zu haltung Menschlicher Satzung treiben wil / da im gegentheil dieser Psalm uns das Göttliche Wort trewlich *commendirt* und anbefiehet[.]⁷⁹⁸

Luther, in a commentary to this psalm, places this passage firmly in the context of the Lutheran *Rechtfertigungslehre*:

Laß mein Flehen um Errettung von meinen Leiden durch Christus **vor dich kommen** oder erhört werden. Aber nicht nach meinem Verdienst und der Würdigkeit meines Gebets, sondern **nach deiner Rede errette mich** von meinen Leiden durch Christus, daß ich mich nicht ohne Verständnis vom Buchstaben irreführen lasse.⁷⁹⁹

The contrast is made between redemption through one's own works and redemption through the word of God, 'nach deiner Rede'.⁸⁰⁰ The confessional reading of these verses is continued in Luther's commentary to the following verse, where he specifically understands the 'rechte' mentioned in the psalm as 'evangelisch': "**denn du hast mich** selbst durch deinen Geist **deine evangelischen Rechte gelehrt**".⁸⁰¹ The importance of the 'Word' in this psalm as understood in the Lutheran confessional context is found throughout Luther's commentary. The following passage leaves the reader in no doubt:

Denn wenn die Lehre nicht reformiert ist, ist alle Reformation der Sitten vergeblich. Ich scheiße auf alle Ceremonien, die nicht aufs Wort gegründet sind, die Papisten haben überhaupt niemals etwas Rechtes über Ceremonien gelehrt. Wer die Kirche haben will, der halte sich ans Wort, durchs Wort wird alles gerettet.⁸⁰²

⁷⁹⁸ Schneider, for Gertrud.

⁷⁹⁹ Erwin Mülhaupt [ed.], *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, Göttingen: 1965, vol. 3, p. 416.

⁸⁰⁰ Luther's earlier psalm commentaries, written before the Wittenberg translation of the Bible, were based on the Latin vulgate, hence the divergence from the text as set by Schein.

⁸⁰¹ Mülhaupt [ed.], *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, vol. 3, p. 416.

⁸⁰² Mülhaupt [ed.], *D. Martin Luthers Psalmen=Auslegung*, vol. 3, pp. 444-445.

This passage, as in verse 170, refers both to the word and salvation; the emphasis is, however, on the fact that it is through the Word that salvation is obtained. Schein's use of the 'krümmet-figure' as an embellishment on the word 'Worte' can be seen as a musical counterpart to the importance that Luther attaches to the 'Word' in this psalm. The figure is less a musical symbol, a 'madrigalism', than a means of emphasising the decisive word. It is more an accentuation of the text, a stress placed on an important concept, rather than an attempt at a musical presentation of the concept.

5.7.5 'Wende dich, Herr, und sei mir gnädig'

The text declamation in Schein's setting of 'Wende dich, Herr, und sei mir gnädig' is mostly syllabic. Against this background the few instances of melismatic embellishment are prominent. The word 'Elend' is found in two verses; in verse 16 as an adjective ('denn ich bin einsam und elend') and in verse 18 as a noun ('Sihe an meinen Jammer und Elend'). The first of these is set three times; a first statement in the lower ensemble, with the Altus and Tenor in the second bar paired in thirds against the Bassus, is repeated exactly an octave higher in the upper ensemble. At the final repetition, for all five voices, a melisma is added in the Tenor: the note F is embellished through an ascending octave leap and melismatic return. This melismatic decoration of the Tenor combines with the five-part scoring to create a climax before the following shift of a third for the new psalm verse. A similar approach is taken to the setting of verse 18. The entire verse is set firstly in the lower ensemble (from bar 30), followed by a repetition in the upper three voices. At the return of the lower ensemble (bar 36) the two halves of the verse are presented simultaneously: while the Bassus begins at the start of the verse, the Altus and Tenor repeat the verse's second half in parallel thirds. A repetition in the upper ensemble is followed by a five-part conclusion, the first half of the text presented in all five voices before both halves of the verse are presented simultaneously, this time scored for the full complement of voices. The single instance of the 'krümmet-figure' in this setting is found in the Cantus II on the word 'Elend' at the final cadence before the simultaneous presentation of both verse halves. The figure, as usual, is used to embellish a descending semitone:

42

C. I
Si - he an/ mei nen Jam mer und E - lend/

C. II
an mei nen Jam - mer und E - lend/

A.
an mei nen Jam - mer und E - lend

T.
Jam mer und E - - - lend/ Si - he

B.
mei nen Jam - mer und E - - - lend/

‘Wende dich, Herr, und sei mir gnädig’, bars 42-43

As with the melismatic decoration of ‘Sünde’, the figure occurs here as a decoration on an evocative word (‘Sünde’; ‘Elend’) at the approach of a cadence. The word ‘elend’ at the first statements of ‘denn ich bin einsam und elend’ is set with a 6-4 suspension on semibreves. The semitone descent in the two upper voices (bar 12-13; bar 15) could also have been decorated with the ‘krümme-figure’. That Schein chose not to do so may have been to reflect the image of ‘einsam’ through the sparseness of the bare semibreves. Interesting is a comparison with the setting of ‘gnädig’ (bar 10) at the end of the first half of the same verse. As at ‘elend’, the word ‘gnädig’ is set in the two upper voices with a descending semitone, from Bb to A in Cantus I and G to F# in Cantus II. Unlike at ‘elend’, however, the semitones in the upper voices at ‘gnädig’ are decorated, not with the ‘krümme-figure’, but with the neighbouring notes in quavers. Given that two voices are decorated here, was the quaver melisma more suitable than the ‘krümme-figure’, which may have been more suitable for application to a single voice?⁸⁰³

⁸⁰³ As seen above, however, Schein does in fact apply the ‘krümme-figure’ to two voices simultaneously. See the setting of ‘Weinen’ in ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’.

10

C. I. gnä - dig/

C. II. gnä - dig/

A. gnä - dig/ Denn ich bin ein - sam und e - lend/

T. gnä - dig/ Denn ich bin ein - sam und e - lend/

B. gnä - dig/ Denn ich bin ein-sam und e - lend/

‘Wende dich, Herr, und sei mir gnädig’, bars 10-13

Psalm 25, from which the *Spruch* ‘Wende dich, Herr’ was taken, was for Schmuck “der schönsten und bekantesten Psalmen Davids einer”.⁸⁰⁴ Leiser concurs that “unter anderen Psalmen ist der 25. Psalm ein außbund eines schönen Betpsalms / aus welchem viel schöner Sprüchlein sich fromme Christen erholet”.⁸⁰⁵ Multiple sermons on such “schöner Sprüchlein” from this psalm were held and printed in Leipzig in the years prior to the publication of *Israelsbrünnlein*. While sermons preached by Vincentius Schmuck and Thomas Weinrich, in 1621⁸⁰⁶ and 1622⁸⁰⁷ respectively, begin with verse 15 (starting with ‘Meine Augen sehen stets zu dem HErrn’),⁸⁰⁸ other sermons, including sermons by Polycarp Leiser from 1618⁸⁰⁹ and 1620⁸¹⁰, begin at verse 17 (‘Die Angst meines Hertzens...’). Leiser, in his sermon on verses 17-18 from 13 March 1620, states that verse 15 had been heard the day before, further evidence of the frequency with

⁸⁰⁴ Schmuck, for Euphrosyna Kramer.

⁸⁰⁵ Leiser, for Georg Olfelds.

⁸⁰⁶ Schmuck, for Euphrosyna Kramer.

⁸⁰⁷ Thomas Weinrich, *Christliche LeichPredigt Aus den worten des 25. Psalms: Meine Augen sehen stets zu dem HErrn/ec. Bey dem ehrlichen Begräbnuß / des [...] Herrn Johann Weinmans / Bürgers und Handelsmannes in Leipzig[.] Leipzig: 1622[?]*.

⁸⁰⁸ The verse with which the Introit for the third Sunday of Lent begins (*Oculi mei semper ad Dominum*), from which this Sunday takes its name in the Lutheran tradition.

⁸⁰⁹ Polycarp Leiser, *Leichpredigt. Aus dem 25. Psalm des Königlichen Propheten Davids. Beym Begräbnis des Erbarnd und Wolgeachten Friderich Stangens / Bürgers und Handelsman in Leipzig[.] Leipzig: 1618[?]*.

⁸¹⁰ Leiser, for Georg Olfelds

which these verses were preached upon at funerals.⁸¹¹ In this case, the deceased had “sich dessen die zeit seines Lebens gerne gebraucht / und zum Text der Leichpredigt außerkoren”. Weinreich states that this psalm was still read to the sick and dying, surely accounting at least partially for the frequency with which it was selected as a funeral text:

Inmassen denn der gantze Psalm nichts anders ist / als eine sonderbare Hertzsterckung / der sich ein jeder gleubiger Christ gebrauchen / und damit sein Hertz nicht allein im Leben / sondern auch mitten im Tode zu frieden stellen kan. Daher auch unsere liebe Vorfahren verursacht worden / diesen Psalm unser Christlichen Kirchenagenda mit einzuverleiben / und die verordnung zu thun / daß man denselben noch heutiges tages den Krancken und sterbenden vorlesen / und einbilden muß / wann sie sich zu Hauß beschicken / und mit Niessung des höchwürdigen Abendmals / auff eine selige Hinfahrt *præparirt* und gefast machen lassen.⁸¹²

Thomas Weinrich, Archdeacon at the Nikolaikirche, summarises these verses at the start of his sermon on Ps. 25:15-18 for Johann Weinmann, “Bürgers und Handelsmanes in Leipzig”, held on 12 April 1622:

Es sind aber diese abgelesene Wort genommen aus den 25. Psalm des Königlichen Propheten Davids / welcher gar ein schöner und hertzbrechender Psalm ist / darinnen David nicht allein erkennet und bekennet sein Jammer und Elend / und die grosse Hertenangst / darein er sich durch seine Sünden gestürzt: Sondern thut auch der hohen Göttlichen Majestät gar ein demütigen Fußfall / und bittet umb gnädige vergebung aller seiner Sünde / und umb errettung von allen seinen Feinden.⁸¹³

Schmuck confirms that such “Jammer und Elend” were part of Christian experience: “das Creutz unter den Christen herumb gehe / dermassen / daß je grösser Heilige / je grösser Creutz gemeinlich zu seyn pflaget / gleich wir man sagt / je lieber Kind / je schärffer Ruthe”.⁸¹⁴ The model is again that observed and discussed with regards to Schein’s settings of the Prophetical texts. Again, Schmuck contrasts the “Elend” that results from the “euserlichen Creutz” with that stemming from “die innerliche Anfechtung des Gewissens”; of the two, the latter was the most distressing and was the anguish to which David referred in this psalm:

⁸¹¹ Leiser, for Georg Olfelds: “Gestern haben wir daraus zum Leichenargument gehabt die vorangezogene Wort: **Meine Augen sehen stets zu dem HErrn / denn er wird meinen Fuß aus dem Netze ziehen**”.

⁸¹² Weinrich, for Johann Weinman.

⁸¹³ Weinrich, for Johann Weinman.

⁸¹⁴ Schmuck, for Euphrosyna Kramer.

Ferner haben wir zu sehen / fürs andere / Wie sich bey dem euserlichen Creutz / wen[n] Gott dessen etwas uns zuschickt und ausserlegt / alsbald auch pflege zu finden die innerliche Anfechtung des Gewissens / welche das Hertz plagt und blöde macht / als zürne Gott / und sey eitel Ungnade / wenn er ein wenig züchtiget. Dasselbe ängsten thut weher als das euserlicher Creutz / unnd hat ein Christ mehr mit zu thun / als mit dem andern Leiden / es sey so gros als es wolle [...] Drumb ist die Anfechtung des Hertzens das gröste / unter der Creutzes Noth / darwider man am meisten zu streiten hat. Das sehen wir hie an David / der klaget seine Noth daher / und ist das gröste / das ihn das Hertz plaget / und da er der Angst desselben will los seyn / spricht er / Sihe an meinen Jammer und Elend / unnd vergieb mir alle meine Sünde.⁸¹⁵

5.7.6 ‘Die Gerechten werden ewiglich leben’

Schein’s setting of ‘Die Gerechten werden ewiglich leben’ is preserved in four manuscript copies.⁸¹⁶ The setting is for the same complement of voices as in *Israelsbrünlein* (five voices with basso continuo doubling the lowest sung voice). Both the similarity of this setting to Schein’s known funeral compositions and the text set – Wisdom 5.16-17 – suggest that this composition may have been composed and performed as a funeral motet.⁸¹⁷ The setting begins homorhythmically; the first departure from the syllabic text declamation is a cadential decoration in the Cantus voices in the third bar. The semitone descent in each voice (Bb-A; G-F#) is decorated with a dotted crotchet and quavers in parallel thirds:

Canto I
Die Ge-rech - ten wer - den e - wiglich le - ben,

Canto II
Die Ge-rech - ten wer - den e - wiglich le - ben,

Alto
Die Ge-rech - ten wer - den e - wiglich le - ben,

Tenore
Die Ge-rech - ten wer - den e - wiglich le - ben,

Basso
Die Ge-rech - ten wer - den e - wiglich le - ben,

⁸¹⁵ Schmuck, for Euphrosyna Kramer.

⁸¹⁶ NGA 10.5. In the case of a *Sammelband* from the Sammlung Löbau (cf. Hs. 1, NGA 10 vol. 1, p. 153), copied by multiple writers around 1630, this composition is included alongside eight from *Israelsbrünlein*.

⁸¹⁷ Amongst the similarities between this setting and the *Israelsbrünlein* settings can be included the antiphonal setting of ‘Darum’, reminiscent of the setting of the same word in ‘Ist nicht Ephraim’, and the combination of a ‘structural’ with a ‘rhetorical’ voice at the conclusion of the composition (from bar 25: ‘verteidigen’ set to minims, against which ‘und mit seinem Art verteidigen’ is set to quavers and crotchets).

In two of the four manuscript copies, however, this cadential decoration is further ornamented⁸¹⁸: additional semiquavers give the melisma the melodic and rhythmic profile of the ‘krümmet-figure’:

The image shows a musical score for five voices: Canto I, Canto II, Alto, Tenore, and Basso. Each voice part has a staff with a treble clef (except for the Basso which has a bass clef). The lyrics are: "Die Ge-rech - ten wer - den e - wiglich le - ben,". The word "le" is followed by a decorative flourish consisting of a series of eighth notes. The score is in a common time signature and a key signature of one flat.

A comparison between these two surviving versions is the clearest evidence yet of the figure’s role as a superficial cadential embellishment. To ask which of the two versions is the ‘correct’ one, the version which Schein intended, is anachronistic, and disregards Schein’s claim that it was the cantor’s role, “denselben zierlich zu *passegioniren*”. Both versions represent the decoration of a single semibreve in the respective voice, representing two different manners in which a performer may have realised the composition in performance. Schein would surely have expected his singers to improvise their own such figuration along the lines of his notated examples in *Israelsbrunnlein*. The written-out examples were simply an ‘Anleitung’ for ‘den Einfeltigen’, for German singers who were not yet acquainted with the recent Italian innovations.

5.7.7 Further Examples of Figuration

The continuum spanning from ‘madrigalisms’ to notated superficial figuration can also be found in Schein’s occasional compositions. The four-part setting ‘Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen’, Schein’s funeral composition for Maria Magdalena von Claußbruch composed in 1628, contains what could be termed a true ‘madrigalism’: a rhythmic melismatic figure at the word ‘Schwalbe’ featuring an octave leap downwards, followed by a stepwise ascent, a figure

⁸¹⁸ See NGA 10 vol. 1, pp. 153-4.

surely intended to symbolise musically the swallow's dive.⁸¹⁹ Amongst the examples found in Schein's setting of Psalm 116 from Großmann's celebrated *Angst der Hellen* are the evocative settings of 'Tränen' (from bar 51) and 'Gleiten' (bars 54-55).⁸²⁰ 'Hoffe auf den Herren', composed for the wedding of Vincentius Schmuck the Younger in 1623, begins with polyphonic entries in all five voices. The two Cantus voices are both decorated with a figure which resembles the rhythm of the 'krümme-figure'; unlike the 'krümme-figure', however, the semiquavers are here descending, describing with the following crotchet the interval of a diminished fifth:



'Hoffe auf den Herrn', Canto I, bars 1-3

Further examples of the 'krümme-figure' are found in *Diletti pastorali*. In 'Mein Schiffelein lief im wilden Meer', Schein uses melismatic figures as a means of text-depiction.⁸²¹ The quaver passages on 'lief' in the opening phrase suggest the rocking boat on stormy seas, while the semiquavers on 'winden' (from bar 8) are surely meant to represent the stormy winds. The 'krümme-figure' appears on two rhyming words in this setting. It is used firstly to decorate the descending semitone in the upper voice at a Phrygian cadence on 'blicken', both at its first statement in the upper ensemble (bar 19) and again at its repetition in the lower three voices (bar 23). It is then found on the second syllable of 'erquicken' (bar 26) at the first statement of this phrase in the upper voices (here as the decoration of a descending wholetone in the upper voice), but not at the corresponding point in the repetition of the phrase in the lower ensemble. In 'Amor das liebe Räuberlein' it is likewise the descending wholetone which is decorated with the 'krümme-figure', found three times in the upper voice on the word 'verschossen' (from bar 13).⁸²²

⁸¹⁹ From bar 31. NGA 10.2.

⁸²⁰ NGA 10.4.

⁸²¹ NGA 8.9.

⁸²² NGA 8.14.

While the ‘krümmet-figure’ features prominently as a cadential decoration in *Israelsbrünnlein*, it is not the only such decoration used. Various compositions by Schein, including settings from *Israelsbrünnlein*, are cited by Gengenbach in his musical primer of 1626. The following example, an ascending figure in semiquavers on ‘den’, is offered to demonstrate a feature of the modern Italian style:



As Gengenbach explains: “Heutiges Tages brauchen die Italiener / wie auch die *nostrates recentiores* an stadt der Ligaturen nur diese *virgulam* oder Strichlein [two slurs depicted] / unnd hengen damit zusammen allerley Noten / *Breves* unnd *Semibreves*, *Minimas* unnd *Semiminimas*, *Fusas* und *Semifusas*”.⁸²³ Similar instances of semiquaver passages are found in Schein’s setting of ‘Ich bin die Wurzel’. This composition provides an, in the context of *Israelsbrünnlein* exceptional, example of ‘Leuff- oder Schleifflein’ on the same syllable in not just one or a few, but in all five voices. In bar 27, a descending semi-quaver figure is found in all five voices.⁸²⁴

⁸²³ Nicolaus Gengenbach, *Musica nova: so wol nach der alten Solmisation, als auch newen Bobisation und Bebisation der Jugend so leicht vorzugeben als zuvor noch nie an Tag kommen*, Leipzig: 1980 [reproduction of first edition from 1626], pp. 70-72.

⁸²⁴ Interesting is furthermore the manner in which Schein through repetition treats the word ‘Amen’ – which occurs only once at the corresponding point in the biblical text – as both an affirmation concluding the phrase ‘Ich komme bald’ (the cadence on a-major functioning as a musical divider, assigning the first amen to the preceding phrase) and as the first word of the following phrase ‘Amen, ja komm, Herr Jesu’. The punctuation in the NGA – which isn’t found in the 1623 print – is, by following the biblical text, somewhat counterintuitive in light of Schein’s setting: a full-stop separating ‘bald’ from the following ‘amen’ even though they are syntactically linked in Schein’s setting. Similarly, the comma placed after the ‘Amen’ at the cadence in bar 28 runs contrary to the musical caesura created by the cadence.

ich kom-me bald. A - - - men,
 bald. A - - - men,
 bald. A - - - men, A - - - men,
 ich kom-me bald. A - - - men,
 bald. A - - - men,

‘Ich bin die Wurzel des Geschlechtes Davids’, bar 27

We have seen that the ‘krümmet-figure’ occurs with the same characteristic rhythmic and melodic profile in multiple settings in *Israelsbrünnlein*. What, then, was its role? Arguably, we can speak of various functions. In ‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’, the case can be made that the figure was a true ‘madrigalism’, a compositional device intended to represent a textual image, in this case the contrast between ‘straight’ and ‘crooked’ depicted through the contrast between a linear melodic descent and the back-and-forth of the mordent-figure. In this case, the figure was an integral part of the composition, of the composer’s contribution to the end product. As a second function, we can identify the composer’s use of this figure as a means of accentuating an important concept in the text without attempting a ‘visual’ depiction of the textual image through the musical figure. I have suggested that this was the case with the figure on the word ‘Worte’ in ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’. At the opposite end of the spectrum from the first function could be the use of this figure as nothing more than a cadential ornamentation, as a written-out example of the sort of figuration typically added by the singer in performance. Here the figure is simply a superficial decoration. The use of such figuration could be seen as one aspect of Schein’s understanding of the “Anmütige *Italian Madrigalische Manier*” which he refers to in the print of *Israelsbrünnlein*; if this is so, it shows the influence not of the classical polyphonic madrigal which gained canonical status in Germany through reprints of, most importantly, the madrigals of Marenzio, but rather of the continuo madrigal which Praetorius associates with Caccini and his *Le nuove musiche*.

5.8 Approach 2: Sacred Music in Secular Contexts

For Irmgard Hammerstein, Schein was instrumental in the development of the ‘Deutsches Geistliches Madrigal’, and *Israelsbrünnlein* was the “Erstling dieser neuen Gattung”.⁸²⁵ She distinguishes, and is surely correct in doing so, between the compositions’ different functions at the time of composition and initial publication, and their publication as a collected volume in 1623. For Hammerstein, it was only in their publication as part of *Israelsbrünnlein* that their true function as ‘German Sacred Madrigals’ became evident: “Bei der nachträglichen Zusammenstellung der verstreuten, wohl nur zum Teil mit Widmung zum gegebenen Anlaß schon einmal gedruckten Kompositionen zur *Fontana d’Israel* kommt die andere, dem neuen geistlichen Madrigal eigentümliche Funktion verstärkt zum Ausdruck, nämlich die Bestimmung zur geistlichen Erbauung in der intimeren Sphäre der Häuslichkeit, zum Selbstmusizieren also im kleineren oder größeren Kreise”.⁸²⁶ For Hammerstein, the use of settings of sacred texts for edification and recreation in private contexts was a defining feature of the German Sacred Madrigal. Settings of sacred texts, whether expressly composed with this intention or not, were performed as recreational music outside the framework of liturgical or civic acts in protestant Germany from the time of Luther. As I will show, German composers in the sixteenth century addressed the issue of the performance of sacred texts as recreational music, appealing to biblical precedent to justify this obviously widespread practice. While it was surely true that the compositions contained in *Israelsbrünnlein* would have been performed for edification outside the narrower confines of the liturgy and public occasions, I will argue that this was by no means a unique feature of the works considered to belong to the ‘Deutsches Geistliches Madrigal’, but was a feature of musical practice in Protestant Germany dating back at least to the reformation.

Commenting on the Lüneburg organist Johann Schultz’s *Musikalischer Lustgarte*, a collection containing ‘motets, madrigals, fugues, fantasias’ and various dances, Basil Smallman notes the “range of performance possibilities in such collections, reflecting no doubt the particular requirements of German musical societies of the period”, noting how this contrasts with “the often highly specialised madrigal publications of contemporary Italy”.⁸²⁷ Although Schein’s

⁸²⁵ See Hammerstein, ‘Zur Monteverdi-Rezeption in Deutschland’, p. 179. She argues that Schein’s development of this new genre took place in at most five years between the “compositional ‘crisis’” symbolised by the *Threnos* for Dorothea Maria in 1617 and the end of 1622.

⁸²⁶ Hammerstein, ‘Zur Monteverdi-Rezeption in Deutschland’, p. 180.

⁸²⁷ Smallman, ‘The Madrigal in Germany’, p. 8.

Israelsbrünnlein, unlike Schultz's publication, contains only settings of sacred texts, the broad range of performance possibilities was doubtless the same. While many of the compositions collected in *Israelsbrünnlein* likely originated as occasional works for funerals and weddings, their publication surely served multiple purposes, including spiritual edification through performance at table. In the following I examine comments and justifications for the performance of sacred music for 'delectation' to show that this was an established function of sacred music in Protestant Germany into which *Israelsbrünnlein* could have unproblematically slipped. Perhaps it was, from the end of the 1620s, the increasing effects of the conflicts later known as the Thirty Years' War which throttled this practice in Leipzig. Evidence from manuscript volumes and a catalogue prepared by Johann Schelle and revisited by Johann Kuhnau suggest, however, that *Israelsbrünnlein* had a long afterlife in seventeenth-century Saxony as part of the core repertoire of music for performance at funerals.

5.8.1 Sacred Music as Recreational Music

Schein mentions table music in his sharply worded letter to the Stadtrat of 30. Sept. 1629.⁸²⁸ In this letter Schein responds to criticism of declining standards of music at the Thomasschule outlined in the recent visitors' report. As point four Schein writes:

Hierzu kömt nun (4.) daß bißhero vielfeltig zu *Privat-Musiken* nicht mehr (wie die Schul-Leges wol vermögen) acht *Concentores incluso Praefecto*, bey den fürfallenden *Conviviis Civium* (dann der *Magistratus Ampliss.* hierunter billich auszuschliessen) Sondern etwa 1 oder 2 Discantisten, vndt zwar die besten, wie ihnen dann ihre *Privat-Musici* vndt *Instrumentisten*, als welche einen vndt den anderen wol kennen, ihre Tauff- vndt Zunahmen vnter den Fuß zu geben wissen, erfordert, dieselben so dann, weil sie ohne *Inspectore* 1. mit vberflüssigem der stim schädlichen fressen vndt Sauffen verderbet, 2, offtmals durch reiche *pollicitationes* abspenstig, oder doch 3. zum wenigsten stolz, wild vndt frech, hernach 4. zu ferneren *discursationibus* vndt Stendlein bey nächtlicher weile verführet werden, Was heraus für gefahr, theils wegen ihren eigenen Personen, theils in *consideratione* E. E. Hochw. Raths vermuthlicher ernster Verweißung, theils auch wegen ihrer Eltern zu befürchten, ist leidlichen zu erachten; 5. weil sie gemeiniglich mit schlechter *Spesa* abgefertigt, der *Fiscus Musicus*, wovon sich die anderen *Kantorei-Knaben* zu ihrer nottürffiglichen *sustentation* vndt vnterhaltung erfrewen solten, merklichen *defraudiret* wird.⁸²⁹

Recreational music was an important part of the social fabric in Lutheran society. Not only did Luther use meal times for discussing theological matters, to which the published *Tischreden*

⁸²⁸ Walter Werbeck contrasts the variety of Schein's musical activities in Leipzig society with Schütz's situation in Dresden. See Werbeck, 'Gabrieli-Schule', pp. 25-6.

⁸²⁹ Cited after Prüfer, *Johann Hermann Schein*, p. 119.

bear witness, but he and his followers regularly sang at table for their own pleasure and edification. Carl Ferdinand Becker, organist at the Leipzig Nikolaikirche (1837–54) and, at Mendelssohn’s invitation, first professor of organ at the Leipzig conservatory,⁸³⁰ cites a description of Luther’s musical table habits⁸³¹:

Ueber und nach Tische sang Dr. Luther bisweilen. Ich hab mit ihm gesungen. Auch sagt er oft: auf böse und traurige Gedanken gehört ein gut und fröhlich Liedlein. Da sang man schöne und liebliche Mutetten und Stücke von Senfl, Josquin und andern Meistern. Auf eine Zeit sangen wir Didoni’s letzte Wort aus dem Virgilio: *Dulces exuviae*; Herr Philippus – Melancthon – dönet auch mit ein.⁸³²

This description suggests that not only was singing at table a regular event for Luther and his followers, but that settings of sacred and secular texts were freely mixed. Amongst the “Mutetten und Stücke” were certainly settings of sacred Latin texts, and possibly also songs in the German vernacular. Even classical Roman authors, here represented by Virgil, get a mention. The point is the freedom with which settings of sacred and secular (or, to put it differently, ‘andächtige’ and ‘fröhliche’) texts were mixed. ‘Mutetten’ were by no means confined to public performance in church, but had their place also in the context of private recreational music.⁸³³

Georg Forster’s ‘Frische Teutsche Liedlein’, the first volume of which was published in 1539, represent an early attempt at providing recreational music for social events. In the preface to the print, Forster mentions how it was his intention to provide music for those whose abilities

⁸³⁰ See Alec Hyatt King and Peter Krause, ‘Carl Ferdinand Becker’ in *Oxford Music Online*. Becker himself initiated a transcription of *Israelsbrünnlein*, the first band of which, containing score transcriptions of *Israelsbrünnlein* 1-13, is held in the Leipzig Stadtbibliothek. Becker, in his catalogue *Tonwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: 1847), classifies *Israelsbrünnlein* under the heading “Allgemeine Sonntag- und Fest-Gesänge” (p. 132).

⁸³¹ Also commented upon by Christopher Boyd Brown, *Devotional Life in Hymns, Liturgy, Music, and Prayer*, p. 213.

⁸³² Mathesius, cited in Carl Ferdinand Becker, *Die Hausmusik in Deutschland in dem 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderte*, 1840 (Reprint Hildesheim: 1973), p. 3.

⁸³³ As Hellmut Federhofer writes: “Im 16. Jahrhundert milderte das überkonfessionelle humanistische Bildungsideal die Gegensätze beider Sphären. Einerseits konnte geistliche Musik zugleich kammermusikalische Verwendung finden, andererseits scheuten sich geistliche Komponisten nicht, weltliche Werke, wie Madrigale und Kanzonetten, im Druck erscheinen zu lassen”. Hellmut Federhofer, ‘Musica poetica und musikalische Figur in ihrer Bedeutung für die Kirchenmusik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts’, *Acta Musicologica* 65, no. 2 (1993), p. 120.

did not stretch to “köstliche Muteten, Psalmen oder dergleichen Kunststücke”.⁸³⁴ As an alternative to these genres of ‘sacred’ music, Forster provides a collection of songs in the German vernacular. He thereby crosses freely the divide between the sacred and the secular, between Latin and German. But he was still providing music for the same purpose – for performance “bei allen Fröhlichkeiten”. As Forster provides simpler German songs for recreational performance as an alternative to more complex sacred genres, the implication is that these sacred genres were also performed outside the church and liturgy for entertainment, along the lines of the above-mentioned practice in Luther’s circle. The fact that these were settings of secular as opposed to sacred texts is of little importance. The point emphasised by Forster is the complexity of the music. As an alternative to the distinction between sacred and secular, we could propose the distinction between a complex and a simpler style.

Just such a distinction is proposed by Gunther Morche.⁸³⁵ Morche observes how stylistic ambiguity between the madrigal and the motet becomes characteristic of motet composition in the early seventeenth century. Collections of motets that cling to the classical polyphony of the sixteenth century are the exceptions.⁸³⁶ The attempts of musicologists to associate vocal works with either the motet or the madrigal style – as ‘stile antico’ or ‘stile nuovo’ – are flawed. As contrasting settings of the same text make clear, the choice of style was determined less by the nature of the set text than by the occasion for which the work was composed and the context of performance. Morche suggests that this stylistic distinction is better accounted for by the adjectives ‘learned’ and ‘devotional’ than by attempts at classifying and distinguishing along the lines of motet and madrigal. This revised terminology allows for the observation that a strict distinction between sacred and secular vocal music was less a characteristic of the early seventeenth century than an imposition of later analysts on this repertoire.

A number of German composers made the effort to justify the performance of sacred music in recreational contexts. Leonhard Lechner appeals to the authority of King David to justify the singing of sacred music as recreational table music. Music is shown to be suitable for both

⁸³⁴ ‘Vorrede Forsters zur ersten Ausgabe von 1539’ in Kurt Gudewill (ed.), *Georg Forster: Frische Teutsche Liedlein (1539-1556), Erster Teil* (=Das Erbe Deutscher Musik, Erste Reihe, Reichsdenkmale, Band 20), Wolfenbüttel & Berlin: 1942.

⁸³⁵ Gunther Morche, ‘Motette und Madrigal im 17. Jahrhundert’, in Herbert Schneider [ed.], *Die Motette: Beiträge zu ihrer Gattungsgeschichte*, Mainz: 1992, p. 217 ff.

⁸³⁶ Morche describes in this context Sigismondo d’India’s *Liber primus motectorum*, whose polyphonic style was prescribed by the demands and conventions of the papal chapel, as an “extremes und ganz isoliertes Bekenntnis zur Gattungsreinheit der Motette”. Morche, ‘Motette und Madrigal’, p. 217.

divine praise and human delectation. Lechner's description leaves no doubt as to the performance of sacred music – what must at the time primarily have been selected from the repertoire of Latin polyphonic motets – outside the church as *Tafelmusik*. Lechner here is less concerned with justifying the singing of sacred music outside the church at table, a well-established practice, but rather with justifying the inclusion of settings of secular texts alongside sacred texts. Paradoxically, an appeal to the divine is ultimately the reason permitting secular music; as music is a gift of God not only for divine praise but also for the delectation of men, it can be happily practiced with secular texts. Secular songs too are a manifestation of the divine gift of music. But that with a caveat: only worldly songs “inn denen kein unerbarkeit” were permitted. Secular music was acceptable, but it should never exceed the bounds of moderation. Having justified the practice by appealing to biblical authority, Lechner draws the parallel between music in the time of King David and music at the court of his employer, Duke Ludwig of Württemberg and Teck, observing that:

...der König David nicht allein ein Geistliche Music beim Gottesdienst / sondern auch sonsten bey der königlichen Tafel ein Music zu seiner *recreation* und ergetzung gehabt : da ohne zweifel nicht allein geistliche / sondern auch weltliche lieder (jedoch solche / inn denen kein unerbarkeit) singen lassen. Dann weil Gott der HERR / die liebliche Kunst der Music nicht allein zu lob unnd preiß seines Göttlichen Namens / sondern auch zu ehrlicher ergetzlichkeit der Menschen / und sonderlich seiner lieben Kinder / gegeben : warumb wolt man selbige nicht auch zu weltlichen sachen und liedern gebrauchen?⁸³⁷

Demantius, in the preface to his *Convivalium Conventuum Farrago* (1609), a collection of “Deutsche Madrigalia/ Canzonette/ und Villanellen zu Sechs Stim[m]en”, finds a theological justification for passing time in good company: “zwar ist solches dem heiligen Geiste auch nicht zuentgegen / sondern derselbe vermahnet vielmehr Einsamkeit zufliehen / zu meiden / unnd sich hiergegen in vertrawlicher Freundschaft und guter *Correspondens* zusam[m]en zuhalten / in Ehren zufrewen und frölich zusein”.⁸³⁸ He describes the advantages of music at such gatherings: “Wann dan[n] die Löblich / Liebliche / Singende / und wolklingende *Musica*, bevoraus so feine Artige / Anmutige und wolapplicirete Texte / *qui Cantum animant*, und der Notten Seelen seind / Mitführet / das Gehirne / mit deme sie sonderliche vereinigung hat / stercket

⁸³⁷ Dedication in Lechner's ‘Neue Geistliche und Weltliche Teutsche Lieder / mit fünff und vier stimmen’, in Konrad Ameln (ed.), *Neue Geistliche und Weltliche Teutsche Lieder*, in Leonhard Lechner Werke vol. 11, Kassel: 1980.

⁸³⁸ Christoph Demantius, *Convivalium conventuum farrago* In Welcher Deutsche Madrigalia / Canzonette und villanellen / Mit Sechs Stim[m]en / Zusamt einem *Echo* und zweyen *Dialogis* mit Acht Stim[m]en verfasst / Und beydes zu Menschlicher Stim[m]e / So wol auch allerley Instrumenten *accommodiret*... Jena 1609.

das Hertze / deme sie von Natur Anmutig ist / frölich machet / unnd den gantzen Menschen erfrewet / unter Anderen ehrlichen / züchtigen unnd nachgelaßenen Freuden billich hochgerühmet und gepreyset wird". As such, Demantius, with this collection, presents "etzliche liebliche Musicalische Sorten / derer man sich in *Conversazione ac Conviviis* neben freundlichen gesprechen *hilari comitate convenienti* 'q; *modestia* zugebrauchen habe". The varied contents of this collection show that, for Demantius, settings of both secular texts and Bible verses (most of which themselves deal with more or less erotic love) must have been considered suitable fare for use in "*Conversazione ac Conviviis*".

Heinrich Albert, in his *Poetisch-Musicalisches Lust Wäldlein* of 1648, also comments on the fact that he had combined settings of sacred and secular texts in a single volume. As with Lechner, Albert emphasises that excess is to be avoided; although he sets texts "so von Fröligkeit/Lust oder Liebe reden", no-one should be led thereby "zur Geilheit und Uppigkeit". Albert asserts that 'Fröhlichkeit' itself, far from being something worldly, something essentially removed from God, originates with God. Happiness and merriment are divine gifts and should be, within the limits of moderation, enjoyed without guilt:

Es möchte vielleicht jemand der Ordnung halber mich beschuldigen / als hette ich gar ungeräumt Geist= unter Weltliche / ja wie etliche meinen / unter Buhlen=Lieder / gemischt; so bedencket/ wie es mit Ewrem eigenen Leben beschaffen/ die Ihr oft an einem Tage deß Morgens Andächtig/ deß Mittags in einem Garten/ oder Lustigen Orte/ und deß Abends bey einer Ehrlichen Gesellschaft/ auch ein jedweder / wann Er lustig wird/ sein fröhliches Stündlein der Güte Gottes allein zuschreiben / und wer etwas Liebes sucht/ im gleichen solches mit Gott anfragen/ auch im Lob der Inn= und Eusserlichen vor Augen stellen soll und muß; Alß will ich nicht hoffen/ daß durch dieselbigen Lieder (so von Fröligkeit/Lust oder Liebe reden) Jemand zur Geilheit und Uppigkeit Sich wird verleiten lassen.⁸³⁹

A sermon on music held at the 1616 wedding of a Silesian cantor offers insights into the performance of figural music in domestic contexts.⁸⁴⁰ The preacher mentions a "Gottseligen Pfarrherrn in der Nachbarschafft" who was father to five daughters:

weil er ein liebhaber der Musicken / hat er sie auch alle Fünffe nebeneinander *in figural* also abgerichtet / daß er mit inen zu hause / in seinem Haußkirchlein⁸⁴¹ / nach Tische / und sonsten *pro occasione*, Gott

⁸³⁹ Heinrich Albert, 'Der Autor an den Günstigen Leser', in *Poetisch-Musicalisches Lust Wäldlein*, Königsberg: 1648.

⁸⁴⁰ Wolfgang Silber, ENCOMION MUSICES Lob der Edlen Kunst der Musicen: Zu Greiffenberg in Schlesien / Mittwochs nach *CANTATE*, wahr der 4. *Maij*, n. [??] *Anno Christi M. DC. XVI*.

⁸⁴¹ For discussion of domestic music in Lutheran Germany see Patrice Veit, "'...daheime seine Zeit mit singen, mit beten und lesen zugebracht.'" Über den Umgang mit Kirchenliedern im aussergottesdienstlichen Kontext',

zu Lob / ein *Quatuor* und *Quinq*; singen können / daß es mit lust zu hören / und zusehen gewesen. So findet man auch noch bey uns / (Gott lob) Bürger / denen GOTT vier / oder mehr Söhne bescheret / welche sie alle so lange zur Schule gehalten / daß sie nicht alleine zu Chore in der Kirchen *Adjuvanten* geben / sondern auch *privatim* untereinander selbst / wenn sie zusam[m]en kommen / ihr *Quatuor* und *Quinq*; in *figural*, auch ohne anderer hülffe dahin singen / und ihre *Musicam* richtig haben können.⁸⁴²

In the same sermon, the preacher comments on music's role as an adornment of social gatherings alongside its place in church:

Dienet derwegen die Musica ferner / ... Zur zierde der Kirchen Gottes / und ehrlichen Zusammenkünfften / sonderlich der Gelehrten / in Gastereyen / und Wolleben... Ein löblich *Convivium* feiner gelehrten Leute / wie auch ein jede ehrliche Gasterey / zieret eine reine züchtige Musica auch sehr wol. Nach Sirachs Sprüchlein am 32. Cap. Wie ein Rubin in feinem Golde leuchtet / also zieret ein Gesang das Mahl. Wie ein Schmaragd in schönem Golde stehet / also zieren die Lieder beym guten Wein. Denn / Musica macht die Leute fröhlich / sagt D. Luther / man vergisset dabey alles Zorns / Unkeuschheit / Hoffarth / und ander Laster. Musica ist ein halbe *disciplin*, und zuchtmeisterin / so die Leute gelinder / und sanfftmütiger / sittsamer / und vernünfftiger machet. Singen ist die beste Kunst / unnd ubung: Es hat nichts zuthun mit der Welt / ist nicht für dem Gericht / noch in Hadersachen: Sänger sind auch nicht sorgfeltig / sondern fröhlich / schlagen die Sorgen mit singen aus / und hinweg / ec....⁸⁴³

5.8.2 Ecclesiasticus 32:7-9 – ‘Wie ein Rubin’

Ecclesiasticus 32:7-9, cited in the above-mentioned sermon to justify music's place at social gatherings, was set to music by Schein; his setting survives in manuscript.⁸⁴⁴ Stylistic similarities between this composition and many of the settings from *Israelsbrünnlein* are evident. The setting begins with the division of the voices – here facilitated by the addition of a second Tenor to give six vocal parts – into a three-part ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ ensemble. The initial statement of ‘Wie ein Rubin’ in the upper ensemble is repeated an octave lower by the lower voices. Despite the division into the three-voice ensembles, each voice enters individually on the same note

in Renate Steiger [ed.], *Die Quellen Johann Sebastian Bachs - Bachs Musik im Gottesdienst*, Heidelberg: 1998; Patrice Veit, ‘Die Hausandacht im deutschen Luthertum: Anweisungen und Praktiken’, in Ferdinand van Ingen & Cornelia Moore [eds.], *Gebetsliteratur der frühen Neuzeit als Hausfrömmigkeit*, Wiesbaden: 2001; Stephen Rose, ‘“Haus Kirchen Cantorei”: Lutheran domestic devotional music in the age of confessionalisation’, in Michael Fischer, Norbert Haag, Gabriele Haug-Moritz [eds.], *Musik in neuzeitlichen Konfessionskulturen (16. bis 19. Jahrhundert)*, Ostfildern: 2014.

⁸⁴² ENCOMION MUSICES, p. 40.

⁸⁴³ ENCOMION MUSICES, p. 45-6.

⁸⁴⁴ NGA 10.13. Five of the six vocal parts survive in a manuscript copy in Breslau; the T1 and BC were reconstructed for the NGA.

(reminiscent of the opening of ‘Unser Leben’), the second voice (Discantus II/Tenor II) creating a unison canon with the first while the third voice functions as a pedal-point. Although Schein typically reserves triple time for the conclusion of a setting, homorhythmic *tutti* writing in triple time is used here to depict the phrase ‘in seinem Golde leuchtet’. Melismas with a dotted rhythm are found on both ‘Rubin’ and the final setting of ‘leuchtet’, perhaps intended as a musical flourish to symbolise the glistening ruby. The opening eight bars are then repeated, the only difference being that the upper two voices in each ensemble are at the repetition exchanged.⁸⁴⁵ The following ‘also zieret ein Gesang das Mahl’ is set over a series of pedal points in the lowest voice. The first of these, a pedal point on E spanning two bars (bars 17-18), leads to a cadence on C; this is followed by a pedal point on G (bars 20-21) leading also to a cadence on C and finally by a second repetition on the original pedal point, this time leading in bar 26 to a cadence on A; this concluding cadence without dovetailing corresponds to the structural division in the text. Schein again divides his forces into two three-part ensembles to set ‘Wie ein Smaragd in schönem Golde stehet’, the return to the texture of the opening corresponding with the parallel between the emerald and the ruby. The three-part setting of the phrase in the lower ensemble is followed in the upper ensemble, then *tutti*. Schein makes use of a descending line in minims as a structural device to set the concluding phrase ‘also zieren die Lieder beim guten Wein’ (eg. Discantus I bars 38-40 & 43-46; Discantus II bars 35-38 & 46-48). The contrast between the regularly descending ‘structural’ voices and the more rapid text declamation in the other voices is reminiscent of Schein’s use of ‘Ligaturketten’ as a structural device in a number of the *Israelsbrünnlein* settings.

For what purpose might Schein have set a text such as ‘Wie ein Rubin’? Schein’s letter of 1629 shows that his Thomaner were, as a matter of course, present at “*Conviviis Civium*”, corresponding to the moral of Sirach’s words that “Ein löblich *Convivium* feiner gelehrten

⁸⁴⁵ Cf. the written out repetition in ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ (from bar 16) with the exchanged Cantus I and Cantus II voices.

Leute...zieret eine reine züchtige Musica auch sehr wol". Ulrich Groß, in his very rosy description of Leipzig, describes the 'Trinkstube'⁸⁴⁶, the gathering place of the city's educated elite, as the location of daily meetings and frequent music.⁸⁴⁷

An diesem Marckt stehet noch ein ander dapffer steinern Haus dreier gemach hoch. Zu underst helt ein erbar Rath seinen Weinschanck an vielerley, sönnderlich aber gutten Reinischen Weinen, im andern gemach ist die Woge, darinnen all furnehmes Gut und Kauffmanschatz gewogen, auch das Gleidt und Zoll eingenommen wirdt.

Über der Wogen ist der Herr Trinck Stuben, da fast alle tage umb lust und ergezligkeit willen zusammenkommen die fürnehmen Bürger, Rathherrn, Doctores, Magistri, Edel und Kauffleut, so inn die Brüderschafft gehören. Do mag ein izlicher nach seiner gelegenheit mit dem andern schwatzen, spielen und zechen. Do werden offt statliche Pancket und herliche *Collation* gehalten und die Geste nach dem herlichsten gespeiset, darbey *Cantores*, *Organisten*, Stadtpfeiffer und andere *Musici*, so die Geste leichtsinnig unnd frölich machen. Es mus sich aber ein jeder nach der Stuben Ordnung züchtig und friedlich vorhalten, wer darweider thut, wirdt von den Stuben Herr und Eltisten gestrafft.⁸⁴⁸

"Schwatzen, spielen und zechen" may not sound much like the image of protestant piety. And the stated purpose of the music wasn't so much to inspire devotion in the guests as to make them "leichtsinnig und frölich". But it was, after all, a gathering of the city's educated and social elite, and the reference to "Cantores und Organisten" probably suggests the presence of church singers and sacred music. The connection with the Stadtrat is certainly significant: in addition to Schein, S. Michael, T. Michael und Schütz all dedicated works to them, while praising their support of music.

⁸⁴⁶ The bride [Susanne, geb. Göring] at a wedding for which Schein composed a three-part pastoral ditty was mentioned on the title page of the print as a "eines Ehrnvesten Hochweisen Raths Trinckstübners...Tochter". See Schein NGA 10.61 (p. 117).

⁸⁴⁷ Ulrich Groß, 'Warhafftige Beschreibung der Stadt Leiptzigk' (1587), in Gustav Wustmann [ed.], *Quellen zur Geschichte Leipzigs*, Leipzig: 1889-1895, vol. 1 (1889), p. 16.

⁸⁴⁸ Karl Große agrees that the Trinkstube was the gathering place for Leipzig's elite: "Der Hauptvergnügungsort, wo des Abends alle Adlige, Kaufleute, Bürger [ec.] zusammen kamen, wenn sie ein Bedürfniß nach öffentlicher Gesellschaft fühlten, war die große, geräumige, gemeine Trinkstube, welche unter dem ehemaligen Schuh- und Pelzhaue, auf dem Naschmarkte, wo jetzt das Stockhaus steht, erbaut stand". Große, *Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig*, pp. 233-4.

5.9 Israelsbrünnlein in Seventeenth-Century Saxony

At the time of *Israelsbrünnlein*'s publication in 1623 the effects of war were felt only indirectly in Leipzig. Although inflation was rampant, the city itself was spared invasion until the arrival of imperial troops in 1631. By the time Tobias Michael, Schein's successor as Thomaskantor, published the first volume of his *Musikalische Seelenlust*, Leipzig's musical life had been decimated. As Michael summarises the situation in his preface to this volume:

Es ist zwar an deme / und muß ich selber meines Theils bekennen / daß die Leuffte und Zeiten jtzo also beschaffen / daß einem / der solches etwas näher zu Gemüthe führet / Singen und Klingen wol vergehen / dargegen Heulen und Weinen besser anstehen / will geschweigen / daß er in Musicalischen Sachen sich groß bemühen sollte : Voraus weil man (nach etzlicher *Cyclophen* Meynung) auch ohne Fiedeln und Pfeiffen wol essen und trincken / *vel rectius*, fressen und sauffen / Auch in der Kirchen oder beym Gottesdienste (nach etzlicher Heiligen / *vel qvasi*, Meynung) ohne solch Quincolieren wol andächtig seyn und beten kann.⁸⁴⁹

If works such as those in *Israelsbrünnlein* had fallen victim to this demise of recreational and liturgical music on account of war, evidence from an inventory of the Thomasschule's musical holdings suggests that they had gained a new lease of life by the later seventeenth century as part of a core repertoire of compositions for performance at funerals. Shortly after his appointment, Johann Kuhnau undertook an inventory of the contents of the school library.⁸⁵⁰ The 'Catalogi' referred to was the catalogue compiled by his predecessor Schelle:

Die übrigen, die zuvor, besage des Catalogi, auch nicht alle complet gewesen, sind mir richtig geliefert worden: Doch sind diese, so zum Gebrauch gedienet (denn die übrigen sind eben nicht viel nütze gewesen) alß das Florilegium Portense in 9 Stimmen, so im Primaner Auditorio liegen und täglich gebrauchet werden, ingleichen die 9 Leichen Stimmen, nehml. Johann Hermann Scheins Israelis Brünnlein und Tobiae Michaelis Seelenlust, und andre mehr ziemlich zerrissen, ingleichen sind des Math. le Maître Magnificat 8 Tonorum manuscript. von Mäusen⁸⁵¹ durch und durch zerfressen.

⁸⁴⁹ Tobias Michael, *Musicalischer Seelenlust / Erster Theil / Darinnen außerlesene / und aus heiliger Göttlicher Schrift gezogene Glaubens=Seufftzerlein / Andach und Frewde / Auff sonderbahre liebliche Madrigalische Art mit 5. Stimmen / und ihren Bass: Contin: componiret...QVARTA VOX*. 1635. Leipzig / in Verlegung Johann Franckens selig. Erben und Samuel Scheibens.

⁸⁵⁰ See Arnold Schering, 'Die alte Chorbibliothek der Thomasschule in Leipzig', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 1. Jahrg., H. 2 (Jan., 1919), pp. 275-288.

⁸⁵¹ According to Tanya Kevorkian, "The St. Thomas's school was overrun with rats and mice at least until the building's renovation in 1732". Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety*, p. 126.

Israelsbrünnlein occupies a prominent place in Schelle's catalogue of 1679, suggesting its continued importance as part of the school repertoire.⁸⁵² It is the only print held by the library in two copies. While the Cantus I partbook is listed as missing from the first, the second is bracketed together with Tobias Michael's *Musicalische Seelenlust*, probably implying that they were bound together. Kuhnau also referred to these two publications as a pair, terming them 'die 9 Leichen Stimmen'; alongside collections such as the *Florilegium portense*, they were in regular use in the school and showing signs of wear and tear. The implication is that they were bound together and well-worn from regular performance at funerals. Funerals were a regular occurrence, demanding a musical contribution from the schoolboys multiple times a week, a fact in accordance with Kuhnau's statement that these copies were 'täglich gebraucht' and 'ziemlich zerrissen'. Both *Israelsbrünnlein* and Tobias Michael's companion volume fulfilled an essential requirement of Leipzig funeral music in the seventeenth century: reflecting the proscription of figural music during advent and lent, the use of instruments at funerals was limited to a regal or positif organ for the realisation of the figured bass.⁸⁵³ In the second half of the seventeenth century, this obviously limited the use of much modern music; Schelle and Kuhnau would either have had to compose in a by then antiquated style or, as seems to have been the case, revert to music by earlier composers. The five-part vocal polyphony by Schein and Michael must have fit the bill and seems, as a result, to have formed a standard repertoire of funeral compositions.

The distribution of some of the *Israelsbrünnlein* compositions in manuscript copies also suggests that they were seen as part of a core funeral repertoire. In many cases, individual compositions from *Israelsbrünnlein* are found copied alongside other compositions in *Sammelbänden*. An interesting example is a collection of five surviving partbooks from the Sammlung Löbau,

⁸⁵² Other publications, most prominently the *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* of 1682, in which Schein is the composer represented by the largest number of compositions, attest to Schein's continued reputation in Leipzig in the second half of the seventeenth-century.

⁸⁵³ Cf. Reich, *Die deutschen gedruckten Leichenpredigten*, p. 75. As Claudia Theis explains: "Abgeleitet von den liturgischen Regelungen der Advents- und Passionszeit hat sich in Leipzig das ganze 17. Jahrhundert hindurch das Verbot von Instrumenten bei Begräbnissen (Ausnahmen wurden nur bei den Generalbaßinstrumenten Positiv und Regal gemacht) erhalten". Theis, Introduction to NGA 10 vol. 3, p. X. Compare the reference in the Dresden *Hofkapellenordnung* (ca. 1662) to the Sundays on which music is to be performed *a cappella*: "Den Andern, Dritten, und Vierden Sontag im Advent, den Sonntag nach dem Heiligen Christag, Sontag nach dem Neuen Jahrs Tag, und die 4. Sonntage in der Fasten, alß Invocavit, Reminiscere, Oculi und Lactare, ingleichen Rogationum, und den 10. Sontag Trinitatis wird a Cappella musicirt, Ingleichen, wenn ein Sonntag an einem Heiligen Abend gefällig ist". See Wolfgang Herbst (ed.), *Evangelischer Gottesdienst*, Göttingen: 1992, p. 141.

copied by multiple writers around 1630.⁸⁵⁴ Of the 14 motets contained in these partbooks, nine are by Schein, eight of these from *Israelsbrünnlein*.⁸⁵⁵ The contents of these partbooks suggest that they might have been compiled to provide repertoire for performance at funerals. The partbooks contain only 14 works, suggesting that ease of use and portability were important factors in their compilation. Schein's compositions are included alongside established funeral compositions, including Jacob Handl's setting of 'Ecce quomodo moritur iustus'⁸⁵⁶ and a setting of 'Nunc dimittis servum tuum'. A setting is also copied of 'Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen', a text that Schein himself had set as a funeral motet.⁸⁵⁷ It is therefore plausible that the compositions by Schein included in this volume were also selected for their suitability for performance at funerals and included in partbooks copied for this purpose.

If the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* did indeed have a second life as funeral repertoire in the second half of the seventeenth century, when did they, too, fall out of use? Christian Gerber, writing in 1732, laments that vocal settings of biblical texts "mit 2, 3, 4, Stimmen" have all but disappeared, as such settings, because the voices sang without instrumental accompaniment (the instruments alternating with the voices), were more conducive to the understanding of the text than more modern music. But as he continues, "Vor diesem hatte man auch sehr feine so genannte Moteten, die bey dem Gottesdienste, Hochzeiten, item auf der Gasse vor denen Häusern von Schülern oder Choro musico gesungen wurden".⁸⁵⁸ Gerber gives three examples of such motets which he knew from his youth:

...aus dem 84. Psalm wurden die Worte mit Discant, Alt, Tenor und Bass gesungen: 'Ein Tag in deinen Vorhöfen ist besser, denn etc.' diese Motete klang so anmuthig und andächtig, daß sie jedermann gern hörete... Item aus dem 90. Psalm V. 10 'Unser Leben währet 70 Jahr' ward eben dergleichen sehr schön componirte Motete gesungen, da denn der Chor die letzten Worte: 'Als flögen wir davon', etlichemal wiederholte, und sodann geschwind alle Stimmen aufhöreten, daß also die Flüchtigkeit unsers Lebens

⁸⁵⁴ Mus. LÖb 33. Cf. Wolfram Steude, *Die Musiksammelhandschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden*, Wilhelmshaven: 1974, p. 135.

⁸⁵⁵ The other was the five-part setting of 'Die gerechten werden ewiglich leben', Sap.5.16-17 (NGA 10.5).

⁸⁵⁶ Evidence of the canonical status of Handl's *Ecce quomodo moritur justus* as a funeral composition is found into the eighteenth century, for example G.F. Handel's use of the motet's refrain in his Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline.

⁸⁵⁷ For Maria Magdalena von Claußbruch in 1628, NGA 10.2.

⁸⁵⁸ The reference here to the performance of motets 'auf der Gasse vor denen Häusern' is probably indicative of their performance in the context of funeral processions.

auch mit denen Stimmen exprimirt ward. Man hatte noch mehr dergleichen Moteten aus biblischen Texten, als aus dem 42. Ps. ‘Was betrübst du dich meine Seele, und bist so unruhig in mir’, Wodurch manche angefochtene, oder sonst betrübte Seele aufgerichtet und erquicket ward...⁸⁵⁹

The latter two of Gerber’s examples were set by Schein in *Israelsbrünnlein*. Could Gerber have been thinking of Schein’s settings of ‘Unser Leben’ and ‘Was betrübst du dich’? If Schein’s compositions were still regularly performed at the end of the seventeenth century, Gerber could well have heard them in his youth; Schein’s depiction of ‘die Flüchtigkeit unsers Lebens’ with extreme quaver melismas would have left a lasting impression on any listener. As Gerber, however, continues: “Es sind aber diese geistreiche Moteten gantz in Vergessenheit kommen, daß man sie nirgends höret, welches zu beklagen!”⁸⁶⁰ What, then, led to their neglect? One feature that may have been decisive was the fashion for ‘stille’ or ‘nächtliche’ funerals that began around 1680.⁸⁶¹ Bolin states that the decline of vocal music at funerals from the end of the seventeenth century was by 1750 essentially complete:

Die (Vokal-) Musik als wesentliche Komponente des christlichen Begräbnisses in der evangelischen barocken Sepulkralkultur büßt mit dem ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert soviel an Bedeutung ein, daß sie um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts fast gänzlich geschwunden ist. Die Konsolidierung der Lebensumstände nach dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg förderte Erscheinungsformen der Bestattung, die in ihrer modischen Ausformung den Höhepunkt des barocken Begräbniskultes ausbildeten, dann aber in der Entfernung zu den eigentlichen Anliegen das Ende der barocken Sepulkralkultur in einer – behaupteten – Sinnlosigkeit weltlichen und kirchlichen Handelns beim Begräbnis besiegelte.⁸⁶²

The changing role of music at funerals would account for the eventual decline and demise of *Israelsbrünnlein* as funeral repertoire. In an earlier process of consolidation, they must have established themselves as standard funeral repertoire, presumably being used as such until vocal music went out of fashion amongst the well-to-do in Leipzig.

⁸⁵⁹ Ratzmann (ed.), *Gerbers “Historie der Kirchen-Ceremonien in Sachsen”*, pp. 68-9.

⁸⁶⁰ Ratzmann (ed.), *Gerbers “Historie der Kirchen-Ceremonien in Sachsen”*, p. 69.

⁸⁶¹ Norbert Bolin, ‘Sang- und klaglos?’, p. 414. See also Moore, *Patterned Lives*, p. 269 ff. for comment on the rise of the silent funeral around 1680, which “marked the end of the funeral biography at the court”. Also Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead*, chapter three.

⁸⁶² Norbert Bolin, ‘Sang- und klaglos?’, p. 414.

6. “KRAFFTSPRÜCHLIN ALTES UND NEWEN TESTAMENTS”

I hope to have contributed with my study to our knowledge of Schein’s compositions and their relation to the society for which he composed them. Firstly, my investigation of published sermons has, I hope, been able to shed light on funeral practices in Leipzig during Schein’s tenure as Thomaskantor and shown how the texts which he set in *Israelsbrünnlein* might have functioned. I have been able to show that a number of texts which Schein set in *Israelsbrünnlein* were selected as *Leichensprüche* for funerals in the years immediately prior to the dedication of *Israelsbrünnlein* in 1623. In some cases, as with Möstel’s *Symbolum*, the funeral text had been selected in advance by the deceased. Given both the musical similarities between Schein’s setting of Möstel’s *Symbolum* and the observation that many of the texts set in *Israelsbrünnlein* also featured as funeral texts, I have argued that many of the *Israelsbrünnlein* compositions were originally composed and performed as occasional compositions for Leipzig funerals. A second aspect of my study of funeral sermons was the theological exegesis of the text and opportunity that this offers, firstly, to show how these texts were understood in Lutheran society, and, secondly, to use the interpretation of the texts by Schein’s theological colleagues to illuminate Schein’s own interpretation of the text through his music. I am convinced that this is the direction in which future research must go; be it with regards to other settings of German bible verses in Lutheran Germany, discussion of Latin psalms through recourse to psalm commentaries, or, in the case of, for example, Machaut’s motets, by investigating both contemporary theological writings and secular literature to arrive at a more complete understanding of the texts and the composer’s intentions.

As I suggested in my introduction, the variety and extent of Schein’s known works, and the opportunity that this offers for comparisons to be drawn between individually published occasional compositions and publications containing multiple works, offers a unique opportunity for the musicologist to investigate issues of relevance to music in seventeenth-century protestant Germany and beyond. In my study, I was able to establish the connection between Schein’s settings of Bible *Sprüche* and the function that these same *Sprüche* might have had in the contexts of personal devotions and the collective celebration of funerals. Having established this model for Schein’s setting of Möstel’s *Symbolum*, I was able to extend its application to *Israelsbrünnlein*. One possibility for further research would be to apply this model to other published collections of German bible verses published in Lutheran Germany in the seventeenth century, investigating the connection between settings of Bible verses by other composers and their function and interpretation. Attempts have already been made at giving a comprehensive

account of the texts set as German *Spruchmotetten*⁸⁶³; a next step could be to compare this with the texts on which sermons for funerals and other occasions were preached. Thanks to the vast quantity of sermons accessible in digital form, such a study could now be feasible.

It has long been supposed that many of the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* were originally composed as Leipzig occasional works, with funerals, weddings and further events such as university ceremonies and the *Ratswahl* proposed. I have suggested that at least the first two of these were relevant. What I hope to have shown is, however, the connection between the function of the text set, the interpretation of the text, and its setting to music. All vocal music is, of course, an interplay between music and text. I have attempted in my study to look beyond the form of the text and individual images found in it to show that the texts which Schein set had a function and an integrity as *Sprüche* independently of the musical setting. *Israelsbrünnlein* proved itself to be especially conducive to such an approach due to the happy coincidence of a number of essential features. Firstly, Schein states in his preface that a number of these compositions had already been heard at “fürfallenden Occasionen”, pointing the music historian in the right direction. Secondly, the extent of Schein’s surviving printed occasional works, a number of which are stylistically similar to many works in *Israelsbrünnlein*, enables conclusions to be drawn concerning the occasions for which such works might have been composed and performed and, in the case of funeral motets, allows the connection between the function of the *Leichenspruch*, its exegesis in the sermon and Schein’s setting of it to be reconstructed. Thirdly, the quantity and accessibility of printed funeral sermons enabled me to extend this model to a number of the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein*. Although it is impossible to attribute beyond doubt Schein’s *Israelsbrünnlein* compositions to specific occasions or dedicatees, my discussion of funeral sermons has shown the sorts of occasions for which they might have been composed and the function that the set text might have had as a personally chosen *Spruch* and funeral text. This perhaps unique convergence enables conclusions to be drawn about *Israelsbrünnlein* which are probably valid for similar collections of sacred vocal music in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Although I intended in my study to take an interdisciplinary approach, focussing on the connection between Schein’s compositions and the society for which he wrote them, a number of formal features of the compositions themselves can be commented on. Perhaps most significant

⁸⁶³ See Craig J. Westendorf, *The Textual and Musical Repertoire of the Spruchmotette*, PhD Diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1987.

is the observation that, although not quite half of the *Sprüche* which Schein set in *Israelsbrünnlein* were taken from the Book of Psalms, many others – such as the *Sprüche* from the Prophetical Books of the Old Testament – also display the formal features of the psalms. In many cases, these verses can be seen as selections from ‘psalms’, from poetic passages embedded within a prose narrative. This is an important observation for *Israelsbrünnlein*. It suggests that not just any texts were suitable for a setting in the manner of the compositions found in this collection. The form of the psalm texts, governed by the principle of the *parallelismus membrorum*, was conducive to Schein’s approach to his compositions, enabling the discrete units in the psalm verses to be depicted through contrasting musical devices, each associated with a fragment of text, in the composition. Furthermore, the observation that Schein preferred setting a certain type of text can be seen in connection with the suitability of a *Leichenspruch* for a musical setting. For Bürgermeister Paul Calemburg, for example, the story of the transfiguration as told in Matthew’s gospel – a narrative, prose text – was chosen as *Predigttext*. Given Schein’s apparent preference for setting psalm-like texts, such a text would have been unsuitable for setting as a funeral motet. In such cases, Schein might, given the unsuitability of the text, have refrained from setting it for the occasion. Given, however, the social standing of the deceased in the Leipzig hierarchy, which would certainly have warranted the performance of polyphonic music, Schein might have set instead a text of his own choosing, or decided to perform a funeral motet from the school’s repertoire.

I deliberately refrained from discussing the ‘Italian Madrigalische Manier’ until my final chapter and by no means claim to have offered the last word on the matter. I took as my starting point Schein’s claim in the preface to *Diletti pastorali* that, although he realises that it is the composer’s job to put down the notes on paper and the singer’s task to decorate and ornament the notes in performance, he had, for the benefit of those in Germany not yet acquainted with the “Italiänische jetzo gebräuchliche anmutige manier zu singen”, himself notated “ein klein Leuff- oder Schleifflein”. Asking whether this claim could also have been relevant for *Israelsbrünnlein*, the collection often seen as a sacred counterpart to the five-part madrigals in *Diletti pastorali*, I traced Schein’s use of a cadential figure used in many of the *Israelsbrünnlein* compositions, suggesting that the application of such ornamentation, possibly the result of the influence of Caccini’s *Le nuove musiche* and the continuo motet in Italy, might have been one aspect of how Schein understood the modern Italian manner. Nevertheless, there were probably multiple facets to Schein’s understanding of the ‘Italian Madrigalische Manier’. These include a keen sense of musical contrast, based on the contrasts and juxtapositions between the discrete units in the psalm or psalm-like texts; the attention to the musical depiction of individual images

that such a division of the text together with the often vivid imagery in the poetic verses permits; a freer approach to the use of dissonance for expressive purposes; the nature of his compositions as five-part vocal settings without an independent basso continuo or obligato instruments; a concern with a manner of text declamation that reflects the natural declamation of the spoken language; and the possibility that it represented, at least in part, a marketing ploy.

Schein was certainly aware of political events and their effects on the state of music. Although there is no doubt that times were difficult, a nuanced consideration of the political events is necessary. It is all too easy to find in collections such as *Israelsbrunnlein* an artistic response to the experience of war, finding in the themes of Schein's *Sprüche* and their frequent use of the first person a manifestation of a – typically German – baroque 'vanitas', running parallel to similar developments in literature and the fine arts. Firstly, references to 'difficult' or 'dangerous' times are commonplace in the Lutheran confessional context following the Reformation. Selnecker's discussion of the Prophet Isaiah was published in 1569, over a decade after the conclusion of the Peace of Augsburg; his reference to "diesen schweren und kümmerlichen zeiten" is immediately explained as referring to the "gefährlichen spaltungen / so in die kirchen von alten und newen Rottengeistern eingefüret werden".⁸⁶⁴ That confessional discord is here meant is confirmed in Polycarp Leiser the Elder's treatise "Eine wichtige / und in diesen gefährlichen Zeiten sehr nützliche Frag", written in 1602 and reissued in Leipzig in 1620; the threat of confessional conflict – a threat which, for Leiser, stemmed from the Calvinists rather than Catholics – was existential, threatening the stability of the fourth and final empire as prophesied by the Prophet Daniel. In Schein's prefaces, it is the indirect effects of war rather than war itself which are making themselves known in Leipzig. Where Schein does refer directly to war, it is in later works. The composition for the *Ratswahl* of 1630, entitled 'Precatio ecclesiae pro pace', invites such an interpretation, as does a poem which Schein added following a five-part song for the 1629 funeral of Christoph Dusel.⁸⁶⁵ *Israelsbrunnlein* was published at the height of the "unerhörte unmenschliche Thewrung" which, as Schein states, was the reason for the delay in publication of "*secundam partem* meiner geistlichen *Moteten und Concerten*". As

⁸⁶⁴ The Peace of Augsburg brought about a period of sustained peace in Germany (63 years from 1555 until 1618) whose length would not be surpassed until 2008 (1945 - ???).

⁸⁶⁵ "Krieg klopffet an an unser Thür/ | Ach Gott/ laß gehn zu Herten dir! | Abr DUSEL mein/ du hast es gut! | Der Feind dir nichts mehr schaden thut". Polycarp Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus den worten des 51. Psalms / Schaffe in mir Gott ein rein Hertz / und gieb mir einen newen / ec. Beym Begrebnis des Ehregeachten unnd Fürnehmen Christophori Dusels / Bürgers und Handelsmans in Leipzig / Welcher den 6. Aprilis / Anno 1629 [...] verschieden / und den 10. Aprilis Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden, Leipzig: 1629[?].

one of “die Kirchen / und Schuldiener” the recipient of a fixed salary, Schein would have been personally hard hit. A second point results from the awareness that many of these *Sprüche*, following the precedent of the settings of Möstel’s and Schmuck’s *Symbola*, may have been selected as *Leichensprüche* on account of their personal significance in the deceased’s devotions, as a ‘norma vitæ’ or a ‘verbum solatij’. When this is the case, we may very well be left with texts which express a personal faith in light of the experience of *Anfechtung* and the awareness of approaching death. But even if the net result is the same, this is different from the blanket claim that the theme of such texts represents a more general preoccupation with *vanitas* and mortality as experienced in war.

As the reader who has persisted this far has surely noticed, I have avoided describing Schein’s compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein* as either motets or madrigals. Although the reader may consider this pedantic, it has been deliberate. The question as to the correct genre attribution for these works has dominated the recent literature, some authors happily inventing new genres to rationalise away perceived contradictions and ambiguities. Such an approach, however, can easily fall victim to circularity: having created a genre and decided which works belong to it, this selection is then examined to determine the characteristics of the genre itself.⁸⁶⁶ Attempting to isolate a common denominator which encapsulates the essence of these 26 compositions disregards the fact that *Israelsbrünnlein* is in many respects a heterogeneous collection. Heterogeneous with regards to the texts; while many of the *Sprüche* are comprised of psalm verses or verses from ‘psalms’ outside the psalter, a few pesky ‘narrative’ texts combine with Schein’s own two texts to make generalisations difficult. Heterogeneous with regards to the musical structure of the compositions and their musical language; while many settings alternate between pseudo-polyphony and homorhythmic writing and make liberal use of antiphonal effects between the three-part ‘upper’ and ‘lower’ ensembles, others are largely contrapuntal (‘Ich lasse dich nicht’) or make use of a refrain (‘Drei schöne Ding’). And heterogeneous with regards to the occasions for which they were composed and performed: while some settings likely originated as personalised funeral compositions, others were probably written for wedding celebrations. Still others may have been newly composed for inclusion in *Israelsbrünnlein*.

Rather than trying to define *Israelsbrünnlein*, I have preferred to let the ambiguities stand. In order to avoid the ‘madrigal-or-motet’ discussion, I started by asking for whom and for which

⁸⁶⁶ The accusation of circularity could be levelled at Walter-Mazur’s article, in which examples of the ‘Madrigal-Motet’ are identified before they are analysed to determine the genre’s characteristics.

occasions Schein might have intended his works. Reflecting both Schein's comment that some of his compositions had already been performed "bey fürfallenden *occasionen*" and the evidence provided by the individually published occasional compositions, I have examined funerals, weddings and the *Ratswahl* as possible occasions and concluded that a number of the *Israelsbrünnlein* compositions were likely composed and intended for the first two of these. I have suggested that the model of *Symbolum*-setting observed in 'Herr, ich hoffe auf dich' is applicable to many of the compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein*, the texts of some of which can be shown to have been preached upon in Leipzig funeral sermons in the years preceding *Israelsbrünnlein*'s publication. If this is correct, then a fundamental distinction between Schein's setting of Möstel's *Symbolum* as a funeral motet and, for example, his setting of 'Ist nicht Ephraim' from *Israelsbrünnlein* as a sacred madrigal would seem inapposite. Equally out of place, though, would be to conclude that Schein's works were composed for specific occasions, brand them as occasional motets, and leave it at that. As I have attempted to show in my final chapter, settings of sacred texts were performed not only in liturgical and para-liturgical contexts, but also in domestic settings for recreation. Schein suggests as much when he writes in his dedication of "vielen / so mit Christlicher *Music* sich *delectiren*, die gute *devotion* zu vermehren". Even if many of them were originally composed as occasional works, Schein's collection and publication of *Israelsbrünnlein* surely facilitated the performance of these works in recreational contexts. The application of a distinction between sacred and secular spheres to seventeenth-century Leipzig is anachronistic; while civic events such as the *Ratswahl* were legitimised through an appeal to a divinely ordained civic order, daily domestic devotions ensured that religion extended beyond the limitations of the liturgy to pervade family life. A further change in function of *Israelsbrünnlein* seems to have occurred as the seventeenth century progressed; the inclusion of some of these works alongside known funeral motets and the reference to them as 'Leichenstimmen' suggests that they had become part of a standard repertoire of funeral music. By the middle of the seventeenth century, their five-part vocal writing, with basso seguente and without obligato instruments, may have facilitated their use as such.

If a title is deemed necessary, I propose 'Krafftspüchlein'. In addition to the title page of the 1623 print, Schein uses this term on multiple occasions; in the preface to the Tenor partbook: "Großgünstige Herren / dieselben erinnern sich großgünstig / welcher gestalt bißhero / ich etzliche außerlesene Krafftspüchlein Altes und Newen Testaments / mit 5. Stimmen auff Italian-Madrigalische Manier / nebenst dem *Basso Continovo componiret*, unnd bey fürfallenden *occasionen musiciret*"; and in the preface to the continuo partbook: "Als habe ich [...] etzliche schöne geistliche Krafftspüchlein *componiren*, *revidiren*, und *publiciren* wollen". This term

has a number of advantages. Firstly, it is a term which Schein himself uses when he refers in both prefaces to the fact that he had composed “Krafftspüchlein”. Furthermore, it places no stylistic limitations on the music, freeing Schein’s settings from the Procrustean bed of an imposed genre and avoiding the need to ask such questions as “wie weit etwa die Madrigalisierung fortgeschritten sein müsste, um nicht mehr von Motette sprechen zu können?”⁸⁶⁷ Most importantly, however, it recognises that the texts which Schein set had an integrity and function independently of their musical setting. Investigating this function has been a key part of my study and a feature whose importance for an understanding of the music I hope to have demonstrated.

⁸⁶⁷ Helmut Lauterwasser, *Angst der Höllen und Friede der Seelen*, Göttingen: 1999, p. 330.

à 3. pag. 31

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a continuo part. At the top left, there is a tempo or style marking 'à 3.'. In the top right corner, the page is numbered 'pag. 31'. The music is written on seven staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef and contains several measures of music with notes and rests. Above this staff are several groups of numbers, likely figured bass notation: '6 5 4 3', '6 5 4 3', '5 6 5 4 3', and '6 5 4 3'. The second staff starts with a bass clef and contains more music. Above it are the numbers '6 5 4 3' and '6 5 4 3'. The third staff has a treble clef and includes the numbers '6 5 4 3', '5 6 5 4 3', and '6 5 4 3'. The fourth staff has a bass clef and includes the numbers '6 5 4 3' and '6 5 4 3'. The fifth staff has a treble clef and includes the numbers '6 5 4 3' and '6 5 4 3'. The sixth staff has a bass clef and includes the numbers '6 5 4 3' and '6 5 4 3'. The seventh staff has a treble clef and includes the numbers '6 5 4 3' and '6 5 4 3'. There are several asterisks (*) scattered throughout the score, possibly indicating specific performance instructions or ornaments. The handwriting is in a historical style, and the paper shows signs of age.

Liedlich u. schön
Lieblich u. schön sein ist nicht
finis
Si modo:
A. J. Bach

Hand-copied continuo part of Schein's 'Lieblich und schöne sein' with indication 'à 3'. Reproduced by permission of the Bach-Archiv Leipzig (D-LEb, Rara II, 81, pag. 31).

27. *à 5.* **Bassus Continuus.**

65 65 565 65 565
43 43 343 34 43 43 43 43 343 34 43

Lieblich und schöne seyn etc.

6 5 34
6 5 43
565 65 65 565 65 65 565
343 34 43 343 34 43 43 43 343 34 43

6 5 43
6 5 43
6 5 43 b 6 5
765 343 6 6 56 343 6 6

The image shows a page from a 1623 lute tablature book. It features a large, ornate initial 'L' for the title 'Lieblich und schöne seyn etc.'. The music is written on six-line staves with diamond-shaped notes. Above the staves are various lute tablature figures, such as '65 65 565' and '43 43 343', which correspond to the fret positions of the notes. The page is numbered '27.' in the top left and 'à 5.' in the top center. The title 'Bassus Continuus.' is written in the top right. The manuscript shows signs of age, including some staining and fading.

'Lieblich und schöne sein' à 5, Bassus Continuum partbook, *Israelsbrunnlein* (1623).

Reproduced by permission of the Marienbibliothek Halle.

Bassus Continuus.

à 5.

56 343

6 X

56 343 X X X X

343 X X X 6

765 6 343 6 6 6 6

765 343 X 6 65 343

Madrigale di Gio: Hermano Schein/C.
(d)

‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ à 5, Bassus Continuus partbook, *Israelsbrunnlein* (1623).
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Cited Primary Sources

Printed Sermons

[Unknown Author] *SION AFFLICTA NON DERELICTA*. Oder Das von GOTT schmerzlich betrübte / und doch hertzlich geliebte Zion. Nach Anleitung der Worte aus dem Esaia *Cap. XLIX. v.14.15.16*. Zum rühmlichen Andencken Der [...] Frauen *DOROTHEÆ* Des [...] Herrn Heinerich Trautzels / Hoch Fürstl. wolbestalten Elb Zollverwalters Ehelichen hertz=vieligeliebten HaußEhre / Welche *Anno 1679. den 26. Decembr.* in GOTT selig entschlaffen / und den *30. ejusdem* bey Ansehn=Volckreicher Begleitung in der Kirchen zu Lauenburg in ihr Ruhbettlein gesetzt / woselbsten folgende Leichpredigt deroselben gehalten worden. Lüneburg: 1680.

Albert, Jeremia. *HISKIÆ Qverela & Medela* Deß Gottfürchtigen Königes Hiskiaë Klage und Trost Auß dem geistreichen Propheten Esaia am *38. Cap.v.17*. Als der Leichnam deß [...] Herrn Wolfgang Jüngers [...] in die Prediger Kirche mit sehr grosser / und Volckreicher Begleitung [...] den *21. Martij* dieses 1647. Jahrs überbracht / und daselbst in den Chor [...] beygesetzt worden. Erfurt: 1647[?].

Balduin, Friederich. Christliche Leichpredigt / Von des H. Patriarchen Jacobs Kampf / auß dem Ersten Buch Mosis *Cap. 32*. Bey Volckreicher Leichbegengnus des [...] Herrn *FRIEDERICI TAUBMANNI*, Vornehmen *Poëtæ* und *Professoris* bey der löblichen Universitet Wittenberg / welcher am *24 Martij anni 1613.* im HERRN Chrito seeliglich entschlaffen / unnd den folgenden *26. Martij* mit Christlichen *Ceremonien* zur Erden ist bestattet worden. Wittenberg: 1613.

Besser, Andreas. *HISKIÆ* Leid und Freud / Aus dem *Propheten* Esaia am *38. Cap. v.17*. Bey Christ=Adelicher und Volckreicher *Sepultur*, Als der [...] Herr Johann Caspar von Bernstein / Erb= und Gerichtsherr auff Herrngosserstedt / Welcherden *16. Julii* / des *1657* Jahrs [...] entschlaffen / und am *23. Ejusdem* in der Kirchen *S. Viti* mit ansehnlichem *Conduct* beygesetzt ward[.] Jena: 1657[?].

Calert, Michael. *HISKIAS DECUMBENS*, Oder: Des Königs Hißkias schwere und tödtliche Kranckheit / außm Esaia am *38. Cap.* Bey ansehnlicher und Volckreicher *Sepultur*, Des [...] Herrn Heinrichs von Büнау [...] Welcher zu Weißenfels [...] den *14. Octob.* im HERRN selig verstorben : Hernach darauff den *19 Novemb.* nach Adelichen Christ=Ritterlichen Gebrauch bestattet[.] Leipzig: 1647[?].

Cramer, Johann. Der ewige Hertzbrecher Welcher das Gerechte / zornige / gestrenge Hertz Gottes gebrochen und versöhnet mit dem Menschlichem *JESUS* Geschlecht. Aus dem *31. Cap.* Jeremiaë / und dem *11. Oseæ*: Darumb BRICHT nur mein Hertz / ec. Bey dem Adelichen Begräbnis / der [...] Jungfrawen *CATHARINÆ*, Des [...] Herrn Pauln von Naumargkts [...] hinterlassenen Adelichen Tochter. Welche in wahren Glauben an solchen einigen Hertzbrecher *JESUM* / *Anno 1620.* den *22. Julij* [...] gestorben / und den *28.* darauff Adelich in der Pfarrkirchen *S. Nicolai* begraben worden. Leipzig: 1620.

Ehrenberger, Johann. *Dotalia Conjugalium Binioschönbergiaca*, Christliche Hochzeitpredigt / Von der rechten Mitgabe oder Zubringen newer Christlicher Eheleute / Aus dem *31. Capitel* der Sprichwörter Salomonis. An dem Adelichen Beylager / Des [...] Herrn Rudolff von Bünaw / gewesenen Erbsassen und Herrn des Hauses und Guts Tirmitz in der Kron Böhmen / umb des

Evangelij willen aber in unsern Landen gewichenen [...] Und [...] Der WolEdlen und Vieltugendsamen Jungfrawen MARIEN [...] Auff dem Hause Frawenstein erkläret und gehalten[.] Leipzig: 1630.

Geier, Martin. Köstliches *Aqua vitæ* Oder Lebens=Wasser: aus Joh. 4/13.14. (Wer dieß Wasser trincket / den wird wieder dürsten; Wer aber des Wassers etc.) Betrachtet bey Christlicher Leichenbestattung Des Ehrenvesten / VorAchtbaren und Wohlgelehrten Herrn Tobiaë Michaelis / Weitberühmten *Musici*, und bey dieser Stadt Leipzig wohlverordneten *Directoris Chori Musici*, Seel. am Tage seiner Begräbnis / Welcher war der 30. Junii Anno 1657. Nachdem er auff dieser Welt gelebet 65. Jahr und 13. Tage. Leipzig: 1657.

Geringer, Paul. Leichpredigt / Bey Begräbnüß des Ehrenvesten / Achtbarn und Wolgelarten Herrn / *M. AMBROSII* Bardensteins / Bey eines Ehrnvesten Hochweisen RahtsSchule zu *S. Thomas* in Leipzig gewesenenen *Rectoris*, nunmehr in Gott ruhende. Welcher den 21. Augusti dieses 1616. Jahrs / durch den zeitlichen Todt von dieser Welt abgeschieden / und den 23. Christlicher weise / zu seinem Ruhebettlein ist gebracht worden. Leipzig: 1617.

Güttener, Gabriel. Das Brechende Vater Hertz Gottes : Gegen alle seine thewre Söhne und Trawte Kinder. Das ist: GEgen alle Christliche Creutzträger / die in dem Finstern Thal dieser Welt / allerley Widerwertigkeit / Noth / Elend / Anfechtung und Verfolgung / eine gute lange Zeit / leiden und ausstehen müssen. Aus dem Sprüchlein *Jerem.31.v.20*. Ist nicht Ephraim mein thewrer Sohn / und mein trawtes Kind? Denn Ich denck noch wol / ec. Bey dem Volckreichen Begräbnüß: Des [...] Errn *PETRI* Reichen / gewesenenen Pfarherrns zu GrossenSchirm bey Freybergk in Meissen / welcher Freytags den 9. *Augusti*, zu Freybergk [...] Im Jahr Christi 1616. sanfft und selig in Christo verschieden / Und [...] hernach / den 11. *Augusti*, in sein Ruhebethlein / in die Kirche *S. Jacobi*, bestattet worden. Freiberg: 1618.

Heinigke, Michael. *OPTIMUM AC VERUM VERI CHRISTIANI GAUDIUM*. Das ist Eines wahren Christen beste und gröste Freude / Aus denen Worten des Geistreichen Propheten *Es. c.61. 10*. Ich freue mich in dem HERRN / und meine Seele ist frölich in meinem GOTT / ec. Welche die [...] Frau Magdalena gebohrne Lossovin / Des [...] Herrn *M. Friederich Wilhelm Zembschens* [...] *Superintendentens* zu Glaucha und Remse [...] Wittbe [...] aus dieser Jammer=vollen Welt genommen zu Treben am 19. Maji / dieses ietzlauffenden 1681. Jahres. Und bey deroselben wohlangestellten Priesterlichen Beerdigung am 24. dieses [...] in der Kirchen allda / ihrem eigenen Begehren nach einfältig fürgestellet / auch nachgehendes auff der Leidtragenden / höchstbetrübt Kinder Anhalten zum Druck abgegeben. Jena: 1681[?].

Hoë von Hoënegg, Matthias. Eine Christliche Leichpredigt / Bey dem Begrebnis / des [...] Herrn *MATTHÆI* Möstels / Bürgermeisters zu Plawen. Welcher den 28. Aprilis 1607. selig in Gott verschieden / und den 29. hernach Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Gehalten in der Pfarrkirchen Durch *MATTHIAM* Hoen / der Heiligen Schrifft Doctorn / und Superintendenten daselbst. Leipzig: 1607[?].

Hoë von Hoënegg, Matthias. Eine Christliche Predigt / Als Auff gnädigste anordnung / des Churfürsten zu Sachsen / und Burggrafen zu Magdeburg / ec. Herr *VINCENTIUS* Schmuck / der H. Schrifft *Doctor* und *Professor* zu Leipzig / *Pastor* zu *S. Niclas* daselbst [...] zum SuperintendentenAmpt der gantzen Leipzigschen *Diæcess*, *solenniter*, un[d] in grosser ansehlicher Volckreicher Versammlung / den 25. *Augusti*, Anno 1617. eingewiesen worden[.] Leipzig: 1617[?].

Hoë von Hoënegg, Matthias. Fürstliche und Christliche Trawung und Einsegnung / Des Durchlauchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Johann Philippons / Hertzogs zu Sachsen [...] Und der [...] Frawen Elisabeth / Hertzogin zu Sachsen [...] In hochansehnlichster vieler Chur und Fürstlicher / auch anderer fürnehmer Personen gegenwart gehalten / Auff dem Fürstlichen Schloß zu Altenburg / den 25. und 26. *Octobris Anno 1618.* und hochermeldten ihren beyden Fürstlichen Gnaden zu besondern unterthänigen Ehren[.] Leipzig: 1619.

Hoë von Hoënegg, Matthias. Zween Christliche Hochzeit=*Sermonen.* Bey der Fürstlichen Trawung und Einsegnung / Deß Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn Friederichs / Erbens zu Norwegen : Herzogs zu Schließwig [...] Und der Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürstin und Fräwlein / Fräwlein Mariæ Elisabeth / Geborner auß Churfürstlichem Stamm / Hertzogin zu Sachsen [...] gehalten / auff dem Schloß / der Churfürstlichen Sächsischen Haupt *Residenz* zu Dreßden / den 21. und 22. *Februarij, Anno 1630.* Leipzig: 1630[?].

Höfer, Sigismund. *DUÆ HONORIS STATUÆ* Zwo Adelige Ehrenseulen gesetzt und aufgerichtet in Zwey Christlichen Leich= und Trost= Predigten ; deren die Erste Etzliche Geistliche Thränen=Tüchlein [...] zusammen gelesen auß den geistreichen Worten Esaiaë 54.v.7.8. [...] die Andere Christlicher Sechs=Wöchnerin fröligsten Kirchgang zeigt / So entworffen in den freudenreichen Worten Esai.61.v.10 Ich freue mich im HERRN ec. gehalten und abgelegt Als der Adelige Leichnam Der [...] Frauen Annen=Sibyllen / von Breitenbauch [...] den 23. Martii des 1655sten Jahrs / in der Kirchen zu S. Ulrich [...] beygesetzt / und darauf den 9. *Maij* der Adelige Leich=*Process solenniter* gehalten worden[.] Jena: 1655.

Höpner, Johann. Leichpredigt / Bey dem Christlichen und Volckreichen Leichbegengnis / des [...] Herrn *M. Iohan. Fritzschen / Canonic.* zu Wurtzen / unnd Rahtsverwandten zu Leipzig. Welcher den 18. *Octob.* dieses 1616. Jahrs [...] entschlaffen / unnd folgendts den 21. *Oct.* ehrlich zur erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1616.

Höpner, Johann. Leichpredigt Uber das Trostsprüchlein S. Pauli aus der 1. zum Timoth. 1. Das ist je gewißlich wahr / und ein thewer werthes Wort / ec Bey der Leichbestattung des [...] Herrn Johann-Herman Scheins / *Chori Musici Directoris,* und *Cantoris* der Schulen zu S. Thomas in Leipzig. Welcher ... den 19. *Nov. Anno 1630.* seliglich entschlaffen / und den 21. dieses mit Christlichen *Ceremonien* zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1630[?].

Höpner, Johann. Christliche Leichen=*Predigt* / Uber das Trost=*Sprüchlein* des Propheten Esaiaë am 38. Capitel: Sihe / umb Trost war mir sehr bange / ec. Bey Christlicher Leichbestattung Des [...] Herrn Sebastiani Seidels auff Funckenburgk / Welcher Anno 1641. den 26. *Maij* [...] verschieden / und den 30. *dito* Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1641.

Jenisch, Georg Paul. Glaubiger Kinder Gottes Allerschönster Seelen=*Schmuck* / Aus dem 61. Cap.v.10. deß Propheten Esaiaë. Bey Volckreicher und Ansehenlicher Leich=*Bestattung* / Der [...] Fr. Jacobina Hentschlin [...] Deß [...] Herrn / Christoph Hentschels / Deß Inneren Raths und Hoch-Löblichen Burgermeisters allhie Seel. Haus=*Frauen* / Welche am Dienstag dises 1680. Jahrs / den 20. Februar [...] verschieden / und den folgenden 24. desselben Monats in die Schlaf=*Kammer* der Erden eingesenckt worden[.] Augsburg: 1680[?].

Lang, Christian. *STATUA COLLEGARUM,* Das ist / Zwo Christliche Leichen Predigten Uber der *Sepultur* und Leichenbegengnüß zweyer wolverdienter *Collegen* des Predigampts zu S. Thomas in Leipzig / als Des [...] Herrn *MAURITII BURCHARDI,* der H. Schrifft *Doctoris* und *Prof. Publ.* auch *Archidiaconi,* &c. welcher den 15 Julii [...] verschieden / und darauff den 18 in sein Ruhebettlein gebracht worden. Und dann Des [...] Herrn *M. MARTINI CRAMERI,* der

Heil. Schrifft *Baccalaurei* und Vesperpredigers / welcher den 8 Septembr. im HErrn abgeschieden / und den 10 darauff [...] beygesetzt worden. Leipzig: 1637.

Lang, Christian. Der geistl. Braut Beständigkeit / Daß sie Christum feste muß halten / und nicht lassen. Bey ansehnlicher und Volckreicher Leichenbestattung Der [...] Fr. Marien Elisabethen / Gebornen Welschin / Des [...] Hrn. Christian Maeyers / fürnehmen Bürgers und Handelsmanns allhier in Leipzig gewesenem ehelichen Hauß=Ehre. Welche in ihren 6 Wochen am 9 Tage nach der Geburt eines jungen Söhnleins / als am 15. *Julii* [...] von dieser Welt abgeschieden [...] und den 18. darauff in ihr Ruhebettlein / so ihr im Schoß der Erden zu bereitet / beygesetzt worden[.] Leipzig: 1654.

Lauterbach, Erhart. Christlicher Leichsermon: Bey ehrlicher bestattung / des [...] Herrn *Stephani* Jägers / in das acht und dreyssigste Jahr gewesenem trewen Pfarrers zu Salsitz / im Naumburgischen Stifft naher Zeitz / Welchen Gottt der HErr [...] den 2. tag *Martij*, dieses 1622. Jahres: und den 5. tag *Martij*, drauff [...] sein Leichnam daselbs Christlicher weise begraben worden. Leipzig: 1622.

Leiser, Polycarp. *EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ*. Oder TodtenSpiegel / Aus dem *XC*. Psalm. Zu einem Ehrengedechtniß der weiland Durchleuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürstinen und Frawen / Fr. Sibyllen Elisabeth / gebornen Hertzogin zu Wirtenberg / etc. Des auch Durchleuchtigen / Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn / Herrn *IOHANNIS GEORGII*, Hertzogen zu Sachsen [...] etc. hertzliebsten gewesenem EheGemahlin. In sieben Predigten verfasst [...]. Leipzig: 1606[?].

Leiser, Polycarp. Leichpredigt Aus dem 12. Cap. *Lucæ* / Beym Begräbnis des Erbarn und Wolgeachten Gerhard Beckers jungen Gesellen und Handelsmans in Leipzig / Welcher den 12. *Augusti* [...] *Anno 1617*. [...] entschlaffen / und den 24. *Augusti* Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1617.

Leiser, Polycarp. Leichpredigt. Aus dem 25. Psalm des Königlichen Propheten Davids. Beym Begräbnis des Erbarn und Wolgeachten Friderich Stangens / Bürgers und Handelsman in Leipzig. Welcher den 20. *Januarij* *Anno 1618*. frühe umb 2. Uhr in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 23. *Januarij* Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1618[?].

Leiser, Polycarp. Leichpredigt Aus dem 90. Psalm: Unser Leben wäret siebentzig Jahr ec. Beym Begräbnis und Christlicher Bestattung / des [...] Georg Walters / Bürgers und Gastwirths in Leipzig. Welcher den 25. *Januarii* *Anno 1619*. [...] abgeschieden / und den 29. *Jan.* zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1619.

Leiser, Polycarp. Leichpredigt / Aus dem Spruch des 73. Psalms: HErr wenn ich nur dich habe / so frag ich nichts nach Himmel / etc. Beym Begräbnis und Christlichen Bestattung / der Erbarn und Tugendsamen Frawen. *MARTHEN* / Des Erbarn und Ehrengedachten Herren Christian Rothaupts / Bürgers und Handelßmanns in Leipzig seligen Haußfrawen. Welche den 28. *Januarii* *Anno 1619*. [...] entschlaffen / und den 1 *Februarij* Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1619.

Leiser, Polycarp. Leichpredigt Aus dem 25. Psalm des Königlichen Propheten Davids. Bey Christlicher Leichbegängniß des [...] Georg Olfelds / Handelsmanns in Leipzig / Welcher den 10. *Martii* *Anno 1620*. [...] entschlaffen / und den 13 *Martii* Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden[.] Leipzig: 1620.

Leiser, Polycarp. Christliche Leichpredigt / Aus dem Spüchlein des 126. Psalmens: Die mit Thränen seen / ec. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Frawn ANNEN / Des Erbarnd und Wolgelahrten Johann Köllens / Bürgers und *Notarij Publici* in Leipzig seligen Haußfrawen. Welche den 26. *Februarij Anno 1621*. [...] entschlaffen / und den 1. *Martij* Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1621.

Leiser, Polycarp. Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes *Hiskiaë, Esa. 38*. Sihe umb Trost war mir sehr bange etc. Beym Begräbnis / des [...] Herrn PAVLI FROBERGS, Stadtrichters und fürnehmen *Advocati* zu Leipzig / Welcher den dritten *Julii Anno 1621*. [...] in dem HERN entschlaffen / und den 6. desselben Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1621.

Leiser, Polycarp. LeichPredigt / Aus den Worten des 31. Psalms: Ich aber HERR hoffe auff dich / und spreche : Du bist mein Gott / meine Zeit stehet in deinen Händen. Beym Begräbnis des [...] Herrn THEODORI Möstels / der Rechten Doctorn / auff Schönaw und Großmiltitz / Churf. Sächs. *Appellation* Raths / des Churf. Sächs. Schöppenstuls *Assessorn*, und ältesten Bürgermeisters zu Leipzig. Welcher den 19. *Maji Anno 1626*. [...] eingeschlaffen / und den 22. *Maji* bey ansehnlicher und volkreicher Versammlung zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1626.

Leiser, Polycarp. Leichpredigt / XVI. Aus den Worten des 90. Psalms: Unser Leben weret siebenzig Jahr / und wenn es hoch kömpt / so sindt achtzig Jahr / ec. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Frawen MAGDALENEN, Des [...] Herrn Valentin Boners des Eltern Bürgers und Handelsmans in Leipzig seligen hinterlassenen Wittben. Welche den 21. *Januarij Anno 1627*. [...] verschieden und den 24. *Januarij* Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1627.

Leiser, Polycarp. Christliche LeichPredigt / Von dem höchsten Schatz der Christen / Aus den Worten S. Pauli I. Corinth. I. JESUS Christus ist uns von GOTT gemacht zur Weißheit / zur Gerechtigkeit / etc. Bey Volkreicher und ansehnlicher Leichbestattung des weiland Ehrwürdigen / GroßAchtbarn und Hochgelarten Herrn / VINCENTII Schmucks / der heiligen Schrifft *Doctorn* und *Professorn*, der *Theologischen Facultet* und *Fränckischen Nation* in der *Universität* Leipzig / wie auch bey dem Churf. Sächs. *Consistorio* daselbs / und im Hohen Stiff Meissen *Seniorn*, *Pfarrern* zu S. Niclas / und *Superintendenten* zu Leipzig / auch des grossen Fürsten *Collegij Collegiaten*, &c. Welcher den 1. *Februarii* des 1628. Jahrs [...] in GOTT verschieden / und den 6. desselben Monats Christlich in der Kirchen zu S. Niclas daselbs zur Erden bestattet worden[.] Leipzig: 1628[?].

Leiser, Polycarp. Leichpredigt Aus den ersten Versickeln des 84. Psalms. Wie lieblich sind deine Wohnungen HERR Zebaoth / etc. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Jungfrawen Marien Magdalenen Des [...] Herrn Heinrich von Claußbruch / Cramers genandt / auff Meißelwitz des Jüngern hinterlassenen Eheleiblichen Tochter / Welche den 30. *Martij Anno 1628*. [...] in Christo entschlaffen / unnd den 2. *April*. Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1628.

Leiser, Polycarp. Leichpredigt / Aus den Worten des 51. Psalms / Schaffe in mir Gott ein rein Hertz / und gieb mir einen neuen / ec. Beym Begrebnis des Ehrengachten unnd Fürnehmen Christophori Dusels / Bürgers und Handelsmans in Leipzig / Welcher den 6. *Aprilis* / Anno 1629 [...] verschieden / und den 10. *Aprilis* Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1629[?].

Luther, Martin. Zwo Hochzeit Predigten D. Mar. Luther. Wittenberg: 1536.

Misler, Konrad. Zions Klag auß dem Propheten Esaia am 49.v.14.15.16. In gehaltener Trauer=und Trost=Sermon Bey sehr kläglicher Leich=Procession Johan Jacob Weisen / Des [...]

HERRN M. JOHANNNIS WEISEN / Wohlverordneten *Professor. Ordinar.* bey hiesiger Löbli-
chen *Universität* als Höchbetrübten Vatters. Und dan Der [...] Frawen ANNÆ BARBARÆ
WEISIN [...] als Höchbetrübten Mutter / Hertzgeliebten Söhnleins / So Montags den 29. Tag
Octobr. Anno 1660. [...] entschlaffen / und [...] den 4. Tag Novembr. mit christlichen Ceremo-
nien / unter vieler Eltern Threnen=Vergiessung / Ehrlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Gießen:
1661.

Oertel, Johann. Hochzeitpredigt / Gehalten zu Teuchern / am vierdten Martij / im Jare 1577.
bey Ehelicher vertrawung des Gestrengen / Edlen und Ehrnuehsten Junckern / Georgen Wil-
helms von Berbistorff / Und der Edlen und Veltugentsamen Jungfraw Katharinen von Bünaw.
Leipzig[?]: 1582.

Pelargus, Christoph. *Speculum Virtutum Matronalium*, ALler Christlichen Matronen helleuch-
tend TugendtSpiegel / Welchen der Heilige Geist selbst fürgestellt In Sprüchen Salomonis am
31. Cap. auß den letzten zweyen Versiculn / Lieblich und schön seyn ist nichts / Ein Weiß das
den HERRn fürchtet / sol man loben / etc. Bey dem Christlichen Begräbniß Der Erbar / VielEhr
unnd Tugendreichen Frawen Catharinae Hartmannin [...] Welche den 3. *Februarii Anno 1629.*
[...] verschieden / Und den 8 Tag selbigen Monants [...] bestätigt worden[.] Frankfurt [Oder]:
1629[?].

Reinhard, Georg. *SUSPIRIVM HISKIACUM* Das ist : Gewaltiger Hertzens Seufftzer *Hiskiaë*,
des Königs in Juda zu Hierusalem / Aus dem Propheten Esaia am Acht und dreyssigsten Capittel
/ *vers. 17.* Auff vorhergehends / Im 1623. Jars den 26. *Januarij*, begehren Des [...] Johan.
Eyteln Truchsessen / von und zu Wetzhausen [...] *disponiret*, zusammen gebracht / und demsel-
bigen Schrifftlichen übergeben : Als aber Ihre G. und V. über die vierdhalb Jahr hernach / als
1626. den 15. *Augusti* [...] abgeschieden / und den 28. desselbigen Monats / recht Adelichem /
Christlichem Gebrauch nach [...] beygesetzt [...] gehalten worden. Coburg: 1627.

Ritter, Maximilian. *MARGARITA NUPTIALIS*, Das ist: Christliche Hochzeit=Predigt / uber die
Wort in den Sprüchwörtern Salomonis am 31. Capitel. Wem ein Tugendtsam Weib bescheret ist
/ die ist viel Edler / denn die köstlichen Perlen. Bey dem Gräfflichen Hochzeitlichen Ehrentag
Deß [...] Herrn Heinrich Volraths / Graffen zu Stolberg [...] So auch Der Hochwolgeborenen
Gräffin unnd Fräwleins / Fräwleins Margarethæ / Gräffin zu Solms [...] Im Jahr 1623. den 17.
Febr. auff dem Hoffsaal zu Laubach gethan und gehalten[.] Gießen: 1623.

Röber, Martin. *COMMENDATIO CONJUGII*, Das ist: Gebührlicher Ruhm und Lobspruch des
heiligen Ehestandes / Bey Ehelicher *Copulation* und wehrenden Hochzeitlichen Ehrentagen /
Herrn M. PAULI RÖBERI, *Archidiaconi* in unser lieben Frawen Kirch zu Hall / als Bräutigams
/ Und Jungfraw *MARLÆ* Hanin / Heren *Doctoris Philippi* Hanen / Dompredigers in der Primat
Ertzbischschöfflichen Kirchen zu Magdeburg / eheleiblichen Tochter / als Braut / Unterschied-
lich / den 30. *Augusti* und 1. *Septemb.* im Jahr Christi 1614. vorm Altar und auff der Cantzel
gemelter Domkirchen / also auß Gottes Wort fürgetragen[.] Halle: 1615.

Sachs, Michael. Eine Hochzeitpredigt / uber die Wort Oseæ am 2. Ich will mich / etc. Von der
Geistlichen Ehe Christi und seiner Kirchen / darinne die fürtrefflichen Brautschätze / so wir
von *CHRISTO* bekom[m]en / gar tröstlich erkleret werden. Gethan zu Oestorff bey Pymont.
Erfurt: 1590.

Schlenckricht, Kaspar. Hübsches Weiber=Lob / Aus dem 31. Cap. Proverb. gezeiget und gege-
ben: Bey Christlichem ansehnlichen und Volckreichem Leichbegängnüß / Der [...] Frauen
Dorotheen gebohrnen Hübschin / Des [...] Herrn *ELIÆ ZEETSCHII* [...] hertzliebsten

Hauß=Ehren / Welche [...] entschlaffen den 11. Novembr. [...] Anno 1647. [...] darauff den folgenden 14den [...] der Erden beygesetzt worden[.] Dresden: 1648.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Aus dem 126. Psalm / Beym Begräbnüß des [...] *CONSTANTINI* Gölnitzen / *Lipsensis, Sudiosi*, Welcher am 4. Maij des 1615. Jahrs in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 7. desselben [...] Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden / In der Pauliner Kirchen zu Leipzig / gehalten[.] Leipzig: 1615.

Schmuck, Vincentius. LeichPredigt / Aus dem Spruch des 73. Psalms: Du leitest mich / ec. Beym Begräbnüß der Erbarn und Tugendsamen Frawen *ANNA*, Des [...] Herrn *CHRISTIANI* Bapsts / Bürgers und des Raths zu Leipzig / ehelicher Haußfrawen. Welche den 23. *Octobris anno 1615*. [...] entschlaffen / und den 26. Desselben Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1615[?].

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Von der *Musica*, aus dem 16. Cap. des Ersten Buchs der *Chronica*. Beym Begräbnüß / des [...] Herrn / *Sethi Calvisij* Bey der Schul zu S. Thomas in Leipzig *Collegæ* und wolverdienten *Cantoris*, auch berühmten *Chronologi*. Welcher den 24. *Novembris Anno 1615*. in Gott selig verschieden / und den 27. desselben Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1615[?].

Schmuck, Vincentius. Christliche Leichpredigt Über die Historian vom Tode Aaronis, *Num. 20*. Bey Volkreicher ansehnlicher Leichbestattung / des [...] Herrn / *GEORGII* Weinrichs / der H. Schriff *Doctorn* und *Professorn*, Pfarrern zu S. Thomas und *Superintendenten* in Leipzig [...] Welcher den 27. *Januarii* des 1617. Jars in Gott selig verschieden / unnd den 31. desselben Monats Christlicher weise in der Kirche zu S. Thomas daselbst zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1617.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt Aus dem 31. Capitel *Jeremiæ* / Beym Begräbnüß der [...] Frawen *ELISABETH*, Herrn Jacob Apels / Bürgers und Buchhändlers in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen / Welche den 9. Aprilis *anno 1617*. in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 11. desselben Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden[.] Leipzig: 1617.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Aus dem 90. Psalm / Beym Begrebnis des [...] Herrn Andres Tielmans / Bürgers und Handelßmans in Leipzig / Welcher den 16. Maij Anno 1617. im HErrn selig entschlaffen / und den 19. desselben Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1617[?].

Schmuck, Vincentius. Christliche Leichpredigt / Bey ansehnlicher Bestattung des [...] Herrn Johan Peiligks / des Churfürst. Sächs. Schöppenstuels zu Leipzig *Assessorn*, Kirchvaters zu S. Niclas / und BurgerMeisters daselbst / Welcher am 30. *Novembris* des 1617. Jahrs in GOTT selig entschlaffen / und den 4. Decembris Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden[.] Leipzig: 1618.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Christliche Leichpredigt Über den Spruch Pauli / Christus ist mein Leben / ec. *Phil. 1*. Beym Begräbnüß der [...] Frawen *CECILIA*, Des weiland [...] Herrn *D. Georgii* Weinrichs / *Professorn* und *Superintendenten* zu Leipzig etc. seligen nachgelassener Wittwen. Welche den 1. *Februarij anno 1618*. in GOTT selig verschieden / und den 5. desselben Christlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1618.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt Von zeitlichem absterben des Gerechten / *Sap. 4*. Bey Adellichem Begräbnüß des [...] Juncker Hansen von Berlepsch / Welcher am 29. *Martii Anno 1618*.

zu Leipzig / dahin er seiner *studien* halben verschickt / nach dem gnedigen Willen Gottes in Christo selig entschlaffen / und den 21. *Aprilis* allda mit Christlicher *solennitet* in der Pauliner Kirchen zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1618.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Uber die Historiam der Verklerung Christi / Matth. 17. Bey ansehlicher Leichbestattung des weyland Ehrvesten Großachtbarn hochgelarten und hochweisen Herrn / Paul Calembergs / beyder Rechten *Doctorn*, des Churfürstlichen Sächsischen *Consistorij*, so wol desselbigen Schöpffenstuels fürnemen *Assessorn*, und Bürgermeisters zu Leipzig / Welcher den 6. Augusti Anno 1618. in Christo sanfft und selig entschlaffen / und den 8. desselben Christlicher weise in die Erde gelegt worden. Leipzig: 1618.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Uber den Spruch Johan. Das Blut Jesu Christi / etc. Beym Begräbniß der Erbar / Ehrentugendsamen Frawen *ROSINA*, Des Ehrvesten und Wolgeachten Herrn Leonhard Schwendendörffers / Bürgers und Handelßmanns in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen. Welche den 28. *Decembris* Anno 1618. im HERN selig entschlaffen / und den 30. deßselben Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Gehalten in der PaulinerKirche [...]. Leipzig: 1619[?].

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Uber den 121. Psalm / Beym Begräbniß der Erbar und Ehrentugendsamen Frawen *MARIA*, des Ehrvesten / Wolweisen Herrn Sigismund Deuerlins / des Rahts / und zu S. Niclas Kirchvaters in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen / Welche den 27. Maij / Donnerstag nach Trinitatis / des 1619. Jahrs im HERN selig entschlaffen / und Sontags hernach / den 30. Maij zur Erden Christlich bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1619.

Schmuck, Vincentius. LeichPredigt / Uber den Spruch Psal. 116. Sey nu wieder zu frieden meine Seele / ec. Beym Begräbniß der Erbar und Ehrentugendsamen Frawen *VERONICA*, Deß weiland Ehrvesten / Achtbarn und Hochweisen Herrn *LEONHART* Oelhafens deß Eltern / Churf. Sächs. Schöpffen / und Bürgermeisters zu Leipzig / seligen / nachgelassener Witwen / Welche den 8. *Augusti* deß 1620. Jahres [...] entschlaffen / und den 11. desselben Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1620.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Bey bestattung des Ehrvesten und Wolweisen Herrn Jacob Grieben / Bürgers und des Raths zu Leipzig / Welcher am tage Catharinæ / als den 25. *Novemb.* Anno 1620. im HERN Selig entschlaffen / unnd den 28. desselben / Christlicher weise begraben worden. Leipzig: 1621.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Aus dem Spruch Salomonis: Der Staub muß wieder zu der Erden / ec. Beym Begräbniß der Erbar und Ehrentugendsamen Frawen / Margaretha / Des weiland Ehrvesten / Wolweisen Herrn Johann Preisers / des Raths und Bawmeisters zu Leipzig / seligen / nachgelassener Witwe / Welche den 12. *Februar.* des 1621. Jahrs in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 16. gedachtes Monats Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1621[?].

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Von Christlicher Weiber Ampt und gebühr / *I. Timoth. 2.* Beym Begräbniß der [...] Frawen Magdalena / Des [...] Herrn *Theophili* Möstels / Rathsverwandten in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen / Welche den 1. Maij des 1621. Jahrs in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 4. desselben Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1621[?].

Schmuck, Vincentius. LeichPredigt / Auß dem Gebet Hiskiae / Esai. 38. Beym Begräbniß des [...] Herrn M. DAVIDIS Eisentraut / *Not. Publ.* und der *Philosophischen Facultet Assessoris* zu

Leipzig: Welcher den 27. Julij des 1621. Jahrs in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 30. desselben zur Erden Christlicher weise bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1621.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Uber die Wort S. Pauli / Wir wollen euch lieben Brüder / nicht verhalten / ec. *I Thessal. 4.* Beym Begräbnüß der Erbarb und Tugendsamen Frawen / Maria Magdalenen / Herrn Caspar Anckelmans Bürgers und Handelsmans in Leipzig / gewesener Ehelichen Haußfrawen. Welche den *16. Novembris*, des *1621* Jahrs / in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den *19.* desselben Christlicher weiß zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1621[?].

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Aus Davids Gebet / Psal. 25. Meine Augen sehen stets zu dem HERRN / ec. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Frawen Euphrosyna / Herrn M. Martini Kramers / der Schul zu. S. Thomas in Leipzig *Conrectoris*, Ehelicher Haußfrawen / Welche den *20. Novembris* des *1621.* Jahrs in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den *23.* desselben zur Erden Christlich bestattet worden[.] Leipzig: 1622.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Uber den 128. Psalm / Wol dem / der den HERRN fürchtet / ec. Beym begräbnis des [...] Herrn Hartman Schachers / fürnehmen Bürgers / Handelsmans und Rathsverwandten zu Leipzig. Welcher den 22. Novemb. des 1622. Jahrs / im HERRN selig entschlaffen / und den 25. desselben zur Erden Christlicher weise bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1622[?].

Schmuck, Vincentius. Christliche Leichpredigt / Vom Alter / Aus dem Spruch des 90. Psalms / Unser Leben wehret / ec. Beym Begräbniß der [...] Frawen *BARBARA*, Herrn Abraham Lamberg's / Bürgers und Buchhändlers in Leipzig / Ehelicher Haußfrawen. Welche den *15. Januarij* des *1624.* Jahrs / in Gott seliglich entschlaffen / und den *19.* desselben / zur Erden Christlicher weise bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1624.

Schmuck, Vincentius. Leichpredigt / Uber den 27. Psalm : Der HERR ist mein Liecht / ec. Beym Begräbnis der [...] Frawen *VERONICA*, Des [...] Herrn Heinrich Höpffners / der H. Schrifft Doctorn und Professorn / ec. bey der Universitet zu Leipzig / ehelichen Haußfrawen. Welche den 27. Februarij des 1624. Jahrs in Gott selig entschlaffen / und den 1. Martij hernach Christlicher weise zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1624.

Schneider, Andreas. Leichpredigt / Bey dem Begräbnis Der Erbarb unnd Ehrentugentsamen Frawen *CATHARINÆ*, Des Weyland Ehrnvesten unnd Wolgeachten Herrn *Iohannis Valgrisij* von Venedig / Buchführers allhier in Leipzig selig hinderlassenen Witwen. Welche den *6. Novembris* dieses *1616.* Jars [...] entschlaffen / und den 8. folgendt Christlich und ehrlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1616[?].

Schneider, Andreas. Leichpredigt / Bey dem Begräbnis der Erbarb und Tugendsamen Frawen *MAGDALENÆ*, Herrn Pauli Marthens / Bürgers und Handelßmans in Leipzig / Hausfrawen seligen / Welche den 5. Maji dieses 1617. Jahrs / in Christo sanfft und selig entschlaffen / und den 7. darauff Christlich und ehrlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1632 (second printing).

Schneider, Andreas. Leichpredigt / Bey dem Volckreichen Begräbnüß / Der Erbarb und Ehrentugendsamen Frawen *GERTRVDIS*, Des weiland Ehrnvesten un[d] Hochweisen Herrn *CASPARIS* Gräfen / Bürgermeisters und Churfürstlichen Sächsischen Schöppenstuels in Leipzig *Assessoris* seligen hinterlassenen Widtwin / Welche den 14. Julij dieses 1617. Jahrs [...] abgehien / und den 16. darauff Christlich und ehrlich zur Erden bestattet worden. Leipzig: 1617.

Silber, Wolfgang. *ENCOMION MUSICES* Lob der Edlen Kunst der Musicen: Zu Hochzeitlichen Ehren Des Erborn Wolgelahrten Herrn *JOHANNIS SCHEFFLERI, Pfortensis Lusatii*, Wolverordneten *CANTORIS* der Kirchen und Schulen zu Greiffenberg in Schlesien / damals Bräutigams: Und seiner hertzielichen Braut / der Tugendsamen Jungfr. *URSULÆ* [...] Wie auch zu sonderen gefallen Der gantzen löblichen Company der Musicanten / *Adjuvanten*, und aller dieser löblichen Kunst Verwanten / Liebhabern und gönstigen Förderern. Gehalten Zu Greiffenberg in Schlesien / Mittwochs nach *CANTATE*, wahr der 4. *Maij* [...] *Anno Christi M. DC. XVI.* Leipzig: 1621.

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