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

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## Contents

### PREFACE .................................................................................................................................................. V

### INTRODUCTION ....................................................................................................................................... 1

- Literature Review ......................................................................................................................................... 1
- Methodology and Purpose .......................................................................................................................... 8

### 1. SPRÜCHE, SERMONS AND MUSIC: THE FUNERAL OF LEIPZIG BÜRGERMEISTER THEODOR MÖSTEL (1626) ................................................................................................................................. 13

#### 1.1 The Lutheran Sterbekunst: Sermons and Sprüche .................................................................................. 14
#### 1.2 Sprüche in Life and in Death ................................................................................................................ 18
#### 1.3 The Selection of Leichensprüche in Schein’s Leipzig ............................................................................. 22
#### 1.4 Funerals in Leipzig .................................................................................................................................. 31
#### 1.5 Prescriptive Accounts: The Lutheran Funeral in Kirchenordnungen ..................................................... 37
#### 1.6 ‘Das ist meine Freude’; Schein’s Setting of Möstel’s Symbolum ............................................................... 41
#### 1.7 Sprüche, Sermons and Israelsbrünnlein ................................................................................................... 49

### 2. FONTANA D’ISRAEL – ISRAELIS BRÜNNLEIN ....................................................................................... 53

#### 2.1 Fontana d’Israel – Israelis Brünnlein ...................................................................................................... 54
    - 2.1.1 “de cruce & calamitate Ecclesiae” – Luther’s Theology of the Cross .............................................. 62
#### 2.2 Leipzig Bürgermeister Johann Peilicke and Paul Calemberg ............................................................... 66
#### 2.3 The Passing of Patriarchs: Two Krafftsprüchlein from Genesis ........................................................... 70
    - 2.3.1 Genesis 49:33 & 50:1 – ‘Da Jacob vollendet hatte’ ........................................................................... 70
    - 2.3.2 Gen. 32:27b & Ps. 4:9b – ‘Ich lasse dich nicht’ ................................................................................ 75
#### 2.4 Psalm 90:10 – ‘Unser Leben währet siebenzig Jahr’ .............................................................................. 80
    - 2.4.1 Calvisius: Unser Leben .................................................................................................................. 86
    - 2.4.2 Schein: Unser Leben .................................................................................................................. 90
#### 2.5. Luther: Commentaries on Psalm 90 – the Law and the Gospel ........................................................... 93
    - 2.5.1 Modes and their Affects .............................................................................................................. 96
    - 2.5.2 Luther’s Tischreden – Music interpreted as Law and Gospel ...................................................... 99
    - 2.5.3 Chromaticism in ‘Unser Leben’ .................................................................................................. 100
#### 2.6 Psalm 90:12-14 – ‘Lehre uns bedenken’ .................................................................................................. 103
#### 2.7 The ‘Modi Laetiores’ in Israelsbrünnlein .................................................................................................. 107
    - 2.7.2 The Mixolydian Settings .............................................................................................................. 111
#### 2.8 Conclusion .............................................................................................................................................. 115

### 3. THE INTERPRETATION OF SCHEIN’S SPRÜCHE IN CONTEMPORARY SERMONS: THE PROPHETICAL TEXTS .......................................................................................................................... 117

#### 3.1 Krafftsprüchlein ..................................................................................................................................... 118
#### 3.2 Isaiah 49:14-16a – ‘Zion spricht: Der Herr hat mich verlassen’ .............................................................. 129
3.2.1 Occasional works for the Ratswahl ............................................. 131
3.2.2 Zion spricht – das Sprüchlein ................................................... 136
3.2.2.1 Zion spricht; 1629 ................................................................ 142
3.2.2.2 Zion spricht; Israelsbrünnlein ................................................. 144
3.3 Jeremiah 31:20 – ‘Ist nicht Ephraim mein teurer Sohn’ .................... 148
3.3.1 Ist nicht Ephraim, Israelsbrünnlein ........................................... 158
3.4 Isaiah 38:17-19a – ‘Siehe, nach Trost war mir sehr bange’ .......... 160
3.4.1 Siehe, nach Trost war mir sehr bange, Israelsbrünnlein .............. 170
3.4.2 Excuse: Dynamics in Israelsbrünnlein ......................................... 173
3.5 Isaiah 61:10 – ‘Ich freue mich im Herren’ ..................................... 173
3.5.1 Ich freue mich im Herrn, Israelsbrünnlein .................................. 180
3.6 Conclusion ................................................................................... 182

4. MUSIC AND TEXT AT LUTHERAN WEDDINGS ..................................... 184
   4.1.1 Lutheran Church Ordinances: Prescriptive Accounts ................. 186
   4.1.2 Figural Music at Weddings ...................................................... 191
   4.1.3 Wedding Sermons: Descriptive Accounts ................................. 194
   4.1.4 Weddings in Civic Ordinances in Leipzig: 1612 & 1625 ............ 197
   4.2 Occasional Works for Weddings and the ‘Modern Italian’ Styles .... 200
   4.3 Schein’s Occasional Wedding Music ........................................... 202
   4.3.1 Occasional Wedding Compositions for the ‘Copulation’ .......... 204
   4.3.2 Other Settings of Sacred Texts for Weddings ......................... 210
   4.4 Israelsbrünnlein: Wedding Compositions? ................................. 214
   4.4.1 Ein Tugendsam Weib ............................................................... 214
   4.4.2 Proverbs 31:10-12 – ‘Wem ein tugendsam Weib bescheret ist’ .... 218
   4.4.3 Proverbs 5:18b-19 – ‘Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend’ ....... 221
   4.4.4 Proverbs 31:30-31 – ‘Lieblich und schöne sein ist nichts’ .......... 229
   4.4.5 Ecclesiasticus 25:1-2 – ‘Drei schöne Ding sind’ ....................... 239
   4.5 Conclusion .................................................................................. 245

5. “AUF EINE SONDERBAR ANMÜTIGE ITALIAN MADRIGALISCHE MANIER” .. 247
   5.1 Literature Review: Schein and the Madrigal ................................. 249
   5.2 “nach art der Welschen Madrigalien” – the Madrigal Style in Germany .... 254
   5.3 The Madrigal in German Treatises: Praetorius and Ziegler ........... 255
   5.4 Excuse: Schein’s own sacred texts ............................................. 258
   5.5 The Madrigal Style ..................................................................... 263
   5.5.1 “Tardioris signum est C, quo signantur Madrigalia…” ............... 265
   5.6 “die Italiänische jetzo gebräuchliche anmutige manier zu singen” .... 266
   5.6.1 ‘Anmut’: The Execution of a Composition in Performance .......... 269
   5.6.2 ‘Lobet den Herrn alle Heiden’: A Birthday Madrigal ................. 270
5.7 Approach 1: The Madrigal Manier as “Leuff- oder Schleifflein” ............... 272
  5.7.1 The ‘krümmet-figure’ ........................................................................ 273
  5.7.2 ‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’ ................................................................ 273
  5.7.3 ‘Ihr Heiligen lobinget dem Herrn’ ....................................................... 276
  5.7.4 ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’ ...................................................................... 281
  5.7.5 ‘Wende dich, Herr, und sei mir gnädig’ ............................................... 285
  5.7.6 ‘Die Gerechten werden ewiglich leben’ .............................................. 289
  5.7.7 Further Examples of Figuration ............................................................. 290
5.8 Approach 2: Sacred Music in Secular Contexts ........................................ 294
  5.8.1 Sacred Music as Recreational Music .................................................. 295
  5.8.2 Ecclesiasticus 32:7-9 – ‘Wie ein Rubin’ .............................................. 300
  5.9 Israelsbrünnlein in Seventeenth-Century Saxony ..................................... 303
6. “KRAFFTSPRUCHLIN ALTES UND NEWEN TESTAMENTS” ................... 307

Cited Primary Sources .................................................................................. 317
  Printed Sermons .......................................................................................... 317
  Other Primary Sources ............................................................................... 327
  Ordinances .................................................................................................. 328
  Music Prints ................................................................................................ 328

Modern Editions ............................................................................................ 331

Secondary Literature ...................................................................................... 332
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 Israelsbrünnlein.

Heidelberg, October 2018

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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. 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. Ultimately, Schütz was, so argues Winterfeld, the better composer, as “jene Einheit, die wir bei Diesem [Schein] vermissen, in Jenem [Schütz] überall sichtbar hervortritt“. 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. 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


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

‘Sieben Chromatische Motetten des Barock’, includes ‘Die mit Tränen säen’ alongside compositions by Lasso, H. Praetorius, Sweelinck and Hassler. 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 composes 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”. 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 neuitalienischen Madrigal- und Konzertstils auf die polyphone Motette”.

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 Israelsbrünnlein. While she considers Cymbalum Sionium to represent “eines der letzten großen Denkmäler des spät-niederländischen Stiles”, Abert sees in Israelsbrünnlein “das erste Denkmal der mondischen Motettenkomposition auf deutschem Boden”. Like Adrio, Abert finds in Israelsbrünlein a synthesis of Schein’s German origins and Italian innovation: “So vollzieht sich denn im ‘Israelsbrünnlein’ die Verschmelzung zwischen der ‘deutschen’ und der italienischen ‘mondischen’ Motettenkomposition”. Abert argues that the compositions printed in Israelsbrünnlein 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

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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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein leave those of Schein’s 1615 collection far behind. Hueck argues that many compositions in Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein.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 Israelsbrünlein 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.


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-
Ausgab*, 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 *Is-
raelsbrünnlein* 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, enti-
tling 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 “Bürgermeis-
tern und gantzem Rath der Stadt Leipzig” that he had “bißhero … etzliche außerlesene
KraftSprüchlin … componiret, unnd bey fürfallenden occasionen musiciret”. These composi-
tions 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, Rats-
wahlfeiern, Promotionen und ähnlichen feierlichen Anlässen ‘componiret’ und musiziert wor-
den 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 indica-
tions as evidence of the “Verbindung von deutsch-niederländischer Motettentradition und neu-
italienischer 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

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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


the “most perfect examples of melding the features of the motet and the madrigal”.\textsuperscript{23} That \textit{Israelbrünnlein} 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”.\textsuperscript{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”.\textsuperscript{25} Commenting on the “Trend einer Mischung der Gattungen und Schreibarten” in Italy from the second decade of the seventeenth century, Werbeck suggests that \textit{Israelbrünnlein} 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 \textit{Israelbrünnlein} compositions.\textsuperscript{26}

Ever since Winterfeld, many writers have discussed \textit{Israelbrünnlein} 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 \textit{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 \textit{Israelbrünnlein} – ‘Die mit Tränen säen’ and ‘Siehe, nach Trost’ – in terms of figures derived from classical rhetoric.\textsuperscript{27} Boel Lindberg has devoted a single study to \textit{Israelbrünnlein}, in which he presents an overview of the work’s


\textsuperscript{26} Werbeck, ‘Gabrieli-Schule’, p. 32.

historical context before he analyses the compositions “from the viewpoint of how text and music are combined”. 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”. 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 *Israelsbrünlein* von 1623 gehalten”. 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). 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. These norms could be used “to express social rank, because a composer could honour an esteemed dedicatee by departing from the norm”. Rose discusses the norms of music established by

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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”.  

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. These sermons were a crucial source of information concerning the socio-historical and the theological context of Schein’s compositions. Thousands of these

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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’. Monatshfte 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. 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. 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


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 Krafftsprüchlein. 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. 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 schönegeistliche Krafftsprüchlein 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 Prophetical 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 soll ihn in die Music bringn/
Und dermaleinst zu Grabe singn...* 39

Eight-time Leipzig Bürgermeister 40 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 Leichen Text 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

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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.


42 Ps. 31:15-16a.

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=Gedechtinis/ In grosser Volckreicher Versammlung”, and offered it “Denen hinterlassenen hochbetrübten Erben sampt vnd sonders/ zu bezeichigung Christlicher vnd (respectivè) Gevatterlicher gebührender Condolentz”. 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 Israelsbrünnlein.

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”. 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.
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 über macht und vermögen zu sauffen / un[d] hat solches getrieben so lang / beß ihm die Seele aufgegangen. 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 kennen uns nicht. Was sollen sie dann für uns bitten? So hat der Satanas döspische fewrige Händ / wann der zugreifft / so schmutzt nicht allein das Wachs / sondern es verbrennen auch alle papiren und Pergamene[n] brief. So dienet Chrisam und öhl den Papisten zu nichts anders / dann wann ein Fegfewr were / das sie als geöhlte und gestrruste 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, EXEQVIAE SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, pp. 188-9.

48 Leiser, EXEQVIAE 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.O. Flaten [eds.] *Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead*, Göttingen: 2015, p. 13.
living for the dead was a significant consequence of the Reformation. As Leipzig Superintendent Vincentius Schmuck concedes with reference to the deceased in one of his printed sermons, “können wir numehr für seine Person ferner nicht dienen / als das sein Körper ehrlich und Christlich bestattet werde”. Further actions of the individual and the communal action of the church were not only pointless, but represented “eine Lästerung Gottes und des Erlöungswerkes Christi”. Given that their actions had no effect on the deceased, preachers might as well turn their attention to those left behind. The funeral sermon as a “living sermon of our own transience and mortality”, as an act of *momento mori* for the living, is explained by Schmuck as follows:


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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.


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’.”

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 16\(^{th}\) century to some two or three hours long in the 17\(^{th}\)c\(^{m}\)r.\(^{58}\) 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


\(^{58}\) Haemig & Kolb, ‘Preaching in Lutheran Pulpits’, p. 132.


\(^{60}\) 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 Trotz und Unterricht / als den verstorbenen zu Hülff und nachstewr”.  

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 derjenigen Gebet und Seuffzten / dere sich die seliglich Abgestorbene auff ihrem Todtbette gebrauchet / und der Trotsprüche und Glaubensbekentnis / so man auff ihrem Lager aus ihrem Munde gehöret hat.  

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 Verstorbennen am meisten gebraucht haben”. 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

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63 Schmuck, for Euphrosyna Kramer.

64 Schmuck, for Euphrosyna Kramer.
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:

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 / kündten also Eltern an ihren Kinderlein Hauß- und Bußprediger / ja wol in Anfechtungen mechtige Tröster

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haben”.

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 darauf schöpffen”.

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. 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”. Polycarp Leiser, in his first Leipzig funeral sermon held in 1617, comments on these points as follows:

...es ist ein sehr alter und loblicher Gebrauch bey der Kirchen Gottes / daß man den Verstorbenen / son-
derlich wolverdienten Leuten / Leichpredigten gehalten hat / in welchen / was an ihnen zu loben / andern zur Nachfolg gerühmet und vorgestellet / die überlebende ihrer Sterbligkeit erinnert / die trawrigen aus Gottes wort getröstet / alle in gesamt zu Christlicher vorbereitung auff diese bevorstehende letzte Reise ermahnet worden.

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 pfleget eine Predigt gehalten zu werden”. 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

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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, epicus 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.


71 Leiser, for Möstel, ‘PIÆ MEDITATIONES’.
in Israël, sine sermone Prophetiae, das ist / Im Volck Gottes soll kein Gliedmaß der Christlichen Kirche[n] zur erden bestattet werden / da man nit auß den Prophetischen oder Apostolischen schriftten 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 lüblichen 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 Melanchthon, 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 verstorbe 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, EXEQVÆ SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 249.


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 Melanchthon (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 Verstorbene nach seiner Andacht selbst erwehlet”) or chosen by the preacher “nach seinem gutachten / und begebene Gelegenheit”. 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:


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 ößtern / und als ihres täglichen Spruchs oder Symboli gebrauchet hat.

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77 Leiser, for Möstel, ‘PIÆ MEDITATIONES’.
78 Leiser, for Möstel, ‘PIÆ MEDITATIONES’.
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”.

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 Freytage acht tage” that her recovery had become unlikely, she informed her sister of her “Leichen Text” and “was man für Lieder singen sollte”. 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. 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 Israelsbrünlein, that “etzliche in eil verfertiget werden müssen”.

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”. 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

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


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.

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 Veronika 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, Veronika’s “täglicher Psalm und Gebet ... / den sie auch noch des Tages ihres abschiedes / frue / ehe sie sich eines solchen vermutet / andächtiglich gesprochen / und ihr Hertz damit getrööstet”.⁸⁶ Although Maria Elisabeth, who also died following childbirth, had selected verses from Psalm 126 as her “Leichen-Text”, this choice was “al lererst 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 kurzen / 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


were frequently selected for funerals. At the start of a sermon for Ambrosius Bardenstein, “Bey eines Ehrnvesten Hochweisen RahtsSchule zu S. Thomas in Leipzig gewesenen Rectoris”, Paul Geringer comments on the chosen Spruch from Esaiah 56, “welcher Ewer Christlichen Liebe [i.e., those present in the congregation] gar wol bekand ist / denn er wird offt und vielmals zum Leichenargument genommen / und an diesem Ort erkleret”.

The frequency with which this “dictum Esaiæ” was preached upon didn’t, however, detract from its worth:

Sintemal solches / unnd andere dergleichen dicta, gleich seind ein Abyssus divinae sapientiae, das ist ein abgrund Göttlicher Weißheit / so sich in dieser Sterbligkeit nicht lest mit Gedancken erreichen / noch mit der Vernunft begreiffen 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.

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. Luther writes that the songs of mourning characteristic of the Catholic liturgy should be replaced by songs of consolation (of ‘Trost’):


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 Israelsbrünlein – 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 offt als man Copuliret, oder Braut und Breutigam zusammen gibet”).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 lebenlang ihnen zur Lehr / Trost und Vermahnung”. This psalm was, therefore, “nicht nur ein Hochzeit Psalm / sondern ein teglicher Hauspsalm / des man sich sein lebenlang 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 wünstchen / 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...

\textsuperscript{93} Martin Luther, ‘Christliche Geseng Lateinisch vnd Deudsch / zum Begrebnis’, Wittenberg: 1543.


\textsuperscript{95} “Und weil ich mich denn erinnere / daß hiebevor / 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 kurz ist / kürzlich zu durchgeben / 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, Schmuck, in his 1620 funeral sermon for Jacob Grieben, “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 betraven und bestatten unsere Todten Christlich und Ehrlich”. 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 über 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.

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 zeitien / 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 Ordenung Gottesdients’, 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.


98 Schmuck, for Griebe.
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 Gebrequ mit den verstorbenen 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 begeh- ret / 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

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

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


102 Werbeck, ‘bey fürfallenden occasionen musiciret’, p. 744.
been embalmed.\textsuperscript{103} As with the setting of Theodor Möstel’s \textit{Symbolum}, this motet may have been composed well in advance of the death.\textsuperscript{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 zwangläufig klingend realisiert zu werden”.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Leichentext} from Paul’s letter to Timothy, ‘Das ist je gewisslich wahr’.\textsuperscript{106} Johann Höpner, according to Schein’s wishes, preached on this text at Schein’s own funeral. As Höpner explains in the \textit{Leichenpredigt}:

\begin{quote}
Er hat sich aber seiner Sterbligkeit jederzeit darbey erinnert / sich auch Christlicher Weise darzu gefast gemacht / durch allerley Anordnungen / und in seiner beschwerlichen Krankheit sich in steter Bereitschaft gehalten / auch nichts liebers gewünschiet / 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 kürzlich auflagen wollen…\textsuperscript{107}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{106} Schütz’s setting of Schein’s \textit{Symbolum}, initially printed individually (SWV 277), was later included in the \textit{Geistliche Chormusik} of 1648 (SWV 388).

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


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”.\textsuperscript{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 befih- let 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”.\textsuperscript{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 Deudsch zum Begrebnis’ commences. As Paul writes to the Thessalonians, Luther writes “Das sie über 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”.\textsuperscript{111}

\textsuperscript{108} Printed in Philipp Spitta (ed.), Heinrich Schütz, Sämtliche Werke, vol. 12.

\textsuperscript{109} Schmuck, for Griebe.

\textsuperscript{110} Schmuck, for Griebe.

\textsuperscript{111} Luther, ‘Christliche Geseng Lateinisch und Deudsch / 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 abkommen / daß noch heutiges Tages singen un[d] musiciren neben der Predigt Göttliches worts und Gebet / und administirung der H. Sacramenten das nechste und fürnembste ist / darinnen unser öffentlicher Gottesdienst bestehet / und denselben nit allein herrlich zieret / sondern auch in den Hertzen mechtiglich bawet / wo Christliche andacht darbey ist / wie das alle from[e] Hertzen fühlen und erfahren…\(^\text{112}\)

Chorales were often sung to accompany the funeral procession to the place of burial.\(^\text{113}\) 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 Israelsbrünnlein and the Johanniskirche since Prüfer (1895), who attributed to Carl August Grenser a reference to a performance of Israelsbrünnlein there in 1623. This was, however, a misquotation, based on second-hand information, of a notoriously unreliable source.\(^\text{114}\)

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


\(^\text{113}\) For a detailed account of Lutheran funeral ceremonies and music, see Norbert Bolin, ‘Sterben ist mein Gewinn’, especially pp. 26-41.

Der Gots Acker, darauff der vorstorbene 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 geziert, unnd aussen mit Mauern wohl verwahret, das seines gleichen in gantz Europa schwerlich zu finden.\textsuperscript{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 geführet / begleitet / vnd vnterwehrender Trawer Mus sic darein nieder gelassen”.\textsuperscript{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 “alßbaldt nach geendeter Predigt in ihren Namen durch zween discantisten vnd einen Bassisten vmb ihren noch=eröffneten Sarck stehende”.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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


\textsuperscript{117} Johnston, ‘Schein’s Funeral Lieder’, p. 103.

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

\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{120} Initially a temporary measure for times of plague, rapid population growth led from the late 15\textsuperscript{th} century to the establishment of extramural burial in Germany.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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”.\textsuperscript{124} The need to protect the living from the dead was as much a consideration as the need to honour the deceased.\textsuperscript{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”.\textsuperscript{126} Following confrontation with university theologians, an exception was soon


\textsuperscript{121} See Koslofsky, \textit{The Reformation of the Dead}, pp. 40-1.

\textsuperscript{122} See Koslofsky, \textit{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 \textit{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…” (Koflovsky, pp. 59-60).

\textsuperscript{123} Peiter, \textit{Der evangelische Friedhof}, pp. 75-7.

\textsuperscript{124} Große, \textit{Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig}, p. 512.

\textsuperscript{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, ‘Kirchholf-Gottesacker-Friedhof; Wandlungen der Gesellschaft – Wandlungen der Pietät’, in \textit{Im Angesicht des Todes}, p. 164.

\textsuperscript{126} Koslofsky, \textit{The Reformation of the Dead}, p. 61; doctors were “agreed that foul air from churchyards promoted the plague”.

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made allowing intramural burial for members of the university. Exceptions were still made for prominent citizens allowing burial within the city’s churches or, later, in family allotments. 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.

Möstel’s funeral sermon was held on 22 May 1626, three days after his death, as he was “bey ansehnlicher und volckreicher Versamlung zur Erden bestattet worden”. Unlike in some other sermons, no mention is made of the location of his burial. Although his sermon states that he was buried “zur Erden”, this act, conducted “bey ansehnlicher und volckreicher Versamlung”, 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”. Schmuck outlines the key features of a contemporary Lutheran funeral in Leipzig:

Es ist fein und Christlich / daß man darzu die Glocken leutet / daß die Schüler und Predigampt 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).


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.
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 versam-let”. 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). 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”. 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 Juncker 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”).

132 Schmuck, for Griebn.


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.


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 sein 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

and 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.


139 See NGA 10 vol. 1, p. 152.

140 Leiser, for Maria Magdalena.
worden”.\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{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”.\textsuperscript{142} Accompanying the deceased to the site of burial belonged to the core duties of the \textit{Thomaner} in Leipzig.\textsuperscript{143} Heidenreich’s description of St. Thomas’ school in his ‘Leipzigische 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”.\textsuperscript{144} The effort spend in educating the “armen Kinde” was repaid in musical services: “Denn sie müssen in den Kirchen die \textit{Musicam} und \textit{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 \textit{Musica} in beyden Stadtkirchen / wie auch aff Hochzeiten und Begräbnüssen bestellet wird”.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{146}

\textsuperscript{141} Schmuck, for Calvisius.


\textsuperscript{144} Heidenreich, \textit{Leipzigische Cronicke}, p. 9 ff.

\textsuperscript{145} ‘Des Rahts zu Leipzig Vornwerte Schul-Ordnung / Publicirt Im Jahr Christi M DC XXXIV. Mense Martio.’ Leipzig: 1634. §VI.1.

\textsuperscript{146} For example, in the Herzog-August-Agende of 1580: “Weil auch durch die begrebnis die knaben in den schulen über 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 Leichenbegängnüssen sol der Cantor, und bey dem secundo coetu der Praecentor, bey dessen election vornehmlich auff die Stimmi / daß sie gut und helle sey / acht zu haben / anfahen / 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 öfpterer 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 & qvarta 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 Leichenbegängnüssen sol er [der Cantor] sich Herrn D. Luthers Gesänge vornehmlichen gebrauchen / und wann in specie einer und der ander Gesang zu singen begehret wirt / hiervon / über ander sein Gebühr / absonderlich nichts fordern / noch daß solches gefordert werde verstatten / Würde aber iemand

147 Des Rahts zu Leipzig Vornewerte Schul-Ordnung (1634), §VI.7.
149 Des Rahts zu Leipzig Vornewerte Schul-Ordnung (1634), §X.4-5.
The funeral songs published in Luther’s ‘Christliche Gesang 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 Leichgesängleins”, 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, EXEQVLE SAXO-VVIRTENBERGIACÆ, p. 120. Leiser offers an analysis of this hymn according to ‘drey Gesetz’ (See Leiser 1606, pp. 120-126).


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.


amongst the “Bürger vnd Einwohnere in dieser Stadt, so irer Iurisdiction vnterworffen”. At
the top were the “Rathspersonen vnd vornembste Bürger und Händeler”, followed by “gemeine
Bürger und Handwercksleute”, “gemeine Handwercks leute vnd eingeborne einheimische
Handwercksgesellen”, and finally the “Dienstmägde”. A revision of these regulations in 1640
led to the establishment of five Stände, the “Rathsmitglieder” now ahead of the “vornehme
Handelsleute”.

As Stephen Rose writes, “Occasional music was the privilege of the elite and
was often commissioned as a show of power and status”. While only a handful of polyphonic
occasional funeral motet by Schein survive, many more cantional lieder have been pre-
served. 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 Magdelena 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. 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”.

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 praecendentiae: zерemonieller Rang und gesellschaftliche Ordnung in der frühneu-
zeitlichen Stadt: Leipzig 1500 – 1800, Darmstadt: 2006, p. 106). See also Weller, Theatrum praecendentiae,
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 praecendentiae, p. 97.

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


161 For a discussion of Schein’s cantional lieder see Johnston, ‘Schein’s Funeral Lieder’; also Walter Reckziegel,
suggests that the rise of the German language cantional lied was related to Martin Opitz’s attempts at reform-
ing German-language verse; the “sudden popularity of the cantional lied in the 1620s was perhaps a manifes-

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 humanoeribus 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 Israelsbrunnlein “In honorem Dn. Auctoris, Colleger sui honorandi”.\footnote{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.\footnote{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.

\textbf{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

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164 Israelsbrunnlein. 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.
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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.
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prior to his own wedding in 1618, become Godfather to Schein’s first daughter Sidonia.\textsuperscript{166} Schein composed large-scale wedding compositions for at least four of Möstel’s children. Like most of the compositions in \textit{Israelsbrünlein}, however, Schein’s setting of Möstel’s \textit{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.\textsuperscript{167} Music joins the nexus of private devotional practice and funeral sermons, with the \textit{Symbolum}, the \textit{Spruch}, in the centre. That the identity of the text as \textit{Symbolum} was maintained in Schein’s setting is shown on the title page of the print; the first words are “ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΝ \textit{Psalm.31. v. 15. \& 16. \ Text außerkohren} | Der Großachtbare/ Ehrveste/ Hoch=|gelarte vnd Hochweise Herr| Theodorus Möstell[...].”\textsuperscript{168} That the text which had been set was, in fact, Möstel’s \textit{Spruch}, was worthy of communication to those who acquired the print.\textsuperscript{169}

The musical similarities between Schein’s setting of Möstel’s \textit{Symbolum} and many of the settings published in \textit{Israelsbrünlein} 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 \textit{Israelsbrünlein}; noteworthy are ‘O Herr, ich bin dein Knecht’ and ‘O Herr Jesu Christe’, both of which likewise begin with appeals to the divine.\textsuperscript{170} A further example is found in ‘Herr, wie lange willst du mein so gar vergessen’, an occasional work preserved in manuscript copy.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Symbolum} as

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\textsuperscript{166} Maul, \textit{Dero berühmter Chor}, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{167} Theis, ‘Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen’, p. 123.
\textsuperscript{168} Quoted from Schein NGA 10 vol. 1, p. 155.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{170} Also ‘Ach Herr, ach meiner schone’, which begins with two minims followed by a crotchet rest. Both of the texts set in \textit{Israelsbrünlein} 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 \textit{Symbolum}.
\textsuperscript{171} NGA 10.7.
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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 pfleget 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 demselben 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 pfleget anzufahen”. We need

172 ‘PLÆ 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. In a setting of two verses from the same psalm (Ps. 73:23-24) in *Israelsbrünlein*, however, an equivalent word (‘dennoch’) is retained as the opening word of the text (‘Dennoch bleibe ich stets an dir’).

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 *Krafftsprüchlin* set in *Israelsbrünlein*, 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

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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 braucht er das wort hoffen / in dem er spricht: Ich aber HERR hoffe / damit er anzeigt / daß einem Christen in allem seinem Christenthumb / Ungluck / Jamer und Noth nichts erhalte / tröste und auffrichte als allein die Hoffnung”. 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 nostrae, Möstel’s third point represented “cordis nostri in calamitatibus cogitatio, was denn in solchem unserm zustehendem Trübsal und gefaster Hoffnung / wol un-sere 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 beschwü-rigen 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 geängstigten / und mit Creutz und Trübsal be-schwwertem Hertzen ... 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 hochschmertzlichen Leiden / jetzo am Creutz hangende / gebrauchet hat”. As Möstel continues, “etliche alte KirchenLeh-rer” understood this psalm as a psalm which “der HErr Christus in seinem bittern schmertzli-chenen Leiden / am Stañ des Creutzes gänzlichen außgebetet / und sich damit getröstet und außgerichtet habe”. It was a psalm of David which could be read as an anticipation of Christ’s

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175 ‘PLÆ MEDITATIONES’ in Leiser, for Möstel.

176 ‘PLÆ MEDITATIONES’ in Leiser, for Möstel.
sufferings on the cross. 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 vielfältigen mir zugestandenem Creutz / Wiederwertigkeiten und Verfolgung halten und stewren / und daraus Trost und Erquickung nemen könnte”. 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. Such pseudo-polyphonic openings are found in over half the settings in *Israelsbrünlein*. A further feature of the first part of Schein’s setting, likewise found in *Israelsbrünlein*, 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’. 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

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

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

180 *Israelsbrünlein*: 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 *Israelsbrünlein*, 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*. 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. 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*.

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

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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.


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 melismatically 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 Israelsbrünlein. 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. 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 Israelsbrünlein settings.

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 Israelsbrünlein, 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 Israelsbrünlein 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. The second type of antiphony consists in the back-and-forth exchange of much shorter motivic fragments. This

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186 In its ‘melodic’ function: the opening motives in 8. ‘Ich bin jung gewesen’; 19. ‘Ach Herr, ach meiner schöne’; 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 lob singet dem Herrn’.

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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 melismatically 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[ius] 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 Israelsbrünlein, 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 Israelsbrünlein (‘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 Israelsbrünlein as “Collegae sui hono-randi”, and for whose wedding in October 1622 to Elisabeth, widow of David Eisentraut,193


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


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 Tiorben”\textsuperscript{194}, verses from Psalm 25 – including those set by Schein as ‘Wende dich, Herr’ – were selected for the \textit{Leichenpredigt}, “weil die Verstorbene Selige mit dem lieben David zum öfftern von Hertzen sich des Gebets gebraucht [hat] / das in den verlesenen Worten...begriffen ist”.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Ehrengefächnis abhandeln und erklären wolte”; furthermore, there was “auch kein zweiffel” that the deceased had “bey seinem langwierigen Lager seinen bestendigen Trost daraus geschöpfft und empfunden”.\textsuperscript{197} Similar reasons were given by Vincentius Schmuck for preaching on verses from Jeremiah 31 – beginning with ‘Ist nicht Ephraim mein thewer 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 bestellet”; he therefore presumes (“achten solches daher geseehn seyn”) that “die seliglich ve[r]storibe sich desselben zu ihrem trost sonderlich wird gebraucht haben”.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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

\textsuperscript{194} ‘Mirtillo hat ein Schäfelein’, NGA 10.59. Martin Kramer contributed a poem to the print of \textit{Israelsbrünlein} “In honorem Dn. Auctoris, College 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?


\textsuperscript{196} Schmuck, for Euphrosyna Kramer.


preached as a “Sprüchlein von der betrübten Saatzeit und frölichen Ernte der Kinder Gottes”.\textsuperscript{199}

I have attempted to show in my discussion of Möstel’s \textit{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 \textit{Israelsbrünlein}. 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 \textit{Symbolum} and many settings in \textit{Israelsbrünlein} are manifold. Both the nature of the texts set and the manner of their musical setting speak for a connection between Möstel’s \textit{Symbolum} and \textit{Israelsbrünlein} 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 \textit{Symbolum} to a number of the compositions published in \textit{Israelsbrünlein}.

2. **Fontana d’Israel – Israelis Brünlein**

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 *Israelsbrünlein*. 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 “Krafft’sprüchlein”, 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 *Israelsbrünlein*, 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 *Israelsbrünlein*. 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 Israelsbrünlein which Schein sets in the modes which Calvisius describes as the ‘Modi laetiores’.

2.1 Fontana d’Israel – Israeliis Brünlein

In his dedication to the “Herren Bürgermeistern und gantzem Rath der Stadt Leipzig”, Schein refers to “mein erwehntes Wercklein / welches ich Fontana d’Israel, Israeliis-Brünlein / inscribiret”. 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”. 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:

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200 Israelsbrünlein (1623), Tenor partbook, dedication.

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 *Kraftsprüchlein*. Contemporary sources suggest that this interpretation is plausible. In one funeral sermon from 1623, the year of *Israelsbrünlein*’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”. 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 Schmertzen 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. It is, according to the preface of “Bürger und Buchbinder” Christoph Klinger, “eine sonderbare Gnade unsers Gottes […] Daß nebst der heiligen Schrift nicht nur viel andächtige Gebeth= sondern auch Geistreiche Gesangbücher von Gottes=gelehrten Männern aus

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


den Brunnen Israelis geschöpft / zusammen getragen / und zu mercklicher Beförderung Göttlicher Ehre / und viel frommer Christen Kirchen=und Haus=Andacht in öffentlichen Schriften herausgegeben”. 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 “Predigampt 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...”. The “Brunnen”, the “Lehre des Evangelii”, have been blocked by heretics and tyrants; the chief culprit was, of course, the papacy. 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 abgesaubert und geläutert / daß man das helle Wasser des Lebens aus den Evangelischen Predigten schöpffen kan / seine matte Seele und Gewissen damit zu labe und zu erquicken”. 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 konnten / Sondern es werden verstanden die lieblichen Trostbrünlein des heiligen Evangelii / welche die Lehrer in die Hertzen 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 /

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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 / umsonst / 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:


209 Matthias Hoe von Hoenegg, Eine Christliche Predigt / Als Auff gnädigste anordnung / des Churfürsten zu Sachsen / und Burggrafen zu Magdeburg / ec. Herr VINCENTIUS Schmuck [...] zum SuperintendentenAmpt der gantzen Leipzigschen Dieceess, solemniter, un[d] in grosser ansehlicher Volckreicher Versamlung / 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.


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 Görrres, Lucas Cranach d. A: 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 gegeben / 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 überaus sündig / [...] und verflucht / verdammet und tödtet alle die nit halten / was im Gesetz geschrieben ist [...]. Das Evangelium aber predigt 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 Schrift altes und nenuen 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 pedagogus und zuchtmeister sein zu Christo. Der [Christus] sol uns dannach in seinem Evangelio diese Gnad Gottes erklären”.214 Moses was the “pedagogus 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”. For Leiser, the “Heilbrunnen Israelis” stands for Christ. On the title page of *Israelbrünnlein*, 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 nenet / das Er uns zeigen müsse”. With the typically polemical rhetoric of his time, Leiser interprets Moses’ words “Wider die verkehrete 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”. 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 keinerCreatur / sondern einig und allein unsers Gottes”.

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

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216 Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIR TENBERGIACÆ, p. 262.

217 Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIR TENBERGIACÆ, p. 312.

218 Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIR TENBERGIACÆ, p. 312.

219 Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIR TENBERGIACÆ, pp. 312-313.
Israelsbrünnlein. In ‘Siehe, nach Trost’, Schein sets the line ‘Denn du wirst 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 minimis 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 verziehen und vergeben wolle”.

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”. 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:

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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 Ecclesiæ” – Luther’s Theology of the Cross

Luther, in his ‘discovery’ of the righteousness of God, recalls his own struggles as a monk. 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 Kraffsprüchlein set in Israelsbrännlein. 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

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
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. 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”. 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. 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”. 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”. 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”. 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”. Righteousness coram Deo is obtained “through the total humiliation of the individual, following the example set him in Christ”. 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”. 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. Like

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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.

Theodor Möstel, Anna had “diesen edlen Spruch erkoren / als ihr Symbolum, und bey irem Begräbniß zu handeln / für längsten auffgezeichnet”. Schmuck, speaking of “der gemeinen Lehr vom Creutz”, asks “warumb fromme Christen offt damit beleget werden”. The experience of suffering, the appearance of being abandoned by God, was all part of the plan: “es geschicht 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 Kraftsprüchlein, a model of despair in apparent abandonment leading to joy in redemption. “Ist die Summa darvon / Gott hat ursach / daß er die seinen so wünderlich 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 / wenn 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 scheinet / daß man des ungemachs weniger habe?” Schmuck answers the question for him as follows:


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 ‘hällest 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 ‘hällest 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. Note-worthy 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. 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 Israelsbrännlein, used to depict the act of praise or thanksgiving with follows redemption.

2.2 Leipzig Bürgermeister Johann Peilicke and Paul Calemberg

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 eingebüsset haben / dere tödlicher Abgang billich hoch zu betrawren ist”. While Johann Peilicke had reached an advanced age, the death of his successor Paul Calemberg eight months later was unexpected; as Schmuck comments in his funeral sermon, Calemberg “alters halben noch eine gute zeit / gegen dem Alter des vorigen Herrn Bürgermeisters / herrn Johan Peiligs235 / zu rechnen / hette leben können”. Calemberg’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:


Unlike any of the texts set in Israelsbrünlein, 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 Calemberg’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


235 Variant spellings are found for Peilicke’s surname.

236 Schmuck, for Calemberg.

237 See my Chapter 3.
his own choosing. At any rate, as Calemberg 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 Calemberg, also had a text chosen for his funeral. 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. In addition to having been a six-time Leipzig Bürgermeister (following his initial election in 1602) and ‘Kirchvater’ at St. Nicholas, where he was decisive in the procurement of a new organ, Schmuck praises his charity towards the poor, including the boys of St. Thomas. 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 Calemberg, 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”


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, 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:


Schmuck had preached upon the death of Aaron at the funeral of his colleague Georg Weinrich. 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”. Furthermore, this verse was also “der Frendscraft 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.


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 *Israelsbrünlein*?

### 2.3 The Passing of Patriarchs: Two Krafftsprüchlein 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 *Israelsbrünlein* 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 *Krafftsprüchlein* set in *Israelsbrünlein* 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”. 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’”.  

Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, then Superintendent in Plauen, 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” and to

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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.

whom the Leipzig branch of the Möstel family was related.251 For Hoënegg, the “einige Haupt- lehr” 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 unverboten / über unserer Eltern / Ehegatten / Seelsorger / und Obrigkeitens 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 hochgewünscht / erfrewlichen / himmelischen Zustand / im ewigen Leben / voller Glori und Herrlichkeit [...].”

Hoënegg states that this text was selected as the Leichentext for two reasons: “nicht allein weil unser verstorbener Herr Burgermeister seliger unzehlich offt 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”.253 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 darauf 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 Churfürsten-thumbs Sachsen aufgebreitet / und eine Leut im geistlichen und weltlichen Stand gegeben hat”. Hoënegg, for Matthäus Möstel, p. 27.


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”.

The two verses set by Schein are fundamentally different from many of the verses set in Israelsbrünlein. 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 *Psalmuspruch*; 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 Höpenegg; as he writes at the start of his sermon, “VOn der Person des Heiligen Jacobs / ihr Geliebte im HErrn / die gantze Histori jetzo weitleufffig 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 semibreve 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 *Israelsbrünlein*, 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

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\(^{257}\) Höpenegg, 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 ‘siebzig/achtzig’.
further found at the three-part syllabic declamation of ‘und ward versammlet’. 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 ‘versammlet’, 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 versammlet’ 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 *Krafftsprüchlein* 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. 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 ‘Dennnoch bleibe ich’. Preaching at the funeral of Wittenberg professor Friederich Taubmann

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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’).

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


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 HErn 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


war in seinem Hertzen gewiss / das Gott solche seine Verheissung halte[n] wurde. Der Sohn Gottes aber stellet sich / als wollte er ihm solchen Segen nemen”. 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 / Gnäd / 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 “geraten 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 nu[r] seine liebe dadurch zu prüfen”, so does God toy with his children: “Also sind schwere Anfechtungen Gottes spiel un[d] kurzweil / 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 werf 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 erheilt 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. 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 schlaf 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

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, hilfst 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 mode:

\[\text{Ich lasse dich nicht, du segnest mich denn,}\]

\[\text{Der Herr denket an uns und segnet uns,}\]

\[\text{Siehe an die Werk Gottes, siehe an die Werk Gottes}\]

\[\text{Ich lasse dich nicht} - \text{Opening Cantus I}\]

\[\text{Der Herr denket an uns} - \text{Opening Tenor}\]

\[\text{Siehe an die Werk Gottes} - \text{Opening Cantus I}\]

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\[265\] cf. Bernhard Meier, \textit{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. 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

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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, hilfst 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 wohne’ 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 siebenzig 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 Israelsbrünlein. 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 genommen / nicht allein dieweil wir einen alten frommen ehrlichen Mann begraben / der den terminum von Mose gesetzt / erreicht / und über 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 kurz

267 Schmuck, for Peilicke.

268 “Sein Ende letztziet betreffende / so hat er sich einlegen müssen bald nach dem Michaelis Marekt / und ist seine Kranckheit nichts anders gewesen als ein Marasmus senilis, ein Natürliches abnehmen der Kräffte 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 über 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 in Erinnerung / 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 Israelsbrünlein’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 jtzro 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 örntlichem Termin. Zum andern / von des Lebens Köstligkeit / worinne sie bestehe. Und zum

269 Leiser, for Georg Walter.


Dritten / von des Lebens Ende / daß es letzlich gewinnet". 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 über 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 etwas 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 schmählich 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”. Schmuck draws three conclusions from this. “Lernet hiebey...daß ein Mensch gern arbeiten sol / und faule und müs- sige 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 Kostlichkeit 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?”

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 fliegt in einm Augenblick / daß man sie nicht mehr spüret oder mercket... darnach ists geschehen in einm Augenblick / so ist der Mensch hin / und kömpt nicht wider / so lang der Himmel bleibt”. 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 / und 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.

Polycarp Leiser Snr., court preacher in Dresden from 1594 until his death in 1610 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. 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

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275 Schmuck, for Peilicke.

276 Leiser, for Magdalena.


278 For discussion of funerals sermons of the Saxon electresss, 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 wollen”.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 kurz elend Leben sey: Darnach das ewigwehrende selige leben / darinnen GOTT wohnet / in welches die seliglich abgestorbene tretten”.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 Funfzigste 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 Professorfamilien 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 daßornen / nichts dahinden / nichts vergangens / nichts zukünfftiges / sondern alles gegenwertig und für au-
gen”.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 über ein stund nicht ehr hier / sondern morgen etwa zu Torgaw / über 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”.

Leiser discusses three concrete images which Moses presents in Psalm 90 to illustrate the tran-
sience of human life, in contrast to the solidity and length of the 70 years from a human per-
spective. 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 grases”; 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 Wass-
er auß dem Strom”.289 Leiser shows how the phrase ‘Denn es fehret schnell dahin’ was under-
stood in pictorial terms through the concrete image of a flowing river as representative of pass-
ing 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, EXEQVÆ SAXO-VVIRTVENBERGIACÆ, pp. 164-5.
286 Leiser, EXEQVÆ SAXO-VVIRTVENBERGIACÆ, pp. 166-7.
287 Leiser, EXEQVÆ SAXO-VVIRTVENBERGIACÆ, p. 164.
288 Leiser, EXEQVÆ SAXO-VVIRTVENBERGIACÆ, pp. 150-151.
289 Leiser, EXEQVÆ SAXO-VVIRTVENBERGIACÆ, 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. In addition to works of music theory and pedagogical compositions, ten motets have been preserved. That these were never published as a single volume may have contributed to their neglect; one wonders how many of the compositions in Israelsbrünnlein would be known and performed today if they had remained occasional works, distributed only in the original pamphlets or in hand-written copies. Nine of Calvisius’ ten surviving motets were included in the collections compiled by Erhard Bodenschatz for Schulpforta. 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 Horn, was first performed before the sermon at Calvisius’ own funeral.

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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”.


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 selbsten 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 Musicis 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 ihme selbst zum Erstenmal jetzo vor der Predigt / wie E. L. gehöret / zum Begräbnüß abgesungen worden”. 

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Amongst Calvisius’ ten motets are settings of two texts which Schein set in *Israelsbrännlein*; ‘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 *Israelsbrännlein* by only a few years. Given the institutional (Thomaskirche and, as their inclusion in Bodenschatz’s collections suggests, Schulpforta), geographic (Leipzig, Weißenfells) 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 ‘Siebzig’ – 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 fähret 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 Siebzig Jahr alt wird / so ist es ein hohes Alter. Tausent und aber Tausent sterben dahin / die nicht das Funffzigste Jahr erreichen”. 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

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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 Israelsbrünnlein, Calvisius’ settings of ‘Unser Leben’ and ‘Zion spricht’ are set for two four-part choirs. Although Schein’s settings in Israelsbrünnlein 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:

![Image](image.png)

**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. 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-

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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 *Israelsbrännlein*, 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 *Israelsbrännlein*. 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 minimis), 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 kurz 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 *Israelsbrännlein*, 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

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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 fähret 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:

\[
\text{Dèn} \text{n es fã-hret schnãll da-hín} \\
\text{als Flö-gen wîr da-vón}
\]

Calvisius recognizes this feature, combining the syllabic crotchet declamation of ‘denn es fähret 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”.

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’.

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299 Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTEMBERGIACÆ, pp. 150-151.
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. 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’.

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.

Schein similarly makes use of such an extended melisma to depict the span of a human life and the passage of time in Israelsbrünnlein, 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 ein Augenblick”, passing in an instant from this world to the next. The concluding phrase ‘als flögen wir davon’ is, as in Calvisius’ setting, set melismatically. 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,

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

Calvisius: ‘Unser Leben’, Sopran I

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 ‘flōgen’ 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 Krafftsprüchlein, 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 flügen wir davon” oder “denn es fähret 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 Israelsbrünnlein 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 tristiores’, 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 Israelsbrünnlein 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-Waschlik 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”.
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 *Israelsbrännlein* 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 *Israelsbrännlein*. 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

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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 *Octoechos* 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

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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”. 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 musice duæ (1600), Calvisius writes of “six principal modes”, their plagal variants building cadences on the same scale degrees. 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”. 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 Musice Duæ, contrasts the “Modi laetiores”, consisting of the Ionian, the Mixolydian, and the Lydian modes, with the “Modi tristiores”, the Dorian, Phrygian, and Aeolian. 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.


Schein’s introduction to practical music was recently discovered together with Altenburg’s *de musica* in a manuscript copied by Caspar Trost. 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 *Israelsbrunnlein* has been compiled:

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

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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: Colloquius 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 regiert 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 liebliche / 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 Colloquiu 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’

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\(^{319}\) 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. 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, erstrecket”.

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”.

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

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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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein, 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 Israelsbrünlein, 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 modelling 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 sinds 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 fähret...’ 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 ei-
gentlich in seinem Gebet von Gott begere. 2. Wollen wir etliche erinnerungen hinzu thun / an
diejenigen / welche Mosi 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, EXEQVÍÆ SAXO-VVIRTVNBERGIACÆ, p. 306.
327 Leiser, EXEQVÍÆ SAXO-VVIRTVNBERGIACÆ, p. 307.
328 Leiser, EXEQVÍÆ SAXO-VVIRTVNBERGIACÆ, 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 geniesen”, 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 verziehe / sein Gnad erweiset / gibt gedyeyen und glücklichen fortgang zu seines Ampts geschäfft / was ist dessen einer hernach gebessert? Da saget Moses: so wollen wir rühmen und frölich sein unser lebenlang. Dieses ist fürwar ein herrlicher nutzen / das einer sein lebenlang frölich sein möge”.334


331 Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTERNBERGIACÆ, p. 310.

332 Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTERNBERGIACÆ, pp. 322-323.

333 Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTERNBERGIACÆ, p. 323.

334 Leiser, EXEQVIÆ SAXO-VVIRTERNBERGIACÆ, 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 beings 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 *Israelsbrünlein* 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 ‘siebzig’ and ‘achtzig’ in ‘Unser Leben’.  

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. 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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein 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’, Israelsbrünlein 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 Grüße, 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

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\(^{337}\) “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 gedachtnüß in seinem Pathmo unter dem Reichetag / der Anno Christi 1521. zu Worms gehalten worden / mit Kirchen Scholiis erklärer / und gelehr / 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 gegenheil dieser Psalm uns das Göttliche Wort trewlich commendirt und anbefiehlet”. Schneider, für 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 Israelsbrännlein, 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 Israelsbrännlein.

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 Israelsbrunnlein is in many respects an outlier. It is one of two Sprüche taken from the apocryphal book Ecclesiasticus. 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 Israelsbrunnlein, 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 Israelsbrunnlein, 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 Israelsbrunnlein 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

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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 & Ilsabe 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 *Israelsbrünlein*.

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

Like ‘Nun danket alle Gott’, the Spruch ‘Ihr Heiligen, lobinget 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”. 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 unserem Tod und unserer Trübsal hat, sondern uns lieber lebendig und fröhlich sieht”.

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,

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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 crotchets (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 emphasises 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:

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\begin{align*}
\text{Denn sein Zoren währet einen Augenblick, und er hat Lust zum Leben.} \\
\text{Den Abend lang währet das Weinen, aber des Morgens die Freude.}
\end{align*}
\]

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 crotchets 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 Heiligkei̇t’, 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 ‘lobingen’ 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 Israelsbrünnlein. 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 Israelsbrünnlein 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 Israelsbrünnlein 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 Israelsbrünnlein 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 Calemberg, 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 Krafftsprüchlein set to music.

3.1 Krafftsprüchlein

Schein refers three times to the texts set in Israelsbrünnlein as “Krafftsprüchlein”: on the title page of the 1623 print as “Auserlesener KrafftSpühchlin”, in the dedication in the Tenor part-book as “außerlesene Krafftsprüchlein”, and in the preface to the continuo partbook as “schöne geistliche Krafftsprüchlein”. 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 kräfttige solutiones, darüber der Todt acutissimus Logicus nichts kan auffbringen”. As he continues: “Was aber fromme Brunonisten und Christen anlangt / die können sich viel besser in die Sacher schicken / und dem Todt seine Argumenta

Bruno’s verses were ‘kräfftig’ 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 ‘kräfftige’ 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’, ‘kräfftig’ 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 kräfftiger / säftiger / wichtiger / tröstlicher / als das ander...”.³⁴³ Schein’s multiple references to ‘Krafftsprüchlein’ 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 Götliches Worts” in public worship,
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 Neuen 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. 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:

\[\text{Ich lass dich nicht}\]


345 One of these – ‘Ich lass 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 gedüllig 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 / vermahne / unterrichten / trösten / da ist beten und anruffen / da ist loben und dancksagen / und in Summa / was man bedarff / wo man nur im Psalter hinsihet / daß sich ein Christliche Seele zur gnüge erhollen kan / was sie haben sol. Daher wird der Psalter ein Promtuarium genennet / das ist eine Speisekammer aller geistlichen Notturfft / und was S. Jacobus befehlet / 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 / dahero 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:


heiligen Psalterbüchlein besondere lust und gefallen haben / die schönen Sprüchlein heraus verzeichnen / außwendig lernen / als ihre Symbola täglich gebrauchen / und ihres Hertzen grund offenbaren.\textsuperscript{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 könnt 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”.\textsuperscript{348} He laments the fact that stories and legends of saints, along with other Exempelbücher, have recently appeared and distracted from the psalms.\textsuperscript{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”.\textsuperscript{350} That Luther’s psalm commentaries were still authoritative in 1620s Leipzig is seen in the funeral sermon for Maria, wife of Sigismund Deuerlin,\textsuperscript{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 über 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...”.\textsuperscript{352} Representatives of the first four categories are found amongst the psalms from which Schein’s Kraftsprüchlein

\textsuperscript{347} Leiser, for Georg Olfelds.


\textsuperscript{349} The removal of legends and hagiography was an important feature of Luther’s 1523 ‘von Ordenung Gottesdienstes’. See, for example, Albrecht, *Einführung in die Liturgik*, pp. 26-27.


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 Vermessentheit 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


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 Krafftsprüchlein set in Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein) 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 Israelsbrünlein. ‘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 “Krafftsprüchlin altes und neuen 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

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358 See my discussion of ‘Da Jacob’ in Chapter 2.

these belong ‘O, Herr Jesu Christe’, the only text in *Israelsbrünnlein* 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 hervorstechende 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 gesetzlich 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 wieder aufnimmt… 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

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syntactical organization of the text”. 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. 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. 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”. 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”. 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,


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.


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 geziert 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 bridgedroom 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 Prophetical 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 Prophetical books of the Old Testament were taken. Hermann Gunkel comments on the presence of psalm-like poetic verse in the Prophetical books of the Old Testament: “Besonders viele

Although a plurality of texts set in Israelsbrünnlein 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 Prophetic 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 aufbreite / Nemlich / daß wir einen Gott haben / der da gütig ist / und barmherzig / und von grosser gnade und trewe / und vergibt ubertretung / missethat und Sünde ... Bey den Propheten


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

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 Israelsbrünnlein. 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 Fritzsch, 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, Fritzsch 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 Universitæt 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 Esaiæ” which Schein set as ‘Zion spricht’ in Israelsbrünnlein. Fritzsch had selected it “selbst zum Leichen Text” for the same reason as


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.

Möstel: “weil es sein Symbolum gewesen / und er zu jederzeit aus solcher Prophetischen verheissung reichen Trost geschöpft”. Schein composed his setting of Möstel’s Symbolum in anticipation of the funeral. As Fritzsch’s funeral was held only a matter of weeks after Schein’s arrival in Leipzig, this would have been unlikely in Fritzsch’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 Fritzsch’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 Israelsbrünnlein 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 Israelsbrünnlein 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 Israelsbrünnlein. Could Schein’s setting of ‘Zion spricht’ in Israelsbrünnlein 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).


\(^{374}\) Maul, Dero berühmhter 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. Until 1627, the *Ratswahl* took place on the Monday following Invocavit. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.” 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

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


381 Günzel, *Die Leipziger Ratswahlen*, p. 20.
Easter, the election of Friederich Meyer to replace Ernst Moßbach had to be further postponed.\textsuperscript{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 Bürgerschaft schwach, der Creditoren viel, teils potentes, teils universabiles”.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{384} Not until 1634 was a regular date again settled upon for the annual rotation: the Monday before the feast of St. Bartholomew.\textsuperscript{385}

The ceremony and symbolism of the annual \textit{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”.\textsuperscript{386} Initially held in the Nikolaikirche, from 1515 the service was held alternately in the Nikolai- or the Thomaskirche.\textsuperscript{387} Following the service, the members of the council assembled in the \textit{Ratsstube}, where the actual election was preceded by biblical readings and prayers.\textsuperscript{388} The transition of power to the new council followed eight days later. Antje Diener-Staeckling contrasts the exclusivity of the proceedings in the \textit{Rathaus} with the public character of the church service: “War das Rathaus für die Gemeinde ein geschlossener, in vielen Fällen ein Arkanbereich, so

\textsuperscript{382} Günzel, \textit{Die Leipziger Ratswahlen}, p. 20. The title page of Schein’s composition for the 1629 \textit{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”.

\textsuperscript{383} Günzel, \textit{Die Leipziger Ratswahlen}, p. 23.


\textsuperscript{386} Weller, \textit{Theatrum praecedentiae}, p. 163.

\textsuperscript{387} Wustmann, \textit{Quellen zur Geschichte Leipzigs}, vol. 2 (1895), p. 67.

\textsuperscript{388} To the readings belonged Ps. 20 (see Günzel, \textit{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". 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.

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”. The annual Ratswechsel was “das stadtpolitische wichtigste Erlebnis, das würdig begangen werden wollte”. 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”. 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”. 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”. In some cities, the singing of the ‘Te Deum laudamus’ as part of the ceremonies is recorded. The public, festive nature of the occasion necessitated a fitting music.

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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.


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. 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 gefährlichen 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. 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 Raths=Wahl” the following year – *Precatio Ecclesiae pro pace* – makes the shadow cast by the threat of war over this most festive of civic occasions explicit.

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. 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

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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.


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 Israelsbrünlein.401 We want to know if any of the works in Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein are accounted for. This reduces the potential occasions for which any Ratswahl works in Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein. 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 Israelsbrännlein, 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 Israelsbrännlein 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 Israelsbrännlein was more likely conceived as a funeral composition. We have seen that this Spruch had a function as the Predigitext at the Leipzig funeral of Johan Fritzsch; 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 Fritzsch, divides his discussion of this Spruch into two parts, centred respectively on the concepts of Anfechtung and Trost. The first consisted of “eine betrübte Klage der geistlichen Zion / der Christlichen Kirchen / darin[n]en sie mit der anfechtung von der verlassung 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 Hertzen verwundet”, one of the most common was “daß er sie mit den zweifelhafftigen Gedancken anficht unnd plaget / Gott wolle ihrer keine gnade haben sie hetten sich keiner hülfle 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”.

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”. 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 sehnlische Klage über 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 geheiessen”. 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 / bekümmerete Hertz unter demselben”. 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 oftermals 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 Berg 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 Fritzsch, ‘De Primo’.


405 Misler, Zions Klag auß dem Propheten Esaia, p. 11.
Kirche klaget / das begegnet auch allen derselben lebendigen Gliedmassen / Gott lest sie auch oftermals 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 über eusserlich Unglück / als über Krieg / Pestilentz / Tewrung und andere Straffen Gottes... sondern sie klaget über 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 “dień gefehrlichen Kriegsläufften vnd schwierigen Zeiten” and his “Christlichen Wunsch für dero vndt gemeiner Stadt glücklichen Wolstandt” imply.

406 Höpner, for Fritzsch, Leipzig: 1616.
The second part of Höpner’s sermon, beginning at ‘Kann auch ein Weib...’, addressed the “herrliche Trost / damit der HErr Christus seiner bedrengten 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 – “zweyer-ley Gleichnisse” – with which “der HERR Christus...seine innbrünstige liebe unnd seine trewe förtsorge 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 fürnehmen Leute und grosser Herren / wenn die an gewöhnlich / seitt grosse treue und fürsorge / damit er bey solchen negelmahen 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 über 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”.

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 tröst schreiben / der hie stehet”.  

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”. 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”. 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 Flader-gester”.  

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. Veit Dietrich’s preface to his translation and commentary of Isaiah from 1548 places his reading of Isaiah in the context of confessional disagreement. 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”. 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 / vnd 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 eintzlichen 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 vnd dem Teufel / sonder es hat den schein / allß hab Gott selb von ir gesetzt / vnd sie verlassen/ vnd 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 sehnlliche Klage führet / ist daraus gnugsam abzunehmen / daß allhie von

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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 gemeinschaft haben / und gleichsam mehr vertrawen zu ihnen tragen solle / denn mit / und zu den Calvinisten, Leipzig: 1620.


414 Veit Dietrich, Der gantz Prophet Esaias, Cf. Dietrich’s dedication.
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”. 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 / vnnd 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 / vnnd sich leyden irs glaubens vnnd bekentnuß halb müssen / vnnd Gott der halb durch sein wort inen so freundtlich zu spricht / vnnd so hertzlich tröstet / soll niemand solches sich irren noch ergern lassen / ob man vbel von inen redt / vnd sie Ketzer / verförer / vn[d] auffrhürer schilt”. The ‘sprüch’ 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

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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”. 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 sinfonie. A five-part sinfonie 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 sinfonie 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. It is obviously the presence of an independent basso continuo – unlike the basso seguente of Israelsbrünnlein –


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. 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. 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

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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?

him: “Also wan GOTT der himlische Vatter seine Kinder stäupet / so geschichts gleichfals nicht auß einem Haß / sondern auß einer väterlichen 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”.\(^4\) 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”.\(^5\) 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 liebestes 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”.\(^6\) Its use at funerals shows how ‘Zion spricht’ was a source of personal ‘Trost’, be it, as here, for the grieving parents left behind, or be it for those who, like Fritzsch, during their lives “jederzeit aus solcher Prophetischen verheißen reichen Trost geschöpffet”.\(^7\) 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

\(^4\) [Unknown Author], SION AFFLICTA NON DERELICTA, Lüneburg: 1680.

\(^5\) Misler, Zions Klag auß dem Propheten Esaia, p. 5.

\(^6\) Misler, Zions Klag auß dem Propheten Esaia, pp. 25-6.

\(^7\) Höpner, for Fritzsch, Leipzig: 1616.
Phrygian cadence at ‘verlassen’, further enhancing the impression of forsakenness. 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 forsakeness 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

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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 desselbigen/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 that 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 Israelsbrünlein’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. Heidenreich mentions how in 1620 a “geschwinde Thewrung” in Saxony resulted in the death of “viel Leute” from hunger. In December 1621, the cost of bread and beer “stieg auch noch täglich höher wegen des geringen Geldes”. 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.

In an attempt to remedy the situation, a new mint was established “vor dem Kanstäter 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 Schull育儿 / Professores … Item arme Stipendiaten, und andere gute Leute”, were particularly hard hit. Schein writes in his preface to Israelsbrünlein that inflation had a direct

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426 See Maul, Dero berühmhter Chor, p. 57; see also Weller, Theatrum precedentiae, p. 58.

427 Heidenreich, Leipzizige Cronicke, p. 277.

428 Heidenreich, Leipzizige Cronicke, p. 325.

429 Heidenreich, Leipzizige Cronicke, p. 326.

430 Heidenreich, Leipzizige Cronicke, p. 334.
effect on the modalities of publishing this work. Although not without “schwer fallende Un-
kosten”, 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:


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 “grassierenden Seuchen und anfälligen Krankheiten / so wol anhaltender Thewrung und Hungersnoth / Insonderheit höchstgefehrliche Kriegsempörungen und Blutvergiessen”, he issued in this year a new “Buß- und Betordnung” for his electorate.432 Although, as he writes, weekly ‘Bettstunden’ had already in 1619 been prescribed, these had been largely ignored. As such, he commanded that “eine sondereliche 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

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431 See preface to *Israelsbrünnlein* 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.


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 umrissemem 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

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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”. 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 tiefwurzelnde, nie erlöschende Vaterliebe, die ihn mit dem verlorenen Sohn verbindet”. 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 Israelsbrännlein, 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. As Schmuck writes,

436 Weiser, Das Buch Jeremia, p. 280.

437 Weiser, Das Buch Jeremia, p. 281.

This Spruch was chosen as Leichenargument “auff begehren der jenigen / so die Leichpredigt bestellet / vor uns genommen / und achten solches daher geschehen seyn / daß die seliglich verstorbene sich desselben zu ihrem trost sonderlich wird gebraucht 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 vertrösten 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 Prophetic verses which Schein set in Israelsbrännlein 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 / sonst 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 Güttenere 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 allesampt nun mehr / in den letzten Zeiten der Welt leben / da die Noth und Gefahr / mit uns fast am gröstesten und schwersten ist / und freylich wol unserer viel fast verschmachten wollen / für furcht und warten der dinge / so noch kommen sollen auff

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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”. 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.

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. 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 gebrauchet werden”. She was, however, distressed to find that “auch ein anderer Christlicher Creutzträger / in seinem Creutz ihme eben diesen Text außerlesen / 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 “himmilische Hochzeit” between the deceased and the bridegroom Christ, an


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 Hochzeitbrief 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 Hertzen das rechte hochzeitliche Kleid / der Glaube an JEsum 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 zerstrewte Volck Israel / nemlich die zehn Stämme / die dazuremal in fremden Landen weit zerstrewet waren / nach dem sie von den Assyrern waren hinweg geführet / und hatte das ansehen mit inen / als ob sie nicht mehr zum Volck Gottes gehöreten... daher kam es / daß man das Königreich Israel mit einem Namen Ephraim nante / als sonderlich bey den Prophetenbreuchlich ist”. 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 Exempler 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 zerstrewete 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 hergeführt / aus dem grunde der verwandniß / die da ist zwischen ein Vater und seinem Sohn / daß wie einen Vater das natürliche Liebesband beweget zur erbarmung gegen sein notleidentes Kind / unnd daß er demselben ver- gebe und zu gut halte / wenn es ihn gleich etwan erzürenet hat / also auch Gott als ein Vater nicht

füßer 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 GÖttes zu jeder Zeit / sonderlich wenn sie unterm Creutz ist und ungemach leidet / ja ein jeglicher nothleidender Christ / kan sich selbst mit sein 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?”

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 GÖtt / die wir sein V olck und Ephraim sind / und seine Kinder / verbunden / wie er vor alters dem V olck Israel und allen Gläubigen und Heiligen im alten Testament gewesen ist”. 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 grewlich zerrissen unter dem Pabstumb”. 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


uber Ephraim / wie sich ein Mutter erbarmet über ihr Kind / un[d] über den Sohn ires Leibes / un[d] hat hülfte geschafft / und sein liebes Wort und Evangelium wieder herfür gebracht / daß den zubrochenen Hertzen trost widerfähre / un[d] den irrenden das Liecht wieder geschienen hat / und noch scheinet / 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=Wort 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 Krankheiten trösten / im Todt erhalten / und zum Leben hindurch führen. Das alles hat er uns geredet / er wil es auch thun”.

Ziegenspeck finds in this verse “drey herrliche Trostseulen” erected by God “auff Grund der göttlichen Kindschaft”: “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”. 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 of 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 Hertzen 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 Trostprüchlein / wenn der HERR spricht: Mein Hertz bricht / Vergiß es nicht o Hertze mein / Besonders / wenn einmal dein Hertz brechen wil / da gedencke dran / und erfreewe 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 helfen 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 Gütten, 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 über sein vermögen versuchen / in die lenge strecken und verderben lassen / sondern heraus reissen / ihn helfen und erretten. Das ist die kurze 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 Gütten, 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...kon[men] wir durch die Predigt des Gesetzes / durch Betrachtung und hertzliche offte Erwegung des Gesetzes / und dessen inhalts / welches GÖtt uns auch aus Gnaden darumb lessen allen predigen / daß wir in Warheit erkennen / daß wir Sünder sind / auch wiebergläuben / Er wolle unser aller sich erbarmen / wann wir darauf zu Christo uns weisen lassen / in wahrer Erkentnis unserer Sünden”.
tholics, that salvation can be achieved by other means: “Diejenigen aber / die andere Hertzbrecher Gottes erfinden...die Papisten und dergleichen / die durch verstorbenen 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 Particularitét / wenn sie lehren / daß Christus für die meisten nicht gestorben”.

3.3.1 Ist nicht Ephraim, Israelsbrännlein

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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{Israelsbrännlein} 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

\textsuperscript{452} Cf. the setting of ‘denn du hältest 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.\textsuperscript{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 ‘meintrautes 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,

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{tutti}, trumpeted \textit{forte} with following \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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.

\textbf{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”\textsuperscript{454}. Although divine assistance enabled him to defeat King

Sanherib of Assyria, he fell thereafter “in a Krankheit / and kriegt eine gifftige Drüse oder Apostema, daran er des todes hette seyn müssen / wie ihm denn Gott auch anzeigen und befehlen liese durch den Propheten Esaiam: Bestelle dein Haß / denn du wirst sterben / und nicht lebendig bleiben”.

Unsurprisingly, he was distressed at this news: “Uber 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 befihlt allbald 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 “stellet nu Hiskia eine Schrift zu ewigen gedächtniß / und bringet dorinn / wie ihm zu muth gewesen sey in seiner Krankheit 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=Edelgebohrnen” Heinrich von Bünau 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 gnesen ... componirte [er] ein Lied / schrieb es auff / und brauchte es hernach / als eine[n] Lobpsalm / den er täglich hat zu sprechen pflegen”.

This similarity of Hezekiah’s song to the

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455 Schmuck, LeichPredigt / Auß dem Gebet Hiskiae, ‘DE I’.


161
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 Israelsbrünnlein 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 Israelsbrünnlein, 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 / jtzо 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 ihme Gott sein Leben länger hette fristen wollen / daß er dem gemeinen Nutz mit seinen Gaben / als ein auffrichtiger 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 Israelsbrünnlein? Interesting is the final contribution to the Epicedien, a paraphrase of Isa. 38, in Latin with German translation, entitled “Oda Regis Hiskiae”. Here is

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458 Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes Hiskiae, ‘COMMENDATIO PIÉ DEFUNCTI’.

459 Wustmann, Musikgeschichte Leipzigs, p. 491, note 195;

460 Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes Hiskiae, ‘COMMENDATIO PIÉ DEFUNCTI’.

162
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: “...desselben 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 das Trost=Sprüchlein Hiskiæ ein hertzliches und sehnlisches Gebet umb vergebung der Sünden / welches auch unser im HEerrn Christo seliglich verstorbener Mit=Bruder zu seinem Leichen=Text erwehlet / und damit sein zeitlich Leben seliglich geendet und geschlossen 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,
Georg Reinhard wrote and presented him with a sermon on Isa. 38:17, “sein lang zuvor begehrtes Spruchlein”, in 1623, three and a half years before it was held at his funeral. In contrast, the preacher at the funeral of Heinrich von Bünau 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 Bünau, a member of the nobility, was buried “nach Adelichen Christ-Ritterlichen Gebrauch”, his social standing inviting comparison with King Hezekiah. A further biographical parallel, for example, between Hezekiah and Johann Caspar von Bernstein (also a long-suffering aristocrat) who died in 1657, was the deceased’s “frühzeitigen Todesfall”; Hezekiah himself was only 39 when he was struck by illness. 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.

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“. Hezekiah was, continues Leiser, such a “frommer Mann”, “Deren Exempel wir denn viel in H. Schrifft 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 theilhafftig worden / wir sollen aber von inen lernen / wie sie sich zum Creutz geschicket /


464 Calert, HISKIAS DECUMBENS.


467 Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes Hiskie, ‘Eingang’.
darin[n]en Christlich verhalten / kräftiglich getröstet / auch wenn sie Gott erlöset / dankbarlich erwiesen und erzeigt haben / damit wir ihrem Exempel folgen / Trostes und Erlösung theilhaftig werden”. Schmuck sees in Hezekiah’s fate proof “daß es nichts newes sey / daß Christen auch auff allerley weise mit dem lieben Creutz / und also auch offt mit schweren oder langwirigen Krankheiten 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”.

Jeremia Albert suggests that Hezekiah suffered “zweyerley Beschwerunge”, 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 Beschwerungen / welche er mit beständiger Gedult / mit einem dappfern 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 Beschwerung [...]”. 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, HISKLE 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 offt und viel geführet und gebrauchet der Selige Herr Jünger / daß so offt ihn seine Sünden wollen betrüben / so offt er Anfechtung und Beschwerung dererhalben in seinem Hertzen und Gewissen gefühlet und empfunfen[,]” Albert, HISKLE Qverela & Medela, ‘EXORDIUM’.

472 Besser, HISKLE 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 gefährlichsten”. 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”. 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”. 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. “Erstlich sihet er Gott an als einen *Amatorem* einen Liebhaber der Menschen / sonderlich der Gleubigen. Du hast dich / sagt er / meiner Seelen hertzlich ange-nommen...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


474 Calert, *HISKIAS DECUMBENS*, § II.


Kampff”. Leiser concludes with a cross reference to Isaiah 49, showing how the ‘Trost’ for which the Christian church longed must be appropriated by its individual members: “Der Christlichen Kirchen war auch bange nach Trost in ihrem Elend beym Propheten Esaia am 49. Cap. Sie sprach: Der HERR hat mich verlassen / der HERR hat mein vergessen... Diesen Trost müssen wir / die wir Gliedmassen der Kirchen Christi sind / auch applcire 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 geschiht / 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 Krankheit 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 Kräfften 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 Hiskiae, ‘Vom Andern Pünctlein’.

479 Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes Hiskiae, ‘Vom Andern Pünctlein’.

480 Schmuck, LeichPredigt / Auß dem Gebet Hiskiae, ‘DE II’. Besser describes the phrase “das sie nicht verdürbe” as the causem finalem, as the answer to the question “zu was Ende sich Gott Hiskiae Seelen angenommen?”. The answer is “Nehmlich / daß sie nicht verdürbe”. Besser, HISKIE 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”.

As Leiser continues, “Er wil so viel sagen: GÖtt du bist war ein barmhertziger GÖtt / 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 vergibst meine Sünde gnädiglich / du schaffest sie ab und vertilgest sie / daß sie mir nicht zugerechnet werden / du stellst 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 ware / und schaffets auffim Gesicht / und gedenckt nicht mehr dran / wenn sie einmal gnädig verziehen sind. [...] Er wird unsere Missethat dempffen / und alle unsere Sünde in die Tieffe des Meers werffen”. 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”. It was this act of forgiveness, an act of divine grace, which consoled Hezekiah is 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”. 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 fulfillment of the law, is freed from sin through an act of divine grace.

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 dancken sollen / so wol im Creutz / als auch wenn er uns darvon erlöst”\(^{485}\). “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 verkündiget 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 “Faciems Hiskiae tristriorem, des Angstschmeckenden Königs Hiskiae grosses Leid” with the following “Faciems Hiskiae laetiorem, des Hertzerquickten 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 GÖtt umb Verlengerung seines Lebens hertzlich angeruffen : Gedenck doch Herr / spricht er / wie ich für dir gewandelt habe in der Warheit mit vollkommenen Hertzen / 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 HErrn 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: Sonders 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 HErrn.

Hezekiah’s arguments were sufficient to win the case, convincing his Lord that recovery was desirable: “Solches Gebet und motiven sind unsern HErrn Gott nicht zu wider gewesen / sondern Er hats erhöret”.

\(^{485}\) Leiser, Leichpredigt / Aus dem Danckliede des Königes Hiskiae, ‘Vom dritten Püntlein’.

\(^{486}\) Besser, HISKIÆ Leid und Freud, ‘Eingang’.

\(^{487}\) Reinhard, SUSPIRIVM HISKIACUM, ‘Ander Theil’.
3.4.1 Siehe, nach Trost war mir sehr bange, *Israelsbrännlein*

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 fordcrt”. 488 Albert states the importance of this word as an attention-grabbing opening: Hezekiah “wil mit diesem Wörtlein jederman auffmundern und auffmerckksam machen; Siehe / nim solches wol in acht / du seyst wer du wollest / der du diese meine Worte liestest / 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 selbsten : 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 Betrübnß / 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’


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 umbfangen”.

171
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 zurückke’, 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 Israelsbrünnlein, 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 Israelsbrünnlein?
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 Excursus: Dynamics in Israelbrunnlein

‘siehe, nach Trost’, is one of the few compositions in Israelbrunnlein 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...”. Isa. 61:10 is interpreted literally to justify this practice: “Deß dürfft’ sie beyde / Breutigam und Braut / sich nicht schemen / sondern müssen bedencken / es gehe nach deß Propheten Esaiae 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. 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. 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:


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


494 A point also made by Zader: “Denn GÖtt 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.

her burial on 23 March 1655, a few days following her death, in the church in St. Ulrich. 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 abgelassen Leichtext / den hat sie aus dieser volle[n] Schatzkam[mer] des allein seiligmachende[n] göttlichen Worts vor andern eligirt / vor etzlichen Jahren schon in ihr Handbüchlein geschrieben / daß er ihr uff begebenden Todesfall zum Leichtext möge genommen und erklärt 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 oft 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.
500 Heinigke, OPTIMUM AC VERUM VERI CHRISTIANI GAUDIUM. A list of her favourite verses is printed under ‘Personalia’; included in this list are all three passages from Isaiah which Schein set in Israelsbrünnlein.
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 HErnn 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 hocherfreut, 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 bittern 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 zugedeckt fein, / darf mich nicht mehr beschämen / vor Gott, dem Herren mein. / Ich bin ganz neu geschmücket / mit einem schönen Kleid, / geziertet und gesticket / mit Heil und G'rechtigkeit’).


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 triumphi-renden 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 Gedächtnüß=Predigt’ in DUE HONORIS STATUÆ, ‘ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ’.
506 Heinigke, OPTIMUM AC VERUM VERI CHRISTIANI GAUDIUM, ‘Tractatio’.
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 domals noch zukünftigen / nunmehro aber geleisten 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[?] HEerrn 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 HEerrn / die Freude an unserm Bräutigam Jesu Christo”. As Höfer continues, “eine solche Hertzens=Freude hatte auch biß in den Todt die sel. Frau von Breitenaubach”; 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”.

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

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 geziert / und mit wunderschönen Geschmeide / als eine liebe Braut orniret und geschmücket hat”.


511 In Jenisch (1680) and Heinigke (1681) the Leichenspruch ends at “...mit dem Rock der Gerechtigkeit gekleidet”.

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”. 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 konnte nun der gefallene Mensch…seine geistliche Blöße bedecken? Es musste ein ander kommen / der die Kleider des Heils / unnd den Rock der Gerechtigkeit erstlich wieder schaffte / und hernach seiner lieben Braut verehrte”. 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”. 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 volkommene Gnugthuung unsers HErn und Heylandes Jesu Christi / sampt alle dem / was Er uns zu gute gethan / gelitten und erworben hat / welches alles des HErn Christi Braut mit wahren Glauben ergreiffet / und in solchen Schmuck gar statlich vor ihrem him[m]lischen Hochzeit=Vater pranget”. 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 vite, die Heiligkeit des Lebens / wenn nemlich eine gläubige und mit Christo vermählte Seele in den Geboten des HErn unsträfflich einher gehet / den Glauben thätig erweiset durch die Liebe / unnd den Tugenden des HErn Christi nachfolget / und also den Rock der Gerechtigkeit in den Wercken der Liebe hindurch schimmert”.


515 Jenisch, Glaubiger Kinder Gottes Allerschönster Seelen=Schmuck, p. 18.

516 Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtnüß=Predigt’ in DUE HONORIS STATUÆ, ‘ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ’. 179
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 *Israelsbrännlein*, 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 vokommene Gnugthuung unsers HErrn und Heylandes Jesu Christi”.

The first half of the final parallelism – ‘wie einen Bräutigam mit priesterlichem Schmuck gezieret’ – is set homophonically in the lower three voices without any further textual subdivision. 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 vitae* 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

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517 Höfer, ‘Die Andere Christliche Leich=und Gedächtniß=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 volkommene Gnußthuung unsers HErrn und Heylandes Jesu Christi”, rejoicing in “der triumphirenden [Kirche]..in alle Ewigkeit”.  

3.6 Conclusion

I wanted to examine in this chapter the significance of texts such as ‘Zion spricht’ and ‘1st 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


182
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 Krafftsprüchlein 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 Prophetical 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-Brut, die auch nothwendig dabey zu seyn ge-
glaubet wird. Es wäre aber zu wünschen, dass sie weit davon wären, denn sie mehr böses, als gutes schaffen, wenigstens befördern helfen. Es sind das gemeiniglich die leichtsinntigsten, frechesten Menschen, gräuliche Zotenreisser, zumal unter den gemei-
nen 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...

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. 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 Christ-
lische 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 de-
scription 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 Kraftsprüchlein. The suitability for weddings of several com-
positions in Israelsbrünlein has often been observed. A Lutheran wedding provided scope for


523 Adam Adrio, in his ‘Hinweise zur Verwendung in Gottesdienst und Kirchenmusik’ appended to his edition of Israelsbrünlein 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.\(^\text{524}\) 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

\[\text{Bescheret ist’. Adrio is admittedly more concerned with suggesting how they could be used in a modern liturgical context, rather than with showing how they were used historically.}\]

doubling of voices with instruments, a performance possibility for which Schein makes provision.\textsuperscript{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,

\begin{quote}
so ist doch der Bräutigam aussenblieben / und hat also der Kirchgang / und die Trauwung verbleiben müssen. Es haben aber die Hochzeit Gäste nichts desto weniger der Braut geschenkt / bey der angestalten Mahlzeit sich lustig erzeiget / und mit einander gessen und getrunken.\textsuperscript{526}
\end{quote}

Wedding celebrations took place in two parts: the liturgical ceremony in the church (the ‘Kirchgang’ or ‘Trauung’; also termed the ‘Copulation’\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{quote}
Es beruht 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 / Politicis und Weltverstendigen muß demandiret werden. Aber die
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{525}“Sowol für sich allein mit lebendiger Stim und Instrumenten / Als auch in die Orgel / Clavicimbel bequemlich zugebrauchen …”

\textsuperscript{526}Heidenreich, \textit{Leipzigische Cronicke}, p. 365.

\textsuperscript{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.], \textit{Gerbers „Historie der Kirchen-Ceremonien in Sachsen”}, p. 229.
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 geführet: Der Welt brauch aber *consummationem* wie ein Christliches hochzeitliches Fest / mit frölichkeit unnd allerhand kurtzweiligen Frewdenspielen / können *celebriret* und beschlossen werden / damit Anfang / Fortgang und Außgang / GOTT und Menschen gefallen möge.  

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?” 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:


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529 Winter, Ehrenpredigt, p. 7.


Although ‘Unzüchtige Tänze’ and ‘Jubals-Brut’ performed by “die leichtsinnigsten, frechsten 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 tanzzen’ 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 breutgam wird getrewt / Ist recht und gut/ Wans gschieht mit mas/ Beid Gott und menschen gfellet das”.

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.

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 einsegunge 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 sonst gar nicht, geschehen”.

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”. A similar exception is made in the “Buß- und Betordnung” for electoral Saxony, issued by the elector Johann Georg I in 1626. In

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533 Sehling [ed.], *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, vol. 1, p. 610.


light of the difficult times, it was decreed that “keine Tänze noch Spielleute sollen geduldet / sondern die Tänze und Music allein bey Hochzeiten / Adelichen Veransamlungen / und andern ehrlichen Conviviis zu gelassen werden”.\textsuperscript{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 gescheffe und ubungen verwirret oder verhindert [werden]”.\textsuperscript{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”.\textsuperscript{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 beschloss gegeben und darbei gelassen werden”.\textsuperscript{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”.\textsuperscript{540} In many places, weddings could not be celebrated on Sundays or other feast days.\textsuperscript{541} An ordinance from 1575 went a step further,

\textsuperscript{536} Heidenreich, \textit{Leipzigische Cronicke}, p. 355 ff.


\textsuperscript{538} Sehling [ed.], \textit{Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen}, vol. 1, p. 672.

\textsuperscript{539} Sehling [ed.], \textit{Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen}, vol. 1, p. 689.

\textsuperscript{540} Sehling [ed.], \textit{Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen}, vol. 1, p. 530.

\textsuperscript{541} For example a visitation report of 1540 (Sehling [ed.], \textit{Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen}, vol. 1, p. 285): “Darzu sol verboten sein, das man am sonntag und andern feiertagen hochzeit anrichte und seuferei treibe”.

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saying that weddings were to be celebrated in church “nur einmal des montags und nicht auch des sontags, wie bisher 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, vormünden, 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


nen raum zugehen gelassen / und sonstnen 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 gend sich zu dem kirchgang finden”, suggests that some guests viewed the church ceremony as an optional prelude to the feast. The third point

544 The problem of crowds was addressed in the second of the 1625 Mandata, which deals with “was für Unord-

nung 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 com-
545 Heidenreich, Leipzigische Cronicke, p. 416.
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 Handwersleuten 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,


549 Sehling [ed.], Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen, vol. 1, p. 73.
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”. 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 gespilt 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. 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. 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,

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welches gedachter Cantor uffs Jubelfest componiret gehabt, aber wegen seiner damaligen Leibesschwachheit nicht singen können, musiciret worden”.\textsuperscript{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, Trommelen und Huercbaucken gebraucht, und sonsten in der Kleidung neben der Speisu ein überauß großer Pracht getrieben”.\textsuperscript{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 Trommelen nicht blasen könten”.\textsuperscript{556} Although Möstel was reprimanded by the authorities in Dresden for the overly conspicuous nature of the wedding, the \textendash as Wustmann claims \textendash 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”.\textsuperscript{557}

Of the two works mentioned in the letter of 17 August 1617, only the latter \textendash the work originally written for the ‘Jubelfest’ \textendash 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 \textit{coro favorito} and \textit{ripieno}. These were compositions which, “den feierlichen Anlässen entsprechend”, were “auf eine möglichst große Pracht- und Klangentfaltung hin angelegt”.\textsuperscript{558} As such, it is unlikely that any of the more modestly scored compositions from \textit{Israelbräunlein} 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;

\textsuperscript{554} Zitiert nach Maul, \textit{Dero berühmbter Chor}, p. 52.

\textsuperscript{555} Maul, \textit{Dero berühmbter Chor}, p. 52.

\textsuperscript{556} Wustmann, \textit{Musikgeschichte Leipzigs}, pp. 80-81.

\textsuperscript{557} For the wedding of Sigismund Deuerlin on 24.10.1620, a setting of Ps. 150. Wustmann, \textit{Musikgeschichte Leipzigs}, p. 81.

\textsuperscript{558} Theis, ‘Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen’, p. 125.
potential ‘fürfallenden Occasionen’, even if not for the compositions later included in Israelsbrünlein.

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”. 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:

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\text{So pflegt auch die Flitterwoche im lieben Ehestande zu weilen zimlich bald sich zu enden. Es wird die zeit kommen / sagt Christus / das der Bräutgam 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.}
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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”. 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.


\[561\] Strigenitz, *VOTA NUPTIALIA*, Leipzig 1617, title page.
the copulation, the actual wedding sermon – “das ander Stück / so in löblicher Kirchenordnung überlich” – 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 Jungfrauen 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 kürzlich vorgetragen / erzehtlet und erklärt / 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 Perso
nen 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.


\(^{564}\) Ehrenberger, Dotalia Conjugalia Binoschönbergiaca, ‘EXORDIUM’.


‘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”.

The publication of wedding sermons was the exception rather than the rule. 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 Pyrmont / und seiner lieben Vertraweten Elisabeth Krolachs”. 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”. 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


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.


570 Sachs, Eine Hochzeitpredigt / über 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 Wirthschaft...auffs höchste...acht tische Gäste...sowolff 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


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 befun-den wird / vor dem sol die Kirchthür zugeschlossen / und er hernach umb fünff thaler unnach-lässig gestrafft werden”. On the second day, dining was, at morning feasts, to begin punctually at 11, at evening feasts at 6.675 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 offentliche Tantzplätze / so wol in allen Häusern / in welche die Hochzeit gehalten wird / vor Jungkfern und unge- sellen zum tantz raum und gelegenheit / Als sol der Rath auff derjenigen / so die Wirthschaft 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 zugegeben 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.676

Of the professions which, according to the ordinance, are typically engaged at weddings (“so man auff Wirthschaften zugebrauchen pfelet”) – “die Stadtpeiffer / Geiger / Trommelschläger / Köche / Ober=und unter Schencken / und dergleichen Leute” – the first three had to do with music.677 The Stadtpfeiffer were permitted only “auff fürnehmen Wirthschaften”, 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 Junggesellens tische”. “Den Geigern”, on the other hand, were to be given “mehr nicht / dann einen tag drei


677 See Policey Und KleiderOrdnung, pp. 61-64.
Thaler”. Common folk were subject to different conditions: “Den Handwerksleuten oder andern gemeinen Bürgern sollen zu ihren Wirthschaften die Stadtpfeiffer 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 “Trommerlschläger” 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Excessen 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”.\textsuperscript{580}


\textsuperscript{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, Leipzig’s regierende Bürgermeister, p. 27.

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 Rumbheld\(^{585}\) 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.

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\(^{581}\) For further discussion of occasional wedding poetry from Lutheran Germany see Jörg-Ulrich Fechner, ‘Ein unbekanntes weltliches Madrigal von Heinrich Schütz’. SJb 6 (1984).


\(^{584}\) VILLANELLE NVPTIALES DVÆ. Zu Hochzeitlichen Ehren Dem Erbarn [...] Herrn LAVRENTIO SCHMIT [...] und der [...] Jungfrawen MARÌÆ 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.

in Königsberg, as “Mit sechs Stimmen nach Villanellen art”. 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 “eintzlich / auff schlechte Bogen Bapir”. 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 psalm, adapted to fit as an acrostic over seven verses to the names of the bridal pair, is also found.

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*”. 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

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587 *EPITHALAMIVM* [...] Mit sechs Stimmen nach Villanellen art componiret[.] Königsberg: 1596.


589 The ninth setting in the collection, falsely termed ‘XI’ in the print


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.

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. 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 Israelsbrünlein had already been performed “bei fürfallenden Occasionen”, he doesn’t explain what these occasions might have been. A glance at the texts reveals a group of settings whose texts seem suitable


594 Steuerlein, in the preface to his Epitalamia (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 gehafftet / 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 *Israelsbrünlein* 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 works 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. Although none of these was included in *Israelsbrünlein*, 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*. 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 *Israelsbrünlein*.

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595 NGA 10 vol. 2: ‘Motetten und Konzerten zu 7 bis 24 Stimmen’


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 vertrawlichen brüderlichen Freunde”. The bridegroom or the bride’s father often had connections with the Leipzig Stadtrat, to whom Schein dedicated *Israelsbrännlein*. 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). 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:


599 That the composition from 1625 was composed for a Möstel could explains its outlier status with regards to the date, which is considerably later than that for other polyphonal 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.

Möstel lived to see his own surviving children wed, starting with his son Jonas. As Leiser recalls:


The second son to marry was Theophil. His first wife was daughter of former Bürgermeister Ernst Moßbach; following her death in childbirth he married the daughter of another member of the Rath:


Then came his son Sigismund, also married to the daughter of a councillor:

Seinen jüngern Sohn aber / Herrn Sigismund Mösteln / an damals Jungfrawen Sabinen / Herrn Johann Rotheupts / nummehr seliger / gleichfalls des Raths und Bawmeisters allhier.

His two surviving daughters were both found suitable husbands:


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 Bestendigkeit 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:


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

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\(^{603}\) 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 solemnische 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 Sigißmund Deüerlin, “vornehen 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 Harßen. 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 à trois, 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 Sigißmund 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


\(^{613}\) NGA 10.18.


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”. 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”. Vincentius Schmuck wrote in 1622 that Psalm 128 was “fürgelesen allen newen Eheleuten / so oft als man Copuliret, oder Braut und Breutigam zusammen gibet”. 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 künftigen Leibesfrüchten GOTTES Segen und Güte versprochen wird”. 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”. Although none of the Sprüche set in Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein 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.

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619 Martin Röber, COMMENDATIO CONJUGII, Halle: 1615.

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 Sigemund 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 Musikirt” 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 Hochzeitlichen Ehren= vndnd Frewden=Fest zu dienstfreundlicher Glückwunschung präsentirt”.622 This reference to the presentation – presumably meaning the actual performance – at the “Ehren= vndnd 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 Israelsbrunnlein 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 1622 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 SJh (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.\footnote{See Maul, Dero berühmhter 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.}

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 \textit{Musica boscareccia} testify. Although 1623 is an obvious \textit{terminus ante quem} for the composition of the works in \textit{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 weddings compositions in \textit{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 \textit{Musica boscareccia} testify and which they must have helped sustain.

Printed pamphlets survive containing verses performed at weddings 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.\footnote{Hopefully, wishes David Paisey, once “the guests were already well fortified with wine”. Paisey, ‘Some Occasional Aspects of Johann Hermann Schein’, p. 174.} This mythological account of the love of Corydon and “seiner liebst en 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.”\footnote{Paisey, ‘Some Occasional Aspects of Johann Hermann Schein’, p. 174.} If not actually sung, the eight verses of this ‘Liedlein’ nevertheless show that
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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein, inviting the thought that, had this work been composed a few months earlier, it might have been included in Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein: 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 Erbarn 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 Professorfamilien, 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 *Israelsbrünnlein* and permits the repetition of phrases and parts of phrases, a feature found often in *Israelsbrünnlein* 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 *Israelsbrünnlein*.

### 4.4 Israelsbrünnlein: Wedding Compositions?

Two biblical books account for the possible wedding compositions in *Israelsbrünnlein*: 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 und Trost achtens / 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 bekannt 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

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632 Schmuck, sermon for Magdalena Möstel.


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


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.O. Flaten [ed.] Preparing for Death, Remembering the Dead, Göttingen: 2015, p. 13.


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 geheilt”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 Hausfrau’ 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.
644 Schmotz, Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien, p. 62.
645 Schmotz, Die Leipziger Professorenfamilien, p. 62.

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, set the following verses from Ecclus. 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.

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4.4.2 Proverbs 31:10-12 – ‘Wem ein tugendsam Weib bescheret ist’

Schein included in *Israelsbrünlein* 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 wollen 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 vorschreiben / und lehret / was jedes Theil dem andern zubringhen 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 zubringhen / 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 Thematis’.

649 Schein sets only verses 10-12, not verse 13, as claimed in the NGA.

650 Ritter, MARGARITA NUPTIALIS, ‘Exordium’.

was her “Trewhäußliche Sorgfeltigkeit”: “Zum Andern / sol die Braut oder das Weib ihrem Bräutigam und Ehemann zubringen Häußliche Sorgfeltigkeit. Ihres Mannes Hertz darff sich aufl 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 lebenlang”.

Concerning the bridegroom’s dowry, “finden wir abermal in unserm Text dreyerley: Er sol seine Braut und Ehegahm 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 Breu- ti-gam 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 Kopp-eley / 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 offt 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-declamation in crotchets and quavers. One of the two exceptions to the prevailing syllabic text-declamation 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-declamation 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

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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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Sorgfältigkeit”. 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 Israelsbrünlein.

4.4.3 Proverbs 5:18b-19 – ‘Freue dich des Weibes deiner Jugend’

As with all the compositions published in Israelsbrünlein, 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

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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 Gesänge 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]) […] , Leipzig; 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.

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. He was unsurprisingly critical of the Catholic practice, in which “die vermeinte[n] un[d] falsch=genandten 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 zubehähupten”. 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 gespöttete 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 gestifttet 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

\[\text{NUPTIALIA, ‘Die 17. Predigt’}. \text{The sermon was held in church the day following the ‘Trauung’: ‘weil wir jetzto eben einen solchen Breutigam in dieser Kirchen haben / der nichtalleine nach Gottes wunderbahrer Schickung / zum anfang seines Predigampts / an einen solchen ort / ordentlicher weise beruffen ist / da er beydes in der Schuel und Kirche dem HERRN Christo dienen sol / sondern auch mit eines ehrlichen und ehlichen Priesters Kinde gestericths Tages ehelich vertrawet worden ist’}.\]

\[\text{656 Strigenitz, VOTA NUPTIALIA, Leipzig: 1617, ‘Vorrede an den Christlichen Leser’}.\]
seiner Lehre der leibhaftige 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 wehrenden Ehestande gegen einander erzeigen und verhalten sollen”. In verse 18, Strigenitz sees “zwey Stücke / die König Salomo zu seiner zeit einem zukünftigen Breutigam gewünschet hat”: his own ‘Brunnen’ and a wife. The first of these is interpreted metaphorically as meaning “Ein eigen Haß und geseegnete 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:

\[\text{Letare, frewe dich / sagt Salomon / wenn dir GOtt ein Weib mit Ehren / mit wissen und willen deiner und ihrer Freundchaft bescheret hat / so frewe dich von Hertzen / und dancke GOtt dafür / sey nicht bekümmert und trawrig / frewe dich / erstlich in Datore, in dem HErrn / Der dir solch Weib geben und bescheret hat. Darnach In dono über der Gabe / und über dem Geschencke / denn alle fromme}\]

\(^ {657}\) Strigenitz, CERVA CHARISSIMA, ‘Vom ersten Pünctlein’.

\(^ {658}\) Strigenitz, CERVA CHARISSIMA, ‘Von andern Pünctlein’.
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 Brueitigam gewesen ist / hat vertrawen 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 ihm an seinem Weibe genügen / sich ihre Liebe sättigen 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 zeiget er auch an / wie lange solches wehren solle / bestimmmt ihm gar einen wunderlichen und gewissen Termin : Wie heisset er? Allezeit / Allewege / denn so spricht er : Laß dich ihre Liebe allezeit sättigen, und ergötze 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 sanffmutig seyn / sich mit Freundligkeit zu ihrem Manne halten / in der Haußhaltung fleissig seyn / und ihm ursach geben zur Frewde und Liebe / und zur Ergetzligkeit”.

(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 semibreves 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 Israelsbrünlein 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 für 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 Israel’s brünlein 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 Israel’s brünlein, 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. 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. 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”. As Pelargus states, these verses were

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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 fürgestellet 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 verstorbenen Matron auch ein solches frommes / Tugendsames 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 Tugendspiegel hieran haben / Sondern alle Christliche Hertzen und Seelen / die da Gesponß unnd Bräute sein wollen daß heiligen Lambs / unnd von ihm zur himlischen Hochzeit 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 jetzt verlesen worden [the verses follow]: Allermassen wie es die Aufliegung mit mehren geben und zeigen wird. Dahero auch billich dieser Text vor vielen andern bey ihrem Leich=Begängnuß zuerörtern außerlesen worden / und meiner wenigen Person vor dißmahl zukommen”. Schlenckricht describes the text as “das hübsche Weiber=Lob / welches sich nicht unfüglich schicken wird auff heutiges gegenwärtiges Leich=Begängnuß / eines recht frommen Gottsfürchtigen Weibes [...] So Gott-selig 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 geführet 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 Erbarn / VielEhr unnd Tugendtreichen Frawen Catharinae Hartmannin [...] Frankfurt [Oder]: 1629[?].

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 Schminkne 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’.


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 seilig werden [...] So sind doch gute Wercke Zeugen eines waren rechtscchaffenen Glaubens”. Pelargus, Speculum Virtutum Matronalium, ‘Vom Andern’.

668 Schlenckricht, Hübsches Weiber=Lob, ‘Tractatio’.

231
ment to public praise: “Weil man denn auch Weibesbilder ihrer Werke halben loben soll / ge-
schiehet 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 devise 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 ne-
gated. 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’.

232
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’):

> Fallow 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 Hebräischen 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


\(^{672}\) 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, 1603³) 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.\textsuperscript{674} It is a setting for seven voices, characterised by a predominantly homophonic style of writing combined with antiphonal effects. Roth’s \textit{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 \textit{tutti} opening, the setting resorts to antiphonal effects. Verse 30b is sung without interruption firstly by a four-part ‘choir’,\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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


\textsuperscript{675} four-voice if the texted Bassis generalis, which at this point simply doubles the Tenor, is not taken to be an independent part.

opening. Roth completes his setting of this phrase by singling out the concluding ‘sol man lobe’, 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. Could some of the settings in Israelsbründlein have been subjected to a similar reworking? 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 Israelsbründlein, including ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’. 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 Israelsbründlein, the continuo part for ‘Lieblich und schöne sein’ contains in the upper left corner

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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.

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 “allßbaldt nach geendeter Predigt in ihren Namen durch zween discantisten vnd einen Bassisten vmb ihren noch=eröffneten Sarck 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 anzureißen 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*.


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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein). The text incipits in the three-part manuscript do not, however, correspond to the bass voice in Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein, the question of why the bass at the opening – before the Bassus voice enters – is an octave lower than in Israelsbrünlein remains to be answered. One possibility is that the indication ‘à 3’ referred to a performance for two upper voices, which sung 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 Israelsbrünlein, NGA bars 1-4) answered by the two upper voices with sung bass voice, reflecting the ‘lower’ ensemble in Israelsbrünlein (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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein 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. Schein’s setting of ‘Was betrübst du dich, meine Seele’ is divided into three parts, each of which is to be repeated. ‘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 deim 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 Israelsbrünlein 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,

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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.

238
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 stepwise 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 Schrifft...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

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by Gregor Strigenitz, held directly before a ‘Trauung’; by the sermon as still to come: “Damit wir nun gegenwärtigen 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 Israelsbrünlein. 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 begehen” – 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 begehen.

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 auftaktiges 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 Israelsbrünlein 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

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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’. 241
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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{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

\textsuperscript{692} Similar examples are found in other settings in \textit{Israelsbrännlein}. 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…’.\hfill 242
completed over 100 such works. 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. 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’.

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.

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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. 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. 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/polychoral 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 Israelsbrännlein, 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 celebriret” 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 / bishero 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

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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 Krafftsprüchlein were composed originally for occasions such as funerals and weddings, their collection and publications as Israelsbrünlein might have been with multiple functions in mind. Schein acknowledges as much in his preface, stating that one reason for the publication of Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein 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”. 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”. 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. The metre and the rhyme scheme were left to the author; a concluding rhyming couplet was desirable, but not a requirement. 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.

As Alfred Einstein wrote, the cinquecento madrigal, as a literary form, was “as it were made to order for music”. 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...
literarische Madrigalbegriff [steht] nur in verhältnismäßig lockerer Verbindung zum musikalischen Begriff eines polyphonen mehrstimmigen profanen Gesanges”. 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”. 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.

As Susan Lewis Hammond writes, the “Italian madrigal was Italy’s most successful musical export of the sixteenth century”. 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 villanelles from 38 composers, with Luca Marenzio by far the most represented composer. 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. In addition to the publication of Italian madrigals in Germany, German musicians composed and published their own works modelled on Italian

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706 Schulz-Buschhaus, Das Madrigal, p. 13, footnote 16.


709 Hammond, Editing Music in Early Modern Germany, p. 2.


madrigals. Some German composers, such as Lechner and Hassler, set Italian texts; more common however was the adoption of the musical language of the Italian madrigal for settings of German texts. 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. A further manner in which Italian secular compositions were made known in Germany was as contrafacta with German texts. Valentin Diezel, for example, issued in 1624 an anthology of “lieblicher, welscher Madrigalien, auss den berühmtesten Musicis italicis mit allem Fleiss zusammen col-ligirt, […] darunter deutsche weltliche Text applicirt”. 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. As he summarises, “Der ausdrückliche Bezug der Komponisten aufs Madrigal, die Fülle der Belege und deren stilistische Gemeinsamkeiten berechtigen dazu, das deutsche

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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.


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-Mazar 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-Mazar 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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein 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 ‘Israelsbrünlein’, zeigt Scheins geniale Fähigkeit der Verknüpfung der beiden pola-


\(^{723}\) 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 einchörig, 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”).
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 *Israelsbrünlein*. 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 *Israelsbrünlein*. 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”.

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”. Wolfram Steude has likewise questioned Hammerstein’s approach, expressing doubt that the similarities between Monteverdi

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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 Israelsbrünnlein was by no means unique amongst German publications in emphasising 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 Israelsbrünnlein to the Leipzig council – his Theatrum Amoris, a collection of “NEwe / Teutsche / Amorosische Gesäng / mit schönen / lustigen Texten”.731 Like Schein’s Krafftsprüchlein, 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 Israelsbrünnlein 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.


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. 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 *Newe kurzweilige Teutsche Liedlein*, 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’.

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 flieessen, sorgfältig zu unterscheiden zwischen dem Madrigal als Dichtungsform und dem Madrigal als musikalischer Gattung”. 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”. 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*,

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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. 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 gravitetiche weltliche Texte haben”, Michael Praetorius, who had dedicated the second part of his Syntagma Musicum to the Leipzig Stadtrat, includes madrigals under the rubric of “Gesängen/ welche weltliche possirliche Texte in gewissen Versen haben: Als /Madrigalia Stanza, Sestini und Sonetti”. 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…”. Suggesting that the “Text meistentheils aus dem Francisco Petrarcha, Bocatio, Petro Bembo, und Dante, genommen seyn”, he includes as an example Petrach’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 reyhen geschrieben / und vom Componisten zur Harmoni gesetztet werden / so nennet was es Madrigalia Spiritualia”. 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

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.
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 kurz gefaßt und nachdencklich gemacht sein muß / so ist es nichts anders / als ein Epigramma, darinnen man offternals 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 einztigen 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 dörffen 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 eilffsylbichte 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 kürzesten 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.
zechen oder eilff Sylben [...] haben”. 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 ungeraunt lassen / gleich als ob es vergessen worden”. 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 Mazarini” as “du Pfaffen=Knecht”, guilty of “allen diesen Sachen / die Franckreich müube machen”.

5.4 Excurs: Schein’s own sacred texts

24 of the 26 texts which Schein set in Israelsbrünnlein are German Bible verses, and as such cannot be termed madrigals in the sense of Heinrich Schütz’s Genus poeseos or Praetorius ‘Nommen Poematis’; neither do they fit Praetorius’ allowance for spiritual madrigals, “in so viel reymen oder reynen 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. 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”. Basil Smallman comments on the similarity between the imagery found in Schein’s ‘Mein Schifflein lief im wilden Meer’ and Lechner’s ‘Come nave


748 As Vossler observed: “Vielleicht nicht der Einzige, aber jedesfalls der Bedeutendste der mit Bewusstsein dannach 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.

ch’in mezzo all’onde sia’, the latter published in 1579.\textsuperscript{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 eintzigen 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”.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Hirtten und Schäfer mit der Sachpfeiffen ihren Schäfflein vorzupfeiffen pflegen”.\textsuperscript{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 Israelsbrünlein 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.

\textsuperscript{750} Smallman, ‘The Madrigal in Germany’, p. 15.

\textsuperscript{751} Hammond, \textit{Editing Music in Early Modern Germany}, p. 86.


\textsuperscript{753} Praetorius, \textit{Syntagmatis Musici [...] Tomus Tertius}, p. 12.
Two texts in Israelsbrünnlein are exceptional, in that they are not “Krafftsprüchlin altes und neuen Testaments” but freely composed texts, presumably by Schein himself. 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 gemeinesten sind von 7. 8. 9. 10. oder 11. Versen”. The first verse, with its seven syllables and accented penultimate, recalls the settenario characteristic of Italian verse:

Ach Herr, ach meiner schone  
nach deim 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. 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 deim 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.

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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 Israelsbrünnlein 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 außgeleschet / und ihren Glauben und vertrawen 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 feurigen vergifpte 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

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river: “Alsbald es Filli ward ansicht, sein gülden Pfeil es auf sie richt, ihr Herzlein inflammie-ret”. Schein sets here the word “Pfeil” with a rapidly descending figure, surely meant as a musical depiction of the shooting arrow.\textsuperscript{760}

\textit{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’:

\textit{Israelsbrünlein}, ‘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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Musica boscareccia} shows just how readily pastoral imagery could be adapted from the secular to the sacred. The three-part pastoral villanellas of \textit{Musica boscareccia} (1621; 1626; 1628) were republished (1644-51) with sacred texts as \textit{Musica boscareccia sacra}. A poem in this print addresses the sacred transformation of pastoral imagery.\textsuperscript{762} Christ slips into the role of the shepherd (“mein Hirt”), watching over his sheep, pastures, hills and woods (“Deine Schafe/ deine Felder/ Deine

\textsuperscript{760} Described by Praetorius (Syntagmatis Musici [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 236) as \textit{Tirata}: “\textit{Tirata: Sind lange geschwinde Läufflin / so gradatim gemacht werden/ und durchs Clavier hinauff oder hervnter lauffen. Je geschwinder und schärffer nun diese Läufflein gemacht werden/ doch also das man eine jede Noten recht rein hören und fast vernemen kan: Je besser und anmütiger es sein wird”.

\textsuperscript{761} Cf. John 10.11-18.

Berge/ deine Wälder”). This probably explains why ‘O Herr Jesu Christe’ is the only text in Israelsbrännlein 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 Lucovico 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 / zwei / dreyen und vier Stimmen cum Basso generali pro Organo […] in druck herfür kommen lassen / Concertos, concentus ac Motettas indifferentere nennen und inscribirn”.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.
andern 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”.

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 Orandi de Lasso auff Muteten Art” with settings of the same chorales “mit 5. Stimmen ad imitationem Lucae Marentij und anderer Italorum auff Madrigalische Art”.

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”:


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.\(^\text{768}\) 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 $\text{C}$, quo signantur Motetae”.\(^\text{769}\) 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.\(^\text{770}\) 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 “alla semibreve” for everything else, in which there are “mehr schwarze als weisse Noten”. Viadana used $\text{C}$ for all works with text and $\text{C}$ for works without.\(^\text{771}\) Still others mix up the signatures arbitrarily.\(^\text{772}\) Praetorius himself states that he prefers $\text{C}$ for “Motetten, so uff des Orlandi de Lasso … Art gesetzet” 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 ($\text{C}$) 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


\(^{769}\) 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 $\text{C}$, im andern das C. vnnnd 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{774} As Praetorius writes, anyone can judge this for themselves on the basis of the text and the harmony.\textsuperscript{775}

5.6 “\textit{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


\textsuperscript{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 allbdann 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.

\textsuperscript{775} “Es kann aber ein jeder den Sachen selbstn nachdencken / und \textit{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 noch nicht sonderlich bekant”. Schein takes the phrase “Italiänische…anmutige Manier” – which recalls the formulation “auf eine sonderbar Anmutige Italian Madrigalische Manier” on the title page of Israelsbrünnlein – to refer to the manner of the performance, to the manner of ornamentation characteristic of contemporary Italian vocal music:

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-Stimme” he writes: “Darumb muß man zu diesen Stimmen die besten Cantores und Sänger 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 Sänger / 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 anmüti zu hören seyn / als offt=mals andere / die viel diminuirens als

776 Demantius shows that the term ‘Läuflein’ was used as a German translation of ‘Diminutiones’ or ‘Colloraturen’: “Diminutiones sind Läuflein im Gesang sonstigen 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.
passaghyns, 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-manier’; 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

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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).


782 By discussing the “Italiänische…annutige Manier” in Diletti pastorali, a collection of five-part compositions “Auff Madrigal-manier Componirt”, Schein tacitly associated the one with the other.


5.6.1 ‘Anmut’: The Execution of a Composition in Performance

Schein writes that the compositions in Israelsbrümmllein 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 pro- / nunciiren, 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 Musica- / ntten nicht allein singen / besondern Künstlich und anmütig singen : Damit das Hertz der Zuhö- / rer gerühret / und die affectus beweget werden / und also der Gesang seine Endschafft / dazu er / gemacht / und dahin er gerichtet / erreichen möge”.785 Praetorius shows that, while ‘Lieblich- / keit’ 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 Verstände / 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 apposité, 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 derrmassen verderben und verdunkeln / 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 weiniger verstehen kan.  

The true goal of the singer was therefore ‘Anmütig singen’. The voice’s natural ‘Liebligkeit’ 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 passaggi: read in these terms, Schein’s reference to the ‘anmütige’ Manier could suggest a reference to the science of performance, a science that is in Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein compositions. The first word of its dedication is ‘Madrigale’, suggesting a connection with the Israelsbrünlein works, each of which is individually labelled with this term. It was composed in 1615, before Schein’s move to Leipzig, “Auff den frölichen Geburts-tag” of “Herrn Fridrichen, Hertzogen zu Sachßen”, whom Schein describes as his “gnedigen fürsten vnndt 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=psälmlein”, in the Mixolydian mode, the mode which, as the two settings in this mode from Israelsbrünlein 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”

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787 Praetorius, Syntagmatis Musici [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 229-230.

788 Theis 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 ‘Avertismento’ from *Diletti pastorali* with “die Italiänische jetzo gebräuchliche anmutige manier zu singen”, with the “sonderbar Anmutige 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:

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 *Diletti pastorali* (as ‘O Amarilli zart’). See Werbeck, ‘Gabrieli-Schule’.

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 Lucæ 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’

‘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 aß die *Tremoli* angeschlagen werden". 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”. 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:

![Musical notation](image)

*Andrea Gabrieli, ‘Canzon detta QUI LA DIRA’*

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:

![Musical notation](image)

*‘Siehe an die Werk Gottes’, Cantus II und Altus, bars 12-14*

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791 Praetorius, Syntagmatis Musici [...] Tomus Tertius, p. 236.

792 Demantius, ISAGOGE ARTIS MUSICÆ.

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.

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”. 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’:

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 Israelsbrünnlein. 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

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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 Israelbrünnlein 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’:

![Musical notation for 'Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herrn', Cantus II, bars 5-6]

‘Ihr Heiligen, lobsinget dem Herrn’, Cantus II, bars 5-6

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:
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:
The word ‘Weinen’ is found multiple times in the *Israelsbrünnlein* 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”. 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 fröhlichen Wiederkunft in ihr Vaterland [...] wir auch dieses Gleichnis auff die geistliche und himlische Saat unnd Erndte der Christen deuten / und lernen wollen / wie wir die betrübte Saatzeit in dieser Welt recht gebrauchen sollen / damit eine fröhliche Erntde darauf 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.

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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 melismatically, 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’

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, lobsinget 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

\[\text{\textit{Herr, laß meine Klage}}, \text{ bar 28}\]

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 Israelsbrünlein 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, undorned 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 ‘krümmet-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):

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\begin{align*}
\text{Herr/ laß meine Klage für dich kommen/}
\end{align*}
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could, for example, be performed like this:

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\begin{align*}
\text{Herr/ laß meine Klage für dich kommen/}
\end{align*}
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Why did Schein notate this figure where he did? The first notated instance of the ‘krümmet-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’, combines with the rapid, rhythmic descent to suggest a dramatic musical depiction of ‘Erreten’. In Luther’s commentary to this psalm, however, the following word ‘Worte’, the word which Schein repeatedly decorated with the ‘krümmet-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

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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 dies / daß derselbe ... vom Herrn D. Luthero seliger gedechnüß in seinem Pathmo unter dem Reichetag / der Anno Christi 1521. zu Worms gehalten worden / mit Kirchen Scholiis erklärert / 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 anbefehlet[.]

Luther, in a commentary to this psalm, places this passage firmly in the context of the Lutheran Rechtfertigungslehre:


The contrast is made between redemption through one’s own works and redemption through the word of God, ‘nach deiner Rede’. 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”.

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 reformirt ist, ist alle Reformation der Sitten vergeblich. Ich schieße auf alle Ceremonien, die nicht aufs Wort gegründet sind, die Papisten haben überhaupt niemals etwas Rechtes über Ceremonien gelehr. Wer die Kirche haben will, der halte sich ans Wort, durchs Wort wird alles gerettet.

798 Schneider, for Gertrud.
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.
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:
‘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 ‘krümmet-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 ‘krümmet-figure’, but with the neighbouring notes in quavers. Given that two voices are decorated here, was the quaver melisma more suitable than the ‘krümmet-figure’, which may have been more suitable for application to a single voice?  

803 As seen above, however, Schein does in fact apply the ‘krümmet-figure’ to two voices simultaneously. See the setting of ‘Weinen’ in ‘Herr, laß meine Klage’.

286
‘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 *Israelsbrännlein*. While sermons preached by Vincentius Schmuck and Thomas Weinrich, in 1621 806 and 1622 807 respectively, begin with verse 15 (starting with ‘Meine Augen sehen stets zu dem HErrn’), 808 other sermons, including sermons by Polycarp Leiser from 1618 809 and 1620 810, 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.


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.


810 Leiser, for Georg Olfelds
which these verses were preached upon at funerals. In this case, the deceased had “sich dessen die zeit seines Lebens gerne gebrauchet / 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 Herzesterckung / der sich ein jeder glaubiger Christ gebrauchen / und damit sein Herz nicht allein im Leben / sondern auch mitten im Tode zu frieden stellen kan. Daher auch unsere liebe Vorfahren verursachet 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 höchstwürdigen Abendmals / auf eine selige Hinfahrt præparirt und gefast machen lassen.

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 Handelsmannes in Leipzig”, held on 12 April 1622:


Schmuck confirms that such “Jammer und Elend” were part of Christian experience: “das Creutz unter den Christen herumb gehe / dermassen / daß je grösse Heilige / je grösser Creutz gemeiniglich zu seyn pfleget / gleich wir man sagt / je lieber Kind / je schärffer Ruthe”. 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:

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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/
as 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:

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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 minimis, 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 ornamented\(^{818}\): additional semiquavers give the melisma the melodic and rhythmic profile of the ‘krümmet-figure’:

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 passeggioniren”. 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 *Israelsbrünnlein*. 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. 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). ‘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 ‘krümmet-figure’; unlike the ‘krümmet-figure’, however, the semiquavers are here descending, describing with the following crotchet the interval of a diminished fifth:

\[ \text{Canto I} \]

\[ \text{Hoffe auf den Herrn, Canto I, bars } 1-3 \]

Further examples of the ‘krümmet-figure’ are found in Diletti pastorali. In ‘Mein Schifflein lief im wilden Meer’, Schein uses melismatic figures as a means of text-depiction. 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 ‘krümmet-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 ‘krümmet-figure’, found three times in the upper voice on the word ‘verschossen’ (from bar 13).  

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819 From bar 31. NGA 10.2.  
820 NGA 10.4.  
821 NGA 8.9.  
While the ‘krümmet-figure’ features prominently as a cadential decoration in *Israelsbrünlein*, it is not the only such decoration used. Various compositions by Schein, including settings from *Israelsbrünlein*, 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 *Israelsbrünlein* 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

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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.
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*. 
For Irmgard Hammerstein, Schein was instrumental in the development of the ‘Deutsches Geistliches Madrigal’, and Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Lüstgarten, 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.


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 kömmt nun (4.) daß bißhero vielfeltig zu Privat-Musiken nicht mehr (wie die Schul-Leges wol vermögen) acht Concentores inclusus Praefecto, bey den fürfallenden Conviviis Civium (dann der Magistratus Ampliss. hierunter billich auszuschiessen) 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 Ficus Musicus, wovon sich die anderen Kantorei-Knaben zu ihrer notprüfftiglichen 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

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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, cites a description of Luther’s musical table habits:


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.

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

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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.


did not stretch to “köstliche Muteten, Psalmen oder dergleichen Kunststücke”.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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


\textsuperscript{836} Morche describes in this context Sigismondo d’India’s \textit{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 sonst 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 ergetzligkeit 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 Concentuum 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 Freundschafft 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 / Mitführeret / das Gehirne / mit dene sie sonderliche vereinigung hat / stercket


838 Christoph Demantius, Convivalium concenita farrago In Welcher Deutsche Madrigalia / Canzonette und villanellen / Mit Sechs Stim[m]en /Zusampt einem Echo und zweyen Dialogis mit Acht Stim[m]en verfasset / 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 Conversatione ac Conviviis neben freundlichen gesprochen 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 “Conversatione 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 ungeräumpt Geist= unter Weltliche / ja wie etliche meinen / unter Buhlen=Lieder / gemischt; so bedencket/ wie es mit Ew- rem eigenen Leben beschaffen/ die Ihr offt 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 fröliches Stündlein der Güte Gottes allein zuschreiben / und wer etwas Liebes suchet/ im gleichen solches mit Gott anfagen/ 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 Nachbarschaft” who was father to five daughters:

weil er ein liebhaber der Musikken / hat er sie auch alle Fünffe nebeneinander in figural also abgerichtet / daß er mit inen zu hausse / in seinem Hauskirchlein841 / nach Tische / und sonst en pro occasione, GOD


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 zusammentreten kommen / ihr Quatuor und Quinq; in figural, auch ohne anderer hülfte dahin singen / und ihre Musicam richtig haben können.  

In the same sermon, the preacher comments on music’s role as an adornment of social gatherings alongside its place in church:


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. Stylistic similarities between this composition and many of the settings from Israelsbrünlein 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


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.  

The following ‘also ziert 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 Israelsbrünlein 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 gelehren

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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’, the gathering place of the city’s educated elite, as the location of daily meetings and frequent music.

An diesem Marcht 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 Gleiht und Zoll eingenommen wirdt.

Über der Woge ist der Herrn Trinck Stuben, da fast alle tage umb lust und ergezligkeit willen zusammenkommen die fürnehmen Bürger, Rathherrn, Doctores, Magistri, Edel und Kauffleut, so inn die Brüderschaft gehören. Do mag ein izlicher nach seiner gelegenheit mit dem andern schwatzen, spielen und zechen. Do werden oft stattliche Pancket und herliche Collation gehalten und die Geste nach dem herlichsten gespeiset, darbey Cantores, Organisten, Stadtpfeiffer und andere Musici, so die Geste leichtsin-nig unnd frölich machen. Es mus sich aber ein jeder nach der Stuben Ordnung züchtig und friedlich vorhalten, wer darweider thut, wirdt von den Stuben Herrn und Eltisten gestrafft.

“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.

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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 Hochweisens Raths Trinckstübners…Tochter”. See Schein NGA 10.61 (p. 117).


848 Karl Große agrees that the Trinkstube was the gathering place for Leipzig’s elite: “Der Hauptvergnügungs, 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 Pelzhause, 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 *Cyclopem* Meynung) auch ohne Fiedeln und Pfeiffern 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 gediendet (denn die übrigen sind eben nicht viel nüze 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 Mäusen\(^{851}\) durch und durch zerfressen.


\(^{851}\) 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. 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 gebrauchet’ 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 positiv organ for the realisation of the figured bass. 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 repertory. 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, 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.

copied by multiple writers around 1630. Of the 14 motets contained in these partbooks, nine are by Schein, eight of these from *Israelsbrünnlein*. 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’ 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. 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”. Gerber gives three examples of such motets which he knew from his youth:


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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 moritus 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 Clausbruch in 1628, NGA 10.2.

858 The reference here to the performance of motets ‘auf der Gasse vor denen Häuern’ 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...\textsuperscript{859}

The latter two of Gerber’s examples were set by Schein in \textit{Israelsbrünlein}. 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!”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{861} Bolin states that the decline of vocal music at funerals from the end of the seventeenth century was by 1750 essentially complete:


The changing role of music at funerals would account for the eventual decline and demise of \textit{Israelsbrünlein} 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.


\textsuperscript{860} Ratzmann (ed.), \textit{Gerbers ‘Historie der Kirchen-Ceremonien in Sachsen’}, p. 69.

\textsuperscript{861} Norbert Bolin, ‘Sang- und klaglos?’, p. 414. See also Moore, \textit{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, \textit{The Reformation of the Dead}, chapter three.

\textsuperscript{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 Israelsbrünlein might have functioned. I have been able to show that a number of texts which Schein set in Israelsbrünlein were selected as Leichensprüche for funerals in the years immediately prior to the dedication of Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein also featured as funeral texts, I have argued that many of the Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein. 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\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{863} See Craig J. Westendorf, \textit{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 Israelsbrünlein 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 Israelsbrünlein. 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 Calemberg, 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 Israelsbrünlein, 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 Israelsbrünlein compositions, suggesting that the application of such ornamentation, possibly the result of the influence of Caccini’s Le nouveau musique 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 *Israelsbrünlein* 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 “gefehrlichen 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 ecclesiæ 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 *Israelsbrünlein* 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

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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 - ????).

one of “die Kirchen / und Schuldieners” 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.\textsuperscript{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 students of Schein.

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\textsuperscript{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 *Israelsbrünlein* 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 *Israelsbrünlein*, the texts of some of which can be shown to have been preached upon in Leipzig funeral sermons in the years preceding *Israelsbrünlein*’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 *Israelsbrünlein* 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 *Israelsbrünlein* 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 *Israelsbrünlein* 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 ‘Krafftsprüchlein’. 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 Krafftsprüchlein 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 Krafftsprüchlein componiren, revidiret, 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 “Krafftsprüchlein”. 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?” 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.

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).
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