Cultures of Music Print in Hamburg, ca. 1550-1630

by

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Abstract

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This dissertation investigates the intersections of music, print, devotion, and city culture in Hamburg around 1600, a period of general prosperity for the city that also saw a new flourishing of the print industry throughout Germany. The time period under consideration begins with the debut of printed Lutheran hymnals in Hamburg at mid-century, and culminates in the career of Hieronymus Praetorius (1560-1629), whose publications of sacred polyphony were among the first of their kind in the North. Hamburg is chosen not only because of its prominence as a musical center, but also because of its autonomous political position as a Hanseatic city, which distinctly influenced the cultural climate in which this music originated.

Combining methodologies of cultural history and the sociology of texts with traditional methods of musical and textual analysis, I link the upsurge of Hamburg's musical cultures around 1600 to the contemporary flowering of print and the book in the German-speaking lands. Musical books – hymnals, liturgical compendia, printed collections of vocal polyphony, and pamphlets containing occasional motets – took part in larger cultural programs of devotional education, both in the humanistic climate of the

Latin school and in vernacular Protestant lay culture. At the same time, these works and the music they contained were integral expressions of a Hanseatic civic culture that exulted in autonomy, yet freely adopted aristocratic modes of representation and ceremonial. The printed vocal works of Hieronymus Praetorius and his son Jacob Praetorius (1586-1651) take center stage in my investigation, both because of the instrumental role of these composers in the musical life of Hamburg around 1600 and because of their legacies in musical print. In particular, case studies of Hieronymus's three motet collections (*Cantiones sacrae*, 1599, 1607, and 1622; *Cantiones variae*, 1618; *Cantiones novae officiosae*, 1625) and Jacob Praetorius's individually printed wedding motets (1601-1635) delineate essential characteristics of the function of the motet in early modern North Germany. Taking surviving imprints as its starting point, then, this study essays a cultural history of music in Hamburg, offering a new perspective on one of North Germany's leading musical cities at a pivotal period.

Dedicated to the memory

of my grandfathers

Joseph Movshin

(1917-1980)

Signal Corps veteran, industrial engineer

and

Michael Criscuola

(1911-1972)

ocean fisherman

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NOTE ON BIBLICAL TRANSLATIONS

All English translations of Biblical passages adapted from the Revised Standard Version (RSV) unless otherwise noted. Psalms are numbered according to the system of the Hebrew Bible, as was the practice in early Lutheran Germany.

GUIDE TO ABBREVIATIONS

The following bibliographical abbreviations are used in the footnotes:

CMM	Corpus mensurabilis musicae, 110 vols. American Musicological Society, 1954-2008.
DDT	Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst, 1. Folge, 65 vols. Leipzig : Breitkopf & Hartel, 1892-1931.
Göhler	Göhler, Albert. *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien.* Leipzig: In Kommission bei C. F. Kahnt Nachf., 1902.
LW	Luther, Martin. *Works (American Edition),* 55 vols. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955-1986.
MAMS	Monumenta artis musicae Sloveniae, 43 vols. Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1983-2002.
Michael Praetorius, *Werke*	*Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius*, 22 vols. Edited by Friedrich Blume. Wolfenbüttel: Georg Kallmeyer Verlag, 1928-40.

RISM A/I	Répertoire internationale des sources musicales, ser. A/I: Einzeldrucke vor 1800. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971-.
RISM B/I	Répertoire internationale des sources musicales, ser. B/I: Recueils imprimés, XVIe-XVIIe siècles. Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1960-.
RRMBE	Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 153 vols. Edited by Christoph Wolff. Madison: A-R Editions, 1964-.
RRMR	Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, 151 vols. Edited by James Haar. Madison: A-R Editions, 1966-.
Wackernagel	Philipp Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, 5 vols. Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von B.G. Teubner, 1864-1877.
WA	*D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe)*, 65 vols. Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883-2003.
Heinrich Schütz, *Werke*	Heinrich Schütz, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, 40 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955-.

INTRODUCTION: MUSIC IN HANSEATIC HAMBURG

> In düssen iaren anno 1500. bet to den iaren 1530, ja bet in de iare 40 ok 50 is Hamborch hoch gewesen unde mechtigen gebowet und vorbetert mit wallen, graven, müren, und velen nyen hüsen mit groter kostbarkeit, also dat dejenen, de Hamborch vor etliken iaren geseen hadden, mösten seggen, Hamborch were nu genzliken umgekeret unde vernyet werden.
>
> In these years from 1500 to 1530, even up through 1540 and 1550, Hamburg grew, and was greatly built up and improved with ramparts, moats, walls, and many new houses, at considerable expense; so that those who had seen Hamburg several years before would have to say it was completely changed and renewed.[1]

In the sixteenth century, Hamburg was the largest of the Hanseatic cities of Northern Europe, and the wealthiest port city in the German empire. The citywide construction of new buildings, church towers, and fortifications – the latter a particularly impressive project that lasted almost thirty years – reflected Hamburg's economic growth. Its population more than doubled between the years 1500 (15,000 inhabitants) and 1600 (40,000), swelled by an influx of immigrants from the Low Countries – many of them members of the wealthy merchant classes.[2] The city's powerful merchant guilds, founded in the Middle Ages, traded in grain, beer, meat, fish, textiles, and wood with England, the Low Countries, and Scandinavia, including Iceland. The first mercantile exchange on German soil opened in Hamburg in 1558, by the Trostbrücke, just beside the old Rathaus. And the economic growth continued into the next century, even in the shadow of the Thirty Years' War. Thanks to the further expansion of the city walls in 1615 by the Dutch engineer Johann van

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[1] Anonymous sixteenth-century chronicler, quoted in Ernst Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit* (Hamburg: Friedrichsen, de Gruyter, & Co., 1930), 4.

[2] Population data is taken from Eckart Nissle, "Hamburg in der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs" (*Magisterarbeit*, Universität Hamburg, 1990), 1-7, and from the chart in Fiona Kisby, ed., *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 3.

Valckenburgh, the city weathered the war virtually unscathed. Between 1600 and 1620, the population grew to 54,000 with the arrival of more immigrants: Portuguese Jews, Dutch Catholics, and German refugees seeking protection, and English Merchant Adventurers (who first arrived 1611) seeking profit.[3] Almost no other Northern city could boast such a combination of security and prosperity, even during this time of trouble.

As a Hanseatic city, Hamburg upheld longstanding traditions of commerce, autonomy, and civic pride. *Hansa* originally denoted the loose trade alliance among Northern European cities, founded in the twelfth century and active as a major commercial power in Europe throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[4] Originally, the cities of the Hansa covered a vast area that reached from the coast of the North Sea northward to Scandinavia, southward into Saxony, and eastward to the Baltic lands. By the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the Hanseatic League as a commercial organization had lost much of its power, and it was officially dissolved in 1669. Yet even after this decline, the cities that had been its members retained key similarities in culture, religion, and politics that set them apart from other European cities and continued to define them as Hanseatic. These cities made up a culturally unified "North Germany" that reached far beyond the borders of modern-day Germany.[5]

This cultural unity resulted primarily from the combination of Protestant confession and political autonomy. The Hanseatic cities quickly accepted the

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[3] Nissle, "Hamburg in der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs," 1-7.
[4] Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa,* translated and edited by D. S. Ault and S. H. Steinberg (London: Macmillan, 1970), xviii-xix.
[5] Geoffrey Webber, *North German Church Music in the Age of Buxtehude* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 2, and Joachim Kremer, "Change and Continuity in the Reformation Period: Music in North German Towns, 1500-1600," in *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, 130.

Reformation in the 1520s and 30s. At the same time, many became Free Imperial Cities, exempt from tolls and subject to the Holy Roman Emperor alone (whose attitude toward them, more often than not, was essentially *laissez-faire*). Most remained independent of local nobles and rulers. Hamburg was particularly notable in this regard, having been virtually free from any kind of princely control since 1460. Indeed, its longstanding history of autonomy, and the resulting absence of aristocratic influence within the city, inclined Jürgen Habermas to use it as a counterexample of bourgeois sociality, which, according to him, invariably forms in opposition to courtly or feudal authority.[6]

The status of Free Imperial City (*Freie Reichsstadt*) was officially conferred upon Hamburg in 1510 by Emperor Maximilian I, though the city had enjoyed *de facto* autonomy long before then. Even when the city was under the suzerainty of the Dukes of Schauenburg, Holstein, and Stormarn from 1228 to 1460, it was free from locally imposed taxes and tolls, and the dukes never required it to take an oath of feudal allegiance. When the Schauenburg dynasty died out in 1460, King Christian I of Denmark took over the title of Duke of Holstein, and attempted unsuccessfully to win the city's allegiance, though the City Council did pledge to remain loyal to the Danish crown as equals.[7] Although some tensions with the Danish crown persisted well into the seventeenth century, Hamburg was successful in remaining autonomous.

The freedom from princely authority in Hamburg and other Hanseatic cities, coupled with a strong city government and a vital merchant class, profoundly

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[6] "Thus, the 'capitalists,' the merchants, bankers, entrepreneurs, and manufacturers (at least where, unlike in Hamburg, the towns could not maintain their independence from the territorial rulers) belonged to that group of the 'bourgeois' who, like the new category of scholars, were not really 'burghers' in the traditional sense." Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society,* translated by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1991), 23.

[7] Nissle, "Hamburg in der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs," 51.

influenced the city's musical life. Music in Hamburg did not belong to any one institution, nor to any single ruling figure; it was a property of the city as a whole, and redounded to the glory of the city as a whole. Like the city minstrels (*Stadtpfeifer*), who played for official civic functions, the organists and singers in churches were, ultimately, employees of the city government; even choirboys from the Johanneum, the city's Latin school, received pay for their singing. The city Cantor, though based at the Johanneum and active there as the main teacher of music, directed the music at all the city churches in rotation, especially when elaborate polyphony was called for on feast days and other important occasions. Music also echoed in the public spaces of the city when the *Stadtpfeifer* played in parades and wedding processions and when poorer children sang for money in the streets as part of the *Currende* and *Chorus symphoniacus*.[8] A travel guide of 1657 testified to the ubiquity of music in Hamburg when it offered "a useful and serviceable guide to when and where in this excellent and world-famous city of Hamburg one can hear glorious and well-ordered music all year round, to one's heart's content."[9]

Hamburg's musical primacy in North Germany in the seventeenth century is well known. It was renowned, then as now, for its fine organs and famous organists. Arp Schnitger's organs for St. Jacobi and St. Nikolai were among the largest and finest of their kind, while Hieronymus Praetorius, his sons Jacob and Johann, and later Heinrich Scheidemann and Matthias Weckmann, were among the most

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[8] On the *Currenden*, groups of poorer schoolchildren who sang for money at weddings, funerals, and from door to door, see John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 4, and Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1969), 671-2.

[9] "… eine nütz- und dienliche Anweisung, welche Zeit und an was Ort, man allhier in dieser guten und weltberühmten Stadt Hamburg die herrliche und wohlbestallte Musik das ganze Jahr durch nach Herzenswunsch vergnüglich anhören kann." Quoted in Gisela Jaacks, *Hamburg zu Lust und Nutz: Bürgerliches Musikverständnis zwischen Barock und Aufklärung,* Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für hamburgische Geschichte, vol. 44 (Hamburg: Verein für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1997), 25.

celebrated organists in German-speaking Europe; their activities as composers and teachers established their reputation as founders of the North German organ school. Hamburg was also an important center of sacred music in the north, as several publications testify. Franz Eler's *Cantica sacra* (1588) and the *Melodeyen-Gesangbuch* (1604) both have an important place in the history of hymnody, the first as the standard source for liturgical chant in North Germany, and the second as one of the first collections of four-part hymn settings in the North. The five collections of polyphony that make up Hieronymus Praetorius's *Opus musicum* (published in several editions between 1599 and 1625) are among the finest examples of their kind from northern Europe. And much later in the sevebteenth century, Hamburg achieved a much different kind of musical fame when, in 1678, it became the home of the first public opera in northern Europe – an institution that later would attract to the city such notable composers as Georg Philipp Telemann and C.P.E. Bach.[10]

A brief tour through Hamburg's urban landscape around 1600 reveals that here, as in most Hanseatic cities, the principal civic institutions also supported the principal musical institutions. Early in its history, the city was two cities: the *Altstadt* surrounding the fortress of the Hammaburg, established in the eleventh century by the Archiepiscopate of Bremen, and the mercantile *Neustadt* founded by Duke Adolph III of Schauenburg in 1188. In 1216, the City Council passed a resolution to unite the *Altstadt* and *Neustadt*; a new Rathaus for both was constructed by the Trostbrücke, the bridge joining the two cities, in token "that Hamburg be one and remain one

[10] Eckhart Klessmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg* (Hamburg: Die Hanse, 2002), 214. On the Hamburg opera, see Dorothea Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbuhne. Barockes Musiktheater in Hamburg im Dienst von Politik und Diplomatie (1690-1745)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998).

forever" (*dat Hamborg eyn is unde eyn bliwen scal jummermeine*).[11] The central location of the Rathaus reflected the supremacy of the City Council as Hamburg's main governing body. Between 25 and 30 members, primarily from the upper merchant classes, sat on the Council, supervised by two to four *Bürgermeister*; these were supplemented in 1529 by a body of citizen representatives (*verordnete Bürger*, *erbgesessene Bürgerschaft*), who met in the nearby St.-Marien-Magdalenen-Kloster, a former Franciscan priory. This Rathaus remained in use until it was destroyed in the great city fire of 1842.

The Rathaus building itself and the adjoining square were important sites of interaction between the City Council and the populace, especially in the *Bursprake* (*Buhrsprache* or *Burgersprache*, "citizens' conversation") that was a bi-yearly tradition through 1810. On February 22 and and December 21 of each year – the pre-Reformation feast days of St. Thomas and St. Peter's Chair – new city ordinances were read aloud from the porch of the Rathaus while the dragoon corps paraded in the square to the sound of trumpets and drums. The music of the *Stadtpfeifer* could often be heard in the vicinity of the Rathaus, at the *Bursprake* and at other civic occasions of all kinds; their music confirmed the official, civic nature of every event in which they took part.[12]

Radiating south and eastward from the Rathaus, at a distance of about a third of a mile, were the churches of Hamburg (see Figure 0-1). Looking northwards from the harbor on the Elbe, one could see, from left to right, the towers of St. Nikolai, St. Katharinen, St. Petri, the cathedral St. Marien, and St. Jacobi – the distinguishing

[11] Klessmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg*, 32.
[12] On the participation of Stadtpfeifer at the *Bursprake* and other civic occasions, see Heinrich W. Schwab, "Zur Repräsentanz der Städte durch ihre Musiker," in *Studien zur Geschichte des Ostseeraumes II: Die Städte des Ostseeraumes als Vermittler von Kultur 1240-1720,* ed. Julia-K. Büthe and Thomas Riis (Odense: Odense University Press, 1997), 105.

Figure 0-1. View of Hamburg looking southwestward from the Alster, showing the towers (left to right) of St. Jacobi, St. Petri, the cathedral, the Johanniskloster, St. Katharinen, the Marien-Magdalenen-Kloster, St. Nikolai, and the Heiligen-Geist-Hospital. Engraving by Jan Dircksen, 1613. Image courtesy of the Staatsarchiv Hamburg.

features of the city skyline, then and now. St. Nikolai and St. Katharinen lay to the south of the Rathaus, alongside two of the numerous canals (*Fleete*) the branched off the river Elbe; St. Petri, the cathedral, and St. Jacobi stood to the east and slightly north. (A fifth parish, St. Michaelis, was incorporated in 1685 in the Neustadt, west of the Rathaus.) The locations of the four parish churches reflected the city's division into three social classes.[13] The parishes (*Kirchspiele, Carspele*) of St. Petri and St. Nikolai, as the oldest of the four parish churches and the closest to the Rathaus, were the wealthiest, made up of the members of the ruling merchant classes. St. Katharinen, the closest to the port, was frequented by the sailors, seafarers, and

[13] Nissle, "Hamburg in der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs," 10.

overseas merchants that made up the second class. St. Jacobi, the last of the churches to be built and the farthest from the city center, was the poorest of the four parishes, inhabited by the laborers and peasants who lived on the outskirts of town. A contemporary rhyme summed it up thus:

> Petri, de Rieken
> Nikolai, desglieken
> Kathrinen, de Sturen
> Jacobi, de Buren.
>
> Peter, the rich;
> Nicholas, likewise;
> Catherine, the proud;
> James, the farmers.[14]

These four parishes also served as the city's representative units. The *verordnete Bürger*, the body of citizen representatives to the Council, were made up of churchwardens, deacons, and subdeacons from each of the four parishes, and their assent was required for several legislative functions, including tax increases and declarations of war. The cathedral, however, remained independent from the city council; even after the cathedral chapter finally accepted the Protestant faith in 1564 (36 years after the other churches), it remained subject only to the archiepiscopal see of Bremen. In 1803 the chapter was dissolved, and the cathedral building itself – long since overrun by peddlers and vagrants – was gradually demolished between 1804 and 1807.[15]

The parish churches were the musical centers of the city, home to magnificent organs to which North Germany's best builders contributed: Hans Scherer the elder (d. 1611), Hans Scherer the younger (fl. 1600-1631), Gottfried Fritzsche (1578-1638),

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[14] Quoted in Friedrich Wittig, "Die alte St. Petrikirche," in *Die Hauptkirche St. Petri in Hamburg. Geshichte und Gegenwart*, edited by Carl Malsch (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 1974), 15. Wittig translates "de Sturen" as "de Stolzen" (the proud).
[15] Klessmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg*, 377-380.

Friedrich Stellwagen (d. 1659), and later, Arp Schnitger (1648-1719).[16] These instruments could be heard every day of the week, accompanying the Johanneum choirboys that sang the daily offices and Sunday Mass in their home parishes. Polyphony was performed regularly by choristers, organ, and city minstrels; although its performance was limited to high feast days in the 1590s, the frequency had increased to "occasionally" (*bisswylen*) by 1608.[17] When travelers of later years commented on the excellence of Hamburg's music, they most often meant church music; as William Carr noted in 1688, "They are great lovers of Musick, in so much that I have told [i.e., counted] 55 masters of severell sorts of Musick in one Church, besides those who were in the Organ gallery."[18]

Just off the southwestern-most bank of the Alster, roughly equidistant from St. Petri and St. Nikolai, stood the St.-Johannis-Kloster. At first a former Dominican priory, it was a popular venue for citizen assemblies in the Middle Ages and the early sixteenth century. In 1529 it became the home of the city's new Protestant Latin school, founded by Johannes Bugenhagen. The Johanneum, as it became known, overtook the cathedral school as the city's primary Latin school, though the latter remained open until the dissolution of the cathedral chapter in 1803. The school was headed by the Rector, the Subrector, and the city Cantor, in that order, and staffed by

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[16] Hans Scherer the Elder conducted repairs and expansions on the organs at St. Katharinen (1587-1588, 1590-1591), St. Jacobi (1588-1592), St. Petri (1603-1604), and St. Gertrude (1605-1607); Hans Scherer the Younger at St. Jacobi (1615-1630) and the hospital chapel of St. Georgen (1627-1628); Gottfried Fritzsche at all four of Hamburg's main churches between 1630 and 1635; and Friedrich Stellwagen, Fritzsche's son-in-law, at St. Katharinen (1644-1647). On these builders and their work, see Gustav Fock, "Hamburgs Anteil am Orgelbau in niederdeutschen Kulturgebiet," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 38 (1939), 321-354. Schnitger's rebuildings of the organs at St. Nicolai (1682-1687, no longer extant) and St. Jacobi (1689-1693) were among the largest and finest instruments he built; see Marie-Agnes Dittrich, "Orgelbau und Orgelmusik in Norddeutschland," in *Die Arp Schnitger-Orgel der Hauptkirche St. Jacobi in Hamburg*, edited by Heimo Reinitzer (Hamburg: Christians Verlag, 1995), 38-39.

[17] Liselotte Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation im XVII. Jahrhundert* (Strasbourg: Heitz & Co., 1930), 33 and 50.

[18] William Carr, *Remarks of the government of severall parts of Germanie, Denmark, Sweedland, Hamburg, Lubeck, and Hansiactique townes, but more particularly of the United Provinces: with some few directions how to travell in the States dominions: together with a list of the most considerable cittyes in Europe, with the number of houses in each citty* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1688), 157.

four *Lectores* or *Paedagogi*, one from each parish. These men taught the sons of wealthy burghers Latin, Greek, Hebrew, the catechism, the Bible, and music. Music played a particularly prominent role in the curriculum, since the school provided the choirboys who sang in the daily liturgies in the parish churches. Every day at noon, the Cantor was to teach "all the children, great and small, to sing – not only by rote, but also, with time, artistically; not only in plainchant but also in polyphony."[19] Because of the children's role in leading church services, it was felt to be in the city's best interest to ensure that they were "happy and well-versed in music" (*in Musica lustich vnnd woll gheoueth*).[20]

Beside its vital musical institutions, a wealth of important musical sources – Lutheran hymnbooks and service books, partbook collections, occasional pamphlets, and theory textbooks – make early-modern Hamburg a particularly fruitful field for musicological research. These musical works draw our attention to Hamburg's impressive output of all sorts of printed books around 1600, to which several important bibliographical studies attest.[21] Some seven hundred works, on topics ranging from theology to music to medicine, were printed in Hamburg during the first quarter of the seventeenth century alone, compared with only slightly more during the entire sixteenth century. As the city grew, its printed output became increasingly

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[19] "...allenn kynderenn grotenn vnnd klenenn / singhenn lerenn / nycht allene vth wonheyt / ßunder ock myth der tydt kunsthlick / nicht allene den langen ßanck / ßundern ock in figuratiuis." Johannes Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung 1529*, ed. and trans. by Hans Wenn and Annemarie Hübner (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 1976), 38.
[20] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 40.
[21] Johann Martin Lappenberg, *Zur Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Druck und Verlag von Johann August Meißner, 1840); Wilhelm Stieda, "Der Buchhandel und der Büchermarkt in Hamburg 1564-1864," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hamburgische Geschichte* 29 (1928), 112-163; Konrad Borchling and Bruno Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie: Gesamtverzeichnis der niederdeutschen Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800* (Neumunster: K. Wachholz Verlag, 1931-36); Werner Kayser and Klaus Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Mitteilungen aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, vol. 6 (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1968); and Werner Kayser, *Hamburger Bücher 1491-1850 aus der Hamburgensien-Sammlung der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg*, Mitteilungen aus der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, vol. 7 (Hamburg: Dr. Ernst Hauswedell & Co., 1973). On music printers and prints in particular, see Heinrich Hüschen, "Hamburger Musikdrucker und Musikverleger im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Nordeuropas: Kurt Gudewill zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Uwe Haensel (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler Verlag, 1978).

cosmopolitan, and increasingly marketable beyond the city walls. Latin and High German began to replace the Low German vernacular as the most commonly used languages in Hamburg imprints.[22] Learned works in a variety of disciplines took their place alongside the Low German chapbooks, prayerbooks, and catechisms that were the foremost printed products of most North German cities in the sixteenth century.

The evidence of book fair catalogues reflects both the greater number and wider marketability of books printed in Hamburg around 1600. Small numbers of publications from Hamburg appeared for the first time in the catalogues of the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fairs in 1586. From this year through about 1600, these catalogues featured no more than eight books printed in Hamburg per year, compared with around 10 to 20 per year from Nuremberg, 25 to 80 per year from Leipzig, and 50 to 150 per year from Frankfurt. In the first two decades of the seventeenth century, however, Hamburg's numbers increased markedly, averaging roughly sixteen listings per year.[23] This increase reflected the burgeoning print production that was taking place all over Germany.

As print flourished in Hamburg, the face of music print began to change. Vocal polyphony, instrumental dances, and occasional works replaced hymnbooks and unnotated songsheets as the musical stock-in-trade of Hamburg's best printers and publishers. Printed musical notation came late to Hamburg, as it did in much of northern Europe. The Lutheran hymnbooks published there in the mid-sixteenth century contained no notation at all, or else a small amount of notation in woodcut, and when movable music type first appeared in 1588 in Franz Eler's *Cantica sacra*

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[22] Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, 1.
[23] Calculated from data in Gustav Schwetschke, *Codex nundinarius Germaniae literatae bisecularis: Mess-Jahrbücher des deutschen Buchhandels von dem ersten Mess-Kataloges im Jahre 1564 bis zu der Grundung des ersten Buchhandler-Vereins im Jahre 1765* (Halle: G. Schwetchke's Buchhandlung und Verlagdruckerei, 1850).

and the third edition of Eucharius Hoffmann's *Musicae practicae praecepta*, it opened the way for the production of fully notated hymnbooks (David Wolder's *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein* of 1598 and the *Melodeyen-Gesangbuch* of 1604) and polyphonic partbook collections like those of Hieronymus Praetorius (1560-1629).[24]

Besides his distinguished career as an organist, Praetorius was one of the city's earliest musical print entrepreneurs, who produced the city's first important musical publications. Between 1599 and 1625, Praetorius brought out five volumes of polyphonic music, some in two or three editions, along with twenty-one chorale settings in the *Melodeyen-Gesangbuch* and several occasional works. The last of his prints were organized into a collected-works series, the *Opus musicum*; this collection and individual volumes within it are the subjects of Chapters 2, 3, and 5. Such a substantial print output was unusual for a German organist of this period, since the composition and publication of vocal music was not among organists' usual duties.[25] The two earliest biographical accounts of Praetorius, by Johann Kortkamp (in a manuscript *Organistenchronik* compiled between 1702 and 1718) and Johann Mattheson (in *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 1740), both remark specifically on his talent for polyphonic composition, as if to confirm how exceptional it was.[26]

Hieronymus's relatively calm career as organist in Hamburg throws his impressive compositional output into stark relief. He lived the vast majority of his

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[24] Hoffmann's treatise was first printed in Wittenberg in 1572. A second edition, now lost, was printed in Hamburg in 1584; that edition, rather than the 1588 editions mentioned here, may have been the first in the city to use single-impression music type. See Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 301.

[25] However, see also Dittrich, "Orgelbau und Orgelmusik in Norddeutschland," in *Die Arp Schnitger-Orgel der Hauptkirche St. Jacobi in Hamburg*, 45, who suggests that some organists took up sideline activities, such as composing and copying music, because of low wages and because their organ-playing duties did not necessarily occupy them on a full-time basis.

[26] Liselotte Krüger, "Johann Kortkamps Organistenchronik," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hamburgische Geschichte* 33 (1933), 195, and Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte, woran der tuchtigsten Capellmeister, Componisten, Musikgelehrten, Tonkunstler &c. Leben, Wercke, Verdienste &c. erscheinen sollen* (Hamburg, 1740), edited by Max Schneider (Berlin: Komissionsverlag von L. Liepmannssohn, 1910), 324-325. See also Arnfried Edler, *Der nordelbische Organist: Studien zu Sozialstatus, Funktion und kompositorischer Produktion eines Musikerberufes von der Reformation bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. 23 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982), 160-176.

life in the city, and seems only rarely to have come into direct contact with other contemporary composers of polyphonic music.[27] His father, Jacob Praetorius the elder, came to Hamburg from Magdeburg in 1550 and assumed the post of organist and scribe (*Kirchenschreiber*) at St. Jacobi in 1558. Though only one of his compositions survives – a four-voice *Te Deum* – we do know that, in 1566, he compiled a large manuscript of liturgical polyphony by members of the Josquin and post-Josquin generations, under the title *Opus musicum excellens et novum*.[28] In 1582, at the age of 22, his son Hieronymus returned from a short stint as organist at the Predigerkirche in Erfurt to take over from his father, who was becoming increasingly infirm in his old age. Hieronymus held the posts of organist and scribe at St. Jacobi until his death in 1629, leaving the city only occasionally on short trips to take care of organ-related business. In addition to his printed vocal works, his substantial body of organ settings – most notably a full Magnificat cycle – survive in the Visby Organ Tablature (completed 1611).[29] Both Kortkamp and Mattheson comment on Praetorius's learning as well as on his musical talents; Praetorius is known to have attended the Johanneum, though he did not go on to university.[30] Though he did not belong to the uppermost classes, his sponsorship of two side altars at the cathedral from about 1607 shows him to have been financially well off, and he

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[27] This fact raises questions about Praetorius's musical influences that are addressed in Frederick K. Gable, "The Polychoral Motets of Hieronymus Praetorius," vol. 1 (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1966), 26-34, and the introduction to RRMR vol. 18, vii-viii. Gable notes one possible occasion at which Praetorius may have met Michael Praetorius and Hans Leo Hassler and become acquainted with their music: an *Orgelprobe* at Gröningen in 1596. On this event, see David Yearsley, "An Ideal Organ and Its Experts Across the Seventeenth Century," in *The Organ as a Mirror of Its Time: North European Reflections, 1610-2000*, edited by Kerala J. Snyder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[28] On this manuscript, see Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Das *Opus musicum* des Jacob Praetorius von 1566," *Acta musicologica* 28 (1956), 96-121, and Leichsenring, 131-141. There is currently no modern edition of Jacob's *Te Deum*.

[29] Edited by Jeffrey T. Kite-Powell in *The Visby (Petri) Organ Tablature: Investigation and Critical Edition*, Quellenkataloge zur Musikgeschichte, vol. 14-15 (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen's Verlag, 1979). Kite-Powell notes that the majority of the anonymous pieces transcribed in the Visby Tablature are probably also the work of Hieronymus Praetorius (vol. 14, 60-79).

[30] Werner Puttfarken, *Album Johannei*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Hans Christians Druckerei und Verlag, 1929), no. 827. No other Hamburg organists contemporary with Praetorius (e.g. David Scheidemann, Joachim Decker) appear on Puttfarken's list, though it is possible that the list is not complete.

is known to have served as treasurer of the *Calandbrüderschaft*, a charitable confraternity based at the cathedral, in 1612.[31]

Hieronymus Praetorius also became the patriarch of Hamburg's most important musical family. His sons Jacob II (1586-1651) and Johann (?1595-1660) became organists at St. Petri and St. Nikolai in 1604 and 1612, respectively, so that during the seventeen years between 1612 and 1629, three of Hamburg's four parish churches had a member of the Praetorius family at the organ bench.[32] Jacob's early studies with Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck in Amsterdam were largely responsible for bringing the virtuosic organ style of the Netherlands to North Germany, and he went on to become one of the foremost organists of the generation after Hieronymus, praised for his "earnest and very devout" (*gravitetisch und sehr andächtig*) style of playing.[33] Neither Jacob nor Johann pursued careers in print as energetically as their father had, though both composed wedding motets that were printed in the occasional pamphlets so popular throughout Germany at the time. Jacob also contributed nine settings to the *Melodeyen-Gesangbuch* and ten continuo songs on texts by Johann Rist to *Neüer Himlischer Lieder Sonderbahres Buch* (Lüneburg, 1651).

The musical publications of members of the Praetorius family, and especially the collections that make up Hieronymus's *Opus musicum*, are my principal case

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[31] From visitation records in Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Dom 12, vols. 2 and 3, and account books of the *Calandbrüderschaft* in Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Dom 64, 487, 488, 489, and 467. Hieronymus's sponsorship of the altar of St. Andrew in the cathedral is dated August 20, 1608 in Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Dom 12, vol. 2, 20, but no date is given for his sponsorship of the altar of St. Stephen (Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Dom 12, vol. 2, 60). Compare also Johann Gustav Gallois, *Hamburgische Chronik von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Jetztzeit*, vol. 2 (Hamburg: [n.p.], 1861), 1324: "Hieronymus Schultze, Provisor des Calands, berechnete in disem Jahre [1612] die Einkünfte der Memorien am Dom auf 3785 ℔ 15 ß 15 ∂ wovon er an nöthigen Ausgaben abzog 85 ℔ 13 ß." I use symbols ℔, ß, and ∂ as replacements for the early symbols for marks *lübisch*, shillings, and pennies, which are not available in modern-day character sets.

[32] The organist at St. Katharinen over this period was David Scheidemann, who held this post from 1604 through his death in 1629. See Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 138-146. All subsequent references to "Jacob Praetorius" refer to Jacob Praetorius II unless otherwise noted.

[33] Krüger, *Johann Kortkamps Organistenchronik*, 199. Compare also Johann Mattheson's famous comparison of Jacob Praetorius's gravity with Heinrich Scheidemann's more cheerful and outgoing disposition in *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 328-329.

studies. They were not, of course, the only collections of music printed in Hamburg at this time, since the city's printers also produced works by Thomas Simpson, William Brade, Samuel Scheidt, and Michael Praetorius (who was not related to the Hamburg family of organists).[34] Among these, however, Hieronymus Praetorius's collections are distinguished by their group identity as a multi-volume *Opus*, and by their local origins in Hamburg. The group identity of Hieronymus Praetorius's collections as a multi-volume *Opus*, however, is particularly useful in tracing their composer's own relationship to the print medium over the course of his career. Furthermore, as sacred music by vocal music by a Hamburg composer, Praetorius's works have an especially close connection to local liturgical and devotional practices, and can yield first-hand insight into the interrelationships between musical print and musical life in the city.

Hamburg's contributions to seventeenth-century music are well documented in several scholarly works, which have concentrated on compiling facts and producing modern editions. Hugo Leichsenring's and Liselotte Krüger's studies of music in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hamburg, written in 1922 and 1930 respectively, have brought to light a wealth of factual information about the city's musicians, musical sources, and musical institutions, much of it culled from archival sources that no longer survive.[35] They are supplemented by Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller's magisterial study of musical life in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Latin schools (1969), in which is recorded much detailed information on musical

[34] Hüschen, "Hamburger Musikdrucker und Musikverleger," 259-261.
[35] Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, and Hugo Leichsenring, *Hamburgische Kirchenmusik im Reformationszeitalter* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Berlin, 1922, reprinted Hamburg: Karl Dieter Wagner, 1982).

practices at the Johanneum and at the city's churches.[36] More recently, Frederick K. Gable's editions of works by Hieronymus and Jacob Praetorius have made much of their music available to modern performers and scholars, and his studies of early modern North German performance practice are a valuable complement to these editions.[37] Music in Hamburg in the latter half of the seventeenth century – the years of Thomas Selle's cantorate, of the famous North German organists like Heinrich Scheidemann and Matthias Weckmann, and of the Hamburg Opera – has been well addressed from the cultural perspective by such scholars as Gisela Jaacks, Jürgen Neubacher, and Dorothea Schroeder.[38] However, while these foundational works thoroughly and vividly document the multifarious musical cultures of early modern Hamburg, none have enlisted the help of print and materiality as ways of understanding these cultures more closely.

My study builds on this earlier scholarship, taking Hamburg's surviving musical printed materials as a starting point in investigating the cultural practices and milieux that supported music in Hamburg. Along with traditional musicological methods such as score study, analysis, historical study, and biography, I employ the methodologies of cultural history and the history of the book – approaches that have yet to be widely applied to the study of German music of this period. First, I follow the lead of those scholars of music who have investigated music's embeddedness in

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[36] Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege*, 181-217.

[37] See, among others, "The Polychoral Motets of Hieronymus Praetorius"; "The Vocal Music of Jacob Praetorius II," in *Proceedings of the Weckmann Symposium: Göteborg, 30 August-3 September 1991*, ed. by Sverker Jullander (Göteborg: Göteborg University Department of Musicology, 1993) and "St. Gertrude's Chapel, Hamburg, and the Performance of Polychoral Music," *Early Music* 15 (1987), 229-241. Works of Hieronymus Praetorius, predominantly for two or more choirs, are edited in RRMR vol. 18, RRMR vol. 19, and RRMBE vol. 91; Jacob Praetorius's complete surviving motets are edited in RRMBE vol. 73.

[38] Jaacks, *Hamburg zu Lust und Nutz*; Jürgen Neubacher, *Die Musikbibliothek des Hamburger Kantors und Musikdirektors Thomas Selle (1599-1663): Rekonstruktion des ursprunglichen und Beschreibung des erhaltenen, uberwiegend in der Staats- und Universitatsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky aufbewahrten Bestandes*, Musicological Studies and Documents, vol. 52 (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology, 1997); idem, "Thomas Selle als Organisator der Kirchenmusik in Hamburg." *Auskunft: Mitteilungsblatt Hamburger Bibliotheken* 19 (1999): 279-322; and Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbuhne*.

urban contexts.[39] To paraphrase Martha Feldman, whose *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* is a pioneering work on this topic, my subject is music *in* Hamburg; that is, I am concerned more with the cultures that supported music in Hamburg than in the analysis of music composed in Hamburg.[40] Like her, I am concerned less with musical forms or styles *per se* than with the relationship of those forms to the cultural institutions of a specific city, some which I have sketched out in the preceding city walkthrough. Performances in churches, schools, and city squares remind us that, in Fiona Kisby's words, "Renaissance music is not a medium spreading evenly over the landscape, but something which grew from the concentration of artistic talents in particular times and places."[41] In this regard, Albert Dunning's concept of *Staatsmusik* ("state music"), with its acknowledgement of political power and its ties to specific events and places, can prove useful for understanding all forms of civic music-making in the *Stadtstaat Hamburg*, not merely those typically classified as "occasional."[42]

Raw material for my history is provided principally by the printed works in which music appeared in Hamburg: hymnals, partbook collections, and pamphlets containing one or two pieces each. With the help of these sources, I link the upsurge of Hamburg's musical cultures around 1600 to the contemporary growth of print and the new importance of the book in the German-speaking lands. The early seventeenth century saw an explosive rise in music print in Germany, which Stephen Rose has connected both to the expression of a "unified Lutheran culture" and to composers'

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[39] For a useful introduction to the concepts and methods underlying the study of music in early modern cities, see Kisby, introduction to *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*.
[40] Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), xviii.
[41] Kisby, introduction to *Music and Musicians in Renaissance Cities and Towns*, 5.
[42] Albert Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 1970), especially xiv-xix. Note, in particular, Dunning's discussion of "bürgerliche Staatsmusik" on xix.

own concerns for increased status and prestige.[43] I borrow Rose's approach, working back and forth between musical print and musical culture to examine the ways some printed musical objects, from unnotated hymnals to motet collections to occasional music in pamphlets, interacted with their surrounding musical cultures.

In interpreting the materials mentioned above, I draw on the notions of "print culture" and the "sociology of texts" outlined in the work of Henri-Jean Martin, Roger Chartier, D. F. MacKenzie, and Adrian Johns.[44] Several scholars have already applied these concepts to the study of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century music, including Kate van Orden, Kristine K. Forney, Martha Feldman, and Stephen Rose, to name a few.[45] A central tenet of this approach is that the meaning and reception of texts is inevitably shaped by the material forms in which they appear. As Chartier has put it, "there is no text apart from the physical support that offers it for reading (or hearing), hence there is no comprehension of any written piece that does not at least in part depend upon the forms in which it reaches its reader"; in the case of music, such "readers" include not only the musicians performing from printed notation, but also their audience.[46] Format, layout, collation, and font all contributed to shaping practices of reading, performing, hearing, and interpreting. The sum total of these

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[43] Stephen Rose, "Music, Print, and Presentation in Saxony During the Seventeenth Century," *German History* 23 (2005), 1-19.
[44] See, among others, Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du livre* (Paris: Éditions A. Michel, 1958), translated by David Gerard as *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450-1800* (London: NLB, 1976); Henri-Jean Martin, *The French Book: Religion, Absolutism, and Readership, 1585-1715*, translated by Paul Saenger and Nadine Saenger (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, The Panizzi Lectures, 1985 (London: The British Library, 1986); Roger Chartier, ed., *The Culture of Print*, translated by Lydia Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); and Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
[45] See, among others, Kate van Orden, ed., *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York: Garland, 2000); Kristine K. Forney, "Orlando di Lasso's 'Opus I': The Making and Marketing of a Renaissance Music Book," *Revue belge de musicologie* 39-40 (1985-86), 33-60; Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice*; and Stephen Rose, "Music, Print, and Authority in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2001). Jane Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), is a thorough and useful introduction to the production of musical print in the sixteenth century.
[46] Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 9. On the concept of hearer-as-reader, see van Orden, introduction to *Music and the Cultures of Print*, xi-xii.

practices make up "print culture" or "the cultures of print"; they include not only those practices that relate directly to reading and writing, but also others relevant to politics, religion, ceremony, and social relations.[47] Thus an examination of binders' volumes containing hymnbooks and catechisms (in Chapter 1) may inform our understanding of the pedagogical uses of catechism and hymns in the Latin school, and study of occasional pamphlets of poetry and music for weddings (in Chapter 4) sheds light on contemporary wedding customs and sumptuary laws.

When studying musical books, one must also reckon with the relationship of materiality to performance. Kate van Orden has pointed out music's curious position between material text and oral performance – a position that draws attention to the performative nature of all texts (and of print as a medium), especially in early modern times when "reading" was often an oral act.[48] As a corollary, music highlights the limitations of depending on bibliographic and material evidence in writing the history of performance. Books, both musical and non-musical, are not in a one-to-one correspondence with the multiple acts of performance that they generated, even if their material characteristics do yield certain clues to those acts. With this in mind, my project aims to contribute to the cultural history of music for a certain era and in a certain place; studying hymnbooks, partbooks, and pamphlets (or bibliographical references to these sources) is one means toward that end.

For the most part, though, my study is limited to collections of Latin motets, especially by members of the Praetorius family. *Motet* is a notoriously difficult term to define, since, as James Haar has noted, the term "does not limit the subject by

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[47] Compare Chartier, introduction to *The Culture of Print*, 1-2.
[48] van Orden, introduction to *Music and the Cultures of Print*, especially xi-xiv. On the oral character of early modern reading, see Chartier, introduction to *The Culture of Print*, 7-8.

period, genre, form, style, textual language, or performance medium"; thus I limit myself here to a general description of the pieces classified during the period as motets.[49] Throughout most of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, *motet* referred to a through-composed polyphonic work on a text usually (but not always) in Latin; this text was usually (but not always) sacred in character, usually (but not always) taken from the Bible, liturgy, or devotional literature; and as such, the work was usually (but, again, not always) appropriate for performance in sacred or ceremonial contexts in and beyond the church.[50] In early seventeenth-century Germany, the genre penetrated into the realm of the vernacular as well, and some German-texted polyphonic works – primarily on Biblical texts or Lutheran chorale texts – were also classified as motets; among the most notable examples are the "madrigal-motets" in Johann Herrmann Schein's *Fontana d'Israel* (Leipzig, 1623). Furthermore, the designation *motet* was also applied to the settings of classically styled odes composed for ceremonial or congratulatory purposes – works traditionally classed as "occasional."

Works of all of the above categories appeared together in printed collections of "sacred songs" (*cantiones sacrae*) or "sacred harmonies" (*harmoniae sacrae*).[51] Though the word *motet* (*moteta*, *motectum*, or similar) rarely appears in the titles of these collections, it was understood to be interchangeable with these more general

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[49] James Haar, "Conference Introductory Remarks," in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, edited by Dolores Pesce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 12.

[50] Compare Johannes Tinctoris's definition in *Terminorum musicae diffinitorium* of the motet as a "middling song," whose text can be supplied by "any type of material, but usually sacred material" (*Motetus est cantus mediocris cui verba cuisvis materiae, sed frequentius divinae supponuntur*). Latin quoted in Helmut Hucke, "Was ist eine Motette?," in *Die Motette: Beiträge zu ihrer Gattungsgeschichte*, edited by Herbert Schneider and Heinz-Jürgen Winkler (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1992), 14; translation mine. On the classification of the motet as a "middle" genre, see Kate van Orden, "Children's Voices: Singing and Literacy in Sixteenth-Century France," *Early Music History* 25 (2006)," 213-214 and 242.

[51] Besides Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae* (Hamburg, 1599, reprinted 1607 and 1623), *Cantiones variae* (1618), and *Cantiones novae officiosae* (1625), other contemporary German collections of *Cantiones* include those by Hans Leo Hassler (Augsburg, 1591, repr. 1597), Melchior Vulpius (Jena, 1602-1603, repr. 1610-1611, 2 vols.), and Heinrich Schütz (Freiberg, 1625). Michael Praetorius's *Musarum sioniarum motectae et psalmi latini* (Nuremberg, 1607) is among the few German colletions of this period to include the term *motet* in its title.

terms, and Praetorius combines several terms in the dedicatory preface to his *Cantiones sacrae* of 1599:

> His & similibus rationibus ego quoque permotus, non dubitavi ante annos complures praeter alias Melodias etiam sacras cantiones, quae in templis diebus praecipuis festis decantare aßolent, pro facultate mihi conceßa harmonicis includere numeris. Quod studium cum amicis probari intelligerem, utpote ab ipsis crebrò admonitus, ne diutius Motetas istas supprimerem, sed typis Calcographicis cum Φιλομύσις communicarem: ceßi tandem ipsorum flagitationibus.
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> Moved by these and similar reasons, I did not hesitate several years ago to include, along with other melodies, also sacred songs, which are customarily sung in churches on special feast days, using the skill granted to me in harmonious song. And since I understood that this pursuit would win the approval of my friends, indeed [since I was] continually told that I should not hold back these motets any longer, but share them with music lovers [lit. lovers of the Muses] by means of printed type, I have at last ceded to their pleas.[52]

My focus on motets reflects the primacy of this genre in Praetorius's musical output. Motets – of all the varieties named above – constitute the majority of his vocal works, numbering about one hundred and filling three of his five printed collections. The ten surviving motets by his son Jacob, though not collected in books, are likewise valuable for the insight they offer into the occasional music of the period, and into the ephemeral prints in which such music appeared. On the other hand, my choice of the motet genre is influenced by its versatility and ubiquity, hinted at above, and by the continued popularity of Latin motets in the German-speaking lands even after the Reformation.[53] Setting a variety of texts – liturgical and scriptural passages, everyday prayers, contemporary poetry – motets were appropriate for performance in many milieux by singers of all levels of skill. This variety is a recurring theme in the

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[52] Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae de praeipuis festis totius anni* (Hamburg: Philipp von Ohr, 1599), Tenor partbook, A2r. Translation mine.

[53] Friedrich Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 68; Peter Bergquist, "Germany and Caentral Europe, *i*: 1520-1600," in *European Music, 1520-1640*, edited by James Haar (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), 348; and Kremer, "Change and Continuity in the Reformation Period," 127-129.

scholarly literature on the sixteenth-century motet, in both Catholic and Protestant worlds. Scholars such as Anthony Cummings, Jeremy Noble, Howard Mayer Brown, and Kristine Forney have stressed the para- and extraliturgical character of motets in various parts of Europe: they served more often as musical filler for the liturgy than as substitutions for similarly-texted liturgical items, or as musical adornments to devotions that fell outside of the canonical liturgies (*Salve* services, votive Masses, and meetings of confraternities, among others).[54] More provocatively, Kate van Orden has noted that some motets were located "much further down the scale of artistic hierarchy than many scholars have imagined," and that motets, as a genre, had the "broad appeal of vernacular song."[55] All this was also true in Germany around 1600, where, in addition to their regular performance at church services, motets were sung before and after meals by schoolchildren, at home as musical diversions, and at weddings. My study of the motets of the Praetorius family, the publications in which they appeared, and the many occasions at which they were heard, is a first essay in writing the variegated cultural history of motets in early seventeenth-century Germany – a subject still in need of serious study.[56]

My study of music and print in early modern Hamburg is organized in rough chronological order, according to the genres of musical print that thrived in Hamburg

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[54] The literature on the function of motets in the sixteenth century is too large to cite here in full. The foundational studies include Anthony M. Cummings, "Toward an Interpretation of the Sixteenth-Century Motet," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981), 43-59; Jeremy Noble, "The Function of Josquin's Motets," *Tijdschrift der Vereiniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiednis* 35 (1985), 9-31; Howard Mayer Brown, "The Mirror of Man's Salvation: Music in Devotional Life about 1500," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990), 744-733; and Kristine K. Forney, "Music, Ritual, and Patronage at the Church of Our Lady, Antwerp," *Early Music History* 7 (1987), 1-57. Compare also Joseph Kerman, "The Elizabethan Motet: a Study of Texts for Music," *Studies in the Renaissance* 9 (1962), especially 280-283 and 286-292, on the relationship of the motet to the liturgy in England.

[55] van Orden, "Children's Voices," 250.

[56] Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007) has recently addressed similar issues for secular Italian songs printed in Germany at the same period.

in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: Protestant hymnals (*Gesangbücher*), partbooks, and occasional pamphlets.[57] The material forms of each of these sources provide insight into significant areas of the city's musical culture. In Chapter 1, I situate the city's earliest music prints, Lutheran hymnbooks in the Low German vernacular, in contemporary cultures of vernacular religious education. More than just songbooks, the collections of *Geistlike Leder und Psalmen* that were so popular throughout North Germany were all-purpose devotional books, analogous to books of hours and similar Catholic prayer books. Like these, they served as primers in textual literacy, musical literacy, and Christian faith. The quasi-standardized thematic organization of songs and prayers within these books highlighted the catechistic character of the hymnbook, as did the Northern practices of printing hymnbooks as companion pieces to catechisms, prayerbooks, and Gospel collections, to be bound together by consumers in a single *Sammelband*.

Chapter 2 is a history of Hieronymus Praetorius's five printed collections of music. Beginning with a general overview of Praetorius's printed output and of Hamburg's burgeoning print production around 1600, the chapter traces the genesis of Praetorius's five-volume *Opus musicum* from eight distinct editions printed in Hamburg, some of which were reprinted in Frankfurt and Antwerp as well. Praetorius had not planned a collected-works edition from the start; instead, the *Opus musicum* was a retrospective project that brought individual earlier volumes together as items in a single, collectible set. An examination of the material and paratextual characteristics of Praetorius's volumes – their typography, layout, wording of title

[57] Compare the taxonomy of early modern German musical print genres in Stephen Rose, "Music Printing in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War," *Notes* 61 (2004), 326-329.

pages, and the bindings in which they survive, among other things – shows that printers took pains to distinguish volumes of the *Opus musicum* visually from Praetorius's early essays in print. The results allow us to imagine Praetorius as an entrepreneur of musical print, to chart his changing uses of the print medium over his twenty-six-year career in printed music, and discern his motivations to publish at a time when music printing was at best a sideline for presses in Hamburg.

Chapter 3 presents a brief cultural history of the motet in Hamburg, taking Hieronymus Praetorius's first printed collection, the *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* (1599, 1607, and 1622), as its primary case study. In particular, I concentrate on the second edition of 1607, which includes thirteen new motets, all but one of which were added to an appendix headed *Ad placitum.* As a whole, the *Ad placitum* appendix contained a mixture of reprinted occasional works and assorted "general use" works. It would be easy to interpret the appendix as just that – an "add-on" – but the new motets were more than simply "bonus material" not available in previous editions. They reflected the rising popularity of motets in Hamburg and the increasing frequency with which polyphony was performed in the divine service. The *Ad placitum* appendix of the *Cantiones sacrae*, especially in the later two editions, is also valuable for tracing possible uses of motets in Hamburg beyond the liturgy: stately triple-choir motets on psalm texts acclaimed princely visitors to the city, while eight-voice settings of the mealtime *Benedicite* and *Gratias* prayers may have graced tables at school and at home. Yet some motets also resist easy categorization, blurring the boundaries between paraliturgical and extraliturgical music-making: Song of Songs settings designated for Marian feasts could easily double as wedding

motets, while congratulatory settings of Christmas texts and carols had perennial seasonal appeal.

In Chapter 4, I turn to the wedding motets of Hieronymus's son, Jacob Praetorius. Jacob composed relatively few motets, though his concentration on music for weddings, printed in pamphlets and dedicated principally to close colleagues at church or members of his family, was actually more typical of North German musicians than his father's concentration on paraliturgical works published in multiple single-author collections. His wedding motets, and the pamphlet prints in which they appeared, belonged to a vibrant economy of gifts and celebration in Hamburg. At such momentous family occasions as weddings, wealthy families mobilized music, print, wealth, and pageantry in the service of social representation. Furthermore, Jacob's collaboration with his father and brother on some wedding pamphlets highlights the roles both music and print played in representing the Praetorius family as a musical dynasty, and in confirming the new professional relationships that the family forged through marriage.

Chapter 5 returns to Hieronymus Praetorius, examining those of his occasional works that were reprinted in his later collections, the *Cantiones variae* (1618) and *Cantiones novae officiosae* (1625). The material shift from pamphlet to partbook severed the connections that linked Praetorius's wedding odes, funeral dirges, and congratulatory motets to specific people and events, repositioning them as items in the composer's musical portfolio, as sacred works for "general use," or simply as good music available to all music lovers. In particular, four funeral motets collected in the *Cantiones novae officiosae*, Praetorius's self-described "swan song,"

serve to illustrate how the composer reappropriated works originally conceived for other occasions to produce his own final musical statement.

Ultimately, my study aims to go well beyond the bibliographic description of the books upon which it is founded. It tells one story of the rise of a distinctive musical culture in one of Northern Europe's foremost cities, and contributes a chapter to the (largely unwritten) cultural history of music in early modern Germany. If I have relied on the bibliographic evidence of hymnals and motet collections in writing this history, it is simply because those books are among the few remnants of musical practices that enlisted the technologies of print but were by no means fully constituted by them. The great city fire of 1842 and firebombing in 1943 all but decimated Hamburg's earliest collections; accounts of actual musical performances are few and far between, and archival evidence on music is limited to church account books and the occasional chronicle. No printers' records survive to clarify questions concerning print runs and production expenses; no contemporary paintings or illustrations depict music-making in Hamburg; nor do we have diaries or letters by Hieronymus or Jacob Praetorius that could supplement our history with first-hand accounts of the city's musical life. Among musical sources, the most ephemeral ones and those perhaps most closely connected to oral culture, broadsheets and pamphlets, have been among the greatest casualties. Yet when studied with attention to the urban and Hanseatic context in which they were produced, the well-known and valuable sources that do survive – the early Hamburg *Enchiridia*, Eler's *Cantica sacra*, Praetorius's *Opus*

musicum – can greatly enhance our understanding of how musicians in North German cities turned music and print to the service of God, city, and self.

CHAPTER 1: HAMBURG'S EARLIEST HYMNBOOKS: MUSIC, PRINT, AND PEDAGOGY, 1558-1598

Dat Böck thom köper.
Ick sing / ick laue / ick bed / ick leer /
Geliker Böken sint nicht mer.
Steit nu dar na dyn hert vnd modt /
So spar an my neen geldt noch gudt.
Dat beste leer vnd sing vth my /
Dat Ander lathe faren fry.

The book to its buyer:
I sing, I praise, I pray, I teach;
There are no other books like me.
If your heart and mind are so inclined,
Spare neither money nor wealth on my account.
Sing and teach the best things out of me;
Let the rest go![1]

Hymnbooks were among the most popular musical books in sixteenth-century Germany. By mid-century, a canon of Lutheran hymnody had emerged, and hymns were ordered in books according to standard schemes, including the feast days of the church year, the articles of the catechism, and the Psalms. Many hymnbooks from the second half of the century adopted the organization of Valentin Babst's *Geystlicke Lieder. Mit einer newen vorrhede D. Mart. Luth.* (Leipzig, 1545), commonly known as the *Babstsches Gesangbuch*.[2] But even long before Babst's songbook, the material form of the Lutheran hymnbooks had become effectively standardized. They shared their small octavo and duodecimo formats with catechisms, prayerbooks, and Gospel collections, and myriad other devotional works, with which they were

[1] From *Eyñ schön Geistlick Sangböck / Vpt nye mit allem vlite tho gerichtet / vnde in einen seer leffliken angenemen orden thosamen gebracht…* (Magdeburg: Christian Rödinger, [c. 1541-3]), title page, reprinted in C. M. Wiechmann-Kadow, ed., *Joachim Slüter's ältestes rostocker Gesangbuch vom Jahre 1531 und der demselbem zuzuschreibende Katechismus vom Jahre 1525* (Schwerin: Druck und Verlag von Dr. F. W. Bärensprung, 1858), 41. Translation mine.
[2] The only exception was the High German *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein* (1598), arranged in order of Luther's catechism. The Babst hymnbook is available in facsimile as *Das Babstsche Gesangbuch von 1545: Faksimiledruck*, edited by Konrad Ameln (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988). See also Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 102-103.

sometimes bound. Even within hymnbooks, the choice of devotional material reached beyond songs to include various non-musical aids to devotion, including calendars, prose prayers, and entire liturgies. The resulting compendia did indeed "sing, laud, pray, and teach" all at once.

The first musical book to be printed in Hamburg was a hymnal.[3] This was *Enchiridion Geistliker Leder und Psalmen*, printed by Johannes Wickradt the Younger in 1558, of which a slightly expanded second edition was printed by Joachim Löw in 1565. These books shared their title with numerous contemporary Lutheran song collections: *Enchiridion*, Greek for "manual" or "handbook," connoted small size, portability, and versatility.[4] Like other Lutheran hymnals of the period, the *Enchiridion* offered readers the hymns of Martin Luther, along with several other well-loved Protestant hymns, translated into the local Low German dialect.[5] While most of the songs in these books were unnotated, a few were accompanied by notation in woodcut. Franz Eler's *Cantica Sacra, partim ex sacris literis desumta, partim ab orthodoxis patribus, et piis ecclesiae doctoribus composita…* (Jacob Wolff, 1588), a collection of liturgical chant in Latin and German for use in the city's four main churches was the first Hamburg publication to emplot movable music type. Eler also compiled a collection of *Psalmi D. Martini Lutheri*, also in Low German and

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[3] The earliest known music print from Hamburg is actually a broadsheet containing a four-part setting of *Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (Joachim Löw, 1555), surviving in two copies, one in the Stadts- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, the other in a private collecion in Berlin. See Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 309.

[4] On the meaning of the term *Enchiridion*, compare Herwarth von Schade, *Zu Gottes Lob in Hamburgs Kirchen: Eine hamburgische Gesangbuchgeschichte* (Herzberg: Traugott Bautz, 1995), 47 and 120; Herl, *Worship Wars*, 95; and Stephen A. Crist, ed., *Enchiridion geistliker leder unde Psalmen, Magdeburg 1536: Introductory Study and Facsimile Edition (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994),* 3.

[5] I use *hymn* in the modern sense of "a sacred song in the vernacular." The term is used similarly in Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2007) and in Peter Bergquist, "Germany and Central Europe, *i*: 1520-1600," in *European Music, 1520-1640,* edited by James Haar (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006). In German, both then and now, songs of this sort are most frequently referred to simply as *Lieder*; the term is retained in the English translation of Friedrich Blume's *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1974). The term *Psalm* occurs as well in early modern usage to refer generally to vernacular devotional songs, even those not based on the Psalms of David. In contrast, the words *hymnus* and *Hymne* were reserved strictly for the strophic Latin poems that were part of the daily office; I shall refer to these works specifically as "office hymns."

also notated, to serve as a companion piece to the *Cantica sacra* and to provide the German chorales called for in its rubrics.

Two more books of German sacred songs followed in 1598, both printed by Theodosius Wolder. One, an unnotated collection of Lutheran hymns in Low German, was titled *Ein kort Psalmbökeschen / Darin de gebrücklikesten Gesenge vnde Lider / D. Martini Lutheri vnd ander framer Christen thosammen gefatet synt*: "A short book of psalms, in which the most commonly used hymns and songs of Doctor Martin Luther and other pious Christians are brought together." The other was a fully notated *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein* compiled by David Wolder, pastor at St. Petri and possibly a relative of the printer; this was a High German collection of some two hundred fifty hymns organized in order of Luther's catechism.[6] Hymnbooks in both High and Low German continued to be plentiful and popular into the early years of the seventeenth century. The Low German *Enchiridion* was reprinted in 1607, 1613, and 1630, each time by a different printer, while the High German *Melodeyen Gesangbuch* (1604) contained four-part chorale settings by the organists at the city's four main parish churches: Hieronymus Praetorius, Jacob Praetorius, Joachim Decker, and David Scheidemann.[7]

The use of the Low German language sets Hamburg's earliest hymnbooks apart from many other similar works of the same period. This, instead of High German, was the vernacular of North Germany until the turn of the seventeenth

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[6] Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, 14; von Schade, *Zu Gottes Lob in Hamburgs Kirchen*, 72. The contents of these hymnbooks are listed tabularly on 386-424.

[7] *Melodeyen Gesangbuch Darinn D. Luthers vnd ander Christen gebreuchlichsten Gesenge / jhren gewöhnlichen Melodeyen nach* (Hamburg: Samuel Rüdinger, 1604). The reprints of the *Enchiridion* are, unfortunately, lost; see von Schade, *Zu Gottes Lob in Hamburgs Kirchen*, 120-121. For description and contents, see Johannes Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Johann August Meißner, 1857), XXXI and 199-200.

century.[8] Scholars of Hamburg's history, hymnody, and bibliography have long acknowledged the importance of the language in the print output of the period, particularly from the standpoint of preserving a dialect which "had long vanished from the mouth of the oldest sailor and oldest farmer's wife" by the time Johann Martin Lappenberg wrote about it in his 1840 history of printing in sixteenth-century Hamburg.[9] Both Lappenberg and Johannes Geffcken, whose study of Low German hymnbooks in Hamburg appeared in 1857, point out the importance of preserving print material in this dialect, and also suggest that the "print monuments" (*Druckdenkmäler*) they examine share cultural characteristics beyond language.[10]

And indeed, from advent of printing onward, the Low German-speaking North had developed its own distinctive culture of the printed word. Northern cities like Hamburg had quickly accepted Lutheran teachings in the 1520s and 30s, but because High German was effectively a foreign language to most inhabitants of the city, the foundational works of the new faith were inaccessible to them.[11] As a result, word-for-word translations into Low German, often of theological works by Luther or others of his circle, proliferated fairly soon after the Reformation.[12] The first Low German edition of Luther's hymns appeared in Rostock in 1525, only a year after

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[8] The Low German speech region at this period reached from East Frisia eastward into Prussia, and had as its approximate southern boundary the so-called *ich/ik-Linie* joining Düsseldorf, the Harz, and Frankfurt an der Oder. See the linguistic maps in Willy Sanders, *Sachsensprache – Hansesprache – Plattdeutsch: Sprachgeschichtliche Grundzüge des Niederdeutschen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 237-243.

[9] Lappenberg, *Zur Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Hamburg*, V: "Die Geschichte der Niederdeutschen Presse wird stets, wenn vielleicht ihr klangreicher, weicher Dialect längst aus dem Munde des ältesten Schiffers und der ältesten Bauerfrau verschollen ist, ihr Interesse behalten."

[10] Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, III; translation mine. Geffcken's study remains an invaluable bibliographic source, diplomatically reprinting the texts of all the Low German hymnals printed in Hamburg in the sixteenth century.

[11] Compare Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, XI: "Neben… lateinischen Liedern wurden nun nur niedersächsiche Lieder gesungen, wie auch nur niederdeutsch gepredigt ward, das hochdeutsche Lied und die hochdeutsche Predigt hätte das Volk nicht verstanden."

[12] Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, 1, note that these verbatim translations were often not completely idiomatic. Incidentally, the first surviving print of Luther's *Kleiner Catechismus* was printed in Hamburg in Low German: *Eyn Catechismus effte vnderricht / Wo eyn Christen Hůßwerth syn ghesynde schal vpt eyntfoldingheste leeren / vp frage vnnd antwort gestellt* (Georg Richolff, 1529), Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 413. See also Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, 20, and Wolfgang Stammler, *Geschichte der niederdeutschen Literatur von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1920), 70.

Johann Walter's pioneering *Geistliches gesangk Büchleyn* in Wittenberg, and boasted on its title page that its contents had been "Germanized more clearly than before, in the Saxon language" (*in Sassyscher sprake klarer wen tho vorn verdüdeschet*).[13] Translations soon vastly outnumbered texts originally written in Low German.

Language was also bound up with considerations of audience and marketability. Books in High German could (theoretically) be read and enjoyed across broad regions of northern and central Europe; books in Low German, however, could be marketed only within a limited geographical region in the North. Books printed in Hamburg in High German may have been intended for sale outside the city, while books printed in Low German were intended for sale in and around the city. Theodosius Wolder's two hymnbooks of 1598 reflect one printer's concern to reach as wide a market as possible, but they also anticipate the rise of High German alongside Low.[14] Already around 1550, Low German had begun its decline from a mainstream vernacular into a local dialect, and by 1600, High German had become the language of law, government, and the educated classes. Although works in Low German continued to be produced, they were generally aimed at the less educated older generations who had never quite mastered the new dialect.[15]

My focus in this chapter is on the Low German hymnbooks printed in Hamburg before the turn of the sixteenth century. Several factors have hampered a fuller understanding both of these books and of the distinctive cultural spheres that

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[13] *Eyn gantz schone vnde seer nutte Gesangkboek / tho dagelyker öuige geystlyker gesenge vnde Psalmen…* ([Rostock]: Ludwig Dyetz, 1525). Borchling and Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, vol. 1, no. 812.

[14] Also in 1598, Wolder printed both High and Low German editions of Luther's *Small Catechism* and Johannes Matthesius' *Oeconomia*. The Low German versions of these survive bound with the *Kort Psalmbökeschen*; see 42 below. Interestingly, the 1555 broadsheet of *Allein zu dir Herr Jesu Christ* is also in High German, perhaps implying that the print was to be sold outside rather than inside the city.

[15] Sanders, *Sachsensprache – Hansesprache – Plattdeutsch*, 28 and 161-164. Compare also Hans Joachim Gernentz, *Niederdeutsch – gestern und heute: Beiträge zur Sprachsituation in den Nordbezirken der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Rostock: Hinstorff, 1908), 50-51 and 66-68, and Stammler, *Geschichte der niederdeutschen Literatur*, 70-73.

produced them. On one hand, the lack or dearth of musical notation has limited their interest to musicologists. Preparers of facsimiles and editions have tended to privilege notated sources like Eler's *Cantica sacra* and the *Melodeyen Gesangbuch* – works whose connections to the Praetorius family of organist-composers has further increased their appeal.[16] Moreover, material in Low German tends to be neglected, partly because many of the works in this language are translations. In particular, the transmission of Luther's works in local dialects has not been widely addressed in research, perhaps because it seems to contradict the narrative of Luther's role in the emergence of High German as a common language.

Yet despite these challenges, Hamburg's early hymnbooks occupy an important place in a larger tradition of paraliturgical books for prayer and song. In the Catholic world, books of hours served as both songbooks and reading primers, from which students learned to pick out letters, syllabize, and "read" prayers they could already recite or sing from memory.[17] Just as books of hours and pre-Reformation German primers contained prayers that could be sung as songs (most notably the *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*), Lutheran hymnbooks in both High and Low German contained prose prayers and scriptural quotations interspersed with their songs, ranging from from collects for specific feast days to entire commentaries and "admonitions" taken from Luther's liturgical works.

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[16] For facsimiles and editions of these works, see Franz Eler, *Cantica Sacra*, with an introduction by Klaus Beckmann (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2002); Ameln, ed., *Das Babstsche Gesangbuch von 1545: Faksimiledruck*, and *Melodeyen Gesangbuch Hamburg 1604. 89 Kantionalsätze von Hieronymus Praetorius, Joachim Decker, Jakob Praetorius, David Scheidemann, Anonymi,* edited by Klaus Ladda and Klaus Beckmann (Singen: Bodensee Musikversand, 1995). On Hieronymus Praetorius's possible connection to the genesis of Eler's *Cantica sacra*, see Frederick K. Gable, "Praetorius," in *Grove Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22244pg2 (accessed January 6, 2009).

[17] van Orden, "Children's Voices," 220-221. Compare also the mid-sixteenth-century reading primers (*Lesemeister*) discussed and reprinted in Johannes Müller, *Quellenschriften und Geschichte des deutschsprachlichen Unterrichtes bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Gotha: Verlag von E. F. Thienemann's Hofbuchhandlung, 1882), which offered familiar prayers and catechistic texts as reading exercises. I thank Elaine Tennant for directing me to this source.

Also like their counterparts in the Catholic world, Lutheran hymnals occupied a middle ground between oral and literate culture. Their core hymn repertory came largely from the pen of Martin Luther, but it had quickly become an unwritten repertoire, known orally even to the illiterate. While print technology repackaged song texts in such a way as to suit local tastes, the corresponding melodies were known and transmitted by rote. If notation appeared only sporadically, it was not only because printers in Hamburg did not yet have movable music type; notation was simply not necessary for most songs. Luther's central canon of hymns was already known to young and old alike, and many newer hymns were set to older tunes and recalled the theme, text, and rhythm of other familiar songs. The few songs that were printed with notation were also new songs, often with newly composed melodies. A few, like Albert Salsborg's *Allein in Godt vortrüwen* and Joachim Willich's *Erred my Her tho disser Tydt* were the work of writers in and around Hamburg. Notated songs like these may have appealed specifically to the musically literate, and indeed were usually placed towards the end of hymnals, where more miscellaneous groupings of hymns offered advanced readers material suited to a variety of interests and spiritual states. With their mixture of familiar and unfamiliar songs, hymnbooks encouraged alternation between oral and literate modes of reading.

Practices of binding and collecting also shed light on cultural ties between the hymnbook and other devotional books. Luther's *Kleiner Catechismus*, first printed in 1529, looms particularly large here; its contents, like the hymns, aimed to encapsulate the basic elements of the faith for the laity, and were widely known by rote. Hymnbooks from Hamburg, and indeed from all over North Germany, almost always

survive bound together with this seminal devotional text and others like it. In fact, printers seemed to have designed both kinds of books to serve as collectible counterparts, with matching type, illustration, and ornamentation. The term *Enchiridion* – Greek for "handbook" –is best known to musicologists today as the title of numerous sixteenth-century Lutheran hymnbooks, but the name appeared on the title page of editions of catechisms as well. Such bibliographical commonalities are clues to the conceptual kinship of these two types of devotional texts among early-modern Lutherans – a kinship that I link to the Reformation-era concept of the "lay Bible" or "small Bible" and which I trace through several cultural milieux, from everyday Latin school lessons to the recitation of the catechism *en masse* by schoolboys in church. From the ever-present tension between printed and spoken text, between material form and sounding practice, Luther's catechism emerges as lively and "performative" a text as his beloved hymns.

Though I take hymnbooks and catechisms from Hamburg as my primary examples, the issues raised by these works reach beyond the walls of the city. First, the fact that Luther himself was never involved in the production of these Hamburg hymnals (or countless others, for that matter) raises several questions about Luther's status as "author" of the Lutheran hymnbook, and of the relevance of authorship in a book so widely disseminated throughout the German-speaking world. Secondly, any discussion of the conceptual links between Lutheran hymnbooks and catechisms must include Luther's catechism hymns, which were among the most popular (and most musically distinctive) of all his hymns. In a brief excursus on Luther's catechism hymns, I break briefly from the world of the musical book in sixteenth-century

Hamburg to examine the ways in which some musical characteristics of these hymns – particularly the predominance of the D-Dorian mode and its associated melodic traits – helped them stand out in the Lutheran hymn repertory as important transmitters of the faith. I suggest that this modal unity may have originated at least partially with Luther himself, and that his melodic alterations to preexisting melodies (notably the rejected F-mode melody for *Vater unser im Himmelreich* and the Hussite melody on which *Jesus Christus unser Heiland* is based) may have been intended to regularize the modal content of the catechism hymns as a group. Finally, the numerous non-musical interpolations to Hamburg's two earliest hymnbooks, the *Enchiridia* of 1558 and 1565, printed by Johannes Wickradt and Joachim Löw, reveal ways in which early modern Lutheran hymnals functioned as prayerbooks and teaching texts as well as songbooks, exemplifying proper conduct toward man and God.

Luther on the Title Page

By the middle of the sixteenth century, Lutheran hymnody had become an oral tradition in and of itself. Nevertheless, the best-known hymns were still associated with a single, supreme author: Martin Luther. Even those songs that were not composed by him, or that predated him, such as macaronic Christmas carols like *In dulci jubilo* and *Puer natus in Bethlehem*, or the numerous *Leisen* (vernacular devotional songs so called for their "Kyrieleison" refrains), were known to have entered the canon of hymnody with his approval. His name guaranteed the confessional correctness of songbooks and other devotional works, especially in areas

like Hamburg where his teachings had been readily accepted. The title page of every hymnal printed in Hamburg in the sixteenth century named him as author, as did those of numerous Bibles, sermons, and other theological writings.

Yet Luther did not actually "authorize" any of these books, since they were published after his death, and did not bear the "Luther rose" emblem that signified his approval. Even the earliest Hamburg *Enchiridion* postdated him by twelve years. Luther is not known to have visited Hamburg, and references to the city are few and far between in his writings. His presence in the *Enchiridion* and its later counterparts is entirely borrowed from other works. The hymns in first part of the *Enchiridion* are all his work, taken from the *Babstsches Gesangbuch*, Walter's *Geystliche gesangk Büchlein*, and ultimately from Luther's earliest Wittenberg hymnbooks, most of whose first editions do not survive. The *Vorrede D. Mart. Luth.* that opens both editions of the *Enchiridion* is simply a translation into Low German of Luther's second hymnbook preface, which appeared originally in 1528 the second edition of his Wittenberg hymnbook.[18] In this borrowed foreword, Luther himself – through the filter of the book's anonymous translator – addresses issues of authorial control, denouncing the "haphazard and arbitrary revision" of his hymnbooks without his approval:

> NU hebben sick ethlike wol bewyset / vnd de gesenge vormehret / also / dath se my wyth auerdrepen / vnd in dem wol myne Meisters synt / Ouerst dar beneuen ock de andern wenich gudes dartho gedhan hebben / Und dewyle ick see, dat des dachlichen thodondes / ane allen underscheidt / wo ydt einem ydtliken gudt düncket / nene mathe werden wil / dat ock de ersten vnse Leder yo lenger yo falscher gedrücket werden / besorge ick ydt werde dessem Bökelin in de lenge

[18] The earliest surviving appearance of this preface is as "Ein newe Vorrede Marti. Luth." in Andreas Rauscher's *Geistliche Lieder auffs new gebessert zu Wittenberg D. Mar. Luth* (Erfurt, 1531); this, however, is a reprint of the now-lost hymnbook printed by Joseph Klug in Wittenberg in 1529.

> ghan, alse ydt denn alle tydt guden Bökern geghan ys / dath se dorch vngeschickeder Köppe tho settendt / so gar auerschüddet vnd vorwöstet synt / dath men dath gude darunder vorlaren / vnd allene dath vnnütte im bruke beholden hefft / alse wy seen vth dem 1 Capittel S. Luce / dath im anfange / yderman hefft willen Euangelia schryuen / beth men schyr dath recte Euangelion vorlaren hedde / manck so vele Euangelien / Also ysset ock S. Hieronymi vnd Augustini vnnd velen andern Böken geghan. Summa, ydt wil yo de Müsedreck manck dem Peper syn.
>
> Now there are some who have given a good account of themselves and augmented the hymns so that they by far surpass me and are [in this] my masters indeed. But others have added little of worth. And since I realize that there is going to be no end to this haphazard and arbitrary revision which goes on from day to day, and that even our first hymns are more and more mutilated with each reprinting, I fear that this booklet will ultimately fare no better than good books everywhere, namely, to be corrupted and adulterated by blunderheads until the good in it will be lost and only the bad remain. Similarly, we see in St. Luke 1[:1-4] that in the beginning everyone wanted to write a gospel, until the true gospel was all but lost among so many gospels. The same thing happened to the books of SS. Jerome, Augustine, and many others. In a word, there must be mouse dirt with pepper.[19]

This reinforces the message of the verse "Warninge Doc. Mar. Lut" on the title page of both *Enchiridia*, translated from a "Warnung D. M. L." on the title page of the *Babstsches Gesangbuch*, cautioning against "false masters" and their songs:

> Vel valscher Meyster itzt Leder dichten
> Sü dy vör / unnd lehr se recht richten.
> Wor Got buwet sin Kerck uñ sin wordt
> Dar wil de düuel sin / mit droch uñ mort.
>
> Nowadays many false masters make songs;
> beware, and teach them to judge them rightly.
> Wherever God builds his church and word,
> there the devil is bound to be, with deceit and with murder.[20]

---

[19] *Enchiridion* (1558), 11v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 8v, reprinted in Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 2-3. Luther's original version in High German may be found in *WA*, vol. 35, 475-476. The English translation is from *LW* vol. 53, 317-318. The added foliation in the surviving exemplar of the 1558 *Enchirdion* (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/6) includes five handwritten sheets bound at the beginning of the volume, before the hymnal; my folio numbers for this work are thus five less than the written foliation to account solely for location within the *Enchiridion*.

[20] *Enchiridion* (1558), 1r, reprinted in Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 1. For the High German, see Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, 30. Translation mine.

In both of these borrowed warnings, loss of authorial control leads to loss of spiritual truth; the purity of God's Word depends on the purity of the author's word – a recurring concern in Luther's writings. In Luther's view, the right author's name could guarantee the confessional correctness of a book; that name, more often than not, was his own.[21] In the process of print publication, compilers and printers – not to mention print pirates – vied with the author for control over the text, opening the way for pernicious outside influences.[22] This was an especially pressing concern for hymnbooks; songs, hovering between the realms of orality and print, were at increased risk for such tampering. Mixed in amongst Luther's own hymns in print and thus sharing in their authority, the songs of "false masters" could more easily penetrate into the oral memory of the faithful. By mid-century, however, there was no such thing as an "authorized edition" of Luther's hymns in any case; the Lutheran hymnbook *as an object* was less Luther's creation than the printers'.

The Hamburg *Enchiridion* would seem to be just the sort of edition against which Luther had warned. Its layout, format, and the order of its contents seem to be modeled largely on the *Babstsches Gesangbuch*, divided into a first part containing Luther's hymnodic canon and a second section of newer, more miscellaneous hymns, though it is hardly a reprint of Babst's hymnal, as becomes apparent in the second part of the book. Following Babst's lead, this so-called "second songbook" (*Dat andere Sanckböck*) is subtitled "Spiritual Songs and Psalms made by pious Christians, which do not appear in the Wittenberg hymnal" (*Geistlike Leder unnd Psalmen van framen Christen gemaket / welkere nicht im Wittembergeschen Sanckböcklin stan*),

[21] Jane O. Newman, "The Word Made Print: Luther's 1522 New Testament in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Representations* 11 (1985), 97-98.
[22] Newman, "The Word Made Print," 101.

though its contents are completely unlike those of Babst's second part. It includes, for example, six (possibly seven) songs originally written in Low German by Northern authors (Table 1-1). As if to emphasize the local connection all the more, the section opens with a "new" song by a Hamburger: *Allein in Godt vortrüwen,* by Albert Salsborg (Salsborch).[23] Yet despite its division into two sections called "songbooks," the *Enchiridion* as an object, in terms of printing and binding, was conceived as a single book, for the signatures of the first and second parts continue through.[24] Printed prayerbooks had long united core devotional repertoire with newer, locally oriented contributions; books of hours, for example, frequently closed with brief sections of assorted prayers in the vernacular.[25]

Table 1-1. Songs originally written in Low German, or whose first appearance in print is in Low German, in the Hamburg *Enchiridia* (1558 and 1565).

1558 No.	1565 No.	Title	Author	Notation?	Tune
57	59	Allein in Godt vortrüwen	Albert Salsborg	yes	Nu laue myn seel den Heren
74	75	Waket vp gy Christen alle	anonymous	no	De sünne is vorblicken
–	88	Godt Vader Sön vnd hilger Geist	Johann Freder	no	Nun fröuwt juw
92	90	Erred my HEr tho disser tydt	Joachim Willich	yes	(notated)
101	103	Godt Vader inn dem hemmelrick	Johann Freder	no	Vader vnse
107	110	Nu willet nicht vortzagen	Caspar Hackrodt	no	Wor schal ick my hin keren
–	130	Myn viende als ein scherpes swert	Johann Freder	no	Ach Godt van hemmel
134	138	Ick dancke dy Godt	Con. Red.	no	Van eddler ärdt

[23] Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 57; Wackernagel vol. 4, no. 167. See also 92-99 below, and Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, XXXIII and 52-53.
[24] The 1558 *Enchiridion* has the collation A12-P12, with Part II beginning on on folio 69r (F9r). The collation of the 1565 *Enchiridion* is A12-N12 (though the last two folios of gathering A are missing; see 114 n. 159 below), with Part II beginning on 54v (E8v).
[25] van Orden, "Children's Voices," 220.

In the *Enchiridion*, however, as in the *Babstsches Gesangbuch* and several other contemporary hymnals, these additions make up the bulk of the book, and contain a diverse mix of songs, prayers, and even entire liturgies. It is easy to imagine that extensive additions of this sort provided much of what Luther called the "mouse dirt among the pepper." Ultimately, however, these added songs partook of the validity conferred by Luther's name, which the printer placed prominently on the title page. It did not matter that Luther had never been to Hamburg, nor participated in the making of the Hamburg *Enchiridion*. His very name had the power to validate the entire contents of even the most sprawling hymnbook, ensuring its marketability for years to come.

Hymnbook, Catechism, and Other Lay Bibles

In Hamburg, Luther's hymnbook rarely stood alone. Printers printed catechisms, prayerbooks, and other devotional literature in formats, page layouts, and typefaces that matched those of their hymnbooks, enabling readers to bind them together in a single pocket compendium. In 1565, when Joachim Löw printed the second edition of the Hamburg *Enchiridion*, he also printed *De klene Catechismus edder Christlike Tucht / vor de gemenen Parrheren / predigers / vnd Hußueders*, a translation into Low German of Luther's *Kleiner Catechismus*. The catechism is bound in a sixteenth-century leather binding with the hymnbook in the only surviving exemplar of both (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Scrin A/5), as is a short prayerbook with the witty title *Vorgitt my nicht / Is myn Name* ("Forget Me Not

is my name"), printed by Löw in 1562.[26] Similarly, the only surviving copy of the *Kort Psalmbökeschen* is bound, also in a period leather binding, with four other devotional works in Low German translation, also printed by Theodosius Wolder in 1598: a book of "fifty-six short prayers to say every day, morning and evening" (*Söß vnde vöfftig Korte Gebede / Morgens vnde Auendes dachlikes… tho sprekende*); a catechism-like work for children by Mattheus Judex, entitled *Dat klene Corpus doctrinae*; Martin Luther's *Kleiner Catechismus* (*De Klene Catechismus mit der Vthlegginge / Alse en ein Hußvader synem Gesinde eintfoldigen vörholden schal*); and Johannes Matthesius's *Oeconomia* (original printing Wittenberg, 1564), a verse admonition on the proper management of a Christian household.[27] Bearing witness to the same practice elsewhere in the North are two three-book sets from Magdeburg in 1559 and 1585, each containing a hymnal and a collection of Gospels and Epistles for the church year, together with a catechism or a prayerbook, in sixteenth-century stamped leather bindings.[28] Here, as with the Hamburg sets, all the books in the binding were produced by the same printer.

In all these compendia, the hymnbook comes first in the binding, and shares its format, typeface, and other visual characteristics with its companion volumes. The

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[26] *Vorgitt my nicht / Is myn Name. Dat ys: Legge my nicht vnder de Bancke. Etlike Geistlike vnd Christlike Gebede…* (Hamburg: Löw, 1562). Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 608.

[27] Bibliographic information is given in Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 523, 247, 327, 423, and 453, respectively.

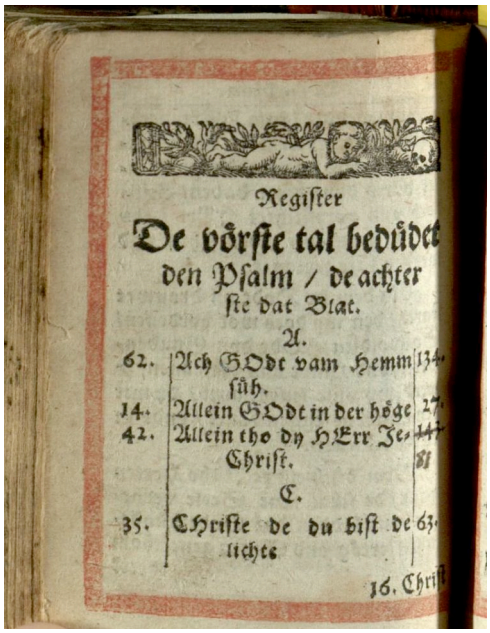
[28] *Geistlike Leder vnde Psalmen. D. Mart. Luth.* (Magdeburg: Ambrosius Kerckener, 1559), bound with *Evangelia mit den Summarien vnde Episteln / So dorch dat gantze Jar / des Söndages vnde vornemsten Festen gehandelt werden* (Magdeburg: Ambrosius Kerckener, 1559) and *ENCHIRIDION. DE Klene Catechismus / edder Christlike tucht / vor de gemenen Parheren / Predigers / vnde Husueder* (Magdeburg: Ambrosius Kerckener, 1559) in Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/168; *Geistlike Leder vnd Psalmen D. Martini Lutheri vnde anderer framen Christen / na ordeninge der Jartydt vnde Feste / vppet nye thogerichtet* (Magdeburg: Wolfgang Kirchner, 1585), bound with *Evangelia mit den Summarien vnde Episteln. So dorch dat gantze Jar des Sondages vnde in den vörnemesten Festen gehandelt vnde gelesen werden* (Magdeburg: Wolffgang Kirchner, 1584) and *Etlike schöne Gebde / vnde tröstlike Vormaninge / by den krancken vnde steruenden Minschen. Eine christlike Vnderrichinge / vor de yennen de sick thom Auendtmal vnses HEren Jesu Christi gedencken tho geuen / etc.* (Magdeburg: Wolffgang Kirchner, 1582) in Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/180. The hymnbooks are listed in Borchling and Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, vol. 1, no. 1726 and 2318, respectively. An earlier hymnal with the same title, printed by Kirchner in 1584 and listed in Borchling and Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, vol. 1, no. 2295, is now lost. A second exemplar of the 1559 hymnbook (Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, M: Li 5625) is bound alone.

thin red border surrounding each page of Wolder's *Kort Psalmbökeschen*, for example, can also be seen on every page of the three volumes with which it is bound, and the same woodcut ornament of a cherub with a skull reappears throughout these volumes at the head of indexes or new sections (Figures 1-1, 1-2, and 1-3). Several woodcut images from the 1565 *Enchirdion* can also be found in its two companion volumes, as can the simple black border used on each page (Figures 1-4 and 1-5). The hymnbook and Gospel collections printed in Magdeburg likewise share some illustrations (Figures 1-6 and 1-7). The visual continuity of the several devotional books highlighted the continuity of their content, and appealed to the knowledge that readers had already gained from hearing and singing the Word.[29]

Other Hamburg hymnbooks have come down to us alone in their bindings, although their printers produced devotional works matching them in format, size, and overall appearance that could easily have served been bound as a set. The first edition of the Hamburg *Enchiridion*, like the second, had its corresponding *Klene Catechismus*, also printed by Johannes Wickradt in 1558 and now lost.[30] Similarly, among Wolder's prints from the year 1598 are High German editions of Luther's catechism (*Der Kleine Catechismus mit der Außlegung. Wie jn ein Haußvater seinem Gesinde einfeltiglich fürhalten sol*) and Matthesius's *Oeconomia*, either of which could have served as a companion pieces to his High German songbook – the *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein* – just as his Low German editions of both works had

[29] Compare Chartier, *The Order of Books*, 14: "Works printed for a broad public counted on their readers' previous knowledge. By the recurrence of extremely coded forms, by the repetition of motifs that return from one work to another, and by reuse of the same illustrations, an acquaintance with texts that the reader had already encountered was mobilized into serving for the comprehension of unfamiliar reading matter."

[30] Borchling and Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, vol. 1, no. 1704; Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 420. The sole exemplar listed by Borchling and Claussen was in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, but may have been lost in World War II; see Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, 182. The Hamburg copy of the *Enchiridion*, however, is bound with another catechism printed by Wickradt: *De Klene Catechismus Johan. Brentii. In Fragen gestellet / vppet nye gebetert* (1557), listed in Borchling and Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, vol. 1, no. 1696 (with the erroneous year of 1558) and Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 92.



Register

De vörſte tal bedüdet den Pſalm / de achter ſte dat Blat.

A.

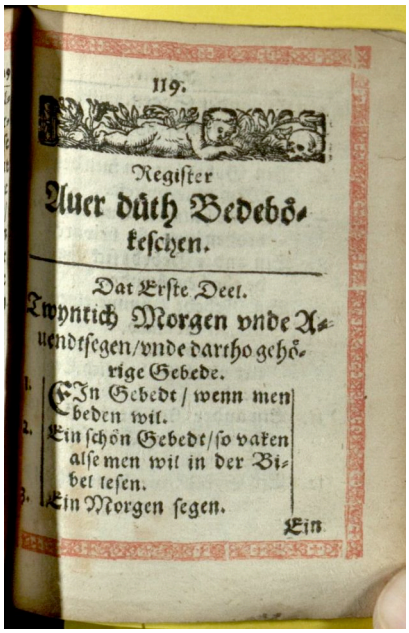
62. Ach GOde vam Hemm ſüh. 134.
14. Allein GOdt in der höge 27.
42. Allein tho dy HErr Je- Chriſt. 44

C.

35. Chriſte de du biſt de lichte 67.

16. Chriſt

Figure 1-1. First index page of the *Kort Psalmbökeschen* (Hamburg: Theodosius Wolder, 1598), 184, showing red border and woodcut ornament.[31]



119.

Register

Auer düth Bedebökeſchen.

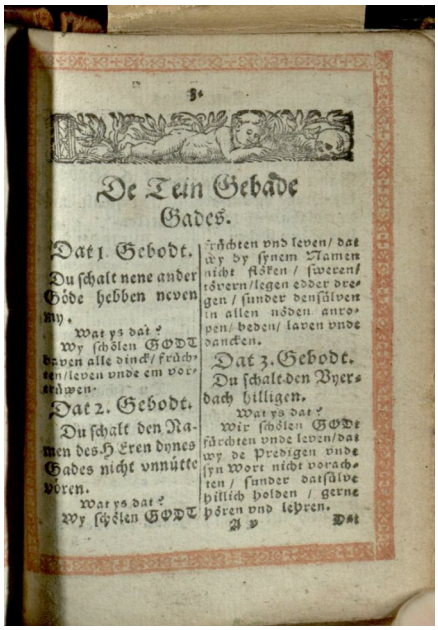
Dat Erſte Deel.

Twyntich Morgen vnde Auendtſegen/vnde dartho gehörige Gebede.

1. EIn Gebedt / wenn men beden wil.
2. Ein ſchön Gebedt/ſo vaken alſe men wil in der Bibel teſen.
3. Ein Morgen ſegen.

Ein

Figure 1-2. Same border and ornament on first index page of *Söß vnde vöfftig Korte Gebede* (Hamburg: [Theodosius Wolder], 1598), 119.



De Teyn Gebade Gades.

Dat 1. Gebodt.

Du ſchalt nene ander Göde hebben neven My.

Wat ys dat?

Wy ſchölen GODT düven alle dinck/ frächten/leven vnde em vortruwen.

Dat 2. Gebodt.

Du ſchalt den Namen des HEren dynes Gades nicht vnnütte voren.

Wat ys dat?

Wy ſchölen GODT frächten vnd leven/ dat wy dy ſynem Namen nicht ſwören / ſweren/ lögen / ſunder denſülven in allen nöden anropen/ beden/ laven vnde dancken.

Dat 3. Gebodt.

Du ſchalt den Yerdach hilligen.

Wat ys dat?

Wir ſchölen GOde fürchten vnde leven/ dat wy de Predigen vnde ſyn Wort nicht verachten / ſunder datſülve billich holden / gerne hören vnd lehren.

Figure 1-3. Same border and ornament in *De Klene Catechismus mit der Vthlegginge* (Hamburg: Theodosius Wolder, 1593), 3.

[31] This and all subsequent images in this chapter are courtesy of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky.

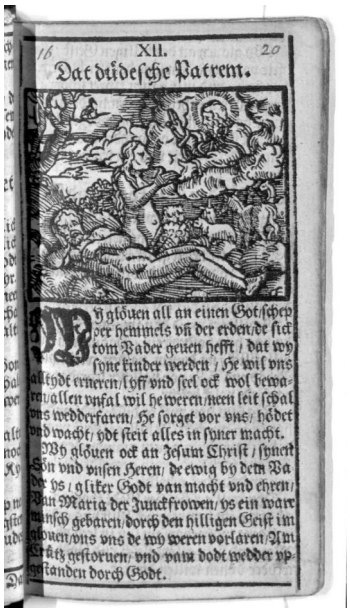


Figure 1-4. Woodcut of the creation of Eve accompanying the Creed hymn *Wy glöuen all*, *Enchiridion Geistliker Leder vnd Psalmen* (Hamburg: Joachim Löw, 1565), 20r.

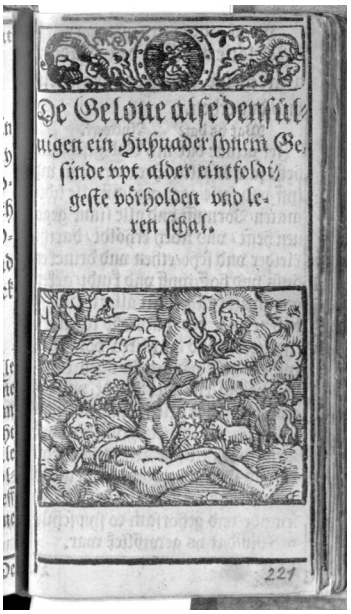


Figure 1-5. Same woodcut accompanying the explanation of the Creed, *De klene Catechismus oder Christlike Tucht* (Hamburg: Joachim Löw, 1565), 11r.

Figure 1-6. Woodcut of Christ's entry into Jerusalem accompanying the Advent hymn *Nu kum der Heiden Heyland*, *Geistlike Leder unde Psalmen* (Magdeburg: Wolfgang Kirchner, 1585), B3r.

Figure 1-7. Same woodcut illustrating the Gospel for the First Sunday in Advent, *Evangelia mit den Summarien vnde Episteln* (Magdeburg: Wolffgang Kirchner, 1585), A2v.

been paired with his Low German hymnal, the *Kort Psalmbökeschen.* The language of these volumes enabled them to reach readers beyond Hamburg, either as individual books or as a compendium. Their buyers seem to have chosen the former, suggesting that the practice of creating such compendia was particularly common in the North.[32]

Of course, each of the volumes mentioned above, whether or not it is bound together with anything else, is a self-conained book, with its own title page, signatures, and colophon. None make direct reference to any other, or explicitly require the possession or use of another. Yet by printing several similar books in and around the same year, printers presented book buyers with the option of grouping them together as a single, visually homogeneous devotional volume that could serve a variety of purposes. More importantly, the physical commonalities shared by hymnbooks and other devotional texts reflects an important conceptual analogy that linked songs, prayers, catechism texts, and other devotional texts in early Lutheran culture. The shared catechistic content of these works allied them to the Lutheran tradition of "lay Bibles" or "small Bibles," compendia that encapsulated the basic elements of the Christian faith in an easily recallable manner, so that even the least educated could learn and understand everything necessary for salvation.[33]

Luther himself had coined the phrase "lay Bible" (*leyen Bibel*) in his *Passional* of 1522, in which he had set forth the now-famous proposition that "children and simple folk" (*kinder und einfeltigen*) are more easily stirred to devotion by way of "image and likeness" (*bildnis und gleichnis*) than by "mere word or

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[32] The *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein* survives in two exemplars, one in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky (signature Scrin A/356), and one in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (signature M: Tl 304); neither are bound in with any other works. Wolder's High German *Kleine Catechismus* survives in the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar, Cat XVI: 363, and his High German *Oeconomia* in the British Library, London, C. 108. bb. 3. (7.).

[33] Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, "Luther and the Laity," in *The Transmission of Ideas in the Lutheran Reformation*, edited by Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989), 30-31.

teaching" (*blosse wort odder lere*).[34] Nor were "image" and "likeness" restricted to visual illustrations; these terms applied to any medium that could easily be comprehended, digested, and retained even by the uneducated.[35] Whatever form lay Bibles took, they were primarily *aides-mémoire* rather than conveyors of new information. They were not the first source in which readers learned the Word of God; rather, they served to reinforce the orally transmitted Word that their "simple" readers had already internalized from sermons, songs, and school lessons.[36] Besides catechisms and hymnbooks, several types of books functioned as lay Bibles, presenting the tenets of the faith in easily digestible "likenesses" or "parables": among these were *Passionalen* and prayerbooks like Luther's, pamphlets explaining common prayers, and books of Bible stories for children. The catechism and the hymnbook had pride of place among lay Bibles, for preachers, printers, and laypeople alike.

The Lutheran catechism had circulated in Hamburg from the very dawn of the Reformation. Even before Luther published his *Kleiner Catechismus* in Wittenberg in 1529, it had appeared in a Low German translation in Hamburg in the same year, printed by Georg Richolff the Younger, with the title *Eyn Catechismus effte vnderricht / Wo eyn Christen huszwerth syn ghesynde schal vpt eyntfoldigheste leren/ vp frage vnnd antwort gestellt /* ("A catechism or instruction wherewith a Christian householder may most easily teach his household, arranged in questions and answers").[37] As this title suggests, this catechism was to be used by the "Christian

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[34] *WA* vol. 10:2, 458.
[35] The word *gleichnis* may also be translated "parable," suggesting that a "likeness" could be verbal as well.
[36] Robinson-Hammerstein, "Luther and the Laity," 31.
[37] Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 413. Reprinted in *WA* vol. 30:1, 243-263. See also *WA* vol. 30:1, 668.

householder" (*Christen hůßwerth*) in teaching his household (*ghesynde*, implying servants as well as family members) the precepts of the Christian faith. In contrast to the *Großer Catechismus*, intended for use by ministers in teaching their congregations, the *Kleiner Catechismus* was for laypeople (and especially for their children), and was by far the more frequently printed of Luther's two catechisms in the North.[38] Divided into six parts (the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the sacraments of Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist), the *Kleiner Catechismus* set forth the most important aspects of faith in a question-and-answer format that served as an aid to memory in its own right. Luther had already devoted the bulk of an earlier work, his 1522 *Betbüchlein*, to explicating first of these these three items: the Commandments, the Creed, and Lord's Prayer. As he stated in his preface, these texts – known by heart to most believers – comprised everything a Christian needed to know in order to achieve salvation:

> Alßo leren die gepot den menschen seyn kranckheyt erkennen, das er sihet und empfindet, was er thun und nit thun, lasszen und nit lassen kan und erkennet sich eynen sunder und boßen menschen. Darnach helt yhm der glawb fur und leret yhn, wo er die ertzney, die gnaden finden sol, die yhm helff frum werden, das er die gepott halte. Und tzeygt yhm gott und seyne barmhertzickeyt ynn Christo ertzeygt und angepotten. Zum dritten leret yhn das vater unßer, wie er die selben begeren, holen und zu sich bringen soll, nemlich mit ordenlichem, demuetigem trostlichem gepett, ßo wirts yhm geben, und wirt alßo durch die erfullung der gepot gotis selig. Das sind die drey dingk yn der gantzen schrifft.
>
> The Commandments teach man to recognize his own infirmity, so that he sees and perceieves what he must and must not do, what he must and must not let happen, and recognize himself as a sinner and a wicked person. Then the Creed shows him and teaches him where to find the medicine, grace, that will help him become good so that he

[38] Compare 34 Low German prints of the *Kleiner Catechismus* before 1800 to thirteen of the *Großer Catechismus* (Borchling and Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, vol. 2, 1991). Twelve of the thirteen Low German editions of the latter were produced in Magdeburg or Wittenberg; the *Großer Catechismus* was not printed in Hamburg.

> keeps the Commandments, and shows him God and his mercy as offered and made manifest in Christ. Thirdly, the *Our Father* teaches him how to ask for, desire, and bring these things to himself – namely, by means of orderly, humble, and comforting prayer. Thus they will be given to him, and he will become blessed by fulfilling God's commandments. These are the three [essential] elements of the whole of Scripture.[39]

Besides Low German translations of Luther, other variations on the catechism were available in Hamburg, many of which were oriented towards youth. In the second half of the sixteenth century, little catechism pamphlets for children taught reading and faith at the same time, listing the letters of the alphabet and the name "Jesus" on their title pages for their young readers to sound out.[40] These booklets appeared in both German and Latin, the latter aimed specifically at students in Latin schools. There were also bilingual catechisms in Latin and Low German, intended to help students hone their Latin skills with the help of German sacred texts they had already committed to memory, and based on one prepared in 1531 by Georg Major, court preacher at Wittenberg.[41] The title pages of these works frequently invoked literacy as an explicit goal: one catechism from Magdeburg bore the title "Dr. Martin Luther's catechism in German and Latin, from which children may easily be instructed in reading."[42] As lay Bibles, all these works shared a common goal: to reduce the basic elements of faith to a form that could easily be memorized.

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[39] Preface to the *Betbüchlein* (1522), *WA* vol. 10:2, 376-377. Translation mine.
[40] Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 112, 113, and 114, all printed by Löw and undated, though Kayser and Dehn date these imprints to around 1549 (no. 113) and around 1580 (no. 112 and 114). Compare also a non-catechistic ABC pamphlet printed by Hans Binder in 1583 (Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 1) and a later *Libellus alphabetarius* (Hamburg: Rebenlein, 1632) containing the catechism, as well as the primers discussed in Müller, *Quellenschriften und Geschichte des deutschen Unterrichts* and van Orden, "Children's Voices."
[41] Georg Major, *CATECHISMVS. D.Marti. Luth. Düdesch vnde Latinisch / daruth de Kinder lichtliken in dem lesende vnderwyset mögen werden* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotther, 1531; VD16 L 5231, L 5232, and L 5233). Major's text became the standard Latin catechism in Lutheran Germany, and was reprinted in Hamburg as *Catechismus. D. Mar. Lut. Düdesch vnd Latinisch*… (Hamburg: Hans Binder, 1584 and 1586), Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 416 and 417. See also Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, 21.
[42] See n. 41.

Besides the question-and-answer format of the catechism, song and verse made the essentials of faith easier (and more pleasant) to memorize. The Reformation doctrine of *sola scriptura* taught that the Bible, and only the Bible, contained everything necessary for human salvation. Yet this renewed emphasis on the Bible also gave rise to the sung, versified paraphrases that were the staple of vernacular devotion in the Reformation, and which were regarded as legitimate means of transmitting biblical precepts. Though it was every Christian's responsibility to know the Bible, it was a notoriously difficult text to memorize in its literal form; even the Psalms, those most lyrical of all Biblical texts, were devoid of rhyme or regular meter. However, once condensed into rhyming couplets or quatrains, and then perhaps into the familiar *Barform* inherited from the medieval *Meistersinger*, these sprawling texts became far easier to recall; paraphrases in verse thus transferred the text of the Bible into the recurrent rhythmic patterns that, as Walter Ong has noted, are characteristic of orally based thought.[43] Coupling verse with music further increased their memorability, especially in strophic songs, whose music provided a repeating framework for fixing texts in the memory.[44] It was no surprise, then, that so many vernacular songs of the Reformation, from Luther's *Lieder* to the Genevan psalters of the 1540s and the English metrical psalms of Sternhold and Hopkins, were verse paraphrases of the Psalms of David, set either to pre-existing tunes or to new tunes that closely followed traditional schemes of melody and meter.[45] Paraphrases of psalms, canticles, Biblical narratives, and even catechism items were instrumental

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[43] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 34-35. Compare also 37-38 and 74-75 on oral narrative strategies within the Bible.
[44] Compare Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 63-64; Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 25-26; and van Orden, "Children's Voices," 230.
[45] For an overview of vernacular metrical psalm production before and during the Reformation, see Beth Quitslund, *The Reformation in Rhyme: Sternhold, Hopkins and the English Metrical Psalter, 1547-1603* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 9-18.

in defining the Lutheran hymnbook as a "'little Bible' which incorporated the essential message" of the large Bible.[46] And to David Wolder, compiler of the *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein*, the "small Bible" of Luther's songbook followed directly in the footsteps of the Psalms themselves:

> Es hat der heilig Lehrer Basilius / des Königlichen Propheten Davids Psalterlein / nicht höher vnd herrlicher rühmen können vnd mügen / als das ers die kleine Bibel hat genennet / weils alle nötigste sachen / deren die Bibel gedencket / kürtzlich in jhm hat / vnd begreiffet. Solchen Nahmen / Ehr vnd Ruhm / können wir mit ja so grosser / wo nicht mit grosser vnd mehrer fuge / dem Gesangbüchlein Doct. Luthers zulegen vnd geben.
>
> The holy teacher Basil could not have known how to praise the little Psalter of the royal prophet David any more highly than by calling it the "small Bible," because it contains within itself and comprises all the most important matters of which the Bible treats. With equally great justice (if not greater) we can accord this same title, honor, and renown to Doctor Luther's songbook.[47]

Wolder's encomium hints at another particularly Bible-like feature of the Lutheran hymnbook: its aim for inclusivity. Just as the Bible contained all the doctrine necessary for salvation, the hymnbook contained songs for every imaginable purpose or occasion. Luther and others in his circle had ensured that there were hymns for every occasion of the church year, every event of the human life cycle, and on every conceivable devotional theme. The standard ordering of Lutheran hymnbooks by church year and catechism, supplemented by thematic headings for various individual songs, helped readers find songs appropriate to the day, to sermon topics, or to their own spiritual state. Granted, these headings often varied widely in their degrees of detail, particularly in the *Enchiridion,* whose conventions for labeling

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[46] Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, "The Lutheran Reformation and its Music," in *The Transmission of Ideas in the Lutheran Reformation*, 144.
[47] *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein*, 4r-4v.

and sorting hymns were derived from the *Babstsches Gesangbuch*. Some songs were labeled simply "another spiritual song" (*eyn ander Geistlick Ledt*), while for others, such as *Midden wy im leuen synt* (*Mitten wir im Leben sind*), a text incipit served as the sole heading.[48]

Others, however, were exceedingly detailed. *Erholdt vns HEr by dynem wordt* was "a spiritual song to sing against the archenemies of Christ and his church, the Pope and the Turks."[49] Another particularly detailed heading alludes not only to a song's content, but also to its form: Hans Sachs' dialogue song *O Godt Vader du heffst gewaldt*, cast as a conversation between Christ and a "sinner" (*Sünder*) is labeled "an exceptionally fine artistic and Christian song, in which is a conversation of a sinner with Christ, and in which the sinner ultimately asks for grace from Christ."[50] By the time the *Enchiridia* were printed, the headings on these songs, borrowed from the *Babstsches Gesangbuch* and earlier hymnals in both High and Low German, had become as standardized as the songs themselves and served as unique identifiers to anyone with even a passing familiarity with Lutheran hymnals. Compilers like that of the Hamburg *Enchiridion* picked up where Luther left off, giving even newer hymns "that are not in the Wittenberg hymnal" – that is, that had not been written or collected by Luther himself – headings and rubrics that followed these precedents, and which eventually became standard as well. The result was a near-seamless fusion between older and newer hymn repertories.

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[48] *Enchiridion* (1558), 40v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 31v; Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 33.
[49] "Ein geistlick ledt / tho singende wedder de Ertzfyende Christi / vnd syner hilligen kercken / Den Pawest vnd Türcken / etc." *Enchiridion* (1558), 38r; *Enchiridion* (1565), 29r-29v; Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 29.
[50] "Ein vthermaten fyn Christlick vñ künstlick ledt / Dariñe ein gespreke ys des Sünders mit Christo / vnd wo endlick de Sünder van Christo gnad erlanget." *Enchiridion* (1558), 57v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 45r; Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 44. See also 81 n. 94 below.

Further contributing to the hymnbook's role as "lay Bible" was the fact that so many hymns were based on Biblical texts. Luther and other hymn writers paraphrased canticles, portions of Paul's epistles, the biblical narratives of the Passion, and above all, the Psalms of David – the quintessential "small Bible" cited by St. Basil. To devout readers well versed in the Word of God, even a simple Biblical chapter reference spoke volumes about a song's theme. Psalm-based songs in the *Enchiridion*, as indeed in countless other hymnbooks, are generally labeled simply with the number of the corresponding psalm and its Latin incipit, both of which informed even non-Latin speakers of their content. A hymn headed "De cxxx. Psal. de profundis clamavi," for example, would have been recognized immediately as the penitential *Uth deper nodt schrey ick tho dy* (*Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*).[51] Similarly, Psalm 23, then as now, was the archetypal psalm of consolation, and it is unsurprising to see "De 23. Psalm" (*De HEre ys myn trüwe Herd*, by David Wolder) following a series of songs on death, burial, and the Last Judgment towards the end of the *Kort Psalmbökeschen*.[52] Just as Lutheran hymnbooks aimed to instill the knowledge of God's Word in their singers and listeners, knowledge of the Word made the hymnbooks themselves easier to navigate.

Excursus: The Catechism Within the Hymnbook

Luther's catechism had a privileged place within the hymnbook, forming, as it were, one "lay Bible" within another. Songs based on the catechism constituted the second main category of songs in the hymnbook, directly following the hymns for the

[51] *Enchiridion* (1558), 36v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 28r; Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 27.
[52] *Kort Psalmbökeschen*, 176; Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 187. The song appears in High German as *Der HErr ist mein getrewer Hirt* in *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein*, 170, and it is here that David Wolder is named as its author.

feast days of the church year. Luther's catechism chorales, *Dies sind die heilgen zehn Gebot* (the Ten Commandments), *Wir gläuben all an einen Gott* (the Creed), *Vater unser im Himmelreich* (the Lord's Prayer), *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam* (Baptism), and *Jesus Christus unser Heiland, der von uns des Gotteszorn wandt* or *Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet* (Communion), were among the best known and most widely used of his hymns; their tunes are given in Appendix 1.[53] Joseph Herl has noted that *Wir gläuben all*, *Vater unser im Himmelreich*, and the two Communion hymns, in that order, are among the hymns most frequently mentioned in German church ordinances in the sixteenth century, perhaps because they also corresponded to central portions of the Mass; in fact, the top three places on Herl's list are occupied by *Wir gläuben all*, *Gott sei gelobet,* and *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*.[54]

Luther himself drew a close connection between catechism and song in his own rubric for the catechism hymns. Both editions of the Hamburg *Enchiridion* retain this rubric, in a verbatim translation of the corresponding heading of in the *Bapstsches Gesangbuch*:

> Nu volgen etlicke geistlike Gesenge / darinne de Catechismus korth geuatet ys / Wente wy yo gerne wolden / dat de Christlike lere vp allerley wyse / mit predigen / lessen singen etc. Flytich gedreuen / vnd jümmer dem iungen eintfoldigen volck ingebildet / vnd also vör vnd vör / rein erholden / vnd vp vnse nakömelinge gebracht wörde / Dartho vorlene vns Godt gnade vnd segen / dorch Jesum Christum / Amen.
>
> Next there follow several spiritual songs, in which the catechism is briefly summarized. For we would like Christian doctrine to be diligently practiced, and be taught in every possible way, with

[53] As long as I am discussing the songs apart from the hymnals, I have opted to use the more familiar High German titles. The tunes of the hymns as known in late sixteenth-century Hamburg can be found in Eler, *Cantica sacra*, XX (*Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot*), XXI (*Wir gläuben all an einen Gott*), XXII (*Vater unser im Himmelreich*), XXIIII (*Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*), XXV (*Jesus Christus unser Heiland*) and XXVI (*Gott sei gelobet*). For full texts and textual analysis of most of the hymns, see the following pages in Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*: 116-121 (*Wir gläuben all an einen Gott*), 128-134 (*Vater unser im Himmelreich*), 135-141 (*Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*), and 153-160 (*Jesus Christus unser Heiland*). Full texts of *Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot* and *Gott sei gelobet* may be found in Wackernagel, vol. 3, no. 22 and no. 11, respectively.

[54] Herl, *Worship Wars*, 66. Herl counts multiple mentions of the same hymn within each church ordinance.

> preaching, reading, singing, etc., to the young simple folk, kept thoroughly pure and passed on to our descendants. To which end may God grant us grace and blessing through Jesus Christ. Amen.[55]

That the catechism is "briefly summarized" (*kort geuatet, kurtz gefasset*) within the songs, rather than that the songs are "based on" the catechism (*auf dem Catechismus gegründet,* or similar), is important. Luther's hymns on the Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer are verse paraphrases of the texts in question, not simply songs *about* them.[56] The hymns themselves were thus the carriers of Christian doctrine, and laypeople reinforced their knowledge of their faith by way of songs they already knew.

The catechism and the catechism hymns provided familiar points of reference for each other. Catechism hymns preserved the inner organization of the texts on which they were based, with each strophe corresponding to an individual commandment, verse, or catechetical question. For the first three parts of the catechism, based on specific texts, this organization was easy to discern: there were Ten Commandments, three articles in the Apostles' Creed (one pertaining to each person of the Trinity), and seven petitions in the Lord's Prayer. The hymn on the Ten Commandments, *Dies sind die heilgen zehn Gebot*, has twelve verses: one introducing the commandments as group, nine verses in which the commandments are set forth (the final commandments against coveting are consolidated into one), one summarizing the commandments, and a final prayer for Jesus' aid in keeping

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[55] *Enchiridion* (1558), 24v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 18v. The equivalent passage in High German is in *Babstsches Gesangbuch*, E2r (33r).

[56] It is worth noting, however, that neither of Luther's Communion hymns are paraphrases of the Words of Institution. *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* is a reworking of a Latin hymn text attributed to Jan Hus, *Jesus Christus, nostra salus*, reprinted in Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 154-155. *Gott sei gelobet*, adapted from a pre-Reformation *Leise*, is a general thanksgiving, in the style of a grace after a meal; see Wackernagel, vol. 3, no. 10 and 11. Even with the abolition of the Canon of the Mass, the biblical Words of Institution from I Corinthians 11:23-25 continued to have as prominent a place in the Lutheran liturgy of the sacrament as it had in the Catholic Mass, and reflected the Lutherans' continued belief in the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine. See Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 180-182, and Ulinka Rublack, *Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 25.

them. Each commandment, no matter how many verses it occupies in Scripture, is presented in two rhyming couplets in iambic tetrameter. As a result, the longer commandments are somewhat compressed, while the shorter, terser ones are expanded to the point of detailed commentary, as in this treatment of "thou shalt not commit adultery":

> Dyn Ehe schaltu bewaren rein /
> dat ock dyn herte neen andern mein /
> Vnd holden sülck dat leuend dyn /
> Mit tucht vnd meticheit fyn /
> Kyrioleis.
>
> You shall keep your marriage pure,
> so that even your heart thinks of none other,
> and lead your life chastely,
> with virtue and fine moderation.
> *Kyrie eleison*.[57]

Similarly, the nine verses of *Vater unser im Himmelreich* correspond to the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer, with an introductory invocation of God the Father and a final Amen. Each petition occupies a single strophe of the song, though some – like the shorter Commandments – are considerably expanded. This verse scheme mirrors both the makeup of the prayer and Luther's explication of it in the *Kleiner Catechismus*, in which not only the seven petitions but also the invocation and amen had each received its own commentary. For example, the first line of the final stanza, "Amen / dat ys / yd werde wär" ("Amen, that is, let this be true"), echoes the last words of Luther's catechetical exegesis of the prayer: "Amen, das heyszt ja Es soll also geschehen" ("Amen, that is to say, yes, it shall be so").[58]

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[57] *Enchiridion* (1558), 25v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 18v; Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 14. In High German in *WA* vol. 35, 427; Wackernagel, vol, 3, no. 22. Translation mine.

[58] Hymn text in *Enchiridion* (1558), 27r-28v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 20v; Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 17; *WA* vol. 30, 255. For a detailed account of the catechistic content of this hymn, see Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music,* 128-134.

Baptism and Communion, which did not necessarily correspond to single, self-contained texts, were subdivided according to the corresponding question-and-answer sequences devised by Luther in his catechisms. In the section of the *Kleiner Catechismus* on Baptism, for example, Luther poses and answers the following four main questions, giving biblical citations for each: "What is Baptism?" (*Was ist die Tauff?*), "What is Baptism good for?" (*Was gibt oder nutzt die tauff?*) "How can water do such great things?" (*Wie kan wasser solliche grosse ding thůn?*) and "What does such Baptism by water then mean?" (*Was bedeuttet deñ sollich wasser teuffen?*) The heading given in the *Enchiridion* (and in Babst) to Luther's baptism hymn, *Christ vnse HEr tom Jordan quam* recalls these questions, and promises answers within the song: "A Christian song on our holy [Sacrament of] Baptism, in which is summarized what it is, who established it, and what purpose it serves."[59] The internal organization of the catechism songs, like that of the catechism, directly reinforced the knowledge of the faith that lay singers had gained by other means.

Distinctive musical and poetic characteristics strengthened the spiritual messages of the catechism hymns. Metrically, their texts are quite diverse; the simple rhymed couplets of *Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot* contrast markedly with the more complex rhyme and meter schemes of *Wir gläuben all an einen Gott* (whose eight-syllable lines combine iambic and trochaic feet), and *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam* (iambic throughout, in the asymmetrical meter scheme 8.7.8.7.

[59] "Ein Christlick ledt van vnser hilligen Döpe / darinne syn kort geuatet / Wat se sy / Wol se gestifftet hebbe / Wat se nütte." Enchiridion (1558), 29r; *Enchiridion* (1565), 21v; Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 18. A detailed examination of the correspondence between Luther's questions and the verses of the song is given in Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music,* 135-141.

8.7.8.7.7.).[60] This diversity often worked to enhance the memorability of individual hymns, especially in those that combined rhymed couplets with idiosyncratic rhythmic patterns. The strophes of *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*, for example, follow the heterometric scheme 8.8.7.8, while those of *Vater unser im Himmelreich* consist of three rhymed couplets each, rather than the more usual two.

Musical peculiarities counterbalanced or intensified these metrical characteristics. The six repeated *g*s that open *Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot*, insistently establishing the G-*durus* tonic, are unlike anything else in early modern hymnody; they render the hymn distinctive in spite of its foursquare metrical scheme of 8.8.8.8. Dotted rhythms, rare in early-modern hymnody, appear prominently in *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* (on the stepwise descent from *a* to *d* in the second and final phrases), *Wir gläuben all an einen Gott* (on the scalar descent from *c'* to *d* in penultimate phrase), and *Gott sei gelobet* (in the first phrase of the *Stollen*, and in the final *Kyrie*). These features had no intrinsic correspondence to the texts of the hymns or to the catechism; they were simply distinctive musical fingerprints of these tunes that could have rendered them particularly easy to memorize.

While melodic or metrical idiosyncrasies distinguished the tunes individually, mode brought them together. The modal content of the catechism hymns is surprisingly uniform for a group of songs not originally conceived of, nor published, as a group (see Table 1-2). Four of the six – *Wir gläuben all an einen Gott*, *Vater unser, Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam,* and *Jesus Christus unser Heiland* – are centered tonally on *d*, and exhibit several salient characteristics of the authentic

[60] For the full High German texts of these hymns, see Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 116-117 (*Dies sind die heilgen zehn Gebot*), 122 (*Wir gläuben all an einen Gott*), and 135-136 (*Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*).

protus mode: *d* finals (except *Christ unser Herr*, ending on the perfectly acceptable modal dominant of *a*); melodic emphasis on the species of fifth *d-a*, especially in the incipits; consistent use of B-natural instead of B-flat; and an approximate melodic compass of *d-d'*. Franz Eler, in the *Psalmi D. Martini Lutheri* of 1588, places all these songs within the first, or Dorian, mode (*1. Dorii*).[61] Even the two exceptions, *Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot* and *Gott sei gelobet*, share a modal center on *g*, with special melodic emphasis on the species of fourth *g-c'*; Eler places them in the eighth, or Hypomixolydian, mode (*8. Hypomixolydii*).[62] The standard hymnbook order of these songs is symmetrical according to mode, with the two hymns in *g* bordering the four in *d*. The two Communion hymns, *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* and *Gott sei gelobet*, always appear in that order, keeping the *d*-mode hymns in a single, central group.

Table 1-2. Luther's catechism hymns arranged in standard hymnbook order, with modes. Data on print appearance is taken from Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*.

Portion of catechism	Hymn	Mode (from Eler, *Psalmi*, 1588)	First appearance in print
Commandments	*Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot*	G-Hypomixolydian	Erfurt, 1524
Creed	*Wir gläuben all an einen Gott*	D-Dorian	Wittenberg, 1524
Lord's Prayer	*Vater unser im Himmelreich*	D-Dorian	Leipzig, 1539
Baptism	*Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*	D-Dorian	Wittenberg, 1535
Communion	*Jesus Christus, unser Heiland*	D-Dorian	Erfurt, 1524
"	*Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*	G-Hypomixolydian	Erfurt, 1524

[61] Eler, *Psalmi*, XXII, XXIII, XXV, and XXVI. My use of the Greek names of the modes follows Eler's usage throughout the *Psalmi* and the *Cantica sacra*. Eler's use of the Greek mode names reflects the humanistic orientation of his works, both of which were intended for use in the Johanneum; compare Harold S. Powers, "Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981), 430-431.
[62] Eler, *Psalmi,* XX and XXVI.

Although these modes are by no means unique to the catechism hymns, it is possible the prominence of the *d* mode in this group of hymns was by design, either that of Luther or of someone else. For laypeople unacquainted with the details of modal theory, these modes have practical consequences for singability or memorability. Both the Dorian and Hypomixolydian hymns fall within an approximate range of *d-d'* (realized as *d'-d"* in women's or children's voices), a comfortable medium register even for untrained voices. Melodically, the hymns contain a good mixture of conjunct and disjunct motion, with the ever-prominent *d-a* fifth serving as a constant intervallic guidepost to the two central pitches of the mode. Given this, one can imagine that these and other hymns might have been used to teach their singers fundamentals of music as well as of faith. Eler's *Psalmi*, for example, made this possible by assigning modes to the hymns, enabling the Hamburg schoolchildren who sang from it to learn the modes by way of the familiar sacred songs.

Of course, few of the tunes in question actually originate with Luther, and he had functioned more as a compiler or editor of the music of his hymns than as a composer creating a cyclical work. Pre-Reformation traditions of vernacular devotional song provided the melodies, and to some extent the texts, of several of the catechism hymns. Though Luther altered and expanded on the texts of these songs to accord better with his theology, he adopted their tunes with few changes. The two Hypomixolydian hymns took their tunes from medieval *Leisen* with texts on the themes of the Commandments and the Eucharist. The Dorian melody of *Wir gläuben all* belonged to a pre-Reformation Creed hymn. Similarly, the melody used for *Es*

wollt uns Gott gnädig sein in Walter's *Geystliche gesangk Büchlein* of 1524 was later used for *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*, which first appeared in 1539.[63] Despite the fact that it ends on the modal dominant of *a*, *Christ unser Herr* has all the melodic contours associated with the first mode, notably the scalar descent from *c'* down to *d* in the final phrase of the *Stollen* which unambiguously demarcates the entire modal range.

Jesus Christus unser Heiland, however, may reflect a deliberate effort on the part of Luther or another to regularize the modal profile of a preexisting song, making it at once more easily classifiable and more easily singable. The tune is markedly different from its fifteenth-century model, the Hussite Eucharistic hymn *Jesus Christus nostra salus*, which in turn had taken its tune from the Czech hymn *Otče bože všemohúcí*.[64] This Hussite hymn (shown in Musical Example 1-1) lacks the distinguishing opening *d-a* fifth of Luther's adaptation, opening instead with stepwise motion meandering between *d'* and *f'*. It is also notable for its expansive range; while most of the song lies between *d* and *f'*, a brief brush with *c* and *B* in the refrain ventures into plagal territory. In comparison, the adapted melody attributed to Luther (Appendix 1, no. 5) has a sharper, more easily memorizable melodic profile, a more manageable tessitura for untrained voices (*d-d'*, staying mostly between *d* and *a*), and a melody more unmistakably characteristic of the first mode, emphasizing the *d-a* species of fifth.

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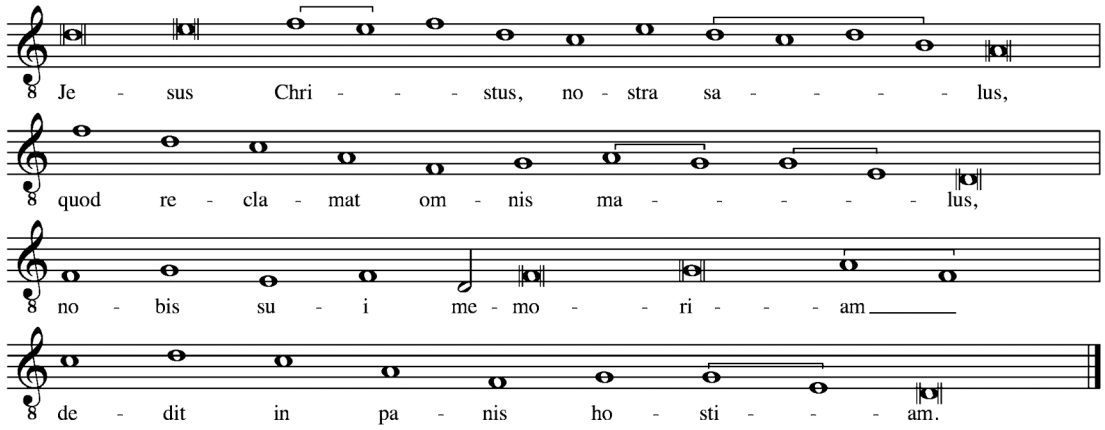
[63] Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music,* 138.
[64] Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu*, vol. 3 (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1954), 408-411. Luther's adaptation of the melody is accompanied by a no less substantial reworking of the text in accordance with his own Eucharistic theology; see Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 135-137.

Musical Example 1-1. The Hussite hymn *Jesus Christus, nostra salus*. Reprinted in Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu*, vol. 3 (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1954), 408.



Similar considerations shed light on the unique case of Luther's last catechism hymn, *Vater unser im Himmelreich*. Friedrich Blume has pointed out that its tune (Appendix 1, no. 3) is perhaps one of the few hymn tunes actually composed by Luther himself, and this seems substantiated by the well-known survival of an earlier rejected melody, with a final on F (Musical Example 1-2).[65] Previous scholarship has tended to explain Luther's rejection of this tune in terms of relatively nebulous concepts of mood or character. To Gerhard Schumacher, the earlier melody lacks the harmonic unity of the better-known tune, as well as "the elements that define the sharply refined character" of the later tune (*die Elemente, die den herb-erhabenen Charakter der Melodie ausmachen*).[66] Ulrich Leupold, in his commentary on the song in the American edition of Luther's complete works, speculates that Luther

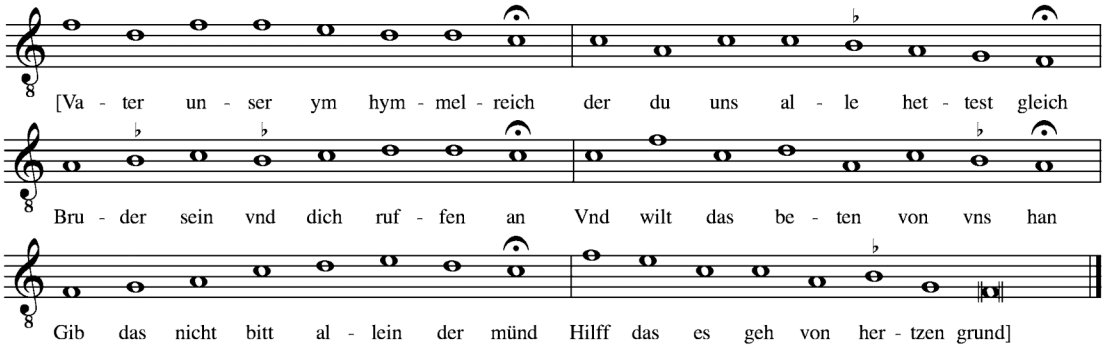
[65] Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, 43; Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 132. Leaver classifies the tune as Ionian, but several of the tune's melodic characteristics are more typical of the fifth mode: the a range of *f-f'*; melodic emphasis on the interval *a-c'; c'*, the modal dominant, as a frequent stopping point; and the use of both B-natural and B-flat, depending on the requirements of ficta. According to Ulrich Leupold's commentary in *LW* vol. 53, 295, Luther had written several other hymns in F with similar melodic characteristics: *Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her, Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*, and *Jesaia dem Propheten das geschah,* among others. Leupold also suggests that Luther's Dorian tune is adapted from a Lord's Prayer hymn of the Bohemian Brethren, Michael Weiße's *Begehren wir mit Innigkeit.* See also Markus Jenny, "Eine Korrektur Luthers an einer von seinen eigenen Melodien," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 33 (1990/91), 204-205.

[66] Gerhard Schuhmacher, "Aspekte der Choralbearbeitung in der Geschichte des Liedes 'Vater unser im Himmelreich,'" *Sagittarius* 4 (1973), 115-116.

"must have preferred the mood of the melody ultimately chosen."[67] More recently, Robin Leaver has described the final D-Dorian melody as "reflective" and "petitionary" in tone, and thus more appropriate to the Lord's Prayer than the "robust and assertive" melody ending on F.[68]

It seems at least as probable, however, that modal considerations informed the choice of the *d*-mode melody. The F mode of the first melody, and the higher range and different melodic content which it implied, agreed less well with the D tonality and melodic content of the other catechism hymns. Singability may also have been a factor; untrained voices might have found the higher range (*f-f'*) harder to negotiate, especially at the higher pitch level (*Chorton*) typically used in North German churches.[69] The melody in D, in contrast, was located in a more comfortable tessitura, and featured a melodic profile that was more congruent with the rest of the

Musical Example 1-2. Luther's first, rejected melody for *Vater unser im Himmelreich*, with High German text underlaid. From an autograph manuscript reprinted in Friedrich Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), plate 7.



[67] *LW* vol. 53, 296.
[68] Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music,* 132.
[69] Evidence that *Chorton* was used in seventeenth-century Hamburg can be gleaned from the evidence of the surviving pipes in the Arp Schnitger organ at St. Jacobi, which point to a pitch level of about *a'* = 495 Hz, slightly more than a whole step above modern concert pitch. Though built between 1689 and 1693, Schnitger's organ incorporated pipes from earlier Hamburg instruments, which therefore must have been similar in pitch. See Jürgen Ahrend, "Die Restaurierung der Arp Schnitger-Orgel," in *Die Arp Schnitger-Orgel der Hauptkirche St. Jacobi*, 227, and Bruce Haynes, "Chorton," in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05683 (accessed May 27, 2009).

catechism hymns. The choice of this melody, presumably made by Luther himself, resulted in a group of catechism hymns that were reasonably uniform in content and range, and thus as unified musically as they were theologically.

Catechism and Song in Hamburg

In Hamburg, as throughout Germany, the catechism was a constant presence. Catechism and catechism hymns figured in a variety of liturgies, from weekday teaching services to Vespers to Sunday Mass. The authors of Hamburg's two earliest Reformation church ordinances, Johannes Bugenhagen (1529) and Johannes Aepinus (1556), both considered the study of the catechism a civic duty as well as a spiritual one, and both mapped the divisions of the catechism onto the city's own ecclesiastical organization into four parishes. The catechism and Luther's hymns were also considered essential to the education of the city's youth, and both occupied prominent places in the curriculum of the Johanneum. For even the youngest learners, song and theology went hand in hand.

At the Johanneum, the familiar vernacular texts of the catechism, hymns, and common prayers were mobilized in teaching Christian faith and basic literacy. School ordinances of the sixteenth century place particular emphasis on the catechism as the foundation of students' knowledge, both religious and otherwise. As a *Schulordnung* of 1556 put it:

> Vor allen Dingen moth vnd schal de Catechismus in allen Classibus mit Vlith vnd Truwen werden gelehret, vp dat de jungen Kinder van Jogent uff tho Gades Furchten ertagen vnd geholden werden, wente Salomon secht, dat de Fruchte [sic] Gades ist der Wissheit Anfangh.

> Above all, the catechism must and shall be taught with diligence and faith in in all classes, so that the young children, from [their] youth onward, are raised up and kept in the fear of God; for Solomon says that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom [Proverbs 1:7].[70]

The catechism also aided in teaching literacy in the vernacular and in Latin. Students in the lowest classes, just beginning to learn how to read and write, learned to recite the catechism in their native Low German. After learning letters and syllabication, they progressed to sounding out the words of the catechism, which they had already committed to memory, in primers.[71] Even in the first class, those students who had learned how to sound out part or all of the catechism in the vernacular were to begin studying it in Latin as soon as possible, as a *Lehrordnung* of 1537 directs:

> Die Sabbati et dominica orationem dominicam, symbolum Apostolorum, decalogum germanice primum, mox latine ediscant, benedictionem item mensae et gratiarum actionem.
>
> On Saturday and Sunday they are to learn the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, and Decalogue first in German, but soon in Latin, along with the table blessing and the grace [after meals].[72]

Once they mastered the reading the words of the catechism in the first class, students in the second and third classes practiced writing the catechism down, then progressed to "interpreting" the catechism according to the explication (*expositio*) provided by Luther in the *Kleiner Catechismus*.[73] Individual students were called on to recite sections of the catechism and its explication before the entire school at the school-wide recitations (*repetitiones*) that took place on Wednesdays and Saturdays.[74]

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[70] *Schulordnung* of 1556, in Richard Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule in Hamburg*, vol. 3: *Die Ordnungen der St. Johannis-Schule im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg: Thomas G. Meissner, 1879), 36. Cf. *Schulordnung* of 1615, in Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 43 "Den Catechismum sollen die Praeceptoren in allen Classibus mit sondern Fleisse treiben, damit die Jugendt in Gottesfurcht aufgezogen werde, jedoch soll hir ein Unterscheidt nach eines jeden Classis Gelegenheit vermöge des Ordinarii gehalten werden."
[71] *Schulordnung* of 1537, reprinted in Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 12: "Ubi sic fuerint praeparati, exercebunt se in connectendo syllabas in enchiridiis puerilibus, quae continent verba simplicis catechismi."
[72] *Lehrordnung* of 1537, in Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 12.
[73] *Lehrordnung* of 1537, in Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 13-14.
[74] Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 5, 18, and 20.

A much later teaching ordinance, dating from 1634, set forth even more detailed goals for teaching the catechism, which I recount here for the sake of comparison with the earlier regulations. Students in the lowest two of the eight classes (now numbered the eighth and seventh) learned to recite the catechism in German without Luther's explication (*absque explicatione*).[75] Over the next three classes, students learned Luther's explications of the catechism, beginning with the Ten Commandments in the sixth class. They were also expected to show their understanding of the concepts as well as the words by answering their teachers' questions. By reaching the third-highest class, students were to have these thoroughly memorized in German, in order to begin learning the same texts in Latin. The highest two classes, having mastered the catechism in both languages, would then proceed to more advanced theology.

Just as the catechism was the foundation of religious education at the Johanneum, German hymns were the foundation of musical education, and made equally important contributions to students' education in faith. Like the bilingual texts of the catechism, German songs and Latin chants coexisted, complementing and reinforcing each other. From school statutes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we know that the school day began and ended with song: the antiphon *Veni sancte Spiritus* was to be sung by the assembled students at the beginning of the school day, and a German hymn was to be sung at the end of the day.[76] The lower classes' first musical instruction consisted exclusively of hymns in the vernacular. At noon, when the higher classes were practicing plainchant and polyphony, they were to

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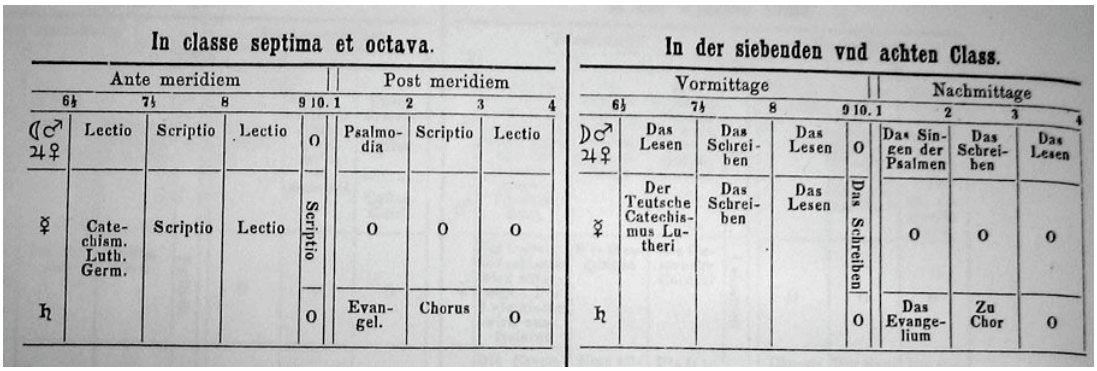
[75] *Lehrordnung* of 1634, in Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 67: "In pietatis studio catechismum Lutheri Germanicum absque explicatione recitent."
[76] Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 15 and 73. Compare also Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, 3, 5, and 20, and Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege*, 170-1, 202-3, and 322 (among others).

rehearse "the psalms and hymns that we use every day in the divine service" (*psalmos et hymnos, quibus quotidie in sacris utimur*).[77] Their weekly curriculum, as illustrated on a teaching schedule from the *Lehrordnung* of 1634 (Figure 1-8), consisted entirely of reading, writing, and learning the Gospel, catechism, and hymns in German. Indeed, singing in both Latin and German was always in the service of prayer, and was an everyday feature of school life. The frequent singing of sacred songs in school reinforced the theological concepts that the schoolchildren were learning concurrently, and also, as John Butt has observed, served the practical purpose of preparing students to sing in the daily church services.[78]

Like the catechism, the hymns were learned verbatim and committed to memory. An interesting passage in the school statutes of May 19, 1537, which survives in both Latin and Low German versions, suggests that the more bookish Latin-schoolers required a specific reminder in this regard.



In classe septima et octava.

	Ante meridiem					Post meridiem		
	6½	7½	8	9	10. 1	2	3	4
☾♂ ♃♀	Lectio	Scriptio	Lectio	O		Psalmodia	Scriptio	Lectio
☿	Catechism. Luth. Germ.	Scriptio	Lectio	Scriptio		O	O	O
♄				O		Evangel.	Chorus	O

In der siebenden vnd achten Class.

	Vormittage					Nachmittage		
	6½	7½	8	9	10. 1	2	3	4
☽♂ ♃♀	Das Lesen	Das Schreiben	Das Lesen	O		Das Singen der Psalmen	Das Schreiben	Das Lesen
☿	Der Teutsche Catechismus Lutheri	Das Schreiben	Das Lesen	Das Schreiben		O	O	O
♄				O		Das Evangelium	Zu Chor	O

Figure 1-8. Teaching schedule for the first class in the Johanneum from the *Lehrordnung* of 1634, in Richard Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule in Hamburg*, vol. 3: *Die Ordnungen der St. Johannis-Schule im 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Thomas G. Meissner, 1879), 114.

[77] *Lehrordnung* of 1537, in Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 12. German hymns were frequently called *psalmi* or *Psalmen,* as hymnbook like titles like *Enchiridion Geistliker Leder und Psalmen, Ein kort Psalmbökeschen*, and *Psalmi D. Martini Lutheri* attest.

[78] Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, 2-3.

> Psalmos germanicos, quibus in sacris quotidie utimur, ediscent, ne cogantur semper confugere ad libros, et turpe est scholasticos hac parte vinci ab idiotis.
>
> De dütschen Psalmen, de men gewähnlick alle Dage gebrucket, schälen se van buthen leeren, up dat se alle Tydt desülvigen in den Böcken nich so söcken dörffen, unde steit ock gar nich wohl edder fyn, dat de gemeene Mann hierinnen den Schölern schall averlegen syn.
>
> They shall learn by heart the German psalms that we use every day [Latin: in the divine service], so that they do not always have to look for them in books; and it is neither good nor fine [Latin: disgraceful] that the common man [Latin: laypeople] should be superior to [Latin: outdo] scholars in this regard.[79]

This innocent regulation seems at first to conflict with the purported program of the Latin school. Did not such schools exist, after all, to enable children to "resort to books"? If we take this statue at face value, vernacular hymnbooks may not always have been welcome in school, since they were liable to be used as "crib sheets" of sorts. Another implication of this statute is that students had access to hymnbooks even before any had been printed in their home city. Even though Hamburg's first *Enchiridion* postdated the ordinance of 1537 by almost a generation, it is possible that some of the various editions of *Geistlike Leder* published in Magdeburg and Rostock in the 1530s and 1540s were known in Hamburg.[80] One can imagine that dependence on the hymnbook remained a problem in later years, and that later books like the *Enchiridion,* the *Psalmi*, and the *Kort Psalmbökeschen* may have been used for both teaching and peeking. Even in the Latin school, the newfound ability to read was

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[79] School statutes of May 19, 1537, article 14, in Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 26-27. The statutes were originally drawn up ion Latin; the Low German paraphrase of the ordinance is a later addition, appended to a school ordinance of 1556.

[80] See, for example, the facsimiles of hymnbooks in Wiechmann-Kadow, ed., *Joachim Slüter's ältestes rostocker Gesangbuch* (containing hymnbooks published in Rostock in 1531 and Magdeburg in 1541), and Crist, *Enchiridion geistliker leder unde Psalmen, Magdeburg 1536*.

never intended to supplant the memory and the ear; a model Latin school student knew not only how to read, but also when not to read.

Furthermore, the depiction of two different kinds of hymn-singers – book-centered schoolchildren and memory-centered lay adults – neatly captures the tension between the printed hymnbook and the oral character of the hymn repertory. The "common" laypeople (*idiotae*) of Hamburg, who presumably had not had a Latin school education, were in the habit of singing German hymns from memory two decades before the publication of the first hymnal in Hamburg. Thus the *Enchiridion* and similar books were not so much liturgical texts as learning texts; rather than bringing them along to sing from each time they went to church, lay adults may have used them the way beginning schoolchildren had used the catechism in their first class: to learn to read words and music with the help of songs they knew.

The *idiotae* of Hamburg had a regular catechism routine of their own, outlined in the city church ordinances. Bugenhagen considered regular instruction for the laity to "have greater power than some ignorant people assume" (*dar licht groter macht ane / den ethlyke vnuorstendighe lude menenn*).[81] His church ordinance of 1529 prescribed weekly instruction throughout the church year, in addition to daily sermons to be given by the pastors and deacons of each of the four main parish churches. Each church held weekly services for the teaching of the catechism: St. Katharinen on Tuesday, St. Jacobi on Wednesday, St. Petri on Thursday, and St. Nikolai on Friday. These were supplemented by one service per week teaching one of the four Evangelists, at the discretion of the individual pastors. Spaced equally over the week, such services enabled "those citizens, male and female, young and old,

[81] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 84.

who would like to study Scripture to take note of when a text they do not well understand is preached in church" (*Beßundergenn ock / dath ethlyke Borghere vnnd Borgherinnen Junck vnnd Oldth / de gerne in der schryfft studerenn moghenn / warenn vnnd warenn lathenn / wann in eyner karcken schall eynn Text ghepredikеt werdenn / denn ße noch nycht woll vorstaen*).[82] Finally, Bugenhagen prescribed additional catechism instruction "for the whole city" during Advent, Lent, Ascension week, and "two weeks after the harvest, before the hops are picked" (*Twe wekene na der Arne er men den hoppen affnympt*). These were administered not in the parish churches, but by the Superintendent in the Johanniskloster.[83]

In Aepinus's church ordinance of 1556, catechism instruction is reserved for Advent and the period between Easter and Pentecost.[84] The instruction was to take place not in the centrally located Johanniskloster, but in the four parish churches and in the cathedral of St. Marien, twice a week for three weeks. Each meeting was devoted to one main section of the catechism, and counting the cathedral along with the parish churches resulted in a total of five teaching venues, one for each section of the catechism. The order in which the sections were taught was not left up to the pastors, but followed a very precise plan:

> Up dat alle stücke des catechismi in allen parkerken ganz mögen geprediget werden, und einer nicht stedes ein stücke handele, schall de superintendens im dome ersten anfangen de teien gebade, de pastor to St. Petri den geloven, to S. Nicolai dat pater noster, to S. Cattrinae vam sacramente der döpe und de potestate clavium, to S. Jacob vam sacramente des lives und blodes Jesu Christi des heren, wenn averst de tidt wedderkumpt, den catechismum to predigen, schall de superintendens vam nechstvolgenden stücke vorgedaner predige

[82] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 84.
[83] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 86.
[84] More specifically, the three weeks following the Sunday after Martinmas (November 11) and the three weeks following the second Sunday after Easter, known as *Misericordias Domini*. See Johannes Aepinus, "Kirchenordnung. Vom 28. April 1556," in Emil Sehling, ed., *Die evangelischen Kirchordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts,* vol. 5 (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1913), 543-544.

> wedder anfangen, alse vam geloven, und so schölen de pastoren alle nafolgen, na ordeninge vorbenömder stücke des catechismi.
>
> So that all parts of the catechism may be fully preached in all parish churches, and that [an individual] church not always teach only one part, the Superintendent in the cathedral shall begin with the Ten Commandments, the pastor at St. Petri with the Creed, at St. Nikolai with the Lord's Prayer, at St. Katharinen with the sacrament of Baptism and the power of the keys [i.e. absolution], and at St. Jacobi with the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. And when the time comes again to preach the catechism, the superintendent shall begin again with the next part after the sermon has been preached – that is, with the Creed – and thus shall all the pastors continue in the order of the above named parts of the catechism.[85]

This ordering ensured that each church completed the entire catechism over each three week period, and that the laity had the opportunity to hear each of the city's preachers teach each portion of the catechism. At the same time, no two churches taught the same section of the catechism at the same time, so that the entire catechism was being taught within the city of Hamburg during any given week of the instruction periods. The whole city learned the catechism together, ensuring the spiritual health of all its inhabitants.

Bugenhagen further describes another very different variety of catechism liturgy, one which brought lay adults and schoolchildren together. On Sunday, after the early morning sermon and before Matins, children and teachers from the Johanneum filed into the choir of each parish church. Standing facing each other, on either side of the choir, they recited the catechism, "slowly and without melody" (*langksam / sine tono*) and in Latin. Luther's question-and-answer format was transformed into a call-and-response format, with the teacher leading and the children

[85] Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 5, 544. Translation mine.

in the choir responding antiphonally (*vmme schicht*) alternating by commandment, article, or petition:

> De gheßelle schall erstenn myth langkßamer vnnd myddelmatesscher stemme spreken Alße Hec sunt precepta domini dei nostri.
> Nach dem ßuluestenn stemmen / schollenn de kyndere allene langßem vnnd beschedelykenn vpp beydenn Chorenn vmme schicht / Eyn juwelick Chore syne reghe leßenn / alße hyr de regenn na synth gheschreuenn
> Ego sum dominus deus tuus
> Non habebis deos alienos coram me….
>
> First the teacher shall say, slowly and in a moderate tone, "Hec sunt precepta domini dei nostri" [These are the commandments of the Lord, our God].
> In the same tone of voice, slowly and clearly, on both [sides of the] choir in turn, read their lines one [side of the] choir at a time, as the lines are written here:
> Ego sum dominus deus tuus [I am the Lord your God]
> Non habebis deos alienos coram me [You shall have no other gods before me]….[86]

The recitation continued in like manner, with the teacher introducing each section, and the children responding with the appropriate text, line by line. For Baptism and Communion, students recited the scriptural verses in which those sacraments were established; for Communion, they recited the same Words of Institution spoken by the pastor during the Mass. Their audience consisted of those laypeople who arrived early to Mass, or who attended the early morning sermon and Matins and were staying on for Mass.

The recitation "on both sides of the choir in turn" (*vpp beydenn Chorenn vmme schicht*) took advantage of the traditional antiphonal arrangement of choirstalls

[86] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 173-174; translation mine. Aepinus makes no mention of this practice, but that does not necessarily imply that it fell from use after his church ordinance of 1556, which is much shorter and less detailed than Bugenhagen's. There are several small differences between Bugenhagen's Latin text and Georg Major's Latin translation of the catechism: for example, neither the verse "Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus" nor the words "coram me" appear in Major. Compare Hans Binder's printa of Major's catechism, *Catechismus. D. Mar. Lut. Düdesch vnd Latinisch*… (Hamburg: Hans Binder, 1584 and 1586), A3v-A4r.

in a medieval church, which faced each other on either side of the space between the altar and the rood screen. Even though the students did not actually sing, this antiphonal arrangement gave the entire exercise much the same character as a musical performance. Students on each side of the choir had to be ready to come in immediately with their lines once the previous side finished. Bugenhagen's regulations further specify the tempo and pitch of the recitation; teachers and children alike were to read slowly, in a moderate tone of voice (*myth myddelmatesscher stemme*), suggesting an ideal of clear enunciation and steady, unison speech rhythm. Frederick Gable has noted that this slow pace was also considered the ideal for plainchant performance in early modern Hamburg and elsewhere in the early modern German-speaking lands.[87]

Finally, the physical arrangement of the choristers "on both choirs" (*vpp beyden chorenn*) resembled the similar configurations used in liturgical singing: psalms, canticles, and the Litany were recited in this manner during the daily Offices, continuing a quasi-monastic practice dating back centuries. Many printed hymnbooks for the laity, including the Hamburg *Enchiridia* and later Eler's *Psalmi*, referred to this practice, grouping alternate verses of the *Te Deum*, or the verses and responses of the Litany into *dat erste Chor* and *dat ander Chor*, with each choir occupying one half of an opening (Figures 1-9 and 1-10). This antiphonal layout not only prescribed a specific performance practice for the *Te Deum* and Litany, but also better enabled congregants to follow along with these two lengthy, content-rich liturgical texts (characteristics they shared, incidentally, with the catechism).

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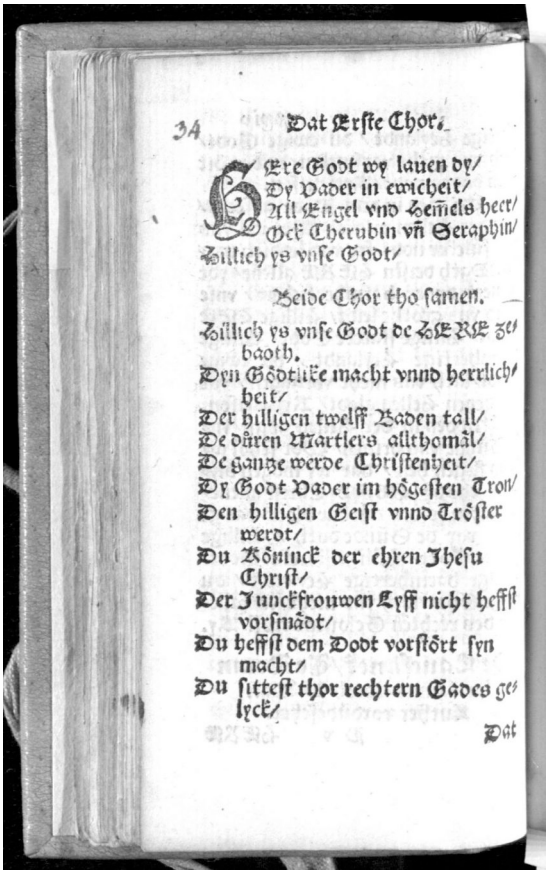
[87] Frederick K. Gable, "The *Institutionum Musicarum* of Erasmus Sartorius and the Rhythm of Plainsong in Seventeenth-Century Germany," in *Music in Performance and Society: Essays in Honor of Roland Jackson,* edited by Malcolm Cole and John Koegel (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), especially 154-165.

Similarly, printed catechisms bound with hymnbooks could well have aided some spectators at catechism recitations like those mentioned by Bugenhagen. With the help of the standardized ordering, the teacher's introductions, and the antiphonal alternation of the two sides of the choir, even those who knew no Latin could follow the German in their own pocket editions of the catechism. Indeed, even the majority of churchgoers, who had no catechism books and needed none, might have found the "slow, clear" antiphonal delivery easy to follow.



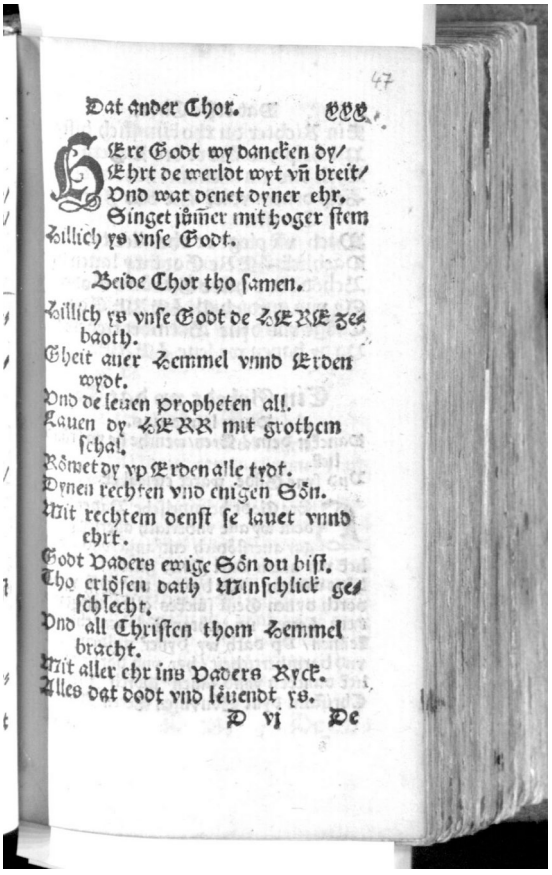
34 Dat Erſte Chor.

Gere Godt wy lauen dy/
Dy Vader in ewicheit/
All Engel vnd Hemels heer/
Gek Cherubin vñ Seraphin/
Tillich ys vnſe Godt/

Beide Chor tho ſamen.

Tillich ys vnſe Godt de HERRE zebaoth.
Dyn Göddlike macht vnnd herrlicheit/
Der hilligen twelff Baden tall/
De düren Martlers allthomäl/
De ganze werde Chriſtenheit/
Dy Godt Vader im högeſten Tron/
Den hilligen Geiſt vnnd Tröſter werdt/
Du Köninck der ehren Jheſu Chriſt/
Der Junckfrouwen Lyff nicht heffſt vorſmädt/
Du heffſt dem Dodt vorſtört ſyn macht/
Du ſitteſt thor rechtern Gades gelyck/

Dat



47

Dat ander Chor.

Gere Godt wy dancken dy/
Ehrt de werldt wyt vñ breit/
Vnd wat denet dyner ehr.
Singet jůnger mit hoger ſtem
Tillich ys vnſe Godt.

Beide Chor tho ſamen.

Tillich ys vnſe Godt de HERRE Zebaoth.
Heit auer Hemmel vnnd Erden wydt.
Vnd de leuen propheten all.
Lauen dy HERR mit grothem ſchal.
Römet dy vp Erden alle tydt.
Dynen rechten vnd enigen Sön.
Mit rechtem denſt ſe lauet vnnd ehrt.
Godt Vaders ewige Sön du biſt.
Tho erlöſen dath Minſchlick geſchlecht.
Vnd all Chriſten thom Hemmel bracht.
Mit aller ehr ins Vaders Ryck.
Alles dat dodt vnd lěuendt ys.

D vj De

Figure 1-9. German *Te Deum*, first choir's verses, *Enchiridion Geistliker Leder vñ Psalmen* (Hamburg: Johann Wickradt, 1558), 42v.

Figure 1-10. German *Te Deum*, second choir's responses, *Enchiridion Geistliker Leder vñ Psalmen* (Hamburg: Johann Wickradt, 1558), 43r.

There is no way to tell how well attended catechism teaching services actually were in late sixteenth-century Hamburg, but they do seem to have been considered regular and suitable additional devotions for Advent, Lent, and other special times of the church year. During periods when supplemental instruction was held, pastors were to announce upcoming catechism services on the Sundays before. In addition, Bugenhagen places the responsibility upon householders to ensure that their children and entire household attend:

> Wen Auersth ßulcke tydt kumpth dath me des Mandaghes Catechismum schall anfangenn Szo schollenn de anderenn predikere in allenn karckenn des Szondaghes thouorne dath vorkundighenn dem volcke van dem predickstolle / vnnd vormanenn dath ße schuldich synth tho ßulcker predike / Ohre kyndere vnnd gheßynde tho ßendende etc.
>
> But when it comes time for the Monday catechism [services] to begin, the other preachers in all the churches shall announce this to the people from the pulpit the Sunday before, and admonish them that they are responsible for sending their children and households to these services.[88]

Small, portable copies of Luther's catechism in Low German, like those printed by Löw and Wickradt, could be used both during these services and in preparation for them. Just as a hymnbook could be used both to learn hymns at home and to sing with choir and congregation in church, a vernacular catechism could be used both to "study up" before an instruction service and to follow the service itself. In both books, a standardized ordering scheme made it easy to find material appropriate to the theme of the day.

Neither Bugenhagen nor Aepinus mentions the singing of hymns at instructional services, but this does not mean that no singing took place. That hymns

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[88] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 86; translation mine.

were sung at at least some weekday preaching services can be ascertained from an *Ordnung des Gottes Dienstes in der Capelle St. Gerdruten in Hamburg Erstlich Anno 1580 geweiht* ("order of service for the chapel of St. Gertrude in Hamburg, first dedicated in 1580"), copied (and, most likely, translated into High German) in 1713 by Johann Kortkamp, then organist and scribe at St. Jacobi:

> Es ist die Predigt geordnet am Donnerstag Dingstage alß eine Haupt predigt von 8 bis 9 Uhr, da der Küster den anfang des Gottes Dienstes ¾ vff 8 gemacht vnd gesungen den Gesang Kum Heÿliger Geist. Nachgehens waß vff der Predigt von dem Prediger verordnet & demnach Nun bitten wir den Heÿligen Geist / mit selben Gesang ist der Prediger vmb 8 Uhr praecise nach der Canzel gangen. Nach der Predigt ist wieder von dem Küster gesungen was seÿ auff der Predigt schicket / vnd ist damit der Gottes Dienst geendigt.
>
> The main sermon is set for Thursdays and Tuesdays from 8 to 9 o'clock. The sexton begins the service at a quarter to 8, and the song *Kum Heÿliger Geist* is sung. Then [comes the song] which the preacher has prescribed based on the sermon and, after that, *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist*. With this same song, the preacher enters the chancel at 8 o'clock precisely. After the sermon, [the song] prescribed for the sermon is sung again by the sexton, and with that the service ends.[89]

If hymns had indeed been sung at the catechism services described by Bugenhagen and Aepinus, one of Luther's catechism hymns would have been a logical choice for "the song prescribed for the sermon." Robin Leaver has suggested that only selected verses of these hymns could have been sung, depending on precisely which portion of the catechism was being taught.[90] If, for example, only one petition of the Lord's Prayer had been expounded in the sermon, the hymn for the day could simply have been the corresponding verse of *Vater unser im Himmelreich*, omitting the others or perhaps concluding with the Amen verse. The structural and textual parallels

[89] Staatsarchiv Hamburg, St. Gertrudenkapelle VI. b., 2r. Translation mine.
[90] Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music,* 132.

between Luther's hymns and his catechism, discussed above, allow amply for this possibility.

The singing of a hymn before and after a catechism sermon would certainly have been a logical way to reinforce the sermon's message, even if official church ordinances offer no coroboration.[91] Considering, however, that hymns were the first (and often only) exposure most lay people had to the tenets of their faith, perhaps it is more accurate to say that the regular preaching on the catechism helped amplify the knowledge people already had acquired from hymns. As the shared illustrations and typography in hymnals and catechisms linked one text to the other in their readers' minds, preaching and music at the catechism services reinforced this link by bringing it to life in sound. And with their hymnbook and catechism bound together in one handy volume, the faithful could easily go from song to doctrine and back again.

Literacy and Pedagogy in the *Enchiridia* of 1558 and 1565

When hymnbooks were bound together with catechisms, prayerbooks, or collections of Biblical texts, the result was a single compendium – literally, an *Enchridion* – that was songbook, prayerbook, and spiritual textbook rolled into one. Like the books of hours and breviaries that were their conceptual ancestors in the Catholic world, these were multi-purpose books, offering texts for singing, declaiming, or praying silently in a great variety of settings: at home, at church, at

[91] To what extent the organ would have participated is likewise unclear. Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 120, states that organists were not required to play at services on weekdays, in order to give them time to "teach their art to others" (*dath ße ere kunsth anderenn lerenn*), while Aepinus requires that organists play on "both holy days and weekdays" (*beide hilige dage unde werkeldage*, Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 5, 547). However, unaccompanied congregational singing was not unknown, and could have been led by the clergyman or even by the sexton, who frequently acted as cantor; see, for instance, Kortkamp's account of the chapel's second rededication in 1607 in Staatsarchiv Hamburg, St. Gertrudenkapelle VI. b., 2r, in which he mentions the sexton singing *Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist* "with just the congregation, without organ" (*allein mit der Gemeine, ohne Orgel*) at the beginning of the Tuesday sermon. On the rededication of St. Gertrude in 1607, see Frederick K. Gable's introduction to RRMBE vol. 91.

table, on the deathbed, at the graveside. The hymnbook containing a double-choir litany and a *düdesche Messe* (including portions spoken *in secreto* by the celebrant) also featured spiritual songs to sing "upon rising in the morning," "after mealtime," or "while dying." A prayerbook bound together with the hymnbook included prayers for people in all situations: pregnant women, those about to begin work, and those about to travel, among others. Finally, the catechism offered basic guidelines for faith that applied to all possible readers of these books, at all times of their lives.

This comprehensive character owed as much to print itself as to these books' character as "small Bibles." In many ways, the combined volumes from Hamburg that I have examined show the concept of the "small Bible" to be very much intertwined with print. Not only was it spiritually expedient to include every possible prayer or song for every possible occasion; it was also a necessity for printers who wanted their books to be marketable. As Joseph Herl notes, most early modern Protestant hymnbooks, rather than being sanctioned by ecclesiastical authorities for use in a specific place or manner, "were books without official status compiled by printers in order to make a profit" – like Hours and other Catholic books elsewhere in Europe.[92] To become a "small Bible," an exhaustive, all-occasion devotional compendium, a hymnbook or prayerbook had to begin as a collection of miscellaneous texts that were usually assembled by printers. The very materiality of these books, both individually and as compendia of several volumes, reconciles several distinct modes of devotion that would otherwise rarely be juxtaposed in practice – a juxtaposition that was amplified when consumers bound several devotional books together.

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[92] Herl, *Worship Wars*, 106.

Yet the hymnbook's characteristic variety also had a pedagogical dimension. Beyond its unparalleled ability to teach faith through song, the hymnbook was an invaluable teacher of other basic skills as well: reading, musical literacy, and everyday Christian comportment. The diverse content of the *Enchiridia* of 1558 and 1565 make these works ideal examples for the closer study of these aspects; besides a large numer of songs on diverse themes, they contain a wealth of non-musical items that are interspersed with those songs: a calendar, poems, Biblical verses, and entire liturgies. The division into two sections – Luther's more canonical hymns and the "second songbook" containing more miscellaneous newer hymns – distinguished familiar hymn texts from newer less familiar texts: the former could be sounded out syllable for syllable by new readers, while intermediate readers and singers could continue to hone their skills on the latter. Considered in this light, the sporadic appearance of notation in the *Enchiridion* is especially revealing of the ways in which readers may have approached notated hymns. While the overall rarity of notation in this hymnbook reaffirmed the essentially oral character of the hymn repertory, its concentration in the second part set this more miscellaneous portion of the book apart as an additional challenge for more skilled readers and for the musically literate.

Finally, the numerous non-musical items that made their way into the *Enchiridion* show the hymnbook to be as useful for silent prayer and contemplation as for song, while at the same time making the case for the hymnbook as a guide to good Christian behavior. Biblical verses and prayers interspersed with hymns reminded readers that God was to be the reason for their song. Masses and Offices printed in their entirety, even if they bore little resemblance to the liturgies actually

practiced in the city's churches, instilled in churchgoers proper reverence for the liturgy. Even the largest non-musical interpolation to the *Enchiridion*, a calendar of saints' days borrowed from a pre-Reformation breviary, redefined those days to be compatible with Reformed beliefs and practice while bearing witness to the persistence of pre-Reformation timekeeping techniques.

Ordering and Textual Literacy

As noted earlier, the initial ordering of the Hamburg *Enchiridion* follows the lead of the *Babstsches Gesangbuch*. First comes a series of songs ordered in the traditional sequence of the church year, an ordering that articulates the doctrine of redemption through the principal events in the life of Christ: his incarnation (Advent), his birth (Christmas), his revelation as the Son of God (Epiphany), his Passion (Lent and Passiontide), his Resurrection (Easter) and his Ascension into heaven, culminating at last in the coming of the Holy Spirit (Pentecost), and the revelation of the Trinity (Trinity Sunday). The catechism hymns follow in their own section. All of Hamburg's early hymnals feature alphabetical indexes, giving readers the option to look up hymns by text incipit.

At this point in the two *Enchiridia*, large-scale thematic ordering begins to break down. The next major section heading in the *Enchiridion*, following Babst's hymnbook, reads "Now there follow some Psalms made into spiritual songs by Dr. Martin Luther" (*Nu volgen etlike Psalmen to geistliken Ledern gemaket / Dorch D. M. Luth.*), which suggests a combined grouping by Biblical provenance and by author. Yet this section contains far more than just Psalms in the strict Biblical sense,

since the word *psalm* connoted any sacred song. Besides metrical psalms by Luther, this section includes German versions of the Litany, the *Te Deum,* and the antiphon *Da pacem*, along with *Se ys my leef / de werde mägt* (*Sie ist mir lieb, die werte Magd*), based on the account of the Apocalyptic Woman in the twelfth chapter of the Revelation. In both editions of the *Enchiridion*, another miscellaneous section follows, headed "Next there follow others of our songs" (*Nu volgen andere der vnsen Leder*).[93] Among these are a paraphrase of the Creed, a spiritual paraphrase of Adam von Fulda's *Ach hülp my leid*, and "an exceptionally fine Christian and artistic song, in which there is a dialogue of a sinner with Christ" (*Ein vthermaten fyn Christlick vnd kůnstlick ledt / Darinne ein gespreke ys des Sünders / mit Christo*), a contrafactum by Hans Sachs of another song by Adam von Fulda, *Ach Jupiter hetst du Gewalt*.[94] Part I closes with a group of "spiritual songs made by pious Christians who lived before our time" (*Nu volgen etlike geistlike Leder van framen Christen gemaket / de vor vnser tydt gewesen synt*). These were pre-Lutheran devotional songs sanctioned by Luther; among these were the beloved macaronic carols *In dulci jubilo* and *Puer natus in Bethlehem* and the beloved Easter hymn *Christ ys upgestanden* (*Christ ist erstanden*). Up through this point, the organization of *Enchiridioin* follows the *Babstsches Gesangbuch* closely.[95] However, the second part of the *Enchiridion*, beginning in both editions in the middle of a gathering and containing those songs "which do not appear in the Wittenberg hymnal" (*welkere nicht im Wittembergeschen*

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[93] *Enchiridion* (1558), 48r, and *Enchiridion* (1565), 37v.

[94] *Ach Jupiter hetst du gewalt*, like several other secular songs later adapted into hymns, was first printed in Arnt von Aich's *LXXV hubscher lieder* (Cologne, ca. 1512-1520). See Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 15-17, and Kurt Hennig, *Die Geistliche Kontrafaktur im Jahrhundert der Reformation* (Halle an der Saale: Max Niemeyer, 1909), 230-233.

[95] The *Enchiridion*, however, lacks the lengthy sections of Biblical canticles (S3r-Y2v), prose prayers (Y6v-Z2r), and burial songs (Z2v-b7r) that close the first part of the *Babstsches Gesangbuch.* For an early Low German hymnbook with a similar section of canticles, see the *Geystlyke leder vppt nye gebetert tho Witte[n]berch* (Rostock: Ludowich Dyetz, 1531), F2v-F3r, reprinted in facsimile in Wiechmann-Kadow, ed., *Joachim Slüter's ältestes rostocker Gesangbuch*.

Sanckböcklin stan), is a true miscellany of some ninety songs on every imaginable topic, along with the texts of Vespers, Compline, Matins, Lauds, and Mass.[96] The index lists songs from both parts of the book.

In the other hymnbooks as well, order devolves relatively quickly into disorder. Despite the seemingly precise thematic section headings employed in the second half of Eler's *Psalmi*, close scrutiny reveals several areas of confusion. Many of these "sections" contain only one or two songs, and the larger groups often border on miscellany. For example, under the heading "On the justification of faith" (*Van der Gerechticheit des Gelouens*), one finds general thanksgivings and psalms as well as songs on the themes of grace, faith, and redemption. One song in this group, *Ach hülp my leid vnd sehnlich klag*, which is labeled "a prayer for true repentance and the improvement of life" (*Ein Gebedt vmme ware bote / vnd beteringe des Leeuendes*) seems better suited to the previous section of penitential songs, headed "On repentance" (*Van der Bote*).[97] The *Kort Psalmbökeschen* makes no pretensions to logical ordering. Instead of the section headings or song headings used in the *Enchiridia* and in the *Psalmi*, which would have taken up too much space in such a diminutive volume, running headings along the top of the page show either psalm numbers or topics of individual songs. That these are diverse in both topic and arrangement is strikingly illustrated by one consecutive group of four songs with the headings "One should give to the poor," "On Adam's Fall," "On the Law and the

[96] The section begins on signature F9r (folio 69r) in the *Enchiridion* of 1558; on E9r (55r) in the *Enchiridion* of 1565, introduced by the words "Nu volget dat ander Sanckboek" on the facing verso page.
[97] Eler, *Psalmi*, XXXVI.

Gospels," and "The 'Our Father'" (*Armen schal men geuen, Van Adams Falle, Vam Gesette vnd Euangelis, Dat Vader vnse*).[98]

Even within the more random stretches, however, are moments of order. Two groups of songs in the *Enchiridion* are unified by author: "some spiritual songs corrected by Master H[ermann] Bonn" and, toward the end of the collection, "some spiritual songs by Doctor Erasmus Alberus."[99] Other sections employ a sort of free association in which songs pick up on topics or other characteristics of the songs that directly precede them. For example, the miscellaneous songs in the second half of the *Kort Psalmbökeschen* close with a group of six songs on the respective topics of death, burial, and the Last Judgment, followed by two metrical psalms – one of which, *De HEre ys myn trüwe Herd*, paraphrases Psalm 23, the archetypal psalm of consolation.[100] The songs to be sung upon waking and sleeping, with headings such as "the morning blessing" (*De Morgensegen*) and "the evening blessing" (*De Auendsegen*), appear together in all these hymnbooks, as do songs to be sung before and after eating.[101] Here the collections followed the lead of Luther's catechism, which included prayers for waking and sleeping, and graces for the table. Some songs are grouped by textual factors other than subject matter, as in a group of four consecutive "Christian corrections" (i.e., Christological contrafacta) to secular or Catholic songs in the second part of the *Enchiridion*.[102]

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[98] *O Ryker Godt im Throne* (83, Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicscshen Gesangbücher*, no. 76), *Dorch Adams vall ys gantz vorderffi* (87, Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicscshen Gesangbücher*, no. 39), *Idt ys dat Heil vns kamen her* (91, Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicscshen Gesangbücher*, no. 40), and *Sy Loff vnde Ehre mit hogem Pryß* (95, not listed by Geffcken), respectively.

[99] "Volgen etlike geistlike Gesenge / Corrigeret dorch M. H. Bonnum," "Hyrna volgen etlike Geistlike Leder / Dorch D. Eras. Alberum." *Enchiridion* (1558), 111r-113v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 88r-90v; Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicscshen Gesangbücher*, no. 153-159 and no. 165.

[100] *Kort Psalmbökeschen,* 176.

[101] See, for example, *Kort Psalmbökeschen*, 58 and 61.

[102] *Ein schön Dagewise vam Worde Gades / Im thone: Wäck vp myns herten schöne*, *Enchridion* (1565), 108r-108v; *Dat ledt van Rosina / Christlick vorandert / van der erkentisse [sic] Christi*, 108v-109r; *Dat ledt Anna du anfencklick bist. Vorandert / vñ*

Even within groups of thematically related songs, other orderings could be interposed. In the section headed "On the Angels" (*Van den Engelen*) in the *Kort Psalmbökeschen*, the hymn *Jesaia dem Propheten dat geschach* – the German Sanctus, describing Isaiah's angelic vision – is followed directly by two German versions of the Agnus Dei (*O Lamm Gades vnschüldich* and *Christe du Lam Gades*). In this case, the printer wandered briefly from the thematic ordering to follow the order of the Mass, perhaps in the interest of fitting in as much material as possible. At the same time, the interposed ordering called attention to two different possible uses of the hymn *Jesaia dem Propheten*: it was sung at Mass as the German Sanctus, but could also be sung as a freestanding song about the Holy Angels.

Joseph Herl's observation that early-modern Lutheran hymnbooks were "compiled by printers to make a profit" is well borne out in these lengthy miscellanies with their moments of order. In hopes of maximizing sales, printers put as much material as possible into their hymnbooks, and indeed printers of Catholic devotional books did the same. Yet these miscellaneous additions hint at possible uses of devotional books, Protestant or Catholic, beyond song and prayer. Like books of hours in the Catholic world, Lutheran hymnals also served as teaching tools for textual and musical literacy. The ordering of books of hours complemented an educational program in which Latin was learned before the vernacular; they began with the most basic Latin prayers, continued with the more advanced texts of the Offices and Psalms, and culminated in more or less lengthy sections of vernacular

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Christlick corrigeret, 109r-109v; and *Dat Ledt / Christoffer du vel hilliger man / Vorandert vnd Christlick corrigeret*, 109v-110r. Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 110, 111, 112, and 113, respectively.

prayers.[103] Similarly, the typical division of Lutheran hymnbooks into sections containing Luther's hymns and "hymns which do not appear in the Wittenberg hymnal" may also have aided in the learning of literacy, guiding readers progressively from more familiar to less familiar texts.[104]

A comparison of the two parts of the *Enchiridion* suggests this possibility. Its first part contains the central canon of Lutheran hymnody, arranged according to the familiar orders of the church year and the catechism. Its second part, on the other hand, contains a comparatively disorganized *mélange* of later hymns, some of which had even originated with authors from Hamburg.[105] Perhaps lay people with limited reading skills – the *idiotae* who knew their hymns better than the average Johanneum pupil – could learn the fundamentals of reading by sounding out Luther's hymns in the first part of the hymnbook, matching the sounds they knew by heart to the symbols printed on the page. Thanks to the ordering by church year and catechism, there would be no confusion about what song came next. Having mastered these, they could progress to the second part of the book to exercise their new reading skills on the less familiar hymns, whose thematic diversity enabled readers to find texts that challenged them or caught their fancy.

One interesting example of "extra" texts that may have served such a pedagogical purpose can be found in a brief appendix to the bilingual Latin-German catechisms printed by Hans Binder in 1584 and 1586. In both editions, which are

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[103] See, for example, Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," in Chartier, ed., *The Culture of Print*, and van Orden, "Children's Voices."

[104] Such a strategy would have at once paralleled and continued the pedagogical strategy laid out in the *Lesemeister* primers of the mid-sixteenth century, in which well-known prayers and catechistic texts were introduced to beginning readers directly after the letters and their sounds. See Müller, *Quellenschriften und Geschichte des deutschsprachlichen Unterrichtes*.

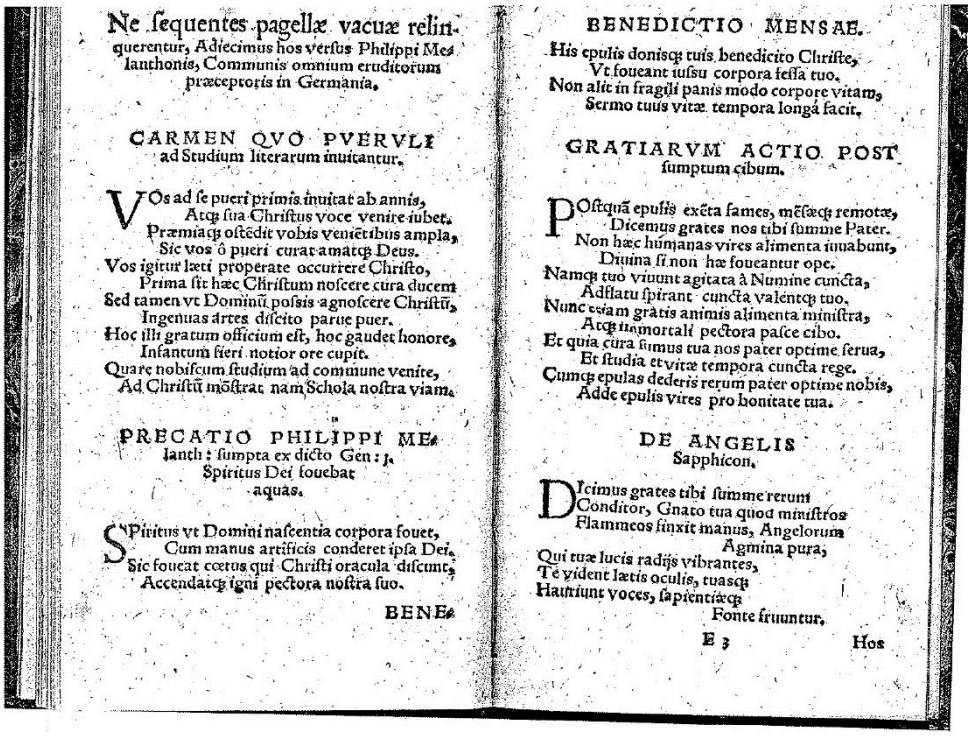
[105] Albert Salsborch, *Allein in Godt vortrüwen*, *Enchiridion* (1558), 69v and *Enchiridion* (1565), 55v; Joachim Willich, *Erred my HEr tho disser tidt, Enchiridion* (1558), 100r and *Enchiridion* (1565), 80r; and Caspar Hackrodt, *Nu willet nicht vortzagen, Enchiridion* (1558), 125r and *Enchiridion* (1565), 100v. Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 57, 88, and 104, respectively. See also Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, XXXIII.

identical in collation and layout, the catechism itself ends five and a half folios into the final gathering, leaving two and a half folios to be filled. These are taken up by an assortment of Latin verses with the following heading (Figure 1-11): "In order that the following pages not be left empty, we have added these verses by Philipp Melanchthon, the common teacher of all the learned in Germany."[106]

The Latin language appears alone here for the first time in Binder's catechism, offering the reader no recourse to a vernacular translation; this shift is emphasized visually by the use of roman type alone, unpaired with the black-letter used for German, which distinguishes this final opening from the rest of the book (Figure 1-12 shows a more typical sample opening). In contrast to the deliberately simple wording of the catechism that precedes them, the poems are elaborate in syntax and structure, and are based on classical models that would have been familiar to students in the higher classes of the Johanneum. If bilingual catechisms such as these helped teach schoolboys to read Latin, these additional poems from "the teacher of all the learned in Germany" provided more advanced Latin reading material for those who had already mastered the catechism. In fact, the first poem of the group, styled "A poem in which young children are invited to the study of letters" (*Carmen quo pueruli ad Studium literarum inuitantur*), encourages boys to continue their studies of the "noble arts" that will lead them to Christ:

Vos ad se pueri primis inuitat ab annis,
Atq[ue] sua Christus voce venire iubet.
Præmiaq[ue] ostendit vobis venientibus ampla,
Sic vos ô pueri curat amatq[ue] Deus.
Vos igitur læti properati occurrere Christo,
Prima sit hæc Christum noscere cura ducem.

[106] "Ne sequentes pagellæ vacuæ relinquentur, Adiecimus hos versus Philippi Melanthonis, Communis omnium eruditorum præceptoris in Germania." *Catechismus. D. Mar. Lut. Düdesch vnd Latinisch*… (Hamburg: Hans Binder, 1584 and 1586), E2v.



Ne sequentes pagellæ vacuæ relinquerentur, Adiecimus hos versus Philippi Melanthonis, Communis omnium eruditorum præceptoris in Germania.

CARMEN QVO PVERVLI ad Studium literarum inuitantur.

VOs ad se pueri primis inuitat ab annis,
Atq; sua Christus voce venire iubet.
Præmiaq; ostendit vobis venientibus ampla,
Sic vos ô pueri curat amatq; Deus.
Vos igitur læti properate occurrere Christo,
Prima sit hæc Christum noscere cura ducem.
Sed tamen vt Dominũ possis agnoscere Christũ,
Ingenuas artes discito parue puer.
Hoc illi gratum officium est, hoc gaudet honore,
Infantum fieri notior ore cupit.
Quare nobiscum studium ad commune venite,
Ad Christũ mõstrat nam Schola nostra viam.

PRECATIO PHILIPPI MElanth: sumpta ex dicto Gen: 1. Spiritus Dei fouebat aquas.

SPiritus vt Domini nascentia corpora fouet,
Cum manus artificis conderet ipsa Dei,
Sic foueat cœtus qui Christi oracula discunt,
Accendatq; igni pectora nostra suo.

BENE-

BENEDICTIO MENSAE.

His epulis donisq; tuis benedicito Christe,
Vt foueant tuisu corpora fessa tuo.
Non alit in fragili panis modo corpore vitam,
Sermo tuus vitæ tempora longa facit.

GRATIARVM ACTIO POST sumptum cibum.

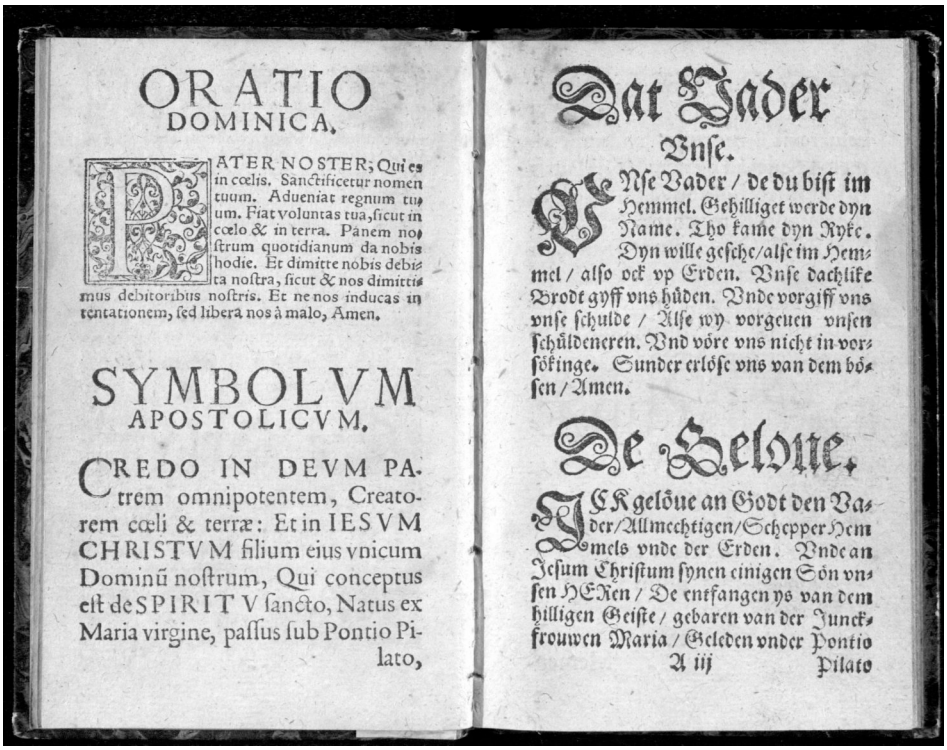
POstquã epulis exĕta fames, mẽsæq; remotæ,
Dicemus grates nos tibi summe Pater.
Non hæc humanas vires alimenta iuuabunt,
Diuina si non hæ foueantur ope.
Namq; tuo viuunt agitata à Numine cuncta,
Adflatu spirant cuncta valentq; tuo.
Nunc etiam grãtis animis alimenta ministra,
Atq; immortali pectora pasce cibo.
Et quia cura sumus tua nos pater optime serua,
Et studia et vitæ tempora cuncta rege.
Cumq; epulas dederis rerum pater optime nobis,
Adde epulis vires pro bonitate tua.

DE ANGELIS Sapphicon.

DIcimus grates tibi summe rerum
Conditor, Gnato tua quod ministros
Flammeos finxit manus, Angelorum
Agmina pura,
Qui tuæ lucis radijs vibrantes,
Te vident lætis oculis, tuasq;
Hauriunt voces, sapientiæq;
Fonte fruuntur.

E 3 Hos

Figure 1-11. Latin poems by Philipp Melanchthon at the end of *Catechismus D. Mar. Luth. Düdesch vnd Latinisch* (Hamburg: Hans Binder, 1586), E2v-E3r.



ORATIO DOMINICA.

PATER NOSTER; Qui es in cœlis. Sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adueniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cœlo & in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut & nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, sed libera nos à malo, Amen.

SYMBOLVM APOSTOLICVM.

CREDO IN DEVM PAtrem omnipotentem, Creatorem cœli & terræ: Et in IESVM CHRISTVM filium eius vnicum Dominũ nostrum, Qui conceptus est de SPIRITV sancto, Natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato,

Dat Vader Vnse.

VNse Vader / de du bist im Hemmel. Gehilliget werde dyn Name. Tho kame dyn Ryke. Dyn wille gesche/alse im Hemmel / also ock vp Erden. Vnse dachlike Brodt gyff vns hũden. Vnde vorgiff vns vnse schulde / Alse wy vorgeuen vnsen schüldenern. Vnd vöre vns nicht in vorsökinge. Sunder erlöse vns van dem bösen / Amen.

De Gelöue.

IK gelõue an Godt den Vader/Allmechtigen/Schepper Hemmels vnde der Erden. Vnde an Jesum Christum synen einigen Sön vnsen HEren / De entfangen ys van dem hilligen Geiste / gebaren van der Junckfrouwen Maria / Geleden vnder Pontio

A iij Pilato

Figure 1-12. *Catechismus D. Mar. Luth. Düdesch vnd Latinisch* (Hamburg: Hans Binder, 1586), A2v-A3r.

Sed tamen vt Dominu[m] possis agnoscere Christu[m],
Ingenuas artes discito parue puer.
Hoc illi gratum officium est, hoc gaudet honore,
Infantum fieri notior ore cupit.
Quare nobiscum studium ad commune venite,
Ad Christu[m] monstrat nam Schola nostra viam.

Boys, from your earliest years Christ has called you to him,
And with his own voice has bid you come.
And he has offered you ample gifts for coming [to him];
Thus, O boys, does God love you and care for you.
Therefore hasten joyfully to run to Christ,
[And] let your first concern be this: to acknowledge Christ as Leader.
But nevertheless, so that you may be able to recognize Christ as Lord,
O little boy, learn the noble arts.
This duty is pleasing to him; he rejoices in this honor;
He desires to become better known in the mouth of infants.
For this reason come with us to communal study,
For our School shows the way to Christ.[107]

The catechism, learned early, was certainly one of the ways children learned of Christ "from their earliest years," whether they later attended Latin school or not. Melanchthon's poem, placed at the end of a catechism volume for children, thus invites its young readers to the next stage of study: the humanistic educational program of the Latin school, where Christ may "become better known in the mouth of infants." Here, as with the vernacular prayers appended to the Hours and "new" songs in songbooks, material ostensibly added to fill space had the potential to invite readers to a new stage of their education.[108]

[107] *Catechismus D. Mar. Lut. Düdesch vnd Latinisch* (Hamburg: Hans Binder, 1586), E2v. Translation mine.
[108] It is conceivable, too, that native speakers of Low German might have used High German songbooks like the *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein* as primers in the less familiar dialect. However, there is nothing within the book that can prove this one way or the other, and in any case, its unorthodox arrangement compared to most hymnbooks of the time – all the songs are grouped by the articles of the catechism – would seem to pose an obstacle.

Notation and Musical Literacy

Similarly, hymnals with musical notation might have served as primers for musical literacy. Eler's *Psalmi D. Martini Lutheri* (1588), which is notated throughout, almost undoubtedly served this purpose at the Johanneum. Like its companion piece, the *Cantica sacra*, it was "collected for the use of the church and school youth of Hamburg" (*in usum ecclesiae et iuventutis scholasticae Hamburgensis collecta*).[109] The *Psalmi* contained the "German psalms" for students in the lower classes learning music for the first time, while the *Cantica* featured Latin plainchant for students at the next stage in the Latin school musical curriculum. Notation was also a selling point in the *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein* of ten years later; according to its title page, its hymns are "printed with their melodies and summaries" (*mit jhren Melodeyen vnd Summarien gedruckt*).[110] Just as Wolder's summaries aimed to help readers better understand the textual content of the songs they already knew, so notation enabled singers to gain a more thorough command of the beloved melodies, free from local or individual idiosyncrasies.[111] Eler's and Wolder's collections both used movable musical type, which was better suited than woodcut to the large volume of notation they contained.

The situation in the *Enchiridion* is less straightforward, but can perhaps also be explained in similar terms. Notation occurs, but only rarely. Only fourteen out of

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[109] Eler, *Cantica,* fol. 1r; translation mine. The *Cantica sacra* and the *Psalmi D. Martini Lutheri* are bound together in every surviving exemplar of both. On Eler's position and responsibilities in Hamburg's ecclesiastical and scholastic hierarchy, see Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 30-32.

[110] *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein,* 1r.

[111] Compare this passage from Wolder's introduction: "Zu dem so hab ich auch eines jglichen Gesanges / oder ja gleichgeltender Psalmen / *Argument* vñ Inhalt darüber gesatzt / damit jedermann als bald sehen müg / nicht allein was ihre *cohaerentia* vnnd ordnung sey / Vnd warumb sie solchen ort vñ stelle / vnd nicht einen andern im *Catechismo* haben / sondern auch was das fürnemest sey / darumb sie beid von den *Autoribus* sind geschrieben / vnd von vns sollen / die jnnerliche andacht zu erwecken / gesungen werden." 6v-7r.

146 songs in the first edition, and fourteen out of 152 songs in the second, are printed with mensural notation in woodcut (listed in Table 1-3).[112] All of these appear in the second part of the book, where the newer songs were concentrated as well; Luther's songs in the first part of the book needed no notation, since they were already well known by rote. Two of the notated songs, *Allein in Godt vortrüwen* and *Erred my HEr tho disser tidt*, number among the three songs written by Hamburgers, and six more belong to a group of eight songs by Erasmus Alberus toward the end of the collection.[113] One practical consideration necessitated the sparse use of notation in this hymnal: since movable music type was as yet unknown in Hamburg, woodcut notation for all the songs would have been unduly time-consuming and expensive. Yet this sparseness might also have made the books more useful for learning to read text and music. As intermediate readers honed their text-reading skills on the newer song texts in the second half of the book, as suggested above, they could begin learning note-reading at the same time. Whereas children at the Latin school learned to read text and music at the same time, *de gemeene Mann* might have preferred to reach an intermediate stage of textual literacy before learning to read music.

At least one notated selection in the *Enchiridion* seems designed for readers with more advanced musical skills. *Gy leuen Christen fröuwt iuw nu* (Figure 1-13), one of the notated songs by Alberus, appears with the rubric "under the notes of the *Sanctus Paschale*" (*vnder den noten des sanctus Paschale*). It is significant that the editor uses "under the notes of" rather than the more usual "to the tune of"; the latter would

[112] One song has *Huffnagel* plainchant notation instead of white-note mensural notation: *Als Maria tho Elisabeth quam* (172r in 1558, 142r in 1565); see 92 below.

[113] Salsborch's and Willich's songs appear in print in the Enchiridion for the first time, and indeed Salsborch's song had been designated "new" (*ein nye Christlick ledt*) in the 1558 edition. Alberus's songs were also relatively new at this period, appearing in High German sources around 1550, a generation after the Wittenberg hymnals and their core repertoire.

Table 1-3. Hymns with notation in the Hamburg *Enchiridion* hymnbooks (1558 and 1565).

No. (Geffcken)	No. (1558)	No. (1565)	Incipit	Author	1558	1565
57	57	59	Allein in Godt vortrüwen	Albert Salsborch	√	√
70	70	71	Idt wert schyr de leste dach her kamen	Michael Weiße	√	√
78	78	79	Allein to dy HEr Jesu Christ	Anonymous	√	Appears w/ no notation
88	88	90	Erred my HEr tho disser tidt	Joachim Willich	√	√
101	104	106	Als Christus mit syner Lehr	Anonymous	√	Appears w/ no notation
121	124	127	Lauet Godt o leuen Christen	Michael Weiße	√	√
122	125	128	Almechtige güdige Godt	Johann Horn	√	√
123	126	129	Dancket dem Heren	Johann Horn	√	√
153	140	143	Als Maria tho Elisabeth quam	Erasmus Alberus	√	√
154	141	144	Nu lath vns Christum lauen fyn	Erasmus Alberus	√	Appears w/ no notation
155	142	145	Gy leuen Christen fröuwt juw nu	Erasmus Alberus	√	√
156	143	146	Godt hefft dat Euangelium	Erasmus Alberus	√	√
157	144	147	Christe du bist de lichte dach	Erasmus Alberus	√	√
158	145	148	Sthät vp gy leuen Kindein	Erasmus Alberus	√	√
165	–	150	Min leue HEr ick prise dy	Erasmus Alberus	–	√
166	–	151	HER Jesu Christ / wär minsch und Godt	Paul Eber	–	√

have implied a new song text to be sung to a memorized, orally transmitted tune, while the former refers to the literate act of lining text up with notated music. Also setting it apart from most of the other contrafacta in the *Enchiridion* is its tune, which comes not from a vernacular song but from a liturgical chant in Latin that would not

have been widely memorized. Most North German laypeople had only limited knowledge of plainchant; those of Luther's hymns with chant-based melodies had long since become rhythmically regularized. However, despite the plainchant origins of the melody, the notation that appears with this song is not black plainchant notation, but white mensural notation like most in the book. This may be due to a printer's error; the only song in either of the two *Enchiridia* with plainchant notation is *Als Maria tho Elisabeth quam* (Figure 1-14), the first in the group of songs by Alberus.[114] Notating a chant melody in mensural notation may have reflected the early modern German practice of performing plainchant in essentially equal note values, at a slow but measured pace; many hymns moved almost exclusively in semibreves, and several hymns were themselves based on plainchant.[115] The use of mensural notation even in a plainchant melody may also have reflected a scholastic hierarchy that placed mensural notation at a more rudimentary level than plainchant notation; students at the Johanneum, for example, learned plainchant in the intermediate classes, only after they had mastered their "German psalms."

For one song, readers could choose between contrafactum and notation depending on their musical skill level. Albert Salsborch's *Allein in Godt vortrüwen* (Figure 1-15), one of the three songs written by Hamburg authors and the first song in

[114] *Enchiridion* (1558), 172r; *Enchiridion* (1565); 142r; Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 153. Supporting the hypothesis of the printer's error is the fact that the melody of *Als Maria tho Elisabeth quam* is similar to that of the German *Sanctus*, *Jesaia dem Propheten.*

[115] See 73 above.

Ach leuer God wo könnē wy/vor sůlck
Offer vullancken dy/ Dardorch wy van
dem Wöterich/erlöset synt gewaltichlick.
Du Lam bist aller ehren werdt/dar-
ümm men dy billick röhmt vnd ehrt/Dy
secht dy dyne Christenheit/ Loff ehr vnd
danck in ewicheit.

Vam Jüngsten dage/ vn-
der den Noten des Sanctus pa-
schale. Eraſ. Alberi.

Gy leuen Christen frowt iuw nu/
bald wert erschynen Gades Sön/
de vnse Broder worden ys/ dat ys
deleue HErc Jhesu Christ.
De Jüngste dach ys nu nicht feer/
kum Jhesu Christe leue HErr/Ween dach
vorgeit wy wachten dyn/vnd wolden gern
bald by dy syn.
Wy kennen nu den wedderchrist/ syn
hächelye vñ argelist/Synt apenbar vñ gar
am dág/des vöert he dachlick grote kläg.
Du trůwe Heylandt Jhesu Christ/de
wyle de tyde erfüllet ist/ De vns vorkündet
Daniel so kum leue Emanuel

177

cly

Nu volgen noch
etlike geistlike Leder/ Wele-
kere dorch D. Erasmum Albe-
rum gemaket synt.

Historia van der heimsökin-
ge Marie/ Lucej. Eraſ. Alberi.

Als Maria tho Elisabeth quam/
Elisabeth Marien Groth vor-
nam/ dath Kindt in erem Lyff
warts so baldt enwär/ Vnd hüppet
als Gades Sön vorhanden wär.
Johannes dat vngebaren kinde
lin/in Moder lyff heth Christů will-
käm syn/Elisabeth ock van Hemmel
frówden war/ de hillige Geist hadd
se erfüllet gar.
Herliker frówd vp Erden ner-
gens ys/den wor sick apenbaret Jhe-
p iiij su

Figure 1-13. Erasmus Alberus, *Gy leuen Christen fröuwt iuw nu, Enchiridion* (1558), 173v.

Figure 1-14. Erasmus Alberus, *Als Maria tho Elisabeth quam*, *Enchiridion* (1558), 172r.

Ein nye Christlick Ledt/tho
singen vnder dessen Noten/Edder
vp de wyse/Nu laue myn
Seel den HEren.

57

Allein in Godt vortrüwen/wil
ick in myner Angst vnd nodt/
Wol vast vp en deit buwen/
wert nümmer seen den ewi-
gen Dodt. Wowol myn Seel im sta-
ue/gelick der Erden ys / licht ock im
doden graue/noch weeth ick dath ge-
wiss / Godt wert myn Seel erquic-
ken / wol nha dem Worde syn / De
Dodt mach nicht vorrücken / myn
Seel thor ewigen pyn.

Figure 1-15. Albert Salsborch, *Allein in Godt vortrüwen*, *Enchiridion* (1558), 69v.

the second part of both *Enchiridion* editions, is given the following curious heading in the *Enchiridion* of 1558: "A new Christian song, to be sung to [literally, 'under'] the following notes, or to the tune of *Nun lob mein' Seel' den Herren*" (*Ein nye Christlick ledt / tho singen vnder dessen Noten / Edder vp de wyse / Nu laue myn Seel den HEren*).[116] Here "under the notes of" and "to the tune of" refer to two different ways of rendering the same words in music. For *Gy leuen Christen*, singing "under the notes" meant accommodating Alberus's metered text to a preexisting plainchant melody, while the notated melody of Salsborch's song may be altogether new, composed expressly for this text.[117] In any case, the reader is given two options for realizing Salsborch's song: one that engages the oral memory, and another that calls for musical literacy. A musically literate singer could accept the challenge of learning (and learning to read) both a new tune and a new text, while one who could not read the notes could still enjoy singing "a new song" to a more familiar tune. Indeed, the appeal to oral memory is particularly marked, since *Nu laue myn Seel den HEren* appears after *Allein in Godt* in both editions.[118]

Besides its two possible tunes, *Allein in Godt vortrüwen* is noteworthy for its connection to Hamburg. One of the city's *Bürgermeister* during the Reformation era, Hinrich Salsborg (in office 1523-1531), had a brother named Albert, who had been a high-ranking churchwarden at St. Nikolai (*Kirchgeschworener* in 1528,

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[116] Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 57; *Enchiridion* (1558), 69v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 55v. The heading in the 1565 edition is simply "A Christian song to the tune of *Nun lob mein' Seel' den Herren*" (*Ein Christlick ledt / im thon: Nu laue myn seel den Heren*), though the same notation is given as well; see Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 53. Interestingly, even in the *Enchiridion* of 1630, printed by Hans Mosen, the song is still called "a new Christian song to the tune of *Nun lob mein' Seel' den Herren*" (*Ein nye Christlick Leedt / Im Thon / Nu laue myne Seel den HEren*, 101r). No alternate notation is given in this edition.

[117] It is possible, indeed, that all of the musical notation in the second part of the *Enchiridion* is newly composed, though this is impossible to substantiate.

[118] *Enchiridion* (1558), 82v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 55v; Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 69.

Leichnamsgeschworener from 1545 through his death in 1557).[119] At the same time, the editor of the hymnbook does not seem to have been troubled by the fact that both Salsborgs had been staunchly opposed to the Reformation in Hamburg. Hinrich Salsborg had been forced to resign in 1531 for refusing to sever his ties with the old faith, and a probably apocryphal story is told of a riot by Catholic citizens on April 23, 1528, instigated by the *Bürgermeister*, in which Albert Salsborg supposedly tied up the bell rope at St. Nikolai so that the alarm could not be rung.[120] Given the Salsborg brothers' reputation for recusancy, it seems puzzling that the editor of the *Enchiridion* would include Albert's hymn at all, let alone first in the second half of the book. Perhaps, however, the penitential tone of the song was taken to mean that its author had repented of his earlier deeds and beliefs, which in turn rendered "his" hymn suitable for use in a Lutheran hymnal. Perhaps, also, the author's confessional alignment was trumped by the fact that he had simply written a good song; Luther, after all, had borrowed melodies from Catholic and secular songs for his hymns. In any case, the presence of this local worthy's song in the *Enchiridion* stamped the collection as a distinctive product of Hamburg.

Another intriguing aspect of the song – particularly for a product of the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg – is that it partakes of a venerable tradition of Lutheran hymns attributed to, or at least associated with, royalty or aristocracy. It is

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[119] Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 52-53. The date of 1545 of Salsborg's promotion to *Leichnamsgeschworener* is taken from the chart of church officials in Carl Mönckeberg, *Die St. Nikolai-Kirche in Hamburg. Eine geschichtliche Denkmal* (Hamburg: Perthes-Besser und Mauke, 1846), 269. von Schade, *Zu Gottes Lob in Hamburgs Kirchen*, 86-87, expresses doubts that the Albert Salsborch of the *Enchiridion* is the same as the Bürgermeister's brother, based on their opposition to the Reformation.

[120] A riot on this date, or at least an assembly of citizens, is recounted in several of the sixteenth-century chronicles from Hamburg reprinted in Johann Martin Lappenberg, *Hamburgische Chroniken in niedersächsischer Sprache* (Hamburg: Perthes, Besser und Mauke, 1861), 57-58, 423-424, and 521. See also Gallois, *Hamburgische Chronik*, vol. 2, 646, and F. Georg Buek, *Genealogische und biographische Notizen über die seit der Reformation verstorbenen hamburgischen Bürgermeister* (Hamburg: Druck und Verlag von Johann August Meißner, 1840), 9-13. Carl Linkemeyer, *Das katholische Hamburg in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Hamburg: Druck und Verlag von Anton Lettenbauer, 1931), 103-104, denounces the story as a false and sensationalistic "Räubergeschichte," giving as one reason among many that the riots were not mentioned when Hinrich Salsborg was given the ultimatum to recant or resign.

an acrostic, with the first few letters of each verse forming part of the attributed author's name (AL BER T SAL S BORCH). Though composer acrostics had been common practice in German poetry since the late Middle Ages, and though both noble and non-noble authors had incorporated their names into their compositions in this way, the acrostic hymns in Lutheran hymnbooks tended to be associated exclusively with noble authors.[121] Such selections appeared often in both High German and Low German hymnals, headed clearly with the princely author's name: "King Frederick of Denmark's song" (*Fried gib vns liebe Herre*), "Queen Mary of Hungary's song" (*Mag ich unglück nicht widerstan*), and "Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg's song" (*Capitan Herr Godt Vater mein*) were some of the best-known examples. In each of these songs, as in Salsborg's song, the opening word or letters of each verse combine to spell out the princely author's name and title: FRE DE RYCK KONING THO DEN MARCK, MA RI A, and CA SI MIR MARCK GRAF THO BRAN DEN BORCH.[122]

Besides their acrostic schemes, other characteristics marked these hymns and Salsborg's as princely, highbrow creations, at least within the confines of the Lutheran hymnbook. Lengthy stanzas or ten to twelve lines each, with lines of varying lengths ranging from four to eight syllables, recalled the classic poetic forms of medieval *Minnesang* and *Meistergesang*. This and the decorous, refined language of the verse contrasted greatly with the more straightforward language and foursquare

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[121] On the longstanding tradition of acrostic poetry by princely authors, see Hans Rupprich, *Die deutsche Literatur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Barock: Das Zeitalter der Reformation*, 1520-1570, vol. 4:2 of *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, edited by Helmut de Boor and Richard Newald (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1970), 238-239.

[122] Wackernagel vol. 3, no. 846, 156, and 154, respectively. Low German versions of *Fried gib uns Herr* and *Mag ich unglück* appear consecutively in both editions of the *Enchiridion* (141r in 1558, 113r in 1565). The former has the heading "Ein Ledt des Könings Frederichs tho Dennemarck," and the opening letters of each verse are printed in uppercase to show the acrostic, as was typical in countless hymnals. The heading of the latter, however, makes no mention of Queen Mary of Hungary, nor are the first letters of each verse capitalized.

meter of Luther's hymns and the pre-Reformation devotional songs he adapted. Aristocratic titles (king, margrave, duke, etc.), which entered the text by way of the acrostic, reaffirmed the author's high rank; the beginning of Margrave Casimir's fifth verse commends "counts, lords, knights, and servants, and all their lineage" (*GRAFfen / Herren / Ritter vnd knecht vnd all yhr gschlecht*) to God, while King Frederick's fourth verse compares the royal speaker to "King Solomon the wise" (*KONING Salomon de wyse*).[123] The texts were freely composed and highly personal in tone, featuring strongly emphasized first-person subjects that sometimes even eclipsed God himself, as in the opening lines of Queen Mary's song, for example:

> MAch ick unglück nicht wedderstän /
> mot vngnade hän /
> der werldt / vor myn recht gelöuen /
> So weeth ick doch, ydt ys myn kunst /
> Gotts hüld vnd gunst /
> de moth men my vorlöuen.
>
> [Even] if I may not avoid misfortune,
> [And] must have disfavor
> [In] the world because of my true faith,
> Yet I know, my art is
> God's nobility and favor;
> One must allow me that.[124]

Salsborg's first stanza opens similarly, focusing on the speaker's own soul and mentioning God in the third person as the speaker's personal helper:

> ALlein in Godt vortrüwen /
> wil ick in meyner Angst vnd nodt /
> Wol vast vp en deit buwen /
> wert nümmer seen den ewigen Dodt.
> Wowol myn Seel im staue,
> gelick der Erden ys /

[123] The quotation from Casimir's song is from Wacknernagel, vol. 3, no. 154; that from Frederick's is taken from Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 117.
[124] Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 118. The word "Godt" in line 3 is present in the Hamburg *Enchiridia* but not in the *Kort Psalmbökeschen* (1598), nor in the High German versions of the text given in Wackernagel, vol. 3, no. 156-158.

licht ock im doden graue /
noch weeth ick dath gewiß /
Godt wert myn Seel erquicken /
wol nha dem Worde syn /
De Dodt mach nicht vorrücken /
myn Seel thor ewigen Pyn.

Alone in God
I wish to trust in my fear and distress;
Whoever builds firmly upon him
Will never see eternal death.
Although my soul is in the dust,
Like earth,
And lies in the grave of death,
I still know for certain
God will revive my soul
according to his Word;
Death cannot displace
My soul to eternal torment.[125]

The strong subjects of these poems invited readers to identify the speakers of the intensely prayerful texts with the illustrious figure named in the acrostic, but also boasted of the close relationship to God available only to those in authority. Aristocrats, after all, held their titles "by the grace of God," and the Lutheran ideology of authority recognized civic officials as the instruments of God on Biblical grounds: "for there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God" (Romans 13:1).[126] As a *Leichnamsgeschowrener* ("one sworn to the Body [of Christ]," one of the two highest-ranking lay elders of each parish), Salsborg was in a position of authority in his parish; though *Leichnamgeschworene* were not public officials like the *Bürgermeister* and city councilmen, they had great social and political influence, and often went on to become public officials. By

[125] Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, no. 57; translation mine.
[126] The tag "Von Gottes Gnaden" appeared in some acrostic hymns, such as *Von Gott dem Herren haben wir*, attributed to Dorothea, duchess of Prussia and first appearing in *Etliche Teutsche Liedlein* (Königsberg, 1560); the beginnings of the verses spell VON GOTTES GNADEN DORO THE A HERTZOGEN [sic] IN PREWSSEN. See Rupprich, *Die deutsche Literatur vom späten Mittelalter bis zum Barock*, 239. The text of Duchess Dorothea's song is reprinted in R. Philippi, "Alte Lieder," *Neue preußische Provinzial-Blätter* 8 (1861), 274-275.

adopting a hymnodic strategy associated with princes and aristocrats, Salsborg – or someone writing the hymn in his name – thus drew attention to his divinely instituted authority, distinguishing himself as a quasi-princely figure within a city culture that, as we will see, often strove to imitate the forms of royalty and nobility.[127] If Hamburg's laypeople began learning to read and sing with Luther's beloved hymns in the first part of the *Enchiridion*, they could continue with a song by one of their own city's magnates, whose perceived repentance and authoritative closeness to God set a good example.

Non-Musical Additions to the *Enchiridion*

Songs, old and new, taught the fundamentals of faith, reading, and music all at once; the principal goal of the hymnbook, after all, was to teach of the Gospel through song. Yet some hymnbooks included numerous items that were not songs, just as the books of hours contained more than Hours.[128] So, too, the term *Gesangbuch* belied the manifold nonmusical additions that found their way into Lutheran hymnbooks. Prose prayers, Biblical verses, and devotional images complemented the hymns, and the inclusion of liturgical texts and calendars allowed the hymnbook to be used a sort of Book of Hours itself. All these additions supplemented the devotional program of the hymnbook, expanding it beyond music and song to include material for silent contemplation.

Of all the early Hamburg hymnbooks, the two *Enchiridion* editions contain by far the most non-musical interpolations, so it is on this book that I shall focus here.

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[127] One example of this – the pageantry, celebrations, and prestige spending associated with weddings – is discussed in Chapter 4 below.

[128] "The label 'book of hours' itself conceals the variety of texts in addition to the various offices of the canonical hours properly defined, which these books contained." Saenger, "Books of Hours," 141.

The very first item in this hymnbook is a calendar, which precedes even Luther's preface. Its presence in the volume highlights perhaps most clearly the conceptual kinship between these works and the Catholic liturgical sources – missals and breviaries for the clergy, prayerbooks and Hours for the laity – that contained almanacs and extra prayers as a matter of course. Several of the hymns, especially those for high feasts, were followed by prose versicles and collects. Luther's musical renditions of the Lord's Prayer, the *Te Deum*, and the Litany each offer a choice of two or sometimes three versicle-collect pairs, complementing sacred song with prayer. A single Biblical quotation placed after a song could summarize its message; as does the verse from Isaiah that follows "the *Salve regina*, altered in a Christian [i.e. Christological] manner" (*Dat Salve Regina / Christlick vorandert*)*:* "I alone am the Lord, and besides me there is no Savior."[129] Nestled in the second part of the *Enchiridion* is a series of six lengthy items that are not songs in the usual sense: the complete texts of the daily Offices of Vespers, Compline, Matins, and Lauds (in that order), and of the Mass, all in Low German prose. Finally, a brief verse on the last page of the 1565 *Enchiridion,* not listed in the index and provided with neither notation nor a contrafactum tune, offers practical advice for everyday life:

> Söuen drefoldinge lehr / Vaken
> tho betrachtende.
> Früchte Godt / öldern vnd Herschop den /
> Er wordt / tucht / straff / dy leeff lath syn.
> De Prester / Wyuesbild / Olden ehr /
> Dyn loff / standt / gudt / än sünd vormehr.
> Darneuen fredsam / küsch / warhafftich sy /
> Mit God frölick / früntlick denstlick darby.
> Vnd glöff / rede / richte jo ylich nicht /
> So gift Godt segen / glücke / vnd frede.

[129] "Ick bin allene de HEre / vnnd ys ane my neen heylandt." Isaiah 43:11; *Enchiridion* (1558), 147r, *Enchiridion* (1565), 119v.

Seven threefold teachings
to contemplate often:
Fear God, elders, and authorities,
Let their words, discipline, and punishment be dear to you.
Honor the clergy, women, and the aged,
Increase your praise, rank, and wealth without sin.
In addition, be peaceful, chaste, and truthful,
And with God be joyous, friendly, and ready to serve.
Let each person believe, speak, and not judge;
Then God will give you blessing, happiness, and peace.[130]

In all these added texts, the versatility of the hymnbook as an all-purpose teaching tool becomes especially apparent. Several of them could be learned and memorized in tandem with the songs that were the hymnbook's main stock-in-trade. The calendar incorporated mnemonic rhymes and syllables, while the rhymed couplets and "threefold teachings" of the closing verse ensured its memorability.

These and other non-musical additions supplemented the salvific message of Luther's songs with practical knowledge for both spiritual and worldly life and modeled good conduct in both realms. The "seven threefold teachings" are perhaps the most obvious example, outlining proper behavior towards God and one's fellow man. Versicles and collects after hymns reminded readers that hymn singing was always to be in the service of prayer. And by reminding readers of the First Commandment – "I am the Lord thy God" – the Biblical verse after the altered *Salve regina* served as a warning not to re-embrace the "unchristian" Marian aspects of the old faith while singing the beloved old tune. Service texts printed in hymnbooks gave the faithful an opportunity to contemplate their own role in the liturgical process, even if they corresponded only approximately to local liturgical use. The calendar, meanwhile, not only taught children to find their way through the church year, but

[130] *Enchiridion* (1565), 153v. Reprinted in Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 157, with "so ylich nicht" instead of "jo ylich nicht" in the penultimate line. Translation mine. This text does not appear in the *Enchiridion* of 1558.

also reminded them and their elders of the proper role of the saints within the Protestant church calendar. The liturgies and the almanac in the *Enchiridion* are the focus of what follows; as the most expansive of the non-song interpolations to the *Enchiridion*, they illustrate in the greatest detail the hymnbook's capacity to teach even through non-musical means. Furthermore, as material that closely echoed the content of Catholic devotional books (and was often borrowed from them), the liturgies and calendar in the *Enchiridion* draw attention to some of the ways in which early Protestant practices of lay devotion paralleled those of Catholicism, even as they articulated a different set of religious beliefs.

Mass and Offices

Five liturgies appear rather suddenly in the second part of the *Enchiridion*, nestled among the "songs that are not in the Wittenberg hymnbook." Besides their individual headings (*De düdesche Vesper, De düdesche Complet, De düdesche Mette, De Laudes,* and *De düdesche Misse*), no attempt is made to set them off from the surrounding material. Rather than receiving a major section heading like the Catechism songs, the songs by Erasmus Alberus, or the songs written "before our time," they are simply mixed in with the songs of the second part of the book. All parts of these liturgies, whether psalms, canticles, antiphons, or ordinaries, appear in prose rather than in verse, suitable either for declaiming or chanting to a psalm tone. The liturgies appear in the index as if they were individual songs, under D for "de düdesche"; readers in search of individual components of the service, such as psalms, simply had to know to which office they belonged.

Whole liturgical texts had long been reprinted in devotional books for laypeople. This, after all, is exactly what books of hours were, though Lutheran hymnbooks like the *Enchiridion* differed from them in treating liturgical texts as devotional extras – indexed as "songs" and interspersed among them – rather than as the central content of the book. The Hamburg *Enchiridion* was only one of several Lutheran books published in the North that incorporated liturgies. Not long after Luther's German translations of the Mass and Offices appeared in the *Deutsche Messe* of 1526, printers began including vernacular service orders in their hymnals; the earliest example is a Lutheran hymnal was in a *Form vnd Ordnung des ampts der Meß Teütsch* appended to the second edition of the Nuremberg *Enchiridion* published by Hans Hergott in 1526.[131] This appendix offered the Mass "as it is celebrated on Sundays and feast days… at the new hospital in Nuremberg" (*die man am Suntag oder feyrtag im ampt der Meß… im Newen Spital zu Nüremberg*), whose chapel adopted Lutheran teachings and liturgy early on, and served as a model of liturgical practice in the early years of the Reformation. In North Germany, the first Low German hymnbook to include Offices and Mass was the *Geystlyke leder vppt nye gebetert tho Witte[n]berch* (Rostock: Ludowich Dyetz [Dietz], 1531), which translated Hergott's heading for the Mass verbatim into Low German, and which was widely reprinted in Magdeburg and Lübeck.[132] Over the following thirty years, other

[131] On this hymnbook, see Herl, *Worship Wars*, 92-93.
[132] "Hyrna volget de form vnde ordeninge eynes Christliken amptes der Myssen / so tho Nörenberch jn dem nyen Spyttale / des Sondages vnde des Vyrdages geholden wert," R5v. See also Wiechmann-Kadow, ed., *Joachim Slüter's ältestes rostocker Gesangbuch*, 34.

hymnals from Magdeburg, Lübeck, Rostock, and Wittenberg included *De düdesche Vesper* and its fellow liturgies.[133]

On the whole, these service texts did not differ in the basic outline and content from one city to the next. The orders of service from the Hamburg *Enchiridion* are nearly identical to those printed in the hymnals from Rostock, Magdeburg, Wittenberg, and Lübeck. The Vespers service invariably opens with the antiphon *Kum hillige Geist* (*Veni sancte Spiritus*). For each of the four offices, the sequence of psalms and canticles is the same. A "short explanation of the *Our Father* and exhortation to the people, especially those who wish to take the Sacrament" (*Eine korte vthlegginge des Vader vnses / vnd Vormaninge an dat volck vnd sünderlick an de / de thom Sacramente gan willen*) either precedes the Mass or falls in the middle of it, and the Mass opens with the hymn *Vth deper nodt schrye ick tho dy* (*Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*) as an "introitus," with no mention of a proper introit.[134] These service texts were printed wholesale, making no attempt to conform to the specific liturgical practice of their respective cities, which, in most Northern cities, had been codified in church ordinances by the early 1530s.

In fact, the *Enchiridion*'s liturgies deviate in several details from the official Hamburg liturgies prescribed by Bugenhagen's church ordinance. Here, too, *Vth deper nodt* takes the place of the proper introit. While Bugenhagen provides for two

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[133] Other hymnals printing Mass and Offices include the Rostock *Geystlyke leder* of 1531 and its reprints in Magdeburg and Lübeck (see Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 222 and 227); *Enchiridion Geistliker leder vnde Psalmen / vppet nye gecorrigeret. Sampt der Vesper Complet / Metten vnde Missen* (Magdeburg: Michael Lotther, 1536); *Gesitlike Leder vnde Psalmen D. Mart. Luth.* (Magdeburg: Ambrosius Kerckener, 1559); *Enchiridion Geistliker Leder vnde Psalmen, uppet nye gebetert* (Wittenberg: heirs of Georg Rhau, 1560). On the Rostock hymnbook, see Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 212-222; on the Magdeburg and Wittenberg hymnbooks of 1559 and 1560, see Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 233-235. The Magdeburg *Enchiridion* of 1536 is available in a facsimile edition; see 29 n. 4 and 68 n. 80 above.

[134] Compare *Geistlike Leder vnde Psalmen D. Martini Lutheri vnde ander framen Christen / na ordeninge der Jartyde vnde Feste vppet nye thogerichtet* (Magdeburg: Wolffgang Kirchner, 1585), 204v: "Introitus. | Vth deper nodt schrye ick tho dy / etc. edder einen andern Psalm."

separate Institutions, one for the bread and one for the wine, each of which is followed by the distribution of its respective element, the *Enchiridion* places several liturgical events (the Sanctus, the Lord's Prayer, the Agnus Dei, and two Exhortations to Communion) between the Words of Institution and the Distribution.[135] In the offices, several important liturgical items prescribed by Bugenhagen are not mentioned at all in the *Enchiridion*: proper antiphons, Biblical lessons for the offices other than Matins, office hymns for Matins and Vespers, and the recitation of one *octonarius* (group of eight verses, based on the Hebrew acrostic scheme) of Psalm 119 (118), *Beati qui sunt integri*, at Matins.[136]

Another significant difference lies in the sequence of psalms recited during the offices. According to the pre-Reformation practice continued by Bugenhagen, the psalms used at Vespers and Matins changed according to the day of the week. Matins psalms were taken from Psalms 1 through 109, and Vespers psalms from 110 through 150, so as to cover the entire Psalter at regular intervals; the entire cycle of forty-one Vespers psalms could be covered in a single week.[137] According to this scheme, the psalms given in the *Enchiridion* (1, 2, and 3 for Matins, 110, 111, 112, 113, and 114, mistakenly labeled 124, for Vespers) are only the psalms that Bugenhagen would have had sung at Vespers and Matins on Sunday, though no rubric makes this clear. Even if the schoolboys of the Johanneum used hymnbooks to glance over hymns they had not fully memorized, the static psalms in the *Enchiridion* would not have been

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[135] Compare von Schade, *Zu Gottes Lob in Hamburgs Kirchen*, 51.
[136] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 166.
[137] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 166 n. 202, and 170 n. 212. Compare also Robin A. Leaver's discussion of Georg Rhau's *Vesperarum precum officia psalmi feriarvm et dominicalivm diervm tocius anni…* (1540), "Lutheran Vespers as a Context for Music," in *Church, Stage, and Studio: Music and its Contexts in Seventeenth-Century Germany*, edited by Paul Walker (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1990), 151.

useful to them in singing the offices each day in church – which, in any case, were typically sung in Latin.[138]

How, then, were liturgical texts in hymnbooks used? Unlike church ordinances or liturgical compendia like Eler's *Cantica sacra*, these orders of service were not meant to be prescriptive or complete, but were basic outlines to be used as *aides-mémoire*. Psalms, canticles, responsories, and antiphons were chanted by the choir of schoolboys in Latin, and the daily Matins and Vespers liturgies were held primarily for the educational benefit of the schoolchildren. The Sunday Mass, in contrast, was targeted at the broader lay public.[139] The laity almost certainly did not sing or recite liturgical texts out loud in church, but they could use German translations to follow along with the Latin service, if only approximately. If the psalms for Sunday were included in the *Enchiridion*, it was because lay people were most likely to attend Vespers on Sunday. In this case, Latin psalm incipits like "De erste Psalm / Beatus vir" did more than identify the psalm; they provided an auditory cue for the congregation to coordinate their reading with the choir's chanting.[140] For those attending Vespers during the week, when the choir was reciting a completely different set of psalms, the printed psalms still would have been appropriate to read and contemplate silently while the choir was singing. The students at the Johanneum did this as a matter of course; the Johanneum statutes of 1537 required schoolboys to read something spiritually edifying while listening to the organ play during the

[138] See Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 166-171.
[139] Leaver, "Lutheran Vespers as a Context for Music," 146. Compare also Leichsenring, *Hamburgische Kirchenmusik im Reformationszeitalter*, 20-21, and the heading "Sonntags für die Laien" in Luther, *Deutsche Messe*, in *WA* vol. 19, 80.
[140] A printer's error in the first edition of the *Enchiridion* may have made this slightly more difficult, at least in one case: the first psalm of Vespers, beginning on 147r, is headed "De cx. Psalm / Dominus Domino meo [sic]."

service.[141] A Low German version of these statutes from 1556 specified "the Testament or something else worthwhile that pertains to the salvation of the soul" (*in dem Testamente edder süs was Nütbahres, dat thor Seelen Salicheidt gode syn mag*) as appropriate reading material while the organ played.[142] For adult congregants who chose to follow this example, the psalms and canticles of the offices, conveniently printed in the hymnbook, would have made appropriate reading material. Like the books of hours that Catholics brought to church to pray from during Mass, the hymnbook, too, could be used for silent devotion during a sung liturgy – even if the printed text did not quite match the service being sung.[143]

Outside the church, daily offices could still be recited privately, just as they had been from books of hours. For Lauds and Compline, in fact, recitation at home or in private was effectively the only option, since these offices were no longer observed in most Protestant churches; the presence of these liturgies in hymnbooks may actually be evidence of their continued observance outside of church, though there is little hard evidence to confirm this.[144] The other *Enchiridion* liturgies hint occasionally at the possibility of private use as well. In the office of Matins, after the three psalms, is a rubric that leaves the choice of a Biblical reading up to the individual reader: "After this, one may read a lesson, according to one's own pleasure, from the Old or New Testament, or from the Prophets."[145] The last of the four collects following the liturgy of Lauds, beginning with the words "Lord Jesus

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[141] Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 26: "Quum canitur organis, quod faciat ad pietatem, legent."
[142] Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 26.
[143] On private prayer during the Mass and Offices, compare Saenger, "Books of Hours," 153-154.
[144] Luther*'s Formula missae* (*WA* vol. 12, 219) mentions only Vespers, Matins, and Compline; compare also Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, 32. Bugenhagen retains only Vespers and Matins, though some elements of these offices were borrowed and used in Vespers and Matins: the Lauds canticle *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel* is sung at Matins (167), and the *Nunc dimittis*, which had traditionally been part of Compline, at Vespers.
[145] "Hyr na mach men eine Lection (na eines ydern wolgefallen) uth dem olden effte nye [sic] Testament / effte vth den Propheten lesen." Enchiridion (1558), 154v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 127r; reprinted in Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 132.

Christ, who here in the wondrous Sacrament…" (*HEre Jhesu Christe / de du vns hyr in dem wunderbarliken Sacramente*...), is a meditation on the Eucharist; though not appropriate to the office of Lauds, at which no Eucharist was offered, it can be used as private preparation for the Mass that follows.[146] In fact, several parts of the Mass could well have stood alone as good prayers and meditations for every day, even if Mass itself could not be celebrated without a priest (*Priester,* as he was still called, both by Luther and by the compiler of the *Enchiridion*).

Other elements, however, seem better suited to devotion of a more public sort. The rubrics printed with the Mass were by more detailed than those of the offices, and even if the Mass text could be separated from its ecclesiastical context and used as private devotion, its rubrics refer unquestionably to the rituals that took place in church. The priest's gestures are mapped out in detail, ostensibly enabling the congregation to follow his every motion; whether he faced the altar or the congregation at any given moment is clearly indicated. Also given are the words to be spoken by the priest at each point in the Mass, along with the congregation's responses. Many of his words are taken directly from Luther's *Deutsche Messe*: the "short explanation of the *Our Father*," the exhortations to Communion, and the concluding Aaronic benediction ("The Lord bless you and keep you…"), among others.[147] In several places, however, the Mass in the *Enchridion* and its counterparts are actually more detailed than either Luther's Mass or Bugenhagen's church ordinance: for instance, the dominical greeting preceding collects ("The Lord be with

[146] *Enchiridion* (1558), 159r; *Enchiridion* (1565), 130v. This prayer is not among the texts to be spoken aloud by the priest in Luther, *Deutsche Messe* (*WA* vol. 19, 72-113).
[147] Luther, *Deutsche Messe*, places the explication of the Lord's Prayer within the service, just before the Words of Institution: see *WA* vol 19, 97-99 (English translation in *LW* vol. 53, 78-80). Luther's explication also appears at this point in the Rostock *Geystlyke leder* of 1531, the Magdeburg *Enchiridion* of 1530, and the Magdeburg *Enchiridion* of 1536.

you" – "And with thy spirit") is written out in full, as are priest's words to the individual communicants during the distribution of Communion. One particularly detailed rubric even gives the priest's words as he takes Communion himself – words clearly derived from Catholic practice:

> Nu Communicert he dath Volck / vnd sprickt. De Licham Christi beware dyne Seele thom ewigen leuende. Des gelyken sprickt he ock / wenn he süluen ydt nimpt…. Darnha wenn he süluen dath Blod Christi nimpt / sprickt he. Dat Blodt vnses HEren Jesu Christi / dat vor my vnd vor iuw vorgaten ys / in vorgeuinge der sünde / beware myne seele thom ewigen leuende.
>
> Now he gives the people Communion, and says: May the Body of Christ preserve your soul unto everlasting life. He says the same when he takes it himself…. After that, when he himself takes the Blood of Christ, he says: May the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is shed for me and for you for the forgiveness of sins, preserve my soul unto everlasting life.[148]

Bugenhagen, in contrast, merely says, "Then the communicants go and take the body of the Lord, and return to their places."[149] Luther does not mention the distribution at all, except to give the option of distributing the bread before blessing the wine, based on the literal phrasing of the Words of Institution: "In the same way also the cup, after supper…."[150]

How are we to reconcile the wealth of liturgical detail in the *Enchiridion* with the fact that its liturgies do not match those practiced in Hamburg at the same time? Pre-Reformation Catholic liturgies, in the form of hours, were available in a variety of versions corresponding to local liturgical usage, while the liturgy reprinted in the

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[148] *Enchiridion* (1558), 166r; *Enchiridion* (1565), 136v; reprinted in Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 141. The same text appears in the Rostock *Geystlyke Leder* of 1531 (S3r-S3v) and the Magdeburg *Geistlike Leder* of 1559 (S1v).

[149] "Bald ghan de communicanten… vnnd nhemenn denn licham des herenn / vnnd eynn juwelick gheyt wedder vpp syne stede." Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 198. Translation mine.

[150] *WA* vol. 19, 99: "Es dunckt mich aber, das es dem abendmal gemes sey, so man flux auff die consecration des brods das sacrament reyche und gebe, ehe man den kilch segenet. Denn so reden beide Lucas [Luke 22:20] und Paulus [I Cor. 11:25]: Desselben gleychen den kilch, nach dem sie gessen hatten etce."

Enchiridion of 1558 was presumably the same as the one "practiced at the new hospital in Nuremberg," first printed by Hans Hergott in 1526. On one hand, printers like Wickradt and Löw seem to have considered that a simple repackaging of these basic service outlines sufficed for publication in a hymnbook. Most regular churchgoers did not need to follow the liturgy in books; if they knew their hymns and catechism by heart, they surely also knew when to say "And with thy spirit" and "Thanks be to God" during Sunday Mass.

Even if they did not conform to local practice, the imprecise liturgies in the *Enchiridion* still offered readers an ideal of the Mass to contemplate. The elaborate instructions for the clergyman's movements and the people's responses, for instance, articulated values of congregational participation, awareness, and attentiveness during the divine service. Children were expected to learn these values early on, as we see in Johanneum statutes that constantly reiterate that the boys be quiet and attentive during the liturgy.[151] Even the "introitus" *Vth deper nodt schrye ick tho dy* ("From deepest need I cry to thee"), whether or not it was actually sung, exemplified the mood of contrition in which churchgoers were to approach the Sacrament – an expectation made explicit in the two Exhortations: "For no one shall receive this Holy Sacrament, but only a hungry soul that recognizes its own sin, fears God's wrath and death, and which hungers and thirsts after righteousness."[152] Just as the imprecise texts of the daily Offices and the supplementary prayers in books of hours could serve as alternate material for private devotion during a service, these imprecise Mass texts

[151] The school statutes of 1537 set several guidelines for good comportment in church: boys are to listen attentively to the Gospel and sermon, kneel upon hearing the name of Jesus, kneel with both knees during the Words of Institution, and not murmur among themselves. See Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 25-27.

[152] "Wente nemandt schal / sünder allene eine hungerige Seel / de ere sünde erkennet / Gades torn vnd dodt früchtet / vnd na der Gerechticheit / hungerich vnd dörstlick ys / dit hillige sacrament entfangen." *Enchiridion* (1558), 163v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 134r-v; reprinted in Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 139. Translation mine.

offered the text of the Mass as a meditation on its own meaning and function, allowing faithful readers to contemplate their personal relationship this most central of liturgies.

A Protestant Calendar of Saints

The calendrical tables and charts that open the *Enchiridion*, which closely resemble the almanac printed in the opening pages of a *Breviarium ecclesiae Hamburgensis* printed around 1507, illustrate another point of continuity between Catholic and Reformed devotional books and traditions.[153] It was relatively unusual for Protestant devotional books at this period to incorporate calendars, which structured the year according to saints' days that were no longer to be celebrated. No other hymnals from Hamburg at this period contained calendars, though an *Enchiridion Geistlicke Lede und Psalmen / uppet nye gebetert. Mit einem nien Calender / schön togerichtet* (Lübeck: Johann Ballhorn, 1545), now lost, seems to have contained a similar calendar that may also have served as a model for the Hamburg *Enchiridion*.[154] The inclusion of a calendar in the *Enchiridion* and in the Northern breviaries of earlier generations reflected its importance in devotional life both before and after the Reformation; one had to be familiar with the calendar in order to ensure that one's prayers (or songs) would be appropriate to the day. Clever mnemonic devices, often in rhyme like the familiar "Thirty days hath September,"

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[153] *Breviarium ecclesiae Hamburgensis* ([n.p.], [ca. 1507]), 1v-8r; see Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 2. Compare also *Cursus de domina secundum ecclesiam hamburgensem in laudem dei ferae [sic] virginis* (Rostock, 1522), 1r-9r, and an almanac from Lübeck of the year 1484 ([Lübeck:] Bartholomäus Ghotan, [ca. 1484]) appended to an earlier *Breviarium ecclesiae Hamburgensis* ([Lübeck:] Bartholomäus Ghotan, [1484]).

[154] According to Borchling and Claussen, *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie*, vol. 1, no. 1425, this work included the same calendrical items as the *Enchiridion*: a calendar with similar headings (1v-7r), the *Cisio Janus* mnemonic (7v-8r), and other tables and rhymes (8v-11r). For a description of its hymn contents, see Geffcken, *Die hamburgischen niedersächsicschen Gesangbücher*, 226-229. Another hymnbook with a calendar very similar to the one in the *Enchiridion,* though without the mnemonic rhymes, is *Geistlike Leder vnde Psalmen D. Martini Lutheri vnde ander framen Christen / na ordeninge der Jartyde vnde Feste vppet nye thogerichtet* (Magdeburg: Wolffgang Kirchner, 1585); the calendar is on 2v-12r.

were developed to help the faithful find their way through the circle of the year. The numerous mnemonics and rhymes in the *Enchiridion* calendar continue this tradition, which takes on a new meaning within a Lutheran devotional context.

The calendrical section of the *Enchiridion* is impressive in scope, occupying most of the first duodecimo gathering. The calendar itself, based closely on that of the *Breviarium ecclesiae hamburgensis*, takes up the first six folios, with each month occupying one page.[155] At the top of each calendar page is a heading giving the number of days in the month (*Januarius hefft xxxi. dage*, etc.), which echo the quasi-standard Latin headings in the *Breviarium* and other similar works (*Januarius habet dies xxxj.*, etc.). Feast days of both the *Temporale* and the *Sanctorale* are listed, as well as astronomical events such as solstices, equinoxes, and transitions of the sun into signs of the zodiac. As in the *Breviarium*, these events and most important feast days are printed in red ink, which is used otherwise in the hymnbook only on the title pages and at the very beginning of Luther's foreword; its frequent appearance on these pages sets the calendar off visually from the rest of the hymnbook. Running down the right-hand edge of each page is a mnemonic rhyme in Low German for the important feast days within that month, with one word per line (and thus per day of the month).[156] For example, the first couplet of the month of January is made up of eleven words, covering days 1 through 11:

> Jesus
> dat
> kindt
> wart
> besneden /

[155] *Enchiridion* (1558), 2r-7v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 1v-7r.
[156] This rhyme does not appear in the *Breviarium ecclesiae hamburgensis* and may have been a new addition in the *Enchiridion… Mit einem nien Calender;* see 111 above.

Dre
köning
van
Orient
quemen
gereden

Jesus
the
child
was
circumcised;
three
Kings
of
Orient
came
riding.[157]

The word *Jesus* corresponds to the feast of the Circumcision of Christ on January 1, while the sixth word *Dre* (three) goes with the feast day of the Three Kings – that is, Epiphany – on January 6. These monthly rhymes fill in the spaces between saints' days with other words to form rhymed sentences, often juxtaposing the names of various saints in imaginative situations: "Philip [May 1] has found the Cross [Finding of the Holy Cross, May 3]" (*Philippus dat Crütz vunden hat*), for example, or "Remigius [October 1] tells Francis [October 4] to dance joyfully with Gertrude [October 6]" (*Remigius de heth Frantzen / mit Gerdrudt frölick dantzen*).[158]

After the calendar comes another mnemonic for the feast days throughout the year, with the following heading (Figure 1-16): "So that young children can learn to count the calendar on their fingers, we have placed here the verses of the *Cisio*

[157] *Enchiridion* (1558), 2r, and *Enchiridion* (1565), 1v.
[158] *Enchiridion* (1558), 4r and 6v. The May verse is found *Enchiridion* (1565), 3v, but the October verse does not appear in the surviving exemplar due to a missing page; see 114 n. 159 below.

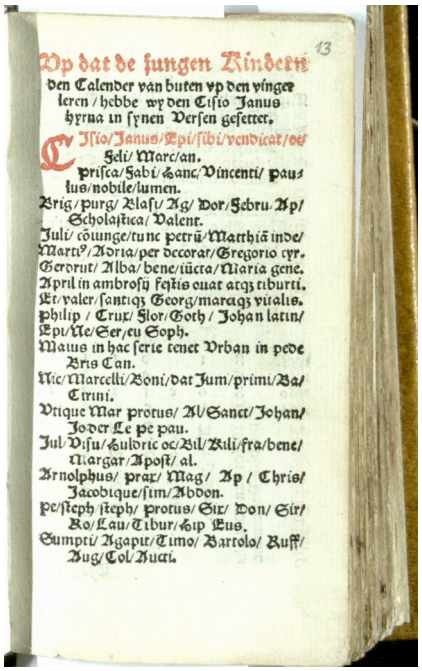
Vp dat de jungen Kindern 13
den Calender van buten vp den vinger
leren / hebbe wy den Cisio Janus
hyrna in synen Versen gesettet.
Cisio/Janus/Epi/sibi/vendicat/oc/
Feli/ Marc/an.
prisca/Fabi/Sanc/Vincenti/ paus
lus/nobile/lumen.
Prig/purg/ Blasi/ Ag/ Dor/Jebru/ Ap/
Scholastica/ Valent.
Juli/ cõunge/tunc petrũ/Matthiã inde/
Martis/Adria/per decorat/Gregorio cyr.
Gerdrut/ Alba/ bene/tũcta/Maria gene.
April in ambrosij fertis ouat atqz tiburti.
Et/valer/santiqz Georg/maraqz vitalis.
philip / Crux/ Flor/Goth / Johan latin/
Epi/Me/Ser/eu Soph.
Matus in hac serie tenet Vrban in pede
Bris Can.
Nic/Marcelli/Boni/dat Jun/primi/Ba/
Cirini.
Vrique Mar protus/ Al/Sanct/Johan/
Joder Le pe pau.
Jul/Disu/Gulorie oc/Bil/Vili/fra/bene/
Margar/Apost/ al.
Arnolphus/ prax/ Mag/ Ap / Chris/
Jacobique/sim/Abdon.
Pe/steph /steph/ protus/ Six/ Don/ Sir/
Ro/Lau/Tibur/Hip Eus.
Sumpti/ Agapit/Timo/ Bartolo/ Ruff/
Aug/Col/Iuuc.

Figure 1-16. *Cisio Janus* calendar mnemonic, *Enchridion* (1558), 8r.

Janus."[159] The *Cisio Janus*, so called from its incipit, is a pastiche of Latinate word fragments that at first glance seem to be nonsense, though some clearly correspond to the names of feast days or months. In the opening line "Cisio / Janus / Epi / sibi / vendicat / oc / Feli / Marc / an," for example, *Cisio* refers to the feast of the Circumcision (January 1), *Janus* to the month of January, *Epi* to Epiphany (January 6), and *Feli / Marc / an* to the feasts of Sts. Felicianus, Marcellus, and Anthony (January 14, 16, and 17), while "sibi vendicat oc" fill in the ferial days in between. The *Breviarium* offers an important clue to the way this mnemonic was actually "counted on the fingers"; rather than occupying pages of its own, it appears on the calendar pages in its own column, "Sil[la]b[a] dierum," with each *syllable* corresponding to one day of the month, just as the Low German rhyme – likewise

[159] "Vp dat de jungen Kindern den Calender vp den vinger leren / hebbe wy den Cisio Janus hyrna in synen Versen gesettet." *Enchiridion* (1558), 8r. The leaves containing the last three calendar months and first half of this verse are missing from the sole surviving copy of the 1565 *Enchiridion*, whose first gathering contains only ten folios instead of twelve. Although no signatures are printed in this first gathering, three calendar pages plus the first page of the *Cisio Janus* would account for the missing two folios.

arranged in columns – had provided a *word* for each day of the month. Thus the five syllables "Ci-si-o Ja-nus" account for the first five days of January, and Epiphany (January 6) corresponds to the first syllable of the next fragment, "Epi."[160] Because, each day of the year was associated with a unique syllable, a child who knew the *Cisio Janus* by heart could get through the entire calendar without even knowing how to count.

Thus readers had a choice of two calendar mnemonics, depending on their ability and inclination. Both the *Cisio Janus* and "Jesus dat kindt wart besneden" were apt for "counting the calendar on one's fingers," mapping the calendar onto the body while engaging the senses of sight, hearing, and touch all at once. To find any day on the calendar, one merely had to count words or syllables in order, either on the page or on one's own fingers. No explanatory heading is needed for the German rhyme, just as none was needed for the *Cisio Janus* syllables in the *Breviarium*, since the layout of the words on the calendar pages clearly shows readers how the words correspond to the days. Rhyme aided memorization, as did the sentences formed around the saints' names.

In contrast, the *Cisio Janus* neither rhymes nor forms intelligible sentences, and in fact its quasi-nonsensical character may have been considered sufficient for "the young children" for whom it is intended. No counting ability was necessary to remember the syllables and perceive the order of saints' days in them, and, as the heading suggests, young children could learn basic counting skills numbering the syllables on their fingers. The Latin syllables were particularly appropriate for young

[160] In the *Enchiridion*, the correspondence of syllable to day is less exact than in the *Breviarium*. In the former, for example, the feast days of Christmas (December 25), St. Stephen (December 26), and St. John the Evangelist (December 27) correspond to the syllables *nat* (for *nativitas*)*, steff,* and *io* (7r). The corresponding passage in the *Enchiridion* (8v in 1558, 6r in 1565) gives *Nati / Steph / Jo*, so that Christmas Day receives two syllables instead of one.

readers, especially those just learning to speak, given the common belief that "children vocalised truer sounds from Latin syllabaries" than from the vernacular.[161] Perhaps, also, some of the more whimsical subject matter of the German rhyme – such as St. Francis' dance with St. Gertrude at the behest of St. Remigius – might have been considered inappropriate for children, such as: "Magdalen [July 22] wants to love James [July 25], that bothers Bishop Germanus [July 31]" (*Magdalen will ock Jacob leeff hän / Dat vördrüth bisschop German*) at the end of July, and "All the saints [All Saints' Day, November 1] ask for good wine" (*Alle Hilligen fragen na gudem wyn*) at the start of November.[162]

Those who had committed to memory the calendar mnemonic of choice could go on to use the calendrical charts, tables, and mnemonic rhymes that followed the *Cisio Janus*.[163] Two woodcut charts allow readers to look up the dominical letter (*Söndages Boeckstaff*) and golden number (*Gülden tal*) for each year, and an explanation follows of how to use the golden number to find when the new moon occurs in any given month (*Van dem nyen Mane*).[164] These more advanced calendrical functions were necessary for religious devotion, since they enabled one to calculate the date of Easter and its surrounding seasons. This section closes with a series of mnemonic rhymes for various calendrical tasks (Figures 1-17 and 1-18): counting the number of days in the year, finding solstices and equinoxes, the beginnings of the seasons, the Ember Days, and the beginning of Advent. These rhymes presuppose mastery of the preceding calendar-counting mnemonics, since

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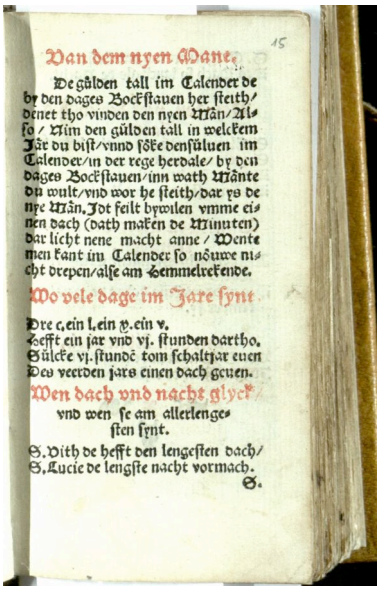
[161] van Orden, "Children's Voices," 211.
[162] The July verse is in *Enchiridion* (1558), 5r and *Enchiridion* (1565), 4v; the November verse is in *Enchiridion* (1558), 7r.
[163] Similar rhymes in Latin appear in the *Cursus de domina* but not in the *Breviarium.* See 111 n. 153 above.
[164] On dominical letters, see Edward Graham Richards, *Mapping Time: The Calendar and its History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 302-309. On the role of golden numbers in the calculation of Easter, see Richards, *Mapping Time*, 355-356.


Van dem nyen Mane.

De gülden tall im Calender de by den dages Bockſtauen her ſteith/ denet tho vinden den nyen Mân/ Alſo / Nim den gülden tall in welckem Jâr du biſt/vnnd ſöke denſülven im Calender/in der rege herdale/ by den dages Bockſtauen/inn wath Mânte du wult/vnd wor he ſteith/dar ys de nye Mân. Jdt feilt bywilen vmme einen dach (dath maken de Minuten) dar licht nene macht anne / Wente men kant im Calender ſo nöuwe nicht drepen/alſe am Hemmelrekende.

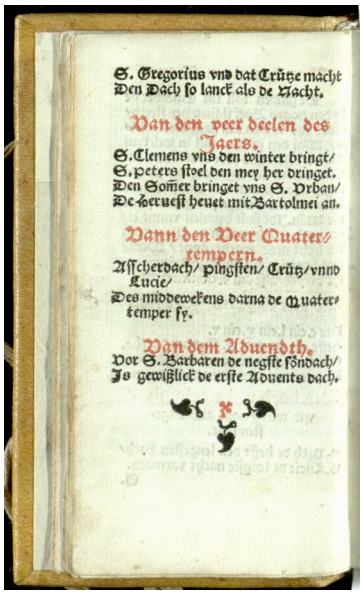
Wo vele dage im Jare ſynt

Dre c. ein l. ein y. ein v.
Hefft ein jar vnd vj. ſtunden dartho.
Sülcke vj. ſtundē tom ſchaltjar euen
Des veerden jars einen dach geuen.

Wen dach vnd nacht glyck / vnd wen ſe am allerlengeſten ſynt.

S. Vith de hefft den lengeſten dach/
S. Lucie de lengſte nacht vormach.
S.

Figure 1-17. Calendar rhymes, *Enchiridion* (1558), 10r.


S. Gregorius vnd dat Crütze macht
Den Dach ſo lanck als de Nacht.

Van den veer deelen des Jaers.

S. Clemens vns den winter bringt/
S. peters ſoel den mey her dringet.
Den Sômer bringet vns S. Vrban/
De Herueſt heuet mit Bartolmei an.

Vann den Veer Quatertempern.

Aſſcherdach/ pingſten/ Crütz/vnnd Lucie/
Des middewekens darna de Quatertemper ff.

Van dem Aduendth.

Vor S. Barbaren de negſte ſöndach/
Jo gewißlick de erſte Aduents dach.

Figure 1-18. Calendar rhymes, *Enchiridion* (1558), 10v.

they give all dates in terms of fixed saints' days. Some dates, such as those of the solstices and equinoxes, are approximated to the saints' days close to them, as in the poem indicating "when day and night are equal and when they are the longest" (*Wen dach vnd nacht glyck / vnd wen se am allerlengesten synt*):

> S. Vith de hefft den lengesten dach /
> S. Lucie de lengste nacht vormach.
> S. Gregorius vnd dat Crütze macht
> Den Dach so lanck als de Nacht.
>
> St. Vitus [June 15], he has the longest day,
> St. Lucy [December 13] makes for the longest night.
> St. Gregory [March 11] and the Holy Cross [September 14]
> Make the day as long as the night.[165]

It is surprising at first glance to see so many saints' days mentioned in a Lutheran source. Indeed, the calendar seems to have been adopted wholesale from a Catholic *Breviarium* (perhaps by way of the Lübeck *Enchiridion* of 1545), with

[165] *Enchiridion* (1558), 10r-10v; *Enchiridion* (1565), 7v. The discrepancies with the modern-day positions of the solstices and equinoxes are the result of precession in the Julian calendar. See Richards, *Mapping Time,* 239.

which there are only small differences.[166] The most important feasts and seasons on the calendar shared by Protestants and Catholics – Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter – seem dwarfed by the eighty-odd saints' days, including several explicitly rejected by Luther: the feasts of the Holy Cross (September 14, and the Finding of the Holy Cross, May 3) and those of the Virgin Mary's Conception (December 8), Assumption (August 15), and Nativity (September 8), among others.[167] Here, as with the *Enchiridion*'s liturgical texts, the printed text does not agree with liturgical practice in post-Reformation Hamburg. Bugenhagen's church ordinance, following the lead of Luther's *Deutsche Messe*, had retained only the feast days of the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the Purification, the Annunciation, the Visitation, St. John the Baptist, and Michaelmas, and his order of the feast days was retained in later liturgical sources, such as Hieronymus Praetorius's manuscript *Cantiones sacrae* of1587 and Eler's *Cantica sacra,* as well as the liturgical index of David Wolder's *New Catechisus Gesangbüchlein*.[168] Bugenhagen also allowed for the commemoration, if not the veneration, of one local saint: St. Ansgar, the ninth-century "apostle to the North" and first archbishop of Hamburg, who was to be commemorated briefly on the Sunday following the feast of the Purification (February 2).[169] Even so, of the eleven feast days mentioned in the *Enchiridion*'s calendar mnemonics, only "Asscherdach" (Ash Wednesday) and "Pingesten"

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[166] See, for example, von Schade, *Zu Gottes Lob in Hamburgs Kirchen*, 47, who notes that the feast day of St. Ansgar, Hamburg's patron saint, on February 3, is occupied not by that saint but by St. Blaise (2v in 1558, 2r in 1565). The 1507 *Breviarium*, however, lists both saints on that day as "Anscharii Blasii episcopi" (2r), with "Anschari" printed in red to denote a more important feast day.

[167] Luther had retained only the Purification (February 2) and the Annunciation (March 25) of Mary for use in Wittenberg, choosing to treat them as feasts of Our Lord rather than Our Lady (*Formula missae*, WA vol. 12, 209), though the feast of the Visitation (July 2) – also a biblically based Marian feast – continued to be widely celebrated by Protestants. Interestingly, Wolffgang Kirchner's collection of Gospels and Epistles printed in Magdeburg in 1584 (see 42 n. 28 above for citation) includes an Epistle and Gospel for the feast day of the Nativity of Mary (*am dage der Gebordt Marie der Moder Gades,* M8r-M9r).

[168] Wolder's index also includes "Am Tag der H. Apostel" (593), which could refer to individual Apostles' days or to the feast day of the Division of the Apostles on July 15.

[169] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 130. The Sunday after the Purification was chosen because of its proximity to St. Ansgar's feast day, February 3. Compare also 118 n. 166 above.

(Pentecost) were still observed in Hamburg at the time of the *Enchiridion*'s printing. What was the use, then, of teaching the calendar with days that were no longer liturgically observed?

Even though reformers had roundly condemned the cult of the saints and expunged several of their feast days from the church calendar, saints' days persisted as convenient tools for keeping track of time. Chroniclers and chanceries from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century used saints' days as reference points for dating the events they recorded. One sixteenth-century account from Hamburg records that King Christian III of Denmark concluded his visit to the city "eight days after Philip and James [May 1]" (*viij dage na Philippi unde Jacobi*) in the year 1538; the visit of his grandson Christian IV in 1603, as recorded in Michael Gottlieb Steltzner's *Versuch einer zuverläßigen Nachricht von dem Kirchlichen und Politischen Zustande der Stadt Hamburg* (1731), began on October 28, the feast day of Sts. Simon and Jude (*am Tage Simonis und Judæ*).[170] Bugenhagen, in the school statutes included with his church ordinance, allowed for shorter instructional hours at the Johanneum between the feasts of Sts. Simon and Jude and the Purification of Mary (February 2), on account of the cold weather and the shorter daylight period.[171] On the feast days of St. Peter's Chair (February 22) and St. Thomas the Apostle (December 21), the *Bursprake* was held, in which new city ordinances were read aloud from the porch of the Rathaus.[172] These same two feast days corresponded to the closing and opening of the city harbor; St. Peter's Chair was also the last day of

[170] Lappenberg, *Hamburgische Chroniken*, 324-325, and Michael Gottlieb Steltzner, *Versuch einer zuverläßigen Nachricht von dem Kirchlichen und Politischen Zustande der Stadt Hamburg in den mittleren Zeiten; Nemlich, von Käyser Friedrichs des III. Biß auf die Zeiten Käyser Ferdinand des II*, vol. 2 (n.p., 1731), 463-470.
[171] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 38.
[172] Christian Daniel Anderson, ed., *Hamburgische Burspraken vom Jahre 1594* (Hamburg: Friedrich Hermann Nestles, 1810), 3, and Gallois, *Hamburgische Chronik*, vol. 2, 1156.

the city council's fiscal year, and the day on which city council elections (*Ratswahl, Ratswechsel*) took place.[173] Members of the *Calandbruderschaft* at the Cathedral received income twice yearly, on the Tuesday after the first Sunday after Easter (*Misericordias Domini*), and on the Tuesday after the feast day of St. Dionysius (Denis), with banquets on both days.[174] The saints persisted beyond the calendar as well, in statues, paintings, stained-glass windows, and in the names of churches: St. Petri, St. Katharinen, and so forth. Hamburg's churches housed numerous saints' altars, and citizens – often those associated with guilds or confraternities – supplemented their income through lay "vicarages" associated with each.[175] Even after the saints were no longer venerated at these altars, their names were retained for record-keeping purposes.

Saints' names and days thus remained useful and picturesque aids in keeping track of time, monetary earnings, and city landmarks.[176] Even if the calendar in the *Enchiridion* was no longer relevant for religious devotion, it could easily serve as a perpetual civic "datebook." The fixed days of the church calendar were known to anyone who had grown up counting the *Cisio Janus* on their fingers, whether born before the Reformation or not, and thus served as ideal calendrical guideposts throughout the year. Indeed, to a good Protestant, this was virtually the only purpose they could serve, and here, too, the *Enchiridion* served as a model of proper

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[173] Jürgen Bolland, ed., *Hamburgische Burspraken 1346 bis 1594, mit Nachträgen bis 1699* (Hamburg: Hans Christians Druckerei & Verlag, 1960), 8.
[174] Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Dom 487, *passim*.
[175] Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Handschriftensammlung 497 and Domkirche 12, vols. 2 and 3, contain visitation records listing these altars and the vicarages associated with each, and date from the late sixteenth century (with additions and corrections dating through the middle of the seventeenth century). On side altars, see Julius Faulwasser, *Die St. Jacobi Kirche in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Verlag von W. Seitz Nachf., Besthorn Gebr.,1894), 6-10; a list of the 21 side altars known to have been in St. Jakobi is given on 9-10. On the three surviving altarpieces from side altars of this sort that are preserved in St. Jakobi, see Lutz Mohaupt, ed., *Die Hauptkirche St. Jacobi in Hamburg. Baugeschichte, Kunstwerke, Prediger* (Hamburg: Friedrich Wittig Verlag, 1982), 32-45.
[176] On the use of saints' days as "handy timekeeping devices" in the Protestant world, compare Alison A. Chapman, "Marking Time: Astrology, Almanacs, and English Protestantism," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60 (2007), 1273-1276.

Reformed belief. Restricting the saints to this single section of the book – which occupied one gathering out of fourteen in the 1558 edition and one out of twelve in the 1565 edition – put their saints in their place, as it were, setting this Lutheran hymnbook apart from the pre-Reformation breviaries whose every page contained the liturgy for some saint's day. Juxtaposed with Luther's foreword and with the unambiguously Protestant songbook that follows, the *Enchiridion*'s calendar forcefully reminded readers of the proper role of the saints in Protestant life.

Conclusion

The early Lutheran hymnbooks of Hamburg, like others of their period and genre, are paradoxical works, both orderly and disorderly at the same time, which has been an obstacle to a fuller understanding of their function in lay culture. Like many other paraliturgical works of the same period, they are caught in a curious double bind between thematic unity and local diversity. Though Luther's name is consistently invoked, and though his hymns are given pride of place in the standard organizational scheme, they are constantly countered – and sometimes outnumbered – by newer works from outside the canonical "Wittenberg hymnal." Collections of *Geistliker Leder vñ Psalmen dorch Doctor Martinus Luther* or *Psalmi D. Martini Lutheri* were ultimately the creations not of Luther but of printers catering to local devotional usage, referencing local texts and practices that reached beyond Luther's canon of hymnody. The relationship of these hymnbooks to Catholic devotional books of the same period is similarly ambiguous; they follow conceptually in the footsteps of these books while offering worshipers totally new material for devotion.

Much scholarship of early modern Protestant hymnody has shied away from considering these hymnbooks in their disorderly entirety, preferring to focus on either bibliographic description or on individual hymns. One casualty of this approach has been a fuller understanding of the close relationships between hymnbooks and the other devotional books, both Catholic and Protestant, to which their contents constantly refer. Lutheran hymnbooks and catechisms exhibited a remarkable degree of continuity with the Catholic devotional texts of the same period even as they maintained staunch alignment with the Protestant confession. Editors of hymnbooks adapted Catholic practices, including the private study of canonical hours or the memorization of saints' days, to accord with Lutheran beliefs; thus the *Enchiridion* contained entire liturgies for use by the laity and a calendar borrowed from a pre-Reformation breviary. Analogously to the books of hours that taught the rudiments of faith, literacy, and music in Latin, Lutheran hymnbooks adapted similar strategies to texts in the vernacular. Even as new beliefs called for new devotional content, faith was still transmitted orally in both confessions, and Lutheran theology's renewed emphasis on the Word did not alter the fact that "the Word was learnt by ear."[177]

In addition, the Northern practice of binding together hymnbooks, catechisms, and prayer books in a single volume strikingly illuminates the codependence of the hymnbooks with other Protestant devotional texts, particularly the catechism. The considerable physical and conceptual overlap of hymnbook and catechism shows that these works were essential counterparts, participating in a common program of devotional education. Shared illustrations, typography, and turns of phrase called similar reading strategies into play, and reflected a common appeal to the oral

[177] van Orden, "Children's Voices," 250.

memory. Seen in this context, the hymnbook cannot be regarded solely as a "songbook" (*Gesangbuch*); hymnbooks contained more than just songs, and offered more than simply music for its own sake, as the infrequent appearance of notation in the Hamburg *Enchiridion* reminds us.

Both in books and in practice, songs and prose prayers moved constantly between oral performance and silent devotion. Just as Luther's hymns sounded in church, home, and school, so did his catechism, as attested by its quasi-musical recitation by schoolboys each Sunday morning in Hamburg's parish churches. On the other hand, songs and liturgies could sometimes serve as material for private contemplation, as indeed they did in the books of hours; the mere mention of a well-known penitential song in the *Enchiridion*'s order of the Mass aided worshipers in their private preparation to receive the Sacrament. In short, hymns joined other devotional texts in being "performed" in a variety of ways. Applied beyond the bounds of Hamburg, this broader view of early modern hymnbooks can assist in making sense of their staggering variety and of their more contradictory characteristics, further clarifying the way these multifaceted documents mobilized well-known texts – hymns, liturgies, catechism, calendar – in teaching faith, letters, music, and good Christian behavior all at once.

CHAPTER 2: HIERONYMUS PRAETORIUS'S *OPUS MUSICUM* AND MUSIC PRINT IN HAMBURG, 1597-1625

The first polyphonic music printed in Hamburg was not composed by a Hamburger. In 1597, Johannes Wendt (d. 1608), rector of the Latin school in Moringen, a city about 120 miles to the south, had his two volumes of three-voice High German sacred songs printed in the city.[1] Both volumes are modest in scope, each containing thirteen songs printed in partbooks containing two quarto gatherings each. The texts of Wendt's songs are sacred reworkings of the texts set by Jacobus Regnart in *Tricinia: Kurzweilige teutsche Lieder* (Nuremberg, 1584), though the music is new; like Regnart's music, it combines the homophonic texture of the villanella (the *Cantus* and *Tenor* are about equal in range and cross frequently) with occasional moments of imitative polyphony.[2] That Wendt enjoyed the patronage of several high-ranking personages in Hamburg's city government is evident even from the title page, which lists the names of the four city councilmen (*Ratsherrn*), two of "their licensed lawyers and secretaries" (*dero Rechten Licentiaten vnd Secretarien*), and one "registrar and scribe of the chancery" (*Cantzeley Registratoren vnd Möllenschreibern*) to whom the volumes are dedicated.

Despite their pioneering place in the history of Hamburg's musical production, Wendt's *Lieder* did not have much immediate influence. No other music was printed in the city in 1597, and in the following year the only known printed music from Hamburg consisted of two hymnbooks, one in High German and one in

[1] *Der Erste Theil* and *Der Ander Theil Newer Teutscher Geistlicher Lieder* (Hamburg: Philipp von Ohr, 1597). RISM A/I W745 and W746; Gustav Wahl, *Die Musik Hamburgs im Zeitalter Seb. Bachs: Ausstellung anläßlich des neunten deutschen Bachfestes zu Hamburg 3.-7. Juni 1921* (Hamburg: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 1921), no. 9; Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 709. See also Hüschen, "Hamburger Musikdrucker und Musikverleger," 259.
[2] Leichsenring, *Hamburgische Kirchenmusik im Reformationszeitalter*, 142-144.

Low German, both of which were issued by Theodosius Wolder.[3] Wendt's collections do not seem to have been disseminated widely; for instance, they did not appear in the catalogues of the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fairs, which had long included *Musica practica*. Of the reception of Wendt's songs in Hamburg, unfortunately, nothing is known. Instead, it was Hamburg's second print of polyphony – the first to be published by a composer from the city – that almost single-handedly initiated a veritable boom of music printing in Hamburg, as well as the city's musical ascendancy in Northern Germany: a volume of thirty-two motets by Hieronymus Praetorius titled *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni 5. 6. 7. & 8. Vocum* and published by Ohr in 1599. The success of this volume not only resulted in four more volumes of sacred polyphony by Praetorius and several reprints at home and abroad, but also inclined other composers in and beyond Hamburg to have their music published in the *Hansestadt an der Elbe*. Praetorius's editions were the first musical works printed in Hamburg to be exhibited at the book fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig, and reprints in Frankfurt by Egenolff Emmel and in Antwerp by Pierre Phalèse (the latter containing only the eight-voice works) testified to their appeal beyond the city walls.[4]

Musically and typographically, there was nothing particularly unusual about either Wendt's or Praetorius's prints. Printed musical notation in and of itself was no novelty in Hamburg; as we have seen, the first woodcut notation printed there appeared in hymnals produced in the 1550s, and movable music type had been

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[3] David Wolderus, *New Catechismus Gesangbüchlein* (Hamburg: Theodosius Wolder, 1598) and *Ein Kort Psalmbökeschen* (Hamburg: [Theodosius Wolder], 1598). Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 733 and 523, respectively. See von Schade, *Zu Gottes Lob in Hamburgs Kirchen,* 74-81, and 30 above.

[4] RISM A/I P5331, P5335, P5339, P5342, and P5344 (Frankfurt); P5332, P5340 (Antwerp). Phalèse's volume of Praetorius's motets includes only the works for eight voices from the *Cantiones sacrae*, though his collection of Praetorius's Masses includes all six Masses from the *Liber missarum*.

employed by Jacob Wolff in 1588 in his print of Franz Eler's *Cantica sacra*. As partbook collections in upright quarto format, both Praetorius's *Cantiones* and Wendt's *Lieder* exhibit material characteristics typical of musical publications in the German-speaking lands at this time. Praetorius's motets, especially those for double choir, are standard examples of high-Renaissance polyphonic style; the ordering of pieces according to the church year, with an appendix of miscellaneous pieces taken from preexisting occasional publications, was equally standard.[5] Wendt's songbooks, too, contain typical late-Renaissance German *Lieder* in *villanella* texture and present them using all the standard verbal formulas associated with the early modern *Lied*. Variations on the title "new German songs" and the formula "to sing with three voices and to use on all kinds of instruments" (*Mit 3. Stimmen zu singen vnd auff allerley Instrumenten zu gebrauchen*) were ubiquitous in song publications throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[6] Similarly, titles like *Cantiones sacrae* ("sacred songs") had long graced the title pages of motet collections, while series of numbers, like Praetorius's *5. 6. 7. & 8.*, were commonly used to showcase the diverse vocal combinations offered.

One thing that truly was new in Wendt's *Newe Deutsche Geistliche Lieder* and Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae* was their very connection to the city of Hamburg. In 1597, Hamburg was not yet the musical center it would become in the seventeenth century, famous for its organists, cantors, and, later on, its opera. It is easy to imagine that Wendt may have been taking a risk in his decision to dedicate his *Lieder* to the

[5] This ordering scheme was standard for motet collections both in and beyond Germany. See, for example, Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, 36 n. 88, and Todd Borgerding, "The Motet and Spanish Religiosity, ca. 1550-1610" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1997), 11.
[6] Compare Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, 24-26, and Craig Monson, "Voices and Viols in England, 1600-1650: The Sources and the Music" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1974), 548-549.

rulers of a city where no polyphonic music had yet been printed. Praetorius looked closer to home for his first patrons than did Wendt – his 1599 *Cantiones* are dedicated to his direct superiors at St. Jacobi – but they too had never before been called on to sponsor such an endeavor, and there was as yet no precedent in Hamburg for the kind of patronage sought by either Praetorius or Wendt. Yet, as both publications show us, the wherewithal to print music existed, and prominent citizens may have been willing to fund its production. Proof that Praetorius was successful in his bid for patronage comes from an account book entry of January 23, 1600, in which 51 marks *lübisch* and 9 shillings were paid to "Hieronymus Schultz our organist… for his printed *Cantiones* which he dedicated and inscribed to the *Leichnams*- and *Kirchgeschworenen*."[7] Compared to the 7 marks, 4 shillings, and 7 pennies paid by each parish to the Cantor Eberhard Decker in 1594 for the four volumes of Gallus's *Opus musicum*, and the 15 marks that the *Leichnamsgeschworene* (senior churchwardens) would present to Praetorius for his *Liber Missarum* in 1616, this was a princely sum that may have covered Praetorius's printing costs, rather than merely reimbursing him for a single copy of the *Cantiones*.[8]

Praetorius's collections, which are listed in Table 2-1, will be the focus of this chapter. Just as his music played a leading role in the musical history of his home city, the books containing his music were foundational in the history of the book in

[7] "Jeronimus Schulten vnsem Organista… van wegen syner gedruckeden Cantiones so he den Heren H: Lichams vnd Karck Geschwaren dedicirt vnd thogeschriuen." Staatsarchiv Hamburg St. Jakobi A I b 4, 233. *Praetorius* was the Latin form of the German name *Schultz* (Low German *Schulte*) or *Schultheiss*, though the German version appears more frequently in the surviving account books from St. Jacobi.

[8] Leichsenring, *Hamburgische Kirchenmusik im Reformationszeitalter*, 142, from Staatsarchiv Hamburg, St. Jakobikirche A I b 4, 151. Leichsenring also records a payment of 6 marks, 2 shillings, and 12 pennies by the parish elders of St. Jacobi to the Nicolaus Langius, "des Fürsten von Brunsweich hertzogl. Cappellmeister," for a Magnificat and assorted compositions, though it is not clear whether this refers to a printed collection or not.

Table 2-1. Complete printed collections of polyphony by Hieronymus Praetorius (1560-1629), organist at St. Jacobi, Hamburg. RISM A/I numbers are shown in parentheses.

1. Motets for the church year *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni 5. 6. 7. & 8. vocum* Hamburg: Philipp von Ohr, 1599 (P5336) Hamburg: Philipp von Ohr and Georg Ludwig Froben, 1607 (P5337) Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1622 (P5338) Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1622 (P5340, eight-voice works only) Frankfurt: Nicolaus Stein, 1623 (P5339)
2. Magnificat settings *Magnificat octo vocum super octo tonos consuetos cum motetis aliquot 8 et 12 vocum* Hamburg: Philipp von Ohr, 1602 (P5333) *Canticum B. Mariae Virginis seu Magnificat octo vocum super octo tonos consuetos* Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1622 (P5334) Frankfurt: Nicolaus Stein, 1623 (P5335)
3. Masses *Liber Missarum, qui est operum musicorum tomus tertius V. VI. VIII. Voc.* Hamburg: Heinrich Carstens, 1616 (P5329) Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1622 (P5330, *basso continuo* part only) Frankfurt: Egenolff Emmel, 1624 (P5331) *Missae quinque, sex, & octo vocibus. Cum basso continuo ad organum* Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1625 (P5332)
4. & 5. Miscellaneous motets *Cantiones variae V. VI. VII. IIX. X. XII. XVI. XX. Vocum, quae sunt operum musicorum tomus quartus* Hamburg: Heinrich Carstens, 1618 (P5341) Frankfurt: Egenolff Emmel, 1623 (P5342) *Cantiones novae officiosae V. VI. VII. VIII. X. et XV vocum, quae sunt operum musicorum tomus quintus* Hamburg: Michael Hering, 1618 (spurious reference in Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon*) Hamburg: Michael Hering, 1625 (P5343) Frankfurt: Franz Nicolaus Roth, 1625 (P5344)

Hamburg. By representing Praetorius not simply as "organista ad D. Jacobi" but also as a composer of sacred polyphonic works with a broad appeal, his printed works won him an international reputation that has lasted to this day. At the same time, these volumes provide an instructive case of the interrelationships between musical content, material form, and authorship in early modern Germany, and a close study of their frequent reprintings yields much insight into one composer's changing uses of print at various stages of his career. As Table 2-1 shows, the chronology of Praetorius's editions is by no means straightforward, since several editions were published of some volumes, and later editions of earlier volumes frequently postdated first editions of later volumes; many a "volume one" dated 1622 is bound with a "volume four" dated 1618.

Yet, as we shall see, this seemingly tangled chronology had a logic of its own. After Praetorius had made a name for himself with his earliest volumes, he and his printers began organizing his works into a collected works edition – the soon-to-be *Opus musicum* – that nevertheless began not with a reprint of his first volume but with his third, the *Liber missarum* of 1616. In order to be part of this collected edition, the earliest volumes had to be revised and expanded. Several changes from one edition to the next – added works, slight revisions to preexisting works, adjustments to layout, rephrasings of collection titles – distinguish the composer's early forays into music print from the collected works edition that coalesced with his later volumes. These later prints made up Praetorius's *Opus musicum* – a definitive collected works edition aiming to preserve the composer's principal sacred vocal works for posterity, in which even his occasional works found a place.

Praetorius's close engagement with music print was somewhat unusual for a German organist of his time.[9] For most organists, involvement with print and vocal polyphony alike was limited to occasional works printed as pamphlets, which counted as *accidentia* – additional sources of income beyond their primary responsibilities.[10] The great majority of the German composers who published polyphonic collections at this period were city Cantors (Philipp Dulichius in Stettin, Christoph Demantius in Zittau and Freiberg) or court *Capellmeister* (Michael Praetorius in Wolfenbüttel, Melchior Franck in Coburg), whose publications grew out of their responsibilities to compose and perform music for the liturgy.[11] Another notable organist-composer of the period – Hans Leo Hassler, organist to the Fugger family of Augsburg – may have met Praetorius in 1596 in Gröningen, when both were among fifty-three organists invited by Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel to try out the new organ at the Gröningen Castle church. Their meeting may have inspired the organist from Hamburg to try his own hand at composition and publication, though this is impossible to prove.[12]

The aim of this chapter is twofold: to situate Praetorius's printed works in the culture of book production in Hamburg in the early seventeenth century, and to investigate the composer's own changing uses of the print medium as his *Opus musicum* evolved. In the interest of providing context, I begin with an overview of Hamburg's print production at this period, both musical and nonmusical, and of the

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[9] See 12 above.
[10] Rose, "Music Printing in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War," 329. Compare, however, the example of William Byrd, whose sole employment was as organist to the Chapel Royal, but who also published his "collected works" in the *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* of 1575 (with Thomas Tallis) and his three *Cantiones sacrae* volumes of 1588, 1589, and 1591.
[11] See, for example, Walter Blankenburg, "Vulpius, Melchior," in Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29738 (accessed May 14, 2009).
[12] Gable, "The Polychoral Motes of Hieronymus Praetorius," 29-33. On the Groningen *Orgelprobe,* see Yearsley, "An Ideal Organ and Its Experts," especially 95-96 and 99-103.

most prominent printers active in the city – who were also the printers of Praetorius's works. I then narrow my focus to Praetorius's individual volumes, examining their chronology and contents, and tracing the origins of the *Opus musicum* in the editions that preceded it. As much as possible, I have chosen to proceed in chronological order and to examine even multiple editions of the same work separately, as individual products of the press rather than as periodic reincarnations of some fixed original artifact.

Besides illuminating Praetorius's use of print over his career, this chronology also clarifies the history of his printed musical output. On one hand, I explore his possible motivations for printing and reprinting his works. On the other hand, I offer a corrective to the numerous inconsistent and incorrect bibliographic references – even in standard sources of music bibliography – that have hindered fuller understanding of Praetorius's musical output. In the especially illustrative case of the composer's fifth and final volume, the *Cantiones novae officiosae* (1625), I speculate on what may have influenced Praetorius to append a fifth collection to his already complete four-volume *Opus musicum* he had begun in 1616 and finished in 1622. I further address the case of the spurious 1618 "first edition" of the volume, known so far only from Robert Eitner's *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon* (1900-04).

Finally, with these considerations in mind, I examine the question of how Praetorius's *Opus musicum* eventually developed from his individual volumes. This title, I argue, refers specifically to the volumes dating from 1616 and after, which were to constitute the composer's collected vocal works in their definitive form.

Material form was at least as important as authorial intention in defining the makeup of this *Opus*: the visual similarities of the volumes after 1616 made them highly collectible as a set, as did the printing of an ornate title page for the set intended to be bound at the front of partbooks containing all the volumes. Furthermore, the remarkable number of exemplars that survive in full sets suggests that binding and collecting practices, too, were essential to the formation of the *Opus musicum* after its printing. These material means – the visually unified fonts and title pages crafted by printers, and the physical grouping of volumes by consumers – aided in shaping the identity of Praetorius's *Opus* as a collection greater than the sum of its parts.

Printers of Music in Hamburg, 1599-1625

The first collections of polyphonic music produced in Hamburg came from the press of Philip von Ohr, who had made a name for himself in Hamburg with esoteric and scholarly prints in all genres.[13] Active in Hamburg from 1597 to 1608, by 1599 he had already produced numerous scientific, theological, and occasional works, along with myriad works aimed at a more popular audience, including prayer books, newspapers, and accounts of fantastical travels. Ohr's learned publications were many and varied, including editions of Petrus Ramus's *Arithmetici libri duo* (1597), Heinrich Khunrath's *Naturgemes-Alchymisch Symbolum* and *Symbolum Physico-Chymicum* (both 1598), Rodrigo de Castro's two-part treatise on gynecology, *De universa mulierum medicina* (1603), theological works by Philipp Nicolai, and a *Historia Elephanti* (1607) by Joachim Praetorius, a physician from Neuruppin (and no known relation to the Praetorius family of Hamburg). Preeminent among Ohr's

[13] See Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, 14, and Kayser, ed., *Hamburger Bücher 1491-1850*, 46.

scientific publications was the first edition of Tycho Brahe's *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica* (1598), printed in Wandsbek (just east of Hamburg) under the auspices of Heinrich Rantzau, viceroy (*Statthalter*) in Schleswig-Holstein to the King of Denmark.[14] This print placed Ohr at the forefront of the scientific printing in Northern Europe, and bore witness to his connections with one of the most important patrons of the arts and letters in Northern Germany.[15] Rantzau died in 1598, and though neither Wendt nor Praetorius enjoyed Rantzau's patronage, their association with such a well-connected printer certainly constituted an auspicious beginning to their published work.

Music enjoyed an occasional but consistent presence in Ohr's output throughout his career in Hamburg, and during the first decade of the seventeenth century he was the only printer in the city to produce music in any appreciable quantity. Besides Wendt's songs and Praetorius's first three collections of polyphony (the *Magnificat octo tonorum* in 1602 and the second edition of the *Cantiones sacrae* in 1607), Ohr printed collections of instrumental dances by the Hamburg *Ratsmusiker* Zacharias Füllsack and William Brade, as well as occasional motets by Hieronymus and Jacob Praetorius.

Given the novelty of polyphonic music prints in Hamburg, it is difficult to say how Ohr came into the possession of music type. Ohr inherited the printing office and types of Heinrich Binder (active 1587-1597), and all of Ohr's publications dating from 1597, including Wendt's two volumes of songs, claim on their title pages to

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[14] Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, no. 88, and Kayser, ed., *Hamburger Bücher 1491-1850*, 46, in which *Astronomiae instauratae mechanica* and Hieronymus Praetorius's first edition of *Cantiones sacrae* (1599) are chosen as the two examples of Ohr's work. See also Adrian Johns's discussion of Tycho's treatise in *The Nature of the Book*, 6-20.

[15] On Rantzau, see Dieter Lohmeier, *Heinrich Rantzau: Humanismus und Renaissance in Schleswig-Holstein*, Kleine Schleswig-Holstein-Bücher, vol. 50 (Heide: Westholsteinische Verlagdruckerei Boyens, 2000), and Peter Zeeberg, "Heinrich Rantzau (1526-1598), a Literary Maecenas between Denmark and Germany," in *Reformation and Latin Literature in Northern Europe*, edited by Inger Ekrem, Minna Skafte Jensen, and Egil Kraggerud (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1996).

have been printed "with Binder's types" (*Typis Binderianis*), "from Binder's print shop, by Philipp von Ohr" (*Ex officina Binderiana, Per Philippum de Ohr*) or "for the heirs of Heinrich Binder, by Philipp von Ohr" (*By Hinrich Binders Eruen / dörch Philip van Ohr*).[16] That "Binder's types" may have included a music font is intriguing, since Heinrich Binder is not known to have printed any music; if so, however, the means to print polyphonic music existed in Hamburg even before Wendt and Praetorius came on the scene.

Print production boomed in Hamburg in the decades after Ohr's death in 1597. Music continued to be one genre among many in the outputs of printers and publishers and in the inventories of the "learned booksellers" who were setting up shop in the city. Among the latter, the publisher and bookseller Georg Ludwig Froben (Frobenius, active 1598-1645) achieved particular prominence. Froben had worked for Heinrich Rantzau through Rantzau's death in 1598 and was a frequent collaborator with Ohr and Lange, though only one musical work – the second edition of Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae*, printed by Ohr in 1607 – are known to have borne his characteristic colophon *ex bibliopolio Frobeniano*, "from Froben's bookshop."[17] Heinrich Carstens (active 1609-1625) was among the most prolific printers of music in the second decade of the century, and seems to have taken over Ohr's print shop after his death; Carstens printed several books by authors whose previous works had

[16] On Heinrich Binder, see Kayser and Dehn, *Bibliographie der Hamburger Drucke*, 11, and Kayser, ed., *Hamburger Bücher 1491-1850*, 40.

[17] On Froben's publishing and literary activities, see Friedrich Lorenz Hoffmann, *Der gelehrte Buchhändler Georg Ludwig Frobenius in Hamburg: Biographisches; Verzeichnis seiner Schriften* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1867), and Peter Zeeberg, "Heinrich Rantzau (1526-1598) and his Humanist Collaborators: The Examples of Reiner Reineccius and Georg Ludwig Froben," in *Germania latina – Latinitas teutonica: Politik, Wissenschaft, humanistische Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis in unsere Zeit*, edited by Eckhard Kessler and Heinrich C. Kuhn (Munich: Fink, 2003), 539-552. On other music prints that may have been associated with Froben's bookshop, see 138 n. 26 below.

been printed by Ohr.[18] Brade's second collection of dances, this time for six parts, came from Carstens' press in 1614, and Praetorius's third and fourth volumes of polyphony, a volume of Masses (*Liber Missarum Qui est operum musicorum Tomus Tertius V. VI. VIII. Voc[um]*, 1616) and a volume of motets (*Cantiones variae V. VI. VII. IIX. X. XII. XVI. XX. Vocum Quae sunt operum musicorum Tomus Quartus*, 1618) were also printed by Carstens. Most of the known occasional works by Praetorius and his family came from this printer: besides several wedding compositions by Jacob and Johannes Praetorius, these included Hieronymus' sixteen-voice *Te Deum Laudamus Deutsch* (1612), dedicated to the Bürgermeister Hieronymus Vögeler, and the eight-voice *Firmetur manus tua*, composed on the occasion of the city council election (*Ratswahl*) of February 22, 1614. Finally, Carstens's output also included works by Samuel Scheidt, among them the three-volume *Tabulatura nova* (1624), and one of the few surviving works of Erasmus Sartorius, Cantor at the Johanneum from 1605 to 1637: a humorous novel entitled *Belligerasmus, id est Historia Belli Exorti in regno Musico* ("the story of a war that broke out in the Musical Kingdom," 1622).[19]

The official printer to the City Council of Hamburg, Paul Lange (active 1603-1630), also printed music. Lange was one of the most prolific printers in Hamburg, producing some two hundred works in the course of almost three decades. Alongside

[18] Nonmusical authors who had works printed with both Ohr and Carstens included the Hamburg pastor Georg Dedeken, whose sermons and theological publications were brought out not only by Ohr and Carstens but also by Michael Hering; and the Icelandic historian and humanist Arngrímur Jónsson (Arngrimus Jonas), whose *Crymogaea sive Rerum Islandicarum libri III* was published in 1609 by Ohr and 1610 by Carstens. On Arngrímur's works see Helge Bei der Wieden, "Die gelehrte Kenntnis Islands im Rostock des ausgehenden 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Reformation and Latin Literature in Northern Europe*, edited by Inger Ekrem, Minna Skafte Jensen, and Egil Kraggerud (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1996), and Svavar Hrafn Svavarsson, "Greatness Revived: The Latin Dissemination of the Icelandic Past," in *Germania latina – Latinitas teutonica*.

[19] A *Hymenaeus in honorem nuptiarum...Hermanni Bekemanni... quinque vocum* by Sartorius, now lost, was printed by Ohr in 1606 and is listed in Wahl, *Die Musik Hamburgs im Zeitalter Seb. Bachs*, no. 16. Sartorius's music theory treatise of 1635, the *Institutionum musicarum Tractatio nova et brevis*, was printed in 1635 by Jacob Rebenlein; see Hüschen, "Hamburger Musikdrucker und Musikverleger," 263.

official city publications, occasional pamphlets, theological works, and the earliest issues of Hamburg's first periodical newspaper, the *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mehrerley örther* (1618-1676), he published song sheets and hymnals in Low and High German, Samuel Scheidt's *Cantiones sacrae 8 vocum* (1620), Thomas Simpson's *Taffel-Consort… für 4 Stimmen und Generalbaß* (1621), the third edition of Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae*, and the second edition of his *Magnificat* collection (both 1622).

Another of Lange's important contemporaries was the publisher-bookseller Michael Hering (active 1607-1633). Several prints by Carstens were financed by Hering and sold in his bookshop; among these were Scheidt's *Cantiones sacrae*, printed by Lange in 1625. However, several prints with the colophons "Typis Heringii" and "Bey und in Verlegung Michael Hering" show that Hering also owned his own printing press and was active as a printer in his own right. Hering's musical prints are concentrated in the last ten or so years of his life and include the first imprints of music composed by Thomas Selle (*Concertatio Castalidum* and *Deliciae Pastorum Arcadiae*, 1624), Hieronymus Praetorius's fifth and final collection of polyphony (*Cantiones novae officiosae*, 1625), and five collections of instrumental music by Samuel Scheidt, including all three parts of the *Tablatura nova* (1624). His heirs printed Johann Schop's *Erster Theil newer Paduanen* in 1633.[20]

The music printed by Ohr, Carstens, and Lange, and published by Froben and Hering, shared in the cachet of their more upscale non-musical publications. As a result, music became marked as a high-class print genre geared toward wealth and

[20] On Hering see Kayser, ed., *Hamburger Bücher 1491-1850*, 52; on his musical publications in particular, see Hüschen, "Hamburger Musikdrucker und Musikverleger," 261. On the question of an earlier edition of the *Cantiones novae officiosae,* dating from 1618 and printed by Hering, see 164-169 below.

learning. Several textual and material characteristics situated music prints in the same stratum as theological and scientific treatises and even Latin occasional poetry: its upright quarto format, its production in multiple volumes (partbooks), and the specialized literacy required for its decipherment all set music apart. Music printing was not routine work in print shops that had before produced only verbal and illustrated texts, since it made special demands on material resources and expertise. Both the compositors who set music type and the proofreaders who corrected the printed sheets had to know how to read music; Praetorius probably served as a proofreader himself, partly out of necessity, but also because his doing so increased the authority of his published musical texts.[21] Because music type, like other specialized typefaces, was expensive and limited in quantity, it was not uncommon for several printers within the same city to share type; indeed, all of the printers I have named above used the same musical typeface over the course of their careers.[22] Finally, since each exemplar, each book-copy, consisted of not one but several partbooks – several *objects* – more paper, ink, type, and time were expended per copy than for most other books.[23] In a city whose previous musical output had consisted of minimally notated hymnbooks, unnotated song pamphlets, and one collection of three-part songs, the eight partbooks of Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae* were printed objects of unprecedented luxury. But since Philipp von Ohr and his successors had already distinguished themselves with other large-scale, specialized prints, they were well equipped to meet these challenges.

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[21] Hansjörg Pohlmann, *Die Frühgeschichte des musikalischen Urheberrechts (ca. 1400-1800): Neue Materialien zur Entwicklung des Urheberrechtsbewußseins der Komponisten* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1962), 105.
[22] This was the typeface dubbed "von Ohr" in Donald Krummel, "German Part Book Type Faces," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 60 (1985), 90-91 (no. 14).
[23] The notion of a "book-copy" – the specific physical object containing a text, as distinct from the text itself – is outlined in Joseph A. Dane, *The Myth of Print Culture: Essays on Evidence, Textuality, and Bibliographical Method* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 1-9.

Even so, it is important not to overestimate the place of polyphonic music in the total print output of early seventeenth-century Hamburg. As Stephen Rose has noted, music tended to be only a "sideline" product of most presses in the German-speaking lands at this time, targeted to a limited audience of specialists.[24] Music constituted only a fraction of printers' total output, and several printers only printed music during relatively short portions of their careers. Though Ohr had been in business since 1597, his musical output is concentrated towards the end of his career, in the first decade of the century; the publications by Wendt and Praetorius are relatively isolated cases. Lange had been active in Hamburg for almost three decades, yet his surviving music prints date only from the middle third or so of his career. Almost all of Carstens' music prints date from the period 1612-1618, though he was active well into the 1620s.[25] Only one musical work ever bore the name of Froben, one of the most important figures in the Hamburg's book trade at this time.[26] Most of these printers stopped printing music in or around the 1620s (Carstens in 1618, Lange in 1622, Hering in 1627); soon afterwards, music printing was taken up again by a new generation of printers including Lorenz Pfeiffer (active 1624-1628) and Jacob Rebenlein (active 1630-1662).[27] By their time, partbooks in quarto had become the standard musical products of Hamburg's presses.

Yet the steadily increasing number of polyphonic collections in Hamburg in no way diminished the production of other sorts of musical print. Octavo hymnbooks and song pamphlets in both High and Low German continued to be printed in large

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[24] Rose, "Music, Print, and Presentation in Saxony," 4.
[25] Hüschen, "Hamburger Musikdrucker und Musikverleger," 261, mentions a second edition of Praetorius's *Liber Missarum* printed by Carstens in 1622, though this is not known to survive.
[26] According to Göhler, no. 1119, 1120, and 1124, some book fair catalogue entries pair Froben's name with the *Magnificat* of 1602, the *Liber missarum* of 1616, and the two pamphlet motets from 1612 and 1613, suggesting that these may have been sold at his shop. If this was the case, it is another indication of Froben's a specific interest in Praetorius's works.
[27] Hüschen, "Hamburger Musikdrucker und Musikverleger," 262-264.

numbers. The Low German *Enchiridion Geistliker Leder und Psalmen*, first printed in 1558 and 1565, went through three reprints in the first half of the century (1607, 1613, and 1630), while several other new hymnbooks – most notably *Melodeyen-Gesangbuch* and the *Himmlische Cantorey* (both 1604) – appeared as well. In general, hymnbooks were printed by different printers from those who tackled polyphonic music in partbook collections. For some of these, music was even more of a "sideline" product than it was for the printers of polyphony: the sole musical publication from the press of Hans Mose (active 1616-1631) was the *Enchiridion* of 1630, while the name of Samuel Rüdinger is known only from the *Melodeyen-Gesangbuch* of 1604.[28] Hymnbooks and songbooks flourished in the work of later printers as well, so much so that new octavo-sized music fonts made their appearance alongside the handsome quarto-partbook music type shared by Ohr, Carstens, Lange, and Hering and to which the later printers still had recourse.[29]

"Sideline" did not mean "insignificant," however. Although Hamburg never became one of the premier European centers of music print, it was without doubt a center of music, and its musical riches were first disseminated throughout Europe by way of print. Praetorius's works, as some of the first of their kind in Hamburg, helped put the city on the map musically just as it was gaining prominence as a regional center of music printing. Finally, aside from their significance to Hamburg, Praetorius's prints bear witness to the varying uses to which the composer put the print medium over the course of his career, from his few initial essays in a new genre

[28] Paul Lange printed three hymnbooks between 1612 and 1613: a *Christliches Gesangbüchlein* (1612) in High German, the 1613 edition of the *Enchiridion Geistliker Leeder*, and *Christlyke Gesenge vor de yungen Kinder vnde godtsalige Christen vth der hilligen Schrifft* (1613), compiled by Otto Musaenius, pastor in Lüneburg. On these prints and on Rüdinger, see Hüschen, "Hamburger Musikdrucker und Musikverleger," 260.

[29] See 137 n. 22 above.

to the methodical construction of a self-published collected works edition. The following chronological overview of Praetorius's printed works tells this story, and aims to clarify some of its more confusing aspects.

Praetorius's Collections of Polyphony: A Print History

Cantiones sacrae (Ohr, 1599) and *Magnificat octo vocum* (Ohr, 1602)

Hieronymus Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* of 1599 was the first volume of Latin-texted polyphonic music to be produced in the city, and was dedicated to the elders of St. Jacobi. Its thirty-two motets, for five through eight voices, were organized – as the title suggests – according to the principal feast days of the church year (starting with Advent and ending with Trinity Sunday), followed by a miscellaneous group of five motets under the heading "Ad Placitum." The *Cantiones sacrae* became the most widely reprinted of Praetorius's collections, going through no fewer than four more editions printed in Hamburg, Frankfurt, and Antwerp. Its much-expanded second edition, printed by Ohr in 1607 and discussed further below, was the basis for these subsequent reprints.

Praetorius's second volume of polyphony, the *Magnificat octo vocum super octos tonos consuetos, cum motetis aliquot 8. et 12. vocum*, appeared in 1602, also from Ohr's press.[30] The Magnificat canticle continued to be the central fixture of the office of Vespers in Lutheran liturgies, and several other collections of polyphonic Magnificat settings by Protestant composers in the German-speaking lands appeared

[30] Edited by Frederick K. Gable in CMM vol. 110:2. I wish to thank Professor Gable for allowing me to examine his proofs before publication.

throughout the early seventeenth century.[31] Praetorius's collection is fairly typical and contains eight double-choir settings of the Magnificat, one corresponding to each of the eight traditional plainchant tones. All verses of the canticle are set, though plainchant intonations are provided in the *Cantus* partbook to be sung by boys. Following the Magnificat settings is an appendix of four motets on psalm texts, *Domine Dominus noster* (Psalm 8), *Venite exultemus Domino* (Psalm 95:1-5) and *Cantate Domino* (Psalm 96:1-3), all for eight voices, and the twelve-voice *Dixit Dominus* (Psalm 110). Praetorius dedicated this volume to a patron outside of Hamburg: Moritz, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, himself a gifted composer who counted several Magnificat cycles among his works.[32]

In 1602, it seems, Praetorius had not yet planned any further collections of music, much less a multi-volume set of his collected sacred vocal works. Even so, Ohr gave Praetorius's second book an immediate visual link to the first by reusing the woodcut from the *Cantiones* on the title page of the *Magnificat* volume (see Figures 2-1 and 2-2). This was one of the most ornate title page illustrations to have been produced in Hamburg at this time, and seems to have been created expressly for Praetorius's first collection, since it appears there for the first time. A central space for the title text is flanked by Jesus on the left and Moses on the right; the four Evangelists occupy the corners; and the fortress of the Hammaburg – the armorial

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[31] See, among others, Christoph Demantius, *Trias precum vespertinum, qua continetur canticum B. Mariae Virginis, intonationes cum psalmis, et clausulae in precibus vespertinis consuetae quas Benedicamus vocant* (Nuremberg, 1602); Erhard Bodenschatz, *Das schöne und geistreiche Magnificat* (Leipzig, 1599); Melchior Vulpius, *Canticum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae* (Jena, 1605); and Melchior Franck, *Laudes Dei vespertinae* (Coburg, 1622). Michael Praetorius, *Megalynodia Sionia Continens Canticum B. Mariæ Virginis, MAGNIFICAT, 5. 6. & 8. Voc super Vt Re Mi Fa Sol La, & quædam Madrigalia ac Motectas (interpositis de Nativitate & Resurrectione Christi Cantilenis quibusdam Germanicis) accommodatum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1611), though not an eight-tone Magnificat cycle in the strict sense, is also worth mentioning on account of its sheer scope.

[32] Moritz's complete surviving musical works are edited in *Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Moritz Landgraf von Hessen*, 29 vols. in 4 series, edited by Paul-Heinz Lefhelm (n.p.: Cornetto Verlag, 2005). On Moritz's musical activities, see Heiner Borggrefe, Vera Lupkes, and Hans Ottomeyer, eds., *Moritz der Gelehrte: Ein Renaissancefürst in Europa* (Eurasberg: Minerva, 1997), 293.

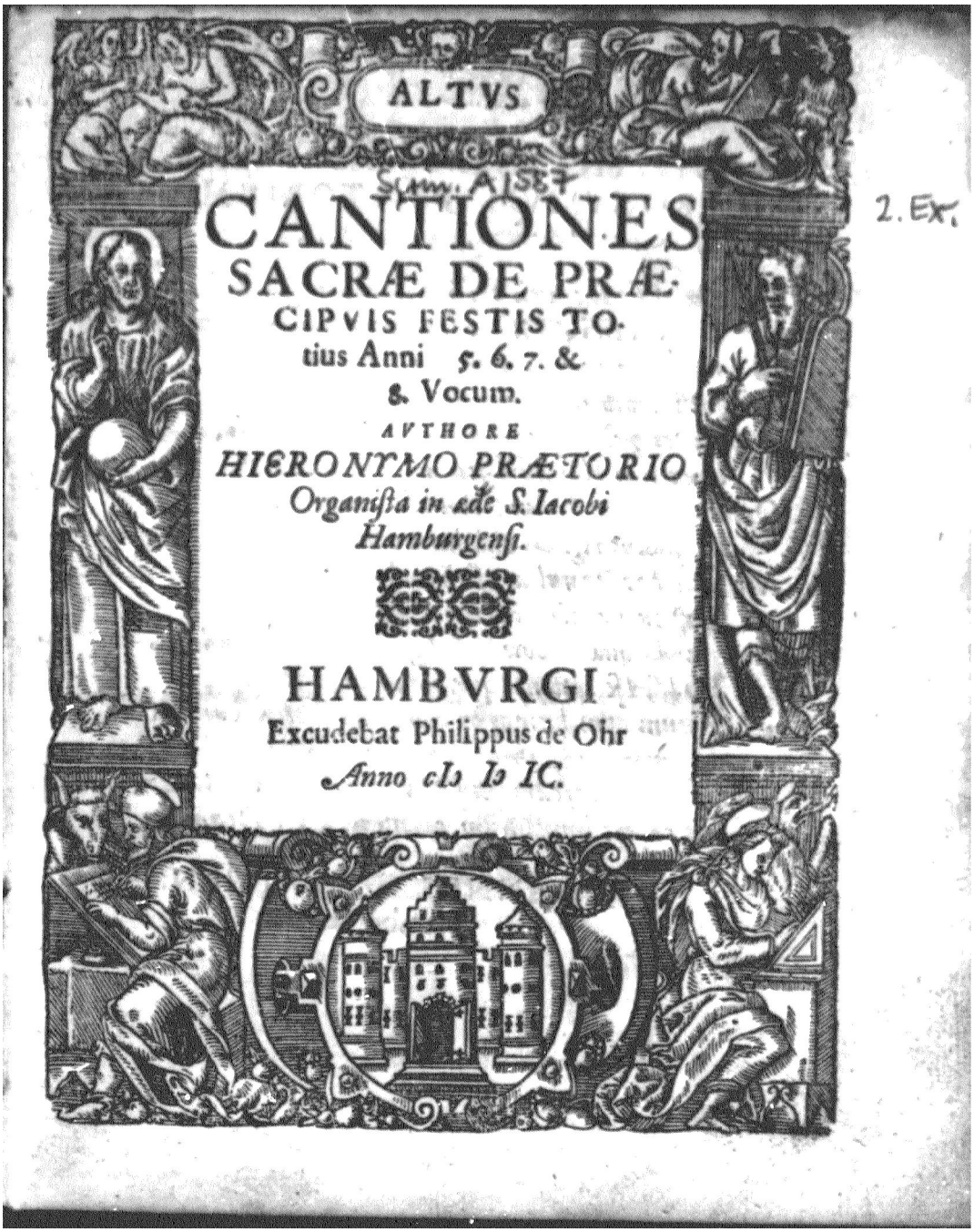


Figure 2-1. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* (Hamburg: Ohr, 1599), cantus partbook, title page. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/587.

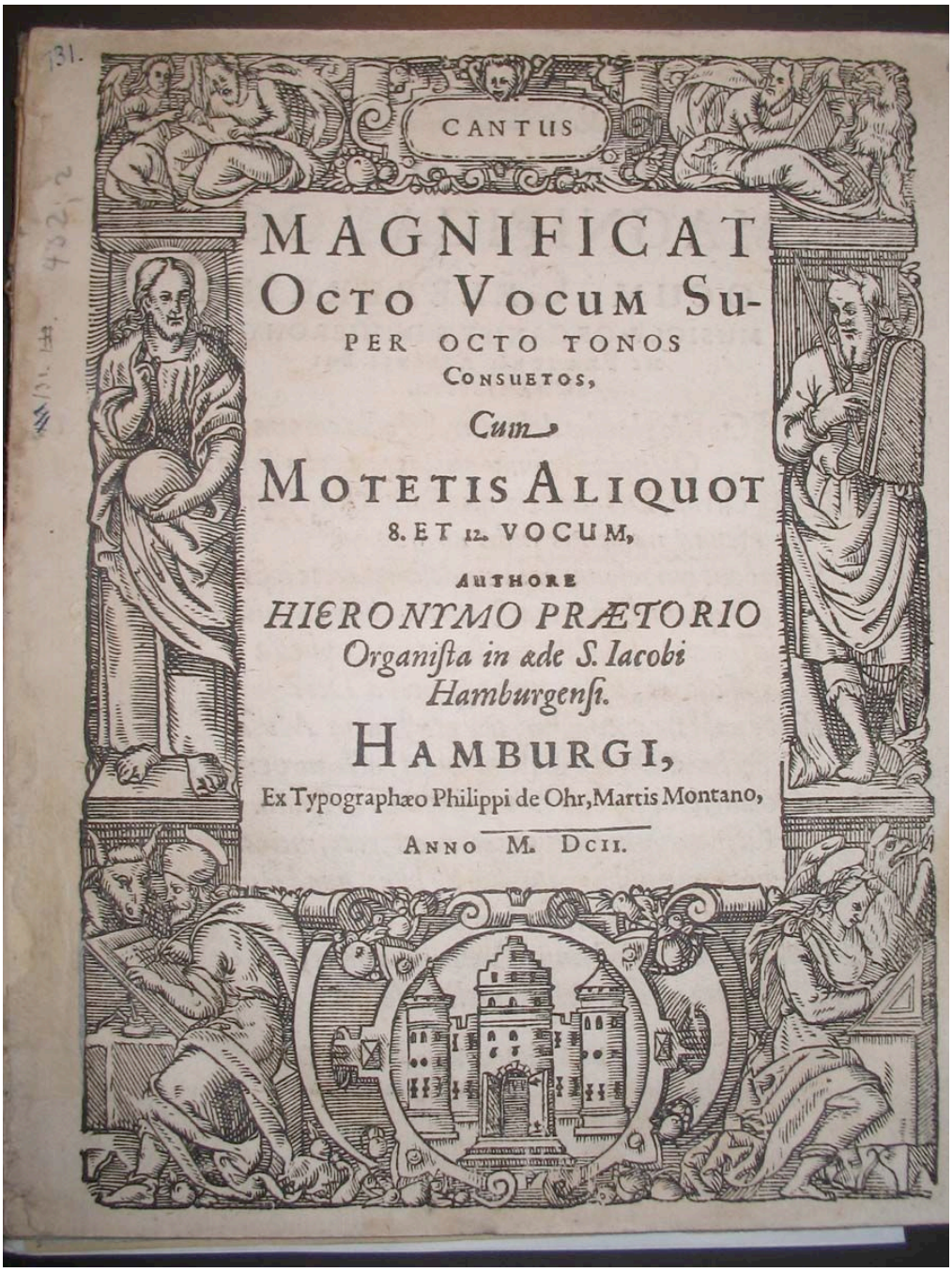


Figure 2-2. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Magnificat octo vocum* (Hamburg: Ohr, 1602), cantus partbook, title page. Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library, University of California, Berkeley, M2099.L6 P8P Case X.

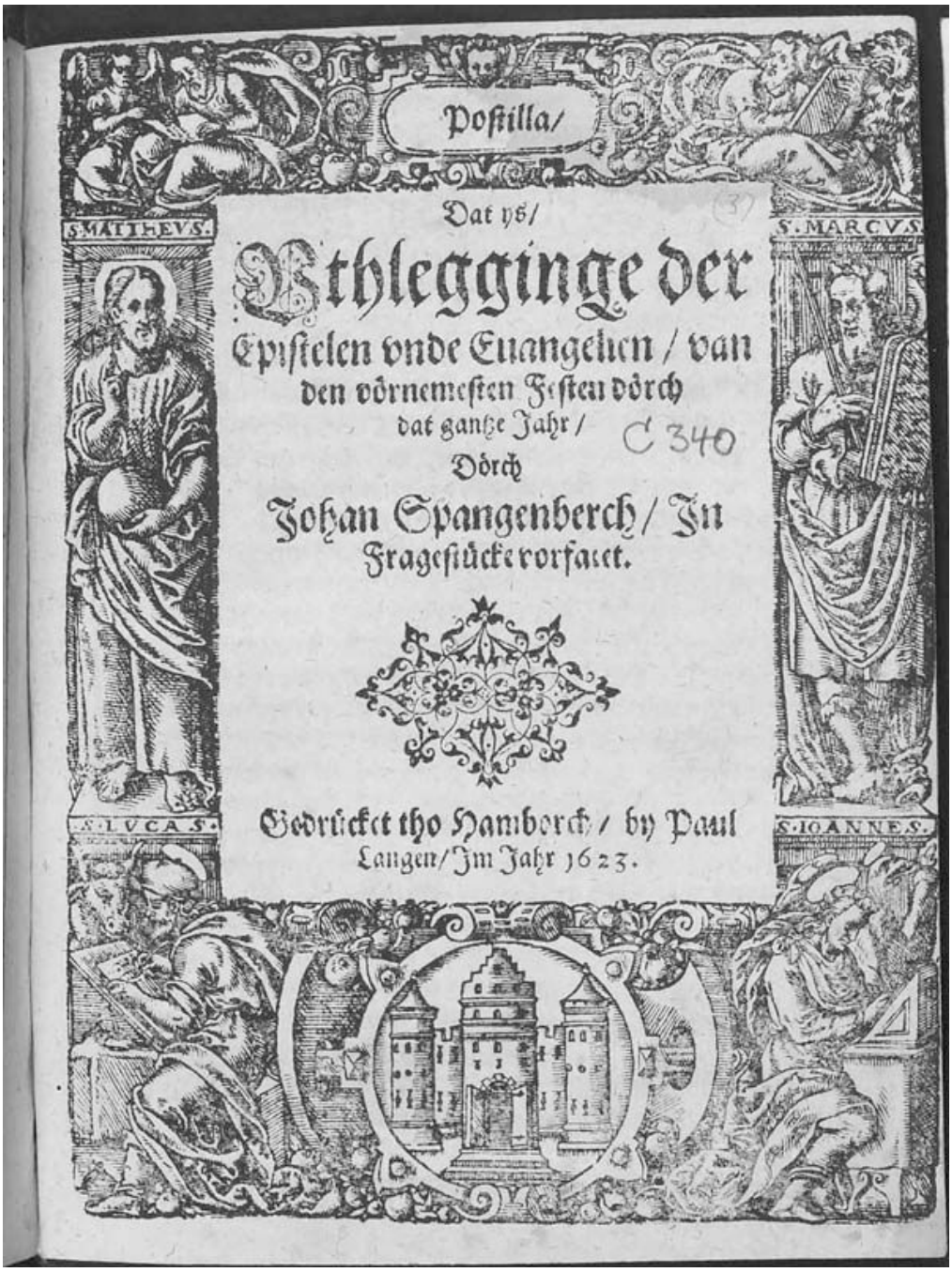


Figure 2-3. Johann Spangenberg, *Postilla / Dat ys / Vthlegginge der Epistelen vnde Evangelien van den vörnemesten Festen dörch dat gantze Jahr* (Hamburg: Lange, 1623), title page. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, C340.4º Helmst. (VD17 23:677825T).

emblem of the city of Hamburg – stands at bottom center. The space for a partbook name at the top of the border hints that it may have been made specifically for music books, though it was reused in several non-musical publications by Ohr and Lange in following years. (Figure 2-3 shows one example, the title page of a 1623 sermon collection, in which the names of the four Evangelists have been carved into the original woodcut.) Though Ohr's reuse of the woodcut for the *Magnificat* volume may have been simply a matter of convenience, the shared border forged a visual connection between Praetorius's first two volumes even before they were grouped together as a set, and identified both as a new type of printed work.

Cantiones sacrae (Ohr/Froben, 1607)

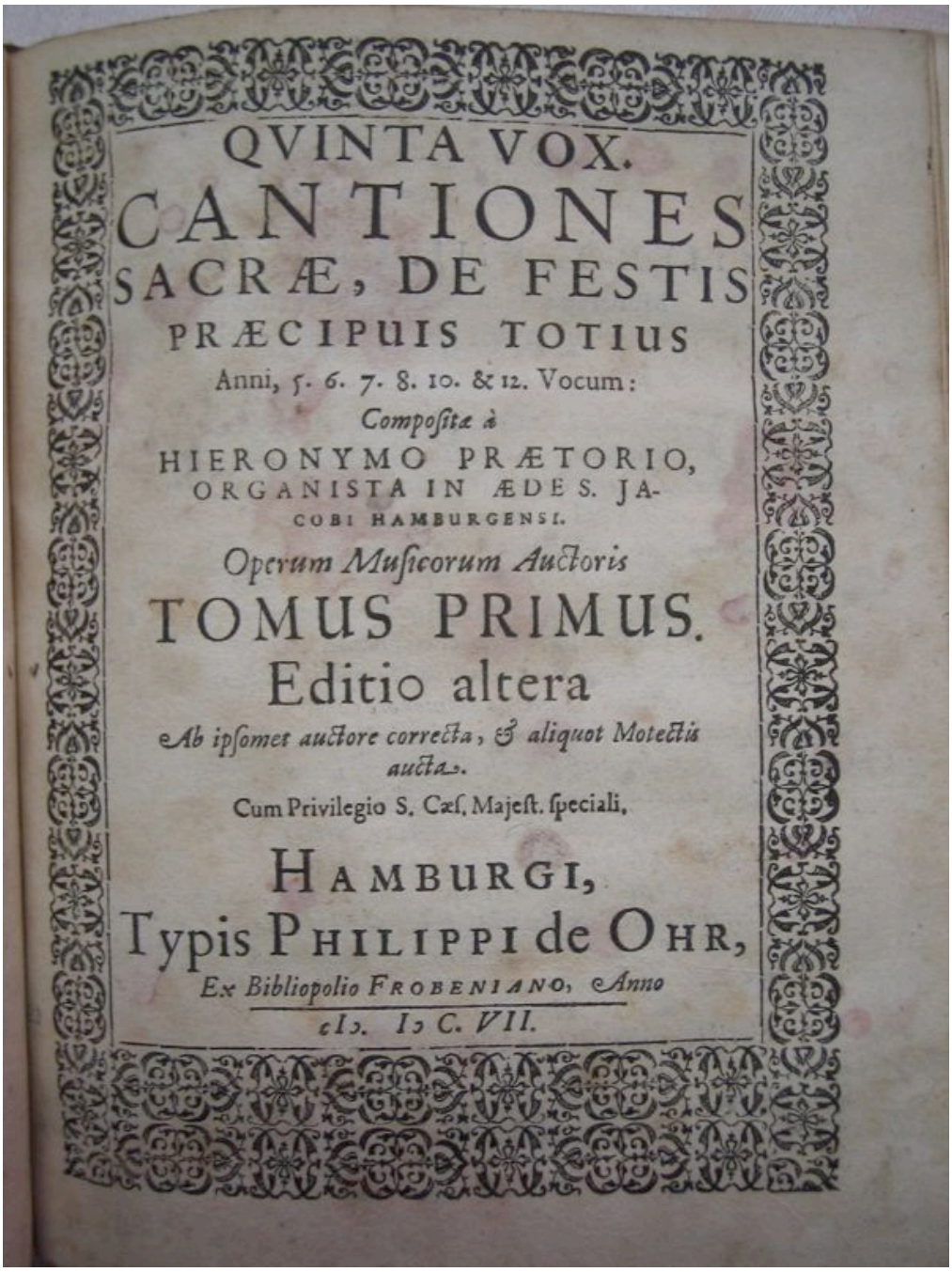
The second edition of the *Cantiones* appeared in 1607, printed by Ohr and published by Froben. For the first time, Praetorius's book of motets was dubbed "the author's first volume of musical works" (*operum musicum Autoris TOMUS PRIMUS*) – terminology that promised more volumes to come. Praetorius had every reason to be optimistic, for music printing was beginning to boom in his native city. In 1607, Ohr printed two collections of music in the same year, the second being the *Auserlesener Paduanen vnd Galliarden Erster Theil* of Zacharias Füllsack and Christian Hildebrand.[33] Other musical imprints, such as hymnbooks and pamphlets containing wedding motets, flourished as well.[34] The fact that Froben, one of Hamburg's leading bookseller-publishers at this period, brought out a volume of

[33] RISM B/I 1607[28], listed in Hüschen, "Hamburger Musikdrucker und Musikverleger," 259. See also n. 38.
[34] Wedding motets by Jacob Praetorius and the city cantor Erasmus Sartorius, both printed by Ohr in 1606, are known from Wahl, *Die Musik Hamburgs im Zeitalter Seb. Bachs*, no. 15 and 16. Wahl, *Die Musik Hamburgs im Zeitalter Seb. Bachs*, no. 19, is a wedding motet by the otherwise unknown Peter Mevius, printed in 1607 by Lange. All of these works are lost.

Praetorius's works speaks well for the growing success of music print at this period. Indeed, Froben – whose name is not known to have appeared on any other music prints – may have chosen to finance the 1607 *Cantiones* specifically to capitalize on Praetorius's growing musical renown.[35] Though Froben was the financier of this edition, the 1599 dedication to the elders of St. Jacobi is retained, which would also be the case in the third edition of 1622.

The title page of this print (Figure 2-4) is markedly different from that of the first edition. Instead of the elaborate woodcut of the 1599 edition, the title text is framed by a border of generic woodblock ornaments.[36] This simpler border helps to accommodate the longer text of the new title: we learn that the collection has been "corrected by the author himself, and enlarged by means of several more motets" (*Ab ipsomet auctore correcta, et aliquot Motectis aucta*). And, indeed, both are true of the 1607 edition. Several small typographical errors from the 1599 edition were corrected; in some motets, individual notes and phrases have been slightly recomposed, usually in the inner voices.[37] Also, with thirteen new motets, the second edition of the *Cantiones* is more than a third again as large as the first, making each partbook two to three quarto gatherings longer than its 1599 counterpart. Three of the new motets were composed by Jacob Praetorius, then twenty-one years old: *Surge propera* à 5 and *Gaudete omnes* à 6 – both on texts that had already been set by his father – and *Veni in hortum meum* à 8. The 1607 edition is also the first of Praetorius's volumes to exhibit an imperial privilege (*Cum Privilegio S. Cæs. Majest. speciali*), about which, unfortunately, nothing is known beyond this simple phrase on

[35] On other prints by Praetorius potentially associated with Froben, see 138 n. 26 above.
[36] These woodblock ornaments can be seen in countless other prints by Ohr, Froben, Carstens, and Hering.
[37] See Frederick K. Gable's critical notes to RRMR vol. 18 and RRMR vol. 19.



QVINTA VOX.

CANTIONES SACRÆ, DE FESTIS PRÆCIPUIS TOTIUS Anni, 5. 6. 7. 8. 10. & 12. Vocum:

Compoſitæ à

HIERONYMO PRÆTORIO, ORGANISTA IN ÆDE S. JACOBI HAMBURGENSI.

Operum Muſicorum Auctoris

TOMUS PRIMUS.

Editio altera

Ab ipſomet auctore correcta, & aliquot Motectis aucta.

Cum Privilegio S. Cæſ. Majeſt. ſpeciali.

HAMBURGI,

Typis PHILIPPI de OHR,

Ex Bibliopolio FROBENIANO, Anno

cIↃ. IↃ C. VII.

Figure 2-4. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* (Hamburg: Ohr, 1599), Quinta Vox partbook, title page. Salzwedel, Bibliothek der Katharinenkirche, M11.

the title page. Arne Spohr has recently proposed that Ohr's other musical publication of 1607, the *Paduanen vnd Galliarden* of Füllsack and Hildebrand, may have been a musical consquence of the visit of King Christian IV of Denmark in 1603, and it is possible that some of the newly added motets in the 1607 *Cantiones* may have graced the festivities as well.[38] At the same time, the reissue of the *Cantiones* in expanded form also reflects the success of the pieces printed in the first edition, and expresses Praetorius's own continued enthusiasm for musical print.

Liber missarum (1616) and *Cantiones variae* (1618)

Eight years after Ohr's death in 1608, Heinrich Carstens published Praetorius's next monographic collection of polyphony, the *Liber missarum* (1616). It was not the first time Carstens had collaborated with Praetorius and his family, however. In 1611, Carstens had printed a wedding motet by Hieronymus's son Jacob, the eight- voice *Vidi speciosam*, composed for the wedding of Johann Adolph Fabricius to Anna Langemake, Jacob's widowed sister.[39] In 1612, 1613, and 1614, respectively, Carstens printed three large congratulatory works by Praetorius: the sixteen-voice German *Te Deum*, the eight-voice *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* (1613), and the eight-voice *Firmetur manus tua* (1614).[40] Finally, in 1615 Carstens collaborated with Hieronymus and his two organist sons, Jacob and Johann, on a print of three

[38] Arne Spohr, "Was hört man da vor Seytenspiel / Orpheus nicht dabey gleichen will": Die Huldigung Hamburgs vor Christian IV. (1603) und ihre musikgeschichtlichen Folgen," paper given at *Music in Hanseatic Cities of Northern Central Europe and the Baltic Area, c. 1350-1650* (Antwerp, 23 August 2008). The possibility that some of the newly added motets in the 1607 collection were performed during the King's visit is explored further on 216-219 and 230-232 below.
[39] Robert Eitner, "Jacob Praetorius und seine Familie," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 3:5 (1871), no. III, and Gable, introduction to RRMBE vol. 73, ix-x.
[40] These three motets survive only in single copies: the *Te Deum laudamus Deutsch* in Salzwedel, Bibiothek der Katharinenkirche, M11; *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* in Burgsteinfurt, Historische Bibliothek des Gymnasium Arnoldinum, Philol. Quart. M9 and Philol. Quart. M10 (cantus and bassus parts only); and *Firmetur manus tua* in Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. KN 121.

motets for the wedding of Johann Adolph Fabricius, son of the chief pastor at St. Jacobi.[41]

The hiatus between Hieronymus's *Magnificat* volume and his Masses thus seems in no way to have reflected any lull in productivity on Praetorius's part, nor any decline in his prestige as a composer of polyphony. On the contrary, this spate of occasional works suggests that he was more in demand than ever. His success in this genre, along with the success of his previous volumes of motets and Magnificat settings, may have encouraged him to try his hand at a "third volume of musical works" (*operum musicorum Tomus Tertius*). Yet Praetorius makes no allusion to occasional works in his dedicatory preface to the Masses, nor in any of his other prefaces, stating instead, in completely formulaic terms, that his decision to publish a third volume arises from nothing else than a continued desire to praise God in music:

> Huc quide[m] certe meus aliquot ante annos ibat conatus, cum cantica non pauca in apertum referrem: in quibus nihil spectavi, nihil secutus sum aliud, quam ut Dei gloriam hoc pacto illustrarem, & quada[m] audiendi illecebra in animos aliorum pietatem induerem, & blando illicio insinuarem…. superioribus mensibus ita accidit, ut ad Musicas has meditationes animum revocarem, & ex eodem velut cortice hoc Mißarum opus exciderem.
>
> When I brought not a few songs into the open some years ago, my attempts were certainly directed toward this end: I have looked for nothing, pursued nothing except to illustrate God's glory in this covenant, to pour piety into the souls of others through some allurement of hearing, and to enter [those souls] with gentle enticement…. Thus in past months it has happened that I have once again called to mind my musical meditations, and from this place, as from wood, I would carve out this *Opus Missarum*.[42]

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[41] *Tres cantiones sacrae octo vocum honori nuptiarum… Johannis Adolphi Fabricii… Annam Lamberti Langemachii p.m. relictam viduam a Praetoriis Sponsae patre et fratribus…* (Hamburg: Carstens, 1615), including *Laeto dum caelo* by Hieronymus Praetorius, *Vidi speciosam* by Jacob Praetorius, and *Vulnerasti cor meum* by Johann Praetorius. The print does not survive and is known only from Wahl, *Die Musik Hamburgs im Zeitalter Seb. Bachs*, no. 38, and from Eitner, "Jacob Praetorius und seine Familie," no. III. The music to two of the motets survives, however; *Laeto dum caelo* was reprinted in Hieronymus's *Cantiones variae* of 1618, and *Vidi speciosam* survived in a nineteenth-century transcription. See Gable, introduction to RRMBE vol. 73, x.

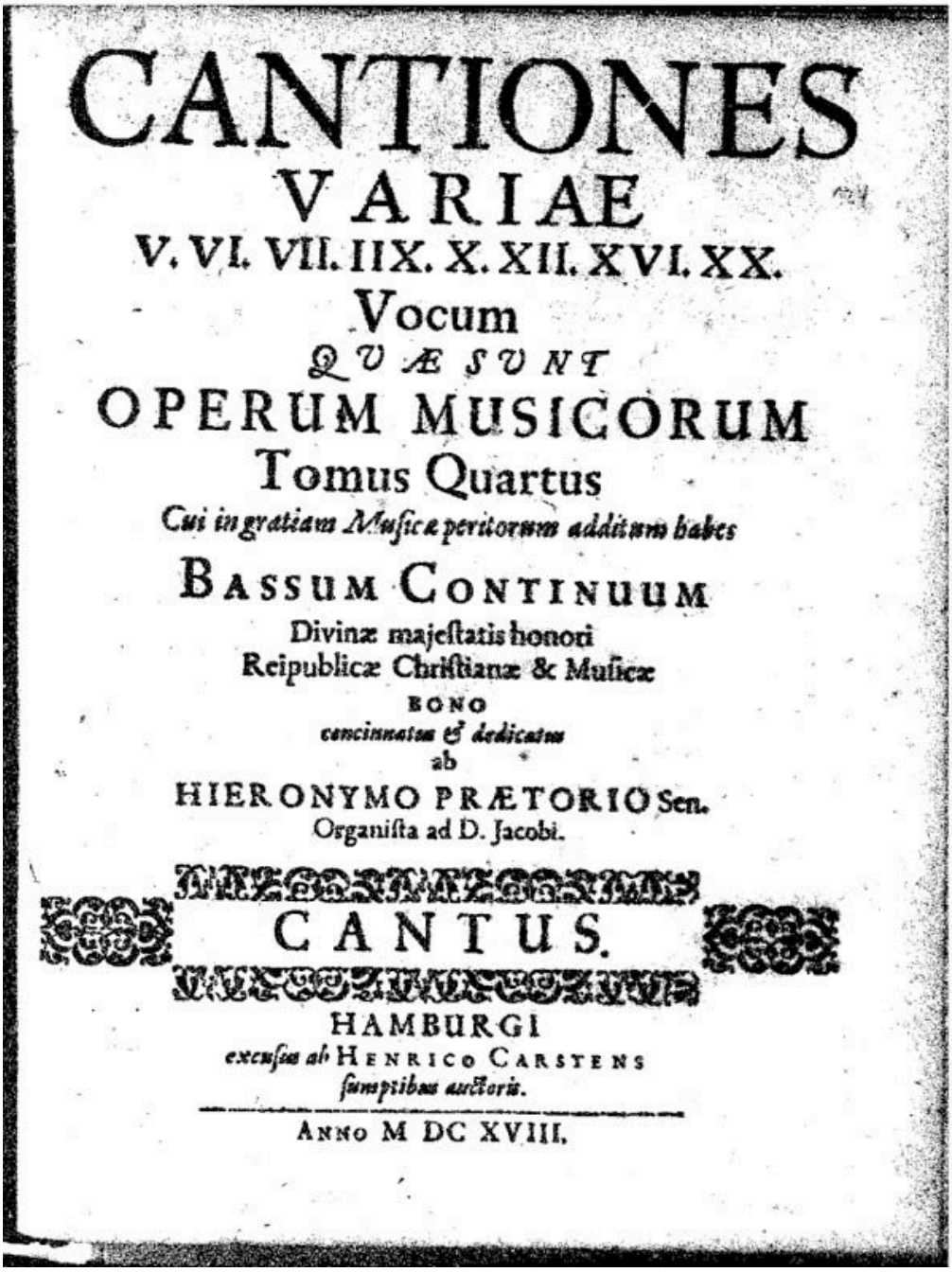
[42] Tenor partbook, (?)2r [sic]. Translation mine.

In the *Liber Missarum* of 1616 and the *Cantiones variae* of 1618, we have the first hints of a visually unified multivolume edition of Praetorius's works – though one that begins out of order. The *Liber missarum* is called the composer's third volume (*tomus tertius*) and the *Cantiones variae* his fourth; the second was the *Magnificat* of 1602, though it had not been so labeled. Carstens marked the publications of 1616 and 1618 as companion pieces by way of several typographical similarities, especially on their title pages (Figures 2-5 and 2-6). Except for an indication that the *Cantiones variae* includes a continuo part "for the benefit of experienced musicians" (*in gratiam Musicae peritorum*), both titles are almost identically worded, sharing even the high-flung phrase "composed and dedicated to the honor of the Divine Majesty and for the good of the Christian and musical community" (*divinæ maiestatis honori Reipublicæ Christianæ & Musicæ BONO concinnatus & dedicatus*). The visual commonalities encouraged Pratorius's volumes of Masses and "various songs" to be collected and bound together, as, indeed, they were. Yet these third and fourth volumes of Praetorius's collected works still lacked first and second volumes that matched them visually and thematically – there was still no edition of the *Magnificat* volume called *tomus secundus*.

Like the *Cantiones sacrae* of 1599 and 1607, the *Liber missarum* is dedicated to high-ranking parishioners of St. Jacobi. First named are Johannes Munden and Wilhelm von Duthen, *Leichnamsgeschworene* and members of "Hamburg's most illustrious duodecimvirate" (*in inclyto Hamburg: XII viris*), the twelve *Oberalte* who were the highest-ranking representatives of the citizenry of Hamburg before the City Council. Their names are followed by those of six "most excellent patricians of

LIBER
MISSARUM
Qui eſt
OPERUM MUSICORUM
Tomus Tertius
V. VI. VIII. Voc:
divinæ majeſtatis honori
Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ & Muſicæ
BONO
Concinnatus & dedicatus
A
HIERONYMO PRÆTORIO Sen.
Organiſtæ ad D. Jacobi.
QUINTA VOX.
HAMBURGI
Excuſum ab HENRICO CARSTENS.

Figure 2-5. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Liber missarum* (Hamburg: Carstens, 1616), Cantus partbook, title page. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617.



CANTIONES
VARIAE
V. VI. VII. IIX. X. XII. XVI. XX.
Vocum
QVÆ SVNT
OPERUM MUSICORUM
Tomus Quartus
Cui in gratiam Muſicæ peritorum additum habes
BASSUM CONTINUUM
Divinæ majeſtatis honori
Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ & Muſicæ
BONO
concinnatum & dedicatum
ab
HIERONYMO PRÆTORIO Sen.
Organiſta ad D. Jacobi.

CANTUS.

HAMBURGI
excuſus ab HENRICO CARSTENS
ſumptibus auctoris.

ANNO M DC XVIII.

Figure 2-6. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones variae* (Hamburg: Carstens, 1618), Cantus partbook, title page. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617.

Hamburg" (*patriciis Hamb. florentissimis*) about whom nothing is known, but who were probably members of the wealthier classes: Johann Rump, Johann Garmers, Joachim Hartiges, Johann Sillem, Johann de Hartoge, and Albert von der Myle. An account book entry from early December 1616 acknowledges the payment of sixthalers (fifteen marks *lübisch* at that time) to "Hieronymus Schultz, for his newly printed Masses which he offered to the church."[43] This is considerably less than the 51 marks and 9 shillings Praetorius had been paid for his *Cantiones sacrae* sixteen years before, which suggests the payment is only for copies of the book, rather than for the cost of printing; the verb "offered" seems to hint specifically at presentation copies, though these do not survive.

Also like the *Cantiones,* Praetorius's collection of Masses oriented itself toward the "most important feast days of the year." The three eight-voice Masses are based on Praetorius's own eight-voice motets for Christmas, Easter, and Michaelmas from the earlier collection: *Angelus ad pastores*, *Tulerunt Dominum meum*, and *Factum est silentium*. The other three Masses in the collection are for smaller performing forces (five or six voices) and are based on motets that are less festive and more general in theme: Stefano Felis's five-voice *Paratum cor meum Deus*, Praetorius's own six-voice *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore* (newly added to the *Cantiones* of 1607), and Jacobus Meiland's six-voice setting of the Advent responsory *Non auferetur sceptrum de Juda*.

In contrast, Praetorius's fourth volume, the *Cantiones variae V. VI. VII. IIX. X. XII. XVI. XX. Vocum* of 1618, is less easy to compare to any of his previous

[43] "Jeronÿmus Schulten / wegen syner Nÿen gedruckten Meßen / So he den Kirchen offerirt." Staatsarchiv Hamburg St. Jakobi A 1 b 4, 642. On the use of the name *Schultz* or *Schulte* for *Praetorius*, see 127 n. 7 above.

collections. This was the first time Praetorius acted as his own publisher, as the words *sumptibus autoris* on the title page indicate; there is no dedication, nor any mention of a patron or sponsor. The twenty-seven motets in this collection are diverse in subject matter and musical content, including (among other things) numerous works on texts appropriate for weddings, three office hymns (*Veni redemptor gentium*, *A solus ortus cardine*, and *O lux beata Trinitas*, all à 6), a psalm incorporating a double canon (*Laudate Dominum* à 7), and five works for three or more choirs. The motets are ordered not by occasion but by number of voices, and, as the series of numbers in the title hints, the available vocal combinations are almost as diverse as the motets themselves. In addition, the *Cantiones variae* was Praetorius's first collection to include a folio *basso continuo* part, printed in a score-like form with separate staves for the bass lines of each choir in the polychoral works (Figure 2-7).

The *Cantiones variae* also illuminates another goal of Praetorius's new but strangely incomplete collected works edition: to preserve the composer's more ephemeral works for posterity in the more permanent form of the partbook collection. Unlike Praetorius's first collection of motets, intended for use throughout the church year, the *Cantiones variae* sees to be made up primarily of occasional motets. The three surviving pamphlet motets printed by Carstens in 1612, 1613, and 1614 reappeared in this collection, and other occasional works are identifiable by their texts: for example, the three works on Song of Songs texts (*Dilectus meus mihi* à 8, *Quam pulchra es* à 8, and *Tota pulchra es* à 12) are probably wedding motets. Praetorius had already collected several motets of this type in the section of the

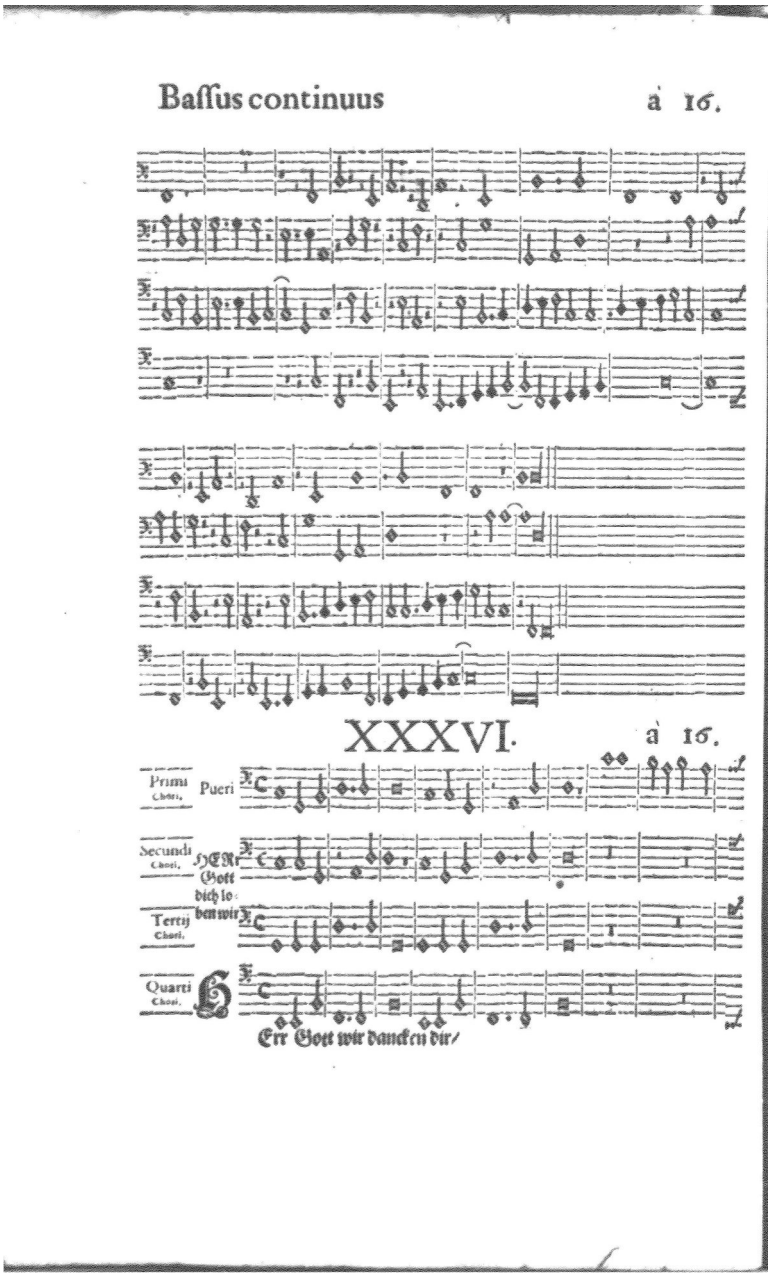


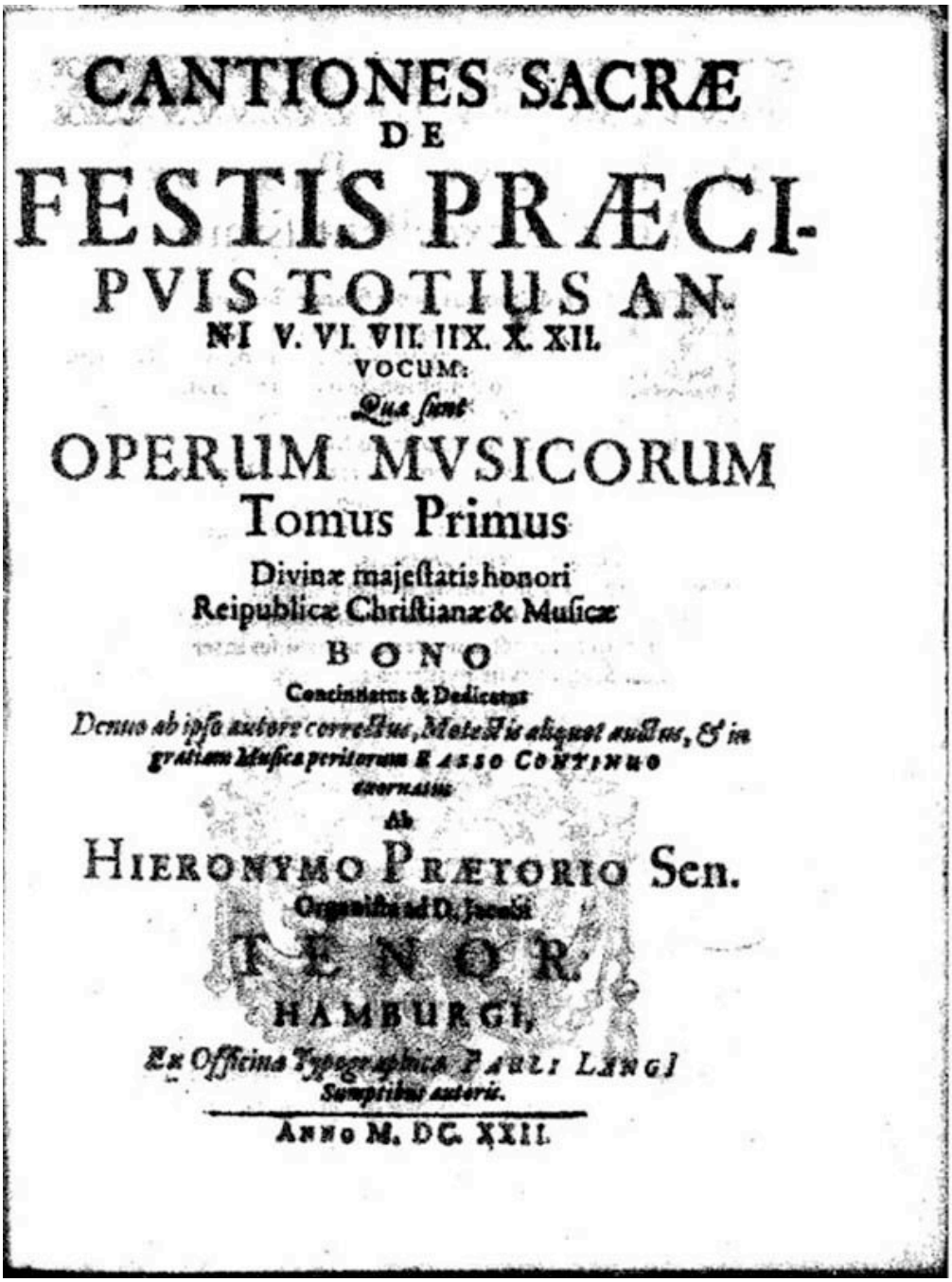
Figure 2-7. Opening of *Herr Gott dich loben wir* à 16 in Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones variae* (Hamburg: Carstens, 1618), *Bassus continuus* partbook, E1v. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617.

Cantiones sacrae labeled *Ad Placitum*. To devote an entire motet collection primarily to such works, however – and to do so without making any reference to the original occasions – was somewhat more unusual, though not unheard of; several of the works in Lassus's motet volumes and Philipp Dulichius's four-part *Centuria* (Stettin, 1607, 1610, and 1612) had been works of this type, as were many of those in Byrd's three *Cantiones sacrae* collections (London, 1575, 1589, and 1591). Praetorius's *Cantiones variae* and *Cantiones novae*, like these collections, transformed occasional works by repackaging them for the general enjoyment of all music lovers – a phenomenon I cover in more detail in Chapter 5.

Cantiones sacrae **and** ***Canticum B. Mariae Virginis*** **(Lange, 1622)**

In the last decade or so of his life, Praetorius seems to have occupied himself less with composing new works than with compiling the *Opus musicum* from preexisting works. In 1622, Paul Lange printed a third edition of Praetorius's first volume, the *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis*, and a second edition of the *Magnificat* volume of 1602, this time with the more expansive title *Canticum B. Mariæ Virginis seu Magnificat octo vocum. Super octo tonos consuetos, quod est Operum Musicorum tomus secundus*.[44] Both volumes, like the *Cantiones variae* of 1618, were self-published by Praetorius, and also bore the indication *sumptibus autoris* at the bottom of both title pages. For the first time, Praetorius's *Magnificat* collection was actually labeled as his "second volume of musical works" – though retrospectively so, since the *Liber Missarum* of 1616 had already been numbered third. Figures 2-8 and 2-9 show the title pages of the two collections of 1622.

[44] RISM A/I P5334.



CANTIONES SACRÆ
DE
FESTIS PRÆCI-
PVIS TOTIUS AN-
NI V. VI. VII. IIX. X. XII.
VOCUM:
Quæ sunt
OPERUM MVSICORUM
Tomus Primus
Divinæ majestatis honori
Reipublicæ Christianæ & Musicæ
BONO
Concinnatus & Dedicatus
Denuo ab ipso autore correctus, Motetlis aliquot auctus, & in gratiam Musicæ peritorum BASSO CONTINUO ornatus
Ab
HIERONYMO PRÆTORIO Sen.
Organista ad D. Jacobi
TENOR.
HAMBURGI,
Ex Officina Typographica PAULI LANGII
Sumptibus autoris.
ANNO M. DC. XXII.

Figure 2-8. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* (Hamburg: Lange, 1622), Sexta Vox partbook, title page. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617.

CANTICUM B. MARIÆ
VIRGINIS.
SEU
MAGNIFICAT
OCTO VOCUM.
Super Octo Tonos Conſuetos
QUOD EST
OPERUM MUSICORUM
Tomus Secundus
Divinæ majeſtatis honori
Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ & Muſicæ
BONO
Concinnatus & dedicatus
Denuo ab ipſo autore correctus, Motettis aliquot 9. 10. & 12. Vocum auctus
& in gratiam Muſicæ peritorum BASSO CONTINUO
exornatus
ab
HIERONYMO PRÆTORIO Sen.
Organiſta ad D. Jacobi
CANTUS
HAMBURGI,
Ex Officina Typographica PAULI LANGII
ſumptibus autoris.
ANNO M. DC. XXII.

Figure 2-9. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Canticum B. Mariae Virginis seu Magnificat* (Hamburg: Lange, 1622), Cantus partbook, title page. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617.

The 1622 volumes were not merely reprints, but new editions, and they attest to Praetorius's continued close participation in the course of production. Several small-scale editorial changes were made from the earlier editions, including corrections of wrong notes, addition of accidentals, and the raising or lowering of notes by an octave.[45] More strikingly, each volume featured at least one newly composed piece. The addition of a second Magnificat on the fifth tone (designated *Duplici modo cum Canticis Ecclesiasticis*, incorporating the Christmas songs *Joseph lieber Joseph mein* and *In dulci jubilo* – perhaps Praetorius's most famous piece today) necessitated a new layout for the second half of the collection and lengthened each partbook by at least one gathering. The *ad placitum* section of the *Cantiones* contained three new motets: the six-voice *Exultate Deo*, the ten-voice *Laudate pueri*, and a new five-voice *Surge propera* in place of Jacob Praetorius's setting in the 1607 edition. Because of the new additions, much of the type in the "Ad Placitum" section had to be reset in order to maintain the ordering by increasing number of voices; before this new material, however, the layout followed that of the 1607 volume almost exactly. By way of example, Table 2-2 charts the positions of feast-day headings in all three editions of the collection.

In Lange's prints we see the first concerted attempt at a single, visually unified *Opus musicum*, for they closely imitate the look and feel of Carstens' prints of 1616 and 1618. All four works employed the same music type, which had been shared by music printers in Hamburg since Philipp von Ohr's generation.[46] Figures

[45] See, for example, Frederick K. Gable's critical notes to CMM vol. 110:2, XXIV-XXXVI.
[46] See 137 n. 22 above.

Table 2-2. Position of feast-day and other headings in the Cantus partbook of the three Hamburg editions of Hieronymus Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae*.

Heading	Ohr, 1599	Ohr/Froben, 1607	Lange, 1622
Advent	A2r, top	A2r, top	A2r, top
Christmas	A4v, top	A4v, top	A4v, top
Epiphany	C1v, top	C2v, 4th system	C2v, 4th system
Purification	C3v, 4th system	D1r, top	D1r, top
Annunciation	D1r, 4th system	D2v, top	D2v, top
Passiontide	D2v, 4th system	D4r, top	D4r, top
Easter	E1r, 4th system	E2v, top	E2v, top
Ascension	E4r, 5th system	F1v, 4th system	F1v, 4th system
Pentecost	F2v, top	F4r, top	F4r, top
Trinity	F4v, top	G2r, top	G2r, top
St. John Baptist	G2r, 4th system	G3v, 5th system	G3v, 5th system
Visitation	G4r, top	H1v, top	H1v, top
Michaelmas	H1v, top	H3r, top	H3r, top
Ad Placitum	H4v, top	I2r, top	I2r, top
Benedictio Mensae	–	L3v, top	L4r, 6th system
Oratio Dominica	–	L3v, 6th system	L4v, 5th system
Gratiarum Actio	–	L4v, 3rd system	M1v, 3rd system
Pater noster à 8. Vide 58.	–	M1v, top, small	M2v, top

2-10, 2-11, and 2-12 show samples of music type from Ohr's 1599 print, Lange's 1622 print, and Carstens' 1616 print, for the motet *Factum est silentium* and the Mass based on the same. The title pages in particular (Figures 2-8 and 2-9) seem meant to match, even if they are not absolutely identical in typeface and layout; most notably, the title page adopts the wording of Carstens' title pages and some elements of their typography. The volumes are identified first by their titles, followed by "which are the first [second, etc.] volume of musical works" (*Quae sunt Operum Musicorum Tomus Primus [Secundus, etc.]*), with the words "quae sunt" rendered in italics (though no longer all capitals), and with the words "OPUS MUSICORUM Tomus Primus" capitalized similarly to Carstens' editions. One particularly striking borrowing is the tag "Divinæ majestatis honori…," in which the word *bono* is printed alone on a line in capitals or small capitals. Even the lack of a border unites the four title pages visually, distinguishing them from the earlier editions and the ornate woodcut border used there. Finally, Lange printed *bassus continuus* parts for both collections and one for the *Liber missarum* as well.[47] These parts were in the same folio format used by Carstens, though Carstens provided multiple bass parts for the polychoral pieces – one corresponding to the bass line of each choir – whereas Lange's continuo part provides a single *basso seguente* line, on a single staff, for each piece.[48] These visual similarities to Carstens' prints encouraged consumers to bind Lange's and Carstens' prints together in tract volumes that, as we shall see, gave a physical shape to the *Opus musicum*.

[47] In Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon,* vol. 8, 43, and Hüschen, "Hamburger Musikdrucker und Musikverleger," 261, the continuo part of the *Liber Missarum* is misleadingly listed as if it were a second edition of that volume, dating from 1622.
[48] Also worthy of mention is appearance the three-part open score in the three-voice verses of the office hymns *Veni redemptor gentium*, *A solus ortus cardine*, and *O lux beata Trinitas*.

Figure 2-10. Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae* (Hamburg: Ohr, 1599), Cantus partbook, H1v. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/587.

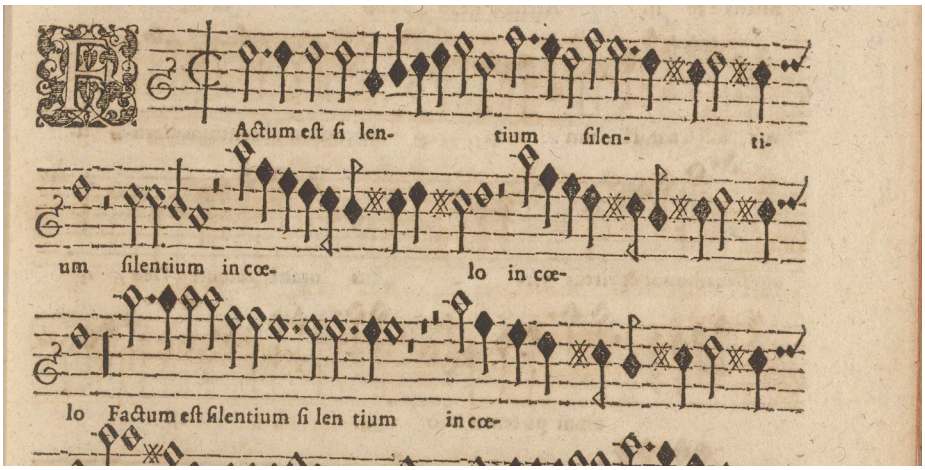


Figure 2-11. Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae* (Hamburg: Lange, 1622), Cantus, H3r. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617.

Figure 2-12. Praetorius, *Liber missarum* (Hamburg: Carstens, 1616), Cantus, H4v. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617.

One such volume deserves special mention here, since it seems to have been assembled by Praetorius himself. The Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg houses a handsome presentation copy of Praetorius's first four books, bound together in gold-stamped white vellum, and inscribed by the composer on the flyleaf of the Cantus, Tenor, Bassus, and Bassus Continuus partbooks (Figure 2-13). According to the inscriptions, the partbooks were presented by Praetorius to the library of the Hamburg Gymnasium in May 1623, on the recommendation of the "magnificent, most honorable, and most learned" *Bürgermeister* Sebastian von Bergen, who had founded the Gymnasium library that same year.[49] Praetorius's four volumes, published out of chronological order, were also bound out of chronological order: Lange's editions of Praetorius's first and second books, printed in 1622, appear first, followed by the *Liber missarum* of 1616 (book 3) and the *Cantiones variae* of 1618 (book 4). Of course, the 1622 editions of the *Cantiones sacrae* and *Magnificat* were those that had been most recently corrected and improved by the author (*Denuo ab ipso autore correctus*), and it is understandable that Praetorius would prefer to donate

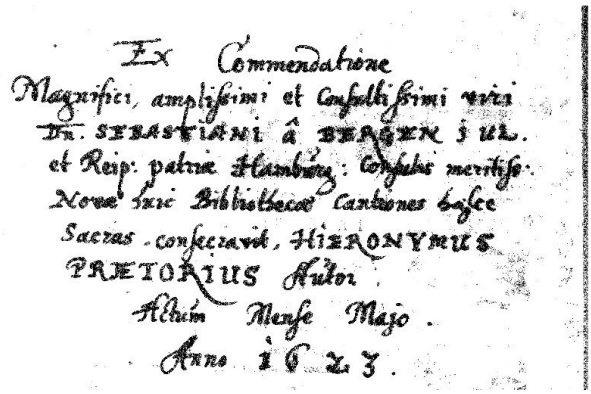

Ex Commendatione
Magnifici, amplissimi et Consultissimi viri
Dn. SEBASTIANI à BERGEN J. U. L.
et Reip. patriæ Hamburg: Consulis meritiss.
Novæ hujc Bibliothecæ Cantiones hasce
Sacras consecravit, HIERONYMUS
PRÆTORIUS Autor
Altonæ Mense Majo.
Anno 1623.

Figure 2-13. Inscription by Hieronymus Praetorius in his presentation copy of the *Opus musicum* for the library of the Hamburg Gymnasium. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossieztky, Scrin A/617, Tenor partbook, flyleaf.

[49] An account of the Gymnasnium's opening is given in Gallois, *Hamburgische Chronik*, vol. 2, 276.

only the best, most recent editions of his works to the Gymnasium. Meanwhile, the physical resemblance of the 1622 volumes to each other and to the volumes of 1616 and 1618, crowned by the handsome stamped binding, endowed the collection with a sumptuous look and feel that attested to the quality of the works contained within and perhaps, also, to Praetorius's own wealth.[50] Praetorius's organization of this volume thus affirmed the "definitive" status of the 1622 editions, but also reflected their new role as the first two volumes of a self-contained, visually unified four-volume group.

Cantiones novae officiosae (Hering, 1625)

In light of the tidy organization of this four-volume *Opus musicum*, Praetorius's final printed collection seems almost like an afterthought. The *Cantiones novae officiosae V. VI. VII. VIII. X. et XV. Voc.* (1625) was another miscellany of mainly occasional motets, printed by Michael Hering. It is one of Praetorius's shorter collections, containing only 22 motets; its longest partbook is seven quarto gatherings in length, which is about half the size of the longest partbook of the 1622 *Cantiones sacrae*. Figure 2-14 shows its title page.

The history of the *Cantiones novae officiosae* has been a source of some confusion in music bibliographies. According to Robert Eitner's *Quellen-Lexikon*, the Staatsbibliothek Berlin possessed an earlier edition of the volume, published in 1618 by Hering. Several later works repeat this information, including Gustav Wahl's 1921 catalogue of an exhibit of early music at the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, a 1978 Festschrift article by Heinrich Hüschen on

[50] That Praetorius enjoyed a comfortable level of wealth can be inferred from several facts. Besides his income as organist and scribe at St. Jacobi, he received income from five "vicarages" associated with side altars in various city churches (tabulated in Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Domkirche 12, vols. 12 and 13), and from his activities as treasurer (*Provisor*) of the *Calandbrüderschaft* at the cathedral. See 13-14 above.

music printers in Hamburg in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the articles by Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht and Michael Belotti on Hieronymus Praetorius in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (first and second editions), and Frederick Gable's articles on Praetorius in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980 and 2001).[51] However, these bibliographers' reports of Eitner's data are all that attest to the existence of this earlier edition; there is, for example, no record of it in the card catalogue of the Staatsbibliothek Berlin, which maintains records of lost works.[52] Furthermore, the good survival rate of Praetorius's previous publications and several other factors argue against the existence of a 1618 edition.

First, it seems odd that Praetorius would have brought out two separate volumes of the same sort of polyphony (assorted occasional motets) in the same year (1618), had them printed by two different printers (Heinrich Carstens and Michael Hering), and later had one reprinted and not the other. Since Hering was a publisher and bookseller as well as a printer, and had acted as the publisher of several works that Carstens had printed, one can imagine Carstens and Hering collaborating on the production and marketing of an earlier edition of the *Cantiones novae*. Yet there is no documentation of such a collaboration, nor would this explain why the relatively few motets in the fifth volume were not simply combined into Carstens' collection.

Second, the *Cantiones novae officiosae* of 1625 lack several of the characteristics that typified second editions of music, both in Praetorius's output and

[51] Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon*, vol. 8, 43; Wahl, *Die Musik Hamburgs im Zeitalter Seb. Bachs*, no. 47; Hüschen, "Hamburger Musikdrucker und Musikverleger," 261; *New Grove* vol. 20, 258; and *MGG* vol. 13, 879. Eitner lists this volume as having belonged to the Staatsbibliothek Berlin at the time of publication, giving the erroneous title *Cantiones novae officiarum* [sic] *5. 6. 7. 8. 9.* [sic] *& 15 vocum*. Wahl confirms this, though it is unclear whether he is describing an artifact actually shown in the exhibit or merely reporting (and correcting) the information found in Eitner.

[52] I am grateful to Yael Braunschweig for checking on this information.

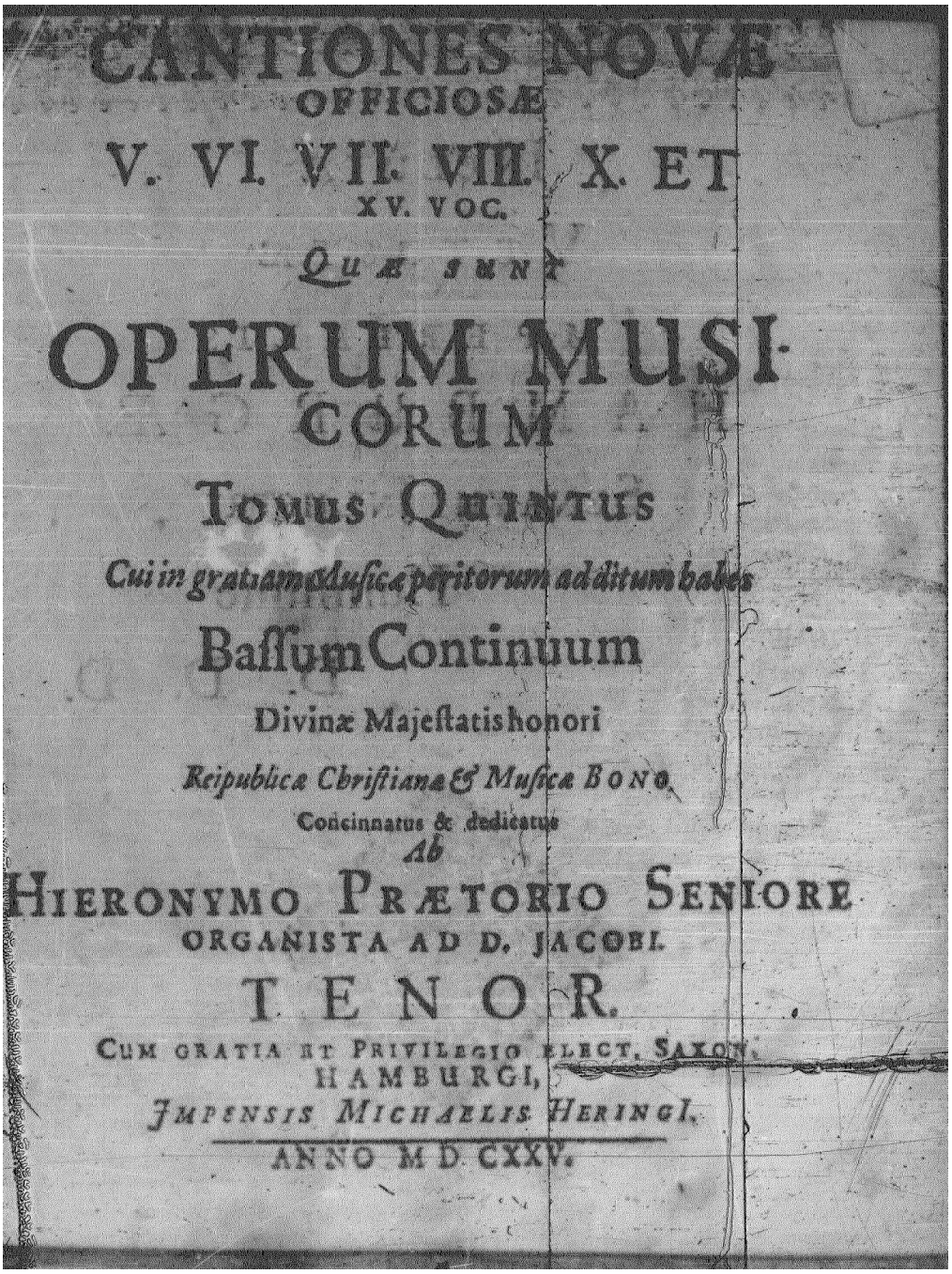

CANTIONES NOVÆ
OFFICIOSÆ
V. VI. VII. VIII. X. ET
XV. VOC.
QUÆ SUNT
OPERUM MUSI-
CORUM
TOMUS QUINTUS
Cui in gratiam Musicæ peritorum additum habes
BassumContinuum
Divinæ Majestatis honori
Reipublicæ Christianæ & Musicæ BONO.
Concinnatus & dedicatus
Ab
HIERONYMO PRÆTORIO SENIORE
ORGANISTA AD D. JACOBI.
TENOR.
CUM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO ELECT. SAXON.
HAMBURGI,
IMPENSIS MICHAELIS HERINGI.
ANNO M D CXXV.

Figure 2-14. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones novae officiosae* (Hamburg: Hering, 1625), Tenor partbook, title page. Västerås, Stadsbiliotek, Molér 46 [13].

at this period in general. In contrast to the 1607 *Cantiones sacrae* and the two volumes of 1622, the title page of the 1625 edition lacks keywords like "other edition" (*editio altera*), "corrected" (*correctus/a)*, or "augmented" (*auctus/a*) that might signify a second edition.[53] The date of the dedicatory epistle of the 1625 edition, addressed to "the illustrious and ancient imperial Senate of Hamburg" (*Inclutæ Vetustæ Imperialis Hamburgæ Senatui Inlustri*) is dated March 1, 1625 (*M. D. cxxv Kal. Mart.*), which also argues against a previous edition of 1618. To write an all-new dedication for a second edition would have been a significant departure from the practice of earlier volumes, for Praetorius – following longstanding practice throughout Europe – had always recycled earlier dedications in second and third editions. Nor does the text of the dedication make any mention of a previous edition; the fact that Praetorius describes his *Opus musicum* as "now-finished" (*absoluti nunc*) seems instead to confirm that the group of volumes had, until recently, no fifth part:

> Non vos PATRES PATRIÆ DOMINI MEI, qui primi mihi estis post Deum, interpostremos [sic] rejecti, sed præ reliquis eximij habiti, quibus, absoluti nunc mei OPERIS MUSICI QUINQVE PARTITI cantionem cicneam, & ut olim loquebantur completorium senex jam & morti vicinus obferrem & in vobis lucubrationes meas Musicas terminarem, quorum auspicio & patrocinio tanquam leni Zephyro feliciter eas ante annos quasi vigintisex inchoavi.
>
> You, FATHERS OF THE COUNTRY, MY LORDS, who are first in my estimation after God, are not to be considered rejected among the last, but outstanding above all others, and to you I, now old and close to death, offer my swan song and Compline (as they used to say) of the FIFTH PART of my now-finished OPUS MUSICUM, and end my musical labors; with your sponsorship and patronage, like a gentle breeze, I began them almost twenty-six years ago.[54]

If, as in parts of Italy and France, privileges could only be granted for works that were not yet published, or which at least contained a sufficiently large proportion of new

[53] See, for example, 146 above.
[54] Tenor partbook, A2r. Translation mine, based on Gable, The Polychoral Motets of Hieronymus Praetorius," vol. 1, 42-44.

material, the reference on the title page to a privilege from the Elector of Saxony (*Cum gratia et Privilegio elect. Saxon.*) may also support the argument against an earlier edition.

A great deal of bibliographical evidence confirms what is suggested in the collection itself. On one hand, one would expect a 1618 edition the *Cantiones novae officiosae* to have been reprinted in 1623 or 1624 by Egenolff Emmel in Frankfurt, as the previous four volumes of Praetorius's music had been.[55] In addition, such a volume would surely have appeared in book fair catalogs of that year or the years directly following, as had been the case with all Praetorius's previous volumes. Yet no Frankfurt reprint of the *Cantiones novae* appeared until 1625, when it was printed by Emmel's successor, Nicolaus Roth, and the fact that Emmel labeled his edition of the *Cantiones variae* the "fourth and last volume" (*Tomus Quartus & Ultimus*) suggests that he knew nothing of a fifth volume. Furthermore, Albert Göhler's bibliography of music listed in the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fair catalogues records no such edition in the years around 1618; the earliest catalogue entries for the *Cantiones novae officiosae* date from 1625 and 1626.[56] The absence of a fifth volume from Praetorius's 1623 presentation copy to the library of the Gymnasium confirms this evidence; if a 1618 edition of the *Cantiones novae* had existed, Praetorius certainly would have presented it to the Gymnasium as well.

Given these factors, it seems likely that Hering's edition of 1625 really was the first appearance of Praetorius's *Cantiones novae officiosae*. Eitner's erroneous listing may have arisen from his having confused the *Cantiones variae* of 1618 with

[55] RISM A/I P5331, P5335, P5339, and P5342; Berz, no. 224, 225, 226, and 229.
[56] Göhler, no. 1122.

the *Cantiones novae officiosae* of 1625 (both of which are listed by Eitner as surviving in the Staastbibliothek Berlin). In turn, the repetition of this information in the secondary literature, and in encyclopedias like *New Grove* and *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, is a classic case of how bibliographic errors propagate. Instead, the *Cantiones novae officiosae* of 1625 seems to have been a later addition to the group of four volumes published between 1616 and 1622 – the composer's final bow, before he was overtaken by "death with its swift arrival or the feebleness of age" on February 27, 1629.[57] In reality, however, this "swan song" by no means represented Praetorius's retirement from vocal composition, for he is known to have brought out at least two more wedding motets between 1625 and the end of his life – pieces which might have been reprinted in a sixth volume had he lived longer.[58]

Collecting Practices and the Making of the *Opus musicum*

The term *Opus musicum*, chosen by Praetorius as a title for his collected works, recalls other several earlier multivolume editions of motets. In the century before, the title *Novum et insigne opus musicum* had been applied to the multi-author anthologies printed by Hieronymus Formschneider (Nuremberg, 1537-1538, two volumes) and by Berg and Neuber (Nuremberg, 1558-1559, three volumes). Later in the century, similar tites were applied to large single-author collections as well, most notably Jacobus Gallus's *Opus musicum* (Prague, 1586-1590, four volumes) and

[57] Praetorius's date of death is taken from Johann Kortkamp's manuscript *Organistenchronik* (compiled 1702-1718), Staatsarchiv Hamburg, St. Gertrudenkapelle IV hh, 107r. Note that *Non moriar*, the "musical epitaph" for Johann Schelhammer, neither supports nor refutes the possibility of the existence of an earlier edition of the *Cantiones novae officiosae*. Schelhammer died December 31, 1620 (see Friedrich Hammer and Herwarth von Schade, *Die Hamburger Pastorinnen und Pastoren seit der Reformation*, 29), but if his monument (*epitaphium*) was already erected two years before his death, as the comment in Praetorius's table of contents indicates, the motet could have been composed and printed in 1618. In such a case, the words "almost two years before his death" (*biennio quasi ante mortem*) would simply have been added to the later edition for clarity.

[58] *Ego flos campi* à 5 for the second marriage of Erasmus Sartorius, the city Cantor, in 1627, and *Indica mihi* à 8 for the marriage of his widowed granddaughter, Elisabeth Fabricius, in 1627 or 1628; both are lost. See Appendix 2, no. 13 and 15, respectively.

Lassus's posthumous *Magnum opus musicum* (Munich, 1604, four volumes).[59] Also worthy of mention is the manuscript collection of liturgical polyphony compiled in 1566 by Hieronymus's father, Jacob Praetorius I, which bore the title *Opus musicum excellens et novum*; it, too, was a work of considerable scope, containing over two hundred pieces organized in four sections by liturgical function.[60] In all these works, the title *opus* connoted stability, posterity, and self-sufficiency, resonating with the concept of the *opus perfectum et absolutum* outlined in Nikolaus Listenius' *Musica* of 1537: a work that would outlive its composer.[61] In calling his collected works *Opus musicum*, Praetorius was following in venerable traditions of musical collection and preservation, at once preserving his music for posterity and confirming its value. Furthermore, as a series of several volumes, his *Opus* was collectible, like the similarly titled works of Lassus and Gallus; then, as now, both printers and composers capitalized on the sheer satisfaction that could only be achieved by "collecting them all."

And, indeed, collectibility – particularly as embodied in practices of binding – played an instrumental role in shaping Praetorius's *Opus musicum*, even beyond the moment of production. I turn once again to Praetorius's presentation copy of 1623, the Tenor partbook of which includes an additional title page intended specifically for

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[59] RISM B/I 1537[1] and 1538[3]; RISM B/I 1558[4], 1559[1], and 1559[2]; RISM A/I H1980, H1981, H1982, H1985, and L1019. Compare also one single-volume *Opus* of the sixteenth century: Georg Rhau's single-volume *Opus missarum quatuor vocum* (Wittenberg, 1541; RISM B/I 1541[1]). Gallus's *Opus*, as we have seen, was known in Hamburg, having been purchased by the Cantor Eberhard Decker in 1594; see 127 above.

[60] Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Das Opus Musicum des Jacob Praetorius von 1566," 96-121.

[61] Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller and Egbert Hiller, "Listenius, Nikolaus," in Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16763 (accessed May 15, 2009). See also Bonnie Blackburn, "On Compositional Process in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 40 (1987), especially 274-275; Peter Cahn, "Zur Vorgeschichte des 'Opus perfectum et absolutum' in der Musikauffassung um 1500," in *Zeichen und Struktur in der Musik der Renaissance. Ein Symposium aus Anlaß der Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, Münster (Westfalen) 1987*, edited by Klaus Hortschansky (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1989), especially 13; and, for a critique of the modern definition of "opus perfectum et absolutum" as "artwork," Heinz von Loesch, "'Musica' und 'opus musicum': Zur Frühgeschichte des musikalischen Werkbegriffs," in *Musikwissenschaft zwischen Kunst, Ästhetik und Experiment: Festschrift Helga de la Motte-Haber*, edited by Reinhard Kopiez (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 1998), especially 340-342.

binders' volumes containing Praetorius's first four collections (Figure 2-15). This ornate page is dated 1622 and was presumably printed by Lange alongside the *Cantiones sacrae* and *Magnificat* volumes of that year. Its elaborate border woodcut with the grapevine twining around two columns appears in several editions by Froben and Lange between 1604 and 1625, both musical and non-musical, and in several sizes and variants.[62] More importantly, however, it contains the first use of the term *Opus musicum* to refer collectively to Praetorius's works; the individual collections, in contrast, were labeled "first [second, etc.] volume *of musical works*" (*operum musicorum primus [secundus, etc.] tomus*). The wording of the combined title groups Praetorius's books together as a unit, with the qualifying phrase "divided in to *four* volumes" (suggesting, as I have said, that no fifth volume existed yet):

> HIERONYMI PRAETORII Senioris Musici & Organistae Hamburgensis OPUS MUSICUM, Quatuor tomus distinctum, Denuo ab ipsomet Autore revisum, correctum & auctum, & Basso Continuo adornatum.
>
> The *OPUS MUSICUM* of HIERONYMUS PRAETORIUS Senior, musician and organist in Hamburg, divided into four volumes. Newly revised, corrected, and augmented by the same author, and adorned with Basso Continuo.

The term *Opus musicum* in the singular also appears in the dedication of the *Cantiones novae officiosae*, in which Praetorius refers to the present volume as "the swan song of the FIFTH PART of my now-finished OPUS MUSICUM" (*absoluti nunc mei OPERIS MUSICI QUINQVE PARTITI cantionem cicneam*), though the title page still retains the plural terminology *Operum musicorum tomus quintus*.[63]

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[62] This border was passed from Froben to Lange, and may have functioned as a sort of printer's mark. In assigning the additional *Opus musicum* title page to Lange I follow the example of the online *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke* (VD17, http://www.vd17.de), which assigns Johannes Blum, *Militia romano-germanica* (Hamburg: n.p., 1625; VD17 23:267565R) to Lange on the basis of the same border.

[63] Tenor partbook, A2r. See also the title page illustration on 166 above.

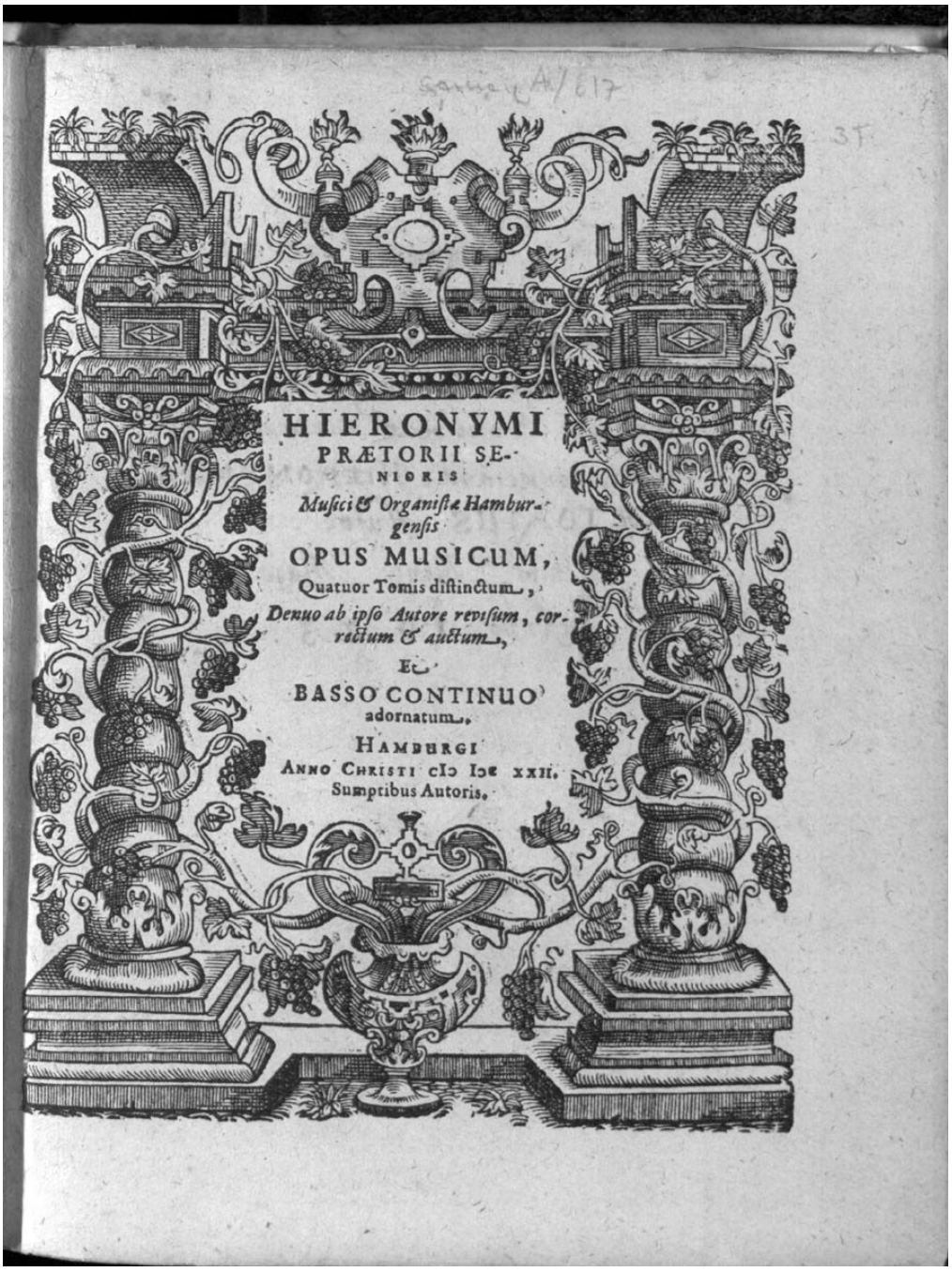

Figure 2-15. Combined title page printed by Paul Lange for Praetorius's *Opus musicum*. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossieztky, Scrin A/617, Tenor partbook.

Table 2-3 lists some other tract volumes that were similarly organized, with the individual collections bound in the following order: *Cantiones sacrae* (1622), *Canticum B. Mariae Virginis* (1622), *Liber Missarum* (1616), and *Cantiones variae* (1618), sometimes including *Cantiones novae officiosae* (1625). Lange's combined title page does not appear in most of these copies, which suggests that volumes bound together were not necessarily bought together. Other *Sammelbände* of Praetorius's published volumes actually go in chronological order, beginning with the earlier editions of the *Cantiones sacrae* (1599 or 1607) and *Magnificat* (1602) and ending with the Masses of 1616 and the *Cantiones variae* of 1618. This is the case with the copies of these works in the Universitätsbibliothek, Basel (shelfmark kk III: 8 a-h) and in the Bibliothek der Schönbeckschen Stiftung in Stendal, Sachsen-Anhalt (shelfmark VIII 38), both of which open with the 1607 edition of the *Cantiones* and are bound in contemporary bindings.[64] Another group of books, originally from the choir library of the church of St. Stephani, Helmstedt, and now in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, opened with the 1602 *Magnificat* volume and the 1599 *Cantiones*, in that order, followed by Melchior Vulpius's two-part *Cantiones sacrae* (1602-1603) and Hans Leo Hassler's *Missae* (1599). The early date of these editions makes it probable that they were bound together before the publication of Praetorius's third and fourth volumes in 1616 and 1618.[65] To these collectors, Praetorius's works "belonged" together simply because they were all by the same composer, even before

[64] The Basel exemplar is bound in soft vellum, the Stendal exemplar in recycled parchment. I thank Professor Frederick K. Gable for drawing my attention to the Basel exemplar. The Stendal shelfmark VIII 38 actually includes two sets of partbooks, accidentally grouped together because both begin with the *Cantiones sacrae* of 1607. The second group goes on to include several other collections of polyphony by Vulpius, Franck, and numerous others.

[65] Daniela Garbe, *Das Musikalienrepertoire von St. Stephani zu Helmstedt: Ein Bestand an Drucken und Handschriften des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 7. These volumes have been taken out of their original binding and bound separately as 23.1-23.8 Musica Steph. (*Magnificat*), 23.9-23.16 (*Cantiones sacrae*), 26 (Vulpius, first volume) and 27 (Vulpius, second volume). The Hassler Mass volume no longer survives.

Table 2-3. Selected *Sammelbände* containing Hieronymus Praetorius's works.

A. Containing *Cantiones sacrae* (1622), *Canticum B. Mariae Virginis* (1622), *Liber Missarum* (1616), and *Cantiones variae* (1618): Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Scrin A/617 London, British Library, London, C.78.(1.)-(4.) Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Mus. A. 205 a–e Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 29-31 Musica Steph. (removed from a *Sammelband* containing only the first three of the abovementioned volumes)
B. Containing *Cantiones sacrae* (1622), *Canticum B. Mariae Virginis* (1622), *Liber Missarum* (1616), *Cantiones variae* (1618), and *Cantiones novae officiosae* (1625): Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, Utl. vok. mus. tr. 376-382 Västerås, Stadsbibliotek, Molér 46 [13]
C. Containing *Cantiones sacrae* (1607), *Magnificat* (1602), *Liber Missarum* (1616), and *Cantiones variae* (1618): Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, kk III: 8 a-h Stendal, Bibliothek der Schönbeckschen Stiftung, VIII 38

there was any concept of an *Opus musicum*. Other multivolume collections, such as Michael Praetorius's *Musae Sioniae* (9 volumes, 1605-10), Vulpius's two volumes of *Cantiones sacrae*, or even Johann Wendt's two volumes of *Newe Teutsche Geistliche Lieder* (1597) were sometimes bound together in this way as well, though the binders' volumes of Praetorius's works are remarkable in the way that they group together several volumes that were published over a lengthy period of time.

Book fair catalogue entries from the 1620s also provide evidence that Praetorius's later volumes were advertised and sold together as a group. Göhler's bibliography of music in book fair catalogues lists the following entry as having appeared in two catalogues of the Leipzig book fair in Fall 1621:

> Operum musicor. tomi quatuor plurimorum vocum, quorum I. habet cant. sacras de praec. festis totius anni. II. Canticum B. M. V. super 8 tonos consuetos III. Missas 6 super motectas diversi generis. IV. Cantiones varias cum B. c. Aut. H[ieronymus] P[raetorius] Sen[ior] Organista Hamb.
>
> Four volumes of musical works for several voices, of which Volume I contains sacred songs for the most important feast days of the whole year. II. Canticle of the BVM on the eight usual tones. III. Six Masses on motets of various sorts. IV. Various songs with basso continuo. By H[ieronymus] P[raetorius] Sen[ior], organist in Hamburg.[66]

This entry anticipates the publication of the two volumes of 1622, advertising them not as individual volumes but as companion pieces to the volumes of Masses and *Cantiones variae*. The wording "Canticum B. M. V." and "Canticum B. Mariae V." seems to confirm this, since only the 1622 edition of the *Magnificat* collection bore the name of the Blessed Virgin in its title – though, of course, "the canticle of the Blessed Virgin Mary" was a also standard epithet for the Magnificat canticle.

The publication of Praetorius's fifth and final volume in 1625 allowed the *Opus musicum* to be marketed anew at book fairs, this time as a "new and perfected" collection, corrected and improved by the composer himself. Another catalogue entry given by Göhler, first dating from Fall 1623 (and thus probably preemptive) and reappearing in 1647, 1649, and 1651, advertises an *Opus musicum novum et perfectum* that now included the fifth volume (square brackets are Göhler's and signify variants in the texts of different catalogue entries):

> H. P. Senioris [Organistae Hamburgensis] opus musicum novum et perfectum, quinque [nunc, antea quatuor] tomis concinnatum [& B. c.

[66] Göhler, no. 1121a. It is important to note here that book fair catalogue entries, and hence Göhler's listings, do not necessarily correspond to individual titles or title pages; the four books are itemized in one entry, indicating that this is a description of a group of four works, rather than a transcription of a combined title page like Lange's. The date of 1621 – before the publication of the 1622 Magnificat volume entitled *Canticum B. Mariæ Virginis* – is potentially explained by the fact that book fair catalogues also contained listings for books not yet published; for example, Göhler's entry for the 1618 *Cantiones variae* (no. 1121) shows that this book was advertised in the Frankfurt book fair catalogue of Fall 1617, and does not imply an unknown previous edition of this work.

> exornatum] [& ab ipso autore noviter auctum & recognitum, cum praemonitione autoris contra aliorum editiones suspectas] quorum I. cant. de festis tot. anni. II. Canticum B. Mariae V. [seu Magnif.] per 8. modos. III. Missas ecclesiasticas [Liber Missarum.] IV. Cantiones varias [variae]. V. cant. miscellaneas [novae, officiosae] [exhibet] cum B. c. Hamb. ap Michael Hering; Hamb. ap. Tob. Gundermann.
>
> Of H[ieronymus] P[raetorius] the elder, [organist in Hamburg,] the new and complete *Opus musicum*, grouped [now] into five [previously four] volumes, [and adorned with basso continuo,] [and newly augmented and revised by the author, with a warning by the author against the suspect editions of others,] consisting of the following: I. songs for the feasts of the whole year. II. Canticle of the BVM [or, Magnificat] on the eight tones. III. Ecclesiastical Masses [or, Book of Masses]. IV. Various songs. V. Miscellaneous songs ["new and dutiful"], with Basso continuo. Hamburg, by Michael Hering; Hamburg, by Tobias Gundermann.[67]

To the booksellers in Frankfurt and Leipzig, Praetorius's *Opus musicum* had a specific makeup. Its first and second volumes were those printed in 1622 by Lange, while the third and fourth were the editions of the *Liber Missarum* and *Cantiones variae* printed by Carstens in 1616 and 1618 – which appeared, paradoxically, six and four years before their "prequels." Lange's combined title page, after all, had appeared alongside the two 1622 volumes, and makes explicitly clear that they, along with the Masses and *Variae* of the previous decade, were to form a single "*Opus musicum* divided into four parts." Praetorius's earliest editions – the first two editions of the *Cantiones sacrae* in 1599 and 1607, and the first edition of the *Magnificat* in 1602 – were not, properly speaking, part of this group of volumes, since they had been superseded by the "corrected and augmented" editions of 1622; booksellers were, after all, most interested in selling the newest, most current versions. It is unclear why these two volumes underwent so much revision when the *Liber*

[67] Göhler, no. 1123. This entry may be the source of the statement by Kayser, *Hamburger Bücher 1491-1850*, 56, that Gundermann collaborated with Hering in publishing music even as early as 1623 ("Bereits 1623 hatte er gemeinsam mit Michael Hering und 1633 mit dessen Erben Musikwerke herausgebracht"); Hüschen, however, lists no music publications by Hering dating from 1623.

Missarum and the *Cantiones variae* were adopted wholesale into the collected *Opus* without further changes, despite having been published some years earlier. The popularity of individual pieces may have been a factor, judging by the frequency in which some motets from the *Cantiones sacrae* and *Magnificat* collections were reprinted in anthologies.[68]

Finally, the mention of a "warning by the author against the suspect editions of others" is intriguing, and may serve as another partial explanation for the afterthought of Praetorius's fifth volume. No such "warning" by Praetorius is known to exist, and none of his dedicatory prefaces contain any reference to piracy or other unauthorized reprinting, though the text in question may have been printed on a separate sheet or tip-in distributed with the copies sold at the book fair. The "suspect editions" in question may include the three editions published in Frankfurt by Egenolff Emmel in 1623 and possibly also the edition of the eight-voice motets from the *Cantiones sacrae* printed by Pierre Phalèse in 1622. None of the reprinted publications – the two 1622 volumes and the 1618 *Cantiones variae* – were protected by privileges, which left them open to reprinting; the *Liber Missarum* had received an imperial privilege, but this may have expired by the time Emmel reprinted it in 1624, possibly explaining why this *Tomus Tertius* appears after the *Tomus Quartus et Ultimus* printed the year before. Although these editions are as clear and reliable as those printed in Hamburg, they no doubt were a source of concern to Praetorius, since he would not have received any income from them. This may have prompted Praetorius not only to reissue his first four volumes (or, at least, make them available

[68] On anthologized motets from the *Cantiones sacrae*, see 178 n. 71 below. On the popularity of the *Magnificat* volume and f Magnificat cycles in general, see Frederick K. Gable's introduction to CMM vol. 110:2, XI-XII.

again at the book fairs), but also to append a new fifth volume – to which the printers of the "suspect editions" would have no access – as an added proof of the collection's proprietary authority. The privilege from the Elector of Saxony may also have also reflected Praetorius's concerns about piracy, though it did not ultimately prevent Emmel's successor, Nicolaus Roth, from reprinting the *Cantiones novae* in Frankfurt in 1625.[69]

Conclusion

The near-continual revision of Praetorius's first two volumes was first and foremost a function of their success. They were among Praetorius's most widely disseminated collections; Frederick Gable has noted this for the *Magnificat* volume in particular, based on inventories of churches' music libraries and examinations of partbooks for marginalia and wear.[70] They also contained what Praetorius's contemporaries considered his best music; those of his motets that made their way into anthologies, whether in print or in manuscript, came overwhelmingly from the *Cantiones sacrae* or from the appendix to the *Magnificat*.[71] Additions and corrections to these already successful volumes, no matter how small, ensured continued marketability for works that were more than twenty years old. The added works in the 1622 editions – three new motets and one new setting of the Magnificat

[69] RISM A/I P5344. In general, privileges granted by a prince other than the Emperor were only valid within that prince's domains; see Karl Schottenloher, "Die Druckprivilegien des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 8 (1933), 89.
[70] See Gable, introduction CMM vol. 110:2, XI-XII.
[71] Nine motets by Praetorius appear in Erhard Bodenschatz's *Florilegium Portense* (Leipzig, 1618; RISM B/I 1618[1]), of which seven are from the *Cantiones sacrae* and two from the *Magnificat* (on which see Gable, introduction to *Hieronymus Praetorius: Collected Vocal Works,* vol. 2, XI and XX). Five of these, all from the *Cantiones sacrae*, had appeared previously in Bodenschatz's first anthology, *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum, praestantissimorum aetatis nostrae autorum, 4. 5. 6. 7. & 8. vocum* (Leipzig, 1603; RISM B/I 1603[1]). The six five-voice church-year motets from the *Cantiones sacrae* appear in *Florilegium sacrarum cantionum quinque vocum* (Antwerp: Pierre Phalèse, 1609; RISM B/I 1609[1]). Manuscript anthologies containing motets by Praetorius include Ratsbücherei Lüneburg, Mus. ant. pract. KN 207/3 (3 pieces: 1 from *Cantiones sacrae*, 2 from *Magnificat*, in organ tablature); Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 324. Mus. Hdschr. (12 pieces: 8 from *Cantiones sacrae*, 2 from *Magnificat*, 2 from *Cantiones variae*); and Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 333 Mus. Hdschr. (3 pieces: one each from *Cantiones sacrae*, *Magnificat*, and *Cantiones variae*).

canticle – had been unavailable in any previous version of Praetorius's vocal works, which gave them the character of "bonus material" (to borrow the parlance of modern-day DVDs) in "new and complete" editions whose preparation had been supervised by the author himself. Even small musical and typographical changes transformed motets printed twice before into exclusive offerings that could not be found anywhere else. Indeed, we have seen that Praetorius's fifth volume might have been a bid to ensure the exclusivity of the *Opus* to Hamburg, in response to the reprints produced in Frankfurt and Antwerp.

Thus far, Hieronymus Praetorius's *Opus musicum* has offered us two principal points of view on music print in early seventeenth-century Hamburg. On the one hand, the position of Praetorius's early prints at the vanguard of Hamburg's musical production makes them an ideal illustration of the changing roles of music print in a city whose print market was undergoing a sea change. Polyphonic music, printed in partbooks, was one of several new print genres that reflected a new, more international orientation for the city's book market, and it is no accident that these works appeared at a time when print in general was flourishing in Hamburg and elsewhere. On the other hand, Praetorius's numerous volumes and editions have been helpful in uncovering the varying uses to which he put this relatively new medium. For Praetorius, who was at once composer and print entrepreneur, the reorganization of eight disparate editions of polyphony into a unified *Opus musicum* made his already renowned works even more marketable and desirable. At the same time, the project of a collected works edition offered him ongoing opportunities for exercising

his compositional skills; by tirelessly writing new works and improving old ones, he remained active as composer as well as organist.

Praetorius's case is representative of trends reaching beyond Hamburg at the same period. Stephen Rose has observed that the decades around 1610 were a heyday for printed music in the Protestant German-speaking lands; composers at this period were interested in having their works printed, and saw in print an unprecedented means of both personal and musical advancement.[72] This was true for many of Praetorius's contemporaries, including Johann Herrmann Schein (the principal case study in Rose's work), Michael Praetorius, Samuel Scheidt, and Melchior Vulpius, all of whose works are ripe for further study in this connection. Rose also observes that the flourishing of music print in the early seventeenth century – and its decline in the century's last decades – reflected the changing status of music and musicians in the German Protestant world. I would add that the same phenomenon also reflected the changing status of print and of the book in these lands; more specifically, there was a trend towards books intended for cosmopolitan, learned audiences that reached beyond the city. Polyphonic music in Latin, with its cross-national, cross-confessional character, lent itself well to this trend, even despite the rise of modern, concerted musical forms elsewhere in Europe. In Hamburg the change was particularly dramatic, since no polyphonic music had been printed there before the last years of the sixteenth century (in contrast to Frankfurt, Leipzig, and Nuremberg, where music had been printed early in the century as well); when polyphony made its appearance with Praetorius's works, it progressed quickly from a from isolated collections to a multivolume *Opus*. Technically speaking, of course, Praetorius's

[72] Rose, "Music, Print and Presentation in Saxony," 1.

polyphony was not the first to be printed in Hamburg – that honor belonged instead to the three-part *Lieder* by Johannes Wendt. It was Praetorius's publications, however, that ultimately placed Hamburg on the musical map, and their success in doing so owed much to the success of the print medium itself.

CHAPTER 3: HIERONYMUS PRAETORIUS'S *CANTIONES SACRAE* (1599, 1607, 1622) AND THE CULTURES OF THE MOTET IN HAMBURG

Hieronymus Praetorius was renowned both in his lifetime and down to the present for his motets. As Johann Kortkamp reported in his manuscript chronicle of the organists at St. Jacobi, compiled between 1702 and 1718:

> …dieser Mann hat wohl studiert & in der Musica zu seiner Zeit es hoch gebracht, so hatte von Gott sonderliche Gaben in Motteten zu componirn, welche eine Gravitet ~~hatten~~ haben, wan sie gemacht worden, so nicht wenig die Andacht erwecken & den Gottes Dienst zierten, ein seiner Motet[ten] in Italien vor d[em] Pabst gemacht, habe[n] die Cardinaele gesagt Es wehre schade d[aß] Er ein Ketzer wehre.
>
> This man [Hieronymus Praetorius] was very learned and brought the music of his time to a high level, and he had special gifts from God in the composition of motets, which had such gravity when they were performed, that they inspired devotion and adorned the liturgy to no small degree. One of his motets was performed before the Pope in Italy, and the cardinals declared that it was a pity he was a heretic.[1]

Whether or not the anecdote about the Pope and cardinals is true, the motet certainly occupied a central position in Praetorius's musical output, and this centrality invites us to consider the cultural roles of the motet genre in the northern German-speaking lands. Since the sixteenth century, the motet had been among the most successful and widespread genres of sacred polyphony throughout Europe. Though sacred in theme, however, motets were by no means associated exclusively with the liturgy, and even within the liturgy there was not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence between the texts of motets and prescribed liturgical texts; for example, a piece composed on an antiphon text was not necessarily performed as an antiphon in a liturgical context.[2]

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[1] Staatsarchiv Hamburg, St. Gertrudenkapelle IV hh, 71r, edited in Liselotte Krüger, "Johann Kortkamps Organistenchronik," *Zeitschscrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 33 (1933), 188-213. Translation mine.
[2] Compare 21-22 above.

As we have seen, motets were diverse in content and versatile in function; they appealed both to educated specialists and inexperienced amateurs, and were equally suited to liturgical celebrations, special occasions, classroom education, and recreational or devotional music-making at home.

Motets also had cross-confessional appeal. The usefulness of polyphonic Mass and office settings was limited in Lutheran Germany, where the daily offices were observed only in abbreviated form and where the Mass Ordinary could be replaced with chorales (*Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'* for the *Gloria*, *Wir glauben all an einen Gott* for the *Credo*, etc.) or shortened to include only the *Kyrie* and *Gloria*. But while the anecdote from Kortkamp hints that the confessional identity of individual composers sometimes influenced the reception of their works, early modern Lutherans accepted settings by Catholic composers, as their works took their texts from the Bible or from biblically derived liturgical or devotional material. In Hamburg, music by Catholic composers from Josquin to Lassus had been sung since the middle of the sixteenth century. We have a more specific indication of this repertoire from a manuscript compiled in 1566 by Jacob Praetorius the elder, father of Hieronymus, containing settings of liturgical polyphony by Josquin, Walter, Senfl, Clemens non Papa, Morales, Lassus, and several other composers of the Josquin and post-Josquin generations.[3] While most of these composers were Catholic, the examples of their work collected by Jacob Praetorius were principally on Biblically derived liturgical texts, and thus appropriate for use in the Lutheran service.[4]

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[3] The contents of this manuscript are listed in Leichsenring, *Hamburgische Kirchenmusik im Reformationszeitalter*, 131-141, and Hoffman-Erbrecht, "Das Opus Musicum des Jacob Praetorius von 1566," 96-121. On polyphonic repertoire known in sixteenth-century Hamburg, see Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 44.

[4] This does not, however, explain the presence of Gregor Aichinger's *Lachrimae D. Virginis et Ioannis in Christum à cruce depositum* (Augsburg, 1604) in the library of the Lutheran church of St. Stephani in Helmstedt, whose text is a dialogue in

Thus, even though Hieronymus Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* (1599) had been the first collection of Latin sacred music to be published in Hamburg, the music it contained was by no means the first polyphony known to the city. Both Hieronymus's print and his father's manuscript compendium share an organizational scheme based on the liturgical year; the contents of Jacob's collection are grouped first by genre and then ordered within each genre according to the church year, with rubrics indicating the appropriate feast or season (*De Nativitate Christi, In die Paschae*, etc.) for each item. The church year furnished the organizational scheme for many musical and devotional works in both Protestant and Catholic Europe, including motet collections, hymnbooks, breviaries, and collections or sermons and scriptural readings. In Hamburg, however, this ordering also reflected the local practice of reserving polyphonic singing for the most important occasions of the church year. Johannes Aepinus's church ordinance of 1556 stated that "polyphonic song shall be maintained and performed in an orderly manner, in one parish as the others, on the most important feast days."[5] On such "most important occasions," it was the responsibility of the Cantor and his assisting *Paedagogi* in the Latin school to ensure that motets and other polyphonic items were sung well and competently; as a 1556 *Scholen-Ordnunge tho Hamburg* puts it, "when

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classical verse forms between Mary and St. John the Evangelist as they mourn over the dead Christ. Garbe, *Das Musikalienrepertoire von St. Stephani zu Helmstedt*, 12-14, conjectures that the music in this volume may have been sung simply for recreational purposes outside of church; educational use is a possibility as well, since the classically styled texts certainly would have been suitable practice reading for Latin school students.

[5] "Ock schal de figuralgesank in den vornemblikesten festen ordentlik in einem carspel sowol als in den andern gewachtet und gesungen werden." Sehling, vol. 5, 551, quoted in Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege*, 202, n. 128. Church ordinances of the period speak more generally of polyphony (*Figuralmusik*, music *in figuris*) than of motets specifically: Bugenhagen's church ordinance of 1529 called for the instruction of Latin school youth "not only in plainchant, but also in polyphony" (*nycht allene den langen ßanck / ßunder ock in figuratiuis*; Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 38).

the time comes to sing polyphony in the parish, the Cantor shall not shirk this duty, but shall arrange for the same in an orderly manner."[6]

The dramatic growth of German music print in the first decades of the seventeenth century reflected a burgeoning musical culture that offered more opportunities for performance than ever before. Motets, for instance, were no longer necessarily restricted to feast days or even to religious devotion. In Hamburg, by 1608, the Cantor could arrange for "a psalm or motet to be sung polyphonically from time to time" on any Sunday of the year (*dess Sondages bisswylen einen Psalm oder Muteto figuraliter tho syngen*).[7] More and more polyphonic music was heard at weddings, funerals, and civic ceremonies; the *Currende*, made up of the poorer Latin school children, sang motets in the streets for a handout; and schoolchildren sang them in the Latin school refectory before or after eating. Such pieces, performed outside the normal cycle of the church year, were often set to texts that resisted easy assignment to feast days, including psalms, newly-composed Latin odes, and texts of familiar everyday prayers (such as the *Pater noster* or the graces before and after meals). These compositions thus required modes of material presentation that set them apart from more traditional motets for church feasts. Most wedding and funeral works appeared for the first time in the occasional pamphlets that rolled off so many North German presses in the early seventeenth century. [8] If they were to be reprinted in a large collection that followed a traditional organization scheme like that of the

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[6] "Wanner de Tidt kamen, dat men in den Karspel plecht tho figurende, schal solchs von dem Cantore nicht vorsumet, sondern ordentlichen bestellet werden." Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 38, and Hoche, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der St. Johannis-Schule*, vol. 3, 37. Compare also Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, 2-3.

[7] Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 33 and 50, also cited in Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege*, 202. The respective sources of Krüger's figures for the 1590s are a 1592 contract between the church of St. Katharinen and the *Ratsmusikanten* (for which she gives no archival shelfmark) and an account book from St. Jacobi (Staatsarchiv Hamburg, St. Jacobi A I a 5, currently inaccessible due to damage).

[8] In Hieronymus Praetorius's published works we see a third possibility: he reprinted many works of this sort, at his own expense, in his last two collections: the *Cantiones variae* (1618) and *Cantiones novae officiosae* (1625). These collections are discussed further in Chapter 5.

church year, and all works that resisted classification in this scheme were placed in appendices labeled *Ad placitum* or *In omni tempore*. I will follow this strategy and use the umbrella term "*ad placitum* motet" to describe any motet not strictly intended for use on a feast of the church year.

Praetorius's first collection of motets, the *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* of 1599, with editions in 1607 and 1622, followed, as its name implies, the organization according to the church year, with motets assigned each to its feast day, while adding an *ad placitum* section of miscellaneous works (see Table 3-1 for a list of contents). The feast day motets provide insight into the changing religious practices of Hamburg at this time. Significantly, however, the *ad placitum* section underwent the most expansion in subsequent printings of the *Cantiones*. Twelve of the thirteen new motets added to the second edition of 1607 were assigned to the *ad plactium* category instead of feast days, and three more were added to this section in 1622.[9] These new works attested to Praetorius's versatility as a composer, and with the addition of three motets by his son Jacob Praetorius in 1607, the *ad placitum* appendix also afforded a way to incorporate family collaboration. Most of all, the *ad plactium* works met the increasing demand for motets that truly could be performed "at pleasure," at any time. When examined carefully, drawing on evidence from the music and the texts as well as from the historical context, the *ad placitum* motets give us a detailed view of the great variety of possible occasions for the performance of motets, from state ceremonies to everyday events school and home.

[9] One of the added works in this addition, *Surge propera* à 5, replaced Jacob Praetorius's five-part setting of the same text; see 242-244 below.

Table 3-1. Contents of Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* (Hamburg: 1599, 1607, 1622). Motets that appeared first in the 1599 edition are listed in plain type. Motets that appeared first in the 1607 edition are listed in **boldface**. Motets that appeared first in the 1622 edition are listed in ***boldface italics***.

No. in 1599	No. in 1607	No. in 1622	Motet or RUBRIC	# vv
			TEMPORE ADVENTUS DOMINI	
1, 2	1, 2	1, 2	Ecce Dominus veniet	8
3	3	3	Gaudete omnes	6
			DE NATIVITATE & CIRCUMCISIONE DOMINI	
–	4	4	**O admirabile commercium**	10
4, 5	5, 6	5, 6	In hoc festo	8
6, 7	7, 8	7, 8	Angelus ad pastores	8
8, 9	9, 10	9, 10	Verbum caro factum est	7
10, 11	11, 12	11, 12	Puer natus est	6
			IN EPIPHANIIS DOMINI	
12	13	13	Surge illuminare Jerusalem	8
13, 14	14, 15	14, 15	Ab oriente venerunt Magi	5
			IN FESTO PURIFICATIONIS MARIAE	
15, 16	16, 17	16, 17	Nunc dimittis servum tuum	8
			IN FESTO ANNUNCIATIONIS MARIAE	
17, 18	18, 19	18, 19	Suscipe verbum virgo Maria	8
			TEMPORE PASSIONIS DOMINI	
19	20	20	Videns Dominus	8
20, 21	21, 22	21, 22	O bone Jesu	6
22	23	23	O vos omnes	5
			DE GLORIOSA RESURRECTIONE DOMINI	
23, 24	24, 25	24, 25	Tulerunt Dominum meum	8
25	26	26	Mane nobiscum Domine	6
26	27	27	Surrexit pastor bonus	5
			DE ASCENSIONE DOMINI	
27, 28	28, 29	28, 29	Omnes gentes plaudite manibus	8
29	30	30	Ascendo ad Patrem meum	6
			IN FESTO PENTECOSTES	
30, 31	31, 32	31, 32	Hodie completi sunt	8
32	33	33	Sic Deus dilexit mundum	6

Table 3-1, continued

No. in 1599	No. in 1607	No. in 1622	Motet or RUBRIC	# vv
			IN FESTO SANCTISSIMAE TRINITATIS	
33	34	34	Te Deum Patrem ingenitum	8
34	35	35	Adesto unus Deus	5
			IN FESTO S. IOANNIS BAPTISTAE	
35	36	36	Puer qui natus est	8
36	37	37	Fuit homo missus à Deo	5
			IN FESTO VISITATIONIS MARIAE	
37, 38	38, 39	38, 39	Surge propera	8
			IN FESTO S. MICHAELIS	
39, 40	40, 41	40, 41	Factum est silentium	8
41, 42	41, 42	41, 42	Dum praeliaretur	5
			AD PLACITUM	
43	44	44	Non est bonum hominem	5
-	45	-	**Surge propera amica mea (JP)**	5
-	-	45	***Surge propera amica mea***	5
44	46	46	Miserere mei Deus	5
-	47	47	**Benedicam Dominum**	6
45	48	49	Peccavi quid faciam miser	6
-	49	50	**Gaudete omnes (JP)**	6
-	-	48	***Exultate Deo***	6
-	50, 51	51, 52	**Ecce prandium meum paravi**	7
46	52	53	Gloria tibi Domine	7
-	53	54	**Veni in hortum meum**	8
-	54, 55	55, 56	**Beati omnes qui timent Dominum**	8
-	56	57	**Benedictio Mensae (Oculi omnium)**	8
-	57	58	**Oratio Dominica (Pater noster)**	8
-	58	59	**Domine Deus benedic**	8
-	59	60	**Gratiarum Actio (Confitemini Domino)**	8
-	60	61	**Gratias agimus tibi**	8
47	61	62	**Laudate Dominum**	8
-	-	63	***Laudate pueri Dominum***	10
-	62	64	**Jubilate Deo omnis terra**	12

Furthermore, since the three editions of the *Cantiones* delineate distinct periods both in Praetorius's career in print, and in the history of the musical book in early modern Hamburg, this collection allows us to see the links between the changing functions of motets and the increased availability and popularity of musical print.

I begin with the motets of the *Cantiones sacrae* that were composed for feasts of the church year – the motets that give the collection its name, and which offer insight into the role of polyphonic music in Hamburg on these "principal days of the whole year." The bulk of the chapter, however, is devoted to the works classified as *ad placitum*. An exploration of these works, both in Praetorius's collection and other collections of tie time, reveals an astonishing variety of contexts for the performance of motets in early modern Germany: weddings, funerals, princely entries, festive banquets, and even regular mealtimes at school or home. On the basis of textual and historical evidence, I identify possible occasions for some of Praetorius's *ad placitum* motets; several of the new works in the edition of 1607, for example, may have been composed and performed for the visit of the Danish king Christian IV in late October 1603. Some works, like Praetorius's eight-voice settings of the graces before and after meals, may have lent themselves to performance in more than one vastly different context; though these pieces may originally have been composed for banquets during the king's visit, they also hint at the intriguing possibility that some double-choir polyphony could be performed at school and at home. Finally, the three motets by Jacob Praetorius in the *ad placitum* section of 1607 allied this print to a longstanding tradition of intergenerational music print, recasting the *ad placitum*

appendix as a locus for familial collaboration.[10] From these examples, the *ad placitum* category emerges as more than a repository for motets that did not "fit in" to the categories of the church year; by exhibiting the characteristic variety of the motet genre in general, it ultimately advertised the composer's own versatility as well.

Motets for Hamburg's Church Year

Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* conformed exactly to the local liturgical usage of Protestant Hamburg. The "principal feast days of the year" in Praetorius's collection were the same as those outlined in the city's foremost sixteenth-century liturgical sources: Johannes Bugenhagen's church ordinance of 1529, the manuscript *Cantiones sacrae chorales* copied by Praetorius himself in 1587, and Franz Eler's printed *Cantica sacra* (1588), which is closely based on Praetorius's manuscript. Besides motets for the full temporal cycle shared by all Christians, beginning with Advent and Christmas and concluding with the seasons of Easter, Pentecost, and Trinity, Praetorius provides motets for the five saints' days retained by Bugenhagen and Eler: the Purification (February 2), the Annunciation (March 25), the feast of St. John the Baptist (June 24), the Visitation (July 2), and Michaelmas (St. Michael and All Angels, September 29), the last three all falling during the Trinity season.[11] The *ad placitum* appendix follows the pieces

[10] Compare, for example, the prints including works by Lassus and his sons, Ferdinand and Rudolph, which appeared before and after Lassus's death in 1594: the three-part *Teutsche Psalmen* (Munich, 1588, with Rudolph), the *Cantiones quinque vocum* (Munich, 1597, with Ferdinand); the *Cantiones sacrae sex vocibus* (Munich, 1601, with Rudolph), and the *Liber primus antiones sacrae Magnificat vocant* (Paris, 1602, with Ferdinand). Other important "familial" music prints of the period include the *Concerti di Andrea e di Gio: Gabrieli* (Venice, 1587) compiled by Giovanni Gabrieli after his uncle Andrea's death in 1585 and Claudio Monteverdi's *Scherzi musicali* (Venice, 1607), which contained two works by the composer's younger brother, Giulio Cesare Monteverdi.

[11] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 126. With the exception of the feast days of St. John the Baptist and St. Michael, the feasts retained by Bugenhagen are almost identical to those kept by Luther in the *Formula Missae* (1523); see *WA* vol. 12, 208-9 (English translation in *LW* vol. 53, 22-23).

for Michaelmas. An index listing the motets appropriate to the various feast days appears at the end of each of the eight partbooks.

For most feasts, Praetorius provides one or more larger-scale motets (for eight voices or more) and one or more smaller-scale motets (for five or six voices). The motets for each feast day are arranged in descending order of number of voices – a somewhat unusual choice, given that ordering ascending vocal forces was more standard at this period. Under the heading *De Gloriosa Resurrectione Domini*, for example, the eight-voice motet *Tulerunt Dominum meum* (no. 23-24 in 1599, no. 24-25 in 1607 and 1622) is followed first by the six-voice *Mane nobiscum Domine* and then the five-voice *Surrexit pastor bonus*. This scheme was maintained even when new pieces were added to the collection in subsequent editions. In the edition of 1607, the new ten-voice *O admirabile commercium* is placed at the beginning of the section labeled "De Nativitate et Circumcisione Domini," before the eight-voice *In hoc festo*, which had occupied that position in the previous edition. For most feasts or festal seasons (Advent, Epiphany, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity, St. John, St. Michael) there are two motets, one for eight voices, and a second for five or six. For each of the three Marian feast days, however, Praetorius provides only one motet: *Nunc dimittis* for the Purification, *Suscipe verbum* for the Annunciation, and *Surge propera* for the Visitation, all for eight voices. This curious exception suggests that the smaller-scale motets are not provided solely to accommodate smaller performing forces. While it is not a reliable indicator of the status of Marian feasts in Protestant Hamburg, it certainly suggests that the number of motets provided in a motet collection for a given feast – as opposed to the size of individual motets – may have

functioned as a register of that feast's relative importance. I discuss these three motets further below.

Eight-voice motets for double choir form the core of the *Cantiones*. Judging by the frequency with which they were anthologized in both print and manuscript, Praetorius's motets for eight voices were among his most popular works, and they are still regarded as his main compositional achievement.[12] Of these, it is interesting to note that the three most consistently anthologized of all Praetorius's eight-voice motets are the ones designed for the three most important feast days of Hamburg's liturgical year: Christmas (*Angelus ad pastores*), Easter (*Tulerunt Dominum meum*) and Michaelmas (*Factum est silentium*). The simple fact that these were eight-voice works for major feast days does not seem to fully explain their consistent popularity, for Praetorius's second eight-voice Christmas motet, *In hoc festo gratulamini*, which actually precedes *Angelus ad pastores* in the collection, was never anthologized.

The musical style of these pieces, which does not differ greatly from that of Praetorius's other eight-voice motets, has already been amply treated elsewhere.[13] Here, I would like to draw attention to the connection of *Angelus ad pastores*, *Tulerunt Dominum meum*, and *Factum est silentium* with the feast days for which they were written, since they illustrate the especially high rank of these days on the church calendar in Hamburg and beyond. Besides their religious importance all throughout Europe, Christmas, Easter, St. John's Day, and Michaelmas were distinguished as the four "quarter days" that delineated the fiscal quarters of the year, and around which seasonal markets and fairs were held. For these reasons, St. John's

[12] Gable, introduction to RRMR vol. 18, vii-viii, and Anthony F. Carver, *Cori spezzati* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), vol. 1, 212-216.
[13] Gable, "The Polychoral Motets of Hieronymus Praetorius," and idem, introduction to RRMR vol. 18.

Day and Michaelmas were among the few saints' days still observed in Lutheran territories; and Bugenhagen remarks specifically on this in his church ordinance, retaining the feast of St. Michael and All Angels as an Ember Day feast (*veertydefesth*) and as a thanksgiving for the harvest.[14] Unfortunately, there are no surviving records of Michaelmas festivities in Hamburg, though the feast may also have been connected to the meat-slaughtering festival the city celebrated in October; this may explain the numerous bonus payments by the elders of St. Jacobi to various parishioners and church personnel "to help his cook" (*tho hulpe syner köken*) and "to help with her oxen" (*tho hulpe ehres Ossen*) during Michaelmas quarters.[15] Hamburg's fifth parish church, completed in 1682, was christened St. Michaelis, perhaps in partial homage to this important and well-loved holiday.

In Hamburg, Christmas, Easter, St. John's Day, and Michaelmas were also prime occasions for music-making, and Praetorius's own festive compositions may have influenced the regular performance of polyphonic music at his own parish. Praetorius's eight-voice pieces for Christmas, Easter, and Michaelmas became the models for three eight-voice parody Masses in his *Liber missarum* of 1616 – a collection that, like the *Cantiones sacrae* of 1599, had been dedicated to the elders of the church of St. Jacobi. In early December 1616, Praetorius received six rixdollars (fifteen marks *lübisch*) from the church elders for the publication of the Mass volume; from that Christmas on, the city Cantor Erasmus Sartorius received fifteen marks *lübisch* four times a year for the performance of polyphonic music on Easter, St.

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[14] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 126-128: "Item Michaelis vor eyn veertydefesth [*Vierzeiten-Fest*, Ember Day feast] tho offerenn / Dath veertydeoffer in de ghemene Schatkaste / ock vullenn tho vyrenn. Denne schallme predikenn dath Euangelion dath me denne plecht tho leßende / vnnd wath ghescheuenn ys in der schrygfft vann den Engelenn…. Denne schall eynn predicante wen de Epistole gheleßenn ys / vor dem Euangelio vormanenn dath volck / gade tho danckenn vor alle wolldaeth / vnnd beßunderghenn vor de fruchte dusßes jares / de he vnns ghegheuenn hefft inthosammelenn…."

[15] On the meat festival, see Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 335-339.

John's Day, Michaelmas, and Christmas.[16] Praetorius's eight-voice motets and Masses for these feast days were almost certainly among the music performed, and one can imagine their becoming a regular tradition at St. Jacobi. Praetorius is not known to have composed a Mass based on his eight-voice St. John motet, *Puer qui natus est*, though Hamburg may have celebrated this day with slightly less festivity than the other three "quarter days"; account books from St. Jacobi at this period consistently list fewer expenses for the St. John's quarter than for the other three.[17]

Even beyond Hamburg, *Angelus ad pastores*, *Tulerunt Dominum meum*, and *Factum est silentium* seem to have achieved special popularity among Praetorius's motets. This no doubt owed much to the importance of the Christmas, Easter, and Michaelmas, but may also testify to enthusiasm for these particular compositions. A suggestive example comes from the choir library of St. Stephani, Helmstedt, some 200 kilometers southeast of Hamburg. In an exemplar of the 1622 edition, now in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, German text has been underlaid by hand to all three pieces in each partbook (Figure 3-1 shows a sample page).[18] These German texts, by an unknown author, are rhymed or semi-rhymed paraphrases of their respective Latin texts, and seem to have been copied into the partbooks by several individuals rather than by a single music director or librarian, each partbook being marked in different handwriting. The paraphrases agree remarkably well not only with the stresses and syllabification of the Latin text, but also with the text repetitions composed into Praetorius's motets, since some repeated Latin phrases are replaced

[16] Staatsarchiv Hamburg St. Jakobi A 1 b 4.
[17] In addition, Praetorius is not known to have composed any Masses or motets in honor of St. James the Greater, the patron of his own parish of St. Jacobi, though the feast day of St. James (July 25), like those of the other Apostles, would not have been celebrated. According to Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 128, Apostles' days were to be commemorated briefly after the sermon on the Sunday preceding them, but were not to be celebrated as festal occasions.
[18] Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 31.9-31.14 Musica Steph. The exemplar is incomplete, lacking Tenor and Octava Vox parts.

Figure 3-1. Handwritten German text added to the second part of *Factum est silentium*, in *Cantiones sacrae* (1622), Altus part, H3v. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 31.10 Musica Steph.

Musical Example 3-1. *Angelus ad pastores ait*, measures 82-85, with German text from Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, 31.10 Musica Steph. Transcription courtesy of Frederick Gable (University of California, Riverside).

with new, rhyming German text; in *Angelus ad pastores*, for example, the thrice-repeated "et vocabitur" (bars 82-84) becomes three distinct text phrases in the German translation: "also heist sein Nam / starck und wundersam / groß von Rath und That" (Musical Example 3-1). The handwritten German text is clear evidence of performance, though it also indicates that Praetorius's settings of *Angelus ad pastores*, *Tulerunt Dominum meum*, and *Factum est silentium* were distinguished even beyond Hamburg.[19]

[19] In the Bassus and Quinta Vox partbooks of this exemplar, the scribes began to underlay German text to the eight-voice Trinity motet *Te Deum Patrem ingenitum* (F3r in the Bassus, G1v-G2r in the Quinta Vox), suggesting that the singers in Helmstedt may have planned to Germanize more motets. However, since *Angelus*, *Tulerunt*, and *Factum est silentium* are the only three pieces in the exemplar whose added German texts are complete, it is still safe to assume that they were Germanized as a group.

Praetorius's three motets for Marian feasts invite some reflection on the status of Marian feasts in Protestant Hamburg, as well as a consideration of the versatility of these motets beyond their liturgical prescriptions. Unlike most of the other feast days represented in the *Cantiones sacrae*, only one motet each is provided for each of the three Marian feasts celebrated in Protestant Hamburg: Purification, Annunciation, and Visitation. It is unclear whether lesser importance was accorded to these days than to other saints' days; neither Bugenhagen's ordinance nor Eler's *Cantica sacra* (1588) provide details about their observance, nor are there any surviving accounts of special festivities for these days in Hamburg.[20] Nor can the provision of only one motet for each Marian feast be explained by the fact that these three feasts were celebrated for only one day each in Hamburg (in contrast to the three days allotted to Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost), for Praetorius provides two motets for several feast days that, according to Bugenhagen, were celebrated only one full day.[21] Still, the grandiose scaling of the three Marian motets would seem at first to contradict any notion that Marian feasts in Hamburg were unimportant – all employ double-choir texture, and at 130 to 140 breves in total length, they count among the longest pieces in the book.

However, a look at the texts of these three motets shows that, despite their placement in the book, they were not necessarily restricted to Marian devotion or Marian occasions. The text of *Angelus ad pastores*, for example, was appropriate strictly for Christmas, and that of *Tulerunt Dominum meum* was only for Easter, so that neither motet would be fit to use on other days. Yet nothing in the texts of *Nunc*

[20] Finder, *Hamburgische Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 328, states only that the three Marian days, along with several others including St. John and Michaelmas, were abolished as public holidays by a city council resolution of December 7, 1837.
[21] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 126, prescribes that the feasts of the Circumcision (New Year), Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Ascension, Trinity, St. John the Baptist, Visitation, and Michaelmas are to be celebrated for only one day each.

dimittis, *Suscipe verbum*, or *Surge propera* ties them *exclusively* to the Marian feasts to which they are assigned. *Nunc dimittis* is simply the Canticle of Simeon from Luke 2:29-32, and the fact that it actually concludes with a Lesser Doxology (*Gloria Patri*) enables it to be used either as a motet or as a liturgically complete polyphonic canticle – perhaps analogously to the polyphonic *Magnificat* settings in Praetorius's second book, even though Praetorius's polyphonic *Nunc dimittis* is not based on plainchant. According to Eler, the *Nunc Dimittis* canticle was to follow the *Magnificat* at Vespers four times a year, on Christmas Day, Epiphany, Easter, and Ascension, all days important enough to merit lavish polychoral music.[22]

In addition, *Suscipe verbum* is as thematically apt to Advent as to the Annunciation. Its text was actually taken from a responsory assigned to the Advent season – which, despite its content, was never assigned to the feast of the Annunciation in pre-Reformation liturgical sources:

> Suscipe verbum virgo Maria, quod tibi à Domino per Angelum transmissum est. Ecce concipies Deum pariter et hominem. Ut benedicta dicaris inter omnes mulieres.
> Paries quidem filium et virginitatis non patieris detrimentum; efficieris gravida et eris mater semper intacta. Ut benedicta dicaris inter omnes mulieres. Alleluia.
>
> Accept the Word, Virgin Mary, which has been sent to you from the Lord by the Angel. Behold, you shall conceive God and man alike, so that you will be called blessed among all women.
> For you shall bear a son, and suffer no loss of virginity; you will go with child, and will be a mother ever intact, so that you will be called blessed among all women. Alleluia.[23]

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[22] Eler, *Cantica*, LVIII, LXVI, CXXIX, and CXLIIII. Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 170, and Aepinus, in Sehling, vol. 5, 553, prescribe the *Nunc dimittis* canticle for Vespers on Sundays and feast days, though Bugenhagen requires a recitation "rhythmically but without melody" (*myth einem medio / doch sine Tono*), and Aepinus allows for the singing of the canticle in either German or Latin.

[23] Translation mine. The same text is listed as Respond c7744 in CURSUS: An Online Resource of Medieval Liturgical Texts (http://www.cursus.uea.ac.uk/ed/c7744, accessed 18 June 2009) and is not assigned to the feast of the Annunciation in any of the sources listed on this site. A similar text appears as the fourth Matins responsory for the Third Sunday in Advent in *Breviarium hamburgense*, XVIIr, though with the versicle "Ave maria gratia plena dominus tecum" instead of "Paries quidem filium…."

Finally, *Surge propera*, with its text from the Song of Songs, could easily double as a wedding motet. Jacob Praetorius composed two five-voice wedding motets on this text, one of which appeared in his father's 1607 edition.[24] Despite the widespread association of the Song of Songs with Marian devotion throughout Europe, texts from this book of the Bible rarely appear in Lutheran service books of the late sixteenth century; in Hamburg, they were not used at all. Commissioned wedding motets, however, made frequent use of texts from the Song of Songs. Compared to their companion motets in the church-year section of the *Cantiones sacrae*, these three Marian motets were uniquely versatile beyond their church-year assignments, straddling the boundary between traditional motets for feast days and *ad placitum* motets for extraordinary occasions. At the same time, Praetorius's choice of texts is confessionally diplomatic, and offers nothing that would conflict with the Protestant view of the Virgin Mary; even the non-Biblical *Suscipe verbum* is reasonably close to the scriptural account of the Angel Gabriel's words at the Annunciation (Luke 1:30-31), and focuses as much on the "God and man alike" as on the "mother ever intact."[25]

Ad placitum Motets

Unlike the main church-year portion of the publication, the *ad placitum* appendix of Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae* is ordered strictly by number of voices. Over the three Hamburg reprintings of the *Cantiones sacrae*, this section underwent

[24] Edited in Gable, *The Motets of Jacob Praetorius II*, 23-28 and 29-34.
[25] On perceptions of Mary in early-modern German Protestantism, see Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500-1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), especially 53-63 and 83-88, and Carol Piper Heming, *Protestants and the Cult of the Saints* (Kirksville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2003), 66-74.

more changes in content and layout than any other part of the book. These changes had substantial implications for the materiality of the collection as a whole. In the second edition of 1607, the appendix more than tripled in size, growing from five motets on three and a half folios in the Cantus partbook to seventeen motets on fifteen folios, and in the third edition of 1622, the addition of three new pieces expanded the appendix by another few folios.[26] The layout of this appendix also changed considerably from one edition to the next, for the newly-added pieces in the 1607 and 1622 editions were not simply lumped together at the end or beginning of this section, but grouped carefully in with the pieces of the same number of voices. This meant that even the addition of a few pieces required all-new casting off for the entire group of pieces, as is particularly evident in the 1622 edition printed by Paul Lange. For the church year portion of the collection, Lange's pagination and layout virtually duplicate that of Ohr's 1607 edition – logically so, since no new motets had been added to that part of the book. The three new motets in the *ad placitum* appendix nevertheless obliged Lange to come up with an entirely new layout for this section. Table 3-2 charts the changes in layout from one edition of the *Cantiones sacrae* to the next by way of their changing locations on the page, showing that the assignment of motets to feast days was also helpful to the printers who produced motet collections.[27]

Other collections from the same period give us some idea of the variety of motets that could be classified as *ad placitum.* One preeminent example is Hans Leo Hassler's first book of motets, whose title is almost identical to that of Praetorius's first book: *Cantiones sacrae de festis praecipuis totius anni* (Augsburg: Valentin

[26] *Surge propera* à 5 (no. 45), *Exultate Deo* à 6 (no. 48), and *Laudate pueri Dominum* à 10 (no. 63). The setting of *Surge propera* replaced Jacob's setting of the same text in the 1607 edition.
[27] See also Table 2 in Chapter 2.

Table 3-2. Foliation of the Cantus partbook in the three Hamburg editions of H. Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni*.

Motet or RUBRIC	1599	1607	1622
Ecce Dominus veniet	A2r	A2r	A2r
Gaudete omnes	A3v	A3v	A3v
O admirabile commercium	–	A4v	A4v
In hoc festo	A4v	B1v	B1v
Angelus ad pastores	B2r	B3r	B3r
Verbum caro factum est	B3r	B4v	B4v
Puer natus est nobis	B4v	C1v	C1v
Surge illuminare	C1v	C2v	C2v
Ab oriente	C2v	C3v	C3v
Nunc dimittis	C3v	D1r	D1r
Suscipe verbum	D1r	D2v	D2v
Videns Dominus	D2v	D4r	D4r
O bone Jesu	D3v	D4v	D4v
O vos omnes	D4v	E1v	E1v
Tulerunt Dominum meum	E1r	E2v	E2v
Mane nobiscum Domine	E2v	E4r	E4r
Surrexit Pastor bonus	E3v	F1r	F1r
Omnes gentes	E4r	F1v	F1v
Ascendo ad Patrem meum	F1v	F3r	F3r
Hodie completi sunt	F2v	F4r	F4r
Sic Deus dilexit mundum	F3v	G1r	G1r
Te Deum patrem	F4v	G2r	G2r
Adesto unus Deus	G1r	G3r	G3r
Puer qui natus est	G2r	G3v	G3v
Fuit homo missus	G3r	G4v	G4v
Surge propera	G4r	H1v	H1v
Factum est silentium	H1v	H3r	H3r
Dum praeliaretur	H3r	H4v	H4v
AD PLACITUM	H4v	I2r	I2r
Non est bonum hominem	H4v	I2r	I2r
Surge propera (JP 1607, HP 1622)	–	I2v	I2v
Miserere mei Deus	I1r	I3v	I3v
Benedicam Dominum	–	I4r	I4r
Exultate Deo	–	-	K1r
Peccavi	I1v	K1r	K2r
Gaudete omnes (JP)	–	K1v	K3r
Ecce prandium meum	–	K2r	K3v
Gloria tibi Domine	I2r	K4r	L1r
Veni in hortum meum (JP)	–	L1r	L2r
Beati omnes	–	L2r	L3r

Table 3-2, continued

Motet title	1599	1607	1622
Benedictio mensae	–	L3v	L4r
Oratio Dominica	–	L3v	L4v
Domine Deus benedic	–	L4r	M1r
Gratiarum actio	–	L4v	M1v
Gratias agimus tibi	–	M1v	M2v
Laudate Dominum in sanctis	I2v	M2r	M3r
Laudate pueri Dominum	–	–	M4v
Jubilate Deo	–	M3v	N2r
Index	I4r-v	N1r-v	

Schönig, 1591, and Nuremberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1597).[28] All of Hassler's 31 motets (38 in the second edition) are ordered not by the church year but by number of voices, though an index at the front of each partbook lists the contents by liturgical occasion.[29] The index heading *De Apostolis et sanctis in communi, etiam ad placitum* takes the place of an appendix. Most of the motets listed here are on psalm texts, and close inspection reveals that many of these psalm-based motets appear twice in the index, the second time in the list assigning them to occasions of the church year (*Iubilate Deo* to Easter, *Levavi oculos meos* to Ascension, etc.). In addition, the seven motets that were added to the collection in 1597 are all grouped in this index and do not appear in the list organized according to the liturgical calendar; they include four psalm settings, the two Magnificat settings, and one *Pater noster*, texts that would have been suitable for several liturgical occasions. Whether any of the newly added pieces were first published as occasional pamphlets is, unfortunately,

[28] RISM A/I H2323 and H2324, respectively.

[29] It is worth noting the order of feast days in this index differs from that in Praetorius's volume. While Praetorius combines feast days of the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* in calendrical order, Hassler separates the two, giving first the temporal feast days from Advent through Trinity and then proceeding to the saints' days, beginning with the Purification. This had been a common ordering scheme in pre-Reformation breviaries, and was carried over in some Reformed liturgical compendia of the sixteenth century. See, for example, Lucas Lossius, *Psalmodia, hoc est cantica sacra veteris ecclesiæ selecta* (Nuremberg, 1553), and Matthaeus Ludecus, *Missale, hoc est, cantica, preces, et lectiones sacræ* (Wittenberg, 1589) and *Vesperale et Matutinale* (Wittenberg, 1589).

unknown, though *Beati omnes* (Psalm 128) and *Ecce quam bonum* (Psalm 133) were both thematically appropriate to weddings, and the eleven-voice *Miserere mei Domine* (Psalm 51) was equally appropriate as a funeral work for a noble patron or prominent citizen. To Hassler, *ad placitum* seems to have been chiefly a classification for pieces that could truly be sung both on feast days and on other occasions throughout the liturgical year.

In another motet print from Nuremberg, Johannes Agricola's *Motetae novae pro præcipuis in anno festis decantandæ, 4. 5. 6. 8. pluribusq[ue] vocibus compositæ* (1601), the miscellaneous appendix has a more specifically occasional character. Like Praetorius's collection, Agricola's is arranged according to the church year and concludes with section of eleven motets under the heading *Ad Placitum*. Unlike Hassler's psalm settings, however, many of these pieces can be shown to be occasional motets transplanted to monographic print. No fewer than five of Agricola's *ad placitum* motets set amorous Latin texts, all non-Biblical (except for *Quam pulchra es amica mea*) and all ideal for weddings. The eight-voice echo motet *Nympha invisibilis* (no. 24) makes specific references to a *sponsus* and a *sponsa*, and *Beatus es Deum timens* (no. 23) directly addresses a bridegroom in a poetic paraphrase of the first and third verses of Psalm 128: "Blessed are you, who fear God and walk in his ways; your wife will be as a vine covered with grapes in your house, and your children like olive branches" (*Beatus es Deum timens, in viis eius ambulans, Conjunx erit domo tua ceu vitis uvis obsita, atque tui filioli ut olivarum ramuli*).[30] Other motets seem suitable for extraordinary occasions other than weddings. *Morte beor Jesu* (no. 16), a possible funeral motet has the epigrammatic text "In the death of

[30] Translation mine.

Jesus I am gladdened; it is fitting that vain hope flee. Whoever is gladdened by the death of Jesus has life."[31] *Iam satis terris nivis* (no. 21), a setting of the first six stanzas of Horace's Ode I.2, speaks of war, natural disasters, and troubled times.[32] Classical or original Latin texts were often a hallmark of occasional compositions, and the presence of so many in Agricola's *ad placitum* appendix shows another possible use for this section: as a means of preserving occasional works that may have been previously published in ephemeral pamphlet format. For the present, however, this must remain conjecture, since no pamphlet prints of Agricola's music are known to survive.

The immense four-volume *Centuria* (Stettin, 1607, 1610, and 1612) of Philipp Dulichius, Cantor in Stettin (now Szczecin), takes a different approach. The feast day index in the fourth volume is particularly detailed, assigning works to several intermediate Sundays (for example, those following Epiphany and Trinity) as well as to the high feast days. Rather than a single heading for *ad placitum* works, the index provides several categories applicable to occasions outside of the church year, including *Pro magistratu* ("for [those in] authority"), *Pro pace et contra Eccelsiae hostes* ("for peace and against the enemies of the Church"), and *Gratiarum actiones et alia genera* ("thanksgivings and [pieces of] other kinds"). Like Hassler's collection, Dulichius's contains many motets based on psalms and other Biblical texts, some assigned to feast days and others to these miscellaneous categories. Some works can be classified as occasional on the basis of their dedications to individuals, though their categorizations vary immensely: *Indicabo tibi, ô homo* à 8 (Micah 6:8)

[31] "Morte beor Iesu, meritum [ut] spes vana facessat / vitam qui Iesu morte beatur, habet." Agricola, *Motetae novae*, no. 16.
[32] I thank Darcy Krasne for identifying this text, and for aiding in the translation of *Morte beor Jesu*.

belongs to the category *Pro magistratu* and bears a dedication to Duke Philipp II of Stettin, while two works dedicated to city councilmen in Danzig, *Deus in adjutorium* à 7 (Psalm 70:1-4) and *Ei, qui potens est à 8* (Ephesians 3:20-21), are assigned respectively to the feast of the Visitation and to the *Gratiarum actiones* category.[33] The three miscellaneous categories were thus not the only repositories for previously composed occasional works in the *Centuria*; they could just as easily be assigned to days of the church year, though the textual basis is not always clear.[34]

Returning to Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae*, we see that his *ad placitum* appendices offer a similar variety of motets. The section is ordered by number of voices, from least (five) to most (the eight-voice *Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius* in the edition of 1599, the twelve-voice *Jubilate Deo omnis terra* in 1607 and 1622). Table 3-1 lists the contents of this section in each of the three editions. Once again, the texts of some motets offer clues to their potential uses and origins. *Non est bonum hominem*, the first motet in this group in each edition, has a text particularly well suited to weddings: "It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a helper fit for him" (*Non est bonum hominem esse solum; faciamus ei adjutorium simile sibi*), the words spoken by God as he created Eve from the rib of Adam in Genesis 2:18.[35] This verse opened the scripture lesson Luther prescribed for church weddings (Genesis 2:18, 21-24) in his *Traubüchlein für die einfaltigen Pfarrherr*

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[33] Duichius, *Centuria*, vol. 1, no. 17, 14, and 18, edited in DDT vol. 31, 100-103, 82-88, and 104-108, respectively; see table in DDT vol. 31, XX. Dulichius's failure to gain the patronage of the Danzig city council may explain the classification of *Deus in adjutorium* and *Ei, qui potens est* outside of the *Pro magistratu* category; see DDT vol. 31, VIII, and 356-357 below.

[34] The first two pieces in the *Centuria* – wedding motets on Song of Songs texts for Duke Philipp of Stettin and Elector Christian II of Saxony – are assigned in the index to the Second Sunday in Epiphany, on which the Gospel account of the wedding at Cana (John 2:1-11) was traditionally read.

[35] Unless specified otherwise, the Biblical texts set by Hieronymus and Jacob Praetorius follow the Latin translation of the Clementine Vulgate (first published 1590), which was known in Hamburg through David Wolder's polyglot *Biblia Sacra Graece, Latine & Germanice* (Hamburg: Jacob Lucius, 1596, herafter "Hamburg Polyglot Bible"). Note that the *Nova Vulgata* (published 1979), now considered the official Latin Bible of the Roman Catholic Church, has several small differences from the Clementine Vulgate; it translates this part of Genesis 2:18 as "Non est bonum esse hominem solum: faciamus ei adiutorium similem *sui*" (italics mine).

(1529), to be read "before the altar, over the bride and groom" (*Fuer dem altar uber den breutgam und braut*).[36] The eight-voice *Beati omnes qui timent Dominum*, along with Jacob Praetorius's two Song of Songs motets, could also have been wedding motets; *Beati omnes* sets Psalm 128, which promises "the man who fears God" that "your wife will be a fruitful vine within your house" (*uxor tua sicut vinea abundans in lateribus domus tuae*).

Miserere mei Deus and *Peccavi quid faciam miser*, with their deeply penitential texts, would certainly have been appropriate for funerals. *Miserere mei* sets the first verse of Psalm 51, the quintessential penitential psalm, making it an apt choice for Lent and Holy Week as well. The short text of *Peccavi* combines penitential texts and sentiments from several sources:

> Peccavi, quid faciam miser? Ubi fugiam nisi ad te Deus meus?
> Ignosce culpam petenti, veniamque concede quaerenti.
>
> I have sinned; what shall I do, miserable one? Where will I fly except to you, my God? Pardon the sin of the one who petitions; grant forgiveness to the one who asks it.[37]

The opening phrase is reminiscent of Job 7:20: "I have sinned: what shall I do to thee, O keeper of men?" (*Peccavi quid faciam tibi o custos hominum*), while the words "quid faciam miser, ubi fugiam nisi ad te Deus meus" had appeared in the Matins repsonsory *Heu* [or *Hei*] *mihi Domine* from the Office of the Dead.[38] The source of the final rhyming couplet is unknown, and it may be a contemporary addition. This office was no longer celebrated in Protestant Hamburg, but we have already seen that Praetorius was no stranger to motet texts that would have been available only in Pre-

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[36] *WA* vol. 30:3, 78.
[37] Translation mine. Most of the punctuation and capitalization in the Latin has been added for clarity.
[38] Respond c6811 in CURSUS (http://www.cursus.uea.ac.uk/ed/c6811, accessed June 22, 2009). The English translation of Job 7:20 follows the King James version of the Bible, whose rendering of this verse corresponds more closely to the Latin.

Reformation Catholic sources.[39] He may also have known Lassus's settings of the verse from Job and *Heu mihi Domine*, whose texts he may have combined.[40] The music itself seems to speak for the funereal quality of *Miserere* and *Peccavi* as well. Atypically for Praetorius's five- and six-voice works, these motets favor doublings in the middle and lower voices; *Miserere* is scored SATTB (in contrast to the SSATB of most of Praetorius's five-voice motets, including *Non est bonum hominem*) and *Peccavi* for SAATTB (in contrast to the more usual SSAATB). Furthermore, the unusual tonal types of both *Peccavi* (high clefs, one flat, final on A) and *Miserere* (high clefs, no signature, final on B) can be understood as extraordinary manifestations of the *deuterus* modes, which had long been associated with mournful themes.[41] Indeed, the distinctive Phrygian-mode half step receives strong melodic emphasis in both pieces, especially in the opening imitative statements. *Peccavi* opens with a groaning half-step neighbor motive in breves stated first in the *Altus* on the notes e'-f'-e' which is imitated not only on A but also on D (Musical Example 3-2), while the insistent repeated-note figure that opens the *Miserere* (Musical Example 3-3) suggests a funeral march. The openings of both pieces hearken back to other similarly texted pieces that Praetorius may have known. In *Peccavi*, the opening neighbor-note motif resembles that of Lassus's *Peccavi quid faciam tibi* (Musical Example 3-4), which also employs the A-*mollis* tonal type; the opening imitative theme of Praetorius's *Miserere*, also based on a Phrygian neighbor-note motion and

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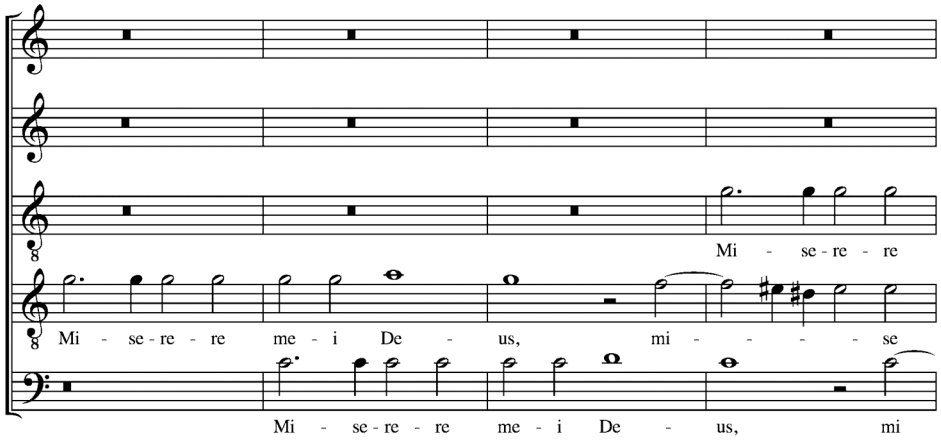
[39] Interestingly, the responsory *Hei mihi Domine* is absent from the Office of the Dead as given in Hamburg's two principal pre-Reformation liturgical sources, the *Breviarium ecclesiae hamburgensis* (n.p, [1507]; Staats- und Univsitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Inc App A/153) and the *Liber breviarius secundum ordinarium ritum ac consuetudinem ecclesie et diocesis Sleszuicensis* (Paris, 1512; Staats- und Univsitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Inc App A/132).

[40] Originally published in *Il primo libro de mottetti a cinque et a sei voci* (Antwerp, 1556), no. 2 and 5, and reprinted in the *Magnum opus musicum* (1604), no. 236 and 251. Edited in RRMR vol. 114, 9-13 and 29-33.

[41] I follow the system outlined in Powers, "Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony," of identifying tonal types by cleffing, system, and final. On the associations of the *deuterus* modes with mournfulness, see Jean-Pierre Ouvrard, "Modality and Text Expression in 16th-century French Chansons: Remarks Concerning the E Mode," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 16 (1992), 89-116.

Musical Example 3-2. Opening measures of Hieronymus Praetorius, *Peccavi quid faciam miser* (*Cantiones sacrae*, 1607).

Musical Example 3-3. Opening measures of Hieronymus Praetorius, *Miserere mei Deus* (*Cantiones sacrae*, 1607). Transcription courtesy of Frederick Gable.



Musical Example 3-4. Opening measures of Orlando de Lassus, *Peccavi quid faciam tibi* (*Il primo libro de mottetti a cinque et a sei voci*, 1556).

Musical Example 3-5. Opening measures of Josquin Desprez, *Miserere mei Deus*.

Musical Example 3-6. Praetorius, *Peccavi quid faciam miser*, measures 23-29.

stated first in the lowest two voices, is reminiscent of Josquin's setting of the same psalm (Musical Example 3-5). Praetorius's setting of the text "Ubi fugiam nisi ad te, Deus meus" recalls certain rhythmic elements of Lassus's setting of this text in *Heu mihi*: flurries of semiminim motion on "ubi fugiam" change to stepwise motion on minims on "nisi ad te" (Musical Examples 3-6 and 3-7). The similarities of text and

Musical Example 3-7. Lassus, *Heu mihi Domine* (*Il primo libro de mottetti*, 1556), measures 38-44.

music suggest that Praetorius may have known the works by Lassus, though it is impossible to say to whether he also knew Josquin's *Miserere*. Although some of Josquin's works were known in Hamburg via the 1566 *Opus musicum excellens et novum* of Jacob Praetorius I, the *Miserere* does not appear among them.

Of course, even if *Non est bonum hominem*, *Beati omnes*, *Peccavi*, and *Miserere* had originally been occasional motets, there is nothing in Praetorius's print

to indicate what their original occasions or dedications may have been. As the examples of Hassler's 1591 *Cantiones sacrae* and Agricola's 1601 *Motetae novae* above have shown, and as Chapter 5 will show in more detail, this was by no means unusual in German motet publications around 1600, though other collections, such as Dulichius's *Centuria* and Thomas Selle's manuscript *Opera omnia* (compiled 1646-1653), recorded the names and occasions associated with their contents.[42] Reissuing occasional pieces in printed collections stripped them of their attachments to specific people and events and enabled the pieces to be used at other weddings or funerals, perhaps in cases where newly commissioned occasional motets were financially out of the question. At the same time, monographic print made these formerly exclusive works available to a larger audience than ever before, and allowed them to be enjoyed as the collected works of a distinguished composer rather than as mementos of an occasion. Chapter 5 discusses further how such motets could be reused, and how both their music and material forms shifted between permanence and ephemerality.

Psalm Motets for Princely Visitors

Not all the texts of Praetorius's *ad placitum* motets so specifically suggest occasions like weddings or funerals. Motets based on psalms, texts from the liturgy, or even familiar Christmas songs could also celebrate special events or congratulate patrons, and could also be printed in the pamphlet form customary for such purposes. In fact, the three occasional works by Praetorius that survive in pamphlet form are composed to texts that do not immediately suggest occasions outside of a devotional context: Luther's verse translation of the *Te Deum*, the Christmas song *Ein Kindelein*

[42] See 318 below.

so löbelich, and verses from Psalm 89.[43] The Psalms were especially versatile texts, and were as appropriate for the celebration of human events as for the praise of God; one need only consider, among others, the acclamations of sovereign might in Psalm 110, the praises of the upright man in Psalm 112, the promises of marital prosperity in Psalm 128, and the hopes for eternal life expressed in Psalms 116 and 118. Given this diversity, and given that almost a third of Praetorius's hundred or so motets are on psalm texts, it is worth considering the possibility that some of them, especially those composed for unusually large vocal forces, were composed as occasional works, a point discussed further in Chapter 5. I consider here the possibility that two twelve-voice psalm-based motets from Praetorius's early collections, the *Dixit Dominus* from the *Magnificat* collection of 1602, and the *Jubilate Deo* from the *Cantiones sacrae* of 1607, were composed to honor Moritz, Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, and Christian IV, King of Denmark, respectively, on their visits to Hamburg in the early seventeenth century.

Moritz was the dedicatee of Praetorius's *Magnificat* collection, and was an amateur composer as well as a distinguished patron of music and the arts. The Magnificat figured prominently in Moritz's own prolific compositional output: two cycles of four-voice Magnificat settings on the 12 modes of Glarean's *Dodecachordon* survive in manuscripts dated 1600, as does a full Magnificat cycle for three voices, of which only the bass parts survive.[44] Though Moritz's works were not printed, Praetorius might have known of them; Praetorius's choice to dedicate his

[43] For a detailed discussion of these works, see 343-359 below.
[44] Moritz, Landgraf von Hessen, *Canticum Beatae Mariae Virginis per duodecim modos Anno 1600,* Gesmtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Moritz Landgraf von Hessen (1572-1632), vol. 1:9, edited by Paul-Heinz Leifhelm ([Stuttgart]: Cornetto, n.d.), and *Magnificat à 4, 1600, per duodecim modos,* Gesmtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Moritz Landgraf von Hessen (1572-1632), vol. 1:10, edited by Paul-Heinz Leifhelm ([Stuttgart]: Cornetto, n.d.).

own Magnificat cycle to Moritz may have been inspired by the prince's particular interest in the canticle.

Given the central role of the Magnificat canticle in the liturgy of Vespers, Frederick Gable has suggested that the four motets in the *Magnificat* collection settings were "probably designed for use at Vespers services in Hamburg."[45] Indeed, a twelve-voice setting of the entire *Dixit Dominus* (Psalm 110), the most common Vespers psalm, is included in the collection. The other psalm set in its entirety, *Domine Dominus noster*, was also used in Hamburg on several feast days, though at Matins rather than Vespers.[46] Several other factors, however, seem to argue against these motets having been intended for the liturgy. Unlike the Magnificat settings, none incorporate plainchant, nor do any include a final Trinitarian doxology (*Gloria Patri et Filio… et in saecula saeculorum, Amen*). *Venite exultemus Domino* and *Cantate Domino* present only a few verses of their respective psalm texts, and in both the ritornello-like repetition of the opening verses seems to preclude their use in a strict liturgical context, which tended to require a stricter rendition of the text. Eler's *Cantica sacra* makes no mention of the singing of the *Venite* (the Invitatory before Matins, based on Psalm 95), and its rubrics call for this psalm only at Matins on the Third Sunday after Trinity, hardly an occasion festive enough to warrant a double-choir motet.[47] Rather, it seems more likely that this group of motets, like the *ad placitum* group at the end of the *Cantiones sacrae*, is also a miscellany of previously composed, previously published occasional or celebratory works.

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[45] Gable, introduction CMM vol. 110:2, XIV.
[46] Franz Eler, *Cantica sacra*, calls for the use of this psalm at Matins on the feast days of the Purification (LXXIX), the Annunciation (CVI), Easter Tuesday (CXXXI), Ascension (CXL), Trinity (CLVI), the Visitation (CLXXXI), and Michaelmas (CCXI).
[47] Eler, *Cantica sacra*, CLXVI, has the following rubric: "DIE DOMINICO ad Matuti: preces, Antiph: præcedentia, Quis ex vobis [i.e. the antiphon *Quis ex vobis* directly preceding the rubric]. Psalm: Venite exsultemus 94 [sic]."

The motets, or at least some of them, might also have been congratulatory pieces presented to Moritz, whom Praetorius may actually have met the year before his *Magnificat* volume was printed. The Landgrave visited Hamburg in late July 1601, an event recorded in Michael Gottlieb Steltzner's *Versuch einer zuverläßigen Nachricht von dem Kirchlichen und Politischen Zustande der Stadt Hamburg* (1731). Steltzner says only that the Landgrave "came here from Harburg [just south of Hamburg] on the 28th of July, and was most magnificently received" (*Den 28. Julii [1601] kam der Land-Graf zu Hessen, Mauritius, von Harburg anhero; welchen man überaus herrlich empfing*), but it is certainly likely that music contributed to the "magnificent" reception.[48] In his dedicatory epistle to the *Magnificat* collection, dated July 15, 1602, Praetorius mentions having presented copies of his music to the Landgrave, perhaps at some point during his visit the year before: "the two motets shown to you by me," he says, "which I took care to have taken to press together, were received kindly by you" (*duas istas à me V. I. C. exhibitas scripto Motetas, quas unà prælo subjici curavi, serena fronte exceperit*).[49] "Taken to press together" suggests a pamphlet print, functioning here as a presentation piece to a potential patron.

The two motets presented to Moritz, probably during his visit in 1601, were probably reprinted in the publication of 1602 among the four motets at the end, though it is not immediately clear which two they were. One especially good candidate is the twelve-voice *Dixit Dominus*, the last of the motets in the grouping

[48] Steltzner, *Versuch einer zuverläßigen Nachricht*, vol. 2, 447. Steltzner's chronicle is the earliest known account of this visit. Gallois closely paraphrases Steltzner in his own mention of the event in the *Chronik*, vol. 1, 1207: "Am 28. Juli kam Landgraf Moritz von Hessen von Harburg hier und ward gar herrlich empfangen."
[49] Tenor partbook, A1v. Translation from Gable, introduction to *Hieronymus Praetorius: Complete Works,* vol. 2: *Opus Musicum II: Magnificats and Five Motets*, XVI.

and the largest in both length and texture.[50] Its connection to the Vespers service made it a fitting companion piece for the Magnificat settings of both Praetorius and Moritz, and its themes of sovereignty would have been especially appropriate for the Landgrave's visit. If so, its position at the very end of the volume – as privileged a location as the beginning – reflected not only the ordering of the motets by increasing number of voices (the others are for eight), but also a close connection to the patron. Indeed, the compositional choice of a larger texture than usual effectively ensured this placement in the book.

Another of Praetorius's twelve-voice motets may also have been connected with the visit of a prince: *Jubilate Deo*, which first appeared in the 1607 edition of the *Cantiones sacrae*.[51] On October 28, 1603, King Christian IV of Denmark, with his younger brother Johann Adolph, Duke of Holstein, and more than twenty other princes and nobles, visited Hamburg to request the city's homage. This ceremonial reaffirmation of the suzerainty of the Kings of Denmark had been performed by his ancestors Christian I in 1461 and Christian III in 1538. The pomp accompanying the King's entry, sojourn, and departure, including banquets, tournaments, parades and *tableaux vivants*, as well as the ritual request for homage, are described in varying amounts of detail in several print and manuscript chronicles.[52] On the morning of Sunday, October 30, before proceeding to the Rathaus to perform the ceremony of homage (*Huldigung*), the king and his entourage attended Mass at St. Petri. Most

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[50] Edited in Praetorius, *Polychoral Motets*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. 19, 21-42.
[51] Edited in Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. 19, 1-20.
[52] See, among others, Wolffgang Heinrich Adelungk, *Kurtze Historische Beschreibung der Uhr-Alten Käyserlichen und des Heil. Römischen Reichs Freyen-An-See- Kauff- und Handels-Stadt Hamburg* (Hamburg: Valentin Liebezeit, 1696, facsimile edition (Neusäß/Augsburg: Kieser, 1989), 95-100; Steltzner, *Versuch einer zuverläßigen Nachricht*, vol. 2, 463-470; Otto Sperling, *Chronicon Hamburgense* (n.d., Staatsarchiv Hamburg Photoarchiv K 2 623), vol. 4, 13r-16r; Staatsarchiv Hamburg Handschriftensammlung 208, 101; *Der Hamburger CRONICA, Fünffter Theil* (1558-1686, Staatsarchiv Hamburg Handschriftensammlung 89), 13; and *Der alten weitberühmten Stadt Hamburg Cronica oder Jahr-bücher von der Zeit Carolo Magni biß auff daß Kaÿserthumb Caroli Quinti* (n.d., Staatsarchiv Hamburg Handschriftensammlung 208), 101.

chronicles say nothing about the music that may have been performed at the service, mentioning only the congratulatory sermon by the *Hauptpastor* Johann Schelhammer.[53] One of the earliest printed accounts of the king's visit, however, includes some striking musical details; this is a rhymed chronicle by the Hamburg lawyer Tobias Loncius, entitled *Historischer begrieff / Welcher Gestalt der Durchleuchtigste / Großmechtige Hochgeborne Fürst vnd Herr / Herr CHRISTIAN der vierde dieses Nahmens / zu Dennemarck… Vnd die grosse vnd zu dieser seit in gantz Europa berühmete AnSeh vnnd Handelsstadt HAMBVRGK… ihre Huldungs vnd annehmungs Verbündnus… ernewert* (Magdeburg, n.d.). Loncius's account of the king's visit to St. Petri centers almost entirely on music, even mentioning some of the performing forces:

> Vor erst so hört man Gottes Wort /
> Das alles wol müg gehen fort.
> Zu S. Peter im Tempel schon
> Sich beyde Herren sehen lan.
> Der Organist vnd Cantorey /
> Sich beyde lassen hören frey.
> Darunter auch gleich in der still /
> Man hört einklingn die Seitenspiel.
>
> First of all, one must hear the Word of God,
> So that all may proceed well.
> At the temple of St. Peter
> Both lords [King Christian and Duke Johann Adolph] appear.
> The organist and choir
> Are both freely heard.
> Meanwhile, in the midst of the silence,
> One hears the sound of strings chime in.[54]

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[53] Adelungk, 96; *Der alten weitberühmten Stadt Hamburg Cronica*, 101; and Sperling, 14r, among others.

[54] Tobias Loncius, *Historischer begrieff / Welcher Gestalt der Durchleuchtigste / Großmechtige Hochgeborne Fürst vnd Herr / Herr CHRISTIAN der vierde dieses Nahmens / zu Dennemarck / Norwegen / der Wenden vnnd Gotten König / Hertzog zu Schleswigk / Holstein / Stormarn vnd Ditmarschen / Graffe zu Oldenburg vnd Delmenhorst / etc. Deßgleichen der Durchleuchtigste Hochgeborne Fürst vnnd Herr / Herr IOHAN ADOLPH, Erbe zu Norwegen / Hertzog zu Schleswigk / Holstein / Stormarn vnd Ditmarschen / Graf zu Oldenburg vnd Delmenhorst / etc. Beyde jtziger zeit Regierende Herren im Lande zu Holstein / eines Theils: Vnd die grosse vnd zu dieser seit in gantz Europa berühmete AnSeh vnnd Handelsstadt HAMBVRGK, andern Theils: den 30. Tag Octobris, Anno 1603. ihre Huldungs vnd annehmungs Verbündnus / wegen der beyden Fürstenthüme*

The three distinct groups of performing forces as described by Loncius, organ, choral singers (*Cantorey*), and strings, might be three "choirs" in a polychoral context. The phrasing "are both freely heard" (*sich beyde lassen hören frey*) and "in the silences" (*in der still*), seems to suggests distinct sonic groups that sometimes sounded separately. "Choirs" in a polychoral texture could, of course, be composed of instruments as well as of human voices, and at this period a large church organ could function as a separate "choir" itself.[55] Loncius may thus be describing the performance of music for three choirs – a performance that seems to have particularly impressed him and others, given that he says nothing more about the church service.

If Loncius's description is interpreted in this way, the piece in question could have been Praetorius's twelve-voice *Jubilate Deo*, the final piece in the *Cantiones sacrae* of 1607. Like *Dixit Dominus*, *Jubilate Deo* is scored for three unequal choirs, one high, one medium, and one low; also like *Dixit Dominus*, its placement last in its volume may also bespeak its composition for a special occasion.[56] Yet there are two reasons why *Jubilate Deo* is more likely than *Dixit Dominus* to have been the motet performed for the king's visit. First, although Praetorius is known to have recycled *ad placitum* pieces for other extraordinary occasions – for instance, the eight-voice *Cantate Domino* from the *Magnificat* volume was performed at the dedication of St.

/ Holstein vnnd Stormarn / deren gelidmaß sich die Stadt erkennet / ernewert. Item / mit was gepreng vnd Solennitet, so wol Königliche Majestat / als auch Fürstliche Durchleuchtigkeit zwey Tage zuuor ein jeder sinen Einzug / vnd folgendes jhre Auffzüge / Ringrennen / Turnier vnd ander Ritterspiel gehalten. Item / was vor andere Fürsten / Graffen vnd Herren dem Einzug zun Ehren erschienen. Auch wie diese beyde Herren von der Stadt vnd gantzen Bürgerschafft herrlich empfangen worden (Magdeburg: Johann Francke, n.d.), 9-10. I am indebted to Arne Spohr for directing me to this source, and to him and Elaine Tennant for aiding me in the interpretation of these verses.

[55] See, for example, Jacobus Gallus's *Instructio ad Musicos* at the beginning of his *Tertius tomus musici operas, harmoniarum quatuor, quinque, sex, octo et plurium vocum* (Prague: Georg Nigrin, 1587), reprinted in Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, vol. 40 (Vienna: Artaria & Co., 1913), XII, and Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum III* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619; facsimile edition, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), 134 and 153. See also RRMBE vol. 91, xviii.

[56] The clefs are g2, g2, c1, c3 / c1, c3, c3, f3 / c2, c3, c4, f4 in *Dixit Dominus*, and g2, g2, c1, c3 / c1, c2, c3, f3 / c3, c4, c4, f4 in *Jubilate Deo*. Although these are not typical combinations of "high," "medium," and "low" clefs, the combination of differently-ranged choirs recalls Vicentino's discussion of double-choir pieces that combine choirs *a voce mutata* and *a voce piena* in *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555), chapter 28, quoted in Carver, *Cori spezzati*, vol. 1, 8-9 and 248. On some typical clef combinations, see Carver, *Cori spezzati*, vol. 1, 8-9 and 29.

Gertrude in 1607 – it seems unlikely that the music for the first visit of a Danish king in almost three-quarters of a century would not have been newly composed, especially if Praetorius had composed two new motets for the visit of the Landgrave of Hesse two years earlier.

A second reason can be inferred from Loncius's account itself. Loncius has the strings sounding "also," "meanwhile, in the midst of silence," suggesting that they were heard sounding alone relatively rarely compared to the "freely"-sounding organ and choir. In neither *Jubilate Deo* nor *Dixit Dominus* are the three choirs allotted equal amounts of music, and in both cases it is the third (lowest) choir that is heard on its own the least, serving most commonly to intensify the *tutti* sections. In *Dixit Dominus*, the third choir's solo moments are on half-verses, and are the only statements of text that are not sung by the other voices: "Virgam virtutis tuae emittet Dominus ex Sion" (measures 15-21, Musical Example 3-8) and "Judicavit in nationibus, implevit ruinas" (measures 74-77). In *Jubilate Deo,* however, such solo moments are more in the character of echoes (measures 6-10 are an exact repeat of the first choir's opening statement one octave lower), and most last only a few minims (the echoes of "adoret te" in measures 64-66 and 77-79, and of "et psallat tibi" in measures 67-68 and 79-80; see Musical Example 3-9). A group of viols or other strings taking the third choir of *Jubilate Deo* would, indeed, only have been heard occasionally, in the "silence" implied by an echo figure, which would better match for Loncius's description than the half-verse statements in *Dixit Dominus.*

Having identified possible occasions – or at least connections – for two of Praetorius's psalm-based *ad placitum* motets, I wish to add here a few observations

Musical Example 3-8. Praetorius, *Dixit Dominus*, first solo of choir III (measures 15-22).

Musical Example 3-9. Praetorius, *Jubilate Deo*, measures 61-67, showing echo figure.

on the role of motets for more than two choirs in Praetorius's output in general. It seems no accident that both of Praetorius's motets potentially associated with princely visits are triple-choir works, in contrast to the double-choir works that otherwise dominate his output. By Praetorius's time, unusually large musical textures had long been associated with patrons of especially high stature, and in these two twelve-voice works by Praetorius we can see the musical equivalent of the extraordinary preparations that the city of Hamburg had made for the pleasure of the visiting princes, from decking out the city walls with banners to covering marketplaces with sand to serve as jousting lists.[57] Since the autonomous Hanseatic city of Hamburg – unaccustomed to the presence of the aristocracy within its walls – had spared no expense in ensuring that its noble visitors were, in Steltzner's words, "most magnificently received," it stands to reason that the composer of the festive church music performed in their presence would offer up a work even more extravagant than his more usual double-choir compositions. Of course, the number of voices or choirs in a motet was never strictly a function of the social rank of the person it celebrated, in Praetorius's works or elsewhere. Moritz of Hesse and Christian of Denmark may have merited three choirs from Praetorius, but it was, after all, to a *Bürgermeister* of his own city that Praetorius would dedicate his quadruple-choir *Herr Gott dich loben wir* ten years later.[58] As I shall discuss further in Chapter 5, the inclusion of these grandiose works in collections like Praetorius's *Cantiones*

[57] Steltzner, *Versuch einer zuverläßigen Nachricht*, vol. 2, 463, mentions the adornment of the city walls with banners for the entry of Christian IV. For sixteenth-century references to the conversion of marketplaces into lists for the visit of Christian III in 1525 and 1538, see Lappenberg, *Hamburgische Chroniken*, 311 and 324-325, as well as a paraphrase in Otto Beneke, *Hamburgische Geschichten und Sagen*, ed. Ariane Knuth (Bremen: Edition Temmen, [1999]), 120. Jousting was also one of the entertainments at the 1603 royal visit, presumably requiring similar preparations.

[58] The original occasions of Praetorius's other quadruple choir works – *Exultate justi* à 16 and *Decantabat populus Israel* à 20 – are unknown, since there are no surviving pamphlets prints that contain these works. On 351 below, I discuss the possibility that these works may have been composed for civic figures or occasions as well.

sacrae, *Cantiones variae*, or the *Magnificat* transported them from a limited audience in a select ceremonial realm to a broad audience in the larger world of music lovers.

Double-Choir Motets at the Table

Some of Praetorius's *ad placitum* motets really were suitable for quotidian use throughout the church year. Almost all of the motets on psalm texts could function in this manner, and if polyphony really had become a quasi-weekly occurrence in Hamburg's churches by 1608, these works would have been a welcome resource for the Cantor or *Paedagogus* in search of suitable music. The seven-voice *Ecce prandium meum*, added to the *Cantiones* in 1607, would have been appropriate at any Communion service, as its text combined in responsory form two biblical verses frequently taken to refer to the bread and wine of the Eucharist:

> Ecce prandium meum paravi: tauri mei et altilia mactata sunt et omnia parata sunt. Venite ad nuptias [Matthew 22:4]. Alleluia.
> Comedite panem meum et bibite vinum meum quod miscui vobis [Proverbs 9:5]. Venite ad nuptias. Alleluia.
>
> Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready. Come to the marriage. Alleluia.
> Come, eat of my bread, and drink of wine, which I have mingled for you. Come to the marriage. Alleluia.[59]

Perhaps the most quotidian pieces in the *ad placitum* appendix, however, are also the most curious, since they draw attention to an unexpected milieu for the performance of double-choir motets: the home, and the dinner table in particular. A group of five motets added to the edition of 1607, all with identical clefs, systems, and finals, are

[59] The text of Matthew 22:4 set by Praetorius follows Theodore de Beza's Latin translation of the New Testament rather than the Clementine Vulgate, with the exception of the second occurrence of the word "sunt," which may have been added by the composer. Beza's translation was printed alongside that of the Clementine Vulgate in the Hamburg Polyglot Bible (see 205 n. 35 above). The phrase "Comedite panem meum… quod miscui vobis" was the versicle of the Vespers responsory *Homo quidam* for Corpus Christi in *Breviarium ecclesie hamburgensis* (1507), part III, XXXVv and in Matthaeus Ludecus, *Vesperale et Matutinale* (1589), 106r-v. Corpus Christi wast not celebrated in Protestant Hamburg, but pre-Reformation texts from the Corpus Christi offices still provided Protestant composers with material for Communion works.

settings of Latin prayers before and after meals, taken from Georg Major's widely reprinted Latin translations of Luther's *Kleiner Catechismus*: *Oculi omnium* (under the heading *Benedictio Mensæ*, "blessing for the table") and *Dominus Deus benedic* for before meals, with a setting of the *Pater noster* between them; then, for after meals, a *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus* (headed *Gratiarum actio*, "giving of thanks"), a rubric referring back to the *Pater noster*, and an epigrammatic *Gratias agimus tibi*.[60]

The placement of the *Pater noster* between two mealtime prayers seems at first an odd choice. Motets on foundational prayers like the *Pater noster* (and, in the Catholic world, the *Ave Maria*) had typically appeared at the beginnings of sixteenth-century motet collections, reflecting their primacy in catechisms, books of hours, and primers, in which they served as the first texts most people learned to read.[61] Closer examination, however, reveals that Praetorius's ordering of the texts corresponds exactly to the *Benedicite* and *Gratias* sequences prescribed by Luther: first a verse or series of verses from a psalm (Psalm 145:15-16 before meals, 118:1 and Psalm 147:9-11 afterwards), followed by the Lord's Prayer and a brief collect. (Figures 3-2 and 3-3 show these texts as they appear in a bilingual catechism printed in Hamburg in 1584.) The *Pater noster* thus appears here not as a freestanding prayer, but as an adjunct to the customary mealtime prayers; of course, it could also easily be detached from these and performed separately, in the liturgy or elsewhere.

The use of Georg Major's Latin catechism translation situates these works immediately in the educational culture of the Latin school. Major's catechism,

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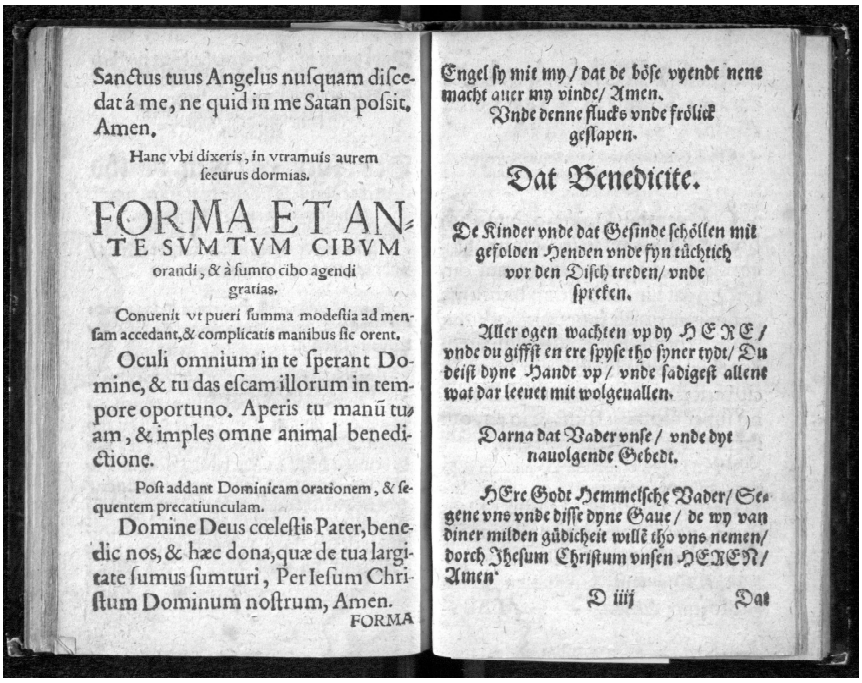
[60] The text of Praetorius's setting of *Domine Deus* is slightly different from the Latin table grace, omitting the words "coelestis Pater" between "Domine Deus" and "benedic."

[61] Several examples are listed in van Orden, "Children's Voices," 224 n. 30.



Sanctus tuus Angelus nuſquam diſcedat á me, ne quid in me Satan poſsit. Amen.

Hanc vbi dixeris, in vtramuis aurem ſecurus dormias.

FORMA ET ANTE SVMTVM CIBVM orandi, & à ſumto cibo agendi gratias.

Conuenit vt pueri ſumma modeſtia ad menſam accedant, & complicatis manibus ſic orent.

Oculi omnium in te ſperant Domine, & tu das eſcam illorum in tempore oportuno. Aperis tu manũ tuam, & imples omne animal benedictione.

Poſt addant Dominicam orationem, & ſequentem precatiunculam.

Domine Deus cœleſtis Pater, benedic nos, & hæc dona, quæ de tua largitate ſumus ſumturi, Per Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum, Amen.

FORMA

Engel ſy mit my / dat de böſe vyende nene macht auer my vinde / Amen.

Vnde denne flucks vnde frölick geſlapen.

Dat Benedicite.

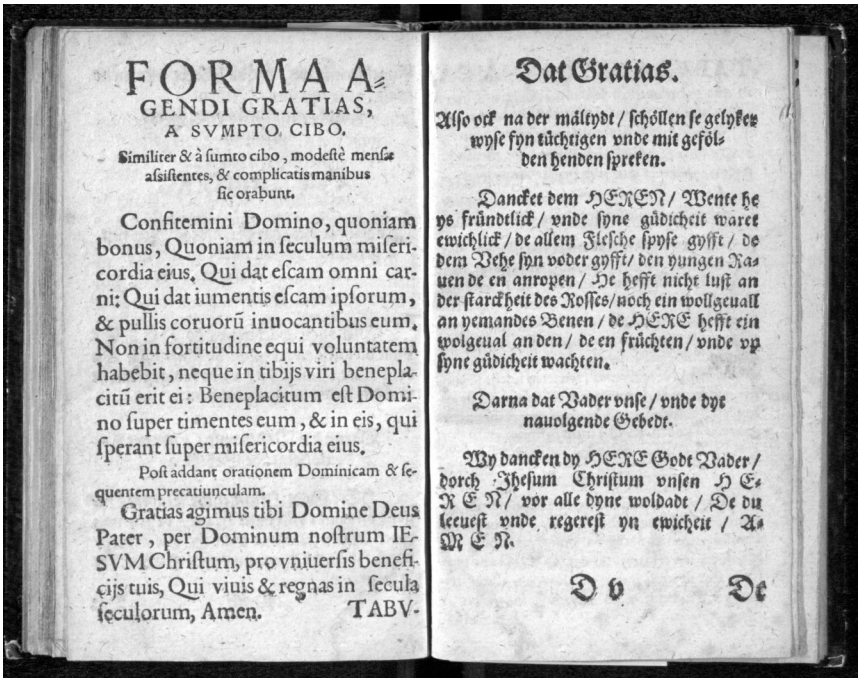
De Kinder vnde dat Geſinde ſchöllen mit gefolden Henden vnde fyn tüchtich vor den Diſch treden / vnde ſpreken.

Aller ogen wachten vp dy HERE / vnde du giffſt en ere ſpyſe tho ſyner tydt / Du deiſt dyne Handt vp / vnde ſadigeſt allent wat dar leeuet mit wolgeuallen.

Darna dat Vader vnſe / vnde dyt nauolgende Gebedt.

HEre Godt Hemmelſche Vader / Segene vns vnde diſſe dyne Gaue / de wy van diner milden güdicheit willẽ tho vns nemen / dorch Jheſum Chriſtum vnſen HEREN / Amen.

D iiij Dat



FORMA AGENDI GRATIAS, A SVMPTO CIBO.

Similiter & à ſumto cibo, modeſtè menſæ aſsiſtentes, & complicatis manibus ſic orabunt.

Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus, Quoniam in ſeculum miſericordia eius. Qui dat eſcam omni carni: Qui dat iumentis eſcam ipſorum, & pullis coruorũ inuocantibus eum. Non in fortitudine equi voluntatem habebit, neque in tibijs viri beneplacitũ erit ei: Beneplacitum eſt Domino ſuper timentes eum, & in eis, qui ſperant ſuper miſericordia eius.

Poſt addant orationem Dominicam & ſequentem precatiunculam.

Gratias agimus tibi Domine Deus Pater, per Dominum noſtrum IESVM Chriſtum, pro vniuerſis beneficijs tuis, Qui viuis & regnas in ſecula ſeculorum, Amen. TABV-

Dat Gratias.

Alſo ock na der mältydt / ſchöllen ſe gelyker wyſe fyn tüchtigen vnde mit gefölden henden ſpreken.

Danckет dem HEREN / Wente he ys fründtlick / vnde ſyne güdicheit ware ewichlick / de allem Fleſche ſpyſe gyfft / de dem Vehe ſyn voder gyfft / den yungen Rauen de en anropen / He hefft nicht luſt an der ſtarckheit des Roſſes / noch ein wollgeuall an yemandes Benen / de HERE hefft ein wolgeual an den / de en früchten / vnde vp ſyne güdicheit wachten.

Darna dat Vader vnſe / vnde dyt nauolgende Gebedt.

Wy dancken dy HERE Godt Vader / dorch Jheſum Chriſtum vnſen HEREN / vor alle dyne woldadt / De du leeueſt vnde regereſt yn ewicheit / AMEN.

D v De

Figure 3-2. Grace before meals, *Catechismus D. Mart. Luth. Düdesch vnde Latinisch* (Hamburg: Hans Binder, 1584), D3v-D4r. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/295.

Figure 3-3. Grace after meals, *Catechismus D. Mart. Luth. Düdesch vnde Latinisch* (Hamburg: Hans Binder, 1584), D4v-D5r. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/295.

originally printed in 1531 in Wittenberg, was widely reprinted throughout Protestant Germany, and quickly became a staple text in the Latin school curriculum, where students were expected to commit it to memory, just as they had the catechism in the vernacular. We have seen in Chapter 1 that the catechism was an important tool for learning literacy and languages, and that translations of familiar German-language devotional or liturgical texts into Latin (or even Greek and Hebrew, as in Elias Hutter's polyglot *Künstlich New ABC Buch* of 1593) helped schoolchildren learn classical languages with the aid of fundamental prayer texts they already knew by heart. Music, of course, was also a staple of Latin school education, and in such a context pieces like Praetorius's table graces would have served to teach literacy in both music and Latin. The seven-voice *Gloria tibi Domine*, which had appeared in the 1599 edition, may have served a similar purpose; its text is a table blessing from St. John Chrysostom quoted in the *Colloquia familiaria* of Erasmus of Rotterdam, a staple Latin school text:

> Gloria tibi Domine, gloria tibi Sancte, gloria tibi Rex, quoniam dedisti nobis escas, imple nos gaudio & laetitia in Spiritu Sancto ut inueniamur in conspectu suo acceptabiles nec pudefiamus quando reddes uni cuique secundum opera sua. Amen.
>
> Glory to thee, O Lord; glory to thee, O thou holy one; glory to thee, O King. As now thou hast given us meat, fill us with joy and gladness in the Holy Spirit, that we may be found acceptable in thy sight nor be shamed when thou renderest to each according to his works.[62]

It is thus possible that Praetorius's settings of table blessings were sung before and after meals at the Johanneum, or even in the home. The Lutheran hymnbook had

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[62] English translation from Craig R. Thompson, ed., *Collected Works of Erasmus,* vol. 39 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 203. The blessing is quoted from St. John Chrysostom, Homily LV on the Gospel of St. Matthew, in *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 58, 545; for an English translation of the Chrysostom, see Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, vol. 10: *Saint Chrysostom: Homilies on the Gospel of Saint Matthew* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), 342.

already made it possible to sing *Dat Benedicite vor dem Dissche* and *Na dem Dissche dath Gratias* in the vernacular, either in unison or in four-voice cantional settings like those of the *Melodeyen-Gesangbuch* of 1604. Motets were commonly sung at mealtimes in Latin schools throughout Germany, and settings of the *Benedicite* and *Gratias* would have been ideal for opening and closing such music-making.[63]

Other composers' settings of the same prayers seem to have been intended for the same purpose. A four-voice setting of the *Gratias agimus tibi* appears in Hans Leo Hassler's *Sacri concentus* (Augsburg, 1601), and Heinrich Schütz's *Cantiones sacrae* (Freiberg, 1625) concludes with the entire Lutheran table grace sequence in Latin, including the *Pater noster*, set for four voices (SWV 88-93). These works reappear in somewhat simplified form with German text (SWV 429-430) in the *Zwölff geistliche Gesänge* (Dresden, 1657).[64] The full title of one of the most famous motet anthologies in German-speaking Europe, Erhard Bodenschatz's *Florilegium portense* (Leipzig, 1618), identifies its contents as having been sung "in the famous Gymnasium at Pforta [now Schulpforte] before and after eating" (*in illustri gymnasio portensi ante et post cibum sumptum*), a practice instituted by Seth Calvisius during his tenure as Cantor.[65] Similar practices flourished elsewhere in Europe, as well, and not only in school settings. In France, wealthy monastics and laypeople alike sang mealtime blessings from *couteaux de bénédicité*, knives engraved each with one voice part of polyphonic settings of the mealtime prayers. The music carved into the

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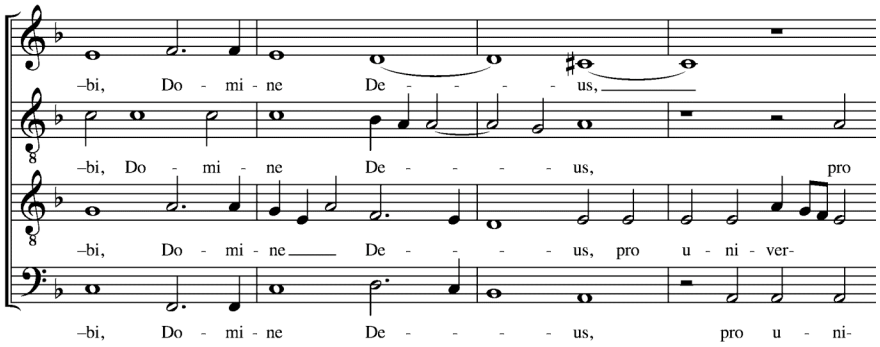
[63] See Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikplege*, 439, 445, 449 n. 307, 539, and 544-5, among others.
[64] The Hassler work is edited in Hans Leo Hassler, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 5-6: *Sacri concentus für vier bis zwölf Stimmen*, ed. Joseph Auer and C. Russell Crosby, Jr. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1961), 18-19. Schütz's Latin graces are edited in Heinrich Schütz, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke,* vol. 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1960), 116-127; the German settings are edited in *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* vol. 7 (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1988), 88-99. See also Basil Smallman, *Schütz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 144.
[65] See Rudolf Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Fr. Kistner & C. F. W. Siegel, 1926), 377, and Otto Riemer, *Erhard Bodenschatz und sein Florilegium portense* (Schöningen: Buch- und Kunstdruckerei Jul. Kaminsky, [1928]), 53-54 and 56-57.

Eglantine Table at Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, including one version of Tallis's *O Lord, in thee is all my trust*, would likewise have lent itself ideally to postprandial music-making sessions with voices and instruments.[66]

Praetorius's double-choir graces contrast markedly with those by Schütz and Hassler, and with the choral prayers carved onto the Eglantine Table and the *couteaux de bénédicité*, all of which are four-voice settings in a largely homophonic cantional style. The choice of eight voices instead of four or five – five being Praetorius's usual minimum in the *Cantiones* – seems an incongruous choice for these basic quotidian texts, because it seems inappropriate to small-scale, "intimate" character associated with domestic music and devotion. Nor are the graces any "simpler" musically than any of Praetorius's other double-choir works, and, indeed, their large texture seems to necessitate a particularly expansive treatment of the text. In Hassler's setting of *Gratias agimus tibi*, for example, the words "Domine Deus" are stated only once in each voice (measures 5-8, Musical Example 3-10). Praetorius's setting of the same text (Musical Example 3-11) repeats the same words antiphonally three times (measures 5-8), as a contrast to the opening tutti on "Gratias agimus tibi" (measures 1-4). Similarly, Hassler's "qui vivis et regnas" is repeated three times in the same rhythm, alternating between high and low voices in a modest imitation of double choir texture (measures 13-16, Musical Example 3-12), while the same text in Praetorius's motet (Musical Example 3-13) becomes fragmented in a way that seems to protract it. First the individual text phrases "qui vivis" (measures 20-22) and "et

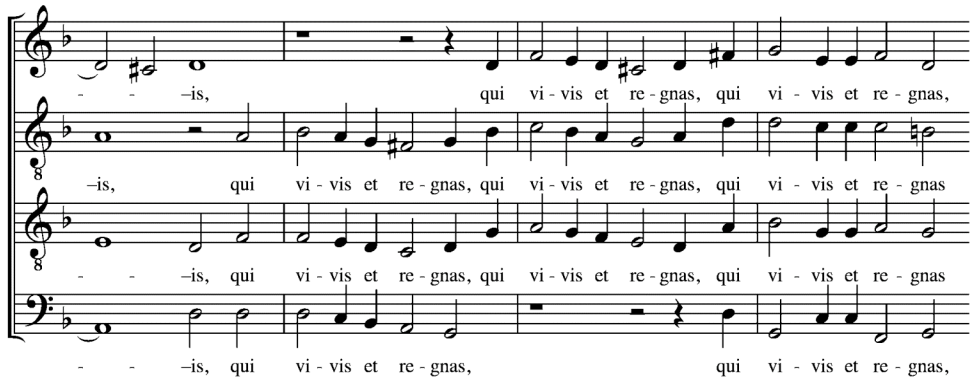
[66] Sébastien Bouvet, "Les couteaux de bénédicité conservés au musée national de la Renaissance," *Musique – Images – Instruments: Revue française d'organologie et d'iconographie musicale* 5 (2003), 138-147, and David Collins, "A 16th-Century Manuscript in Wood: The Eglantine Table at Hardwick Hall," *Early Music* 4:3 (1976), 275-279.

Musical Example 3-10. Hans Leo Hassler, *Gratias agimus tibi* (*Sacri concentus*, 1601), measures 5-8.



Musical Example 3-11. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Gratias agimus tibi* (*Cantiones sacrae*, 1607 and 1622), measures 5-8.

Musical Example 3-12. Hassler, *Gratias agimus tibi*, measures 13-16.



Musical Example 3-13. Praetorius, *Gratias agimus tibi*, measures 20-27.

regnas" are handed back and forth antiphonally; then they are combined into a syncopated black-note figure that is exchanged between choirs five times (measures 24-29). In all, Hassler's less elaborate text setting makes his motet seem much more compact than Praetorius's, even though the former is only five breves shorter than the latter.

The contrast with Schütz's concise, almost entirely syllabic settings is even greater. Schütz's setting of the first part of the *Gratias*, *Confitemini Domino* (*Dancket dem Herren*, from the *Zwölff Geistliche Gesänge*) is only 21 breves long, purely homophonic in texture, and devoid of text repetition. Praetorius, in contrast, spins the same four psalm verses out into a free-standing 63-breve motet with plentiful text repetitions (for example, "qui sperant" in bar 41) and a brief switch to triple meter on "invocantibus eum" (measures 14-21). Most of the text repetitions arise from the antiphonal exchange that is so characteristic of double-choir writing.

Praetorius's table graces may be occasional works as well, though like so many of the *ad placitum* works published in the *Cantiones sacrae*, their original occasion is unknown. Every year at Pentecost, the eminent patrician family of van Sprekelsen held a large banquet, a practice instituted in the early sixteenth century by the *Bürgermeister* Johann van Sprekelsen (in office 1512-1517/8), though there is no surviving documentation to suggest what music, if any, was performed at these *Pingsthögen*, as they were called.[67] Another possibility, given that Praetorius's table graces were published in his second edition of 1607, is that the double-choir table graces were composed for the visit of the Danish king in 1603, perhaps at one of the

[67] Buek, *Genealogische und biographische Notizen*, 21. Johann van Sprekelsen's son Peter was also a Bürgermeister (in office 1538-1553), whose son Vincent was one of the *Oberalte* (churchwardens who served as representatives to the city council) from 1603 to his death in 1609; see Buek, *Genealogische und biographische Notizen*, 21-23.

banquets held in the king's honor the evening after the ceremony of homage. Previous visits of Danish kings had also featured large, elaborate banquets, at which courtiers and city folk mingled freely; during the visit of Christian III in 1538, for example, banqueting and dancing took place almost every evening at the Eimbecksches Haus, which was then home to the city council's brewery and wine cellar.[68] In most chroniclers' accounts of both king's visits, there is no mention of dinner music, though musicians must have been present in order to play for the dancing that followed. Once again, however, Loncius's verse chronicle describes with rhapsodic detail the fine music, both vocal and instrumental, heard at the festive banquet:

> Was hört man da vor Seitenspiel /
> Orpheus nicht dabey gleichen wil:
> Noch der Syrenen süsse stim /
> Dardurch sie manch Schiff reissen hin.
> Der semptlichen *Musarum*-Chor /
> Glaub ich / sich hat versamlet hier.
> Die Berghawr fröliche Geselln /
> Sich auch zu dieser Freud einstelln /
> Viel schöner Bergreyn lassen sie hörn /
> Als Nachtigaln sie quinckelirn.
>
> Orpheus himself could not equal
> The string music heard there,
> Nor the sweet voice of the Sirens,
> With which they destroyed many a ship.
> The whole choir of the Muses,
> I think, [must] have gathered here.
> The miners, merry companions,
> Also joined in the joy;
> They let many beautiful mine songs be heard,
> They lilted like nightingales.[69]

[68] Compare, for example, the account of a banquet for Christian III in the mid-sixteenth-century chronicle of the brewer Berndt Gyseke, reprinted in Johann Martin Lappenberg, *Hamburgische Chroniken in niedersächsischer Sprache* (Hamburg: Perthes, Besser und Mauke, 1861), 155.
[69] Loncius, *Historischer begrieff*, B3v.

The only specific repertoire mentioned by Loncius is that of the *Bergreihen* (*Bergreyen*, *Bergkreyen*), German-texted songs in imitation of miners' dance songs from the Erzgebirge of Saxony, but one also can imagine the "choir of the Muses" singing polyphonic graces at the beginning and end of the meal, perhaps those by Praetorius.[70] These double-choir prayers would have opened and closed the royal feast in a particularly festive manner, and would also, as settings of Luther's table graces, have affirmed the king's adherence to the Lutheran confession, as well as the confessional commonality between his realm and the city of Hamburg.[71]

Yet the double-choir texture of Praetorius's graces does not necessarily render them impractical for performance at school or at home. Latin school children were well accustomed to the double-choir antiphonal recitation of psalms during the daily liturgy and of the Catechism before Sunday Mass, and the fact that about three-quarters of the settings in the *Florilegium Portense* are for eight voices suggests that such music was frequently performed in at least one Latin school.[72] In any case, the plainchant intonations in the *Cantus* parts of the psalm verse settings and the *Pater noster* are intended for performance by boys, following the practice ubiquitous in Lutheran service books of the period. Nor did the large scale of double-choir music necessarily preclude its enjoyment in the home; a large and well-educated family with several young sons of Latin school age could have rendered Praetorius's *Benedictio*

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[70] The *Bergreihen* sung at this banquet may have included selections from Melchior Franck, *Musicalischer Bergkreyen / in welchen allweg der Tenor zuvorderst intonirt, in contrpuncto colorato auff vier Stim[men] gesetzt* (Nuremberg: Catharina Dieterich, 1602; RISM A/I F1642), though the repertoire had been largely monodic and improvisatory in the previous century; see John H. Baron, "Bergreihen," in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02803 (accessed June 23, 2009). One copy of Franck's collection survives in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, where it is bound with a copy of Praetorius's *Magnificat octo vocum* (1602) and several other works dated 1600-1602, under the shelfmark Scrin A/588. On the instrumental music that may have been performed during the king's visit, see Arne Spohr, *"How Chances It They Travel?" Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland, 1579-1630*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, vol. 145 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 250-266.

[71] Compare the marginal note in Loncius, *Historischer begrieff*, B2v: "Die Lutherische Lehr haben Beyde Herren [Christian IV and Duke Johann Adolph] Insonderheit zugesaget zubeschützen und hand zu haben."

[72] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 166-177.

mensæ, Pater noster, and *Gratiarum actio* at the table, with instruments, voices, or both. Indeed, the ability to sing polyphony in Latin might not have been limited to boys and men, as is hinted at in an intriguing passage in Erasmus Sartorius's *Belligerasmus* (Hamburg, 1622): "In this [legion of singers of polyphony, marching to war against singers of monophony] you would have found people of every age and sex: the impotent, eunuchs, boys, girls, adolescents, youths, married men, and old folks."[73]

In a home setting, all eight parts may not even have been necessary. One of Praetorius's own double-choir compositions figures in this context in a family portrait of 1640 by the Dutch painter Hendrick van Vliet (*Portret familie van der Dussen*, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft, shown in Figure 3-4).[74] The father and two sons, standing on the left side of the painting, are clearly engaged in making music. The younger son and his father hold recorders, the elder son a partbook, and the father gestures toward an open partbook facing the younger son, as if he is about to advise him on his playing. However, they are rehearsing a double-choir motet: Hieronymus Praetorius's Michaelmas motet *Factum est silentium* (St. Michael being the patron saint of the father of the family, Michael van der Dussen). The heading *In festo S. Michaelis* and the notation are clearly visible in two open partbooks facing the viewer: the *Quinta Vox* part held by the elder son, and a *Bassus* part resting on the other side of the lectern that faces the younger son; the heading *Altus* can be seen on a

[73] "In hac reperisses omnium ætatum omnesque sexus homines, spadones, Eunuchos, pueros, puellas, adolescentes, juvenes, viros, senes." Erasmus Sartorius, *Belligerasmus, id est Historia Belli Exorti in regno Musico; in qua Liberalis, & non tetrici Ingenij lector inveniet quod tam prodesse, quam delectare possit* (Hamburg: Heinrich Carstens, 1622), 72. Translation mine.
[74] I thank Frederick Gable for bringing this intriguing painting to my attention.

Figure 3-4. Hendrick van Vliet, *Portret familie van der Dussen* (1640). Image courtesy of the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft.

corner of the page held by the younger boy.[75] The father and sons are clearly not playing (or singing) all eight parts of the piece; even if the mother and two elder daughters were playing or singing with them, the eight-voice texture would not have been complete. Still, the six other recorders resting on the chair at the far left indicate that a full texture could be possible given enough players.

Granted, the painter's objective in showing the music is not so much to depict an actual family music-making session than to identify the father, and to draw attention to the family's Catholic confession by way of reference to a patron saint

[75] Though the music painted by van Vliet is identifiable as Praetorius's motet, the layout shown on the page openings do not correspond to any of his monographic prints, though one suspects that that level of verisimilitude was not the painter's first priority. I thank Frederik Gable for this information.

with the words *In Festo S. Michaelis*.[76] Still, the depiction of an eight-voice motet in such a context is an interesting choice. By van Vliet's time, the newest music was in soloistic, concerted genres, the smallest of which might seem more ideal for two recorder-playing youths than a double-choir motet. Still, collections of older *stile antico* polyphony remained popular into the late seventeenth century and beyond; reprints of Arcadelt's *Primo libro de' madrigali* (first published in Venice in 1538) appeared well into the mid-seventeenth century, and Bodenschatz's *Florilegium portense* remained a standard musical compendium in Latin schools even in J. S. Bach's time; and the other collection depicted in van Vliet's painting, lying on the ground by the younger son's foot, is an early seventeenth-century madrigal anthology, *Nervi d'Orfeo* (Leiden, 1609).[77] And even before the advent of concerted styles, collections of music for reduced textures had long provided material for domestic and pedagogical music-making; such prints included Susato's collections of two- and three-voice chanson arrangements (*Premier livre*, 1544, and *Tiers livre*, 1552), Georg Rhau's *Tricinia* (1542) and *Bicinia* (1545, two volumes), Lassus's *Novae aliquot et ante hac non ita usitatae cantiones suavissimae* (Munich, 1577), and Friedrich Lindner's *Bicinia sacra… in usum iuventutis scholasticae collecta* (Nuremberg, 1591).[78] Moreover, large-scale polyphonic works could be performed by individual musicians in the form of instrumental intabulations; some players of

[76] The crucifix atop the cupboard behind the younger son, flanked by statues of the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, is another indication of the family's Catholicism. See Eddy de Jongh, "Muziek en schilderkunst," in *Een Muziekgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, edited by Louis Peter Grijp (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), 261.
[77] RISM B/I 1605^{9}.
[78] RISM A/I S7238, S 7239, RISM B/I 1542^{8}, 1545^{6}, and 1545^{7}, RISM A/I L902, and RISM B/I 1591^{27}, respectively. On the two- and three-voice chansons published by Susato and their possible uses, see Kate van Orden, "Tielman Susato, Music, and the Cultures of Print," in *Tielman Susato and the Music of His Time: Print Culture, Compositional Technique and Instrumental Music in the Renaissance*, edited by Keith Polk (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2005), 143-163.

chordal instruments could actually read from several partbooks at once.[79] It is thus worth considering the possibility that van Vliet's depiction of Praetorius's motet may accord with a similar practice of reduced-scale domestic music making, albeit one that simply extracted individual parts from a full-sized work – something the partbook format itself would have made possible. If so, early-modern "music for the home" may not necessarily have been limited to smaller textures, and could even have included, to a limited extent, large works like Praetorius's St. Michael motet and table graces.

Motets by Jacob Praetorius in the *Cantiones sacrae*

The three motets by Jacob Praetorius that appeared in the 1607 editon of his father's *Cantiones* are interesting for the gray area they occupy between this section and the church year portion of the collection: the five-voice *Surge* propera, the six-voice Gaudete *omnes*, and the eight-voice *Veni in hortum meum*.[80] Two of the three motets by Jacob appear twice in the index, under liturgical headings as well in the *ad placitum* section (Figure 3-5), once again illustrating the resistance of some works to easy categorization: *Gaudete omnes* is assigned to Advent, and *Surge propera* to the Visitation.[81] Hieronymus had already set both these texts, and his settings are placed in the appropriate areas of the church year portion of the book, while all three of Jacob's pieces are placed in the *ad placitum* appendix, grouped with other pieces of the same number of voices.

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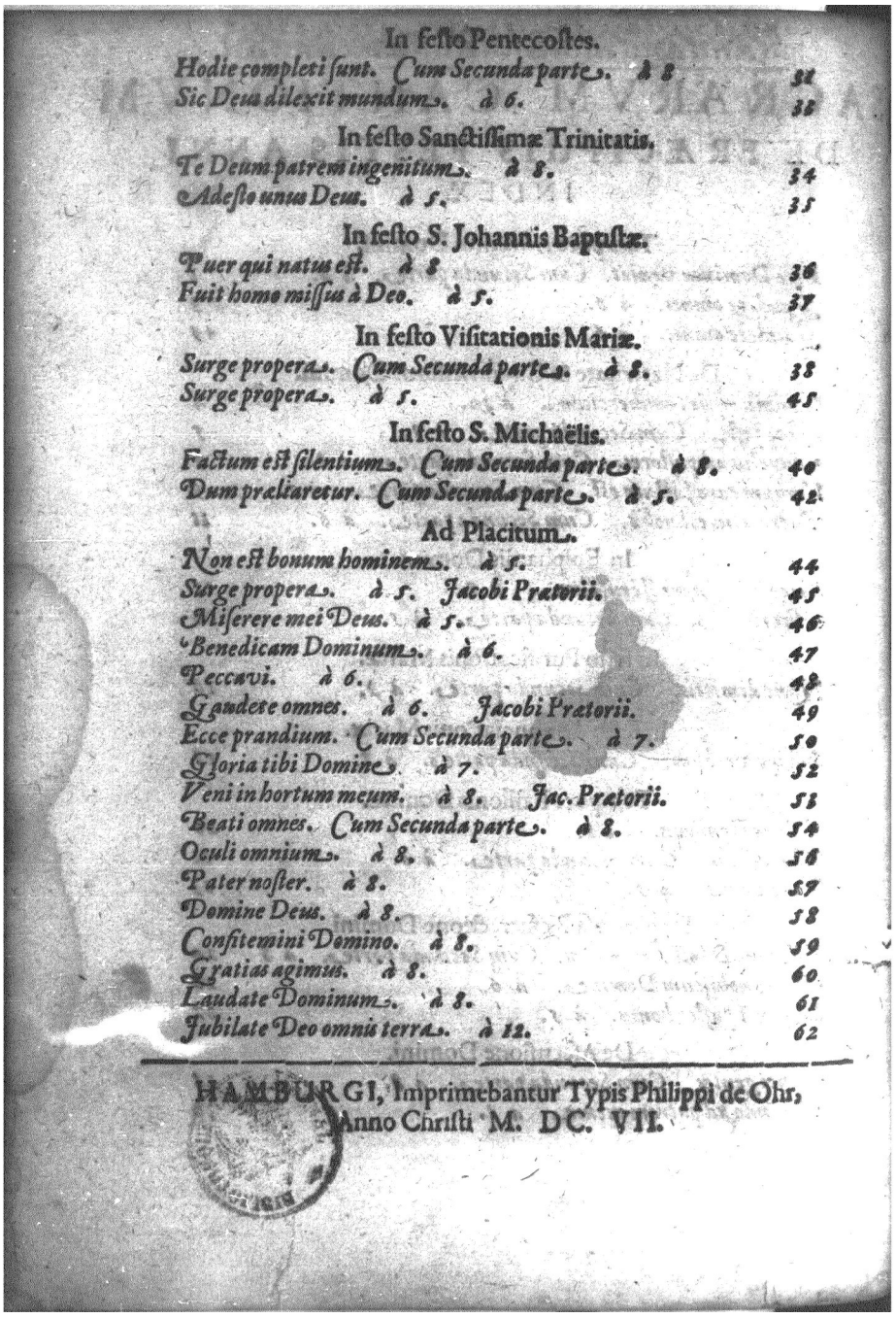
[79] See, for example, Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 49.
[80] These three motets are edited in RRMBE vol. 73, 23-28, 6-11, and 12-22, respectively.
[81] Note that Hieronymus's setting of *Surge propera* is assigned only to the feast of the Visitation. *Veni in hortum meum* is given a liturgical heading of its own – *In omnibus Festiuitatibus Beatæ Mariæ* – in the index of the Antwerp edition of the eight-voice motets from *Cantiones sacrae* (1622).



In festo Pentecostes.

Hodie completi sunt. Cum Secunda parte. à 8. 31
Sic Deus dilexit mundum. à 6. 32

In festo Sanctissimæ Trinitatis.

Te Deum patrem ingenitum. à 8. 34
Adesto unus Deus. à 5. 35

In festo S. Johannis Baptistæ.

Puer qui natus est. à 8 36
Fuit homo missus à Deo. à 5. 37

In festo Visitationis Mariæ.

Surge propera. *Cum Secunda parte.* à 8. 38
Surge propera. à 5. 45

In festo S. Michaëlis.

Factum est silentium. *Cum Secunda parte.* à 8. 40
Dum praliaretur. *Cum Secunda parte.* à 5. 42

Ad Placitum.

Non est bonum hominem. à 5. 44
Surge propera. à 5. *Jacobi Pratorii.* 45
Miserere mei Deus. à 5. 46
Benedicam Dominum. à 6. 47
Peccavi. à 6. 48
Gaudete omnes. à 6. *Jacobi Pratorii.* 49
Ecce prandium. *Cum Secunda parte.* à 7. 50
Gloria tibi Domine. à 7. 52
Veni in hortum meum. à 8. *Jac. Pratorii.* 53
Beati omnes. *Cum Secunda parte.* à 8. 54
Oculi omnium. à 8. 56
Pater noster. à 8. 57
Domine Deus. à 8. 58
Confitemini Domino. à 8. 59
Gratias agimus. à 8. 60
Laudate Dominum. à 8. 61
Jubilate Deo omnis terra. à 12. 62

HAMBURGI, Imprimebantur Typis Philippi de Ohr,
Anno Christi M. DC. VII.

Figure 3-5. Index of Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* (Hamburg: Philipp von Ohr, 1607), Bassus partbook, L2v. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MUS-860 (5); used with permission. Note the attribution of Jacob Praetorius's motets in the *Ad placitum* index, and the absence of an attribution for Jacob's *Surge propera* (no. 45) when listed under the rubric *In Festo Visitationis Mariae.*

Two explanations suggest themselves for this treatment of Jacob's motets, though neither is fully satisfactory. The first is based on the practical concerns of printing and typesetting. As we have seen, the 1607 edition of the *Cantiones sacrae* had a large number of newly added works by both Hieronymus and Jacob; it would save labor for the printer to place as many of the new additions as possible in the appendix, rather than throughout the collection. Rather than reworking the page layout of the entire volume, he would only have to rework that of the appendix, andcould follow the layout of the previous edition in the rest of the book. This seems a likely explanation for the placement of *Miserere mei Deus* – also new to the 1607 edition – in the *ad placitum* appendix as well, despite the obvious appropriateness of its text for Lent and Passiontide. It does not, however, agree with the appearance of the equally new *O admirabile commercium* in the Christmas section, for the addition of this single motet early in the book subsequently required that all the rest of the motets be cast off anew (see Table 2-2).

The second explanation is that Jacob's three motets may owe their *ad placitum* classification to the original occasions of their composition. *Surge propera* and *Veni in hortum meum*, with their texts based on the Song of Songs, may have originally been composed as a wedding motets, and, indeed, *Veni in hortum meum* concludes in a particularly convivial mood: "Eat, friends, and drink and get drunk, my dearest ones" (*comedite amici et bibite et inebriamini carissimi*).[82] Since other wedding motets appear in Praetorius's *ad placitum* appendix (*Non est bonum hominem* à 5 and *Beati omnes qui timent Dominum* à 8), Jacob's setting of *Surge*

[82] Song of Songs 5:1; translation from RRMBE vol. 73, xxiii. Unfortunately, there is no record of pamphlet prints containing *Surge propera* or *Veni in hortum meum*.

propera is as much at home in this appendix as it would have been beside his father's setting in the Visitation section of the book. In this light, the difference between a *Surge propera* setting in the appendix and one under the Visitation heading may simply have been the difference between a motet written for a wedding and one written for a particular feast in the church year.

However, Jacob's third motet, *Gaudete omnes*, seems to contradict this possibility. Its text is from a pre-Reformation antiphon for the first Sunday in Advent (albeit one not appearing in sources from Hamburg):

> Gaudete omnes et lætamini, quia ecce desideratus advenit. Introite in conspectu eius in exultatione. Scitote quoniam ipse es expectatio nostra. Alleluia.
>
> Rejoice, all, and be glad; for behold, the desired one comes. Enter into his presence with rejoicing; know that he is our expectation. Alleluia.[83]

Jacob and Hieronymus Praetorius had both employed pre-Reformation liturgical texts for other congratulatory motets; one example is Jacob's eight-voice *Vidi speciosam*, written for the wedding of his sister in 1615, which takes its text from an antiphon for the feast of the Assumption. Still, it is harder to imagine an extra-liturgical occasion for which *Gaudete omnes* would have been appropriate. While a bridegroom or dignitary might be called a "desired one," the phrases "Enter into his presence with rejoicing" and "know that he is our expectation" both paraphrase psalm verses that refer specifically to God: "Come before his presence with singing; know ye that the Lord he is God" (*Introite in conspectu eius in exultatione: scitote quoniam Dominus, ipse est Deus*, Psalm 100:2-3). The concluding *Alleluia*, a word generally reserved

[83] Translation mine.

for rejoicing of a sacred nature, further decreases the likelihood that Jacob's motet ever served as a congratulatory piece for some mortal, contemporary "desired one."

In this case, the placement of Jacob's works in the *ad placitum* section seems in no way to reflect the occasions for which they were intended. It is Praetorius's index that contains this information instead, assigning *Gaudete omnes* to Advent and *Surge propera* to the Visitation. Instead, *ad placitum* functions here as a catchall category, in which works of a secondary composer could be classed alongside miscellaneous works by the primary composer of a collection. This hearkened to a the longstanding tradition of what Giulio Ongaro has called "pseudo-anthologies," single-author musical collections that nevertheless included at least one addition by another composer to fill out the collection.[84] Jacob's works, however, seem to have been more than filler, for they are not grouped at the end of his father's collection, but spread throughout the *ad placitum* section, conforming to the ordering by number of voices. However, they served to round out Hieronymus's collection in another way: by showing off the recent compositions of a son who was already making a name for himself in Hamburg's musical life. In 1607 Jacob was an accomplished young man of twenty-one who had studied organ with Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck in Amsterdam, contributed nine chorale settings to the *Melodeyen-Gesangbuch*, served as organist at St. Petri for three years, and had already published at least one occasional motet.[85]

Jacob's presence in the *Cantiones sacrae* recalled several other familial and intergenerational music prints of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, among

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[84] Giulio M. Ongaro, "Venetian Printed Anthologies of Music in the 1560s and the Role of the Editor," in *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing*, edited by Hans Lenneberg (Lausanne: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 44. See also Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*, 16.

[85] The six-voice *Cæcilia virgo* (1601), now lost, whose details are given in Appendix 2, no. 1. This publication is not listed in Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon*.

them *Teutsche Psalmen* (Munich, 1588) of Orlando and Rudolph Lassus, the five-part *Cantiones ab Orlando di Lasso et huius filio Ferdinando di Lasso* (Munich, 1597), the three-part *Scherzi musicali di Claudio Monteverde, raccolti da Giulio Cesare Monteverde suo fratello* (Venice, 1607), and the pamphlets containing wedding motets by Hieronymus Praetorius and one or more of his sons.[86] In many of these collections, as in Hieronymus's *Cantiones sacrae*, the elder family member is cast as the principal author. For instance, Rudolph de Lassus is not named on the title page of the three-part *Teutsche Psalmen*, even though he composed about half of its contents; and Giulio Cesare Monteverdi, Claudio's younger brother, is named on the title page not as an author but as a collector, even though he contributed two of the *scherzi* to their joint collection.[87] Often, but not always, the works of the older composers preceded the works of the younger family members; though the two Lassus collections named above alternate between works by Orlando and either Ferdinand or Rudolph, Hieronymus's contributions invariably came first in the wedding pamphlets he composed with his sons, while Giulio Cesare's two *scherzi* are placed in the antepenultimate and penultimate positions in the collection. Such arrangements no doubt reflected the real differences in age and status that existed between younger and elder members of the same family, especially between fathers and sons, but also mobilized the familiar "pseudo-anthology" format to advertise the musical riches of entire families.

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[86] RISM B/I 588^{12}, 1597^{3}, 1607^{21}, and Appendix 2, no. 7, 10, 11, 14, and 17, respectively.

[87] *Deh, chi tace il bel pensiero* (no. 16 of 18) and *Dispiegate, guance amate* (no. 17), edited in Claudio Monteverdi, *Scherzi musicali a tre voci (1607)*, edited by Frank Dobbins, Claudio Monteverdi: Opera omnia, vol. 7 (Cremona: Fondazione Claudio Monteverdi, 2002), 144-148 and 149-151. These are actually the last of the *scherzi* in the collection, as the final place is occupied by a lengthy *balletto*, *De la bellezza le dovute lodi* (152-164).

In this light, the removal of Jacob's *Surge propera* from the 1622 edition of the *Cantiones sacrae*, and its replacement with a setting by Hieronymus, is somewhat puzzling. Certainly Jacob's motet was not eliminated because of any disagreement between him and his father, for Hieronymus could as easily have "pulled" all three of Jacob's motets from the new edition. The issue may have been one of redundancy. If Hieronymus's setting had begun as a wedding motet printed in pamphlet form at some point between the *Cantiones variae* of 1618 (itself already a substantial repository of occasional works) and the third edition of the *Cantiones sacrae* in 1622, its logical placement in the latter collection would be with the five-voice works in the *ad placitum* appendix. Yet this section in the previous edition already contained a five-voice *Surge propera* setting by Jacob, with tonal characteristics (G final, *mollis* system, and high clefs) identical to his father's motet.[88] Hieronymus' may have replaced Jacob's setting simply because it was newer, though Hieronymus's seniority may also have influenced the choice. After all, the *Cantiones* of 1622 was the first volume of Hieronymus's *Opus musicum* proper, and the composer no doubt wished to include as many of his recent works as possible in this new edition of his collected works, as the addition of two other new motets (*Exultate Deo* à 6 and *Laudate pueri Dominum* à 10) attests.

Finally, musical quality may also have played a part in the decision. Hieronymus's setting (edited in Appendix 3, no. 1) is by far richer than Jacob's in rhythmic and declamatory variety. The rapid-fire, canon-like imitation at the beginning, with its sharply chiseled melodic jump to the fifth and then the octave on

[88] The 1622 *Cantiones sacrae* still contained two six-voice settings of *Gaudete omnes* by father and son as well, though because of their placement in two different sections of the book, they were separated from each other by several pages.

the syllables "Sur-ge pro-," sets a particularly festive tone, with the alternation between G and D harmonies creating a bell-like effect reminiscent of Ludwig Senfl's *Gling glang* (*Das Gläut zu Speyer*, 1534). One especially striking moment in Hieronymus's setting is a lengthy *fusa* melisma on the word "flores," which first moves alternately upward and downward through the polyphonic texture (measures 24-27), then gives way to syllabic motion in semiminims on the words "apparuerunt" and "in terra nostra" (measures 28-32) and eventually resolves to the jubilant homophony of the second of three triple-meter sections (measures 33-38).

In contrast, Jacob's setting of 1607 is more homogeneous and understated, lacking such bouts of exuberance.[89] It is in duple meter (cut-C) throughout, moving almost entirely in minims and semiminims. Beyond the semiminim and fusa melismas on the opening "Surge" and closing "advenit," the text setting is almost exclusively syllabic, and the texture is chiefly homophonic with only slight imitative "ruffling" in some areas. In addition, some of the textual repetition in Jacob's setting borders on the tiresome; the two adjacent text phrases "iam hiems transit" (measures 9-15) and "imber abiit" (measures 16-21) are repeated no fewer than five times each (Musical Example 3-14). Several of these differences are only to be expected when comparing music by two composers of widely varying ages and levels of experience. Jacob in 1607, despite his talents, was a young man who had composed just a few motets. Hieronymus in 1622, however, was a celebrated and well-respected musician in his sixties who had produced several collections of polyphony, and who was quite adept at producing impressive motets like *Surge propera* on demand. The inclusion of his exuberant new setting in the 1622 *Cantiones* thus did more than bring the *Opus*

[89] For the music of this motet, see RRMBE vol. 73, 23-28.

Musical Example 3-14. Jacob Praetorius, *Surge propera*à 5 (1607), measures 9-21.

musicum up to date; it and the other added works also advertised Hieronymus's continued competence as a composer of festive, high-quality music for all occasions.

Conclusion

The *ad placitum* categories and appendices found in Praetorius's *Cantiones* and contemporary collections bear witness to the versatility of the motet genre in early seventeenth-century Germany. Motets were at home in the church, the school, and the home; they were performable by almost any combination of voices or instruments; they moved easily among the realms of liturgy, civic ceremony, and pure recreation. Precisely because of this diversity, however, the books in which they

have come down to us – Hieronymus Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae* being the principal example from Hamburg in this period – do not always provide reliable information on the cultural functions of the music they contain. The conventional distinction between church year motets and *ad placitum* categories is especially deceptive. Among the motets for feast days, as we have seen, there were pieces equally well suited for other uses, and some *ad placitum motets*, like Jacob Praetorius's *Gaudete omnes*, actually had their own liturgical designations. Conversely, *ad placitum* emerges as much more than a miscellaneous category for "general use" pieces. It and similar categorizations helped preserve for posterity the occasional motets that were so essential to the livelihood of the early-modern North German city musician, and which, as we will see, proved to be instrumental in cementing the reputation of the Praetorius family.

The occasional works in the *ad placitum* section also link the *Cantiones sacrae* and similar collections with longstanding traditions of early modern musical patronage. The placement of congratulatory works at the end of the collection hearkens back to the practice of placing works expressly addressed to wealthy patrons at the beginning or end of partbook collections. Several excellent examples of this practice can be found among the collections of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: the fifth and final part of Pietro Giovanelli's *Thesaurus musicus* (Venice, 1568), devoted to motets in praise of the Emperor Maximilian II and his family; several of Lassus's motet collections, most notably his *Il primo libro de mottetti* (Antwerp, 1556); and the first part of Dulichius's *Centuria* (1607), which

opens with a wedding motet for the Duke of Stettin, the collections's dedicatee.[90] At the same time, the lack of any reference to the occasions or dedicatees of Praetorius's motets contrasts with the practice exemplified by these prints – as does the fact that two of Praetorius's five collections consist almost exclusively of works of this type, as we have seen in the previous chapter. The material differences between partbooks and occasional pamphlets may provide a partial explanation: music in pamphlets was cast as a gift to the dedicatees named prominently on the title page, while the same music printed in a monographic partbook collection like the *Cantiones sacrae*, stripped of any reference to its original occasion, was instead an advertisement of its composer. The growing popularity of musical pamphlets in the seventeenth century – among the most distinctively North German genres of printed music – may have intensified this view of the partbook collection as genre, a point I shall explore further in the following chapter.

Furthermore, even those of Praetorius's *ad placitum* pieces that seem to be the most truly quotidian suggest rather surprising possible milieux for the performance of polychoral motets, and so invite reevaluation of the polychoral idiom in general. Praetorius's motets on the graces before and after meals occupy a distinctive place in contemporary traditions of polyphonic mealtime singing that have left traces on knife blades and on tabletops as well as in books. Even if they had begun their life as works for distinguished civic or princely banquets, these works hint that the polychoral idiom was not necessarily reserved exclusively for high feasts and wealthy patrons; the singing of motets in school settings as postprandial entertainment bears

[90] The practice extended also to prints of secular music. One excellent example from the chanson repertoire is Tielman Susato's *Vingt et six chansons musicales* (Antwerp, 1543; RISM B/I 1543[15]), dedicated to Queen Mary of Hungary and concluding with the five-voice chanson *Puis qu'en Janvier*, written to celebrate the Emperor's entry into Brussels after his victory in Tunisia. See van Orden, "Tielman Susato, Music, and the Cultures of Print," 153-154.

this out. Nor can we rule out the possibility that double-choir works like Praetorius's graces were performed in the home; they were, after all, musical renditions of devotional texts that were spoken and sung daily in the households of the faithful.

Finally, the example of the *Cantiones sacrae* and its *ad placitum* appendix invite some reflections on the relationship of the motet genre to the motet book, and, more generally, on the limitations of studying music's cultural work by way of the prints themselves. This is not to suggest that printed sources are outright unreliable as registers of cultural practices, nor to question the now-famous dictum that material form in which texts appear influences their perceived meaning. Indeed, my notion of *ad placitum* motets is predicated on the supposition that the placement of these works in a specific section of the book either influenced or was influenced by the circumstances of their performance; this was certainly true for motets assigned to feast days and Sundays.[91] Yet because these works often overstepped the boundaries set for them by the organization of books, any study of their cultural function must not take material evidence at face value. Nor does this apply only to motets: any attempt at recovering the practices associated with music transmitted in books must look beyond the evidence of the title page, rubrics, headings, and index, and beyond the "bookish" categories into which music was packaged for easy consumption. The diversity and popularity of motets particularly complicates their relationship to the books, pamphlets, and fragments in which they have come down to us; and although several scholars have addressed the issue of the diverse cultural functions of motets,

[91] Compare Borgerding, "The Motet and Spanish Religiosity," 10-12.

much remains to be written on the relationship of motet function to the material forms in which they motets were transmitted.

With this in mind, we might regard the practices of assigning motets to feast days by way or rubrics, indices, or sections as ways to set bounds on the appropriate uses of this notoriously protean genre, even as *ad placitum* groupings recognized milieux for the performance of motets beyond liturgy and devotion. The organization of Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae* by the feasts of the church year acknowledged the practice in Hamburg of reserving polyphony for high feast days; like Kortkamp's praise of Praetorius's motets for "inspir[ing] devotion and adorn[ing] the liturgy," it expressed a cultural expectation that motets were principally intended for performance in church. Yet, by juxtaposing its central ordering scheme with a section of more miscellaneous works, Praetorius's collection – and others similarly organized – also admitted the impossibility of assigning every single work to a feast. In contrast, Praetorius's later and more miscellaneous collections, organized not by liturgical season but simply by number of voices, appear as more than collected editions of his works – they acknowledged the ever-expanding cultural utility of motets beyond the church, but also abandoned any attempt to categorize or regulate them.

CHAPTER 4: "VENUS'S CUPID COMMANDS ME TO SING": JACOB PRAETORIUS AND WEDDING MOTETS IN HAMBURG

Compared to that of his father, Hieronymus, Jacob Praetorius's output of vocal music was quite modest, as was his career in musical print. While Hieronymus published about one hundred motets in his *Opus musicum*, along with six Masses and nine Magnificat settings, we know of only eleven motets by his son, which are listed in Table 4-1. Besides these works, Jacob contributed nine chorale settings to the *Melodeyen-Gesangbuch* of 1604 (his father contributed twenty-one), ten continuo songs to Johann Rist's *Neüer Himlischer Lieder Sonderbahres Buch* (Lüneburg, 1651), and composed a few assorted works for solo voices and continuo. Yet he never produced any collections of polyphonic works, much less a complete-works edition in multiple volumes.[1] Although many of the prints containing Jacob Praetorius's wedding compositions no longer survive and are known only through secondary sources, the music has come down to us by way of transcriptions made in the nineteenth century by Gustav Fock and Robert Eitner, and has been edited by Frederick Gable.[2]

Despite its modest proportions, Jacob's production of polyphony was in many ways more typical than his father's. At least eight of his surviving motets are wedding motets, composed for the weddings of family and friends, and printed in the

[1] Frederick Gable has remarked that Jacob's own professional priorities as an organist may have kept him focused on performing and teaching rather than on composing motets; see the introduction to RRMBE vol. 73, ix-x. Even Jacob's complete surviving organ works are vastly outnumbered by those of his father, suggesting that he achieved most of his fame as a performer rather than as a composer.

[2] RRMBE vol. 73. Eitner provides detailed bibliographic descriptions of several of the lost prints in "Jacob Praetorius und seine Familie." Another wedding motet by Jacob Praetorius, a second five-voice *Surge propera* that is not mentioned in Eitner's article, actually survives in its original pamphlet form: *Harmonia sacra, in honorem Nuptiarum Ornatissimi et Integerrimi Viri-Juvenis Dn. Jacobi Stoeven Civis Hamburgensis Sponsi; Cum Lectissima et Pudicissima Virgine Cornelia, Viri itidem ornatissimi & honestissimi Petri von der Mylen filia, Sponsâ. Quinque vocibus concinnata & dedicata a Jacobo Prætorio H.F. Organista ad D. Petri* (Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1611), Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, Mus W 235. See RRMBE vol. 73, viii.

Table 4-1. Known motets by Jacob Praetorius II (1586-1651). All were printed singly as occasional pamphlets except the three works of 1607. For bibliographical information on the pamphlet works, see corresponding entries in Appendix 2.

Year	Title	No. of Voices	Edition	Notes
1601	*Caecilia virgo*	6	LOST	See Appendix 2, no. 1
1606	*Quam pulchra es*	5	RRMBE vol. 73, 1-5	See Appendix 2, no. 2
1607	*Surge propera*	5	RRMBE vol. 73, 23-28	In H. Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae* (1607)
1607	*Gaudete omnes*	6	RRMBE vol. 73, 6-11	In H. Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae* (1607)
1607	*Veni in hortum meum*	8	RRMBE vol. 73, 12-22	In H. Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae* (1607)
1611	*Surge propera* [second setting]	5	RRMBE vol. 73, 29-34	See Appendix 2, no. 3
1615	*Vidi speciosam*	8	RRMBE vol. 73, 35-43	See Appendix 2, no. 7
1617	*Sponse musarum*	6	RRMBE vol. 73, 44-60	See Appendix 2, no. 8
1619	*Forti animo esto*	8	RRMBE vol. 73, 61-76	See Appendix 2, no. 10
[ca. 1627]	*Quis novus hic oritur*	6	RRMBE vol. 73, 77-92	See Appendix 2, no. 16
1635	*Indica mihi*	6	RRMBE vol. 73, 93-102	See Appendix 2, no. 17

occasional pamphlets that were so popular throughout early seventeenth-century Germany; this ephemeral form partially explains their low survival rate.[3] Church and civic musicians, usually cantors or organists, were frequently called upon to provide music for the weddings and other celebrations of wealthy burghers, and to have the music printed for distribution to the guests. As Stephen Rose has shown, such music

[3] The number increases to ten if we consider that two of Jacob's pieces printed in Hieronymus Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae* of 1607 – the eight-voice *Veni in hortum meum* and the five-voice *Surge propera*, both on Song of Songs texts – may originally have been composed as wedding motets; see 238-239 above. On the pamphlet form, see Stephen Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music and the Social Order in 1620s Leipzig," *Early Music History* 23 (2004), 275-280.

encompassed a great variety of forms and genres, from Latin motets to German arias, madrigals, *villanelle*, and cantional *Lieder*, printed either in pamphlets or on individual sheets.[4] While wedding music predominated, individually printed motets and songs were also produced for such diverse occasions as funerals, academic promotions, and city council elections, and as gifts of homage to patrons and princes.

Occasional music also figured strongly in the work of Jacob's family members. Hieronymus Praetorius composed at least twenty occasional motets, many of which were later reprinted in his collections. Johann Praetorius, Jacob's younger brother organist at St. Nikolai, is known to have composed six wedding motets between 1615 and 1635, which are his only known printed music.[5] I have catalogued in Appendix 2 all occasional music known to have been produced by members of the Praetorius family between 1601 and 1635, consolidating data from several bibliographies and reference works.

For the Praetorius family and for other civic musicians in North Germany, occasional music was an important "sideline" to more official musical duties. At the same time, occasional music was one of the only genres that prompted some musicians to print their work. From Paul Drebenstad, an unspecified court *musicus* in Osnabrück, we have only a 1597 congratulatory motet for Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, and the only surviving works of Georg Paterman, organist at the church of St. Jacobi in Rostock, are two wedding motets from 1610 and 1619.[6] Occasional motets dominate in the printed outputs of Paul Lütkemann, a city

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[4] Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 255-261.
[5] Three of these, *Dulcis amica veni* à 6 (n.d.), *O pulcherrima inter mulieres* à 6 (1635), and *Felix cui divum* à 8 (1619), survive in handwritten transcriptions in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz).
[6] RISM A/I D3500, P1017, and P1018. There is no entry for either Paterman or Drebenstad in either *Grove* or *MGG*, though Paterman receives a brief mention in Grove's entry on Rostock; see Dieter Härtwig, "Rostock," in *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23917 (accessed July 15, 2009).

musician in Frankfurt an der Oder, and Johann Stobaeus, court cantor in Königsberg; Stobaeus's almost three hundred surviving wedding motets, compared to his two known partbook collections, are a well-known and exceptional case.[7] Even much later, for such eminent figures as Matthias Weckmann and Johann Sebastian Bach, the print medium was reserved for occasional music. The only work Weckmann took to the press was a wedding ode for Johann Kortkamp in 1650, and Bach's cantata *Gott ist mein König* (BWV 71), composed to celebrate the 1708 city council elections (*Ratswahl*) in Mühlhausen, was the only work by Bach to be printed in his lifetime.[8]

This chapter attempts a cultural history of the music and ceremonies of weddings in Hamburg around 1600, taking Jacob Praetorius's wedding motets as its principal case studies. My concentration on Jacob's works is determined not only by the dominance of occasional works in his output of vocal polyphony, but also by their high rate of survival despite the loss of many of the original pamphlets.[9] These works, and the surviving bibliographic information on their pamphlet sources, provide valuable insights into the cultural practices surrounding weddings, wedding music, and civic celebration in a North German metropolis shortly after 1600. Indeed, the fleeting format of these sources keenly highlights the oral, spatial quality of these practices, and reminds us of the vibrant life the music led beyond print.[10] It was music, after all, not paper, that was offered as a gift to the upper-class bridal couples of Hamburg, Rostock, Königsberg, and elsewhere. As *Staatsmusik* in Albert

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[7] Lütkemann's surviving prints are listed in RISM A/I L2914-L2926, Stobaeus's in RISM A/I S6457-S6602. On Stobaeus's occasional compositions, see Izabela Bogdan, *Muzyka okolicznościowa w nowożytnym Królewcu. Uroczystości weselne w latach 1585-1645* (Ph.D. diss., Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza, Poznań, 2007).
[8] Compare Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 278-279.
[9] See Gable, introduction to RRMBE vol. 73, viii.
[10] Compare Kate van Orden, "Cheap Print and Street Song Following the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, edited by Kate van Orden (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000), 273: "Oral practices structure the printed forms that emerge from them, coding reading as performance."

Dunning's sense – music composed for individual occasions of civic import, not dictated by liturgical custom, and intended for a single use – wedding music was bound up with a complex of civic ceremony in which the status and wealth of city residents were constantly on display.[11] Weddings were civic occasions that involved the participation of numerous city employees, from the organists and *Stadtspfeifer* who provided music to the wedding inspectors who made sure no sumptuary laws were being broken. Brides and grooms progressed through the city streets in full view of their fellow citizens, accompanied by the playing of city instrumentalists, to be finally welcomed at the church door by the strains of choir and organ. Meanwhile, the city council passed wedding ordinances (*Hochzeitsordnungen*) to regulate the number of guests, banquet dishes, musicians, and pieces of music played according to the social class of those celebrating the event.[12] Even the printing of occasional pamphlets also came under regulation, underscoring the close ties between these documents and the vivid ceremonial world of weddings in Hamburg.

Finally, my case study of Jacob's wedding motets aims to expand on the axiom, common in most scholarship on occasional music and literature, that such works reflected the social status of the dedicatees in both their musical content and their printed materiality.[13] This was certainly as true in Hamburg as in any other city, for many of Jacob's dedicatees were either eminent figures in the city's ecclesiastical

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[11] Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555*, xiv-xv. On possibilities for reusing music printed in occasional pamphlets, see Chapter 5 below.

[12] Fred Wittnebel, "Hochzeitsmusiken Hamburger Komponisten aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts" (*Magisterarbeit*, Universität Hamburg, 1992), 71-72, and Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 264-265. A 1609 *Hochzeitordnung* and a 1618 *Kleiderordnung* from Hamburg are reprinted in Carl F. Geffcken, "Die hamburgische Hochzeitordnung von 1609 und die hamburgische Kleiderornung von 1618," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 1 (1841), 546-563.

[13] See, among others, Edmund Kizik, "The Pupil, The Master, and Death: The Funeral in the Daily Life of a School in a Hanseatic Town (from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century)," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 78 (1998), 63; Peter Tenhaef, *Gelegenheitsmusik in den* Vitae Pomeranorum (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000), 15-17; Ruth Lederman-Weibel, *Zürcher Hochzeitsgedichte im 17. Jahrhundert* (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1984), 17-23; Heinrich W. Schwab, "Ratsmusik und Hausmusik – Offizielles und privates Musizieren aus der Zeit zwischen 1600 und 1800," in *Studien zu Musikgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck*, edited by Arnfried Edler and Heinrich R. Schwab (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1989), 81-82; Rose, "Music, Print, and Presentation in Saxony," 11-12, and Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 254 and 261-268.

hierarchy or relatives of such figures.[14] Yet occasional music also redounded to the fame of its composers, and, in Praetorius's case, to the reputation of entire musical families. Five Hamburg occasional prints contained works by more than one member of the Praetorius family, usually Hieronymus and one or more of his sons, and usually for the weddings of their female family members. By linking the men's musical talent to the women's new familial alliances, these works mobilized both music and print to present the Praetorius family as a musical dynasty. At the wedding of Jacob's daughter Gesa to the organist Johann Lorentz in 1635, for instance, the proffered wedding music served as a token of a professional alliance confirmed through marriage, complementing a longstanding practice of North German guilds. Here, wedding music was more than a status symbol or a mere gift of congratulation; it became a medium for cementing relationships that were at once familial, professional, and musical.

Hamburg Weddings: Customs, Ceremonies, and Music

The earliest known account of wedding music in Hamburg is also the first description of wedding ceremonial in the city. In Johannes Bugenhagen's 1529 church ordinance for the city of Hamburg, a discussion of appropriate days and times for holding weddings gives way to a vivid tableau of proper ceremonial procedure:

> Wyl me ghewonthlyke hocktydesprenghe nha christlyker mathe holdenn Szo kanme ydt des Mandages edder vpp eynenn anderenn dach ßo woll holdenn alße des hillighenn daghes Alßo dath vormyddaghe / de brudegam myth denn mans vorann / und dar na de Brudth myth orer selschupp na der karckenn ghaenn / Vnnd de Spellude spelenn vor en her beth an denn karckhoff. Dar mach me denne in der karckenn vpp denn Orgellen spelenn vnnd singenn myth

[14] Gable, introduction to RRMBE vol. 73, ix-x.

> denn Scholerenn Te deum laudamus / edder wath anders van ghade / edder ock in figurativis etc Wo de lude ydt denne myth dem Organistenn vnnd Cantoren / vor ohre dranckgelt hebbenn bestelleth. Dar truweth me ße denne vor dem hogenn Altar wo wonthlick / vnnd ledeth ße wedder heym myth herlyker processionn vnnd Spelwercke wo wonthlick na dusßer wyße.
>
> If one wants to have the customary wedding pageantry in a Christian manner, one can hold [the wedding] on a Monday or some other day just as well as [i.e., instead of] on holidays, so that before midday the bridegroom with his men, and after him the bride with her entourage, may proceed to church; and the musicians go before them and play until they reach the churchyard. Then one may have the organ played in the church, or have the choirboys sing the *Te Deum laudamus*, or some other godly song, or even something figural [i.e., polyphonic], if such has been commissioned from the organist or cantor for a small sum [lit., for their tip]. Then [the bride and groom] are married at the altar, as is customary, and are led back home with splendid procession and music-making.[15]

Music thus marked out the several ceremonial components of the wedding. The city minstrels played during the procession to the church, the organ and choir performed at the service, and the minstrels reappeared in the celebrations that followed. For the wedding service itself, Bugenhagen's description of musical possibilities reads almost like a price list, reflecting the various musical options available to couples in all income brackets. "To have the organ played in church" was probably the least expensive option, since only one musician was involved. If the choir sang along with the organist, its members would have to be paid for their efforts, for the families of poorer students were dependent for their livelihood on their children's earnings from weddings and funerals.[16]

Bugenhagen also distinguishes between monophonic music selected from the preexisting liturgical repertoire, such as the *Te Deum* or "some other godly song," and

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[15] Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg Christliche Ordnung*, 138. Translation mine.
[16] Kizik, "The Pupil, The Master, and Death," 66-68; Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 47-49; and Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege*, 35 n. 182, 89 n. 3, and 316 n. 167.

newly composed polyphonic music (*in figurativis*) that the organist or cantor composed "for a small sum" (*vor ohrer tranckgeld*). This phrase shows that some wedding music was actually commissioned, at least in Bugenhagen's time. We do not know whether any of Praetorius's wedding motets were commissioned works, though it seems likely that the pieces for his family members were gifts freely offered to loved ones. In 1529, in any case, polyphonic music seems to have been a more expensive, luxurious musical option than a monophonic *Te Deum*.

The number and type of city instrumentalists who played in wedding processions and feasts also depended on the income and social status of the celebrants. Civic musicians had a hierarchy of their own that mirrored the social hierarchy of the city.[17] The official *Stadtpfeifer*, who wore silver or gilded badges (*Schilder*), played only for the weddings of the upper classes, and only at such weddings were trumpets and kettledrums permitted, in imitation of courtly practice.[18] Below the *Stadtpfeifer* ranked supplementary musicians (*Rollbrüder* and *Beibrüder*) organized into guilds, who supplemented the core group and played for weddings of the middle classes. Lowest in this hierarchy were the *Böhnhasen*, those musicians who (in violation of city law) did not belong to a guild and thus, in the parlance of the day, practiced their trade "on the floor" (*auf dem Boden*; Low German *Böhn, Bön*).[19] The participation of city musicians, of whatever rank, marked every wedding as a

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[17] On the organization, pay, and responsibilities of city instrumentalists in Hamburg, see Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 185-224. Names and brief biographies of musicians active from the 1590s through the latter half of the sixteenth century are given on 208-222.

[18] Schwab, "Zur Repräsentanz der Städte durch ihre Musiker," 99, and idem, "Zur Struktur der 'Musikkultur des Ostseeraumes' während des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Economy and Culture in the Baltic 1650-1700: Acta Visbyensia VIII*, edited by Sven-Olof Lindquist and Birgitta Radhe (Visby: Gotlands Fornsal, 1989), 146. During the Middle Ages, the use of trumpets in cities required special permission from the Emperor See also Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons, and Performance Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 3 and 48.

[19] Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 187, Schwab, "Zur Repräsentanz der Städte durch ihre Musiker," 104, and Gisela Jaacks, "Arp Schnitger und die Hamburger Zünfte," *Acta organologica* 28 (2000-2001), 276. The term *Böhnhase* was applied to any craftsman who did not belong to a guild; compare Klessmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg*, 146.

civic event, and the marches, dances, and *Intraden* they played drew the attention of the populace. Several publications of instrumental music printed in Hamburg in the early decades of the seventeenth century, some of them compiled city musicians, transmit repertoire that would have been appropriate both for the processions that framed the wedding and for the dancing that followed.[20]

The "splendid processions" described by Bugenhagen further draw our attention to the ways wedding ceremonial filled and traversed civic space. The ritual of marriage stood at the center of a series of processions, which formed a ceremonial interface between family and city, and which served to publish the event orally and physically.[21] In Hamburg and other northern cities, guests to weddings were invited in person by specially appointed inviters (*Umbitter*), who performed a task that had often fallen to the bride and groom themselves in earlier times.[22] William Carr mentioned these inviters much later in his *Remarks of the government of severall parts of Germanie* in 1688: in Hamburg, he said, "[t]he women are the inviters to Burialls, weddings and Christenings, who weare an Antick kind of a dress, having mitered caps as high again as the Miter of a Bishop."[23] A Hamburg wedding ordinance of 1609 prescribed three groups of inviters: two women on the Tuesday before the wedding; "the bridegroom… with a [male] friend of the bride" (*der Bräutigam… mit einem der Braut Freunde*) on the preceding Friday; and finally "a

[20] These included, among others, Zacharias Füllsack and Christian Hildebrand, *Auserlesener Paduanen vnd Galliarden Erster Theil* (Hamburg: Philipp von Ohr, 1607); Christian Hildebrand, *Auserlesener Paduanen vnd Galliarden Anderer Theil* (Hamburg: heirs of Philipp von Ohr, 1609); William Brade, *Newe außerlesene Paduanen, Galliarden, Canzonen, Allemanden vnd Couranten* (Hamburg: heirs of Philipp von Ohr, 1609); Brade, *Newe außerlesene Paduanen vnd Galliarden* (Hamburg: Heinrich Carstens, 1614); Thomas Simpson, *Taffel-Consort von allerhand newen lustigen musicalischen Sachen* (Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1621); Samuel Scheidt, *Paudana Galliarda, Couranta, Alemande, Intrada, Canzonetto…* (Hamburg: Michael Hering, 1621); and Johann Schop, *Newer Paduanen, Galliarden, Allemanden, Couranten vnd Canzonen Erster Theil* (Hamburg: Michael Hering, 1633). On this music see Spohr, *"How Chances It They Travel"*, and the introduction to RRMBE vol 125.

[21] On early modern notions of publication as an oral act, see van Orden, "Cheap Print and Street Song," especially 306-312.

[22] Izabela Bogdan, "Königsberg Wedding Ceremonies in the Context of Musical Culture of the Hanseatic Region in the 16th and 17th Centuries," paper given at *Music in Hanseatic Cities of Northern Central Europe and the Baltic Area, c. 1350-1650* (Antwerp, 24 August 2008).

[23] Carr, *Remarks of the government of severall parts of Germanie*, 157.

boy and a girl or woman" (*einen Jungen und Maget oder Frauenperson*) on the day of the wedding.[24] Invitation by word of mouth paralleled the activities of town criers, night watchmen, and *Turmbläser*, and, in Hamburg, the *Bursprake* at which the new city laws were read twice each year.[25] In some cities, occasional pamphlets were distributed in the days before the wedding by the inviters or other special messengers.[26]

In the first public pageantry of the wedding, wealth itself was paraded through the streets. This was the custom of the *Brautwagen* or *Brautzug* – cultivated in Hamburg from the seventeenth century through the early nineteenth – in which a wagon transported the bride's expensive trousseau (*medegift*, *Mitgift*, *Aufsteuer der Braut*) and moved it from the bride's family home to the home of the groom. Several servants, clad in their Sunday best, accompanied the wagon and helped carry some items. Ernst Finder relates a detailed account of a *Brautzug* from 1805, at which time the practice was beginning to disappear:

> Kurz vor der Hochzeit wurde auf einem Blokwagen mit wolgeschirrten Pferden und einem geputzten Kutscher versehen, in neuen großen Körben mit bunten Dekken, die Aufsteuer der Braut nach dem künftigen Wohnhause derselben ganz langsam gefahren. Vor dem Wagen her gingen zwei neu gekleidete Dienstmädchen mit saubern Korben oder länglichen platen Kasten (Bakschen), bedekt mit seidenen Tüchern, unter dem Arme. Hinter dem Wagen giengen zwei Hausknechte oder Arbeitsleute in ihren Sonntagsjakken mit silbernen Knöpfen, feinen weissen, gefalteten Schürzen, jeder zwei Stühle von der Aufsteuer zur Schau tragend. Bei der Ablieferung und Empfangnehmnung des Brudtügs [Brautzuges] gabs denn natürlich eine Bewirthung.

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[24] Geffcken, "Die hamburgische Hochzeitordnung von 1609," 547.
[25] On the *Bursprake,* see Rainer Postel, "Stadtrecht – Burspraken – Rezesse: Elemente der Verfassungsentwicklung im alten Hamburg," in *Recht und Juristen in Hamburg,* vol. 1, edited by Jan Albers, Klaus Asche, et al. (Cologne: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1994), and Bolland, ed., *Hamburgische Burspraken 1346 bis 1594*.
[26] See s.v. "Hochzeitsbräuche," *HRG* vol. 2, 194.

> Shortly before the wedding [day], the bride's dowry, in nine large baskets with colorful coverings, was driven very slowly to [the bride's] future home in a carriage with well-harnessed horses and a well-dressed coachman. In front of the carriage went two serving maids in new clothes carrying pretty baskets or long flat boxes, covered with silk cloths, under their arms. Behind the carriage walked two servants or workmen in their Sunday jackets with silver buttons and fine white pleated shirts, each carrying two chairs from the dowry for show. At the delivery and reception of the *Brautzug* there was, of course, feasting.[27]

Besides prefiguring the bride's own move from her parents' home to her husband's home, the progress of the *Brautwagen* displayed the wealth of the bride and her family to the general populace. The socio-economic parity of bride and groom was a prerequisite for all weddings, and an appropriate dowry served as proof that the bride's standing matched that of her future husband; the groom, in fact, reserved the right to cancel an engagement if his bride's family could not provide an acceptable dowry.[28] The use of a carriage and the participation of servants, with "new clothes" for the maids and silver-buttoned "Sunday jackets" for the footmen, were further tokens of the bride's family's wealth. Finally, the "very slow" pace of the carriage ensured its maximum visibility on the city streets.

The central pageantry of the wedding day was, of course, the procession of bride and groom to church, accompanied by family, friends, and musicians. The *Kirchgang*, as it was called, was a feature of upper- and lower-class weddings alike, and by explicitly publicizing the size of the wedding party it also publicized the social status of the couple, for the number of guests permissible at a wedding depended on class. Bugenhagen's ordinance outlined a clear "marching order" for the *Kirchgang*: the musicians went first, attracting the town's attention; next came "the bridegroom

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[27] Quoted in Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 62. Translation mine.
[28] Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 35.

with his men," and then "the bride with her entourage." As we shall see, this order, still followed in many modern-day wedding processions, held good not only for the procession but also for several other aspects of the wedding ceremonial, both in print and in life.

Musical Excursus: *Sponse musarum* (1617)

The *Kirchgang* was the first musical event of the wedding, and as Bugenhagen notes, music marked out the boundaries between the *Kirchgang* and the church ceremony. Yet sometimes the music that did so could itself be an enactment of the wedding ceremonial, from the wedding procession to the wedding bed itself. In *Sponse musarum* (Appendix 2, no. 8), composed by Jacob Praetorius for the 1617 wedding of Georg Fabricius, conrector of the Johanneum, to Elisa Schroeder, the portions of the motet text addressed first to the bridegroom and then to the bride are set to subtly contrasting textures that highlight the subsequent processional entries of both parties into the church. These textural differences between "bride's" music and "groom's" music agree not only with the text's contrasting invocations of the "bridegroom of the Muses" and the "bride of the Graces" but also with the customary language used to praise bride and groom in print and in public, reflecting different standards of behavior for men and women.

The anonymous text of *Sponse musarum* is a two-stanza ode in Sapphic meter:

Sponse musarum decus inclytarum,
Te novem suadent celebrem sorores,
Te jubet cantem Veneris Cupido
voce sonora.

Sponsa cultarum pia gratiarum,
Sidus, et numen tibi gratulari,
Et tuo mandat bona comprecari
omnia coepto.

Bridegroom, glory of the celebrated Muses,
The Nine Sisters urge that I celebrate you;
Venus's Cupid commands me to sing of you
With sonorous voice.

Pious bride of the cultured Graces,
The star orders even divinity to express joy for you,
And to pray for all good things
For your undertaking.[29]

Each stanza is set as a separate *pars*; *Sponse musarum* is, in fact, the only surviving two-part motet by Jacob Praetorius, and the longest of his wedding motets. Robert Eitner considers the second part of the motet "a second song… based on the same [melodic] motif," and posits that the first stanza was sung before the wedding ceremony, and the second afterwards.[30] This certainly was true of many wedding compositions, notably those wedding cantatas by J. S. Bach in which the direction *post copulationem* ("after the joining") appears between two inner movements.[31] Yet the text of this motet suggests a different relationship between the piece and the ceremonial action of the wedding. By invoking the groom and bride, it allows Praetorius's two musical *partes* to match not only the poetic form of the text but also the entries into the church of the groom and then the bride. One can

[29] I am indebted to Darcy Krasne for her help in translating this poem.
[30] "Hierauf folgt noch ein zweiter Gesang, der wahrscheinlich nach der Trauung gesungen worden und auf dasselbe Motiv gebaut ist…." Eitner, "Jacob Praetorius und seine Familie," 73-74.
[31] *O ewiges Feuer, o Ursprung der Liebe* (BWV 34a), between the chorus "Friede über Israel" and the aria "Wohl euch, ihr auserwählten Schafe; *Herr Gott, Beherrscher aller Dinge* (BWV 120a), between the aria "Leit, O Gott, durch deine Liebe" and the following *Sinfonia*; *Gott ist unser Zuversicht* (BWV 197), between the chorale "Du süße Lieb, schenke uns deine Gunst" and the Aria "O du angenehmes Paar"; and *Dem Gerechten muß das Licht* (BWV 195), between the chorus "Wir kommen, deine Heiligkeit" and the final chorale "Nun danket all und bringet Ehr." Only text survives for *Sein segen fließt daher wie ein Strom* (BWV Anh. 14), though the printed libretto from 1725 includes the indications "Vor der Trauung" and "Nach der Trauung"; see *NBA*, *Kritischer Bericht*, vol. 1:33, 31-34.

imagine the groom entering the church as the choir sings the stanza addressed to him, with the bride arriving just in time to hear the stanza addressed to her; we might even call the two parts of the motet "the groom's music" and "the bride's music."

Just as the groom preceded the bride in the wedding procession, his name preceded hers in the reading of the banns, as well as on the title pages of congratulatory poems and motets. The groom was typically regarded as the primary recipient of these works, since was he the only one of the pair who would have a Latin school education. Praetorius's *Forti animo esto* (1619), for example, addressed only the groom, at once consoling him on the death of his first wife and congratulating him on his second marriage. In other wedding poems, however, it was customary to praise first the groom and then the bride. One model wedding ode that might have been known to men with a Latin school education was Erasmus's *Epithalamium Petri Aegidii* from the *Colloquia familiaria*, whose stanzas, each read by a Muses, address groom and bride in parallel, in that order:

…
THALIA
Ille charitate Gracchum Tiberium praecesserit,
Qui suae vitam anteposuit coniugis Corneliae.

EUTERPE
Illa charitate superet coniugem Admeti ducis,
Quae volens mortem mariti morte mutauit sua.

TERPSICHORE
Ille non flagret leuiore flamma,
Attamen fato meliore, quam olim
Plancius, raptae sociae grauatus
Esse superstes.

ERATO
Illa non flagret leuiore flamma,
Attamen longe meliore fato,
Casta quam sanctum deamauit olim
Portia Brutum.
…

…
THALIA
He will surpass Tiberius Gracchus in love,
Who placed his life before that of his wife Cornelia.

EUTERPE
She will surpass the wife of King Admetus in love,
Who willingly changed her husband's death for her own.

TERPSICHORE
Let him burn with no less ardor than Plancius,
But grant him a better fate than his,
Weighed down by grief for his lost mate.

ERATO
Let her burn with no less ardor than chaste Portia,
Who dearly loved the august Brutus,
But grant her a much better fate than hers.[32]
…

The physical intimacy of marriage is strikingly depicted in *Sponse musarum,* both in the tender parallel third motion between the two highest voices and in the exuberant physicality of the triple-meter tutti at the words "Veneris Cupido" ("the desire of Venus," "Venus's Cupid") beginning at measure 74 (Musical Example 4-1).[33] The sudden dance-like rhythm recalls the contemporary notion of the act of marital consummation as a "dance," as in this verse from an early Hamburg picture calendar:

[32] *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami. Recognita et adnotatione critica instructa*, vol. 1:3 (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1972), 415-416. Translation mine.
[33] This and all subsequent musical examples in this chapter are based on Frederick Gable's edition in RRMBE vol. 73. The note values used by Gable reflect those used in the nineteenth-century transcriptions of Jacob Praetorius's motets, many of which survive only in these manuscripts. The nineteenth-century transcribers may have halved the note values of the original prints; see RRMBE vol. 73, xviii.

Värt Brudbett hängt den Mäschen-Kranz /
Dann stört keen Hex jon Ehstands Danz.

The wreath of maidenhood hangs before the bridal bed,
So that no witch disturbs the dance of matrimony.[34]

Finally, Praetorius's setting of the bride's and groom's stanzas share key musical characteristics. Robert Eitner comments on the similarity of the opening imitative motives on "sponse" (measures 1-6) and "sponsa" (measures 96-100), which create melodic continuity between the two parts of the piece (Musical Examples 4-2 and 4-3).[35] The continuity is textural as well, for the first two lines of each stanza are set primarily in imitative polyphony. Nevertheless, each half of the piece maintains a slightly different and subtly gendered textural personality. The lengthy opening invocation to the groom, at 40 breves, is one of the longest stretches of imitative polyphony in Praetorius' motet output. In contrast, the polyphony of the bride's section is less elaborate, and frequently intermixed with moments of chordal texture (for example, on the words "et numen tibi," measures 124-125 and 129-130, Musical Example 4-4). The third and fourth lines of each stanza are set homophonically, involving alternation between semichoirs (beginning at measures 62 and 137) that is reminiscent double-choir writing. Finally, as a development of this homophonic alternation, the last line of each stanza ("voce sonora," "omnia coepto") undergoes a brief polyphonic buildup (beginning measures 81-95, and 167-172, Musical Examples 4-5 and 4-6). Here, too, however, the "bride's" polyphony is shorter and less spun out than the "groom's," taking up only six breves in contrast to his fifteen.

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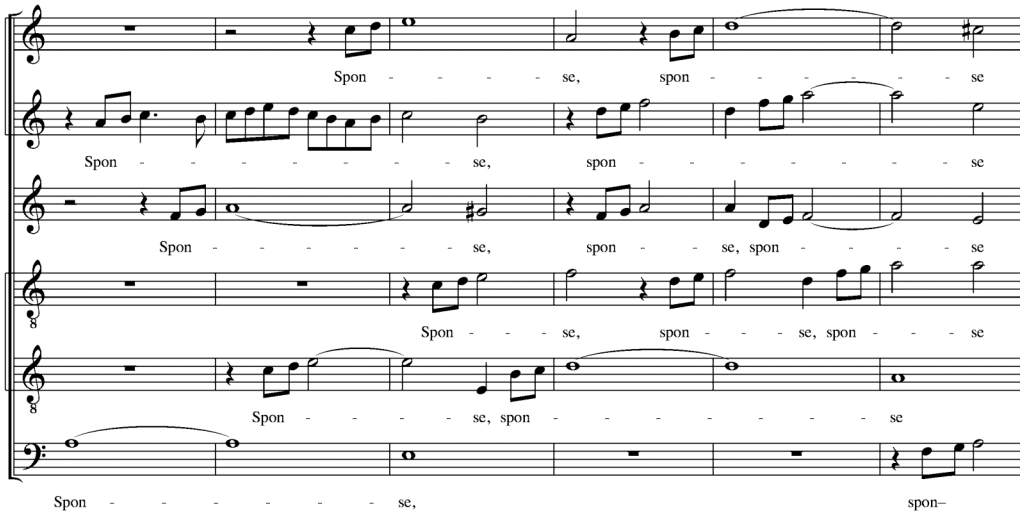
[34] Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 62; the date of the calendar is unfortunately not given. On other wedding-night customs, in early modern Germany, see s.v. "Hochzeitsbräuche," *HRG* vol. 2, 188-189.
[35] Eitner, "Jacob Praetorius und seine Familie," 73-4.

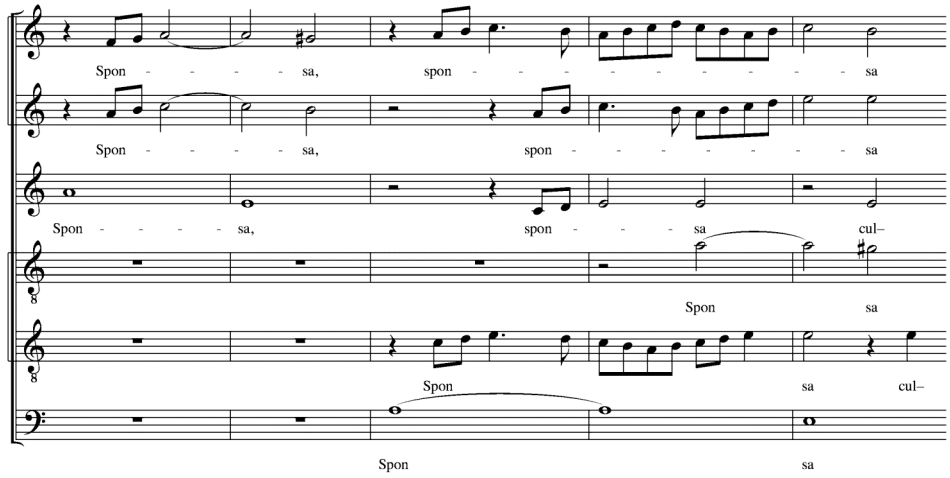
Both bride's and groom's stanzas thus share the same basic textural layout while maintaining two different textural personalities. The groom's section of the piece exploits the elite idiom of imitative polyphony, praising this 'bridegroom, glory of the celebrated Muses" with the very texture that represented the pinnacle of the Muses' art. The bride's section, shorter by nineteen breves, is more modest in its polyphonic display, befitting the feminine modesty expected of the bride (and, as we shall see, serenely celebrated on the title page of her wedding music in epithets like "suavissima virgo"). Even so, unity wins out in the end, in the form of the obligatory closing tutti. Both the first and second part of the motet conclude with a shift to a more dialogic double-choir texture, enacting the joining of bride and groom in marriage and leaving listeners with a final impression (or illusion) of commonality between them. In this instance, the music was in itself an enactment of the wedding, from wedding procession to marriage bed.

Musical Example 4-1. Jacob Praetorius, *Sponse musarum*, measures 71-77.

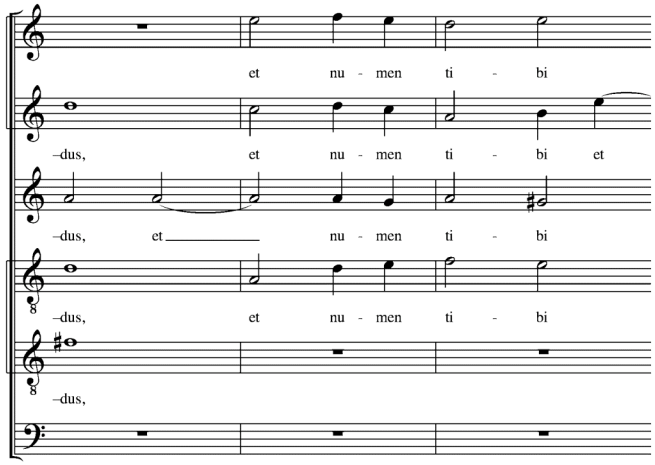
Musical Example 4-2. *Sponse musarum*, measures 1-6.



Musical Example 4-3. *Sponse musarum,* measures 96-100 (beginning of *secunda pars*).



Musical Example 4-4. *Sponse musarum*, measures 123-125.



Musical Example 4-5. *Sponse musarum*, measures 81-90.

Musical Example 4-6. *Sponse musarum*, measures 166-172.

The Politics of Processions

Besides their overtly celebratory and representative functions, wedding processions also had a political dimension. The display of wealth could have a decidedly positive impact on the political influence of a family or individual, especially in a mercantile society in which status was determined primarily by wealth.[36] More importantly, however, wedding processions enabled ordinary citizens to temporarily enjoy something like an aristocratic progress or tour of the realm, altered to fit a civic context. The travels of early modern kings and princes through their territories physically demarcated the scope of their rule; to quote Clifford Geertz, "[w]hen kings journey around the countryside, making appearances, attending fêtes, conferring honors, exchanging gifts, or defying rivals, they mark it, like some wolf or tiger spreading his scent through his territory, as almost physically part of

[36] Eckart Nissle, "Hamburg in der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Kriegs" (unpublished *Magisterarbeit*, Universität Hamburg, 1990), 10.

them."[37] In cities as well as aristocratic states, a procession through the realm – accompanied, invariably, by music – was a direct enactment of political power, and constituted an ever-moving "center" on which the entire polity would focus its attention, if only for a day. In seventeenth-century Lübeck and Kiel, for example, the *Bürgermeister* and councilors processed once a year to the city walls, with *Stadtpfeifer* in tow, and the trumpets played as soon as the procession reached the boundary stone.[38] By ceremonially marking out the boundaries of their cities, the City Councils of Lübeck and Kiel were also delineating the scope of their own power, much like Geertz's journeying kings. Although weddings did not have political dominion as their goal, urban wedding processions still solidified the physical connection of the couple to the civic spaces in which the various phases of marriage took place: the bride's home, the church, and the groom's home, which then became the home of both. The participation of civic musicians confirmed the official, civic character both of these yearly visits and of wedding processions.[39]

Yet although these civic processions recalled those of courtly rulers elsewhere in Europe, they were invested with new meaning when they took place in Free and Hanseatic Cities like Hamburg, Lübeck, and Kiel. Unlike kings and princes, the *Bürgermeister* and city councilors who progressed each year to the city walls were not displaying their personal sovereignty over the city. Their progresses celebrated the city more rather than its rulers; the tour from the city's center to its periphery afforded an opportunity to admire the city for its landmarks, its people, and its sheer size. Similarly, a bridal procession was certainly not intended as a display of political

[37] Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma," 125.
[38] Schwab, "Zur Repräsentanz der Städte durch ihre Musiker," 105.
[39] Schwab, "Zur Repräsentanz der Städte durch ihre Musiker," 104-105.

power, nor even of wealth and status; instead, it made wealth, status, and joy of the newlyweds an adornment to the city as a whole. If the excellence of a city was reflected in its citizens – in all its citizens, not only members of the ruling classes – then marriage boded especially well for it, signaling young citizens' attainment of social maturity and economic self-sufficiency while also promising the birth of future citizens.[40] Finally, the act of processing through the city had immense personal significance to the bride and groom, for the motion from home to church and to home again reflected their own transition from the single life to the married life, as well as the bride's imminent transformation from unmarried girl to married woman, from *virgo* into *femina*. In the absence of a central aristocratic authority, wedding processions made quasi-courtly ceremonial forms available to ordinary citizens, allowing them to transport their familial celebrations into larger realms of civic celebration.

Hochzeitsordnungen

Because weddings involved city churches, city streets, and city musicians, they attracted the attention of city lawmakers. Between 1583 and 1672, twelve *Hochzeitordnungen* were issued in Hamburg.[41] These special sumptuary laws bear witness to an elaborate urban culture of consumption surrounding weddings; ostensibly aimed at curbing excessive expenditure, they turned the celebrations of wealthy burghers to the financial advantage of the city.

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[40] In Danzig (Gdańsk), for example, only married men could hold public office or become members of guilds; see Izabela Bogdan, "Königsberg Wedding Ceremonies."

[41] In addition to the list of ten *Hochzeitsordnungen* and *Mandate* between 1583 and 1660 in Wittnebel, "Hochzeitsmusiken Hamburger Komponisten," 70-71, I am counting ordinances from 1634 and 1671 mentioned in Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 37, and Wittnebel, "Hochzeitsmusiken Hamburger Komponisten," 4, respectively.

The laws required that all expense and display associated with a wedding, including the number of guests invited, the type of music allowed, and the types of food and drink allowed at the feast, had to be commensurate with the social class of the bride and groom. The *Hochzeitsordnung* of 1609, for example, permitted "120 pairs" of guests at a "full-sized" or "wine wedding" (*Weinhochzeit*) for members of the upper classes and "80 pairs" for a "half wedding" for the middle classes, while servants were permitted no guests beyond "those who go with them to church" (*diejenige, so mit beim Kirchgange gesewen*).[42] Restrictions were placed on the salaries of musicians, cooks, servers, and churchmen. The number and value of wedding gifts were also limited, even those exchanged between bride and groom; an ordinance of 1634 set an upper limit of 100 thalers on the value of engagement rings. Furthermore, good conduct was required of all people who took part, in whatever capacity. Card playing and lewd dancing by wedding guests was forbidden, and no alcohol was to be served to musicians. City-appointed wedding inspectors (*Speelgreven* or *Kostenkieker*) enforced these laws, and assessed fines when necessary – usually from the bridegroom, but also sometimes from guests who gave too many or overly expensive gifts. Most fines were between two and five thalers (occasionally more), and beginning in 1620, the city council kept close records of the wedding-related fine money it collected.[43]

Almost all *Hochzeitordnungen* regulated music as well, attesting to its powerful role as a marker of prestige. The ordinance of 1609, whose guidelines on

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[42] Geffcken, "Die hamburgische Hochzeitordnung von 1609," 548. In Lübeck, the *Weinhochzeit* was the second highest-class form of wedding celebration, with the *Pastetenhochzeit* reserved for city councilors and patricians; see Schwab, "Zur Repräsentanz der Städte durch ihre Musiker," 103.

[43] Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 51. An examination of church account books between 1606 and 1629 (especially Staatsarchiv Hamburg, St. Jakobi A I b 4) shows that the value of the *Reichsthaler* varied between 2 marks *lübisch* and 3 marks 5 shillings over that period.

music are especially detailed, restricts the number of polyphonic pieces allowed at the church ceremony to three for a large, "full" wedding of the upper classes, and to two for a smaller, "half" wedding of the middle classes. One piece was to be a suitable hymn such as *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist* or *Wohl dem, der in Gottesfurchten steht*, to be performed last.[44] Instead of polyphonic music, the *Te Deum* canticle alone might be sung by the choir in monophony (*in chorali*), "as was heretofore customary" (*so bishero gebräuchlich gewesen*), with no other pieces. If polyphony was to be performed at the church ceremony for an upper-class wedding, only four instrumentalists, plus "a person with a small fiddle or viol, who should be in the organ loft" (*eine Person mit einer kleinen Fiedel oder Fiolen, welche uf der Orgel sein soll*), were allowed to join the choir, cantor, and organist. The cantor and organist each received a fee of two thalers, and the instrumentalists half a thaler each at a "full" wedding; all musicians received half as much money for playing at a "half" wedding. Any musician who demanded more payment than this was fined two thalers for the first offence and five thalers for the second offence, and for a third offense was expelled from service "for his willful disobedience" (*wegen seines vorsetzlichen Ungehorsams*).[45] Some non-musical regulations affected wedding music as well. A 1629 *Hochzeitordnung* that restricted wedding ceremonies to private homes had a lasting effect on wedding music in Hamburg; weddings in smaller spaces required music on a smaller scale, and large polychoral motets began to give way to sacred concerti for smaller numbers of voices, instruments, and *basso*

[44] "Hamburgische Hochzeitordnung von 1609," 549.
[45] Geffcken, "Die hamburgische Hochzeitordnung von 1609," 550.

continuo.[46] Finally, a 1671 law prohibited the printing of wedding music in pamphlet form altogether.[47]

The stated goal of all of these ordinances was to prevent the families involved from ruining themselves financially – in other words, to curb what Norbert Elias has called "prestige consumption," excessive expenditure in the service of social self-representation.[48] The opening paragraphs of the ordinances speak frequently of excessive "pomp" (*Prunk* or *Pracht*), "pageantry" (*Gepränge*), and "expenditure" (*Unkost*). For example, the *Hochzeitordnung* of 1609 begins:

> Wir Bürgermeister und Rathsmanne der Stad Hamburg, fügen hiermit allen dieser Stad Bürgern, Einwohnern, Underthanen und Männiglich [sic] zu wissen. Nachdeme in dieser guten Stad bei den Hochzeiten und Brautlachten schwere grosse Unkosten bißhero geschehen, und übermessige Pracht getrieben, auch dadurch menniger sich bei Anfang seiner Nahrung verbrochen und in Schaden und Verderben gesetzet worden, daß derowegen, und zur Verhütung dessen, Wir uns mit unser Erbg[esessenen] Bürgerschaft einer gewissen Hochzeitordnung verglichen….
>
> We, the Bürgermeister and Councilmen of the city of Hamburg, hereby make generally known to all citizens, inhabitants, and subjects of this city: Whereas in this good city very great expense and excessive pomp [*Pracht*] has occurred at wedding feasts, and whereas many have deprived themselves of their livelihood thereby, and have been brought to injury and ruin; therefore, for the prevention of the same, we along with the [representatives of the] established citizenry, have decided upon this Wedding Ordinance….[49]

The frequent issuance and re-issuance of wedding ordinances suggests that the citizens of Hamburg were less troubled by "great expense" and "excessive pomp" than were their lawmakers. Sumptuary laws frequently refer to the citizenry's failure

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[46] Wittnebel, "Hochzeitsmusiken Hamburger Komponisten," 69. Jacob Praetorius' last known wedding composition, *Ich freue mich im Herrn* (1640; Wahl, *Die Musik Hamburgs im Zeitalter Seb. Bachs*, no. 116), now presumed lost, was for two soprano voices with *basso continuo*.
[47] Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 130.
[48] Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, translated by Edmund Jephcott, The Collected Works of Norbert Elias, vol. 2, ed. Stephen Mennell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006), 74-79.
[49] Carl F. Geffcken, ed., "Die hamburgische Hochzeitordnung von 1609 und die hamburgische Kleiderornung von 1618," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 1 (1841): 546-563.

to comply with previous laws, complaints corroborated by the extensive fine records kept by the city council.[50] Other accounts confirm these complaints of excess. William Carr called Hamburgers "ridiculously prodigall" in their baptisms and funerals, noting that they paid substantial amounts of money to invite *Bürgermeister*, city councilors, and other city notables to their family occasions.[51] One account of a wedding celebration from 1556 notes that "the bridegroom gave so much to the bride and her friends, or the bride to the bridegroom's friends, that afterwards, when the feast was over, so much [money] had been loaned and borrowed, that no one knew how it could be honorably paid off."[52] Monetary fines were the only penalty for disobeying wedding laws, and were easily absorbed by rich enough families.[53] As a result, such fines functioned essentially as taxes on weddings, allowing the city to profit from the pomp of citizens' celebrations. Just as the bridal processions of honest couples through the streets reflected well on the city's collective character, the festivities that followed were a source of more tangible gain for the city government.

Seen against the background of these sumptuary regulations, occasional pieces like those published by the members of the Praetorius family emerge as upper-class extravagances that sometimes overstep the bounds established by law. A mere four instrumentalists would certainly not have been enough to play any of the surviving works *colla parte*, which are all set for five or more voices. Other solutions were possible, however. A group of four instrumentalists might have served as one "choir"

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[50] See, for example, Geffcken, "Die hamburgische Hochzeitordnung von 1609," 549; Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 51; and Wittnebel, "Hochzeitsmusiken Hamburger Komponisten," 73-75.
[51] Carr, *Remarks of the government of severall parts of Germanie*, 156-157.
[52] "…dat der brudegam der brut und eren frunden ofte de brut des brudegams frunden so vele geven, dat darna, wen de kost gescheen was, hadde men so vele upgelenet unde geborget, dat man nicht vele wußte, wo men mit ehren to der betalynge kamen scholde." Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 39.
[53] Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 51, and Wittnebel, "Hochzeitsmusiken Hamburger Komponisten," 74.

in double choir works like Jacob Praetorius's *Vidi speciosam* or *Forti animo esto*, or instruments could have taken only some of the parts.[54] Moreover, the prints themselves yield evidence that, at some weddings, more music was commissioned than could lawfully have been performed. Two prints, for example, the *Tres cantiones sacrae* of 1615 and the *Post nubila Phoebus* of 1619 (Appendix 2, no. 7 and 10, respectively), contain three works each, by Hieronymus, Jacob, and Johann Praetorius, though even at an upper-class wedding one of the three permissible pieces had to be a German hymn.[55] Three other prints by members of the Praetorius family include two works each (Appendix 2, no. 11, 14, and 17). Multiple pieces for the same wedding could also be published in separate prints; in 1617, Jacob and Johann Praetorius composed and printed motets for the wedding of Georg Fabricius and Elisa Schröder (Appendix 2, no. 8 and 9), and two undated pamphlets contain motets for the wedding of Johann Scholvin and Elisabeth Fabricius, *née* Praetorius, composed respectively by Hieronymus and Jacob Praetorius (no. 15 and 16).

These two-work prints would easily have been acceptable for upper class weddings, and indeed several dedicatees of the surviving prints seem to have been members of upper classes (if not the uppermost classes). The Fabricius family, for example, included several prominent Hamburg churchmen and academics, who were usually ranked below *Bürgermeister* and city councilors but above merchants and craftsmen. Jacob Fabricius (Appendix 2, no. 10), the eldest son of a Jacob Fabricius who had been pastor at St. Jacobi between 1610 and 1616, is called "court preacher in Husum" (*Eccles., Aulic. in Husum*) on the title page of the motet composed for his

[54] See, for example, Wittnebel, "Hochzeitsmusiken Hamburger Komponisten," 94, who hypothetically apportions the parts of Hieronymus Praetorius's eight-voice *Laeto dum coelo* to a mixture of voices, cornetts, and sackbuts.
[55] It is possible that extra works may have been sung in procession or at the banquet following the ceremony, though this cannot be proven.

wedding in 1619. His brother Georg (Appendix 2, no. 8 and 9) was the conrector of the Johanneum, and another brother, Johann Adolph (Appendix 2, no. 7), was a deacon at St. Jacobi. Johann Jeger, who married Hieronymus Praetorius's daughter Christina in 1619 (Appendix 2, no. 11), and Johann Scholvin, who married Jacob's daughter Elisabeth (Appendix 2, no. 15 and 16), were both clergymen as well; and all these men held the academic rank of *Magister*. The multiple motets composed and printed for these men's weddings may have reflected their high social rank as learned churchmen. In contrast, a mere "citizen of Hamburg" like Jacob Stoeven, dedicatee of the 1611 *Surge propera*, received only one motet, as did Hermann Bekemann, dedicatee of the 1606 *Quam pulchra es*; though Bekemann was a "patrician citizen" and churchwarden, he lacked an academic degree.

Not in every case, however, does the number of pieces commissioned correspond so closely to the social rank of the newlyweds. At the wedding of Gesa Praetorius to Johann Lorentz in 1635 (Appendix 2, no. 17), the two motets offered by the bride's father and uncle, the six-voice motets *Indica mihi* and *O pulcherrima*, seem to violate the 1609 *Hochzeitordnung*. Since organists and their families typically belonged to the lower middle classes, only one piece of music, plus a hymn, would have been permitted under this ordinance. Even the son of a court musician, like Lorentz, probably ranked at most in the upper middle classes, and would certainly have been outranked by learned clergymen and scholastics like the members of the Fabricius family. However, if the wedding had been held in the groom's home city of Copenhagen rather than Hamburg, there would be no need to adhere to the provisions of a Hamburg wedding ordinance. And even if the wedding had been in

Hamburg, it is possible that the rules of the 1609 ordinance no longer applied to *Indica mihi* and *O pulcherrima*, since they were composed after the prohibition against church weddings in 1629.[56] If the wedding ceremonial proceeded according to law, the music would have been performed in the Praetorius home (or some other private residence) by privately hired musicians, and would not have required the participation of the city cantor, the church organist, and a full complement of choirboys. In any case, the offering of two motets rather than one may simply have been a gesture of familial love and pride, and, as I discuss further below, a way to highlight the dynastic connection between the composers and the prospective wife of one of their own musical colleagues.

Brides, Grooms, Dynasties, and Pamphlets

Printed occasional works reflected the social and ceremonial import of the weddings and other events for which they were produced. As an example I turn to Jacob Praetorius's only surviving pamphlet work: the five-voice *Surge propera* (Appendix 2, no. 3), printed in 1611 by Paul Lange.[57] Each of the five parts is printed on a single half-sheet in quarto, with a full title page given only on the Tenor part (Figure 4-1). The first pages of the other partbooks (Cantus, Quinta Vox, Altus, and Bassus) give only the name of the voice part with a few woodcut ornaments inside an ornamental border (Figure 4-2 shows the front page of the Bassus part). The lengthy and elaborate title adds its own measure of visual impressiveness to the title page of the Tenor:

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[56] See 273 n. 46 above.

[57] Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main, Mus W 235 A; the individual part-pamphlets are placed together in a later binding. The motet is edited RRMBE vol. 73, 29-34. Note that this setting is different from the five-voice motet on the same text that had appeared in Hieronymus's *Cantiones sacrae* of 1607 (RRMBE vol. 73, 23-28).

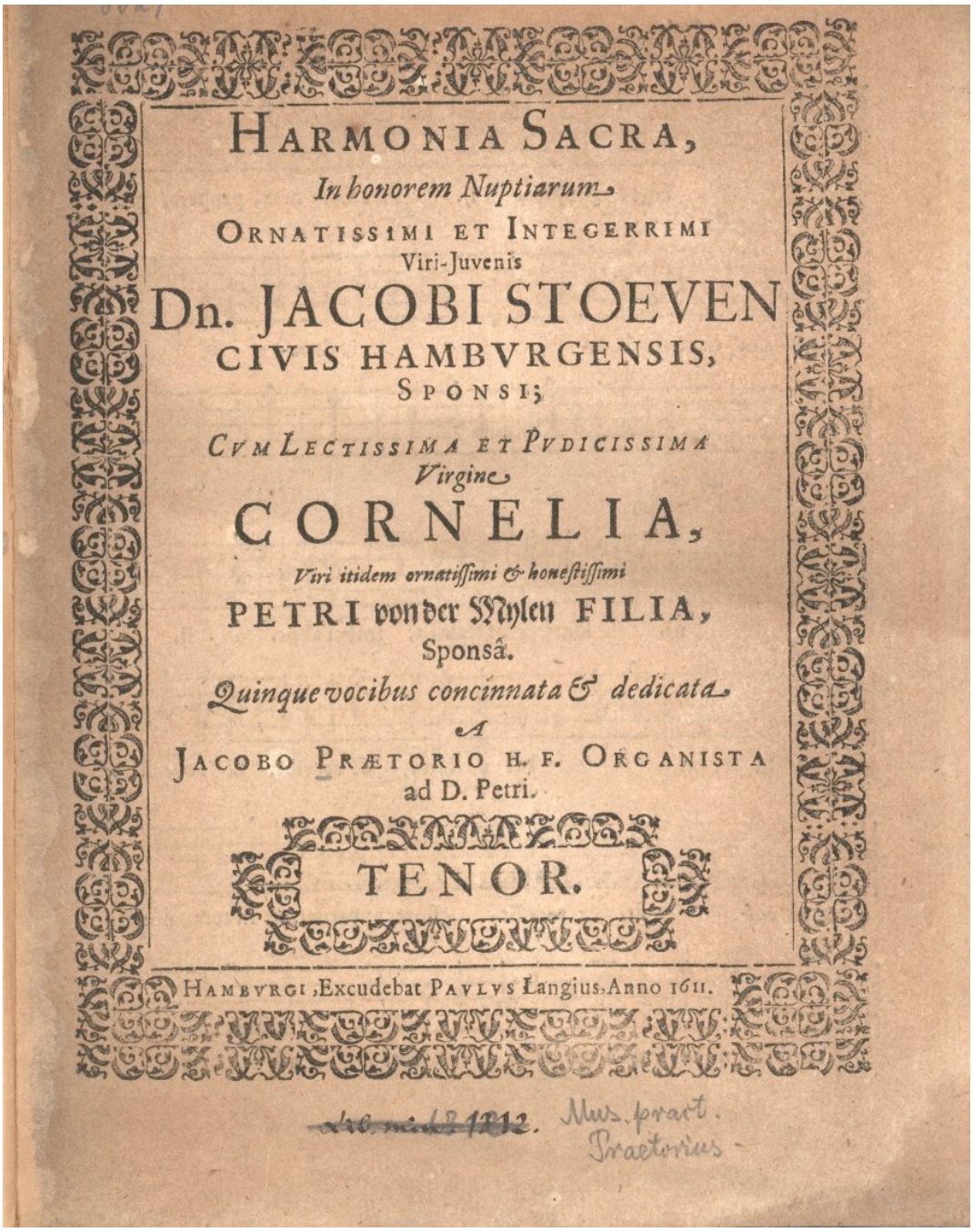

Figure 4-1. Title page (Tenor partbook only) of Jacob Praetorius, *Harmonia sacra* (Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1611). Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Mus W 235. Image courtesy of the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg.

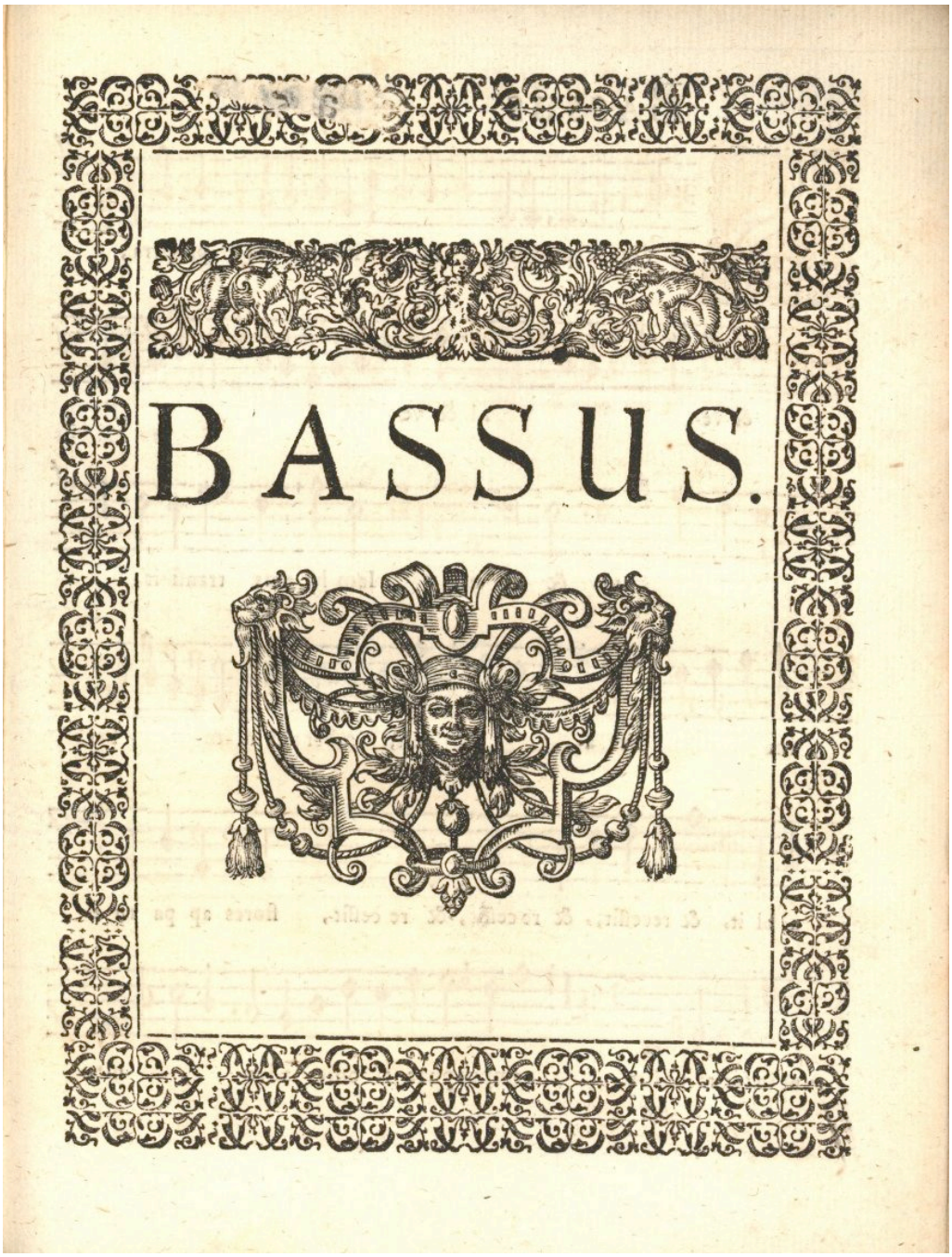

Figure 4-2. First page of Bassus partbook, Jacob Praetorius *Harmonia sacra* (1611). Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Mus W 235. Image courtesy of the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg.

Figure 4-3. Jacob Praetorius, *Harmonia sacra* (1611), Cantus partbook, 1v. Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg Mus W 235. Image courtesy of the Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg.

> Sacred Harmony in honor of the marriage of the most distinguished and honorable youth Herr Jacob Stoeven, citizen of Hamburg, the groom, with the most excellent and chaste virgin Cornelia, the bride, daughter of the equally distinguished and honest man Peter von der Mylen, composed in five parts and dedicated by Jacob Praetorius, son of Hieronymus, organist at St. Peter's.[58]

The word *dedicata* conveys the impression that this work is a gift voluntarily offered by the composer to the newlyweds; if the custom noted by Bugenhagen was still in effect, however, it could just as easily have been a paid commission.

The music itself is printed only on the two inner pages of the bifolium, leaving the last page blank. In most parts, the notation occupies only one and a half pages; at 57 breves in length, *Surge propera* is a relatively short piece. Some especially striking moments in the music stand out visually as well, from the opening leap of an octave in the Cantus (Figure 4-3) to the ascending and descending scalar runs on "et veni" (in semiminims) and on "imber abiit" (in semiminims and *fusae*; see Figure 4-3, staves 2, 3, 6, and 7 from the top).

Interestingly, the music font used here by Lange is different from that which had appeared in most other polyphonic music prints produced in Hamburg at the turn of the seventeenth century, including occasional works printed by Heinrich Carstens in the same decade (Figure 4-4 shows a sample page from *Te Deum Laudamus deutsch* of 1612) and some later editions by Lange: Samuel Scheidt's *Cantiones sacrae octo vocum* (1620) and Hieronymus Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae* and *Magnificat* (both 1622).[59] The font used in Lange's pamphlet is smaller and narrower

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[58] The abbreviation "H. F." in Jacob's name stands for "Hieronymi filius." For some other examples of this and similar patronymics, see Appendix 2, no. 3, 8, 9, and 10.

[59] Krummel, "German Part Book Type Faces," 90-91, has dubbed the latter typeface "Van Ohr," since it had first appeared in the music prints of Philipp von Ohr (active 1597-1608), which had included, among other things, Hieronymus Praetorius's earliest editions; see 137 n. 22 above. The typeface used in Lange's 1611 print is not discussed in Krummel's study. It is unknown whether Lange had reserved this font for occasional works in particular, since the other known print of occasional music from his press – *Post nubila Phoebus* (1619), containing three works by Hieronymus, Jacob, and Johann Praetorius – does not survive.

Figure 4-4. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Das Te Deum laudamus Deutsch* (Hamburg: Heinrich Carstens, 1612), Cantus and Tenor I partbook, A3v. Burgsteinfurt, Historische Bibliothek des Gymnasium Arnoldinum. Philol. Quart. M9.

than that which appears in these other contemporary prints, with more prominent *fusa* flags and a prominent hook atop the G clef. It is possible that Lange may only have gained access to the larger, more popular font later in his career; the 1611 pamphlet is, after all, his earliest known print of polyphonic music. Even so, the print shares several other typographical elements with contemporary music prints by Carstens, Lange, and others. The woodcut ornaments used to form the border of each first page were used by Carstens and Lange on several title pages, including Carstens' 1613 print of Hieronymus's *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* (Figure 4-5) and the 1607 edition of the *Cantiones sacrae*, printed by Philipp von Ohr, the city's foremost printer in the generation before Carstens and Lange (Figure 2-4). The large woodcut ornament with the smiling face on the first pages of most of the other voice parts appears several times throughout Lange's 1622 prints of the *Cantiones sacrae* and *Magnificat*, though by then the tassel on the right had broken off (Figure 4-6). The ornaments give the pamphlets an extravagant look, identifying them as festive works for a festive occasion.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the 1611 *Harmonia sacra* and other occasional music prints of the same time is their juxtaposition of visual opulence with a scant, almost flimsy material format. It is scarcely possible to classify such slim prints as "partbooks" when one part occupied no more than the inside of a single folded quarto bifolium. Those prints containing more than one piece, such as the Praetorius family prints I shall discuss further below, could occupy up to an entire quarto gathering, which was a generous size for an occasional print. Other works, like Hieronymus's *Firmetur manus tua*, were printed on groups of individual sheets;

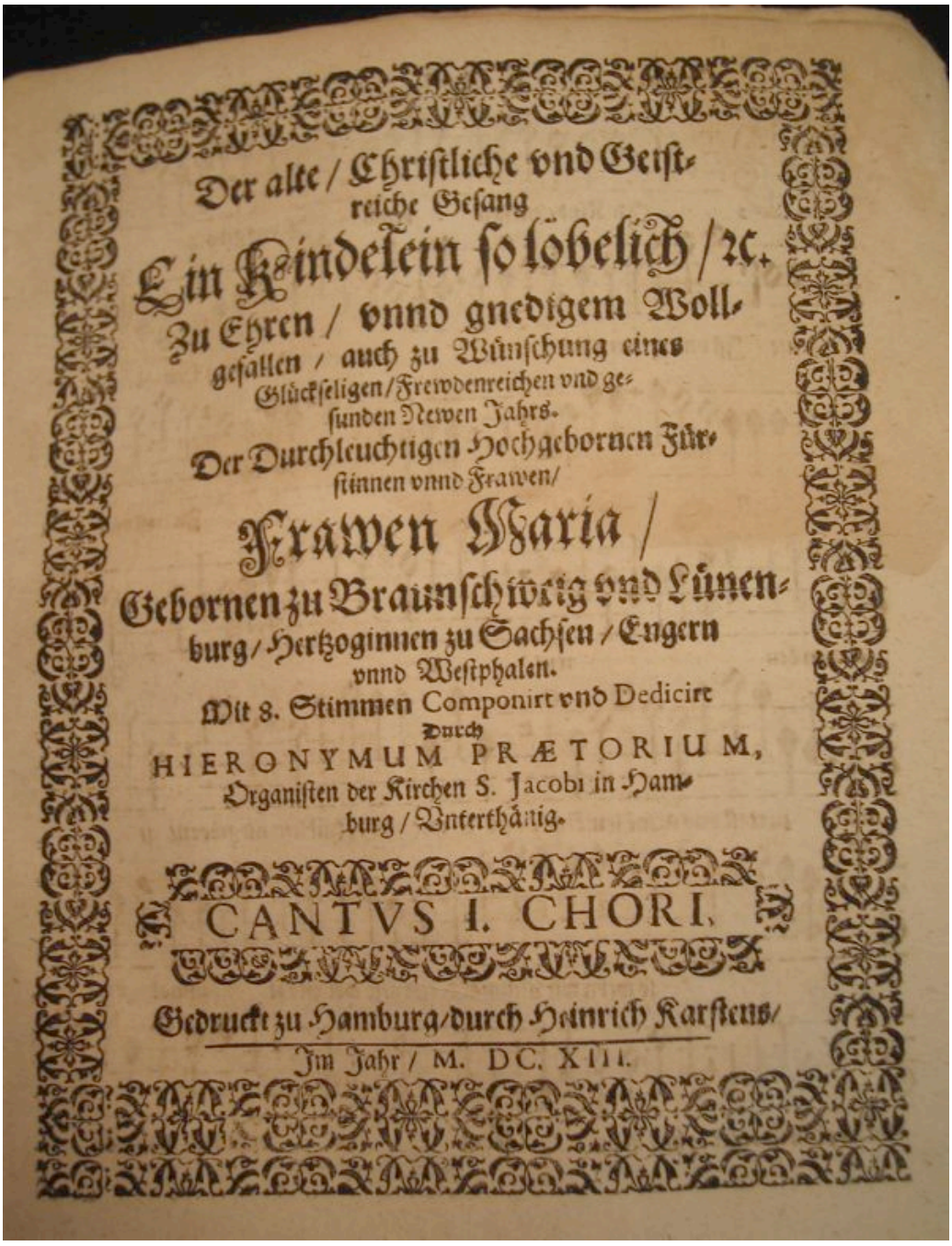

Der alte / Christliche vnd Geist-
reiche Gesang
Ein Kindelein so löbelich / &c.
Zu Ehren / vnnd gnedigem Woll-
gefallen / auch zu Wünschung eines
Glückseligen / Frewdenreichen vnd ge-
sunden Newen Jahrs.
Der Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Für-
stinnen vnnd Frawen /
Frawen Maria /
Gebornen zu Braunschweig vnd Lünen-
burg / Hertzoginnen zu Sachsen / Engern
vnnd Westphalen.
Mit 8. Stimmen Componirt vnd Dedicirt
Durch
HIERONYMUM PRÆTORIUM,
Organisten der Kirchen S. Jacobi in Ham-
burg / Unterthänig.
CANTVS I. CHORI.
Gedruckt zu Hamburg / durch Heinrich Karstens /
Im Jahr / M. DC. XIII.

Figure 4-5. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Der alte / Christliche und Geistreiche Gesang Ein Kindelein so Löbelich* (Hamburg: Carstens, 1613), Cantus I partbook, A1r. Burgsteinfurt, Historische Bibliothek des Gymnasium Arnoldinum, Philol. Quart. M9. Image courtesy of the Historische Bibliothek des Gymnasium Arnoldinum.

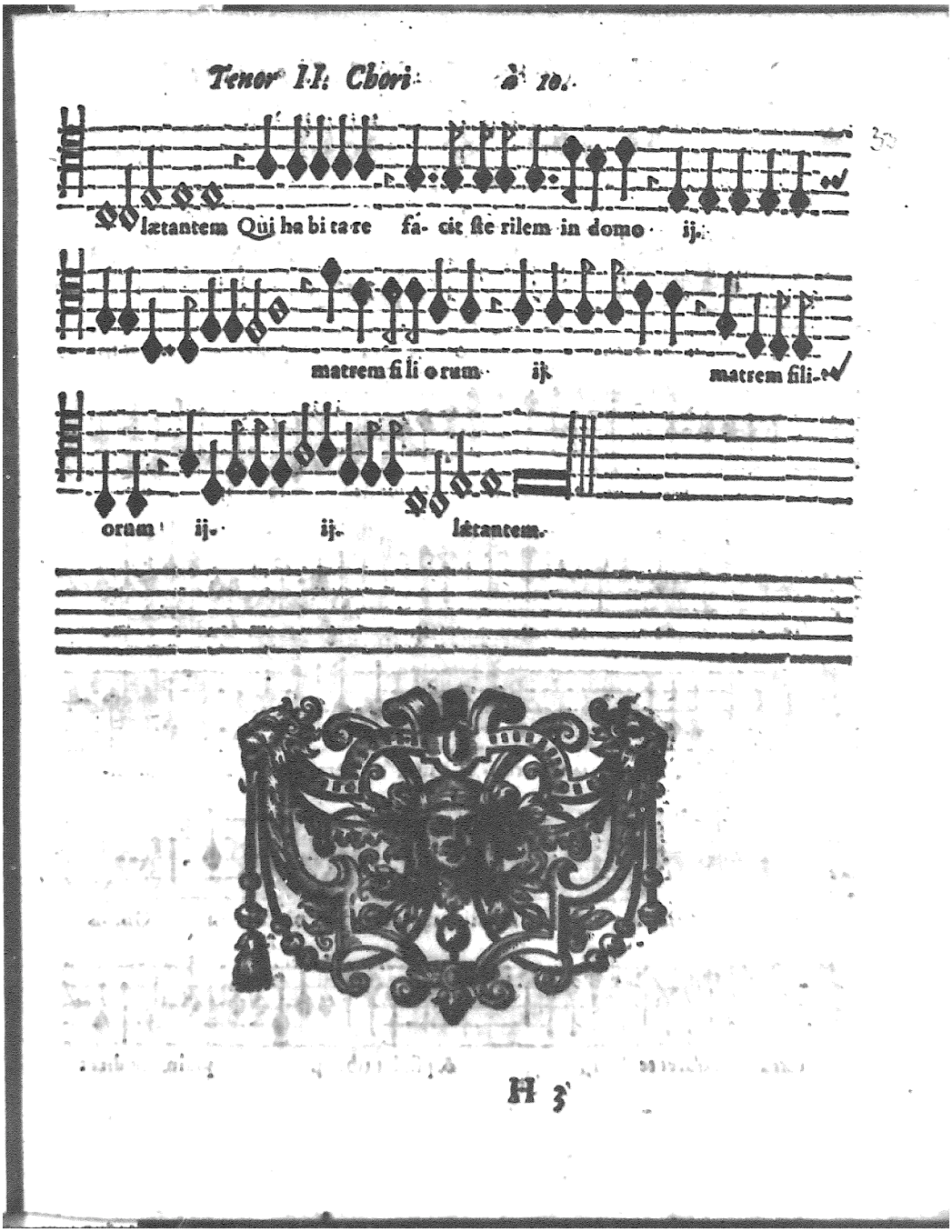


Figure 4-6. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* (Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1622), Septima Vox partbook, H3r, showing face ornament with broken tassel. Image courtesy of the Staats und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky.

the music for one part occupied one side of a sheet, with a title page taking up the other side of some sheets.[60] Stephen Rose notes that the material form of occasional music sometimes depended on the genre of work being printed; for instance, wedding madrigals in 1620s Leipzig typically appeared as sets of single sheets, while three-voice villanelle were usually printed on individual bifolia.[61] Because parts were either half-sheets or pamphlets less than a full quarto gathering long, signatures and other guides to collation were generally not necessary, and their absence visually confirmed the difference between these prints and "books" in the strict sense. Even in the largest pamphlet print from Hamburg at this period – Hieronymus Praetorius's *Te Deum Laudamus deutsch* of 1612, whose longest partbooks were a full eight folios – not all signatures were labeled, placing the print in a gray area between pamphlet and book.[62]

The lengthy titles of occasional pamphlets did more than simply identify the recipients of the works they contained. Their almost stereotypically effusive praise of the new bride and groom encapsulates several of the social conventions surrounding marriage and social contact between the sexes. In the print of 1611, for example, Jacob Stoeven is described as a "citizen of Hamburg" and a "most distinguished and honorable youth." His bride, Cornelia von der Mylen, is a "most excellent and chaste virgin," while her father, Peter von der Mylen, is an "equally distinguished and honest man" – that is, as distinguished and honest as the groom, the word *ornatissimi* being

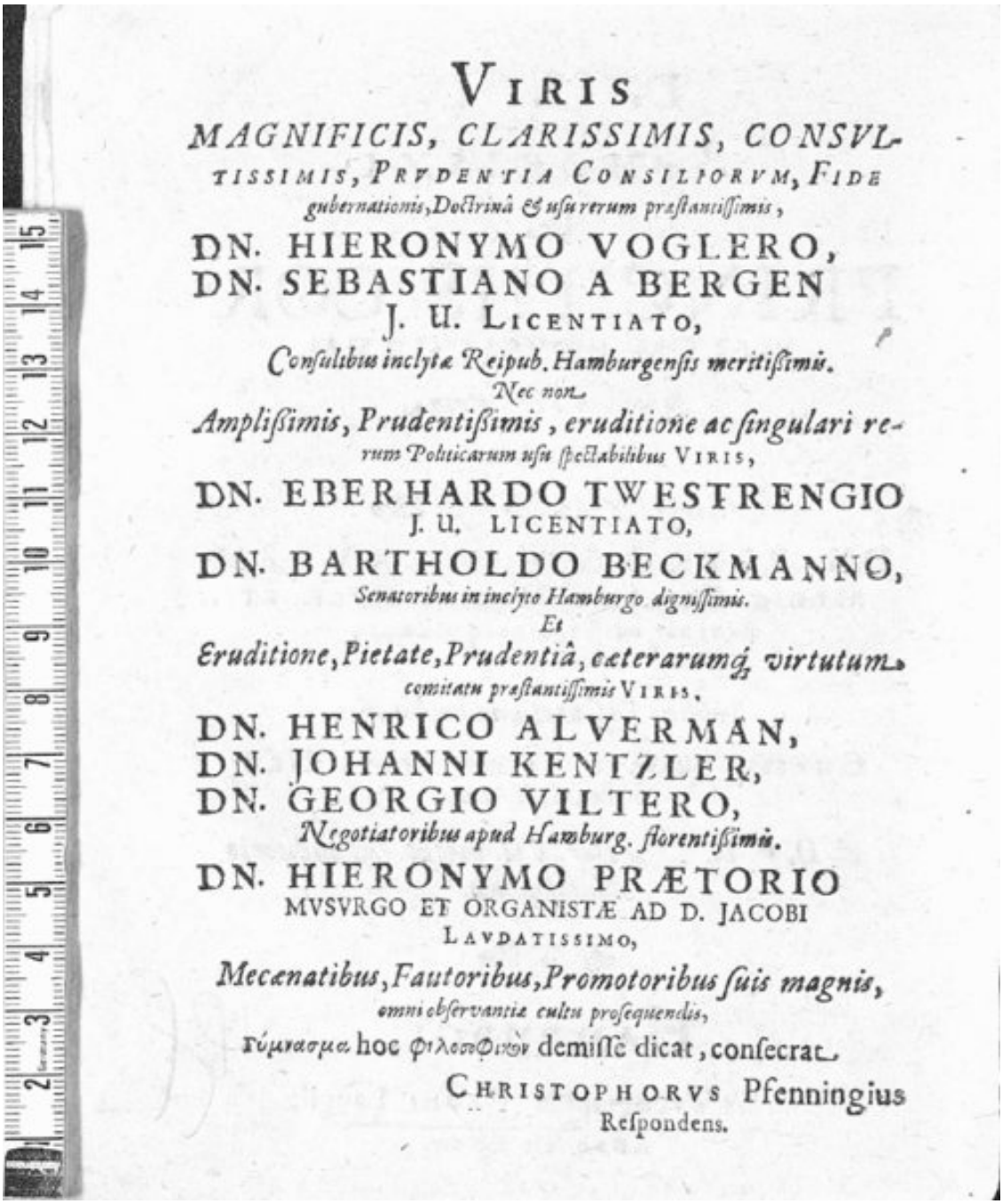
[60] Robert Eitner uses the term *Stimmblätter*, abbreviated "Stbll.," in *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlicher Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (New York: Musurgia, 1947), vol. 8, 44-45.
[61] Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 256.
[62] See 345-346 below.

used to describe both. This was not idle flattery, but highly precise, standardized language used to distinguish social status in print and beyond.

We can compare title pages of this sort to the dedication pages of numerous non-occasional works on which patrons were listed in order of their social status, with accolades appropriate to the rank and status of each. Figure 4-7, from a scientific dissertation printed by Paul Lange in 1614, gives an example in which the author, Christoph Pfenning, dedicates his "philosophical exercise" (γύμνασμα φιλοσοφικὸν) to two *Bürgermeister*, two city councilmen, three merchants, and finally to the "most praiseworthy organist and musician" Hieronymus Praetorius, in that order.[63] Similar language adorned the names of bride and groom in the reading of the banns (*Aufgebot*), the announcement of upcoming weddings in church, which in Hamburg took place eight days before the appointed day of the wedding.[64]

In both title pages and banns, each adjective and epithet was keyed specifically to the occupation, reputation, or familial provenance of the person it described. In the *Tres cantiones sacrae* of 1615, for example, we note that Johann Adolph Fabricius had been called a "revered and most learned man" (*Reverendi & Doctiss. Viri*). Forms of *reverendus*, and also *vigilans*, "watchful," were reserved for clergymen, while *doctus* applied specifically to holders of academic degrees. As was customary, the print justifies both of these titles by designating Fabricius a "most watchful cleric at St. Jacobi" (*ad S. Jacobi Ecclesiastae vigilantiss.*), and placing the letter *M.* before his name to denote his academic rank of *Magister*. In contrast, as we

[63] Christoph Pfenning, *Aphorismi de principiis corporum physicorum* (Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1614; VD17 32:652388Z), A1v.
[64] See Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 38 and 52-54. In some localities, the banns were to be read at least three times previous to the wedding; see Joel F. Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 57. Martin Luther's *Traubüchlein für die gemeinen Pfarrherr* (1529), *WA* vol. 30:3, 76, gives a sample formula for the reading of the banns.



VIRIS
MAGNIFICIS, CLARISSIMIS, CONSVL-
TISSIMIS, PRVDENTIA CONSILIORVM, FIDE
gubernationis, Doctrinâ & usu rerum præstantissimis,
DN. HIERONYMO VOGLERO,
DN. SEBASTIANO A BERGEN
J. U. LICENTIATO,
Consulibus inclytæ Reipub. Hamburgensis meritissimis.
Nec non
Amplissimis, Prudentissimis, eruditione ac singulari re-
rum Politicarum usu spectabilibus VIRIS,
DN. EBERHARDO TWESTRENGIO
J. U. LICENTIATO,
DN. BARTHOLDO BECKMANNO,
Senatoribus in inclyto Hamburgo dignissimis.
Et
Eruditione, Pietate, Prudentiâ, cæterarumq; virtutum
comitatu præstantissimis VIRIS,
DN. HENRICO ALVERMAN,
DN. JOHANNI KENTZLER,
DN. GEORGIO VILTERO,
Negotiatoribus apud Hamburg. florentissimis.
DN. HIERONYMO PRÆTORIO
MVSVRGO ET ORGANISTÆ AD D. JACOBI
LAVDATISSIMO,
Mecænatibus, Fautoribus, Promotoribus suis magnis,
omni observantiæ cultu prosequendis,
γύμνασμα hoc φιλοσοφικὸν demisse dicat, consecrat
CHRISTOPHORVS Pfenningius
Respondens.

Figure 4-7. Christoph Pfenning, *Aphorismi de principiis corporum physicorum* (Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1614; VD17 32:652388Z), A1v, showing dedicatees ordered by class. Image courtesy VD17.

have seen, Jacob Stoeven – the dedicatee of the 1611 *Surge propera* – is called simply a "citizen of Hamburg" with no academic title, and is praised not for learning or vigilance but for the more nebulous qualities of "distinction" and "honesty" that were bestowed on members of less lofty classes.[65] This may be partially explained by his relatively young age, since he is also given the somewhat unusual designation as "youth" (*Viri-Juvenis*) instead of the more typical *vir* (man). Finally, grooms in artistic professions – including music – could be honored as "artistic" (*artificiosus*) or "ingenious" (*ingeniosus*); so we see forms of both words used in the *Hymenaeus* of 1635 (Appendix 2, no. 17) to describe the groom, Johann Lorentz, and his father – both organists in Copenhagen.

Just as the groom's accolades were keyed to his occupation and achievements, the bride's expressed her marital status and feminine virtue. A widow, no matter how young, was always referred to as *femina* (woman), while *virgo* (virgin) or *puella* (girl), were reserved for unmarried girls of good repute. One example can be found on the title page of *Quis novus hic oritur sonitus* (Appendix 2, no. 16), composed for the second marriage of Jacob's daughter Elisabeth, who had been widowed at the age of eighteen, but is nevertheless called a "most honorable woman" (*Foeminae decoratissimae*). To call a virgin bride "most chaste" (*castissima, pudicissima*) or an honest widow "most honorable" (*honestissima*) was not a mere formality, for her feminine honor reflected on her family and on the imminent marriage. The bride's name always appeared in conjunction with that of a male relative: her father, if it was her first marriage, or her previous husband, if she was a widow. The titles of praise

[65] Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 53: "Der geringe Mann, Arbeiter oder Tagelöhner, heißt ehr- und achtbar, auch ehrbar und ehrsam, seine zukünftige Gattin (viel) ehr- und tugendsam."

accorded to the father often paralleled those of the groom, as if to underscore the social parity between the two.

Sometimes the names of the dedicatees were given without any of these words of accolade, though this was not necessarily an indicator of dubious reputation. For example, the title page of the *Tres cantiones sacrae* that includes Jacob Praetorius's *Vidi speciosam* (1615; Appendix 2, no. 7) gives the name of the bride simply as "Anna, widow of the revered and most excellent Lambert Langemake," rather than something like "the most honest woman Anna, widow of the revered and most excellent Lambert Langemake" (to borrow the terminology applied to her niece, Elisabeth; see Appendix 2, no. 16). The lack of honorific words might at first suggest that Anna's reputation was less than impeccable, for dishonored brides were not praised in the reading of the banns.[66] However, this need not have been the case. We note that Elisa Schröder, the "most excellent and chaste virgin" (*lectiss. pudiciss. Virginem*) for whose wedding Jacob Praetorius composed *Sponse musarum* (Appendix 2, no. 8), seems not to have been praised on the title page of Johannes's motet for the same wedding (Appendix 2, no. 9).[67]

It was unusual, but not unheard of, for only one spouse to be honored with words of this sort, and other examples can be found in the occasional literature of the time. In one poem of 1618 for the wedding of Melchior Straube and Catharina Fritzschke in Chemnitz, the groom is styled a "youth outstanding in virtue and birth" (*virtutis ac generis praestantis juvenis*). His bride, on the other hand, is "Catharina,

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[66] Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 54: "Hatte sich die Braut die jungfräuliche Reinheit nicht bewahrt, wurde sie ohne weitere Betitelung beim Aufgebot nur als Verlobte bezeichnet, auch dem Verlobten erwuchs daraus eine Ehrenminderung, er blieb entweder ganz ohne Titel oder man ließ ihn, gehört er den höheren Ständen an, höchstens noch als wohlachtbar gelten."

[67] In both prints the meaning of Eitner's added "etc." is unclear, though its placement after the name "Elisae" suggests that the additional information about Elisa's father (which always followed the bride's name), rather than any honorific words applying to her (which typically preceded the name).

daughter of the most distinguished, prudent, and serious man Herr David Fritzschke, most deserving senator in the celebrated republic of Chemnitz" (*viri amplissimi, prudentissimi, gravissimi, Dn. Davidis Fritzschkae, Celeberrimae Chemnicensium Reipubl. Senatoris meritissimi, filiae*) without any reference to chastity or good character – though the accolades bestowed on her father strongly implied her good character as well.[68] Other occasional works lack honorific titles altogether, sometimes due to insufficient space at the top of broadsheets or on the title pages of small-format poetry collections.[69] Unfortunately, the loss of the original print of the 1615 *Tres cantiones sacrae* makes it impossible to discern what the printer's reasons might have been for omitting the mention of Anna Langemake's honesty or chastity. It is equally possible that Eitner's transcription of the title may not be entirely exact, and that he – like many other bibiliographers – simply left these words out.[70]

Whether or not this was true, the case of the 1615 motet print further highlights the honorific character of occasional works and illustrates an important distinction between these works and the banns whose language they shared. Banns were obligatory for all weddings. Whether a new couple was of high or low estate, of good or equivocal reputation, their wedding had to be announced in church, often at

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[68] Daniel Mylius, *Epithalamion geminum, quod honori nuptiarum, virtute ac genere praestantis juvenis Dn. Melchioris Staruben civis ac mercatoris, sponsi, nec non Catharinae, viri amplissimi, prudentissimi, gravissimi, Dn. Davidis Fritzschkae, Celeberrimae Chemnicensium Reipubl. Senatoris meritissimi, filiae, sponsae* (Freiberg: Georg Hoffmann, 1618, VD17 125:045044Y).

[69] Occasional poetry written for aristocratic weddings often lacked terminology referring to the groom's gifts or the bride's chastity, since many were addressed "to the most illustrious lords and princes" – that is, to both groom and bride together. Some examples include Johannes Wanckel, *Epithalamion Davidicum, illustrissimis ac generosissimis Principibus ac Dominis, Dn. Ioanni Georgio, Duci Saxoniae,…Et Dominae Sibyllae Elisabethae, illustrissimi celsissimiq[ue] Principis ac Domini, Dn. Friderici, Ducis Wirttenbergici…* (Leipzig: Michael Lantzenberger, 1604, VD17 14:009462X); John Forbes, *Epithalamion et Syncharma Super faustis nuptiis S. Ser[enissim]orum. Friderici V. Comitis Palatini Rheni…. Et Elisabethae, Potentissimi Jacobi, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae Et Hyberniae Regis &c. Filiae Unicae…* (Heidelberg: Gotthard Vögelin, 1613, VD17 125:046125C); and Conrad Bachmann, *Carmen Alcaicum… ad illustrissimos celsissimosq[ue] principes ac dominos Dn. Ludovicum Fridericum, Ducem Würtembergicum… Itemq[ue] Dn. Elisabetham Magdalenam, Lantgraviam Hassiam…* (Giessen: Nicolaus Hampelius, 1617, VD17 23:271210F).

[70] For example, the "etc." in the titles of the two 1617 wedding motet prints by Jacob and Johann Praetorius (Appendix 2, no. 8 and 9) is most likely Eitner's addition. See also Wahl, *Die Musik Hamburgs im Zeitalter Seb. Bachs*, passim; the entry for the two 1617 works in Hüschen, 261; and the RISM A/I entry for Jacob Praetorius's wedding motet of 1606 (RISM A/I P5347).

least three times before the appointed date.[71] Furthermore, the fact that banns were read by no means implied that the marriage would come to pass, for they gave the community the opportunity to object (at least symbolically); as Luther's *Traubüchlein* puts it, "And if anyone should have anything to say against it, let him do so in a timely manner, or be silent from henceforth."[72]

Motets and poems, in contrast, were produced only for weddings that went forward without objections. They were extra, optional adornments to weddings, and the fact that some were commissioned did not diminish their honorific status. Even if the title page failed to praise the groom for his talents or the bride for her honor, the musical work itself bestowed honor, proclaiming the legitimacy of the marriage and the good character of those entering into it. From this perspective, it seems unlikely that the men of the Praetorius family would honor the wedding of a dishonored daughter or sister with not one but three eight-voice motets, or that Jacob Praetorius would set his to a text as rhapsodic as *Vidi speciosam*, which employs the language of pre-Reformation Mariology to depict the bride as "a beautiful lady ascending over streams of water" (*speciosam ascendentem desuper rivos aquarum*). Regardless of any omissions by printers (or bibliographers), the very fact that these compositions were produced and printed testified to Anna's honorable character and to the legitimacy of her marriage.

[71] Harrington, *Reordering Marriage and Society in Reformation Germany*, 57.
[72] "Und hette yemands etwas darein zu sprechen, der thu es bey zeit odder schweige hernach." *WA* vol. 30:3, 76.

Occasional Prints and the Praetorius Dynasty

For Jacob Praetorius, his father, and his brothers, the composition of occasional works seems often to have been a family effort. Five of the known prints (Appendix 2, no. 7, 10, 11, 14, and 17) contained not single works but two or three by several members of the family, composed for the same wedding. On three of these prints (no. 7, 10, and 17), large curly braces joined the names of the composers, a typical way of expressing family identity in print at this period. Hieronymus, Jacob, and Johann Praetorius, as organists at three of the city's four parish churches, were central figures in Hamburg's musical life, and all served as organists in Hamburg in the early years of the seventeenth century.[73] Even before these occasional prints, Hieronymus and his elder son, Jacob, had already collaborated musically several times. Father and son had both contributed chorale settings to the Hamburg *Melodeyen-Gesangbuch* of 1604; Jacob had contributed three compositions to the second edition of Hieronymus's *Cantiones sacrae* (Hamburg: Lange, 1607); and both Jacob and Hieronymus probably participated in the elaborate polychoral music for the dedication of the chapel of St. Gertrude in 1607.[74] In the wedding motets for their female family members, the Praetorius men proudly proclaimed their relationship to the new bride, whose honor was no doubt seen as an added ornament to their musical successes. Returning again to the *Tres cantiones sacrae* of 1615, Hieronymus, Jacob, and Johann are presented in both familial and professional terms as "father and brothers of the bride, organists and musicians" (*SPONSAE Patre & fratribus*

[73] See 14 above.
[74] Gable, introduction to RRMBE vol. 91, xxv.

Organistis & Musicis). The undated *Ode gamica* for Jacob's elder daughter Elisabeth makes no mention of Jacob's profession as organist, calling him simply "parent of the bride" (*Sponsae Parente*, Appendix 2, no. 16); limited space may have been a consideration here, since, according to Eitner, the title did of the print did not occupy an entire page.[75] In every case, the composer's professional identity was already made manifest in the music offered for the occasion.

Professional and familial alliances often intersected in early modern marriages, and when the professionals in question were musicians, occasional music took on particular significance. Among the weddings for which Jacob Praetorius composed music, one was of particular importance to the composer's professional future: that of his daughter Gesa to Johann Lorentz in 1635, for which Jacob Praetorius composed the six-voice *Indica mihi* (Appendix 2, no. 17). Lorentz (1610-1689) was organist at the church of St. Nikolai in Copenhagen, and possibly a student Praetorius in the early 1630s; he was chosen to succeed Praetorius at St. Petri upon Praetorius's death in 1651, though he ultimately remained at his post in Copenhagen.[76] His marriage to Gesa may have secured this prospect, since professional appointments of all kinds had been passed on from father to son – and from father-in-law to son-in-law – since the time of the medieval guilds.[77] Both Jacob Praetorius and Johann Lorentz were sons of organists and carried on their fathers' professions. Johann Lorentz the elder (1580-1650) had been organist to the

[75] Eitner, "Jacob Praetorius und seine Familie," no. VII, indicates that "the music begins directly beneath the title [in the] Tenor part" (*Musik beginnt gleich unter dem Titel (Tenor)*).
[76] Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude, Organist in Lübeck*, revised edition, Eastman Studies in Music, vol. 44 (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 46.
[77] Klessmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg*, 54. The guild system was in force in Hamburg well into the late nineteenth century.

Danish royal court at Copenhagen, while both Jacob's father (Hieronymus) and grandfather (Jacob I) had been organists at St. Jacobi in Hamburg.

Professional positions were also passed on by way of marriage, and a prospective successor could ensure his future position by marrying his predecessor's daughter or widow. As noted by Carr, this was one of several "peculiar customs they have [in Hamburg], wherein they differ from Holland":

> When a Barber, shoe maker, or any other Artizan dies, leaving a widow and Children, another of the same trade is not admitted to set up for himself as a master; unless he compound with the widow for a piece of money, or else marry her, or a daughter of hers with her consent.[78]

Professions were thus dynastic, passing from father to son or, as Carr notes, from master to pupil by marriage, which symbolized a pupil's inheritance of his master's professional mantle. This "peculiar custom" obtained for organists as well, since they were classed socially as "Artizans"; in Lübeck, for example, a sumptuary ordinance of 1656 placed them in the fourth class, along with lesser merchants, grocers, and brewers.[79] When Joachim Möring (d. ca. 1631), the successor of Hieronymus Praetorius at St. Jacobi, died after only a year in the position, his successor, Ulrich Cernitz (1598-1654), married his widow.[80] In August 1668, four months after Dieterich Buxtehude was chosen to the post of organist at St. Marien in Lübeck, he married the daughter of Franz Tunder, the previous organist, who had died in 1667.[81]

This custom became the stuff of legend and anecdote in the generation following Buxtehude, as a well known story told by Johann Mattheson in his

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[78] Carr, *Remarks of the government of severall parts of Germanie*, 153-154, quoted in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 45.
[79] Edler, *Der nordelbische Organist*, 71; Schwab, "Zur Repräsentanz der Städte durch ihre Musiker," 105, and Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 44.
[80] Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 154.
[81] Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 44.

Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte (Hamburg, 1740) attests. Mattheson relates that he and Georg Friedrich Händel had applied for the position of organist at St. Marien in 1703, but had turned it down because of an unwelcome "marriage condition" (*Heiraths-Bedingung*) to Buxtehude's daughter, Anna Margareta:

> Wir reiseten auch den 17. Aug. desselben 1703. Jahrs zusammen nach Lübeck…. Es hatte mich dahin der Geheime Raths-Präsident, Magnus von Wedderkopp, eingeladen: um dem vortrefflichen Organisten, Dieterich Buxtehude, einen künfftigen Nachfolger auszumachen. Da nahm ich Händel mit…. Weil aber eine Heiraths-Bedingung bey der Sache vorgeschlagen wurde, wozu keiner von uns beiden die geringste Lust bezeigte, schieden wir, nach vielen empfangenen Ehrenerweisungen und genossenen Lustbarkeiten, von dannen.
>
> We traveled together on the 17th of August of that year 1703 to Lübeck…. The president of the privy council, Magnus von Wedderkopp, had invited me, in order to make me the future successor of the excellent organist Dietrich Buxtehude. So I took Händel along…. However, since he had proposed a marriage condition in the matter, for which neither of us expressed the slightest inclination, we took our leave, after being complimented and entertained.[82]

The post ultimately went to Johann Christian Schiefferdecker, Buxtehude's assistant in the last years of his life, and who married Anna Margareta Buxtehude in September 1707. In a similar vein, by arranging for Lorentz to marry Gesa, Praetorius may have "tapped" him as his future successor, while at the same time providing for his daughter's future.

Accordingly, on the title page of the musical *Hymenaeus* composed by Praetorius for this wedding, familial and professional identities spill into each other. Jacob's name appears twice: first directly after the bride's name as the bride's father, and then as composer along with his brother and fellow organist Johann.[83] Gesa is called "the most excellent and sweet virgin Gesa, daughter of Jacob Praetorius,

[82] Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, 94. Translation from Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 103-104.
[83] A manuscript transcription of Johann's contribution, the 6-voice *O pulcherrima*, survives in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin.

organist at St. Peter's in Hamburg" (*lectissimae suavissimae Virginis Gesae, Jacobi Praetorii ad d. Pet. Organist. Hamb. Filiae*), while the print is "dedicated [i.e. composed and offered] by Jacob and Johann Praetorius, father and uncle." Praetorius himself very modestly goes without any honorifics, but Lorentz is called a "most happy and ingenious musician" (*Felicissimi & ingeniosiss. Musici*), the adjective *felix* connoting a fertile artistic imagination. Lorentz's father, Johann Lorentz the elder, is described in similar terms as the "most artistic and deserving organist to the King of all Denmark and Norway" (*Organopoei Regij per totam Daniam & Norvagiam artificiosiss. meritiss.*). These honorifics, joined with the offering of a motet by Johann as well, stressed the hereditary nature of musical gifts and implied the hope that the younger Lorentz would pass them on to his children just as own father had passed them on to him. Even the tag "for the most auspicious and wished-for nuptials" (*Auspicatissimis & optatissimis nuptijs*) implies that Lorentz's marriage to Gesa fulfilled some long-awaited goal, perhaps Praetorius's securement of a successor at St. Petri, for forms of the adjective *optatus* are seen only rarely in occasional prints of the same period and not at all in other wedding music prints by the members of the Praetorius family. Despite these manifold hints on the title page to the professional nature of the match, the motet itself – a pastoral dialogue made up of verses from the Song of Songs – makes no such reference; as I discuss below, it employs the dialogue texture and sonic contrast of high and low choirs to reenact the marital union in a more general manner. Even so, Jacob Praetorius's musical wedding gift to his son-in-law was more than an adornment to these "most auspicious and wished-for nuptials"; it functioned as a sort musical dowry, in which Jacob offered Lorentz a sampling of the

musical wealth of the Praetorius family, just as he had offered his daughter in marriage. In this case, music itself sealed the continuation of a musical dynasty, and hereditary musical gifts were embodied in an ink-and-paper musical gift.

Weddings in Music: Three Motets

The music contained in pamphlets frequently served as a sonic depiction of, or a commentary on, the act of marriage. In addition to choosing texts on amorous or nuptial themes, whether from the Song of Songs or from the pen of anonymous local poets, composers like Jacob Praetorius enlisted standard musical techniques in enacting or representing some aspects of the wedding ceremonial, as we have already seen in the case of *Sponse musarum*. In and of itself, the stylistic language of Praetorius's motets is fairly typical of late Renaissance polyphony, in conformity with Albert Dunning's well-known observation that ceremonial music always employs the familiar musical forms of its time.[84] Even so, some aspects of late *prima prattica* polyphony made it particularly appropriate for wedding music. Double-choir texture, emphasizing sonic contrast between two separate groups and allowing the alternation of semichoir and tutti writing, was an especially apt medium with which to reenact the joining of two spouses in marriage, and it is not surprising that double-choir works in eight voices (split equally or into high and low choirs) and six voices (split into contrasting SSA and TTB trios) have such a prominent place in the wedding music output of both Hieronymus and Jacob Praetorius. Antiphonal, dialogue-like musical textures illustrated the ritual dialogue of the marriage service itself: "Hans," asks the "common pastor" in Martin Luther's *Order of Marriage for Common*

[84] Compare RRMBE vol. 73, x, and Dunning, xv.

Pastors (*Ein Traubüchlein für die gemeinen Pfarrherr*, 1529), "dost thou desire Greta to thy wedded wife?"[85] Only after the proper questions had been asked, and the proper responses given, could the bride and groom exchange rings and join in marriage; even the crying of the banns had invited a response from the community. Marriage, like a double-choir motet, was a contractual dialogue between two parties that culminated in their unity.

The dialogue inherent in the marriage ceremony could easily be played out in music, and we see this perhaps most clearly in Jacob Praetorius's two wedding motets in dialogue form, the eight-voice *Quis novus hic oritur* (ca. 1627) and the six-voice *Indica mihi* (1635), both composed for his daughters. In each piece, the full choir is divided in half into high and low semichoirs, a sonic contrast that provides variety while highlighting the joining of man and woman in marriage. True to the form of the texts, the two semichoirs alternate strictly with very little overlap. Tutti texture is kept for the final sections of both pieces, where the union of the two semichoirs mirrors that of bride and groom after the dialogue of the wedding ceremony.

The text of *Quis novus* is composed of five elegiac couplets, the first three cast as a series of questions and answers. The high choir asks the questions, and the low choir replies:

High semichoir	Quis novus hic oritur sonitus? Quae jubila tanta? Musica quem celebrat tam veneranda virum?	What new sound arises here? What great rejoicing? What man does such noble music celebrate?
Low semichoir	Sponse, tibi pia turba canit laetos hymenaeos, cui comes it pietas, candor, et alma fides.	To you, O bridegroom, whose companions are piety, innocence, and kind faith, the pious crowd sings happy

[85] *LW* vol. 53, 113.

		wedding hymns.
High	Cuius amore, precor, flagrant pia membra Joannis?	For whose love, I pray, do the pious limbs of Johann burn?
Low	Elisabethae, quam Deus almus amat.	For Elisabeth, whom dear God loves.
Tutti	Conjunctis ergo votis gratamur honores, conjugii sponsis ut bene coepta cadant.	Thus we rejoice at the honors of the spouses who have been joined in vows of matrimony, so that what has been begun may turn out well.
Tutti	Prole sit aucta domus, coeat pax foedere firmo. Vivite felices secula multa simul.	May their home be enlarged by children; let peace join [them] in a firm bond. Live together, happy ones, many ages![86]

The high choir begins its questions with a hint of imitative polyphony, which the answering low voices soon smooth out into a homophonic texture. The dialogue of high and low voices is also used to show off the personalization of the text in the central couplet, which is split between the high choir's question, "For whose love do the pious limbs of Johann burn?" and the low choir's reply: "For Elisabeth – for Elisabeth, whom dear God loves." The name of Elisabeth, the composer's daughter, is given proper emphasis with long notes, repetition, and modally alien B-flats and E-flats (measures 67-68, Musical Example 4-7). Directly after her name comes the first hint of a tutti ("quam Deus almus amat," measures 76-81, Musical Example 4-8) that will signal the end of the dialogue and the coming together of the two choirs; the subsequent antiphonal cries of "Vivite, felices" ("Live long together, o happy ones") seem to surround the newlyweds with a never-ebbing sea of good wishes (Musical Example 4-9). Here, as in the marriage ceremony, the ceremonial dialogue had to be

[86] Translation mine.

Musical Example 4-7. Jacob Praetorius, *Quis novus hic oritur sonitus*, measures 65-71.

Musical Example 4-8. *Quis novus hic oritur sonitus*, measures 76-81.

Musical Example 4-9. *Quis novus hic oritur*, measures 124-130.

completed before both choirs could join together to congratulate the bride and groom as a couple.

Indica mihi portrays even more clearly the joining of bride and groom in marriage. While the two choirs in *Quis novus* took the role of the "pious crowd" praising the newlyweds, *Indica mihi*'s features a "male" choir and a "female" choir that take the roles of the pastoral lovers from the Song of Songs. The division into high and low choirs matches the gendering inherent in the text, altered from a medley of Song of Songs verses to create a gendered dialogue (*pulcher/pulchra*, *dilecte mi/dilecta mea*, and so forth); indeed, the text seems to have been designed expressly in order to facilitate a specific kind of musical texture. The text is shown here in tabular form, with the choral forces assigned to each section of the dialogue:

High semichoir	Indica mihi, quem diligit anima mea, ubi pascas, ubi cubes, ne vagari incipiam post greges sodalium tuorum.	Tell me, you whom my soul loves, where you graze your flocks, where you rest, so that I may not begin to wander behind the flocks of your friends.

Low semichoir	Si ignoras te, O pulcherrima mulierum, egredere et abi post vestigia gregunt [sic] tuorum.	If you do not know, O fairest of women, go out and follow the footsteps of your flocks.
High	O quam tu pulcher es, dilecte mi, et decorus.	O how beautiful you are, my delight, and elegant.
Low	O quam tu pulchra es, amica mea, et suavis.	O how beautiful you are, my friend, and sweet.
High	Averte oculos tuos a me, quia ipsi avolare fecerunt.	Turn your eyes away from me, for they have made me flee away.
Low	Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea, sponsa.	You have wounded my heart, my sister, my bride.
High	Veni, dilecte mi.	Come, my beloved!
Low	Veni, dilecta mea.	Come, my beloved!
Tutti	Egrediamur in agrum, commoremur in villis.	Let us go into the fields; let us lodge in the villages.
Low	Ego dilecta mea [sic].	I am my beloved's.
High	Ego dilecto meo,	I am my beloved's,
Tutti	Et ad me conversio eius.	and his [her] desire is for me.[87]

As in *Quis novus hic oritur*, the high choir portraying the female lover begins with a question, which the low choir answers. Immediately afterward, however, the dialogue gives way to the ardent affirmations of love so characteristic of the Song of Songs. Except for some antiphonal exclamations of the words "O quam" (from "O quam tu pulcher [pulchra] es," measures 30-32 and 35-37), the tutti texture is reserved for the lovers' resolution to "go out into the field and lodge in the villages" (measures 70-82, Musical Example 4-10). This too, however, trails off into a brief

[87] Translation adapted slightly from, RRMBE vol. 73, xxiv.

Musical Example 4-10. Jacob Praetorius, *Indica mihi*, measures 70-75.

antiphonal exchange on the words "in villis," in preparation for a last exchange of endearments ("Ego dilecta mea," "Ego dilecto meo," measures 83-87) before the final tutti (Musical Example 4-11).

In his edition, Gable has commented on the similarities of *Indica mihi* to the lighter madrigal styles, also associated with pastoral texts, which were popular throughout Europe at the turn of the seventeenth century.[88] The music of each three-voice semichoir (SSA, TTB) is cast in a homophonic villanella-like texture, with the lowest voice functioning as a *bassetto*, and with the upper two voices move in closely intertwined parallel intervals that hint at the erotic closeness of the marriage bond. The tutti on the words "Egrediamur in agrum" ("we will go out into the fields") corresponds with the text's shift to the first person plural; the singers refer to themselves as "we," as a unit, in both text and music.

[88] Gable, introduction to RRMBE vol. 73, xi. On this style, and on its associated text types, see Anthony Newcomb, "Marenzio and the 'Nuova aria e grata all'orecchie,'" in *Music in the Mirror: Reflections on the History of Music Theory and Literature for the 21st Century,* edited by Andreas Giger and Thomas G. Mathiesen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 61-75.

Musical Example 4-11. *Indica mihi*, measures 83-86.

In the eight-voice *Forti animo esto* (1619), on the other hand, no attempt is made to depict the marriage bond musically or textually. The rather long and sprawling text of this motet, based on verses from the apocryphal book of Tobit, is not on a specifically nuptial theme, but rather gives a message of encouragement to a groom recovering from grief:

> Forti animi esto.
> Dominus coeli det tibi gaudium pro toedio,
> quod perpessus es.
> Benedicat te Deus Israel,
> quia filius es optimi viri,
> et justi, et timentis Deum,
> et dicatur benedictio super uxorem tuam,
> et super parentes vestros,
> ut videatis filios filiorum,
> et sit semen vestrum benedictum a Deo Israel,
> qui regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.
>
> Be strong in spirit.
> May the Lord of Heaven give you joy
> For the sorrow you have suffered.

> May the God of Israel bless you,
> For you are the son of the best man,
> Who is just and fears God.
> And may a blessing be said for your wife
> And for your parents,
> that you might see your children's children,
> And may your seed be blessed by the God of Israel,
> Who reigns forever and ever. Amen.

The print in which *Forti animo esto* first appeared was titled *Post nubila Phoebus seu tres Hymenaei ad secundum thalamum Jacobi Jac. Fil. Fabricius* ("The sun after the clouds, or, three wedding songs for the second marriage of Jacob Fabricius," Appendix 2, no. 10).[89] The title refers to the recent death of the groom's previous wife, a cloud of sadness before the "sunny" occasion of the wedding.[90] Gable has posited that this sad event was the death of the bride's previous husband, though this is contradicted by the title, the masculine gendering of the text (*quia filius es optimi viri*, *quod perpessus es*, etc.), and by the fact that the bride is called "the excellent and most beloved virgin Katharina Rekels" (*egregiae lectissimaeque virginis Catharinae Rekels*). Interestingly, Tobit 7:16, on which the opening line of the motet is based, addresses a female character, Sarah, wife of Tobias: "Be of good cheer, daughter; may the Lord of heaven give you joy for the sorrow you have suffered."[91] The compiler of the text, however, has re-gendered this text by deleting the word "filia" and changing the phrase "quod perpessa es" ("which you have suffered") to "quod perpessus es." Much of the rest of the text is drawn from passages in Tobit addressed to male characters, primarily Gabael's words to Tobias in Tobit 9:6:

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[89] On the patronymic "Jac. Fil" (*Jacobi filius*), see 281 n. 58 above.
[90] The name of this wife is, unfortunately, unknown. See RRMBE vol. 73, x.
[91] "Forti animo esto filia mea: Dominus coeli det tibi gaudium pro taedio quod perpessa es." Translation mine. My chapter and verse numbering for the book of Tobit follows that used in the Clementine Vulgate, as printed in the Hamburg Polyglot Bible (see 205 n. 35 above).

> Benedictus Dominus, qui dedit tibi pacem, quoniam boni et optimi et iusti viri et eleemosynas facientis filius es! Det tibi benedictionem Dominus caeli et uxori tuae et patri tuo et matri tuae et patri et matri uxoris tuae.
>
> Blessed be the Lord, who has given you peace, for you are the son of the best man, who is just and a giver of alms. May the Lord of heaven give His blessing to you, your wife, your mother and father, and your wife's mother.[92]

The title page of the motet makes brief reference to this text, though with yet another gender change, when it identifies the bride as "the best daughter of the best father" (*optimi parentis optimae filiae*).[93]

Forti animo esto runs the gamut of small-scale polychoral writing, moving freely between dialogue texture and looser, more imitative textures.[94] On one hand, the varied textures help give structure to the rambling text; on the other, the transitions from one textural area to another enhance the consolatory message of the piece, reflecting the transition from sorrow to joy. The antiphonal calls of "Forti!" at the beginning are an animated exhortation to good cheer (Musical Example 4-12). Texture and harmony cooperate in accentuating the phrase "pro toedio" ("for sorrow,"); these key words are set imitatively on an ascending chromatic third, the sole occurrence of direct chromaticism in Jacob Praetorius's surviving choral works (measures 24-28, Musical Example 4-13). Another moment of imitative texture occurs at the words "Et super parentes vestros" ("and over your parents," measures

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[92] Translation mine. This verse appears only in the Codex Sinaiticus version of Tobit and does not appear in English translations before the NRSV, most of which are based on the Codex Vaticanus version. The reading of this verse in the Hamburg Polyglot Bible, in which it is numbered 9:8, is even closer to that of Praetorius's motet: "Benedicat te Deus Israel, quia filius es optimi viri, & justi, & timentis Deum, & eleemosynas facientis: & dicatur benedictio super uxorem tuam, & super parentes vestros: & videatis filios vestros, & filios filiorum vestrorum usque in tertiam & quartam generationem: & sit semen vestrum benedictum à Deo Israel, qui regnat in secula seculorum."

[93] Eitner's bibliographical entry for this work does not give Catharina's father's name. It is uncertain whether this reflects the actual wording of the title page or constitutes an omission on Eitner's part; on other possible omissions, see 290 n. 67 and 291 n. 70 above.

[94] Compare RRMBE vol. 73, xii.

Musical Example 4-12. Jacob Praetorius, *Forti animo esto*, measures 1-5.

Musical Example 4-13. *Forti animo esto*, measures 24-28.

Musical Example 4-14. *Forti animo esto*, measures 88-99.

Musical Example 4-15. *Forti animo esto*, measures 127-132.

89-96), only to contrast sharply with the chordal dialogue that follows at "ut videatis filios filiorum," beginning at measure 98 (Musical Example 4-14). The final breakdown of chordal alternation into polyphonic totality springs directly from a homophonic, dialogic texture, but also develops that texture into something more than itself; the antiphonal chordal statements of "Qui regnat in secula seculorum, amen" culminate not in an analogous homophonic tutti, but instead in a full-blown polyphonic texture that lasts for 16 measures (the beginning of which is shown in Musical Example 4-15). This textural climax projects all eight voices into polyphonic space, looking beyond the previous chordal antiphony – a fitting culmination to a piece urging the new bridegroom to look beyond past troubles toward happiness with his new bride.

Though an in-depth treatment of Jacob Praetorius's musical style is beyond the scope of this study, the musical examples I have discussed above prompt a few

general remarks on the polychoral style and its appropriateness to special occasions like weddings. First, we should remember that the eight-voice, double-choir texture did not dominate Jacob Praetorius's output as it did his father's. As Table 4-1 reminds us, only three of Jacob's eleven surviving works are for eight voices, though *Indica mihi* illustrates that double-choir techniques could certainly be adapted to smaller textures.

Second, it is worth stressing once again that the musical strategies employed by Praetorius in these three motets – dialogue texture, contrasting high and low choirs, and the buildup of antiphonal statements to a grand closing tutti – were standard techniques of double-choir technique at the period, and were by no means restricted to wedding motets.[95] The closing tutti, in particular, had long been characteristic of double-choir writing. As Zarlino observed in his discussion of *cori spezzati* psalms in *Le Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558), "the choirs sing in turn, now one, now the other, and sometimes (depending on the subject) all together, especially at the end."[96] Though Zarlino was writing specifically about psalms, his description of the *spezzato* style applies equally well to polychoral works of all genres, and, indeed, it is near impossible to find a polychoral work of any sort that does not conclude with a tutti texture.[97] The polychoral motets of Jacob's father, Hieronymus, afford

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[95] Compare Gable, introduction to RRMR vol. 18, ix: "The full sonority of the combined choirs is often used to create a broad, majestic final cadence, to conclude subsections of a motet, or to emphasize the sense of such textual passages as 'with the whole heart,' 'all the nations,' and 'all the earth.'"

[96] "…& li Chori cantano hora uno, hora l'altro a vicenda; & alcune volte (secondo il proposito) tutti insieme; massimamente nel fine." Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice: Francesco Franceschi, 1558), 268, quoted in Joseph Sargent, "The Polyphonic Magnificat in Renaissance Spain: Style and Context" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 2009), 224, n. 33. Translation mine.

[97] Compare also the polychoral techniques enumerated in Sargent, "The Polyphonic Magnificat in Renaissance Spain," 233, the discussion of the term *ripieno* in Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1618/19), 131/111-132/112, translated by Jeffrey Kite-Powell in *Syntagma Musicum III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 120-122. Exceptions can be found in some "echo" compositions, like Salomone de' Rossi's *Lemi ekhpots* (edited by Don Harrán in CMM vol. 100:13b, 215-228), whose closing measures are sung by the second choir only as an echo of the final tutti. Some echo compositions, on the other hand, actually do end with a full texture, like Gallus's Easter dialogues *Quis mihi crude dolor* (edited in MAMS vol. 6, 54-64) and *Quid ploras mulier* (MAMS vol. 6, 221-230). On the dialogue genre see David A. Nutter, "The

numerous examples of ways in which the climactic union of choirs could be used to express other texts and to celebrate other occasions. The splendid closing tutti of the eight-voice *Cantate Domino* (*Magnificat octo vocum*, 1602), on the text "omnis terra" ("all the earth") is particularly worthy of mention here, as are the magnificent sixteen-voice tuttis of the quadruple-choir *Herr Gott dich loben wir*, which accentuate both the sublime praises of the *Te Deum* canticle and the joining of the four parishes of Hamburg in celebration.[98]

Similarly, choirs at contrasting pitch levels illustrated other contrasts besides that of male and female. The joining of high and low choirs in Hieronymus's *Ecce quam bonum* aids in expressing the text "Behold, how good and pleasant it is when brothers dwell in unity" (Psalm 133:1), emphasizing the unity of the tutti sections by way of the sonic contrast that precedes them. In Jacobus Gallus's *Domine Deus, exaudi orationem*, the four equal-voice choirs represent the people of all ages – children (Cantus I-IV), youth (Altus I-IV), the middle-aged (Tenor I-IV), and the aged (Bassus I-IV) – who join in praying to God for help and protection.[99] In these works as in several others, the union of separate, sometimes contrasting choirs in a larger-than-usual texture imparts a festive grandeur less easy to achieve with single-choir works.

The great sonic power of polychoral music caused it to be recognized both as a vehicle for the spectacular display of status and an appropriate adornment to

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Italian Polyphonic Dialogue of the Sixteenth Century" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Nottingham, 1977). I am grateful to Joseph Sargent for directing me to this source, and for sharing chapters of his dissertation with me.

[98] Edited by Frederick K. Gable in RRMBE vol. 91, 53-111 and 113-128, respectively. The first known performance of *Herr Gott dich loben wir*, and the probable occasion of its composition, was the rededication of the chapel of St. Gertrude, a hospital chapel in the parish of St. Jacobi, in April 1607. See Gable, introduction to RRMBE vol. 91.

[99] Edited in RRMR vol. 18, 65-74, and MAMS vol. 9, 203-225, respectively.

occasions of special solemnity.[100] The textural possibilities of the polychoral style were exploited to reflect the distinctive status of each such occasion. Looking back for a moment to Hieronymus's *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* (1599, 1607, and 1622), for example, we see that the predominance of polychoral writing helped distinguished its contents as works "for the most important feasts of the church year." Wedding music composed in similar styles shared this air of special festivity. And certainly the capacity to build to a celebratory tutti, working hand in hand with the sheer size of the texture and the spaciousness of antiphonal writing, contributed much to this festive character, as joining of the choirs mirrored the general rejoicing occasioned by an "auspicious and most wished-for" nuptial union.

Conclusion

Early in this chapter, a brief overview of Jacob Praetorius's surviving motets invited us to imagine an entire wedding celebration in early seventeenth-century Hamburg. Though the original prints of these works are now lost, the surviving information sheds light on the many forms of ceremony, festivity, and self-representation that characterized weddings in Hamburg. Music, print, and pageantry

[100] Compare Davitt Moroney's discussion of "the use of spectacular [musical] display as an expression of exceptional wordly power" in "Alessandro Striggio's Mass in Forty and Sixty Parts," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 60 (2007), 7. Similarly, Sargent, "The Polyphonic Magnificat in Renaissance Spain," 223-229, has commented on the "occasional" character of the high-Renaissance polychoral style. "Occasional" is used in this case to refer not simply to extraordinary events outside the regular cycle of the church year, but to denote "a religious or civic event (or, frequently, both) calling for music of particular grandeur" (223), which conceivably also includes the high feast days of the church. Sargent takes as his starting point the discussions of polychoral music in Nicola Vicentino, *L'antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555) and Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), and points out (225-227) that most polychoral Magnificats composed in Italy and Spain belong only to a few of the canticle tones, suggesting that they were composed to correspond with specific liturgical occasions. Though Hieronymus Praetorius's 1602 collection of double-choir Magnificats includes all eight tones, this does not necessarily diminish the "special-occasion" character of his settings, since polyphony in general was generally reserved for Sundays and feast days in Hamburg, even after it became more frequently performed in the early 1600s; compare Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 33 and 50.

came together in a culture of urban self-representation that often took its lead from aristocratic ceremonial forms. Every wedding procession was a quasi-princely progress which drew the whole city's attention to the new union in its midst, while lavish spending on musicians, food, and gifts recalled aristocratic forms of "prestige consumption" or the "potlatch" described by Marcel Mauss, in which every celebration became a contest for prestige, "a competition to see who is the richest and also the most madly extravagant."[101] As we have seen, the musical aspects of some wedding motets composed by Jacob Praetorius and his kinsmen expressed of this culture of extravagance in a variety of ways. Ceremonial double-choir idioms and dialogue textures reenacted the bond of marriage; details of texture and text setting illustrated varying expectations for bride and groom; and dance rhythms hinted at consummation to come. At the same time, this magnificent music showcased not only the prestige of its wealthy dedicatees but also the musical talents of the Praetorius family, and helped affirm their own professional-dynastic alliances.

Our journey toward recovering these practices began with few printed pamphlets from the seventeenth century – or, rather, with a few second-hand references to those pamphlets, which no longer which survive. It is to these fragile ink-and-paper remnants, dutifully recorded by bibliographers and librarians over the years, that I wish to return now. Several of their characteristics make it easy to overestimate their importance, and the importance of print as medium, vis-à-vis the wedding music and wedding practices of early modern North Germany. The printed sources that survive have a fascinating and unusual physicality that distinguishes

[101] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, translated by W. D. Halls (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1990), 37.

them from most musical "books." As pamphlets, they combine the populist appeal of "cheap print" with the *reservata*-like exclusivity of the occasions for which they were produced.

Yet despite these astonishing material forms, and despite the care taken by printers to produce attractive pamphlets, print played a relatively minor role in weddings. Though printed, these works were not published; and though weddings were public affairs, print was not the primary medium in which they were communicated. Ultimately, weddings were "published" – in the sense of "publicized," made public – through the many and varied oral performances that made up the celebrations themselves: the reading of the banns by preachers, the word-of-mouth invitations of *Umbitter*, the playing of the *Stadtpfeifer* in processions, and the singing of choirboys and cantors in church.[102] Printed pamphlets containing poetry or music were extra mementos of these occasions that could moneyed families could commission. Yet even those who could not afford such extras still had banns, processions, and music – if only a chanted *Te Deum* – to broadcast their happy occasion to their fellow citizens. Moreover, even at those weddings for which special music was composed, the rift between material form and performance, inherent in all musical texts, opened especially wide, since pamphlet prints of music were not always intended to generate a musical performance.[103] Instead, the main purpose of these prints was to commemorate one performance at one specific occasion. No one attended weddings simply to collect pamphlets of music or poetry, any more than wedding guests nowadays seek to collect wedding programs.

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[102] On oral publication, compare 257 above.
[103] Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 275-276.

This is not to say that the material form is not important. Chartier's and McKenzie's classic dictum still holds good; the material form in which texts are presented does influence their function and reception, and indeed the pamphlet form of seventeenth-century wedding compositions is well suited to their status as collectible "party favors." Yet the works I have considered here seem to invite a broader view of "function" and "reception" – one that goes beyond the immediate fate of the prints themselves to consider the place of their contents in larger realms of musical practice, city culture, and religious ceremony. Rather than using cultural configurations to explain printed artifacts, I have sought to use those artifacts as starting points for inquiry into larger cultural configurations; thus the single motet and title page with which we began opened the way to discussions of compositional techniques, wedding processions, and sumptuary laws. Seen from this perspective, the commissioning of music and poetry is revealed as one of many expenses made in the service of self-representation; the pamphlets join the ranks of countless wedding gifts given and received; and the music they contain joins with the chanting of schoolchildren and the dances of city minstrels in a vibrant early-modern urban soundscape.

CHAPTER 5: "I SHALL NOT DIE, BUT LIVE": THE AFTERLIFE OF THE OCCASIONAL IN THE *CANTIONES VARIAE* (1618) AND *CANTIONES NOVAE OFFICIOSAE* (1625)

Of Hieronymus Praetorius's hundred or so known motets, at least twenty are occasional works, and owe their survival to the fact that they were reprinted in his later motet prints. As we have seen, the *Cantiones variae* (1618) and the *Cantiones novae officiosae* (1625) differed from his first motet collection, the *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis totius anni* (1599, 1607, and 1622), in that they contained a particularly large proportion of occasional motets.[1] This, in and of itself, was nothing unusual, since occasional motets were preserved for posterity in other collections of the period, interspersed with motets of other sorts; James Haar, for example, has noted the prominence of occasional motets in Lassus's output at all stages of his career, from his first motet publication of 1556 to the posthumous *Magnum opus musicum* of 1604.[2] Philipp Dulichius, praised as the "Pomeranian Lassus" during his lifetime, had motets addressed to princes, city councilmen, and other dignitaries reprinted throughout his four-part *Centuria* (Stettin, 1607, 1610, and 1612). Many of Johann Hermann Schein's collections, most notably the *Fontana d'Israel* (Leipzig, 1623), include reworkings of his occasional works.[3] And in Hamburg, later in the century, the city cantor Thomas Selle compiled a manuscript codex of all his works, occasional and otherwise, appropriately titled *Opera omnia*.[4] Nor were composers the only ones who preserved such works, for libraries in churches and schools often

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[1] See 154-156 and 164 above.
[2] James Haar, "Orlande de Lassus," in Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16063pg1 (accessed April 7, 2009).
[3] Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 282-283.
[4] Compiled between 1646 and 1653. Neubacher, *Die Musikbibliothek des Hamburger Kantors und Musikdirektors Thomas Selle*, 26-28.

bound pamphlet prints of occasional music together with partbook collections, or collected manuscript volumes containing handwritten occasional motets.[5]

The efforts of composers, collectors, and others to preserve occasional works aptly illustrate the place of occasional music on the cusp between permanence and ephemerality. The standard definition of "occasional" stresses the latter over the former: an occasional work is one composed expressly to celebrate or commemorate a specific event. The occasion in question could be a wedding, a funeral, an academic promotion, or a political event such as a treaty, an election, or a royal entry; the person honored could be a prince, a city official, a wealthy patron, a relative of the composer, or any combination thereof. Some collections, like Dulichius's *Centuria* and Selle's *Opera omnia*, referenced these occasions and dedicatees. In Praetorius's collection, however, no such references are made – a move that forcefully shifts the focus from dedicatees and occasions back onto the music, the composer, and his collected *Opus musicum*. More particularly, the by now classic central tenet of book history, that the material forms in which texts are transmitted affect their reception, invites a consideration of the shifts in meaning that went along with the shift from pamphlet to partbook collection.[6] In pamphlet prints, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the focus was less on the music they contained than the events at which they were distributed and the people they honored. Partbook collections, however, repackaged these same occasional pieces as commodities like any other

[5] Some examples include Salzwedel, Bibliothek der Katharinenkirche, M9 (a *Sammelband* combining partbook collections with pamphlets of wedding music by Gesius, Lütkemann, and others), Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. KN 207/5 (a manuscript containing occasional Christmas motets composed by organists in and around Lüneburg), and Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. KN 121 (a group of motets on part-sheets, formerly bound together, which includes Praetorius's *Firmetur manus tua*). These manuscripts, incidentally, are in mensural notation and thus distinct from the tablature manuscripts of motets also housed in Lüneburg and discussed in Cleveland Johnson, *Vocal Compositions in German Organ Tablatures, 1550-1650: A Catalogue and Commentary* (New York: Garland, 1989).

[6] Outlined in the sources listed in 18 n. 44 above.

motets, accessible to everyone who bought the collection. Like the bound volumes preserved in church libraries, they could serve as handy compendia for singers in need of wedding or funeral music on short notice, or perhaps as models for composers who had to compose such music regularly.[7]

In this chapter, Praetorius's *Cantiones variae* and *Cantiones novae*, with their concentration of occasional motets, serve as my sources for investigating the "afterlife" of Praetorius's occasional music in print. I begin with case studies of three individual motets, two from the *Cantiones variae* and one from the *Cantiones novae*, which illuminate the ways some occasional works provided for their own textual and musical reusability beyond specific events. These motets, previously unedited, are given in modern notation in Appendix 3. One of the three, the six-voice *Non moriar* – composed on the epitaph of the pastor Johann Schelhammer and unusually labeled as such in the index of the *Cantiones novae* – is particularly helpful in situating Praetorius's final collection in the contemporary tradition of the musical "swan song."[8] I conclude by examining the three motets in the *Cantiones variae* which survive in their original form as pamphlets: the sixteen-voice *Herr Gott dich loben wir*, the eight-voice *Ein Kindelein so löbelich*, and the eight-voice *Firmetur manus tua*, all of which were congratulatory works addressed to august personages. Besides vividly illustrating the material transition from one type of musical imprint to another,

[7] Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 281-284, has observed that this was true of some works in pamphlet form as well. Compare the collections of funeral works discussed in Gregory S. Johnston, "Der Schwanengesang als christlicher Begriff in der deutschen protestantischen Begräbnismusik des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Tod und Musik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. XXVI. Internationale wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung*, edited by Günter Fleischhauer, Wolfgang Ruf, Bert Siegmund, and Frieder Zschoch (Blankenburg am Harz: Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein, 2001), 185-187, and Kizik, "The Pupil, The Master, and Death," 75-76. Singers of this repertoire included the school-aged members of the *Currende* and *Chorus symphoniacus*; compare Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 47-48, and Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege*, 200-201.

[8] Johnston, "Der Schwanengesang als christlicher Begriff."

these works may yield insight into Praetorius's own search for patronage, and into the roles his music may have played in that search.

Recycling the Occasion: Three Case Studies

Herculeum dulci modulo (1618)

One motet in the *Cantiones variae* of 1618 explicitly provides for its own reusability by offering two possible texts: the eight-voice *Herculeum dulci modulo* / *Magnanimum dulci modulo* (Appendix 3, no. 2). The text of this motet exists in two variants that differ only in individual words, and both variants appear in all editions of the *Cantiones variae* (Figure 5-1). The first version of the text, whose incipit is given in the index of the book, praises a "new victor" who has just "scaled the lofty heights of Parnassus" in a "Herculean triumph":

> Herculeum dulci modulo cantate triumphum
> Dicite victori carmina grata novo.
> Plaudite victori iuvenes huic laudibus omnes
> qui modo Parnassi culmina celsa tenet.
> Plaudite victori vitiorum plaudite laeti
> Plaudite virtuti quae comitatur eum.
> Plaudite victori quo victa est blanda voluptas
> Dicite victori digna trophea novo.
> Victoria.

> Sing with sweet melody of the Herculean triumph!
> Recite pleasing songs to the new victor!
> Acclaim this victor with praise, young men all,
> Who now holds the lofty heights of Parnassus.
> Acclaim the victor over vices; acclaim him, o happy ones,
> Acclaim the virtue that accompanies him.
> Acclaim the victor who has conquered soft pleasure;
> Ascribe to the new victor worthy trophies.
> Victory![9]

[9] I am grateful to Darcy Krasne for her help in preparing this translation.

Figure 5-1. Opening of *Herculeum dulci modulo*, *Cantiones variae* (Hamburg, 1618), Tenor partbook, E2r. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617.

In the second variant of the text, the references to classical mythology (Hercules, Parnassus) have been deleted, and the praises of the "Herculean victor" have been transferred onto "God the victor," that is, onto Christ ascending into heaven (altered words in italics):

Magnanimum dulci modulo cantate triumphum
Dicite victori carmina grata *Deo*.
Plaudite victori *manibus resonantibus* omnes
qui modo *conscendit* culmina celsa *poli*.
Plaudite victori vitiorum plaudite *turbae*
Plaudite *Sanctorum* quae comitatur eum.
Plaudite victori quo victa est *porta Gehennae*
Dicite victori digna trophea *Deo*.
Victoria.

Sing with sweet melody of the *magnanimous* triumph!
Recite pleasing songs to *God the Victor*!
All clap your hands loudly for the Victor,
Who now *ascends* the lofty heights of *heaven*.
Acclaim the Victor over vices,
Acclaim the *crowd of saints* that accompanies Him.
Acclaim the Victor who has conquered *the gate of Hell*,
Ascribe to *God the Victor* worthy trophies.
Victory!

The largely syllabic word setting of Praetorius's motet, its predominantly homophonic texture, and its crisp rhythmic profile seem intended to show off the meter and scansion of the text, which in turn showed off the composer's own classical training.[10] In some passages, long or short note values correspond to the long or short metrical quantity of individual syllables – sometimes at the expense of the word accentuation, as in the ascending figure on the word "*Her*-cu-le-*um*" or "*Mag*-na-ni-*mum*" (long-short-short-long, measures 1-2 and 7-8) and "*plau*-di-te lae*ti*/turb*ae*" (dactyl-spondee, measures 41-42). Yet the correspondence of note value to vowel quantity is not always so precise; for example, at "qui modo Parnassi culmina celsa

[10] Praetorius, unlike most other Hamburg organists of his time, was an alumnus of the Hamburg Johanneum; see 13 above.

tenet"/"qui modo conscendit culmina celsa poli" (measures 31-35) and "porta Gehennae"/ "blanda voluptas" (measures 59-62), longer and shorter note values correspond sometimes to long and short syllables, sometimes to accented syllables and unaccented syllables. The incongruous retention of the cry "Victoria!" at the end of the sacred text seems also to be influenced by metrical considerations, since the more usual sacred acclamation "alleluia" would not have fit the iambic rhythm to which "Victoria" is set (measures 71 and following). The three sections in triple meter accentuate the threefold recurrence of "plaudite" at the beginning of lines 4, 6, and 8 of the poem.

The elegiac meter of the text, so common in the occasional poetry of Praetorius's period, suggests that the secular variant of *Herculeum* is the original, with the sacred variant added at the time of publication, perhaps by Praetorius himself. Sacred revisions of secular works were, of course, common throughout Renaissance; among the best-known examples were the reworkings of Florentine *canti carnascialeschi* as sacred *laude* (especially those collected and printed by Giovanni Razzi in Rome in 1563) and the Calvinist contrafacta of Lassus's chansons.[11] We also recall that Hamburg's first print of polyphonic music, Johannes Wendt's *Der erste Theil Newer Teutscher Geistlicher Lieder* (1597), contained songs whose texts were sacred variants of texts set by Jacobus Regnart.[12] It was less usual, however, for sacred and secular versions of the same text to appear together in one source. Another comparable example from the same period can be found in Melchior

[11] On spiritual contrafacta of Lassus's chansons, see Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando di Lasso and Their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety, and Print in Sixteenth-Century France* (Rochester: Rochester Universtiy Press, 2001). On Razzi and *laude* adapted from carnival songs, see Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), especially 59-90.

[12] See 124 above.

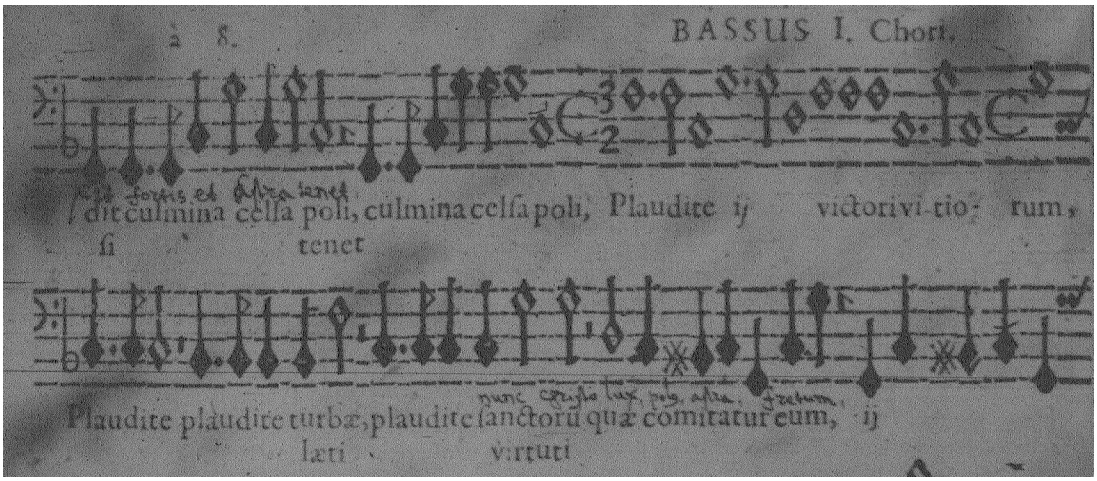


Figure 5-2. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Cantiones variae* (Frankfurt, 1623), Bassus partbook, DDDD2v, showing added Easter text. Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg, Mus W 31 Nr. 2.

Vulpius's *Opusculum novum selectissimarum cantionum sacrarum* (Erfurt, 1610), where a wedding poem (*Aurea quisquis amat*) and a poetic exhortation to steadfast faith in Christ (*Militet omnis homo*), both in elegiac meter, share the same eight-voice setting.[13] Though Vulpius's texts are not as similar word for word as Praetorius's, they too outline at least two possible uses for his motet: while the text *Aurea quisquis amat*, with its invocations of "the golden bonds of the bed" (*aurea… foedera lecti*) was suitable for weddings, the spiritual exhoratations to faith, hope, and charity found in *Militet omnis homo* would have made the piece an edifying exercise for Latin school pupils, who learned Christian faith in tandem with classical verse forms. Here, as with *Herculeum*, the presence of two texts made explicit the possibility of reperformance.

Even beyond the moment of pulication, the text of *Herculeum* underwent further variations. A third version of its text, suitable for Easter, can be found written

[13] RISM A/I V2577, no. 30. The incipit of *Militet omnis homo* recalls the line "Militat omnis homo, qui dat sua nomina Christo" in the seventh *Triumphus* of Georg Fabricius's *Victoriarum caelestium Triumphi heroici*; see Fabricius, *Poematum sacrorm libri XXV* (Basel: Johannes Oporinus, 1567), 131. This, however, is not the text set by Vulpius.

into the Bassus partbook of the Frankfurt edition of the *Cantiones variae* (1623, Figure 5-2). Above the printed text "conscendit culmina celsa poli," a contemporary hand has written "surrexit fortis et astra tenet" (has risen mightily and holds the stars), and a similar change is made to the phrase "sanctorum quae comitatur eum," above which the words are the handwritten words "Christo lux, polus, astra, fretum" ("[acclaim] Christ, O light, heaven, stars, and sea"). This unknown scribe seems to have taken the double texting of *Herculeum* as an invitation to add yet another text for yet another occasion, much the way similar hymn texts for several different feast days could be sung to the same tune.[14]

Finally, the nature of the "Herculean triumph" itself may provided one reason for providing multuple texts. The repeated invocations of "triumph," a "victor," and "victory" seem to denote some kind of attainment or promotion, perhaps of a civic or scholastic nature. More specifically, a victor that has just "scaled the heights of Parnassus," the mythological home of the Muses, could be a new recipient of an academic degree, or even a newly crowned poet laureate; the classical idiom of the poem and the mythological references seem apt for either. The references to a victory over the vices and over "soft pleasure" are more puzzling, but could be intended to praise the unknown "victor" for overcoming temptations on the way to achieving the lofty new position. If *Herculeum* was indeed composed to celebrate an academic attainment, the dedicatee may have been none other than the composer's third son, Hieronymus Praetorius the younger, who received the degree of *Magister* at some

[14] The Easter hymn *Christ ist erstanden*, for example, had an Ascension counterpart with the incipit *Christ fuhr gen Himmel*; see Wackernagel, vol. 2, no. 935 and no. 977-978, respectively. For a more modern example, compare also Ralph Vaughan Williams' "Hail thee, festival day" (*Salve festa dies*), with its three text variants for Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost.

point between 1614 and 1618.[15] Given that Praetorius composed motets for his daughters' weddings, it would also have natural for him to offer his son a similar musical tribute on his promotion, though this is impossible to prove in the absence of a surviving pamphlet print of the piece.

If this had indeed been the occasion for which *Herculeum* was composed, however, there would have been only few opportunities for re-performance, at least in Hamburg. Because weddings were frequent in Hamburg – as, indeed, they were everywhere – wedding motets, especially those on Biblical texts, could easily be performed at weddings other than the ones for which they were originally composed. But because Hamburg had no university, occasional works for academic promotions were not in demand. Accordingly, very few occasional works from Hamburg celebrate academic attainments, compared to the hundreds of works composed for weddings and funerals, and compared to the respectable numbers of academic *occasionalia* printed in university towns like Leipzig and Frankfurt.[16] Though the congratulatory content of *Herculeum* could also conceivably have been appropriate for promotions within the civic, scholastic, or ecclesiastical hierarchy of Hamburg, such events were also rare, since most posts were held until death. To Praetorius, contemplating the publication of *Herculeum* in his collected works, this dearth of re-performance opportunities may have been a source of concern, and may have prompted him to put his own Latin skills to work in providing a variant text. By

[15] These boundaries are determined by two works catalogued in VD17: a collection of short scientific treatises composed by senior students of the Hamburg Gymnasium printed by Paul Lange in 1614 (VD17 32:652388Z), in which the younger Hieronymus Praetorius's name appears without the title *M.* (*Magister*); and a theological disputation printed in Wittenberg 1618 (VD17 39:134199U), in which the title *M.* appears.
[16] Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 17.

doing so, he made it possible for what had once been a single-use congratulatory work to be sung on the feast of the Ascension, a recurring season of the church year.

Laeto dum coelo (1618)

Not all of the occasional works reprinted in Praetorius's later collections provided so explicitly for their own reuse. One motet in the *Cantiones variae* – the eight-voice *Laeto dum coelo* (Appendix 3, no. 3) – makes no attempt to mask its occasional, even personalized character, for the bridegroom is addressed by name in the text. *Laeto dum coelo* was Hieronymus's musical contribution to the wedding of his daughter, the widowed Anna Langemake, to Johann Adolph Fabricius, one of the three deacons at St. Jacobi (1615-1650); Jacob and Johann Praetorius also composed motets for the wedding. Fabricius himself was a renowned poet and preacher and the author of several occasional works, so it is apt that the text is addressed specifically to him:

Laeto dum caelo socii pia foedera lecti
Contrahis & sponsam quaeris, Adolphe, tuam,
Quid mirum laeto si pectore gaudia ducam
Atque precor caeptis prospera cuncta tuis?
Conjugii primus sacri qui fautor & author
praesto tibi Sponsae praesto sit ipse tuae.
Ille det aeternum sancto caleatis amore,
vestraque saepe pia gaudia prole beet.
Haec rogo; longaevos, felices, vivite in annos,
Cumque bono tandem claudite fata Deo.

While, as heaven is joyous, you enter into the pious alliance
Of the marriage bed, and seek your bride, Adolph,
What wonder if I lead the joys with happy heart,
And pray for prosperity for your beginnings?
May the first Author and Patron of the rite of marriage
Be there for you Himself, and for your bride.
May He grant that both of you burn eternally with sacred love,

And that your pious joys are soon blessed with offspring.
These things I ask; live long years, happy ones,
And at last conclude your lives together with good God.

In Praetorius's setting of the poem's second line, "Adolphe" is repeated for emphasis in each choir (measures 13-14 and 16-17). Praetorius sets the name to a plaintive "short-long-short" rhythmic figure that oscillates between A and D harmonies in the first choir and E and A in the second; the same figure is used later for the repeated statements of "amore" (measures 62-64). Adolph's name is also distinguished texturally. In contrast to the perfect homophony used for the text directly before, "Contrahis & sponsam quaeris" (measures 12-13 and 15-16), the tenor is offset from the other three voices of each choir, so that the first statement of the name sounds in that voice alone. The tenors of both choirs sing the name three times, compared to twice in the other voices; it is tantalizing to imagine that the groom may have been a tenor himself.

Personalized poetry like *Laeto dum coelo* was common in early modern German occasional literature, and usually connoted a particularly close bond between the poet or composer and the dedicatee. Accordingly, occasional music composed to such texts seems to have been a sincere gift rather than a paid commission. Jacob Praetorius's six-voice *Quis novus hic oritur sonitus*, composed for the second wedding of his daughter Elisabeth, names both spouses: "For whose love, I pray, do the pious limbs of Johann burn? For Elisabeth, whom dear God loves."[17] Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck's motet for Jacob's wedding in 1608, the five-voice *Sponse musarum genus et sacerdos*, closes with a wish that the bride "live long, a gentle turtledove rejoicing in her [male] turtledove Jacob" (*Vive Jacobo pia turturella,*

[17] "Cuius amore, precor, flagrant pia membra Joannis? Elisabethae, quam Deus almus amat." See 300 above.

turture gaudens). Earlier in the same motet, congratulations are addressed "to you, happy in fate, and your beautiful Margarethe" (*bellae tibi Margaritae sorte beato*). The name of a deceased loved one could intensify the poignancy of a funeral work, as in the sixth verse of Heinrich Schütz's lament for his wife Magdalena, *Mit dem Amphion zwar* (1625), which begins with an apostrophe to the deceased "Magdalen, faithful wife" (*O Magdlen / trewes Weib*); the name "Magdlen" is even printed in a larger font for emphasis (Figure 5-3).[18] From this point of view, the presence of the groom's name in *Laeto dum caelo* reflected Praetorius's affection towards him; Praetorius had, after all, approved of Fabricius's match with his daughter.

What sets *Laeto dum coelo* apart from these other personalized works, however, is simply the fact that it was reprinted in a partbook collection. Jacob Praetorius did not republish his motets in collections; Sweelinck did not include *Sponse musarum genus* in his *Cantiones sacrae* of 1619; and Schütz's lament survives only in a pamphlet appended to a funerary sermon. Like the other occasional pieces reprinted in the *Cantiones variae*, there is no reference to the original occasion of the motet. Yet the inclusion of the bridegroom's name seems to

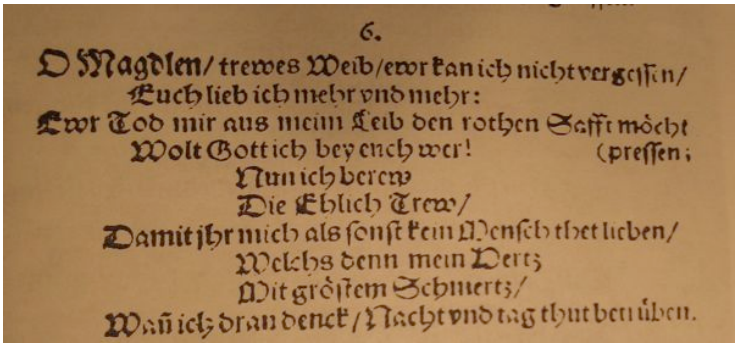

6.
O Magdlen/ trewes Weib/ewr kan ich nicht vergessen/
Euch lieb ich mehr vnd mehr:
Ewr Tod mir aus meim Leib den rothen Safft möcht
Wolt Gott ich bey euch wer! (pressen;
Nun ich berew
Die Ehlich Trew/
Damit jhr mich als sonst kein Menseh thet lieben/
Welchs denn mein Hertz
Mit gröstem Schmertz/
Wañ ichs dran denck/ Nacht vnd tag thut betrüben.

Figure 5-3. Heinrich Schütz, verse 6 of *Mit dem Amphion zwar* (1625). Facsimile edition by Eberhard Möller (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984), 10.

[18] On this piece, see Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 273-274. Rose translates this line "O little maid, true wife."

tie the piece all the more forcefully to a specific person and occasion, rendering it less "reusable" than Praetorius's wedding motets on Song of Songs texts (*Quam pulchra es, Dilectus meus mihi*) or on original texts that include no proper names (*Ecce novus sanctam*, *Veni puella*). Nor do the Hamburg and Frankfurt prints of the *Cantiones variae* offer any possibility of using a name other than "Adolphe," whether by underlaying an alternate name (compare the two texts of *Herculeum dulci modulo*) or by the use of *N.*, used in countless early modern liturgical and musical sources to allow the insertion of any saint's name.[19] Although several other names share the same word accentuation as "Adolphe" (*Johánnes, Philippe, Jacóbe*, for example), the name cannot be replaced without disrupting the hexameter of the line: any name beginning with a consonant, following the consonant at the end of *quaeris*, would make the final syllable "-ris" long instead of short, thus causing the second half of this pentameter line to resolve to three spondees and a long syllable, rather than the requisite two dactyls and a long syllable.[20] The text of the motet thus could not easily be adapted for any other recipient.

As a self-published collection, *Cantiones variae* allowed for the presence of a motet that might otherwise have broken conventions of patronage and dedication if it had been published in a collection with a dedicatee. In sixteenth-century collections, both printed and manuscript, motet texts containing proper names were often addressed to the dedicatee of the collection, and usually received a privileged place within the organization of the collection: usually first, last, or first or last within a

[19] Uses of *N.* in musical sources include Vicente Lusitano's *Servus sum* à 6 (*Liber primus epigrammatum que vulgo motetta dicuntur*, 1551) and in the reading of Francisco Guerrero's *Gloriose confessor* à 4 that appears in the Santiago Codex (Valladolid, Parroquia de Santiago, no call number). See Robert Stevenson, "Vicente Lusitano: New Light on His Career," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15 (1962), 76. This reading of *Gloriose confessor* is reprinted in Juan B. de Elústiza and Gonzalo Castrillo Hernández, *Antología musical: siglo de oro de la música litúrgica de España* (Barcelona: Casulleras, 1933), 86-88.

[20] I am indebted to Darcy Krasne for this explanation.

grouping. The first volume of Dulichius's *Centuria*, for example, commenced with a motet for the wedding its dedicatee, Duke Philipp II of Stettin. This practice dated from the previous century, as Lassus's *Primo libro dei motetti* (Antwerp, 1556) and Manchicourt's *Liber quintus cantionum sacrarum* (Leuven, 1554) attest; both open with a work addressed to their common dedicatee, Archbishop Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle.[21] Even within retrospective collections or miscellanies, occasional motets usually occupied a privileged location, as in Lassus's posthumous *Magnum opus musicum* (1604). In this magisterial collection, the works dedicated to the Duke of Bavaria and his family are placed first in the groupings according to number of voices.[22] Yet nothing about the placement of *Laeto dum coelo* in the *Cantiones variae* sets it apart as a privileged piece, for it appears fifth within the group of eight motets for eight voices. Nor does *Laeto dum coelo* seem to have played any particularly important part in filling space within the physical structure of the book, since it usually appears in the middle of signatures in most partbooks.

Granted, *Laeto dum caelo* is not a laudatory work in the same sense as Lassus's and Manchicourt's motets for Granvelle, from whom those composers may have sought patronage. As a clergyman at St. Jacobi, Fabricius was Praetorius's colleague (and probably a somewhat senior colleague). Like most works of its type, the motet for Fabricius's wedding was either written out of friendship or commissioned for money. In any case, Praetorius did not need to curry the favor of a patron in the *Cantiones variae*, which, as we have seen, was published at his own

[21] RISM A/I L758 and M272. See also Forney, "Orlando di Lasso's 'Opus I,'" 39-40.
[22] *Princeps Marte potens*, addressed to Duke Wilhelm V of Bavaria and his family, is first among the four-voice works in the *Opus musicum*; *Accipe qua recrees,* addressed to the Bishop of Würzburg, among the six-voice motets; and *Quid vulgo memorant*, commemorating a visit of Emperor Rudolph II to Augsburg, among the eight-voice motets. See Peter Bergquist's introduction to RRMR vol. 148, xvi-xvii, and xxi.

expense.[23] Despite the name embedded in its text, then, *Laeto dum caelo* was not a laudatory gesture to a patron; it was simply one wedding motet in a collection of many, as its unexceptional placement within the volume confirms.

Non moriar (1625)

For only one of Praetorius's motets is a dedicatee specified within the text of the collection. In the *Cantiones novae officiosae* (1625), the six-voice *Non moriar* (Appendix 3, no. 4) is labeled "Epitaph of the highly venerable and most worthy Herr Johann Schelhammer, Pastor and Superintendent of the church in Hamburg for thirty years, which, with most affectionate words, he himself placed and erected almost two years before his death."[24] Johann Schelhammer, who died in 1620, had been *Hauptpastor* at St. Petri since 1590 and Superintendent (*Senior*) of the city's churches since 1613; thus, in the last years of his life he was head of all the churches in Hamburg, and the highest-ranking personage in the city's ecclesiastical hierarchy. According to the text in the *Cantiones novae*, Schelhammer had already chosen his epitaph and erected his funerary monument in 1618, and he may have commissioned this motet from Praetorius at around the same time.[25] Such preparations for death – choosing an epitaph, constructing a gravesite, commissioning funerary music – were common among members of the higher classes in early Lutheran Germany, and were consistent with Lutheran attitudes towards death and dying: death was to be faced not

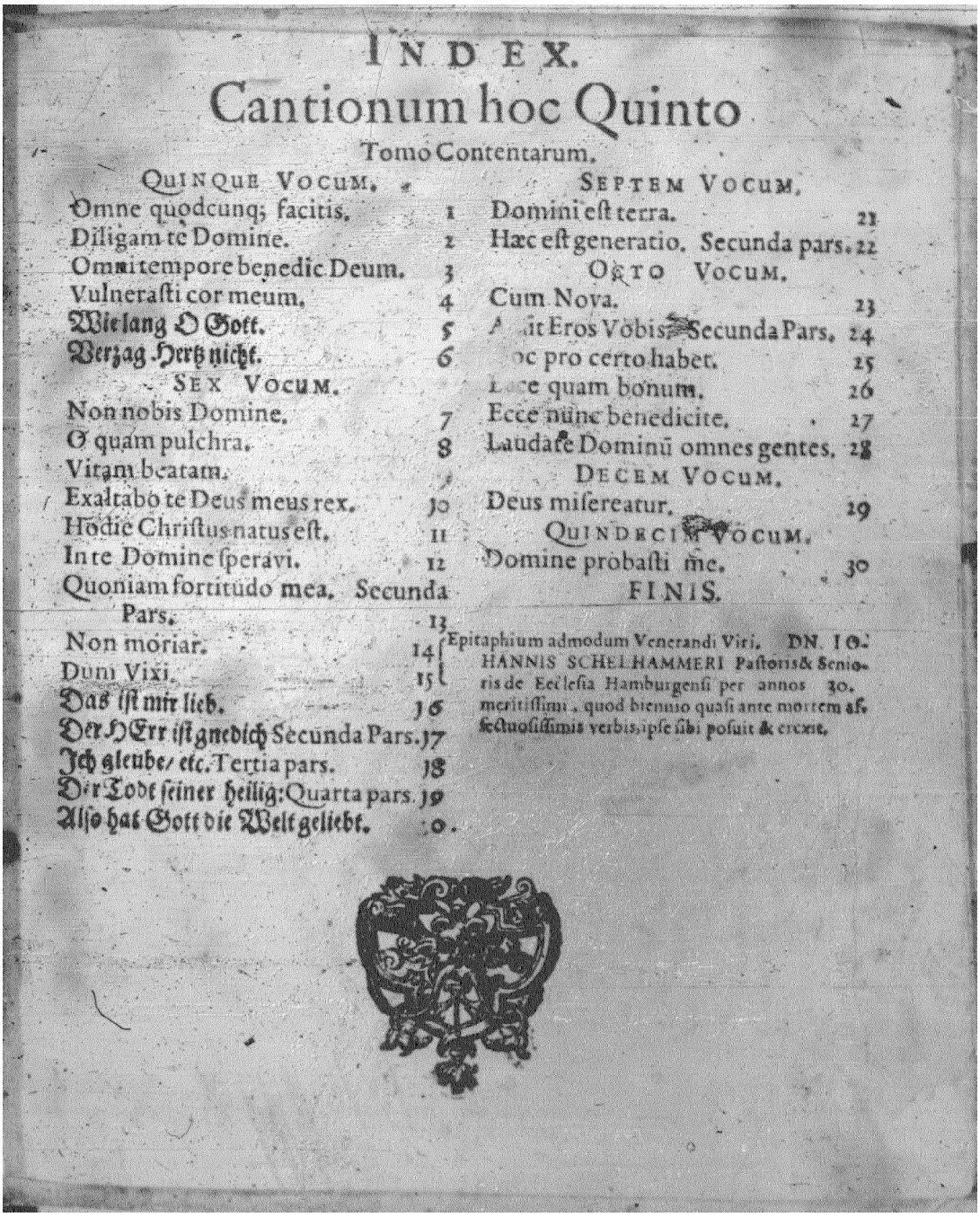
[23] See 154 above.
[24] "Epitaphium admodum Venerandi Viri, DN. IOHANNIS SCHELHAMMERI Pastoris & Senioris de Ecclesia Hamburgensi per annos 30. meritissimi, quod biennio quasi ante mortem affectuosissimis verbis, ipse sibi posuit & erexit." Cantus partbook, G4r.
[25] If Schelhammer had commissioned *Non moriar* from Praetorius in 1618, it was most likely after the publication of Praetorius's fourth volume, the *Cantiones variae* (1618); otherwise it might have appeared in that collection. On the probably spurious references to a 1618 edition of the *Cantiones novae*, see 164-169 above.

with fear and uncertainty, but with expectancy and spiritual resolution.[26] A particularly well-known case from somewhat later in the century was Heinrich Posthumus Reuß, in whose memory Heinrich Schütz composed the *Musikalische Exequien* (1636) on the scriptural texts Reuß had engraved on his coffin.[27]

Since the *Cantiones novae* is dedicated to the *Bürgermeister* and city council of Hamburg, Praetorius's mention of a recently deceased city notable like Schelhammer could be interpreted as a gesture of civic pride, and as a way to identify the collection as a Hamburg product. Indeed, the lengthy explanatory text beside the index entries for *Non moriar* and *Dum vixi* seems intended to catch the reader's attention (Figure 5-4). Although the index entries themselves occupy only two lines, the added text fills five full lines, though two curly braces clearly indicate to which titles it corresponds. The text spills onto right side of the page, filing in space that is blank in most of the index. Schelhammer's name is printed in capital letters for emphasis, and indeed it would have been well known to Hamburgers.

Yet *Non moriar* derives its special status in the *Cantiones novae* chiefly from its presentation in the index, since there is no reference to the occasion at the head of the motet. Its placement within the collection is also ambiguous. Though its central position in the collection as a whole (numbers 14 and 15 of 30 numbered items) may be interpreted as privileged, its position within the six-voice pieces in particular (the seventh of nine) is not. Praetorius's previous volume, the *Cantiones variae*, had also included pieces that had been addressed to prominent civic figures without naming them, such as the German *Te Deum* (*Herr Gott dich loben wir*) offered to the

[26] See Austra Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying: The* Ars Moriendi *in the German Reformation (1519-1528)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
[27] For other examples, see Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 268.



INDEX.

Cantionum hoc Quinto Tomo Contentarum.

QUINQUE VOCUM.

Omne quodcunq; facitis. 1
Diligam te Domine. 2
Omni tempore benedic Deum. 3
Vulnerasti cor meum. 4
Wie lang O Gott. 5
Verzag Hertz nicht. 6

SEX VOCUM.

Non nobis Domine. 7
O quam pulchra. 8
Vitam beatam. 9
Exaltabo te Deus meus rex. 10
Hodie Christus natus est. 11
In te Domine speravi. 12
Quoniam fortitudo mea. Secunda Pars. 13
Non moriar. 14
Dum Vixi. 15
Das ist mir lieb. 16
Der HErr ist gnedich Secunda Pars. 17
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Der Todt seiner heilig: Quarta pars. 19
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Domini est terra. 21
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OCTO VOCUM.

Cum Nova. 23
[illegible]it Eros Vobis Secunda Pars. 24
[illegible]oc pro certo habet. 25
[illegible]e quam bonum. 26
Ecce nunc benedicite. 27
Laudate Dominū omnes gentes. 28

DECEM VOCUM.

Deus misereatur. 29

QUINDECIM VOCUM.

Domine probasti me. 30

FINIS.

Epitaphium admodum Venerandi Viri, DN. IOHANNIS SCHELHAMMERI Pastoris & Senioris de Ecclesia Hamburgensi per annos 30. meritissimi, quod biennio quasi ante mortem ab sectuosissimis verbis, ipse sibi posuit & erexit.

Figure 5-4. Index to the *Cantiones novae officiosae* (Hamburg, 1625), Cantus partbook, G4r, identifying *Non moriar* as Schelhammer's epitaph. Västerås, Stadsbibliotek, Molér 46 [13].

Bürgermeister Hieronymus Vögeler in 1612. In those cases, however, the lack of names in the index may be consistent with the absence of a dedication for the volume as a whole, and the special treatment accorded to *Non moriar* may have served to set Schelhammer up as a secondary dedicatee. Though Praetorius appealed to the City Council to fund his final collection, the collection itself memorialized another prominent and beloved citizen of Hamburg.

The incipit *Non moriar* recalls Psalm 118:17: "I shall not die, but I shall live, and recount the works of the Lord" (*Non moriar sed vivam, et narrabo opera Domini*). By the late sixteenth century, this verse had specific associations with the Lutheran culture of dying. It was one of Martin Luther's favorite scriptural texts, which he wrote on the wall of his study in Coburg, setto the eighth psalm tone, and on which he later composed a brief four-voice motet.[28] Ludwig Senfl had also sent a motet on this text to Luther at the latter's behest in 1530, along with a setting of Psalm 4:8, "In peace I will both lie down and sleep" (*In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam*), another psalm verse expressing hopes for a peaceful death.[29] The verse "I shall not die…" came to summarize the hopeful view of death promoted by Luther and other theologians of the Reformation, who preached that death was the portal to eternal life in heaven, rather than a descent to the harsh judgment of purgatory.

This having been said, Schelhammer's epitaph is not the famous psalm verse, but a macaronic text in elegiac meter. Its first line, however, clearly paraphrases Psalm 118:17, as do the German lines that follow:

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[28] Transcribed in Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 60, and *WA* vol. 35, 535.
[29] Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 52.

Non moriar vivam, Christi magnalia dicam.
Wann ich schon sterb / so leb ich noch
Und preise meinen Christum hoch.
Dum vixi dixi verbum, verbo omnia cedant.
O Verbum, Verbi sis memor ipse tui,
Qui mea solvisti praeciosa debita λύτρω.
O Jesu, O animam suscipe Christe meam.

I shall not die, I shall live; I shall tell of the great deeds of Christ.
Even though I die, I shall live on,
And greatly praise my Christ.
While I lived, I spoke the Word; let all things yield to the Word.
O Word, be mindful of your Word,
You who have repaid my costly debts with your ransom.
O Jesus, O Christ, receive my soul.[30]

The grouping of disparate texts together as a single *Epitaphium* recalls the assorted scriptural verses and folk sayings collected in Reformation-era *Sterbebücher*, as well as the contemporary practice of inscribing several scriptural verses on coffins and gravestones; one case well known to music historians is that of Heinrich Schütz's patron Heinrich Posthumus Reuß, whose coffin verses provided the text for Schütz's *Musikalische Exequien* (1636).[31] Unlike Posthumus's pastiche of scriptural verses, however, Schelhammer's epitaph is newly composed in a classical style and then curiously juxtaposed with a folksier couplet in German that takes the place of one pentameter line in the elegiac meter. The anonymous poet's repeated invocation of the Word links the divine *logos* of John 1:1 to Schelhammer's vocation as preacher: "While I lived, I spoke the Word."

Partly because of its unorthodox text and partly because it employs the musical language of a later era, Praetorius's motet is worlds apart musically from

[30] Translation mine. The Cantus I, Tenor I, and Bassus parts have *praecioso* instead of *praeciosa* in line 6, though the long *o* at the end of *praecioso* is incompatible with the hexameter scansion of the line. In the same line, the Greek loanword λύτρω (printed with no iota subscript on the final omega in order to match the corresponding Latin form more closely) is spelled in Greek characters in the Cantus and Quinta Vox (cantus I) parts, and in Roman characters in the other parts (*lytro*), perhaps for the pedagogical benefit of boy singers from the Latin school.
[31] Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying*, 92, 143, and 181-182.

Luther's and Senfl's settings of *Non moriar*. Both Luther and Senfl's motets are relatively compact, sedate *cantus firmus* motets, based on the ornamented version of the eighth psalm tone to which the text had been underlaid on Luther's study wall. Accordingly, they both exhibited tonal characteristics consistent with the eighth Gregorian mode (tetrardus plagal): finals on G in the *durus* system with low clefs.[32] Praetorius's *Non moriar*, on the other hand, is a lengthy two-part setting (about 150 breves), full of the dramatic textural and rhythmic contrasts that were consistent with contemporary practice, and unraveling from the sturdy A-*durus* tonality of the first part into the absolute tonal ambiguity of the final Phrygian cadence. The first part has the rhythmic vitality and emphatic tonal profile characteristic of Praetorius's motets for more joyful occasions – surprising at first glance in a funeral motet, though well suited to the hopefulness of the first half of the text. The second part of the motet, with its more supplicatory text, is more intensely introverted and perhaps more stereotypically "funereal" than the first, featuring slower rhythmic motion and increasing tonal destabilization. Despite the ultimate return to a final on A, the tonality so forcefully established in the first part becomes increasingly unstable over the course of the second part, beginning with the occasional incursion of B-flats (in measure 83 on the important word "Verbum," for example). In the end, direct chromaticism takes permeates throughout the teture on the text "O animam suscipe Christe meam" (measures 135-143). Perhaps even more astonishing than the sudden appearance of the chromaticism (which, after all, had also been a feature of the

[32] According to the system of "tonal types" used in Powers, "Tonal Types and Modal Categories in Renaissance Polyphony." The edition of the Senfl printed in Joseph Müller-Blattau, "Die musikalischen Schätze der Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek zu Königsberg i. Pr.," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1923-24), 235-239, uses the cleffing g2/c3/c4/f4, a traditional configuration of "low" clefs, with the exception of the g2 clef in the Cantus part. It is unclear whether or not this is editorial. In any case, the Cantus part is not particularly high; reaching from c' and d'', it would fit well within the constraints of the c1 clef.

Passiontide motet *O vos omnes* from Praetorius's first volume) is the abrupt ending on a Phrygian cadence, as if in sudden answer to the prayer of the final line: "O Jesus, O Christ, receive my soul."

Excursus: *Cantiones novae officiosae* (1625) as Praetorius's "Swan Song"

The startling musical expressivity of *Non moriar*, combined with its unusual text and the reference in the index to Schelhammer's death, draws attention to the funereal themes that pervade the *Cantiones novae* as a whole. In his dedicatory epistle to the *Bürgermeister* and city council of Hamburg, Praetorius calls the collection "my swan song and Compline, as they used to say" (*cantionem cicneam, & ut olim loquebantur completorium*) and refers repeatedly to his own age and frailty, even though he did not actually die until 1629.[33] Complementing this characterization is a prominent concentration of motets – *Non moriar* among them – that treat of death, dying, and the afterlife. As I observed in Chapter 2, Praetorius's fifth and final volume occupies a somewhat uneasy place in the chronology of his works, both as an afterthought to his first four volumes and as a potential reaction to the "unauthorized" editions of his works published in Frankfurt in 1623 and 1624.[34] Yet the prevalence of funereal themes also connects the *Cantiones novae* to a contemporary tradition of musical and poetic "swan songs" by Protestant composers, final works anticipating the coming of death and expressing hope for the afterlife.[35]

As Gregory Johnston has noted, musical expressions of this sort varied widely in form and organization. Some were individual works printed in pamphlets or in

[33] See 169 above.
[34] See 177-178 above.
[35] Johnston, "Der Schwanengesang als christlicher Begriff."

anthologies; others were single-author collections that also served the practical purpose of providing church choirs with music for funerals, much like the sections of "burial songs" in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hymnals.[36] Praetorius's use of the term "swan song" and "Compline" in his dedication seems to reflect his knowledge of this tradition. "Compline" (*completorium*) in particular evokes both a figurative "end of the day" and the canticle *Nunc dimittis* (Luke 2:29-32), used at Vespers and Compline and long upheld as a model last utterance of a man close to death.[37] Unlike many of the collections named by Johnston as examples of the early Lutheran swan song tradition, however, the *Cantiones novae officiosae* was a hybrid exercise, combining certain characteristics of a swan-song publication with those of a more general collection. Funeral works were not the only pieces the collection had to offer, and appeared alongside works for weddings, Christmas, and Easter, along with several psalm motets. Nor does the title *Cantiones novae officiosae* immediately identify the collection as one of funeral music, especially in comparison to contemporary collection titles like *Threnodiae*, *Musica Thanatobuleutica*, and *Angst der Hellen und Friede der Seelen*, although the word *officiosae* ("dutiful") recollects both the occasional origins of many of the works and Praetorius's dedication of the work to the city council.

Most of the funeral motets in the *Cantiones novae* appear at the end of the groupings of motets for five and six voices.[38] The final motet in the six-voice group is the poignant *Wie lang O Gott*, whose anonymous text is the outpouring of a

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[36] See examples in Johnston, "Der Schwanengesang als christlicher Begriff," 185-187.
[37] Johnston, "Der Schwanengesang als christlicher Begriff," 179-80. The fact that the *Cantiones novae* contains no settings of the *Nunc dimittis* – Praetorius's eight-voice setting of the canticle is in the *Cantiones sacrae* of 1599, 1607, and 1622 – in no way invalidates the association with this Biblical swan song.
[38] It is interesting to note that none of Praetorius's motets on themes of death or penitence, in any of his collections, are scored for eight or more voices. I do not count the eight-voice *Nunc dimittis* in the *Cantiones sacrae*, both because it is assigned in the collection to the feast day of the Purification, and because its "swan-song" text was also a standard canticle of the church.

troubled heart hoping for God's help.[39] The final stanza hints that the end of worldly misery can be found only in death:

> Drückt dich das Kreuz, geduldig leid,
> daß [sic] durch Trübsal
> Müssen wir all
> Kommen zu Gott und die Welt drob machen zu Spott.
>
> If the Cross presses on you, suffer patiently,
> For through misery,
> We must all
> Come to God, and above [i.e., in Heaven] laugh the world to scorn.[40]

Three more motets at the end of the six-voice group form the centerpiece of the collection as a whole: *Non moriar*, the four-part *Das ist mir lieb* (Psalm 116), and *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt* (John 3:16).[41] All three texts juxtapose death with eternal life. With its references to "the pains of death" (*Stricke des Todes*) and "the death of His faithful" (*der Tod seiner Heiligen*), Psalm 116 was a popular text for funeral music in the Lutheran world, and in 1616 an entire anthology of settings of the psalm was commissioned by Burckhard Großmann in Jena.[42] Großmann had conceived of the collection as a thanksgiving for his own recovery from illness, but some of the composers who contributed saw the project as an opportunity to compose their own final musical statements. Großmann notes, for example, that Michael

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[39] Edited in DDT vol. 23, 156-158. The text was also set by Lassus in 1567 (edited in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 18, 27-30) and by Adam Gumpelzhaimer in 1594, with the heading "Conscientiae perturbatae precatio" (edited in DDT ser. 2, vol. 10:2, 63-64).
[40] DDT vol. 23, 158. The word "daß" may be an error for "dann" or "denn"; compare the text of Lassus's setting in *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 8, 30.
[41] *Das ist mir lieb* and *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt* are edited in DDT vol. 23, 159-174 and 152-155, respectively.
[42] The final product of this commission was published in 1623 as *Angst der Hellen Und Friede der Seelen / Das ist: Der CXVI Psalm Davids / Durch etzliche vornehme musicos im Chur vnd Fürstenthumb Sachsen / sehr künstlich vnd anmuhtig auff der Text gerichtet*… (Jena: Johann Weidner, 1623; RISM B/I 1623[4]). Hieronymus Praetorius's setting does not appear in this collection; it may not have been composed yet, and, in any case, he would not have counted as a "musician in the principality of Saxony."

Praetorius "composed this psalm not only in friendly compliance with my Christian request, but also as his own farewell."[43]

Hieronymus Praetorius's *Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt*, which concludes the section of six-voice pieces in the *Cantiones novae*, harmonizes with the themes of life and death by assuring "that whoever believes in him should not perish but have eternal life" (*auf das alle, die an ihn gleuben, nicht verlohren werden, sondern das ewige Leben haben*). Praetorius had set the same text in Latin – *Sic Deus dilexit mundum* – in the *Cantiones sacrae* of 1599, where it was grouped with the motets for Pentecost in accordance with liturgical usage. In this final collection, however, the familiar verse from the Gospel of John is taken at face value as a hope for eternal life.

The final motet in the collection, the fifteen-voice *Domine probasti me*, expresses radiant hopes of resurrection.[44] Its text is taken from Psalm 139, whose first verse is the versicle for the Introit at Mass on Easter Sunday: "O Lord, thou hast searched me and known me! Thou knowest when I sit down and when I rise up."[45] The extravagantly large texture (three choirs of five voices each) suggests the festive grandeur of Easter Mass, though this by no means keeps it from expressing the composer's own hope within the more personalized context of his *Opus musicum*.

Even though they probably began as occasional works composed for other people, the funereal character of these works confirms the "swan song" character of Praetorius's final collection. Given Praetorius's expectancy of his own death, so

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[43] "…nicht nur zur freundlichen Willfahrung meiner Christlichen Bitte / sondern auch ihme selbsten zum Valete / diesen Psalm componirt." Michael Praetorius, *Werke*, vol. 20, XXXV (between 130 and 131).

[44] Edited in RRMR vol. 19, 86-108.

[45] "Domine probasti me, et cognovisti me: tu cognovisti sessionem meam & reurrectionem mea[m]." The introit *Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum* and its accompanying versicle *Domine probasti me* are used in the Tridentine Missal of 1570; see *Missale Romanum ex decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini restitutum, S. Pii V Pontificis Maximi jussu editum* (Turin: Marietti, 1953), 311, among other editions. The same text also appears as the introit for Easter in most Lutheran liturgical sources of the sixteenth century, such as Lucas Lossius's *Psalmodia* (1553), CIII-CIIII, and Franz Eler's *Cantica sacra* (1588), CXXIII-CXXIIII.

clearly spelled out in his dedication, it is almost surprising that none of the works in the *Cantiones novae* is labeled as Praetorius's own *Epitaphium* or *Valete*, even though the motet for Schelhammer is so clearly singled out. On one hand, the entire collection was to memorialize Praetorius, almost like a musical equivalent of Christopher Wren's famous epitaph in St. Paul's Cathedral, London: "If you seek a monument, look around" (*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice*). Praetorius may even have composed some final funeral motet for himself after the 1625 collection, though such a work does not survive. On the other hand, funeral works composed for others could be recast as their composers' own final statements, either through print or through performance: Seth Calvisius's *Unser Leben währet siebnzig Jahr* (1615), originally composed for the burial of the Weissenfels *Bürgermeister* Paul Horn, was performed at Calvisius's own funeral only days before its performance at Horn's, and we have already seen that Michael Praetorius's setting of Psalm 116 for Großmann's anthology also served as his personal *Valete*.[46]

Though we do not know whether *Non moriar* or any of Hieronymus Praetorius's other works were performed at his funeral, his special treatment of *Non moriar* within the *Cantiones novae* suggests the possibility that he regarded his setting of Schelhammer's epitaph in a similar way, which is borne out in several parallels between Praetorius's career and Schelhammer's. Schelhammer certainly knew Praetorius and his family, and Praetorius's son Jacob, as organist at St. Petri, no doubt had regular contact with the *Hauptpastor*. Both Praetorius and Schelhammer worked for the church in Hamburg and had achieved prominence in the city's ecclesiastical life: one as a famous organist and composer, one as an esteemed pastor.

[46] Johnston, "Der Schwanengesang," 182-183.

Both men first achieved prominence in the 1590s: Schelhammer with his appointment to the pulpit of St. Petri in 1590, and Praetorius with his first printed collection in 1599. Similarly, both began to feel their decline around the 1620s: Schelhammer in 1618, with the preparation of his *Epitaphium*, and Praetorius in 1625, with the publication of his final collection; Schelhammer's death may have put Praetorius in mind of his own mortality even earlier. If the inclusion of Schelhammer's name in the *Cantiones novae* was a memorial to a departed friend and associate, the reprinting of his funeral motet served a double function, commemorating Schelhammer even as it added weight to the declaration of this collection as Praetorius's last.

Pamphlets and Patronage: *Herr Gott dich loben wir* (1612), *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* (1613), and *Firmetur manus tua* (1614)

Three works by Praetorius survive in the form of occasional pamphlets or sheets: *Herr Gott dich loben wir* (1612), *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* (1613), and *Firmetur manus tua* (1614). All were printed by Heinrich Carstens and reprinted by him in the *Cantiones variae* of 1618.[47] *Herr Gott dich loben wir* is by far the most impressive of the three; it was a sixteen-voice, four-choir setting of Martin Luther's verse paraphrase of the *Te Deum*. Praetorius dedicated his setting to the *Bürgermeister* Hieronymus Vögeler (in office 1610-1642), whom he addresses on the title page as his "especially generous Lord" (*Seinem insondern Großgünstigen Herrn*), his "mighty sponsor" (*mechtigen Befürderern*), and his *Schwager*, a term that hints at some indeterminate relation by marriage.[48] *Ein Kindelein so löbelich*, a

[47] For bibliographical information on these works, see Appendix 2, no. 4, 5, and 6. *Herr Gott dich loben wir* and *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* are edited in RRMBE vol. 91, 53-111, and RRMR vol. 18, 48-64, respectively.

[48] According to Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 9 (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1899), 2176, *Schwager* can refer either narrowly to a "brother-in-law" in the modern sense, or more broadly to "anyone related through marriage" (*jeder durch*

double-choir setting of the well-known Christmas hymn, was offered as a New Year's gift to Maria, Duchess of Saxony, Engern, and Westphalia (1566-1626), wife of Duke Franz II (1547-1619) and daughter of Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Finally, the eight-voice *Firmetur manus tua* set three verses of Psalm 89, and was dedicated to the two new *Bürgermeister* (Sebastian van Bergen, Johann Wetken) and four new city councilmen (Heinrich Hartzwich, Bernhard Twestreng, Barthold Beckmann, and Diederich Suhrmann) chosen in the *Ratswahl* of 1614, following a four-year period during which no elections had been held.[49]

Besides illuminating the material transition from occasional print to collection, these works offer insight into the role occasional music and pamphlets could play in economies of patronage and dedication. In *Herr Gott dich loben wir* and *Ein Kindelein* in particular, the pamphlet form that identified wedding compositions as gifts seems also to have been mobilized in a composer's search for patronage. As compact prints containing single works and cast as gifts, these two works may have served as initial "sample" offerings to distinguished personages whose sponsorship Praetorius may have been interested in securing.

The texts of all three works were well suited to the personages to whom they were addressed, but also versatile enough to be reusable for other purposes. The *Te Deum*, besides its liturgical use as a Matins canticle and a hymn of thanksgiving, had long been used to acclaim earthly rulers as well as the King of Kings, and served in

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Heirat verwandte). Buek, *Genealogische und biographische Notizen*, 65, records that Hieronymus Vögeler was married to Catharina Rheder, daughter of Michael Rheder, a former dean of the cathedral in Hamburg. Unfortunately, we know nothing of Praetorius's and Vögeler's siblings, or, indeed, whether they had any; similar information on their wives' families is also lacking.

[49] Buek, *Genealogische und biographische Notizen*, 69.

Praetorius's print to acknowledge Vögeler's civic supremacy as *Bürgermeister*.[50] Similarly, the carol *Ein Kindelein* transferred the Christmastime praise of the Virgin Mary onto her earthly namesake, the Duchess Maria, by incorporating a second carol that makes much of the name "Maria":

> Joseph lieber Joseph mein /
> Hilff mir wiegen das Kindelein /
> Gott der wirt dein Löner sein
> im Himelreich der Jungfrawn kindt Maria.
>
> Joseph, my dear Joseph,
> help me rock the little Child.
> God will reward you in heaven,
> the Child of the Virgin Mary.[51]

Finally, *Firmetur manus tua*, for example, employed the words of a psalm both to praise and advise the six new new civic leaders of 1614:

> Firmetur manus tua, et exaltetur dextera tua.
> Justicia et judicium praeparatio sedis tuae.
> Misericordia & veritas praecedent faciem tuam.
> Beatus populus qui scit jubilationem.
>
> Let thy hand be strengthened and thy right hand be exalted.
> Let justice and judgment be the preparation of thy seat.
> Let mercy and truth go before thy face.
> Blessed is the people that know the joyful sound. (Psalm 89:13-15)[52]

The familiar, versatile texts of the carol and the *Te Deum* explain the appearance of both prints in book fair catalogues in 1613; occasional or congratulatory pamphlets were not usually sold at book fairs.[53] Sheer size may have also added to the marketability of *Herr Gott dich loben wir*. Its lengthy text, combined with its extravagant texture, resulted in an unusually thick pamphlet of

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[50] Compare Sabine Žak, "Das Tedeum als Huldigungsgesang," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 102 (1982), 1-32, and van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France*, 136-150 and 157-166.
[51] See Wackernagel, vol. 3, no. 573. Praetorius sets only the first verse and the lengthy refrain in this setting.
[52] English translation follows the King James Version, which is a more literal rendering of the Latin than the RSV.
[53] See Göhler, no. 1124 (*Te Deum* and *Ein Kindelein* together) and 1125 (*Te Deum* alone). Compare also Stephen Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 275.

about eight folios (two quarto gatherings) per partbook, giving this print a more durable, "book-like" character than most other occasional pamphlets of the time. One catalogue entry, in Georg Willer's catalogue of the Frankfurt book fair in 1613, actually made a specific reference to the dedicatee of the *Te Deum*, identifying the work as "The *Te Deum laudamus*, in honor of Herr Hieronymus Vögeler, *Bürgermeister* of the city of Hamburg."[54] Alongside the many possible uses of a *Te Deum*, it is also worth considering to what extent the element of "name recognition" in works dedicated to high-ranking personages may have contributed to their appeal.[55] *Firmetur manus tua*, in contrast, was not marketed at fairs, despite its commemoration of six prominent politicians and an important civic event in Hamburg; this may have been owing to its arrangement in part-sheets rather than pamphlets.

Herr Gott dich loben wir has the distinction of being one of Praetorius's few works for which a specific date and occasion of performance is known, albeit one that predated its first appearance in print by five years. According to an account by Lucas van Cöllen, head pastor at St. Jacobi from 1595 to 1609, a sixteen-part German *Te Deum* by Hieronymus Praetorius was performed at the rededication service for the chapel of St. Gertrude, a hospital chapel in the parish of St. Jacobi:

> Darup ys gesungen: HEre GOdt wy lauen dy / &c. welckes Hieronymus Præatorius vnser Kercken Organiste gesettet hefft vp sösteyn Stemmen / mit veer Choren. Dat erste Chor ys gesungen. Dat ander van einem besünderigen Bauenchore / mit Zincken vnde Bassunen geblasen. Dat drüdde van einem andern Orde / mit Fiolen vnde Regalen. Dat veerde vp der Orgel / doch also / dat den

[54] "Das Te Deum laudamus zu Ehren Herrn Hieronymo Vöglern der Stadt Hamburg Burgermeistern." Göhler, no. 1125.
[55] Compare, for example, Göhler, no. 1142: Michael Praetorius's *Epithalamium* for the wedding of Friedrich Ulrich, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg to Anna Sophia of Brandenburg (September 4, 1614), which appeared in the official Frankfurt book fair catalogue in Fall 1614.

> gewöntlyken Choral de Knaben intoneret / vnde dat Sanctus tho dren malen repeteret vnde wedderhalet ys.
>
> After that was sung *Herr Gott, dich loben wir,* which Hieronymus Praetorius, our church organist, composed for sixteen parts in four choirs. The first choir was sung, the second was played by cornets and sackbuts from a special platform, the third by string instruments and regals from another place, [and] the fourth by the organ. In this way the boys intoned the usual melody and the Sanctus was repeated three times.[56]

It seems unlikely that the sixteen-voice setting mentioned by Cöllen is different from the one in the pamphlet in 1612 and in the motet collection in 1618. Cöllen's use of the Low German title *Here Godt wy lauen dy* simply reflects his conception of the familiar title as a speaker of Low German; to him, the grandiose performance of Praetorius's four-choir work was chiefly a rendition of the church's supreme canticle of thanksgiving, celebrating the rededication of a long-unused city landmark.

Besides the quadruple-choir texture and the German text, Cöllen mentions another performance detail that corresponds with the printed versions of the work. The intonation of the incipit in plainchant (*Choral*), and the chanting of the *Sanctus* section of the canticle ("Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts"), both by boys, agree with the presence of both these phrases in plainchant notation in the Cantus I part only, while the other parts make reference to the singing of these texts by the *Pueri* (Figures 5-5 and 5-6). The plainchant intonation of the *Sanctus* highlighted this part of the canticle as a moment of special ritual importance, for this text was traditionally accompanied by a bow towards the altar.[57] Furthermore, the assignment of the

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[56] Lucas van Cöllen, *Dedicatio Templi S. Gertrudis Hamburgensis. Eine Inwyginges Predige / geholden in der renouerten vnde vornyerten Capellen S. Gertruden in Hamborch* (Hamburg: Philipp von Ohrs Erben, [1609]), A5v-A6r. English translation from Frederick K. Gable, introduction to RRMBE vol. 91, viii.

[57] In the manuscript *Cantiones sacrae chorales* compiled by Hieronymus Praetorius in 1587, the use of red ink and all capital letters distinguishes texts that are to be recited with special reverence. The second *Sanctus* of the *Te Deum* is so marked, as is every appearance of the name *Jesus*, the verse "Te ergo quaesumus… quos pretioso sanguine redemisti" (2r? 3r?), the verse *Et incarnatus est* in the Nicene Creed (15v), and the equivalent passages in the German versions of each (4r and 16v-17,

Figure 5-5. Praetorius, *Das Te Deum laudamus deutsch* (Hamburg, 1612), Cantus/Tenor I partbook, A1v, showing *Pueri* notation in Cantus I part. Burgsteinfurt, Historische Bibliothek des Gymnasium Arnoldinum, Philol. Quart. M9.

respectively). In Eler, *Cantica sacra* (1588), there is no typographical change at these texts, though the special import of the text is signaled instead by change from *Huffnagel* notation to black breves.

Figure 5-6. Praetorius, *Das Te Deum laudamus deutsch* (Hamburg, 1612), Cantus/Tenor I partbook, A2r, showing *Pueri* indications in Tenor I part. Burgsteinfurt, Historische Bibliothek des Gymnasium Arnoldinum, Philol. Quart. M9.

Sanctus to boys may have been peculiar to Hamburg. On the one hand, it reflects the common practice, known from Protestant service books of the period, of assigning intonations and versicles to boys. On the other hand, few other contemporary German settings of the *Te Deum* switch to plainchant for the *Sanctus*. In most of Michael Praetorius's settings of *Herr Gott, dich loben wir*, for four to twelve voices, plainchant is used only in the incipit, while Hans Leo Hassler's setting of 1608 and Heinrich Schütz's of 1668 include no plainchant interpolations at all.[58] Praetorius's inclusion of the plainchant at this point thus may have tailored his magnificent composition specifically for use in Hamburg, for a special Hamburg occasion.

Furthermore, the use of four choirs – one better than the triple-choir *Alleluia, cantate Domino* by Jacobus Gallus also performed at the festivities – may have had special associations for the city of Hamburg. In his edition of the music performed at this service, Frederick Gable notes the chapel's distinctive octagonal shape, and Cöllen's account places the four choirs at the four cardinal edges of the octagon.[59] The fourfold texture may have recalled the city's four main parishes – St. Petri, St. Nikolai, St. Katharinen, and St. Jacobi – whose inhabitants were gathering to celebrate the rededication of another city church. The event does seem to have brought together the city's foremost musicians, and Gable has suggested that the organists from all four parish churches performed at the service, with three accompanying the vocal and instrumental choirs, and one at the large organ in the

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[58] Michael Praetorius, *Werke*, vol. 3, 1-21; vol. 5, 18-43; vol. 16, 34-42 and 125-134; Hans Leo Hassler, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 8: *Psalmen und Christliche Gesäng (1608)*, edited by C. Russell Crosby, Jr. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1966), 54-58; Heinrich Schütz, *Werke*, vol. 32, 58-100. However, in his five-voice setting from the fifth volume of *Musae Sioniae* (1607), Praetorius includes an optional two-voice setting of the verse "Heilig ist unser Gott" for two trebles (*Werke*, vol. 5, 27); in the twelve-voice setting from the third part of *Musae sioniae* (1607), the first two statements of "Heilig ist unser Gott" are sung as a trio by the trebles of each choir (Werke, vol. 3, 3).

[59] On the architecture of St. Gertrude's chapel and its role in the rendition of the music performed at the service, see Gable, introduction to RRMBE vol. 91, xi-xiii and diagram on xiv.

west balcony.[60] The parallel to the four parishes of Hamburg may also hint at civic connections for Praetorius's other two quadruple-choir works, which also appeared in the *Cantiones variae*: the sixteen-voice *Exultate justi in Domino* and the twenty-voice *Decantabat populus Israel* (scored for four choirs of five voices each).[61] In the absence of other pamphlet sources and performance accounts, however, this must remain conjecture.

The printing of *Herr Gott dich loben wir* after the event was not unusual in and of itself. Cöllen's dedication sermon for St. Gertrude's, for example, was printed by the heirs of Philipp von Ohr in 1609; aside from the ubiquity of printed sermons in Protestant Germany, this print followed in a longstanding tradition of early modern books, leaflets, and broadsides that commemorated important civic events.[62] Yet the pamphlet print of *Herr Gott dich loben wir* makes no reference at all to the dedication of St. Gertrude's. Instead, it presents the music it contains as a gift to a local dignitary who had heard the piece and enjoyed it. Praetorius's dedication reads:

> Ehrnvester / Wolachtbarer vnd Hochweiser Insonders / großgünstiger lieber Herr vnd Schwager: Nach dem den schönen vnnd Geistreichen Gesang das Te Deum laudamus teutsch / wie dasselbige in vnseren Kirchen zu singen gebreuchlich / zu lobe der Göttlichen Majestät ich nach denselbigen geringen gaben / so mir Gott der HErr dazu aus Gnaden verliehen / mit 16. Stimmen gesetzt vnd componiret: Vnd aber aus vielen anzeigungen gespüret vnnd vermercket / daß E. Ehrv. [sic] Wolach. Hochw. (alß die ohne das sonderbare Lust vnd liebe zu diesen vnnd dergleichen rühmlichen Künsten tragen) solche meine geringfügige Composition sich großgünstiglich wolgefallen lassen / Also habe ich dieselbige in Truck verfertiget / vnd E. Ehrnv. Wolach. Hochw. da mit vnterdienstlich offeriren, dediciren vnd zuschreiben wollen / dienstfleissig bittend / dieselbige mein vnd der meinigen

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[60] Gable, introduction to RRMBE vol. 91, xxv.
[61] Edited in DDT vol. 23, 90-106 and 107-123, respectively.
[62] See, for example, Christian Jouhaud, "Printing the Event: From La Rochelle to Paris," in *The Culture of Print,* edited by Roger Chartier and translated by Lydia Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). In Germany, such municipal prints were often funded by the City Council itself, as was the pamphlet print of J. S. Bach's *Gott ist mein König* (BWV 71, 1708), though we do not know to what extent this was true of Praetorius's pamphlet prints.

> großgünstiger Herr / patron vnd fürderer ferners seyn vnd bleiben wolle / E. Ehr. Wolach. Hochw. der gnedigen protection des allerhöhesten damit getrewlich / vnd mich deroselben zu gunsten vnterdienstlich empfhelend. Die Michaelis, Anno Christi 1612.
>
> E. Ehrnv. Wolach. Hochw.
>
> Vnterdienstwilliger
>
> Hieronymus Prætorius.
>
> Honorable, eminent, most wise, and most generous dear lord and kinsman-by-marriage: After I set to music that beautiful and spiritual hymn, the German *Te Deum laudamus*, as it is customarily sung in our churches to the praise of God's majesty, using the meager gifts which the Lord God has graciously bestowed upon me; And having learned and noted from many indications that my humble composition greatly pleased Your Honor (not to mention the particular pleasure and love you have for [music] and the other fine arts); I have had the same printed, and thereby wish to offer, dedicate, and inscribe it dutifully to Your Honor, diligently asking that you will remain the generous lord, patron, and sponsor of me and mine. Recommending Your Honor faithfully to the gracious protection of the Almighty, and myself humbly to you. Michaelmas, 1612.
>
> Your Honor's obedient servant
>
> Hieronymus Praetorius.[63]

Though there is no mention of the dedication of St. Gertrude's, Vögeler was almost certainly present in his official capacity as city councilor, for he had already held this office for eleven years in 1607. Whether he heard the piece at any other time is unknown, though the date "Michaelmas, 1612" suggests another possibility; several early Lutheran service books and ordinances prescribe the singing of the *Te Deum* on the feast day of the Archangel Michael because of its incorporation of the Sanctus, the angels' hymn.[64] Yet Praetorius's goal in the dedication is clearly not to commemorate the events at which his German *Te Deum* was performed, but instead to praise his "honorable, eminent, most wise, and most generous dear lord and

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[63] Cantus I / Tenor I partbook, 1v. Translation mine.

[64] Bugenhagen's church ordinance of 1529 prescribes the singing of the *Te Deum* on Michaelmas after the reading of the Gospel at Mass (Bugenhagen, *Der Ehrbaren Stadt Hamburg christliche Ordnung*, 128). The *Te Deum* appears among the chants for Michaelmas in Johannes Keuchenthal, *Kirchengesenge lateinisch und deutsch* (Wittenberg: Lorentz Schwenck, 1573), 516r, and "Das *Te Deum laudamus* Deutsch" is listed among the German hymns appropriate for Michaelmas in Matthaeus Ludecus, *Missale, Hoc est Cantica, preces et lectiones sacrae...* (Wittenberg, 1589), 341v.

kinsman-by-marriage." More important than the actual circumstances of performance was the fact that Vögeler heard and appreciated Praetorius's "humble composition."

Print thus transformed a grandiose occasional work, composed for a specific civic occasion and location, into a musical gift for a *Bürgermeister* and possibly also a bid for his patronage, as the continual references to Vögeler as "lord, patron, and sponsor" seem to suggest. Praetorius's request that Vögeler "remain" his patron did not necessarily connote any ongoing relationship of patronage, for none of Praetorius's previous collections had been dedicated to Vögeler. Several factors made Vögeler a desirable patron, however. Both before and after his election as *Bürgermeister* in 1610, Vögeler was a prominent and well-loved citizen. At the visit of King Christian IV of Denmark to Hamburg in late October 1603, he and another councilman, Eberhard Esich, were the designated "captains" (*Hauptleute*) of the king's entrance festivities, and had the honor of receiving the king and his entourage at the city gates, on horseback and clad in full armor.[65] Vögeler went on several diplomatic missions for the city, including to the royal courts of France, England, and Spain; on these missions, in the words of the late seventeenth-century chronicler Wolffgang Heinrich Adelungk, he "served the cause of the city with particular diligence and statesmanlike renown."[66] Praetorius's praise of Vögeler as a lover of the fine arts is echoed in several histories and chronicles, which also praise the

[65] Buek, *Genealogische und biographische Notizen*, 65-66. Both councilmen's names appear in numerous chronicles of the vist, of which I can cite only a sampling here: Tobias Loncius, *Historischer Begrieff*... (Magdeburg: Johann Francke, [1603]), B1v; Steltzner, *Versuch einer zuverläßigen Nachricht*, vol. 2, 463; and Gallois, *Hamburgische Chronik*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: n.n., 1861), 1263-1268.

[66] "…der gemeinen Stadt-Sachen… mit besonderem Fleiß und staatlicher Renommeè [sic] expediret." Adelungk, *Kurtz Historische Beschreibung*, 32.

Bürgermeister for his eloquence; Adelungk remarks that he was "compared to Cicero on account of his eloquence and fine Latin."[67]

Beyond the pamphlet of 1612, there is no further record of any relationship between Vögeler and Praetorius, and it is possible that Praetorius was unsuccessful in winning Vögeler's patronage. In his next major collection of polyphony to be published after the occasional works of 1612 through 1614, the *Liber Missarum* (1616), Praetorius seems to have fallen back on the dedicatees of his first collection, the elders of St. Jacobi. This time he was successful, for the elders paid him six thalers in December 1616 for the Mass volume.[68] As for the *Te Deum* itself, it may have received a second performance at the Reformation centennial festivities in Hamburg on October 31, 1617.[69]

The print of *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* may also have memorialized some celebratory occasion, perhaps a visit by the Duchess Maria to Hamburg. Praetorius's wishes for "a happy, joyous, and healthy New Year" (*zu Wünschung eines Glückseligen / Frewdenreichen vnd gesunden Newen Jahrs*) gives us a clue to the date of such an occasion, either in 1613 or in the previous year. Indeed, Eler's *Cantica sacra* assigned the song *Joseph lieber Joseph mein*, whose text makes up the second part of the piece, to Vespers on New Year's Day.[70]

The musical treatment of the name *Maria* in the second part of the piece seems to confirm that the piece was intended for performance in the Duchess's

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[67] "[W]egen seiner Eloquentz und zierlichen Latein ist er dem Cicero zu vergleichen gewesen." Adelungk, *Kurtze Historische Beschreibung*, 32. See also Johann Albert Fabricius, *Memoriae Hamburgenses sive HAMBVRGI, Et Virorum de Ecclesia, Reque publica & Scholastica Hamburgensi bene meritorum. Elogia & Vitae*, vol. 1 (Hamburg: Christianus Liebezeit, 1710), 136.
[68] See 153 n. 43 above.
[69] Johann Heinrich Höck, *Bilder aus der Geschichte der Hamburgischen Kirche seit der Reformation* (Hamburg: Verlag der Evangelischen Buchhandlung, 1900), 45, mentions the singing of *Herr Gott, dich loben wir* "by the church choirs" (*von den Kirchenchören*) at St. Petri, though no composer is named.
[70] Eler, *Cantica sacra*, LXII, prescribes the singing of the *Nunc dimittis* at Vespers on the feast of the Circumcision (January 1), "along with the songs *Joseph lieber* and *In dulci jubilo*" (*Cum canticis Joseph leuer Joseph & In dulci jubilo*).

Musical Example 5-1. Hieronymus Praetorius, *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* (*Cantiones variae*, 1618), measures 90-96.

presence. Praetorius sets the final line of the carol's first verse as a series of three echoes between the two choirs, with the final repetition of "Maria" sung by the second choir and first Cantus part alone (measures 90-96, Musical Example 5-1). Besides highlighting the irregular length of this final line (the line "Sit gloria Christo nato infantulo," in measures 116-123, is set similarly), Praetorius's text setting sets off the name shared by both the mother of Christ and "the illustrious, highborn princess and lady" (*Der Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürstinnen vnnd Frawen*) towhom the work is dedicated, perhaps more for the praise of the latter than of the former. Unfortunately, no dedicatory epistle survives for the 1613 pamphlet that might offer a clue to the occasion of the first performance, nor do surviving Hamburg chronicles make any mention the Duchess.[71] It is equally possible, of course, that the Duchess never came to Hamburg and that the piece was performed for her elsewhere; the survival of the 1613 pamphlet in Westphalia instead of Hamburg may support this.[72]

If these settings of a canticle, a carol, and a psalm were transformed by the occasional pamphlet format into congratulatory offerings to high-ranking dedicatees, their reappearance in the *Cantiones variae* of 1618 may give us a clue about the outcome of Praetorius's relationship to those dedicatees. Naturally, the reprinting of these three large and ambitious pieces preserved them for posterity as part of the composer's *Opus musicum*. Yet the placement of those pieces in a volume of self-

[71] Dedications were customarily printed in the Tenor parts of German partbook publications. This is true for all of Praetorius's collections of polyphony, as well as for *Herr Gott dich loben wir* (in which the dedication appears in the Cantus I/Tenor I partbook). The Tenor part of the 1613 print of *Ein Kindelein* is no longer extant; only the Cantus I and Bassus I parts survive (Burgsteinfurt, Historische Bibliothek des Gymnasium Arnoldinum, Philol. Quart. M9 and M10), and neither include a dedication.

[72] Bound with the parts in faded parchment bindings are copies of Praetorius's *Cantiones sacrae* of 1607, the *Te Deum* of 1612, Peter Phillips's *Cantiones sacræ, octonis vocibus* (Antwerp, 1613), and an *Erster Theil Etlicher Teutscher Geistlicher Psalmen vnd Gesängen* (Frankfurt, 1612) by Konrad Hagius, court Capellmeister at Bückeburg on the border of Lower Saxony and Westphalia.

published *Variae* – instead of, say, a more thematically organized collection dedicated to the *Bürgermeister*, the city council, or the Duchess, beginning or ending with the corresponding work – may also suggest that Praetorius ultimately failed to gain their patronage, since Vögeler, Duchess Maria, and the six new city councilors do not reappear as dedicatees of Praetorius's works. Of course, this would not have been the first time motets addressed to specific individuals had appeared in a collection not dedicated to them; some of Lassus's publications, for example, contained works of this sort.[73] An example of this phenomenon from Northern Europe can be found in the first part of Philipp Dulichius's *Centuria* (1607), which, though dedicated to the Duke of Stettin, also included two motets addressed to city councilors from Danzig, Gerhard Brandes and Bartholomaeus Schacchman. These works dated from Dulichius's application in 1604 to the post of cantor in Danzig, though Dulichius had been unsuccessful in this application, and his subsequent letters to the city council were never answered.[74] Yet for Dulichius, and possibly for Praetorius as well, the failure of such works to gain the sponsorship of their dedicatees was no reason to withhold them from the press altogether, since they still served a useful purpose in rounding out the composers' collections.

At the same time, some aspects of the visual arrangement of *Herr Gott dich loben wir* and *Ein Kindelein* in the *Cantiones variae* of 1618 recall the layout of the pamphlets. In the 1618 collection, the line-breaks in the duple-meter section of *Ein Kindelein* are for the most part identical to those printed in the two surviving parts of

[73] See, for example, the discussion of Lassus five-voice motet *Te spectant Reginalde poli* in Forney, "Orlando di Lasso's 'Opus I,'" 34-35, and in RRMR vol. 114, xiv. Though it addresses the papal legate Reginald Pole, *Te spectant* first appeared as the tenth of seventeenth works in Lassus's *Primo libro de mottetti* (Antwerp, 1556), a collection dedicated to Archbishop Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle. See 331 above.

[74] *Deus in adjutorium* à 8 and *Ei, qui potens est* à 7 (vol. 1, no. 14 and 18 of thirty works). See DDT vol. 31, VIII.

the 1613 print (Cantus I and Bassus I) in the corresponding partbooks; in the Bassus part of the *Cantiones variae*, the line breaks are identical in the triple-meter section, as well (Figures 5-7 and 5-8). The distribution of the sixteen voice parts of *Herr Gott dich loben wir* into eight partbooks, with each two parts per partbook printed on alternating facing pages, was maintained in the 1618 collection, and is also used in the other sixteen-voice piece in the collection, *Exultate justi*. In both the publications of 1612 and 1618, the Cantus and Tenor parts of the same choir appeared together the same partbook, as did the Altus and Bassus parts of the same choir; however, Carstens reversed the placement of the Altus and Bassus parts in the 1618 edition, placing the Altus on the verso side and the Bassus on the recto side (Table 5-1). In *Herr Gott dich loben wir*, the line breaks are not preserved as consistently in *Ein Kindelein*; those of the Cantus and Altus parts (both printed on verso pages in the 1618 partbooks) are, for the most part, identical to those in the corresponding parts of the pamphlet edition, though the line breaks in the Tenor and Bassus parts are usually not.

The existing similarities, however, suggest that Carstens turned to the pamphlet prints of *Ein Kindelein* and *Herr Gott* as guides to arranging them on the pages of the *Cantiones variae*.[75] The reuse of the pamphlets – which, in 1618, were five and six years old, and which do not seem to have been on the market after 1613 – also suggests that either Carstens or Praetorius saved some copies of the pamphlet works for the express purpose of reprinting their contents at some point in the

[75] This does not seem to have been true of *Firmetur manus tua*, due to the difference in size between the broadsheets that make up the occasional print and the quarto partbooks of the 1618 edition.

future.[76] In planning the page layout of *Herr Gott dich loben wir*, whose higher parts only are aligned with those of the pamphlet, Carstens may have begun by following the line breaks of the pamphlet, and decided later – for some unknown reason – to abandon that scheme. Considerations of space may have played a role in his decision; the above illustrations also show that the spacing of the music type in the collection (Figure 5-8) was somewhat more compressed than in the pamphlet (Figure 5-7), perhaps in order to economize on space and to fit in as many pieces as possible. To Praetorius, contemplating his collected works edition, and to Carstens, whom he had engaged to print it, occasional pamphlets like *Das Te Deum laudamus Deutsch* and *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* may have served a practical purpose beyond their value as keepsakes, saving the former the trouble of writing out fair copies while assisting the latter in planning his layouts.

Conclusion

Despite my concern with the material transmission of Hieronymus Praetorius's occasional music after the fact, I by no means wish to understate or efface its single-use character, which is part of its appeal to scholars old and new. Although prints like the *Cantiones variae* and the *Cantiones novae officiosae* preserved occasional works for posterity, they could not preserve the moments of their first performances at weddings, funerals, and assorted civic celebrations –

[76] Compare Rose, "Schein's Occasional Music," 276-277, who notes that both composers and dedicatees sometimes kept copies of occasional pieces to distribute to family and friends.

Figure 5-7. Praetorius, *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* (Hamburg 1613), Bassus I partbook, 2r. Burgsteinfurt, Historische Bibliothek des Gymnasium Arnoldinum, Philol. Quart. M10.

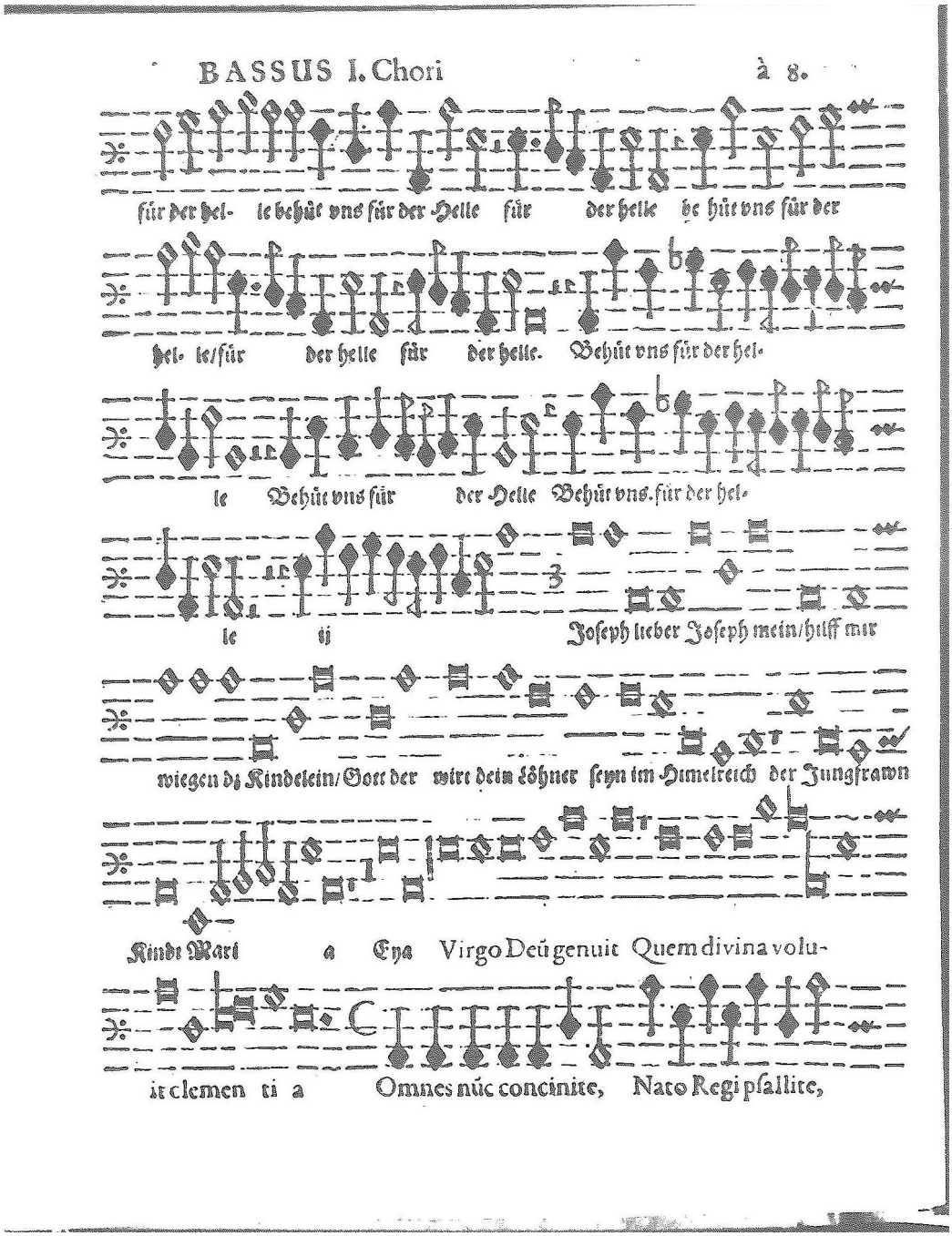

Figure 5-8. Praetorius, *Ein Kindelein so löbelich*, in *Cantiones variae* (Hamburg, 1618), Bassus partbook, F2v. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617.

Table 5-1. Distribution of voice parts in *Herr Gott dich loben wir* à 16 in *Das Te Deum laudamus deutsch* (Hamburg: Carstens, 1612) and *Cantiones variae* (Hamburg: Carstens, 1618. Information in italics refers to parts of the 1612 print that no longer survive and is extrapolated on the basis of the surviving parts.

Partbook of *Das Te Deum laudamus deutsch* (1612)	Partbook of *Cantiones variae* (1618)	Voice part on verso pages	Voice part on recto pages
Cantus & Tenor Primi Chori	Cantus	Cantus I (both)	Tenor I (both)
Bassus & Altus Primi Chori	*Altus*	*Bassus I (1612)* Altus I (1618)	*Altus I (1612)* Bassus I (1618)
Cantus & Tenor II. Chori	*Tenor*	*Cantus II (both)*	*Tenor II (both)*
Bassus & Altus II. Chori	Bassus	Bassus II (1612) Altus II (1618)	Altus II (1612) Bassus II (1618)
Cantus & Tenor III. Chori	*Quinta vox (Cantus II*	*Cantus III (both)*	*Tenor III (both)*
Bassus & Altus III. Chori	Sexta vox (Altus II)	Bassus III (1612) Altus III (1618)	Altus III (1612) Bassus III (1618)
Cantus & Tenor IV. Chori	Septima vox (Tenor II)	Cantus IV (both)	Tenor IV (both)
Bassus & Altus IV. Chori	Octava vox (Bassus II)	Bassus IV (1612) Altus IV (1618)	Altus IV (1612) Bassus IV (1618)

occasions that had much of the visceral excitement of "first nights," to borrow Thomas Forrest Kelly's formulation.[77] The new music performed before the newlyweds, new city officials, or newly arrived noble visitors was the culmination of the work not only of composers and printers, but also of choirboys, organists, cantors, *Stadtpfeifer*, Latin school teachers, and even sextons. The audible results of their combined efforts had the most immediate impact, as we see in Lucas van Cöllen's praise of the music performed at the 1607 dedication of St. Gertrude's chapel: "I must add and declare here that, although I have heard music many times, I have not often

[77] Thomas Forrest Kelly, *First Nights: Five Musical Premieres* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), especially xii-xiii.

before now heard it sound like it did then in the chapel."[78] Printed books could never ultimately capture the excitment of such a moment, even if they sometimes showed the visual traces of the pamphlet prints that were, so to speak, "really there."

What the *Cantiones variae* and *Cantiones novae officiosae* did, however, was to grant occasional works an afterlife purely as music, for the benefit of musicians: "to the honor of the Divine majesty, and for the good of the Christian and musical community" (*Divinæ majestatis honori, Reipublicæ Christianæ & Musicæ BONO*), as the title pages of both collections proclaimed. After all, it was as music that Praetorius's collections were marketed – as "various songs" and as "new, dutiful songs" – rather than as mementos; even a collection like Dulichius's *Centuria*, which named the dedicatees of occasional works, was not intended as a musical "hall of fame." From this point of view, original occasions did not matter. An occasional motet addressing its dedicatees by name could, in principle, still be sung quite happily by a family making music at home, by *Currendaner* and *Symhoniaci* busking in the streets, or by schoolchildren in the classroom or dining hall.[79] Indeed, the educational potential of such works for the Latin school curriculum was considerable, since students sang four-part Latin odes as practice in both music and poetry, and since wedding odes were among the first Latin poems students learned to write.[80] The singing of "used" wedding motets might simply have been the next stage in this educational program, acquainting students with representative examples of wedding poetry while honing their musical skills.

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[78] "Ick moth dyth hyr hentho dohn / dat ick moth bekennen / dat / effte ick wol veelmal Musicam gehöret / dennoch nicht vaken hebbe bether klingen hoeren / gelyck wo damahl in der Capellen gehöret worden ys." van Cöllen, *Dedicatio Templi S. Gertrudis Hamburgensis*, A6r. Translation mine.

[79] On mealtime singing in school, see 225-226 above. On the *Currende,* see Liselotte Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation im XVII. Jahrhndert* (Strassburg: Heitz & Co., 1933.), 47, and John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 4.

[80] Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege*, 202.

Finally, it is worth remembering that Praetorius's final two collections were not isolated endeavors. They were conceived as part of his *Opus musicum*, and the variety of works they offered rounded out the collection. With the addition of these two final volumes, Praetorius's *Opus musicum* now contained music in all the principal Latin-texted musical genres that were current in early seventeenth-century Germany: church motets, Magnificat settings, Masses, and occasional motets.[81] When all four (or five) volumes were bound together – as they frequently were – the result was more than a "collected works" edition; it really was a compendium of polyphonic music for every conceivable occasion, whether feast days, weddings, funerals, or informal sessions of recreational singing. Once incorporated into this collection, the occasional motets of the *Variae* and *Novae* joined with Praetorius's other works in exemplifying the far-reaching range of his musical oeuvre. Or – to paraphrase the famous verse from Psalm 118 – they did not die, but lived, and told of the greatness of their composer.

[81] It is interesting to note the paucity of chorale-based works in Praetorius's *Opus musicum*, although Praetorius did make contributions to the German chorale repertoire in his twenty-one four-part settings for the *Melodeyen-Gesangbuch* (Hamburg: Samuel Rüdinger, 1604).

CONCLUSION

The story of music in early seventeenth-century Hamburg cannot be told apart from the story of musical books in Hamburg. Indeed, much of what we know about the city's musical life at this period has come to us from the printed works that have survived and from bibliographical records of those items now lost, such as the earliest Hamburg hymnbooks and the pamphlets that originally contained occasional motets by Hieronymus and Jacob Praetorius. Vernacular musical devotion shortly after the Reformation can be glimpsed in the pages of the *Enchiridion geistliker Leder und Psalmen* (1558 and 1565); the uses of liturgical chant in German and Latin are codified in Eler's *Cantica sacra* (1588); and the career of Hamburg's first well-known composer is witnessed in the *Opus musicum* of Hieronymus Praetorius.

Yet the emphasis I have placed on print and material form arises from more than the sheer necessity that obliges scholars to work with historical documents. Print was, in many ways, integral to musical culture in North Germany (as, indeed, throughout Europe), or at least to the literate musical practices on which I have focused here. It was not enough, for example, simply to compose a celebratory motet and then have it performed it at a wedding, *Ratswahl*, or church dedication. Printed pamphlets distributed to guests enhanced the music being performed, proclaiming at once the worthiness of the bridal couple and the lawfulness of their marriage. Elsewhere, in schools for instance, printed musical compendia saved time and trouble; Franz Eler's *Cantica sacra*, after all, was intended "for the use of the youth of this school, so that they may, in future, be freed

from the trouble of copying."[1] For Hieronymus Praetorius, whose responsibilities as organist did not include the composition or performance of polyphonic music, print conferred legitimacy upon musical activities outside his professional purview. We note, for example, that the elders of St. Jacobi paid Praetorius "for his printed *Cantiones*" (*van wegen syner gedruckeden Cantiones*) rather than for any performances they may have received before their appearance in book form.[2] This is not to say that Praetorius composed his music specifically for print, for the print medium was rarely an end in and of itself. Yet it was by way of his printed *Opus musicum* volumes that Praetorius became recognized beyond his own city, not only as organist but also as composer. As Stephen Rose has noted, musicians in early modern Germany saw in print an opportunity to make their music known beyond their home city and to submit their works to the judgment of those outside their immediate circle – to become "known by their fruits," as it were.[3]

Of necessity, this study has focused on a limited historical period, and on some parts of Hamburg's musical culture to the exclusion of others. My concentration on material evidence and Latin sacred music has limited my engagement with practices and repertoires more closely tied to the oral and the vernacular: secular *Lieder*, the street singing of broadside songs, the art of city trumpeters, the craft of organ builders, and the music played for dancing at weddings and banquets. The relative dearth of materials and accounts from North Germany is a substantial hindrance to research on these topics, though the excellent scholarship that already exists on the cultures sustaining German

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[1] "…in utilitatem juventutis huius Scholæ, ut molestia describendi in posterum liberaretur." Eler, *Cantica sacra*, 7v. Compare a similar phrase in the preface "To the Christian Reader" (*Lectori Christiano*) in Lucas Lossius's *Psalmodia, hoc est cantica sacra* (Nuremberg, 1553): "Thus, whatever [this work] is, by which I have wished to lighten the cantors' trouble in notating the songs ahead of time each year, and the pupils' trouble in writing them out, I beg that you will accept them with a grateful and candid spirit" (*Quicquid igitur est, quo Cantoribus molestiam prænotandi quotannis cantica, & describendi scholasticis leuare voluimus, rogo vt grato & candido animo suscipias*, 1v)

[2] Staatsarchiv Hamburg St. Jakobi A I b 4, 233. Most of this account book is written in Praetorius's own hand.

[3] Rose, "Music, Print, and Presentation," 7-9. Unlike Schütz, who is Rose's principal example on 8-9, Praetorius is not known to have distributed his works to colleagues for evaluation, though the reprintings of his works in Frankfurt and Antwerp attest to the wide distribution his music enjoyed outside Hamburg.

vernacular music can provide a fine starting point.[4] Another culprit, however, has been a historiographical approach that has tended to privilege the Reformation era – regarded as a renaissance of vernacular culture in Germany – and which has interpreted contemporary vernacular practices, including music, as reflections of the newly consolidated Protestant theology. North Germany fits uneasily into this paradigm because of its geographical, linguistic, and cultural distance from the Central German cradle of the Reformation. Yet this very distance suggests the fruitfulness of a shift in historiographical focus, from Reformation theology to the more local factors of urban and lay culture.

Furthermore, my concentration on the early portion of the seventeenth century has left out several important figures from the musical heyday of Hamburg. The works of Johann Schop (d. 1667), Thomas Selle (1599-1663), and Johann Rist (1607-1667) were printed in a very different Hamburg from that of Hieronymus and Jacob Praetorius.[5] High German was now the vernacular, with Low German relegated to the status of comical folk dialect; the supremacy of *stile antico* polyphony was being contested by concerted musical genres; and although, as Ernst Finder says, Hamburg weathered the Thirty Years' War "like a rock surrounded by fire" (*wie ein umbrandeter Fels*), the city was troubled by increasing tensions with Denmark and by conflict between the City Council and the trade guilds.[6] A study of music in Hamburg during this period –

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[4] See, for example, Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation*; Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages*; and Herl, *Worship Wars*. I must also mention one classic work of Reformation cultural history that does not deal with music: Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

[5] On Schop, see Arne Spohr, introduction to RRMBE vol. 125, and idem, "Wind Instruments in the Anglo-German Consort Repertoire, ca. 1630-1640: A Survey of Music by Johann Schop and Nicolaus Bleyer," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 16 (2004), 43-66. On Selle, see Neubacher, *Die Musikbibliothek des Hamburger Kantors und Musikdirektors Thomas*, and idem, "Thomas Selle als Organisator der Kirchenmusik in Hamburg," *Auskunft: Mitteilungsblatt Hamburger Bibliotheken* 19 (1999), 279-322. On Rist, see Johann Anselm Steiger, ed., *"Ewigkeit, Zeit ohne Zeit": Gedenkschrift zum 400. Geburtstag des Dichters und Theologen Johann Rist* (Neuendettelsau : Freimund, 2007).

[6] Finder, *Hamburgisches Bürgertum in der Vergangenheit*, 5. On Hamburg's internal and external unrests of the later seventeenth century, see Klessmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg*, 146-156, and Hermann Rückleben, *Die Niederwerfung der Hamburgischen Ratsgewalt. Kirchliche Bewegungen und bürgerliche Unruhen im ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert*, Beiträge zur Geschichte Hamburgs, vol. 2 (Hamburg: Christians, 1970).

especially Selle's prolific output in both print and manuscript – could reveal much about the changes this unstable political climate may have wrought on musical life and culture in Hamburg.[7]

Furthermore, works from Hamburg provide a point of departure for investigations into musical questions relevant to all of German-speaking Europe. One question concerns the function of Lutheran hymnbooks, which I have suggested are more than simply musical or even devotional in their orientation. Fine work has been done on Lutheran hymns, particularly concerning their role in church worship and their connection to Luther's theology of music.[8] Yet the books in which those hymns appeared still require a history of their own – one oriented not toward abstract theological ideals, but instead according to devotional and pedagogical practices that encompassed singing, speech, and silent reading.

The printed vocal music of the Praetorius family draws attention to another issue in need of assessment: the function of motets in Germany around 1600. In Hamburg, as we have seen, motets led as diverse a life as anywhere else. More than a purely "churchly" genre, they straddled boundaries between sacred and secular, between Latin and the vernacular, between literate and oral. Ideally, a history of the motet in Germany would be a history of musical practices both in and out of church, confirmed by the material evidence of surviving music books. It would embrace the broader view of the functions of motets put forth by recent scholars while at the same time taking account of some musical institutions specific to Germany: the Protestant Latin school, the *Gymnasium*, and the unofficial, extracurricular milieux of the *Currende*, *Cantorei*, and

[7] Jaacks, *Hamburg zu Lust und Nutz*, is a useful survey of Hamburg's musical culture in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, though it devotes little attention to musical books.
[8] Herl, *Worship Wars*, and Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*.

Collegium musicum.[9] Ample raw material for such an investigation can be found in the works of Philipp Dulichius (1562-1631), Hans Leo Hassler (1564-1612), Christoph Demantius (1567-1643), Melchior Vulpius (1570-1615), and Melchior Franck (1579-1639), as well as the motet anthologies of Friedrich Lindner (1585, 1588, and 1590), Caspar Hassler (1598 and 1600), Erhard Bodenschatz (1603, 1618, and 1621), and Ambrosius Profe (1641-1646).[10]

More broadly, however, the musical practices and documents I have discussed in the foregoing chapters encourage us to consider the ways some early modern musical cultures may, at least partially, have evolved in tandem with technological developments. In literate societies, cultural exchange depends largely on textual exchange via writing; this has long been true for music as well, despite its being "meant" for performance rather than print, and despite the fact that works like hymns and some motets were "not fully part of written culture."[11] Then as now, musical works and the materials that contained them were constantly conflated; musical inventories at churches, schools, and courts catalogued not only the musical books owned by institutions, but the musical repertoire known and performed at those institutions.[12] Perhaps we can even interpret in this way the church elders' payment to Hieronymus for his *Cantiones*, since the title referred both to the book and to its contents.

And with good reason, for print was more than simply a "medium," in the sense of a disinterested "middleman" that simply transmitted texts. Printing enhanced the

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[9] On these institutions, see Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, 4-5, and Krüger, *Die hamburgische Musikorganisation*, 72 (*Cantorei*) and 97-100 (*Collegium musicum*).
[10] Riemer, *Erhard Bodenschatz und sein Florilegium Portense*, is a good introduction to Bodenschatz's *Florilegium* anthologies; an overview of the earlier anthologies is given on 33-47. Profe's anthologies have recently received attention in Mary Frandsen, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589-1661) and Lutheran Spirituality," paper given at the Annual Meeting of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music (Rochester, New York, 23-26 April 2009).
[11] van Orden, "Children's Voices," 250.
[12] For a recently recovered example, see David Crook, "A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 62 (2009), especially the transcription of the catalog entries on 55-70; some entries are incipits of individual pieces, while others are shortened titles of entire printed collections.

meanings of music, highlighting and confirming its connections to specific people, events, and institutions. By reifying music, printed texts integrated it fully and tangibly into larger economies of exchange and dedication. Finally, to present-day scholars – who must construct histories largely based on the materials that have come down to our time – musical documents can serve as an valuable reminder of the cultural contingency of music, and of the ways the materials of the past, far from isolating music in ink-and-paper artifacts, actually created new possibilities for music's role in the cultures of which it was a part.

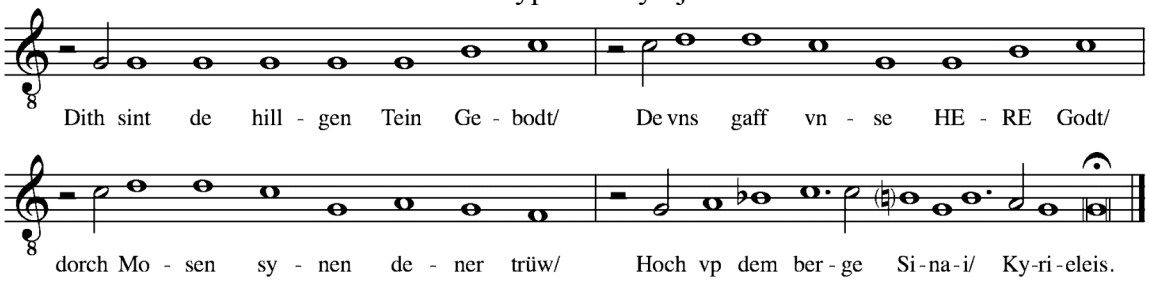
APPENDIX 1: LUTHER'S CATECHISM HYMNS AS PRINTED IN FRANZ ELER'S *PSALMI D. MARTINI LUTHERI* (HAMBURG, 1588)

The tunes of Luther's six principal catechism hymns are reprinted here as they appear in Hamburg's first fully notated German-language hymnal, Franz Eler's *Psalmi D. Martini Lutheri* (Hamburg, 1588). Each tune is presented with its corresponding rubric, its modal designation, and its first-verse text. In the original, modal designations appear after the music of each hymn; here, they are placed before the music, after the rubric.

Original note values, orthography, capitalization, and punctuation are preserved. All were originally notated in the c4 clef with the time signature ¢, with the exception of *Wy gelöuen all an einen Godt* and *Vader vnse ym Hemmelryck*, which have the time signature ¢2. Ligatures are indicated by square brackets above or below notes. All bar lines except repeats are editorial.

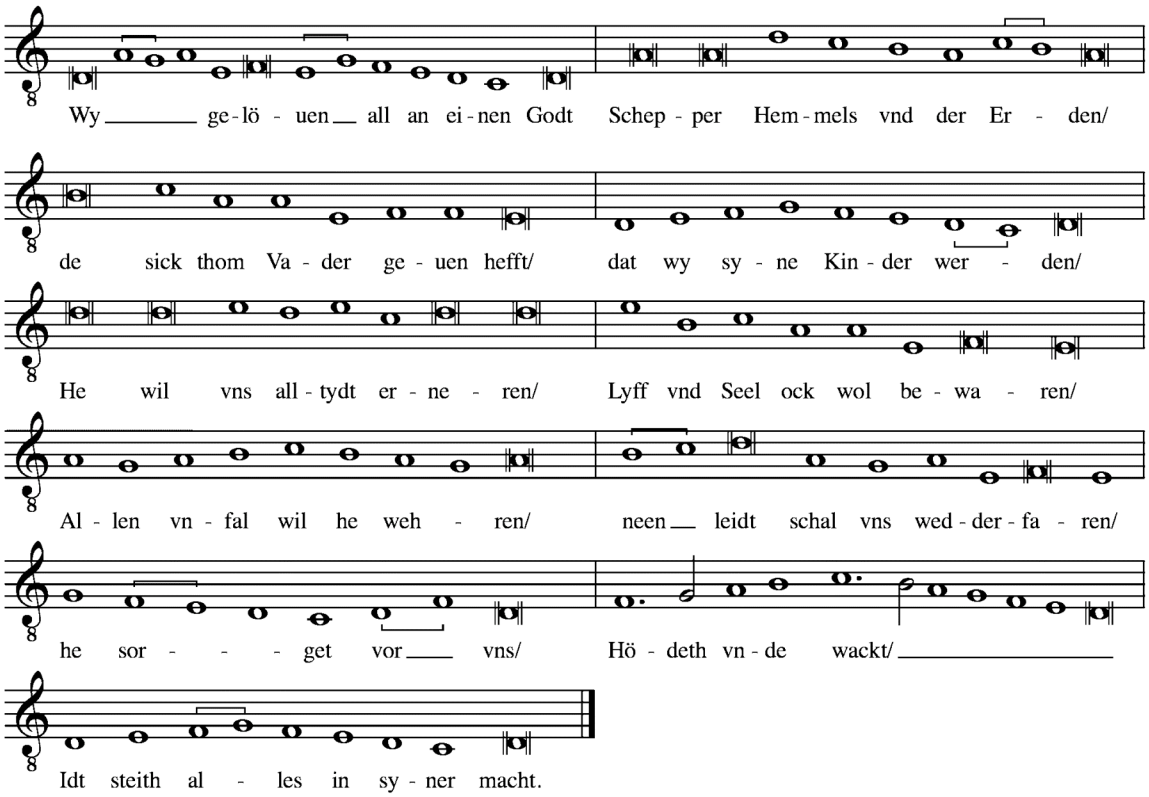
1. Ten Commandments: *Dith sint de hillgen Tein Gebodt* (*Dies sind die heilgen Zehn Gebot*)
Eler, *Psalmi*, XX

Van den Tein Gebaden.
De Tein Gebade gesanges wyse / D. M. L.
8. Hypomixolydij.



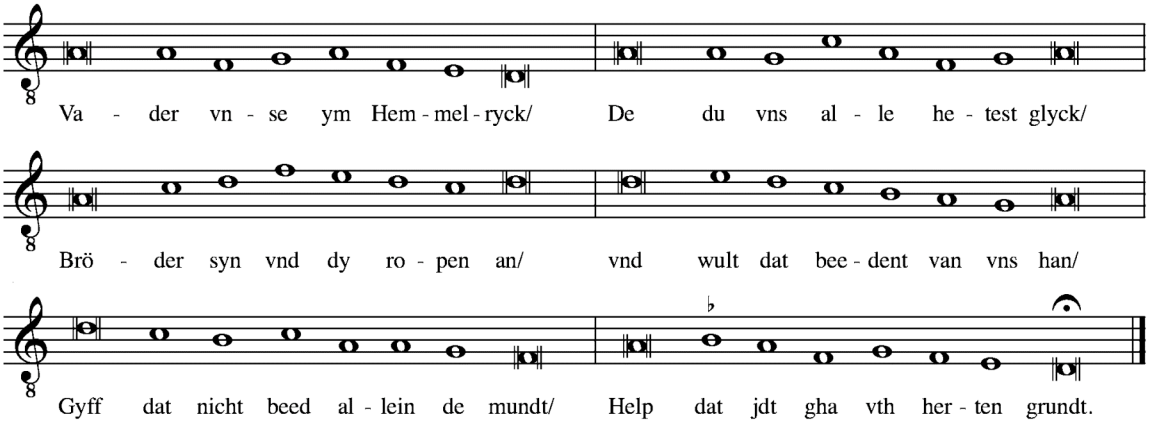
2. Creed: *Wy gelöuen all an einen Godt* (*Wir gläuben all an einen Gott*)
Eler, *Psalmi*, XXI

Van dem Gelouen.
Dat Düdesche Patrem. D. M. L.
1. DORII.



3. Lord's Prayer: *Vader vnse ym Hemmelryck* (*Vater unser im Himmelreich*)
Eler, *Psalmi*, XXII

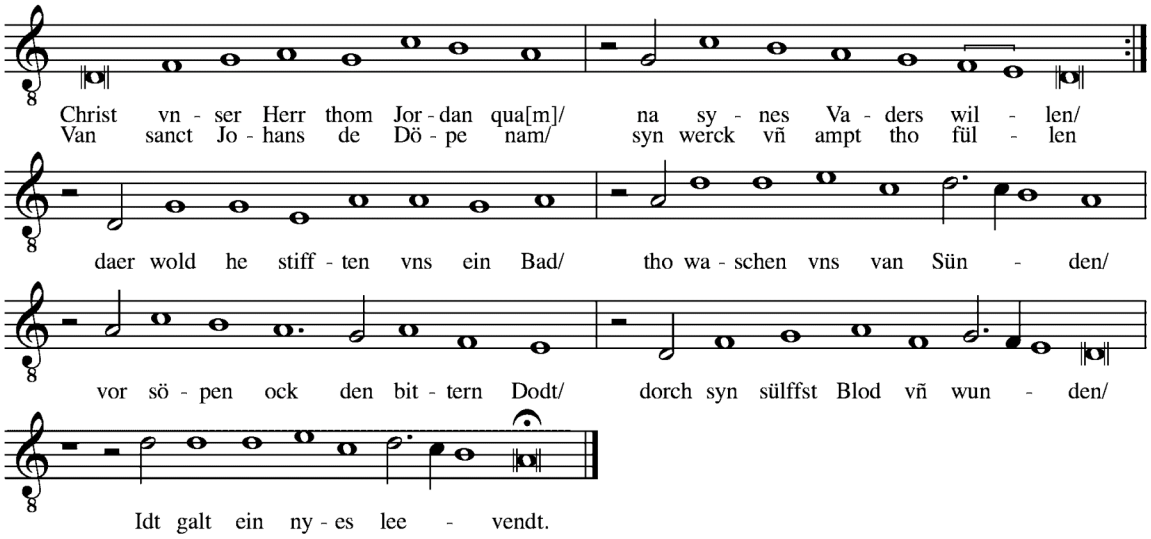
Van dem Vader vnse.
Dat Vader vnse / D. M. L.
1. [Dorii.][1]



[1] The final system of this hymn fills almost an entire line in the original, leaving room only for the numerical modal designation and none for the Greek name of the mode.

4. Baptism: *Christ vnser Herr thom Jordan quam* (*Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*)
Eler, *Psalmi*, XXIIII

Van der Döpe.
Ein Geistlick Leedt / van der hilligen Döpe / D. M. L.
1. DORII.

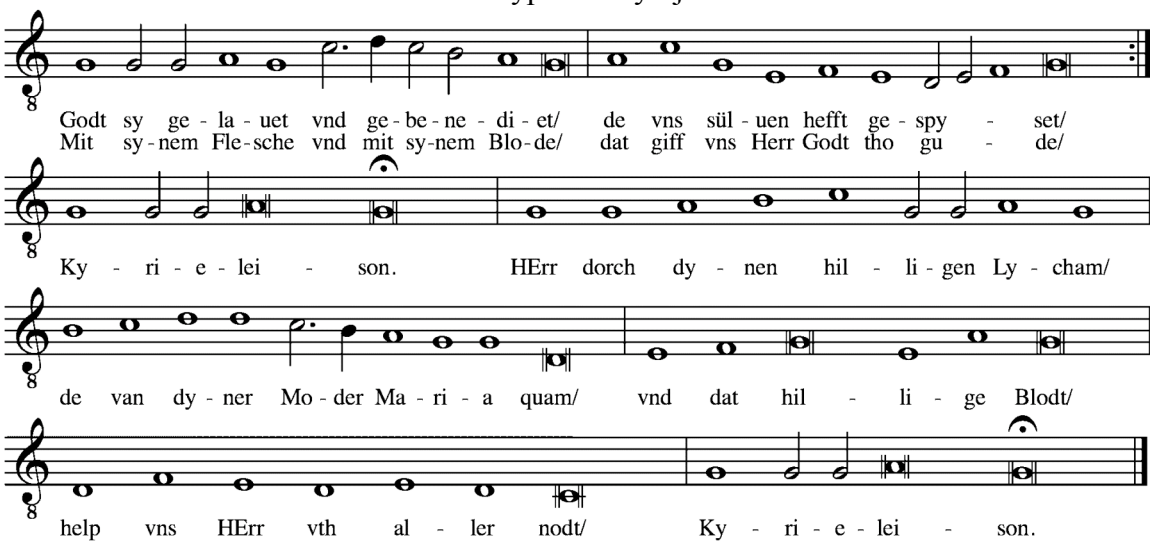


5. Communion: *Jesus Christus vnse Heilandt* (*Jesus Christus unser Heiland*)
Eler, *Psalmi*, XXV

Van dem Auendtmale des HEren.
Johannis Hussen Leedt gebetert / Dorch D. M. L.
1. DORII.

6. Communion: *Godt sy gelauet vnd gebenediet* (*Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet*)
Eler, *Psalmi*, XXVI

Ein ander gesanck / D. M. L.
8. Hypomixolydij.



APPENDIX 2: CATALOGUE OF KNOWN PAMPHLET PRINTS CONTAINING MUSIC BY MEMBERS OF THE PRAETORIUS FAMILY, 1601-1635

All prints except no. 3, 4, 5, and 6 are lost. Lost prints are identifiable by the use of *olim* before the library shelfmark; old shelfmarks from the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky are taken from the library's unpublished handwritten prewar catalogue (Hamburg Catalogue).

Unless labeled "lost," the music of the individual works listed in the "Works Included" field survives in later transcriptions and modern editions. All the surviving works by Jacob Praetorius are edited in RRMBE vol. 73. Of the surviving works by Hieronymus that are listed here, the only works currently available in modern edition are those in no. 4 (*Herr Gott dich loben wir*, RRMBE vol. 91, 53-111), no. 5 (*Ein Kindelein so löbelich*, RRMR vol. 18, 48-64), and no. 7 (*Laeto dum coelo*, Appendix 3, no. 3).

Unless otherwise noted, all title page information for lost works is taken from Robert Eitner, Robert Eitner, "Jacob Praetorius und seine Familie," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 3:5 (1871), 65-80 (EitnerP). Since EitnerP only lists prints that include pieces by Jacob Praetorius, information on those that do not are taken from Gustav Wahl, *Die Musik Hamburgs im Zeitalter Seb. Bachs. Ausstellung anläßlich des neunten deutschen Bachfestes zu Hamburg 3.-7. Juni 1921* (Hamburg: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 1921 (Wahl) or from the Hamburg Catalogue. The transcriptions of titles follow the capitalization and spelling given in the source with the most information. In titles from EitnerP, in which capitalization is preserved and carriage returns specified with the character |, these have been retained.

Library Sigla

D-F = Frankfurt am Main, Universitätsbibliothek Johann Christian Senckenberg

D-Hs = Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky

D-Lr = Ratsbücherei Lüneburg

D-BFa = Historische Bibliothek des Gymnasium Arnoldinum, Burgsteinfurt

D-SLk = Bibliothek der Katharinenkirche, Salzwedel

Published Bibliographical Sources

Wahl = Gustav Wahl, *Die Musik Hamburgs im Zeitalter Seb. Bachs. Ausstellung anläßlich des neunten deutschen Bachfestes zu Hamburg 3.-7. Juni 1921* (Hamburg: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 1921)

EitnerP = Robert Eitner, "Jacob Praetorius und seine Familie," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 3:5 (1871), 65-80

EitnerQ = Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlicher Zeitrechnung bis zur Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (New York: Musurgia, 1947)

Göhler = Albert Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: In Kommission bei C. F. Kahnt Nachf., 1902)

Catalogue

No.	**1**
Year:	1601
Title Page Text:	*... in honorem nuptiarum... Johannes Eggerdes... et ... Caeciliae ... Witteneven* (Hamburg: Philipp von Ohr, 1601)[1]
Format / Extent:	4º / probably 6 parts, extent unknown
Compositions included:	Jacob Praetorius, *Caecilia virgo gloriosa* à 6 (lost)
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs K D I 280 4º
References in bibliographic literature:	Wahl, no. 12

No.	**2**
Year:	1606
Title Page Text:	Epithalamion In solennitatem nuptiarum, tum generis splendore tum omni virtutum laude ornatissimi viri, HERMANNI BEKEMANNI Spectatissimi & amplissimi viri Lucae Bekemanni Patricii, civisq. Reipub. primarii ac jurati corporis Christii [sic] in Ecclesia Petrina vigilantissimi Filii SPONSI Nec Non Lectissimae omnisq[ue] virtutis conspicuae virginis ANNAE de GREVEN Amplissimi & Integerrimi viri Jacobj de GREVEN Filiae SPONSAE Quinq[ue] vocibus compositum & dedicatum à JACOBO Praetorio. Organista in aede D. Petri. Hamburgi typis Philippi a Ohr M D CVI
Format / Extent:	4º / 5 parts, 2 leaves per part
Compositions included:	Jacob Praetorius, *Quam pulchra es* à 5
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs N D VI Nr. 990/1; *Quinta Vox* part lacking
References in bibliographic literature:	EitnerP, no. II Wahl, no. 15

No.	**3**
Year:	1611

[1] Title page information transcribed from Wahl.

Title Page Text:	[ornamental border] HARMONIA SACRA, *In honorem Nuptiarum* Ornatissimi et Integerrimi Viri-Juvenis Dn. JACOBI STOEVEN CIVIS HAMBVRGENSIS, Sponsi; *CUM LECTISSIMA ET PVDICISSIMA* *Virgine* CORNELIA, *Viri itidem ornatissimi & honestissimi* PETRI von der Mylen FILIA, Sponsâ. *Quinque vocibus concinnata & dedicata* *A* JACOBO PRÆTORIO H. F. ORGANISTA ad D. Petri. [part name in ornamental border] [hard rule] HAMBVRGI, Excudebat PAVLVS Langius, Anno 1611.
Format / Extent:	4º / 5 parts, 2 leaves per part
Compositions included:	Jacob Praetorius, *Surge propera* à 5
Library and Shelfmark:	D-F Mus W 235 A
References in bibliographic literature:	RISM A/I P5347 Not listed in Wahl, EitnerP, or EitnerQ

No.	**4**
Year:	1612
Title Page Text:	Das TE DEVM LAVDA- MVS Deutsch: Zu sonderlichen Ehren vnd günstigen wolgefallen: Dem Ehrnvesten / Wolachtbaren vnd Hochweisen

	Herrn Hieronymo Vöglern / Der löblichen Stadt Hamburg Bürgermeistern. Seinem insondern Großgünstigen Verrn [sic] / Schwagern vnnd mechtigen Befürderern. Mit 16. Stimmen *componirt* vnd gesetzt Durch HIERONYMUM PRÆTORIUM Organisten daselbst vnterdienstlich. Hamburg / Durch Heinrich Karstens / Im Jahr / [hard rule] M. DC. XII.
Format / Extent:	4º / 8 parts, 6-10 leaves per part
Compositions included:	Hieronymus Praetorius, *Herr Gott dich loben wir* à 16 (reprinted *Cantiones variae*, 1618, no. 36)
Library and Shelfmarks:	D-SLk M11 (CT1, CT4, AB2, AB3, AB4 parts only) D-BFa Philol. Quart. M9 & M10 (CT1 and AB2 parts only)
References in bibliographic literature:	RISM A/1 PP 5344a Wahl, no. 30[2] Not in EitnerQ

No.	**5**
Year:	1613
Title Page Text:	[ornamental border] Der alte / Christliche vnd Geist- liche Gesang Ein Kindelein so löbelich / &c. Zu Ehren / vnnd gnedigen Woll- gefallen / auch zu Wünschung eines Glückseligen / Frewdenreichen vnd ge- sunden Newen Jahrs.

[2] Wahl gives a conjectural date of 1613, perhaps because of the work's appearance in the Frankfurt book fair catalogue of 1613; compare Göhler, vol. 2, no. 1124.

	Der Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürstinnen vnnd Frawen / Frawen Maria / Gebornen zu Braunschweig vnd Lünenburg / Hertzoginnen zu Sachsen / Engern vnnd Westphalen. Mit 8 Stimmen Componirt vnd Dedicirt Durch HIERONYMUM PRÆTORIUM, Organisten der Kirchen S. Jacobi in Hamburg / Vnterthänig. [part name in ornamental border] Gedruckt zu Hamburg / durch Heinrich Karstens / [hard rule] Im Jahr / M. DC. XIII.
Format / Extent:	4º / 8 parts, 2 leaves per part
Compositions included:	Hieronymus Praetorius, *Ein Kindelein so löbelich* à 8 (reprinted *Cantiones variae*, 1618, no. 29)
Library and Shelfmark:	D-BFa Philol. Quart M9 and M10 (Cantus I and Bassus I only)
References in bibliographic literature:	RISM A/I P5345

No.	**6**
Year:	1614
Title Page Text:	NOVO HONORI *Magnificorum, Amplissimorum, Consultißimorum ac prudentißimorum Virorum* Dn. SEBASTIANI VON BERGEN, J.L. Dn. JOHANNIS VVETICHII Consulum Dn. HENRICI HARTZVVIGII I. L. Dn. BERNHARDI TVVESTRENGII, I.L. Dn. BARTHOLDI BECMANNI Dn. THEODORICI SAVRMANNI Senatorum in alma Hamburgensium Republ. publice renunciatorum

	ANNO M. DC. XIV. IX. Kalend. Martii, GRATULATIO *Octo vocibus Musicè composita & contexta* obsequii & honoris ergo *ab* HIERONYMO PRÆTORIO Organ. [part name in ornamental border] HAMBURGI, *Ex Officina Typographica* HENRICI CARSTENS.
Format / Extent:	broadsheet / 8 parts, 1 sheet per part
Compositions included:	Hieronymus Praetorius, *Firmetur manus tua* à 8 (reprinted *Cantiones variae*, 1618, no. 22)
Library and Shelfmark:	D-Lr Mus. ant. pract. K. N. 121
References in bibliographic literature:	RISM A/I P5346 EitnerQ, vol. 8, 43 Wahl, no. 34

No.	7
Year:	1615
Title Page Text:	TRES CANTIONES SARAE [sic][3] Octo Vocum HONORI NUPTIARUM AUSPICATISSIMARUM Reverendi & Doctiss. Viri Dn. M. JOHANNIS ADOLPHI FA- BRICII ad S. Jacobi Ecclesiastae vigilantiss. Matrimonio sibi copulantis ANNAM Reverendi & praestantiss. Viri M. LAMBERTI LANGEMACHI p. m. relictam viduam Contextae & consecratae AB

	HIERONYMO JACOBO & JOHANNE } PRAETORIIS SPONSAE Patre & fratribus Organistis & musicis. HAMBURGI Excudebat Henric. Carstens. ANNO 1615.
Format / Extent:	4º / 8 parts, 4 leaves per part
Compositions included:	Hieronymus Praetorius, *Laeto dum coelo* à 8 (reprinted *Cantiones variae*, 1618, no. 26) Jacob Praetorius, *Vidi speciosam* à 8 Johann Praetorius, *Vulnerasti cor meum* à 8
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs N D VI Nr. 990/10
References in bibliographic literature:	EitnerP, no. III Wahl, no. 38

No.	**8**
Year:	1617
Title Page Text:	EPITHALAMIVM HARMONICVM Nuptiis felicissimis Viri Clarissimi atq. Doctissimi M. GEORGII J. F. FABRICII Scholae Hamburgensis Conrectoris vigilantiss. sanct. matrimonii vinculo sibi sociantis lectiss. pudiciss. Virginem Elisam etc.[4] VI. Vocibus concinnatum à JACOBO H. F. PRÆTORIO Org. ad D. Petr. Hamburgi apud Henric. Carstens. MDCXVII.
Format / Extent:	4º / 6 parts, 2 leaves per part
Compositions included:	Jacob Praetorius, *Sponse musarum* à 6
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs N D VI Nr. 990/15
References in	EitnerP, no. IV

bibliographic literature:	Wahl, no. 42

No.	**9**
Year:	1617
Title Page Text:	NOVIS NVPTIS Viro Dn. M. Georgio J. F. Fabricio Scholae Hamburgensis Conrectori Sponso Elisae Schroderi etc. acclamat Joannes H. F. Praetorius Org. ad D. Nic. Hamburgi Henric. Carstens. M DC XVII
Format / Extent:	4º / 6 parts, 2 leaves per part
Compositions included:	Johann Praetorius, *Dulcis amica* à 6
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs N D VI Nr. 990/12
References in bibliographic literature:	Wahl, no. 43

No.	**10**
Year:	1619
Title Page Text:	POST NUBILA PHOEBUS seu TRES HYMENAEI Post tristissimas naenias à praeficis ad tumulum de-murmuratas Decantati ad secundum thalamum REVERENDI ET CLARISSIMI VIRI DN. M. JACOBI JAC. FIL. FA- BRICII, ECCLES., AULIC. IN HUSUM HONORATISSIMI. ET EGREGIAE LECTISSIMAEQUE VIRGINIS CATHARINAE REKELS, optimi parentis optimae filiae. Ab HIERONYMO, JACOBO, JOANNE } PRAETORIIS, Musicis & Organ. Hamburgensib.

	[partbook name] Hamburgi, Typis Pauli Langii, Anno M D CXIX.
Format / Extent:	4º / 8 parts, 6 leaves per part
Compositions included:	Hieronymus Praetorius, *Hoc pro certo habet* à 8 (reprinted *Cantiones novae officiosae*, 1625, no. 25) Johann Praetorius, *Felix cui divum* à 8 Jacob Praetorius, *Forti animo esto* à 8
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs N D VI Nr. 990/21
References in bibliographic literature:	EitnerP, no. V Wahl, no. 49

No.	**11**
Year:	1619
Title Page Text:	*Auspicat. Nupt. M. Joan. Jegeri Hamb. in matr. duc. Christin. Praetoriam vota persolvunt…* (Hamburg: Paul Lange, 1619)[5]
Format / Extent:	4º / 6 parts, 2 leaves per part
Compositions included:	Hieronymus Praetorius, *Vitam beatam* à 6 (reprinted *Cantiones novae officiosae*, 1625, no. 9) Michael Praetorius (his son), *Veni in hortum* à 5
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs ND VI 990/21
References in bibliographic literature:	Wahl, no. 50

No.	**12**
Year:	1626
Title Page Text:	*… ad nuptias… Joannis Fabricii… Elisabethae Jacobi Praetorii… filiae…* (Hamburg: Lorentz Pfeiffer, 1626)[6]
Format / Extent:	4º / probably 6 parts, extent unknown
Compositions included:	Johann Praetorius, *Surge propera, speciosa mea* à 6

Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs K D I 280
References in bibliographic literature:	Wahl, no. 72

No.	**13**
Year:	1627
Title Page Text:	*Sponsis felicibus… Erasmo Sartorio, Cantori Hamburgensi… Catharinae… Berckhausen* (Hamburg: Lorentz Pfeiffer, 1627)[7]
Format / Extent:	4º / probably 5 parts, extent unknown
Compositions included:	Hieronymus Praetorius, *Ego flos campi et lilium* à 5 (lost)
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs K D I 280
References in bibliographic literature:	Wahl, no. 73

No.	**14**
Year:	[1627][8]
Title Page Text:	*Cantiones duae in… nuptiarum festivitatem… Philippi M. J. F. Fabricii… 6 & 5 vocibus…* (Hamburg: Heinrich Carstens, n.d.)[9]
Format / Extent:	4º / 5 parts, 2 leaves per part
Compositions included:	Hieronymus Praetorius, *Ecce novus sanctam* à 6 (reprinted *Cantiones variae*, 1618, no. 9) Johann Praetorius, *Veni dilecte mi, egrediamur* à 5
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs N D VI Nr. 990/62
References in bibliographic literature:	Wahl, no. 77

No.	**15**
Year:	[1627][10]
Title Page Text:	*Epithalamion Salomonis nuptiis… Johannis Scolvini…* [Hamburg: Lorentz Pfeiffer, 1628/29][11]

Format / Extent:	4º / 8 parts, 1 quarto leaf per part
Compositions included:	Hieronymus Praetorius, *Indica mihi quem diligit* à 8 (lost)
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs N D VI Nr. 990/64
References in bibliographic literature:	Wahl, no. 80

No.	**16**
Year:	[1627][12]
Title Page Text:	Ode Gamica Sponsis o DEUS o felicioribus Reverendo & Clarissimo viro Dn. M. Joanni Scolvino Pastori Buxtehudensium laudatissimo Foeminae decoratissimae ELISABETHÆ, Reverendi Viri Dn. M. JOANNIS JAC. FIL. FABRICII & c. Generi dum vivebat corialiter dilecti reliectae viduae, Oblata à JACOBO PRÆTORIO Sponsae Parente. [1628/1629]
Format / Extent:	4º / 6 parts, 1 quarto leaf per part
Compositions included:	Jacob Praetorius, *Quis novus hic oritur* à 6
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs N D VI Nr. 990/63
References in bibliographic literature:	EitnerP, no. VII Wahl, no. 81

No.	**17**
Year:	1635
Title Page Text:	HYMENAEUS Ex sacro Ecclesiae Hymenaeo quod est

	canticum canticorum, Auspicatissimis & optatissimis nuptijs Felicissimi & ingeniosiss. Musici DN. JOANNIS LAU- RENTII, DN. JOANNIS SENIORIS Organopoei Regij per totam Daniam & Norvagiam artificiosiss. meritiss: Filij, Ædis primariae Nicolao sacrae in metropolis Daniae Hafniae Organistae laudatissimi SPONSI, Et lectissimae Suavissimae Virginis GESÆ, JACOBI PRÆTORII, ad d. Pet. Organist. Hamb. Filiae. dedicatus à JACOBO, JOANNE } Praetorijs { Parente. Patruo. HAMBURGI, Ex officina Typographicâ JACOBI REBENLINI. ANNO M. DC. XXXV.
Format / Extent:	Small 4º / 7 parts (incl. continuo), 2 leaves per part
Compositions included:	Jacob Praetorius, *Indica mihi* à 6 Johann Praetorius, *O pulcherrima* à 6
Library and Shelfmark:	*olim* D-Hs N D VI Nr. 990/47
References in bibliographic literature:	EitnerP, no. VI Wahl, no. 95

APPENDIX 3: FOUR MOTETS BY HIERONYMUS PRAETORIUS FROM *CANTIONES SACRAE* (1622), *CANTIONES VARIAE* (1618), AND *CANTIONES NOVAE OFFICIOSAE* (1625)

The readings of the four motets presented here are taken from those of the following Hamburg editions of Hieronymus Praetorius's works: *Cantiones sacrae* (Paul Lange, 1622), *Cantiones variae* (Heinrich Carstens, 1618) *Cantiones novae officiosae* (Michael Hering, 1625). The readings of these works printed in the Frankfurt editions of Praetorius's works – *Cantiones sacrae* (Egenolff Emmel, 1623), *Cantiones variae* (Emmel, 1623), and *Cantiones novae officiosae* (Franz Nicolaus Roth, 1625) do not differ significantly from the Hamburg sources. No manuscript sources are known.

Word underlay in the sources is generally straightforward and poses no particular problems to the transcriber. Original orthography, capitalization, and punctuation are preserved from the Hamburg sources. Completions of abbreviated text (e.g. *&* for *et*, *e* for *æ*, vowels with a line above to indicate an *n* or *m* following) are indicated by square brackets ([ ]). Longer phrases of text in square brackets represent text repetitions, indicated in the original sources by *ij*. The few commas that appear here are those used in the original to signify a space between two words printed close together.

The key signatures, note values, and accidentals of the original are preserved. In the sources, the final note value of a piece is typically a *longa*; final notes are transcribed as breves or as the note values necessary to complete the final measure, and are indicated with a fermata.

Sharp signs preceding the pitch *B* are rendered as natural signs as natural signs without further comment. Necessary accidentals not given in the sources, such as those needed to avoid *mi contra fa* relations or to raise the second leading tone in an

ornamented leading tone cadence, are added in parentheses. Following modern practice, accidentals are valid for the entire measure unless cancelled. Ligatures are indicated by square brackets above or below notes.

All duple meter signatures (C and ¢) are rendered as 4/2, and all triple-meter signatures (C 3/2, C 3, **3**) as 3/1.[1] All bar lines are editorial, added for the convenience of modern-day performers and scholars; this may result in some measures with irregular lengths (notated in 2/2 or 6/2).

The disposition of parts in Praetorius's collections is as follows. In eight-voice works, the names *Cantus*, *Altus*, *Tenor*, and *Bassus* are used to indicate the *Cantus*, *Altus*, *Tenor*, and *Bassus* parts of the first choir, and *Quinta Vox*, *Sexta Vox*, *Septima Vox*, and *Octava vox* represent the *Cantus*, *Altus*, *Tenor*, and *Bassus* parts of the second choir. In Praetorius's five-voice works, most of which have two *Cantus* parts, the second *Cantus* part is given in the *Quinta Vox* partbook; in six-voice pieces, the second part – usually an *Altus* or *Tenor* – is called *Sexta Vox*, and so on. The sources of 1618 and 1622 included *Bassus Continuus* parts in addition to the eight vocal partbooks. These parts are not transcribed here, since they are essentially *basso seguente* lines that indicate the lowest note in the polyphonic texture at any given time. (In the *Bassus continuus* part of the source of 1618, polychoral pieces receive two or more continuo parts in pseudo-score, representing the bass lines of each choir.)

The abbreviation *m.* is used for the word "measure." Clefs are identified by their position on the five-line staff; c1, for example, represents a C clef on the first (bottommost) line of the staff. Pitches are identified using the Helmholtz system, in which *c'* represents middle *C*.

Critical Notes

Surge propera à 5

Source: *Cantiones sacrae* (1622), no. 45 (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617).

Text: Song of Songs 2:10-12

Original clefs: g2 g2 c1 c3 f3

m. 1, all parts: C meter signature (except ¢ in *Altus*).

m. 17, all parts: C 3/2 meter signature.

m. 24, all parts: C meter signature.

m. 33, all parts: C 3/2 meter signature.

m. 39, all parts: C meter signature.

m. 48, all parts: C 3/2 meter signature..

m. 54, all parts: C meter signature.

Herculeum dulci modulo à 5

Source: *Cantiones variae* (1618), no. 23 (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617).

Text: Dual texts, both Latin occasional verse by unknown author, given on 321 and 322 above. The placement of the two texts on the page follows the original, in which the Ascension contrafactum (*Magnanimum dulci modulo*) is placed above the secular congratulatory text (*Herculeum dulci modulo*), with shared words printed only once. Only the incipit *Herculeum dulci modulo* appears in the index of the original.

Original clefs: c1 c3 c4 f4 / c1 c3 c4 f4

m. 1, all parts: C meter signature.

m. 22, all parts: C 3/2 meter signature.

m. 29, all parts: C meter signature.

m. 36, all parts: C 3/2 meter signature.

m. 40, all parts: C meter signature.

m. 47, all parts: C 3/2 meter signature.

m. 59, all parts: C meter signature.

m. 65, *Quinta Vox*: text reads "digna trophæo" [sic] in original.

Laeto dum coelo à 8

Source: *Cantiones variae* (1618), no. 26 (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky, Scrin A/617).

Text: Latin occasional verse by unknown author, given on 328 above.

Original clefs: g1 c1 c3 f3 / g2 c1 c3 f3

m. 1, all parts: C 3/2 meter signature (except C 3 in *Sexta vox*).

m. 12, all parts: C meter signature.

m. 19, all parts: **3** meter signature.

m. 31, *Tenor*, second note: corrected to minim *d'* from erroneous *longa* rest in source.

m. 36, all parts: C meter signature.

m. 49, *Tenor*, third note: corrected from erroneous semiminim in source.

m. 50, *Bassus*, fifth note: corrected from erroneous semiminim in source.

m. 58, *Quinta Vox*: second note: changed from original minim *e''* (also present in Frankfurt edition).

m. 84, *Tenor*, fourth note: corrected from erroneous semiminim in source.

Non moriar à 6

Source: *Cantiones novae officiosae* (1625), no. 14 and 15 (Västerås, Stadsbibliotek, Molér 46 [13]). The *Bassus* part of this exemplar is a handwritten replacement; thus the transcription of this part follows the musical and textual reading of this handwritten part.

Text: Occasional Latin and German verse by unknown author, given on 337 above; the first line of the poem paraphrases Psalm 118:17.

Original clefs: c1 c1 c2 c4 c3 f4

m. 1, all parts: C meter signature (except 𝄵 in *Bassus*).

m. 37, all parts: C 3/2 meter signature (except 𝄵3/2 in *Bassus*).

m. 52, all parts: C meter signature (except 𝄵 in *Bassus*).

m. 64, all parts: C meter signature (except **3** in *Tenor* and 𝄵 3/2 in *Bassus*).

m. 74, all parts: C meter signature (except 𝄵 in *Bassus*).

m. 111, *Quinta Vox*: source has minim rest, minim *e''*, minim *a'*, minim *e''*.

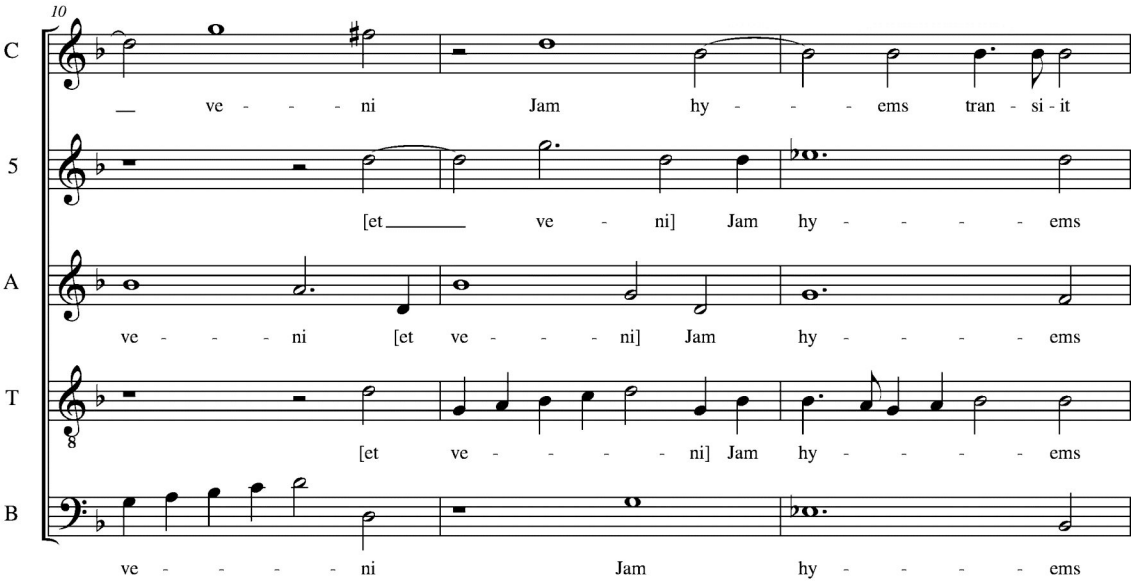
m. 125-126, *Cantus* and *Quinta Vox*: Greek loanword *lytro* (λύτρω) spelled in Greek characters; Roman characters are used in other parts.

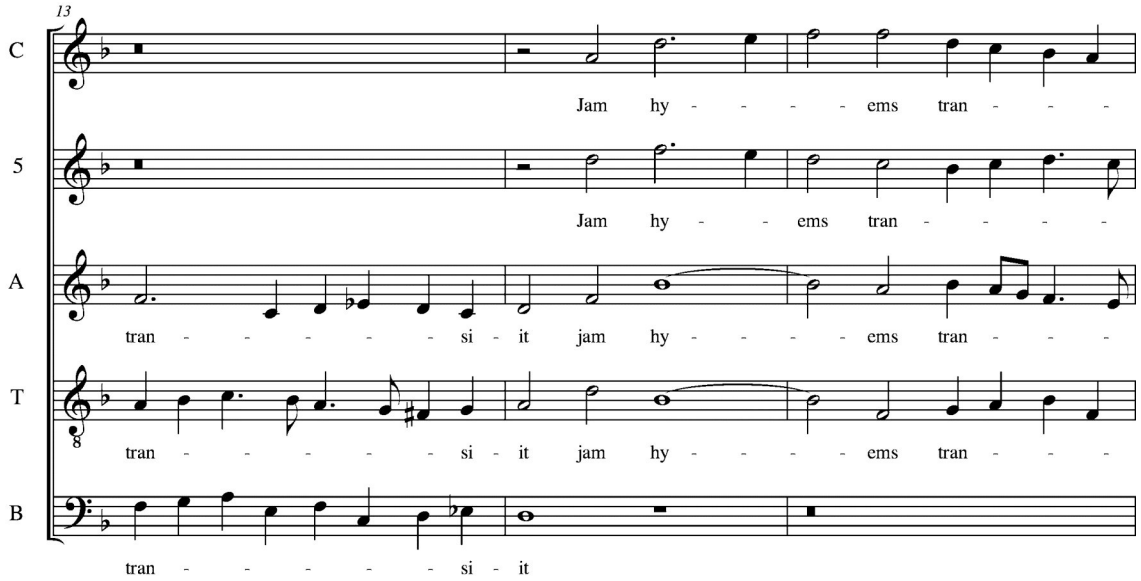
1. Surge propera

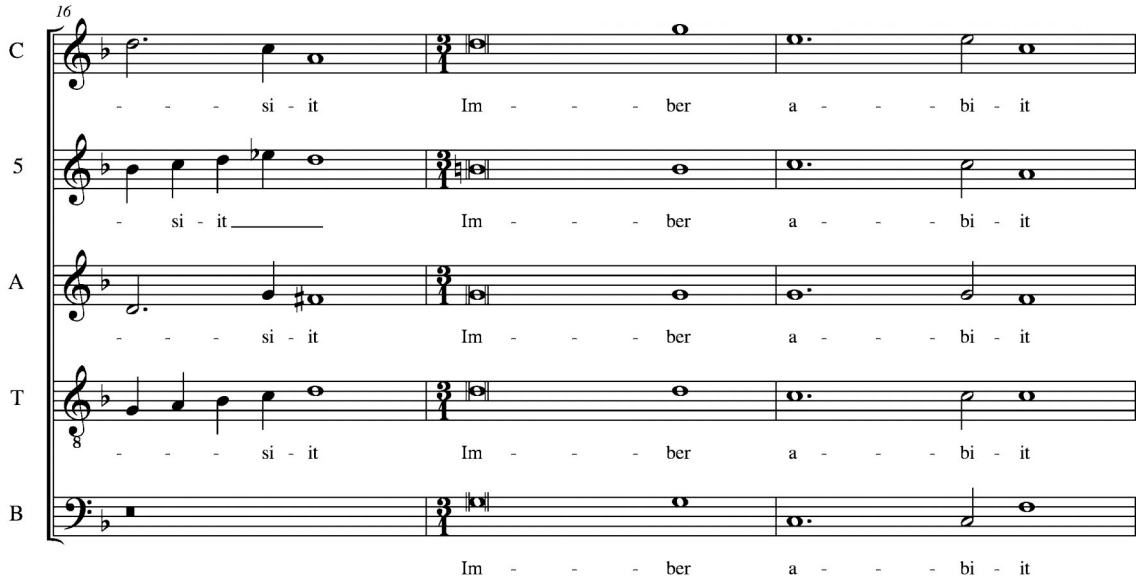
No. 45 in *Cantiones sacrae* (1622)

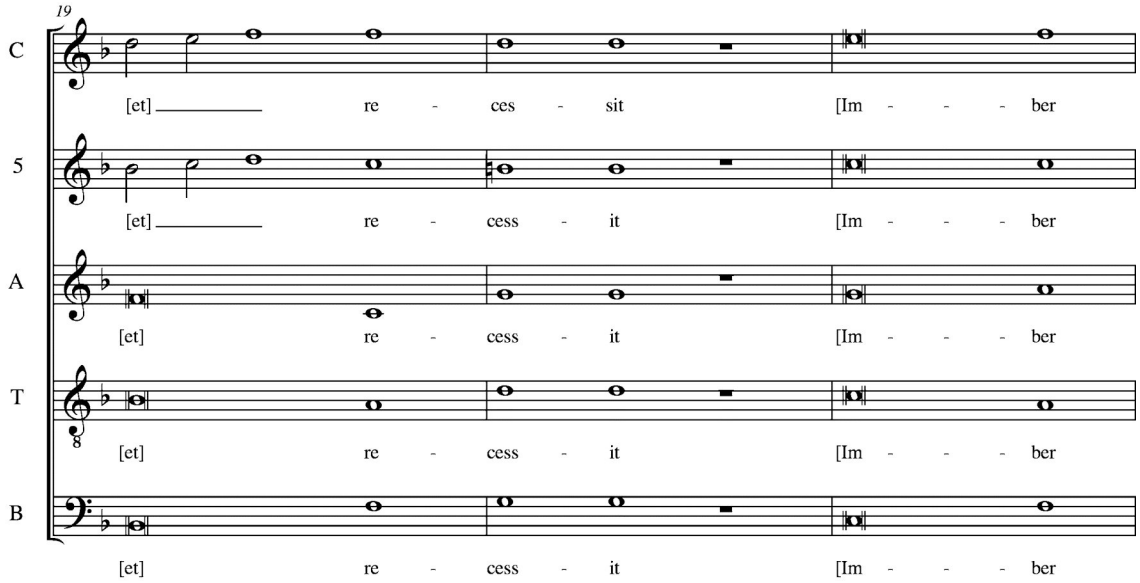
Hieronymus Praetorius
(1560-1629)

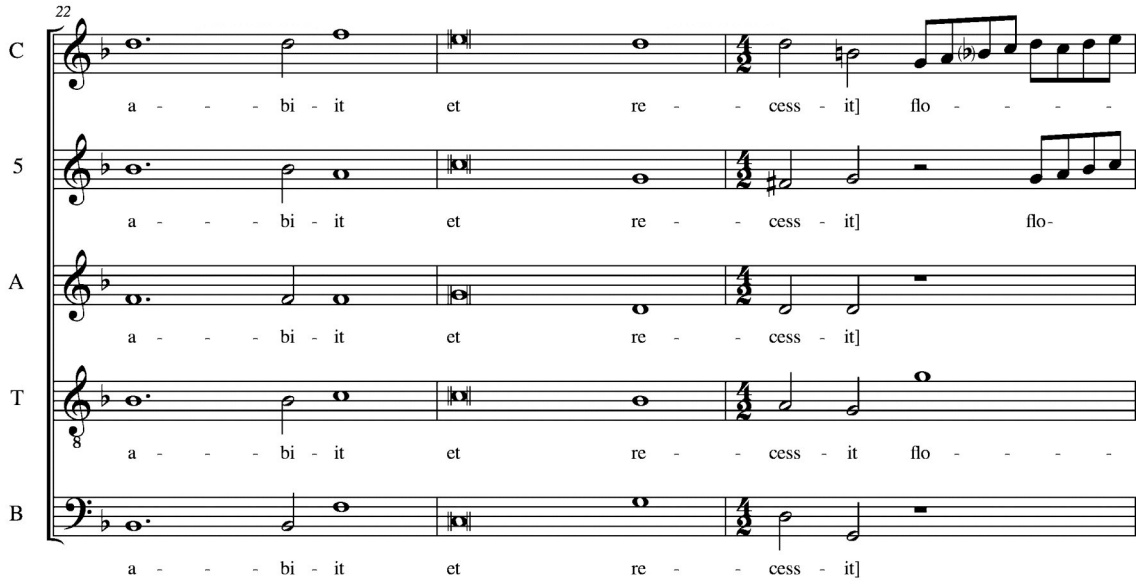
7
C
ra a - mi - ca me - - - - - - - - a [et]
5
me - a] a - mi - - - ca me - a [et] ve - - - - ni
A
mi - ca me - a a - mi - ca me - a, [et] ve - - - - ni [et]
T
pro - pe-ra, sur - ge pro - pe - ra a - mi - ca me - a [et] ve - - - - - ni
B
ge pro - pe-ra a - mi - ca me - - - a Et


10
C
ve - - - - ni Jam hy - - - - ems tran - si - it
5
[et ve - ni] Jam hy - - - - - ems
A
ve - - - - ni [et ve - - - - ni] Jam hy - - - - - ems
T
[et ve - - - - - ni] Jam hy - - - - - ems
B
ve - - - - - ni Jam hy - - - - - ems


13
C
Jam hy - - - - ems tran - - -
5
Jam hy - - ems tran - - - -
A
tran - - - - - - si - it jam hy - - - - ems tran - - -
T
tran - - - - - - si - it jam hy - - - - ems tran - - -
B
tran - - - - - - si - it


16
C
- - - si - it Im - - - - ber a - - - bi - it
5
- si - it Im - - - - ber a - - - bi - it
A
- - - si - it Im - - - - ber a - - - bi - it
T
- - - si - it Im - - - - ber a - - - bi - it
B
Im - - - - ber a - - - bi - it


19
C
[et] re - ces - sit [Im - - - ber
5
[et] re - cess - it [Im - - - ber
A
[et] re - cess - it [Im - - - ber
T
[et] re - cess - it [Im - - - ber
B
[et] re - cess - it [Im - - - ber

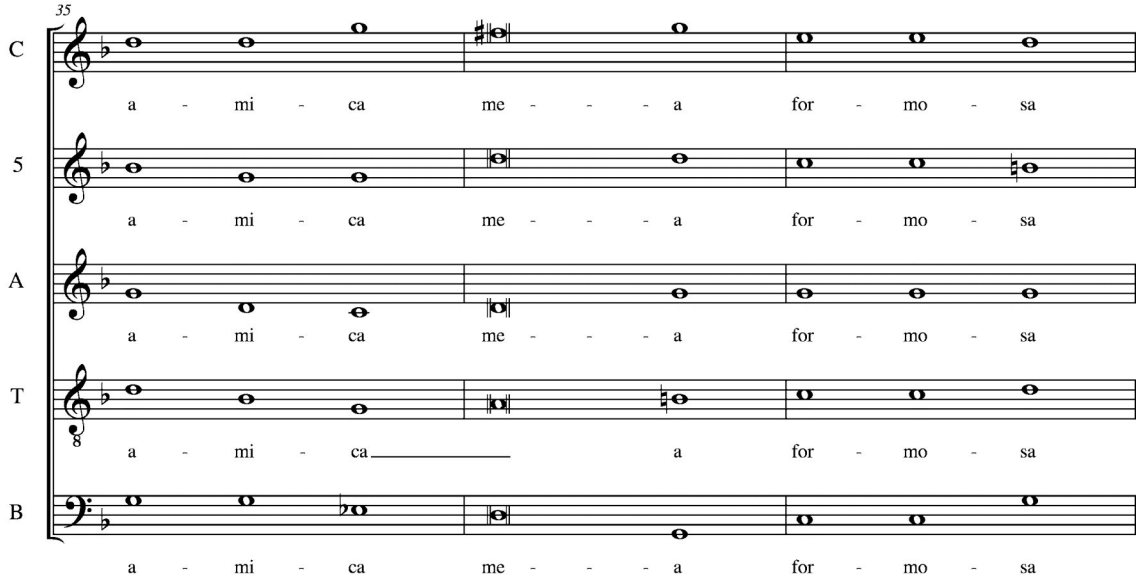

22
C
a - - - bi - it et re - - cess - it] flo - - - -
5
a - - - bi - it et re - - cess - it] flo-
A
a - - - bi - it et re - - cess - it]
T
a - - - bi - it et re - - cess - it flo - - - -
B
a - - - bi - it et re - - cess - it]

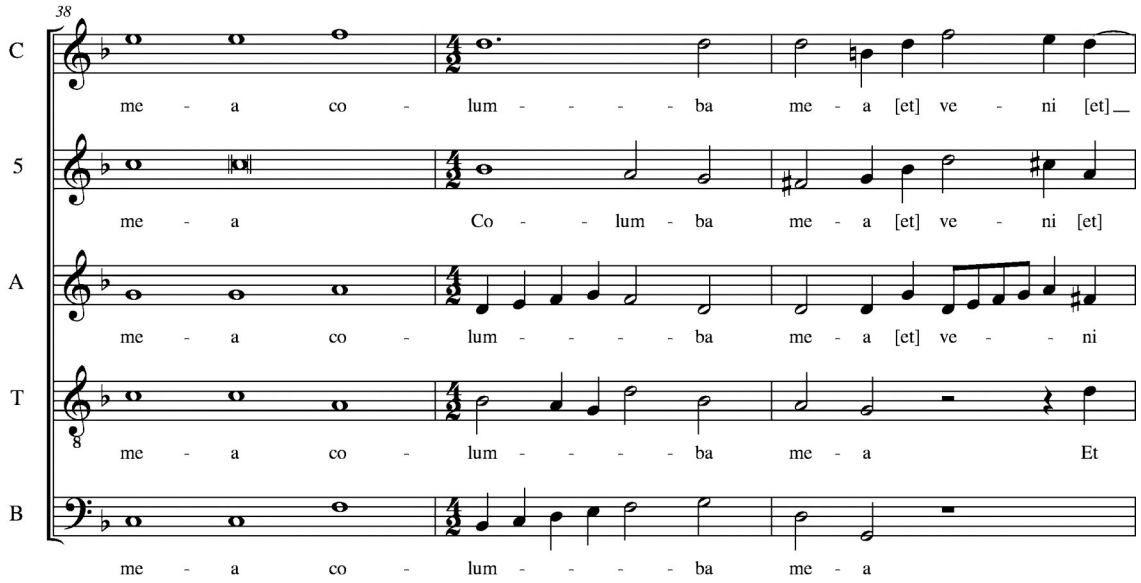
25
C
- - res
[flo - - - - - - - res]
5
- - - - - res
flo - - - - - - res
A
flo - - - - - - - res
flo - - - - - - - res
[flo - - - - -
T
res
flo - - - - - - - res
flo-
B
flo - - - - - res

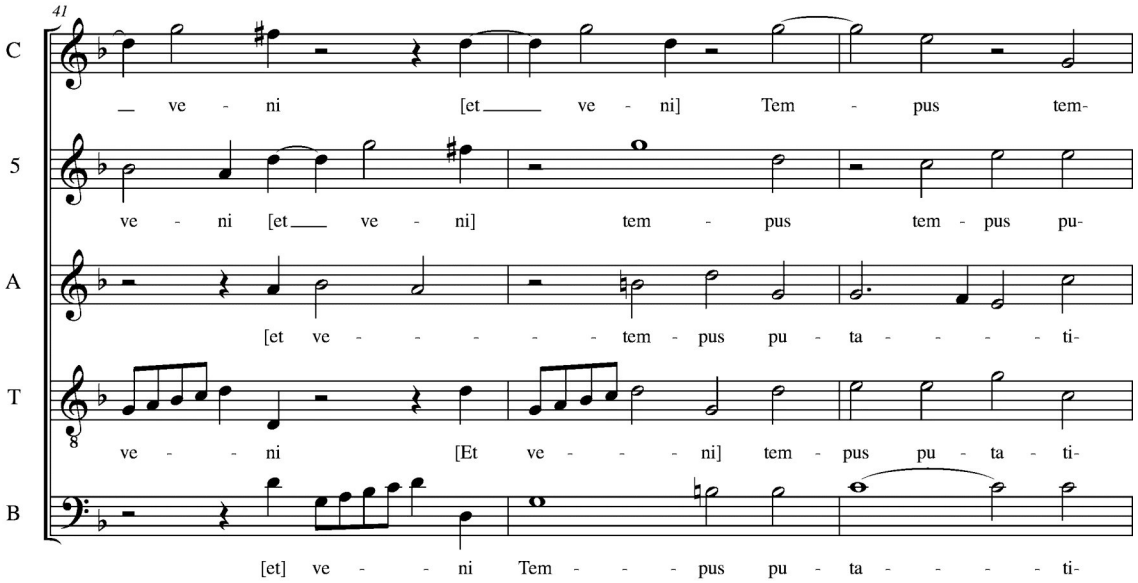
27
C
flo - res
[flo - - - - - - - res] ap - pa - ru-
5
flo - - - - - res
flo - - - - - res
A
- - - - res]
flo - - - - - - - res
ap - pa - ru - e - runt ap-
T
res
flo - - - - - - res
ap - pa - ru - e - runt
B
flo - - - - - - - - - - res
ap - pa - ru-

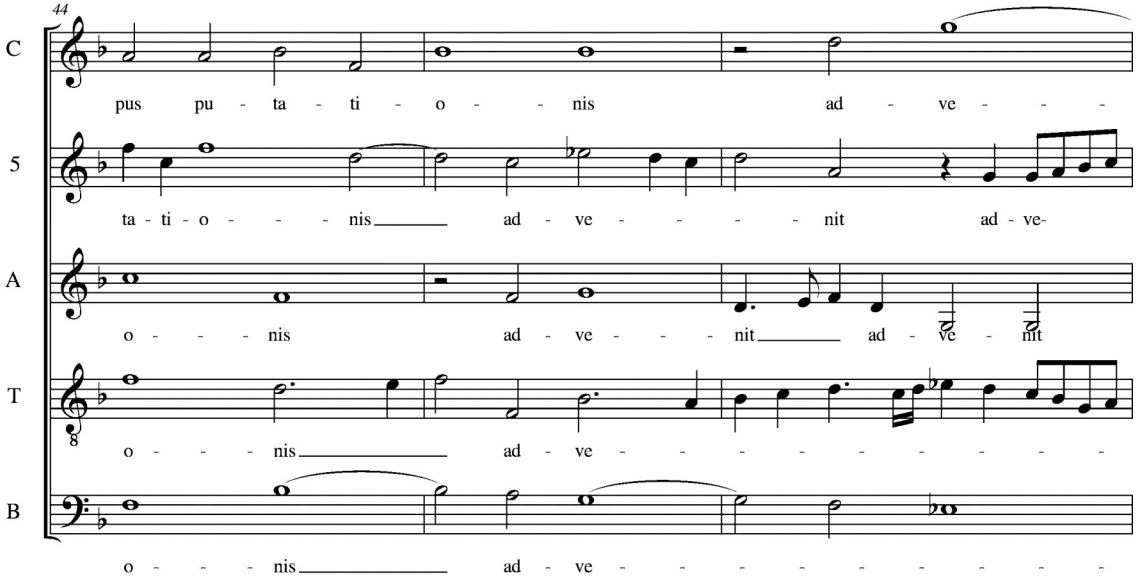
29
C
e - runt ap - pa - ru - e - runt [ap - pa - ru - e - runt] in ter - ra no - stra
5
ap - pa ru - e - runt flo - res ap - pa - ru - e - runt ap - pa - ru - e - runt in ter - ra
A
pa - ru - e - run[appa - ru - e - runt]ap - pa - ru - e - runt [ap - pa - ru - e - runt] in ter - ra
T
ap - pa - ru - e - runt [ap - pa - ru - e - runt] in ter - ra no - stra
B
e - runt [ap - pa - ru - e - runt] ap - pa - ru - e - runt [ap - pa - ru - e - runt] in ter - ra

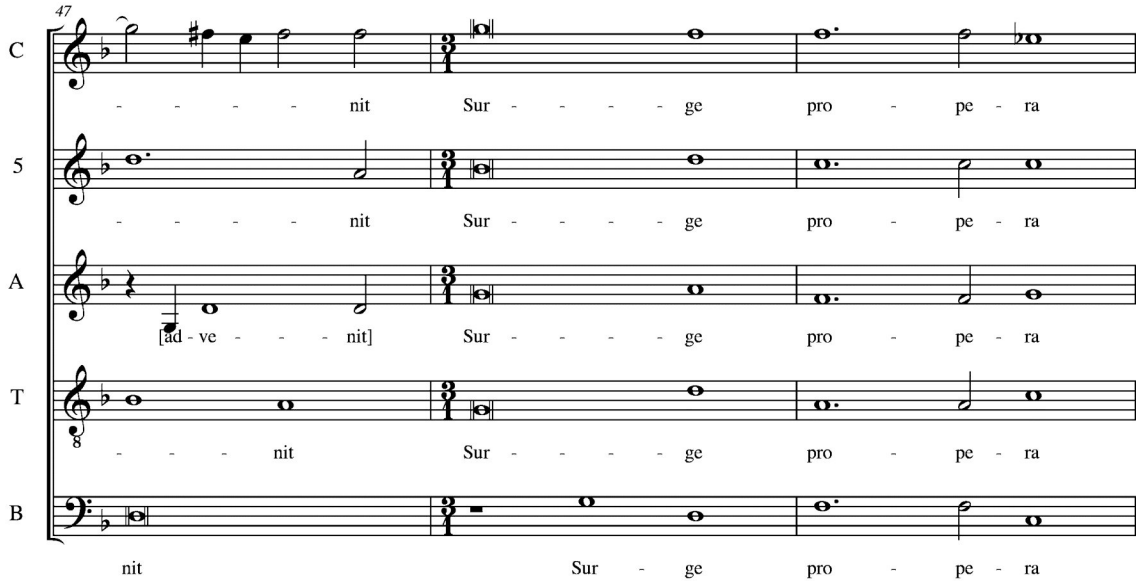
32
C
[in ter - ra no - stra] Sur - - - ge pro - pe - ra
5
no - stra [in ter - ra no - stra] Sur - - - ge pro - pe - ra
A
no - stra [in ter - ra no - stra] Sur - - - ge pro - per - ra
T
[in ter - ra no - stra] Sur - - - ge pro - pe - ra
B
no - stra [in ter - ra no - stra] Sur - - - ge pro - pe - ra


35
C
a - mi - ca me - - - a for - mo - sa
5
a - mi - ca me - - - a for - mo - sa
A
a - mi - ca me - - - a for - mo - sa
T
a - mi - ca a for - mo - sa
B
a - mi - ca me - - - a for - mo - sa


38
C
me - a co - lum - - - - ba me - a [et] ve - ni [et]
5
me - a Co - - lum - ba me - a [et] ve - ni [et]
A
me - a co - lum - - - - ba me - a [et] ve - - ni
T
me - a co - lum - - - - ba me - a Et
B
me - a co - lum - - - - ba me - a


41
C
5
A
T
8
B
_ ve - ni [et_ ve - ni] Tem - pus tem-
ve - ni [et_ ve - ni] tem - pus tem - pus pu-
[et ve - - - - - - tem - pus pu - ta - - - - ti-
ve - - - ni [Et ve - - - - ni] tem - pus pu - ta - ti-
[et] ve - - - ni Tem - - - pus pu - ta - - - - ti-

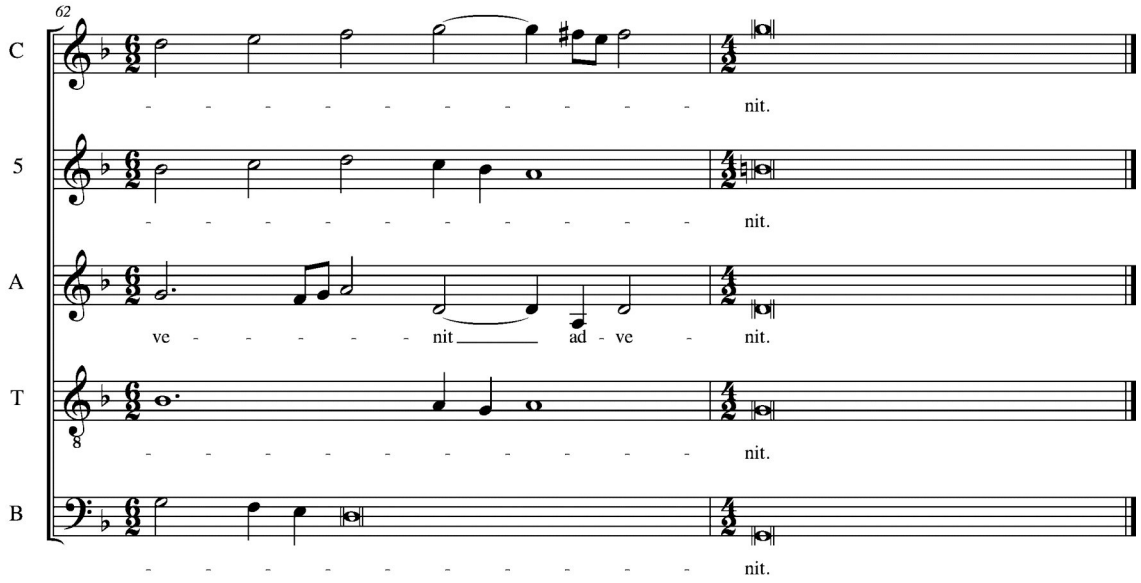

44
C
5
A
T
8
B
pus pu - ta - ti - o - - - nis ad - ve - - - -
ta - ti - o - - - - nis_ ad - ve - - - - - nit ad - ve-
o - - - - nis ad - ve - - - nit_ ad - ve - nit
o - - - nis_ ad - ve - - - - - - - - - - -
o - - - nis_ ad - ve - - - - - - - - - - -


47
C
- - - - - nit Sur - - - - - ge pro - pe - ra
5
- - - - - nit Sur - - - - - ge pro - pe - ra
A
[ad - ve - - - - nit] Sur - - - - - ge pro - pe - ra
T
- - - - nit Sur - - - - - ge pro - pe - ra
B
nit Sur - ge pro - pe - ra

50
C
a - mi - ca me - - - - a for - mo - sa
5
a - mi - ca me - - - - a for - mo - sa
A
a - mi - ca me - - - - a for - mo - sa
T
a - mi - ca me - - - - a for - mo - sa
B
a - mi - ca me - - - - a for - mo - sa

53
C
me - a co - lum - ba me - a [et] ve - ni [et] ve - ni
5
me - a Co - lum - ba me - a [et] ve - ni [et ve - ni] [et]
A
me - a co - lum - ba me - a, Et ve - ni [et
T
me - a co - lum - ba me - a Et
B
me - a co - lum - ba me - a [et] ve - ni
56
C
[et ve - ni] tem - - - pus tem - pus pu-
5
ve - ni [et ve - ni] tem - pus pu - ta - ti - o - nis
A
ve - ni] tem - - - pus pu - ta - - - - ti - o - - - -
T
ve - - - - ni tem - pus pu - ta - - - -
B
[et ve - - - - ni] tem - pus tem - -

59
C
ta - - - ti - o - - - nis ad - - - ve - - - - -
5
[tem - pus pu - ta - ti - o - - - nis] ad - ve - - -
A
nis tem - pus pu - ta - - - - - ti - o - - - nis ad-
T
- - ti - o - - - - nis ad - ve - - - - - - - -
B
pus pu - ta - - - - - ti - o - - - nis ad - ve - - -


62
C
- - - - - - - - - - - - - nit.
5
- - - - - - - - - - - - - nit.
A
ve - - - - - nit ad - ve - nit.
T
- - - - - - - - - - - - - nit.
B
- - - - - - - - - - - - - nit.

2. Herculeum dulci modulo

No. 23 in *Cantiones variae* (Hamburg, 1618 and Frankfurt, 1623)

Hieronymus Praetorius
(1560-1629)

3
C
ta - - - - te can - ta - - - - te [can - ta - te] [can - ta - te] tri - um-
A
can - ta - - - - te [can - ta - - - - te] can - ta - te [can - ta - te]
T
ca[n] - ta - - - - te can - ta - - - - te can - ta - te [can - ta - te] tri-
B
ta - - - - te can - ta - - - - te can - ta - te [can - ta - te] tri-
5
6
7
8

6
C
- - - phum
Mag - na - ni - mum
Her - cu - le - um
[mag - na - ni-
[Her - cu - le-
A
tri - um - phum,
Mag - na - ni - mum
Her - cu - le - um
[Mag - na - ni-
[Her - cu - le-
T
um - phum
Mag - na - ni - mum
Her - cu - le - um
[Mag - na - ni-
[Her - cu - le-
B
um - phum
Mag - na - ni - mum
Her - cu - le - um
[Mag - na - ni-
[Her - cu - le-
5
Mag - na - ni - mum
Her - cu - le - um
[Mag - na - ni - mum]
[Her - cu - le - um]
6
Mag - na - ni - mum
Her - cu - le - um
[Mag - na - ni - mum Mag - na - ni-
[Her - cu - le - um Her - cu - le-
7
Mag - na - ni - mum
Her - cu - le - um
[Mag - na - ni - mum Mag - na - ni-
[Her - cu - le - um Her - cu - le-
8
Mag - na - ni - mum
Her - cu - le - um
[Mag - na - ni - mum Mag - na - ni-
[Her - cu - le - um Her - cu - le-

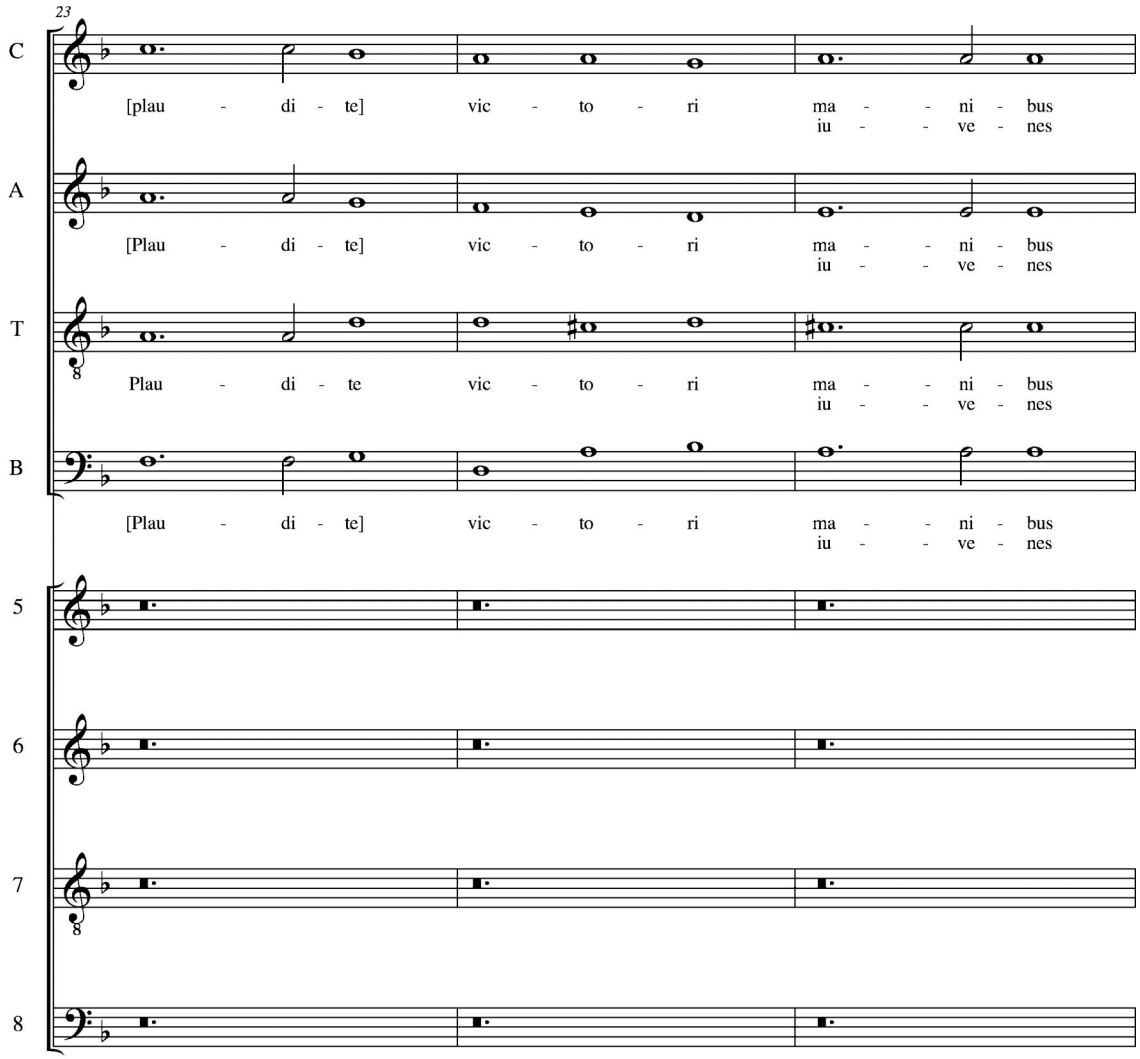
9
C
mum] dul - ci mo - du lo can - ta - - - te [can - ta - - - te] can - ta - te
um]
A
mum] dul - ci - mo - du lo can - ta - te [can - ta - te can - ta - te
um]
T
mum] dul - ci - mo - du lo can - ta - te [can - ta - te] [can - ta - te
um]
B
mum] dul - ci mo - du lo can - ta - - - te can - ta - - - te can - ta - te
um]
5
dul - ci mo - du lo can - ta - - - te [can - ta - - - te] Can - ta - te [Can-
6
mum] dul - ci mo - du lo can - ta - te can - ta - te [can - ta - te] [can-
um]
7
mum] dul - ci mo - du lo can - ta - te [can - ta - te] [can - ta - te] [can-
um]
8
mum] dul - ci - mo - du lo can - ta - - - te [can - ta - - - te] can - ta - te [can-
um]

12
C
[can - ta - te] [can - ta - te] can - ta - te tri - um - phum tri-
A
can - ta - te can - ta - te] can - ta - te tri - um - phu[m]can - ta - - - -
T
can - ta - te can - ta - te] can - ta - te tri - um - phu[m]can - ta - te
B
[can - ta - te can - ta - te] can - ta - te tri - u[m] - phu[m]can - ta - te tri-
5
ta - te] [Can - ta - te] [Can - ta - te] can - ta - te tri - um - phum
6
ta - te] [can - ta - te] [can - ta - te] can - ta - te tri - um - phumcan-
7
ta - te] [can - ta - te] [can - ta - te] can - ta - te tri - um - phu[m]tri-
8
ta - te] [can - ta - te] can - ta - te can - ta - te tri - um - phu[m]a[n]-

14
C
um - - - - - - - phu[m] Di - ci te [Di - ci te] vic - to - - -
A
te tri - um - - - phu[m] Di - ci te [Di - ci te] vic - to - - -
T
— tri - um - - - - phu[m] di - ci te [di - ci te] vic - to - - -
B
um - phum tri - u[m] - - - phu[m] Di - ci te [Di - ci te] vic - to - - -
5
tri - um - - - - - phum Di - ci - te [Di - ci te] vic - to-
6
ta - - - - te tri - um - phum Di - ci - te [Di - ci te] vic - to-
7
um - - - - - - - - phum di - ci - te [di - ci te] vic - to-
8
ta - te tri - um - - - phu[m] Di - ci - te [Di - ci te] vic - to-

17
C
ri car - mina gra - ta De - o [car - mina gra - ta De - - - o] [car - mina
no - vo [no - - - vo]
A
ri car - mina gra - ta De - o [car - mina gra - ta De - o] car - mina
no - vo [no - vo]
T
ri car - mina gra - ta De - o [car - mina gra - ta De - o] [car - mina
no - vo [no - vo]
B
ri car - mina gra - ta De - o [car - mina
no - vo
5
ri car - mina gra - ta De - o
no - vo
6
ri car - mina gra - ta De - o
no - vo
7
ri car - mina gra - ta De - o
no - vo
8
ri car - mina gra - ta De - o
no - vo

20
C
gra - ta De - o] car - mi-na gra - ta De - - - - o Plau - di - te
[no - vo] no - - - - vo
A
gra - ta De - o [car - mi-na gra - ta De - - - - o] Plau - di - te
no - vo [no - - - - vo]
T
gra - ta De - o] car - mi-na gra - ta De - - - - o Plau - di - te
[no - vo] no - - - - vo
B
gra - ta De - o] car - mi-na gra - ta De - - - - o Plau - di - te
[no - vo] [no - - - - vo]
5
car - mi-na gra - ta car - mi-na gra - ta De - o
no - vo
6
Car - mi-na gra - ta car - mi-na gra - ta De - o
no - vo
7
car - mi-na gra - ta car - mi-na gra - ta De - o
no - vo
8
car - mi-na gra - ta car - mi-na gra - ta De - o
no - vo


23
C
[plau - di - te] vic - to - ri ma - - ni - bus
iu - - ve - nes
A
[Plau - di - te] vic - to - ri ma - - ni - bus
iu - - ve - nes
T
Plau - di - te vic - to - ri ma - - ni - bus
iu - - ve - nes
B
[Plau - di - te] vic - to - ri ma - - ni - bus
iu - - ve - nes
5
6
7
8

26
C
plau - di - te plau - di - te vic - to - ri
A
Plau - di - te Plau - di - te vic - to - ri
T
Plau - di - te [Plau - di - te] vic - to - ri
B
Plau - di - te [Plau - di - te] vic - to - ri
5
Plau - di - te [Plau - di - te] vic - to - ri
6
Plau - di - te [Plau - di - te] vic - to - ri
7
Plau - di - te [Plau - di - te] vic - to - ri
8
Plau - di - te plau - di - te vic - to - ri

29
C
ma - nibus re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes [re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes] qui mo-
iu - venes hu - ic lau - di - bus [hu - ic lau - di - bus]
A
ma - nibus re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes Qui mo-
iu - venes hu - ic lau - di - bus hu - ic lau - di - bus
T
ma - nibus re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes om - nes re-so - nan - ti - bus Qui mo-
iu - venes hu - ic lau - di - bus hu ic lau - di - bus
B
ma - nibus re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes [re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes] Qui mo-
iu - venes hu - ic lau - di - bus [hu - ic lau - di - bus om - nes]
5
ma - nibus re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes [re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes] Qui mo-
iu - venes hu - ic lau - di - bus [hu - ic lau - di - bus]
6
ma - nibus re - so - nan ti - bus om - nes re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes Qui mo-
iu - venes hu - ic lau di - bus hu - ic lau - di - bus
7
ma - nibus re - so - nan - ti - bus omnes re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes Qui mo-
iu - venes hu - ic lau - di - bus hu - ic lau - di - bus
8
ma - nibus re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes re - so - nan - ti - bus om - nes, Qui mo-
iu - venes hu - ic lau - di - bus hu - ic lau - di - bus

32
C
do con - sce[n] - dit cul - mi - na cel - sa po - li cul-
Par - nas - si te - net
A
do con - sce[n] - dit cul - mi - na cel - sa po - li cul-
Par - nas - si te - net
T
do co[n] - scen - dit cul - mi - na cel - sa po - li cul-
Par - nas - si te - net
B
do con - sce[n] - dit cul - mi - na cel - sa po - li [cul-
Par - nas - si te - net
5
do con - scen - dit cul - mi - na cel - sa po - li cul-
Par - nas - si te - net
6
do co[n] - scen - dit cul - mi - na cel - sa po - li cul-
Par - nas - si te - net
7
do co[n] - scen - dit cul - mi - na cel - sa po - li cul-
Par - nas - si te - net
8
do con - scen - dit cul - mi - na cel - sa po - li cul-
Par - nas - si te - net

34
C
- mi - na cel - sa po - - - - - - - - li
te - - - - - - - - - net
A
- mi - na cel - sa po - - - - - - - - li
te - - - - - - - - - net
T
- mi - na cul - mi - na cel - sa po - - - - - - li
te - - - - - - - - - net
B
- mi - na cel - sa po - - - - - - - - li]
te - - - - - - - - - net
5
- mi - na cel - sa po - - - - - - - - li
te - - - - - - - - - net
6
- mi - na cel - - - sa po - - - - - - li
te - - - - - - - - - net
7
- mi - na cul - mi - na cel - sa po - - - - - - li
te - - - - - - - - - net
8
- mi - na cel - sa po - - - - - - - - li
te - - - - - - - - - net

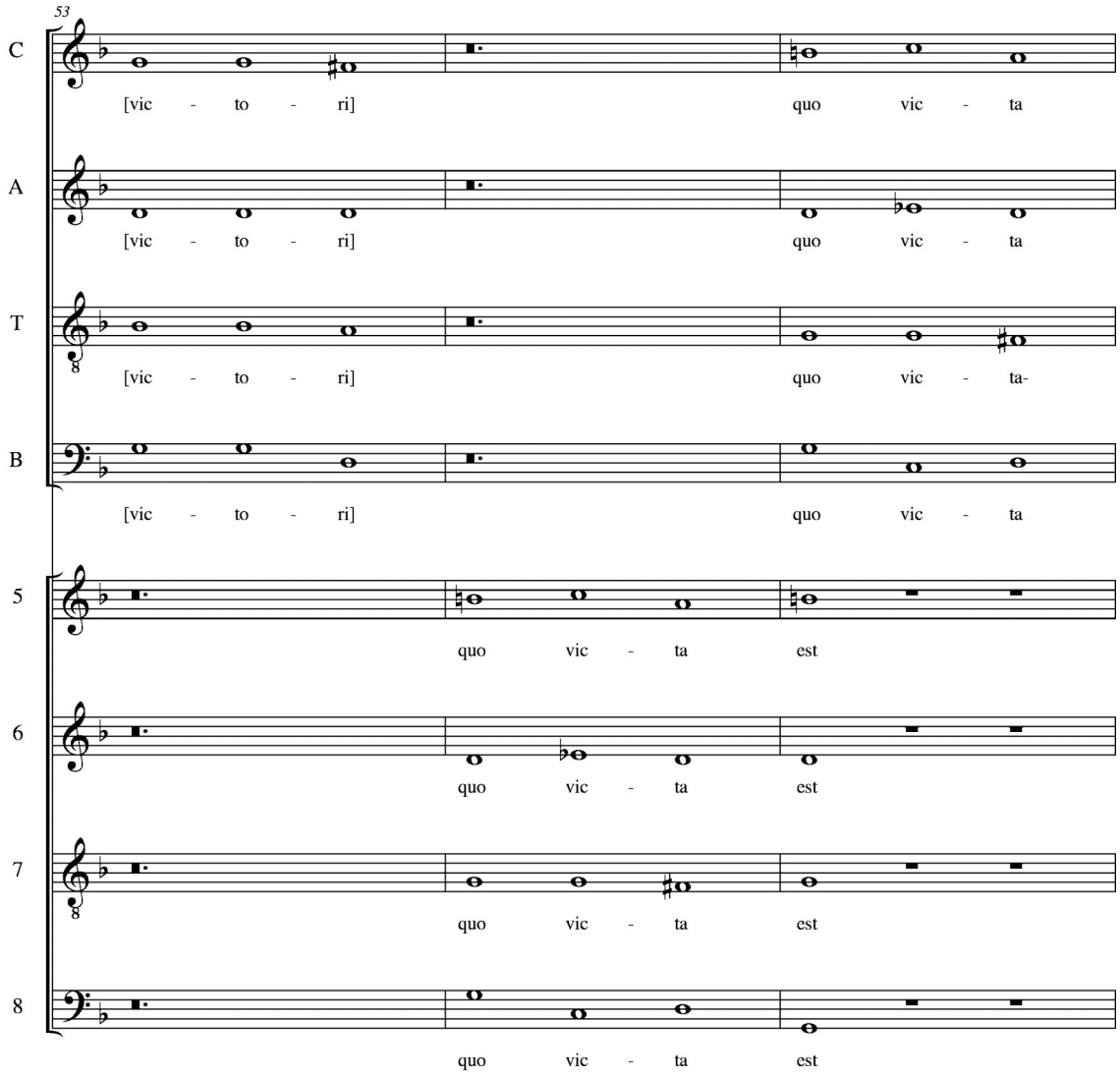
36
C
Plau - di - te plau - - - di - te vic - to - ri
A
Plau - di - te [Plau - - - di - te] vic - to - ri
T
Plau - di - te [Plau - - - di - te] vic - to - ri
B
Plau - di - te [Plau - - - di - te] vic - to - ri
5
Plau - di - te [Plau - - - di - te] vic - to - ri
6
Plau - di - te [Plau - di - te] vic - to - ri
7
Plau - di - te [Plau - - - di - te] vic - to - ri
8
Plau - di - te [Plau - - - di - te] vic - to - ri

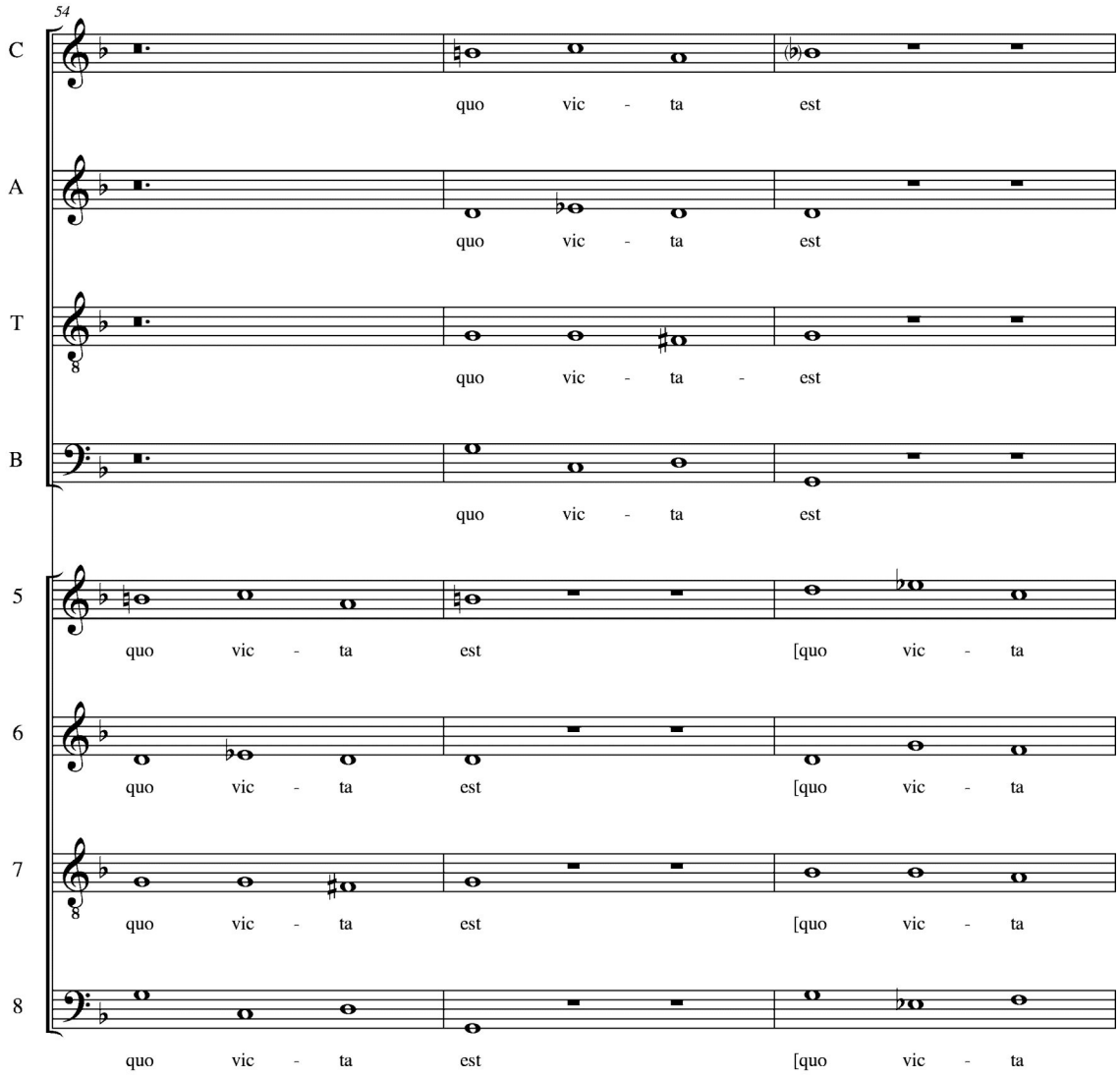
39
C
vi - - - ti - o - - - rum plau - di - te plau - di te tur-
læ-
A
vi - - - ti - o - - - rum plau - di - te [plau - di te] tur-
læ-
T
vi - - - ti - o - - - rum plau - di - te plau - di te tur-
læ-
B
vi - - - ti - o - - - rum plau - di - te plau - di te tur-
læ-
5
vi - ti - o - - - rum plau - di te
6
vi - - - - ti - o - rum Plau - di te
7
vi - - - ti - o - - - rum Plau - di te
8
vi - - - ti - o - - - rum Plau - di te

42
C
b[a]e plau - di-te Sanc - to - ru[m] qu[a]e co - mi - ta - tur e - um [quae
ti vir - tu - ti
A
bæ plau - di-te Sanc - to - rum q[uæ] co - mi - ta - tur e - um, q[uæ]
ti vir - tu - ti
T
bæ plau - di-te sanc - to - rum quæ co - mi - ta - tur e - um quæ
ti vir - tu - ti
B
bæ plau - di-te Sanc - to - ru[m] quæ co - mi - ta - tur e - um [quæ
ti vir - tu - ti
5
plau - di-te tur - bæ plau - di te Sanc - to - rum quæ co - mi - ta - tur e - um
læ - ti vir - tu - ti
6
plau - di-te tur - bæ plau - di te sanc - to - rum quæ co - mi - ta - tur e - um
læ - ti vir - tu - ti
7
plau - di-te tur - bæ plau - di te sanc - to - rum q[uæ] co - mi - ta - tur e - um
læ - ti vir - tu - ti
8
[Plau - di te] tur - bæ Plau - di te Sanc - to - rum quæ co - mi - ta - tur e - um
læ - ti vir - tu - ti

45
C
co - mi - ta - - tur e - um] [Plau - - - di - te
A
co - mi - ta - - tur e - um plau - di - te
T
co - mi - ta - tur e - - - um Plau - - - di - te
B
co - mi - ta - tur e - - - - - um] plau - - - di - te
5
[quæ co - mi - ta - tur e - um] Plau - - - di - te
6
[quæ co - mi - ta - tur e - um] Plau - - - di - te
7
[quæ co - mi - ta - tur e - um] plau - - - di - te
8
[quæ co - mi - ta - tur e - um] Plau - - - di - te

48
C
plau - di - te plau - di - te]
A
[plau - di - te plau - di - te]
T
[Plau - di - te Plau - di - te]
B
[plau - di - te plau - di - te]
5
plau - di - te [plau - di - te] vic - to - ri
6
[Plau - di - te Plau - di - te] vic - to - ri
7
[plau - di - te] [plau - di - te] vic - to - ri
8
[Plau - di - te] [Plau - di - te] vic - to - ri


53
C
[vic - to - ri]
quo vic - ta
A
[vic - to - ri]
quo vic - ta
T
[vic - to - ri]
quo vic - ta-
B
[vic - to - ri]
quo vic - ta
5
quo vic - ta est
6
quo vic - ta est
7
quo vic - ta est
8
quo vic - ta est


54
C
quo vic - ta est
A
quo vic - ta est
T
quo vic - ta - est
B
quo vic - ta est
5
quo vic - ta est [quo vic - ta
6
quo vic - ta est [quo vic - ta
7
quo vic - ta est [quo vic - ta
8
quo vic - ta est [quo vic - ta

57
C
[quo vic - ta est quo vic - ta est] por - ta Ge-
blan - da vo-
A
[quo - vic - ta est] quo vic - ta est Por - ta Ge-
blan - da vo-
T
[quo vic - ta est quo vic - ta est Por - ta Ge-
blan - da vo-
B
[quo vic - ta est quo vic - ta est] por - ta Ge-
blan - da vo-
5
est] [quo vic - ta est]
6
est] [quo vic - ta est]
7
est] [quo vic - ta est]
8
est] [quo vic - ta est]

60
C
hen - n[a]e por - ta Ge - hen - n[a]e Di - ci-
lup - tas blan - da vo - lup - tas
A
hen - næ [Por - ta Ge - hen - næ] di - ci-
lup - tas [blan - da vo - lup - tas]
T
hen - næ [Por - ta Ge - hen - næ] Di - ci-
lup - tas [blan - da vo - lup - tas]
B
hen - næ por - ta por - ta Ge-hen - næ Di - ci-
lup - tas blan - da blan-da vo-lup - tas
5
Por - ta Ge - hen - næ por - ta Ge - hen - næ Di - ci - te
blan - da vo - lup - tas blan - da vo - lup - tas
6
Por - ta Ge - hen - næ [Por - ta Ge - hen - næ] di - ci - te
blan - da vo - lup - tas [blan - da vo - lup - tas]
7
Por - ta Ge - hen - næ [Por - ta Ge - hen - næ] di - ci - te
blan - da vo - lup - tas [blan - da vo - lup - tas]
8
Por - ta Ge - hen - næ [Por - ta Ge - hen - næ] Di - ci - te
blan - da vo - lup - tas [blan - da vo - lup - tas]

63
C
te [Di - ci - te] vic - to - ri [vic - to - ri] di - ci - te
A
te [di - ci - te] vic - to - ri [vic - to - ri] di - ci - te
T
te [Di - ci - te] vic - to - ri [vic - to - ri] di - ci-
B
te [Di - ci - te] vic - to - ri [vic - to - ri] di - ci-
5
[Di - ci - te] vic - to - ri Di - ci - te [Di - ci-
6
[di - ci - te] vic - to - - - - ri Di - ci - te
7
[di - ci - te] vic - to - - - - ri di - ci - te di-
8
[Di - ci - te] vic - to - ri vic - to - ri di - ci - te

65
C
[di - ci - te] - vic - to - - - ri di - gna tro ph[a]e - a De - o
no - vo
A
[di - ci - te] vic - to - ri di - gna tro - phæ - a De - o
no - vo
T
te [di - ci - te] vic - to - ri di - gna tro - phæ - a De - o
no - vo
B
te vic - to - - - ri di - gna tro - phæ - a De - o
no - vo
5
te] vic - to - ri [vic - to - ri] di - gna tro ph[a]e - a
6
[Di - ci - te] vic - to - - - ri di - gna tro - phæ - a
7
- ci - te vic - to - - - ri di - gna tro - phæ - a
8
vic - to - ri di - gna tro - phæ - a

68
C
di - gna tro ph[a]e - a De - o [di - gna tro - phae - a De - - - - - o]
no - vo [no - - - - vo]
A
di - gna tro - phæ - a De - o [di - gna tro - phæ - a De - - - - - o]
no - vo [no - - - - vo]
T
[di - gna tro - phæ - a De - o] di - gna tro - phæ - a De - - - - - o
[no - vo] no - - - - vo
B
[di - gna tro - phæ - a De - o di - gna tro - phæ - a De - - - - - o]
[no - vo] [no - - - - vo]
5
De - o [di - gna tro - phæ - a De - o] di - gna tro - phæ - a De - - - - - o
no - vo [no - vo] no - - - - vo
6
De - o [di - gna tro - phæ - a De - o] di - gna tro - phæ - a De - - - - - o
no - vo [no - vo] no - - - - vo
7
De - o di gna tro - phæ - a De - o [di - gna tro - phæ - a De - o
no - vo no - vo [no - vo]
8
De - o [di - gna tro - phæ - a De - o di - gna tro - phæ - a De - - - - - o]
no - vo [no - vo] [no - - - - vo]

71
C
vic - to - ri-a [vic - to - ri-a] vic - to - ri-a [vic-
A
Vic - to - ri-a [Vic - to - ri-a] [Vic - to - ri-a Vic-
T
vic - to - ri-a [vic - to - ri-a] [vic - to - ri-a] vic-
B
vic - to - ri-a [vic - to - ri-a] [vic - to - ri a] vic-
5
Vic - to - ri-a vic - to - ri-a [vic - to - ri-a vic-
6
vic - to - ri-a [vic - to - ri-a] vic - to - ri-a [vic-
7
vic - to - ri-a [vic - to - ri-a vic - to - ri-a] vic-
8
vic - to - ri-a vic - to - ri-a [vic - to - ri-a vic-

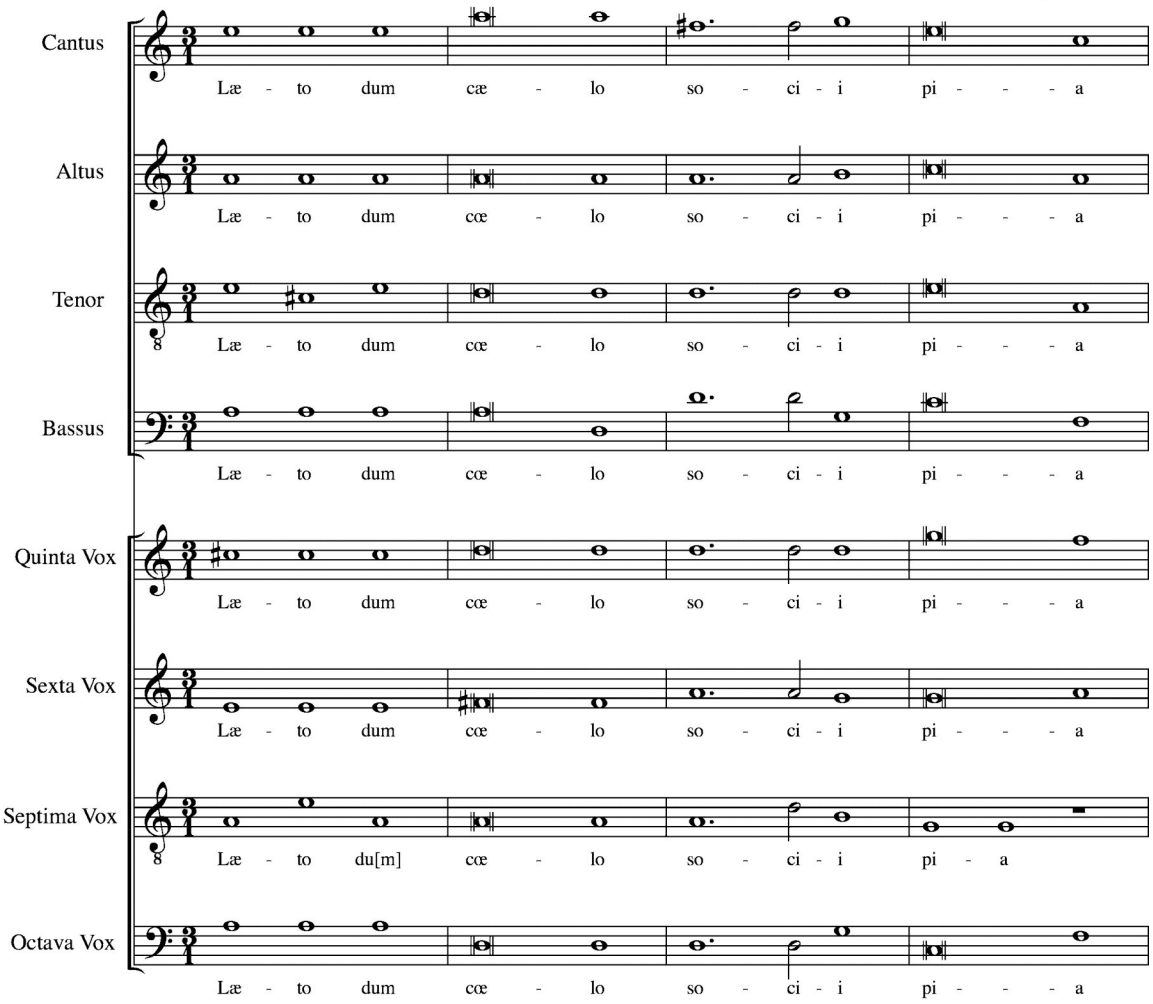
74
C
to - ri - a vic - to - - - - ri - a] vic - to - ri - a [vic - to - ri - a]
A
to - ri - a] vic - to - - - - ri - a [vic - to - ri - a] [vic - to - ri - a]
T
to - ri - a vic - to - - - - ri - a [vic - to - ri - a] [vic - to - ri - a]
B
to - ri - a vic - to - - - - ri - a [vic - to - ri - a] [vic - to - ri - a]
5
to - ri - a] vic - to - - - - ri - a [vic - to - ri - a] [vic-
6
to - ri - a] vic - to - - - - ri - a [vic - to - ri - a] vic-
7
to - ri - a [vic - to - - - - ri - a] [vic - to - ri - a] [vic-
8
to - ri - a] vic - to - - - - ri - a vic - to - ri - a [vic-

77
C
vic - to - ri - a [vic - to - ri a] vic - to - - - - - ri - a.
A
[vic - to - ri - a vic - to - ri a] vic - to - - - - - ri - a.
T
vic - to - ri - a [vic - to - ri a] vic - to - - - - - ri - a.
B
[vic - to - ri - a] vic - to - ri - a vic - to - - - - - ri - a.
5
to - ri - a vic - to - ri - a vic - to - ri a] vic - to - - - - - ri - a.
6
to - ri - a [vic - to - ri - a vic - to - ri a] vic - to - - - - - ri - a.
7
to - ri - a] vic - to - ri - a vic - to - ri - a vic - to - - - - - ri - a.
8
to - ri - a vic - to - ri - a vic - to - ri a] vic - to - - - - - ri - a.

Laeto dum coelo

No. 26 in *Cantiones variae* (1618)

Hieronymus Praetorius
(1560-1629)

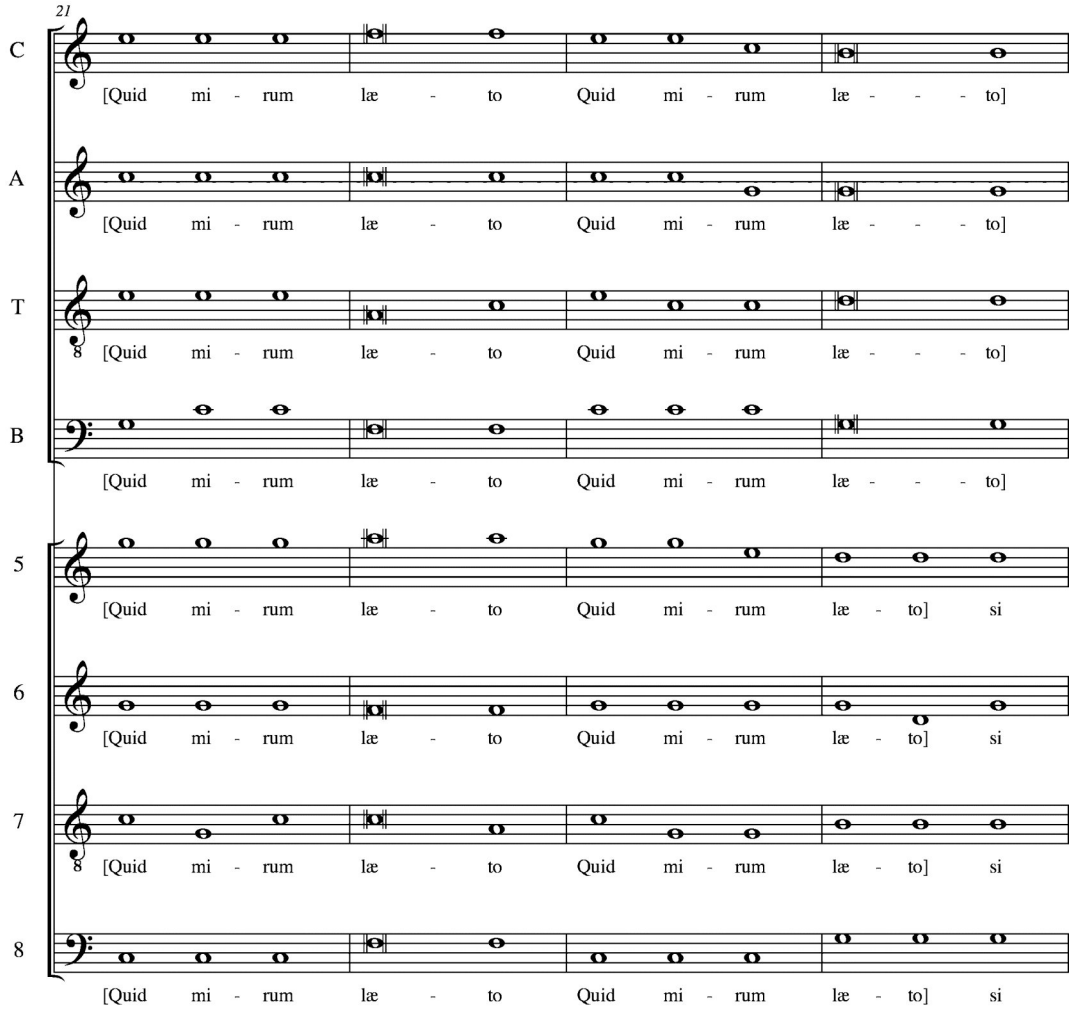


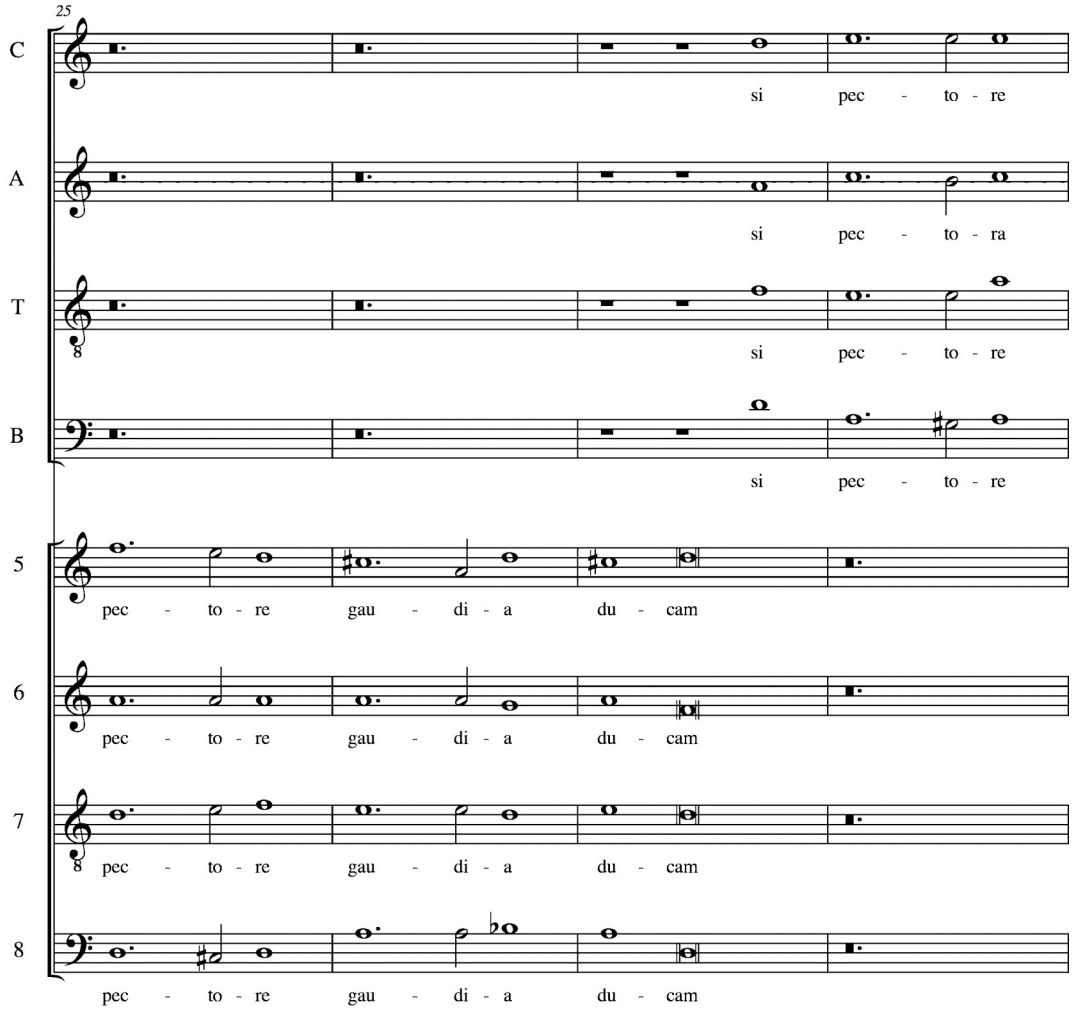
5
C
fœ - de - ra lec - ti lec - - - -
A
fœ - de - ra lec - ti lec - - - -
T
fœ - de - ra lec - ti lec - - -
B
fœ - de - ra lec - ti lec - - - -
5
fœ - de - ra lec - - - - ti con - tra - his
6
fœ - de - ra lec - ti con - tra - his
7
fœ - de - ra lec - - - - ti con - tra - his
8
fœ - de - ra lec - - - - ti con - tra - his

9
C
ti con - tra - his
[et] spon-sam quæ-
A
ti con - tra - his
Et spon-sam quæ-
T
ti con - tra - his
Et spon-sam q[uæ]-
B
ti con - tra - his
Et Spon-sam qu[æ]-
5
lec - - - - ti con - tra - his
6
lec - - - - ti con - tra - his
7
lec - - - - ti con - tra - his
8
lec - - - - ti con - tra - his

13
C
ris A-dol - phe A - dol - phe tu - - - - am
A
ris A-dol - he A - dol - phe tu - - - - am
T
ris A-dol - phe [A-dol - phe] A-dol phe tu - - - - am
B
ris A-dol - phe A - dol - p[he] tu - - - - am
5
Et spon sa[m] qu[æ] - ris A-
6
Et spon - sam qu[æ] - ris A-
7
Et spon sa[m] qu[æ] - ris A-dol-
8
Et spon sa[m] q[uæ] - ris A-

17
C
Quid mi - rum læ - to
A
Quid mi - rum læ - to
T
Quid mi - rum læ - to
B
Quid mi - rum læ - to
5
dol - phe A dol - phe tu - - - am Quid mi - ru[m] læ - to
6
dol - phe [Adol - phe] tu - - - am Quid mi - rum læ - to
7
phe [Adol - phe] Adolphe tu - - - am Quid mi - ru[m] læ - to
8
dol - phe A dol - phe tu - - - am Quid mi - ru[m] læ - to


21
C
[Quid mi - rum læ - to Quid mi - rum læ - - - to]
A
[Quid mi - rum læ - to Quid mi - rum læ - - - to]
T
[Quid mi - rum læ - to Quid mi - rum læ - - - to]
B
[Quid mi - rum læ - to Quid mi - rum læ - - - to]
5
[Quid mi - rum læ - to Quid mi - rum læ - to] si
6
[Quid mi - rum læ - to Quid mi - rum læ - to] si
7
[Quid mi - rum læ - to Quid mi - rum læ - to] si
8
[Quid mi - rum læ - to Quid mi - rum læ - to] si


25
C
si pec - to - re
A
si pec - to - ra
T
si pec - to - re
B
si pec - to - re
5
pec - to - re gau - di - a du - cam
6
pec - to - re gau - di - a du - cam
7
pec - to - re gau - di - a du - cam
8
pec - to - re gau - di - a du - cam

29
C
gau - di - a du - cam [si pec - to - re gau - di - a
A
gau - di - a du - cam si pec - to - re gau - di - a
T
gau - di - a du - cam [si pec - to - re gau - di - a
B
gau - di - a du - cam [si pec - to - re gau - di - a
5
si pec - to - re gau - di - a
6
[si pec - to - re gau - di - a
7
[si pec - to - re gau - di - a
8
si pec - to - re gau - di - a

33
C
du - cam] si pec - to - re gau - di - a du - cam At-
A
cu - cam si pec - to - re gau - di - a du - cam At-
T
du - cam] si pec - to - re gau - di - a du - cam At-
B
du - cam] si pec - to - re gau - di - a du - cam At-
5
du - ca[m] [si pec - to - ra gau - di - a du - cam]
6
du - cam] si pec - to - re gau - di - a du - cam
7
du - cam] si pec - to - re gau - di - a du - cam
8
du - cam si pe[c - to - re gau - di - a du - cam]

37
C
- que pre - - - cer cæp - tis pro-spe-ra pro spe-ra cunc-ta
A
- que pre - - - cer cæp - tis pro-spe-ra [pro spe-ra] cunc-ta
T
- - - que pre - cer cæp - tis p[ro] spe-ra [pro-spe - ra pro spe-ra] cunc-ta
B
- que pre - - - cer cæp - tis pro-spe-ra p[ro] spe - ra [pro spe-ra] cunc-ta
5
6
7
8

41
C
tu - is
pro-spe-
A
tu - is
pro-spe-
T
tu - is
pro-spe - ra
B
tu - is
pro-spe-
5
At - que pre - - - - cer cæp - - - - - tis pro-spe - ra pro-spe-
6
At - - - - que pre - - - - cer cæp - tis pro-spe - ra
7
At - - - - que pre - cer cæp - - - - - tis
8
At - - - - que pre - - - - cer cæp - tis pro-spe - ra

45
C
ra [prospe ra] pro spe - ra cunc - ta tu - is con - ju - gi - i [con - ju - gi - i] pri-
A
ra [prospe ra] cu[n]c - ta tu - is Con - ju - gi - i [Con - ju - gi - i] pri-
T
[prospe-ra pro spe - ra] [pro spe - ra] cunc ta tu - is co[n] - ju - gi - i [con - ju - gi - i] pri-
B
ra [prospe-ra pro spe - ra] cunc - ta tu - is Con - iu - gi - i [Con - iu - gi - i] pri-
5
ra [prospe ra] [pro spe ra] cunc - ta tu - is Con iu - gi - i [Con - iu - gi i] pri-
6
[pro - spe - ra] pro spe-ra cunc ta tu - is con-iu - gi - i [con - iu - gi i] pri-
7
pro spe-ra [prospe-ra pro spe ra] cunc - ta tu - is con-iu - gi - i [con - iu - gi i] pri-
8
p[ro]spe-ra [prospe ra] cunc - - - ta tu - is con-iu - gi - i [con - iu - gi i] pri-

49
C
mus sa - cri qui fau-tor [et] au - thor præ - - - - - sto ti - bi
A
mus sa - cri qui fau-tor [et] au - thor præ - - - sto ti - bi
T
m[us] sa - cri - qui fau-tor [et] au - thor præ - - - - - sto ti - bi
B
m[us] sac - ri qui fau-tor [et] au - tor præ - - - sto ti - bi
5
mus sac - ri qui fau-tor [et] au - tor præ - - - - sto ti - bi spon-
6
mus sac - ri qui fau-tor [et] au - tor præ - sto ti - bi spon-
7
m[us] sac-ri qui fau-tor [et] au - thor præ - - - - sto ti - bi spon-
8
mus sac - ri q[ui] fau-tor [et] au - tor p[ræ] - sto ti - bi spon-

53
C
Spon - sæ [Spon - sæ] præ - sto sit ip - se tu - - - æ il - le
A
Spon - sæ [Spon - sæ] præ - sto sit ip - se tu - - - æ Il - le
T
spon - sæ [spon - sæ] præ - sto sit ip - se tu - - - æ Il - le
B
spon - sæ [spon - sæ] præ - sto sit ip - se tu - - - æ Il - le
5
sæ [spon - sæ] præ - sto sit ip - se tu - - - æ
6
sæ [spon - sæ] præ - sto sit ip - se tu - æ
7
sæ [spon - sæ] præ - sto sit ip - se tu - - - æ
8
sæ [spon - sæ] præ - sto sit ip - se tu - - - æ

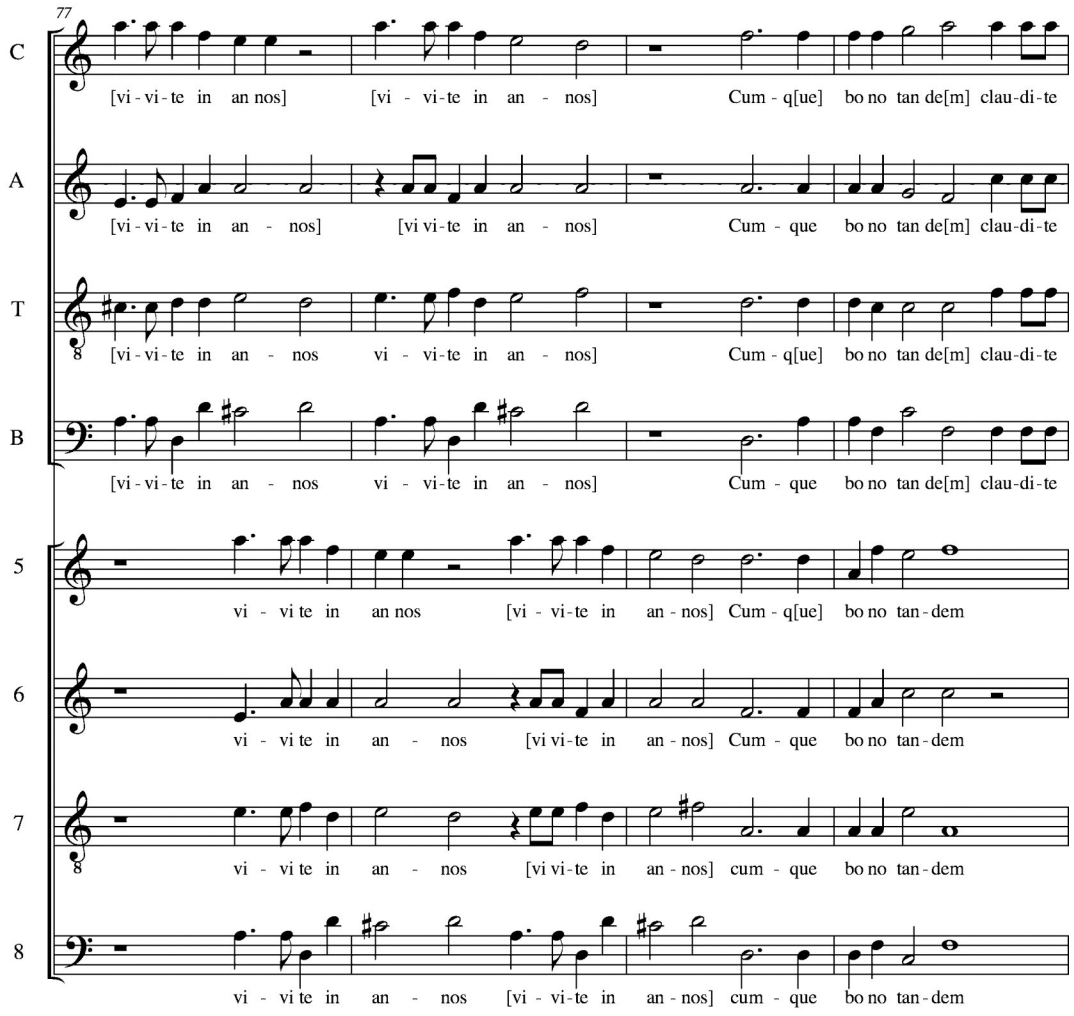
57
C
det [il - le det] æ - ter - - - - - - num sanc-
A
det [Il - le det] æ - ter - num [æ - ter - num]
T
8 det [Il - le det] æ - ter - - - - - - - nu[m]
B
det [Il - le det] æ - ter - num [æ - ter - num]
5
Il - le det [Il - le det] æ - ter - - - - - - num
6
Il - le det [Il - le det] æ - ter - num [æ - ter - num]
7
8 Il - le det [Il - le det] æ - ter - nu[m] æ - ter - - - nu[m]
8
Il - le det [Il - le det] æ - ter - nu[m] [æ - ter - num]

61
C
- to ca-le-a - tis a-mo-re a-mo - re [a-mo-re] ves-tra-que sæ-
A
sanc - to ca-le-a - tis a-mo-re a-mo - re [a-mo-re] ves-tra-que sæ-
T
sanc - to ca-le-a - tis a-mo-re a-mo - re [a-mo-re] ves-tra q[ue] sæ-
B
sanc - to ca-le-a - tis a-mo-re a-mo - re [a-mo-re] ves-tra q[ue] sæ-
5
sanc - to ca-le-a - tis a-mo-re a-mo - re [a-mo-re a-mo - re] Ves-tra-que
6
sanc - to ca-le-a - tis a-mo-re a-mo-re [a-mo - re] Ves-tra q[ue]
7
sanc - to ca-le-a - tis a-mo-re a-mo-re [a-mo - re] ves-tra q[ue]
8
sanc - to ca-le-a - tis a-mo-re a-mo-re [a-mo - re] ves-tra-que

65
C
pe pi - a gau-di-a pro-le be-et [gau di-a pro-le be - et] Hæc
A
pe pi - a gau-di-a pro-le be - et [gau di-a pro-le be-et] Hæc
T
pe pi - a gau-di-a pro-le be-et [gau di-a pro-le be-et] Hæc
B
pe pi - a gau-di-a pro-le be - et [gau di-a pro-le be - et] Hæc
5
sæ - pe pi - a gau-di-a pro-le be-et [gau-di-a pro-le be - et]
6
sæ - pe pi-a gau-di-a pro-le be - et [gau-di-a pro-le be - et]
7
s[æ] - pe pi - a gau-di-a p[ro] le be-et [gau-di-a pro-le be - et]
8
sæ - pe pi - a gau-di-a pro-le be - et [gau-di-a pro-le be - et]

69
C
ro - - - - - go long - æ - vos [long-
A
ro - - - - - - go long - æ - vos [long-
T
ro - - - - - - go long - æ - vos [long-
B
ro - - - - - go long - æ - vos [long-
5
Hæc ro - - - - - go long - æ - vos
6
Hæc ro - - - - - - go long - æ - vos
7
Hæc ro - - - - - - go long - æ - vos
8
Hæc ro - - - - - go long - æ - vos

73
C
æ - vos] long - æ - - - vos fe - li - ces vi - vi - te vi - vi-te in an - nos
A
æ - vos] [long - æ - vos] fe - li - ces vi - vi - te vi - vi-te in an - nos
T
æ - vos] long - æ - vos fe - li - ces vi - vi - te vi - vi-te in an - nos
B
æ - vos] [long - æ - vos] fe - li - ces vi - vi - te vi - vi-te in an - nos
5
long - æ - - - - vos] fe - li - ces vi - vi - te vi - vi - te
6
long - æ - - - - vos fe - li - ces vi - vi - te vi - vi - te
7
[long - æ - vos] fe - li - ces vi - vi - te [vi - vi-te]
8
[long - æ - - - - vos] fe - li - ces vi - vi - te vi - vi - te


77
C
[vi - vi - te in an nos]
[vi - vi - te in an - nos]
Cum - q[ue] bo no tan de[m] clau-di-te
A
[vi - vi - te in an - nos]
[vi vi - te in an - nos]
Cum - que bo no tan de[m] clau-di-te
T
[vi - vi - te in an - nos
vi - vi - te in an - nos]
Cum - q[ue] bo no tan de[m] clau-di-te
B
[vi - vi - te in an - nos
vi - vi - te in an - nos]
Cum - que bo no tan de[m] clau-di-te
5
vi - vi te in an nos
[vi - vi - te in an - nos]
Cum - q[ue] bo no tan - dem
6
vi - vi te in an - nos
[vi vi - te in an - nos]
Cum - que bo no tan - dem
7
vi - vi te in an - nos
[vi vi - te in an - nos]
cum - que bo no tan - dem
8
vi - vi te in an - nos
[vi - vi - te in an - nos]
cum - que bo no tan - dem

81
C
fa - ta De - o [clau-di-te fa-ta De - o clau-di te fa - ta De - o]
A
fa - ta De - o [clau-di-te fa-ta De - o clau-di te fa - ta De - o]
T
fa - ta De - o [clau-di-te fa-ta De - o] [clau di te fa - ta De - o]
B
fa - ta De - o [clau-di-te fa-ta De - o clau-di te fa - ta De - o]
5
clau-di-te fa - ta De - o [clau di te fa - ta De - o clau-di te fa-ta De-
6
clau-di-te fa - ta De - o [clau di te fa - ta De - o clau-di te fa-ta De-
7
clau-di-te fa - ta De - o [clau di te fa - ta De-o] [clau di te fa-ta De-
8
clau-di-te fa - ta De - o [clau di te fa - ta De - o clau-di te fa-ta De-

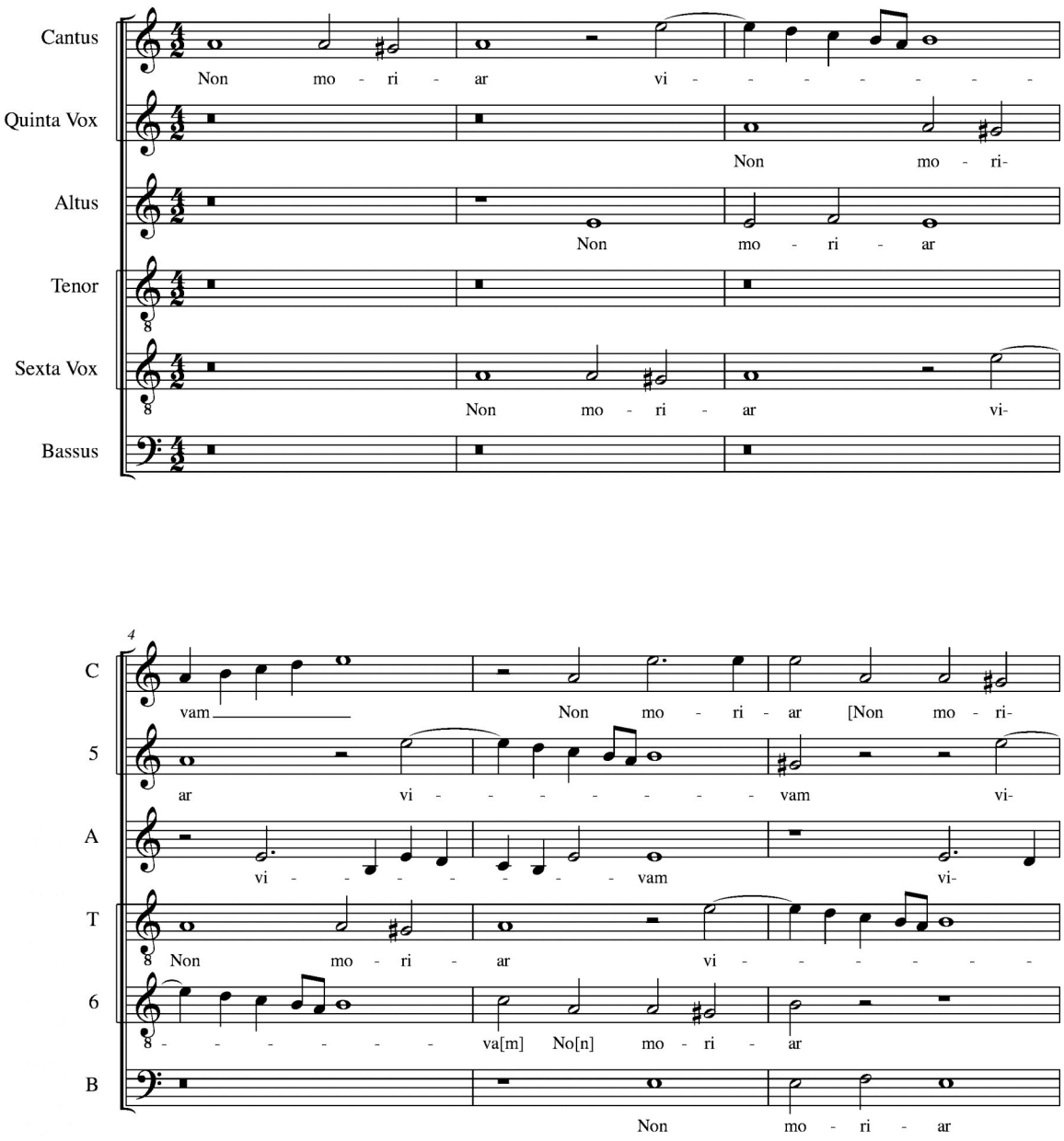
85
C
Cum - q[ue] bo no tan - de[m] clau di-te fa-ta De - o [clau di te fa - ta De - o]
A
Cum - que bo no tan - de[m] clau di-te fa-ta De - o [clau di te fa - ta De - o]
T
cum - q[ue] bo no tan - dem clau di-te fa-ta De - o [clau di te fa - ta De - o]
B
Cum - que bo no tan - dem clau di-te fa-ta De - o [clau di te fa - ta De - o]
5
o] Cum - que bo no tan - dem clau di te fa ta De - o clau-di te fa ta De-
6
o] cum - q[ue] bo no tan - de[m] clau di te fa ta De - o Clau di te fa ta De-
7
o] Cum q[ue] bo-no tande[m] clau di te fa ta De-o [clau di te fa ta-De-
8
o] cum - q[ue] bo no ta[n] - dem clau di te fa ta De - o [clau di te fa ta De-

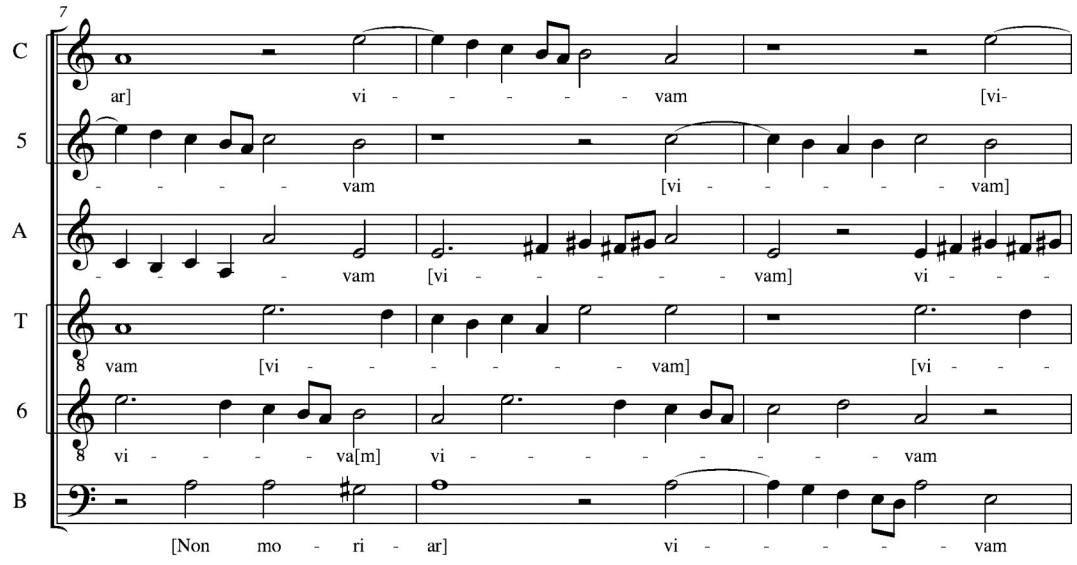
89
C
Claudi-te fata De - o [Claudi te fata De - o] claudi-te fa - - ta De - o.
A
[claudi-te fata De-o] [claudi te fata De-o] Claudi-te fa - - ta De - o.
T
[claudi-te fata De - o] claudi te fata De-o [claudi-te fa-ta De - - - - - o]
B
claudi-te fata De - o [claudi te fata De - o] De - - - - - o.
5
o [claudi te fata De - o] Claudi te fa-ta De - - - - - o.
6
o [Claudi te fata De-o] Claudi te fa-ta De - - - - - - o.
7
o] [claudi te fata De - o] claudi te fa - ta De - - - - o.
8
o] [claudi te fata De - o] Claudi te fa - - - ta De - o.

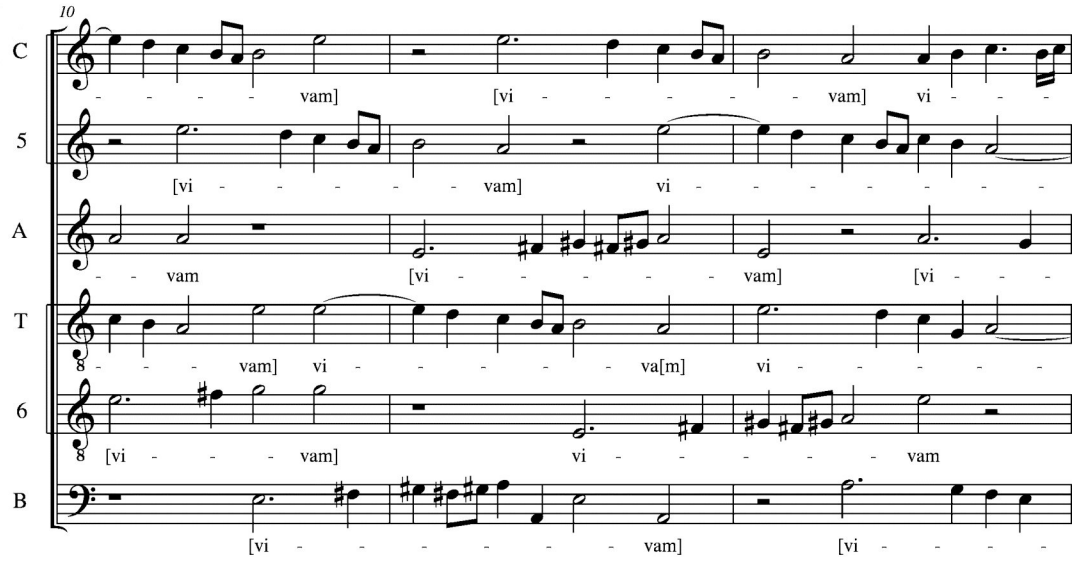
4. Non moriar

No. 14 and 15 in *Cantiones novae officiosae* (1625)
Epitaphium for Johannes Schelhammer (d. 1620)

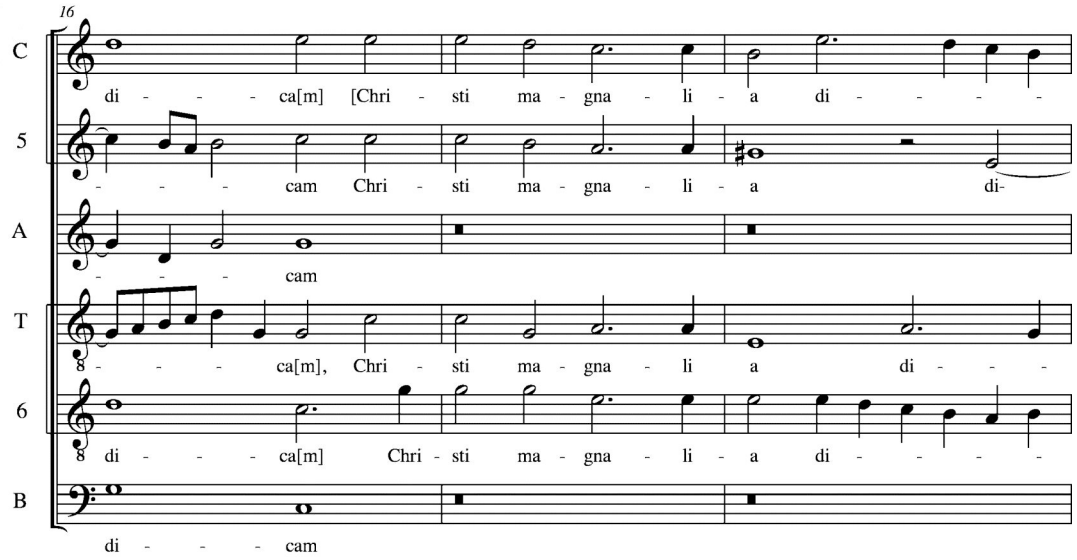
Hieronymus Praetorius
(1560-1629)

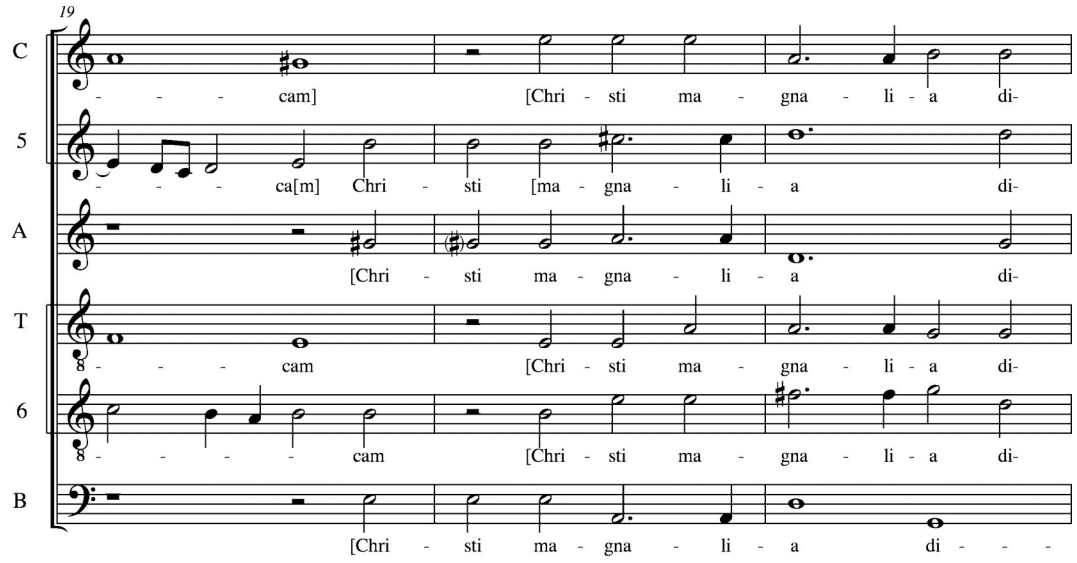



7
C
ar] vi - - - - - - vam [vi-
5
- - - - - - vam [vi - - - - - - vam]
A
- - - - vam [vi - - - - - - vam] vi - - - -
T
vam [vi - - - - - - - vam] [vi - - - -
6
vi - - - - - va[m] vi - - - - - - - - - vam
B
[Non mo - ri - ar] vi - - - - - - vam

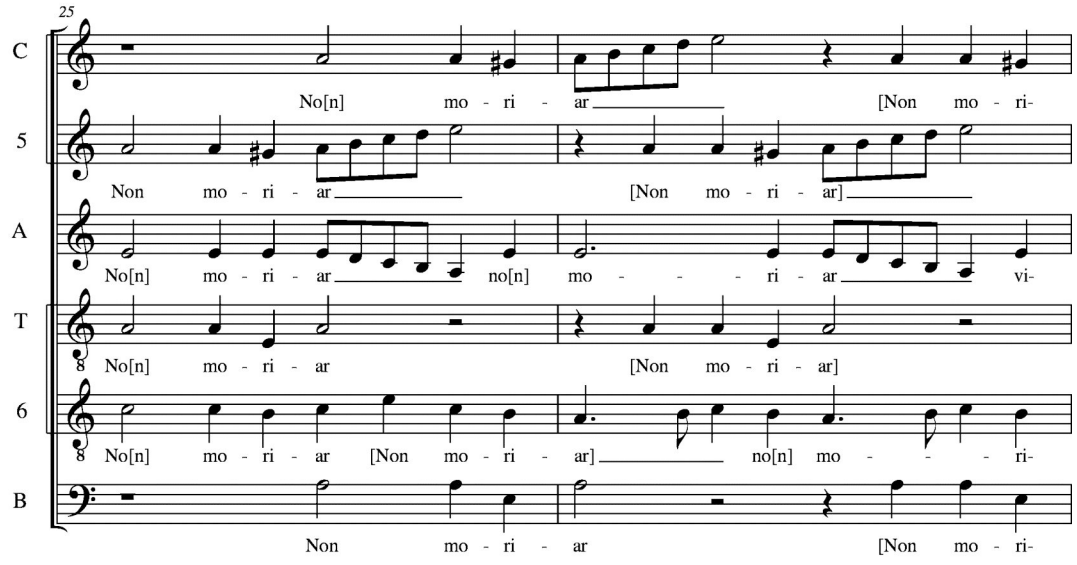

10
C
- - - - - vam] [vi - - - - - - - vam] vi - - - -
5
[vi - - - - - - - vam] vi - - - - - - - - - -
A
- - vam [vi - - - - - - vam] [vi - - - -
T
- - - - vam] vi - - - - - - va[m] vi - - - - - - -
6
[vi - - - - vam] vi - - - - - - - vam
B
[vi - - - - - - - vam] [vi - - - - -

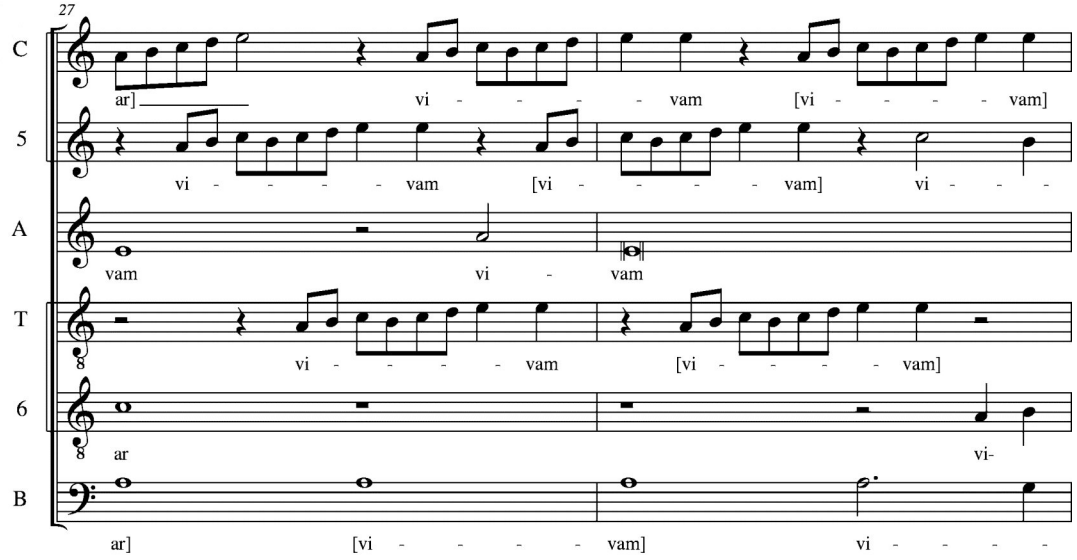
13
C
5
A
T
6
B
- - - vam Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a
- - - vam Chri - - sti ma - gna - li - a di-
- - - vam] Chri - - sti ma - gna - li - a di-
- - - vam Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di-
[vi - - - vam] Chri - - sti ma - gna - li - a
- - - vam] Chri - - sti ma - gna - li - a

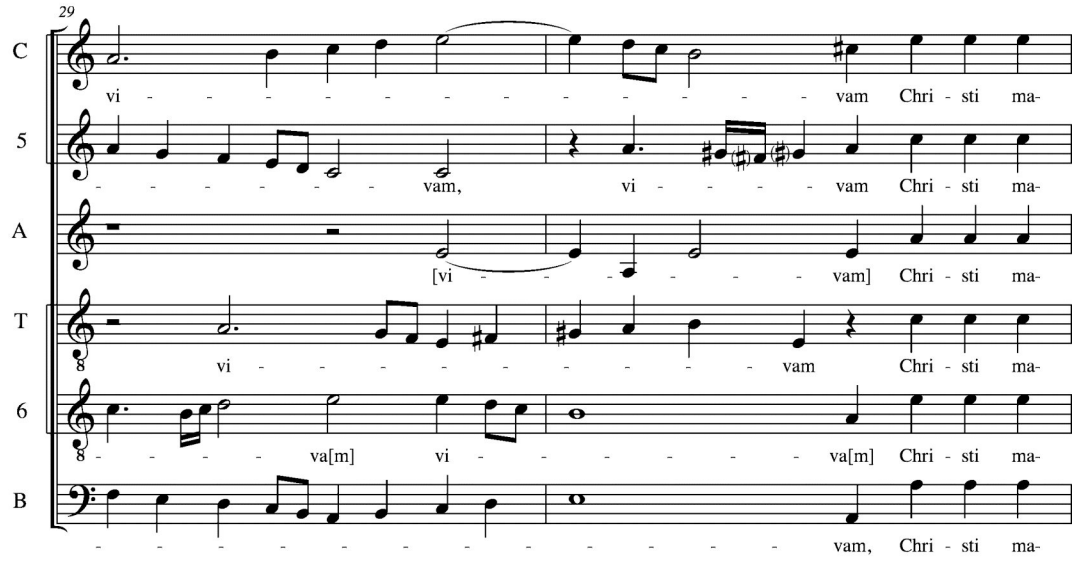

16
C
5
A
T
6
B
di - - - ca[m] [Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di - - - -
- - - cam Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di-
- - - cam
- - - ca[m], Chri - sti ma - gna - li a di - - -
di - - - ca[m] Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di - - - -
di - - - cam

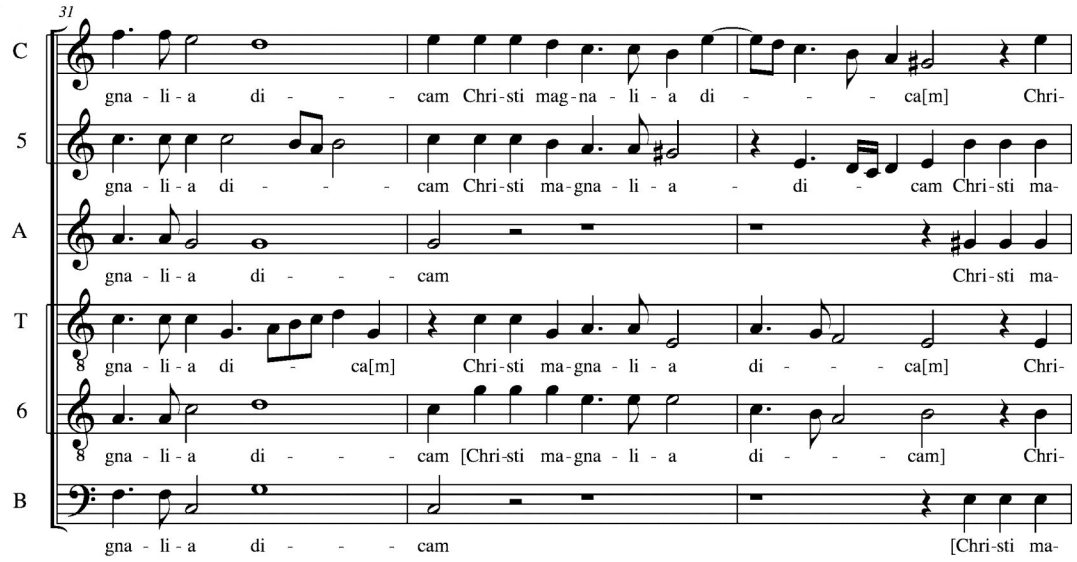

19
C
5
A
T
6
B
- - - cam]
[Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di-
- - - ca[m] Chri - sti [ma - gna - li - a di-
[Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di-
- - - cam
[Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di-
- - - - cam
[Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di-
[Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di - - -

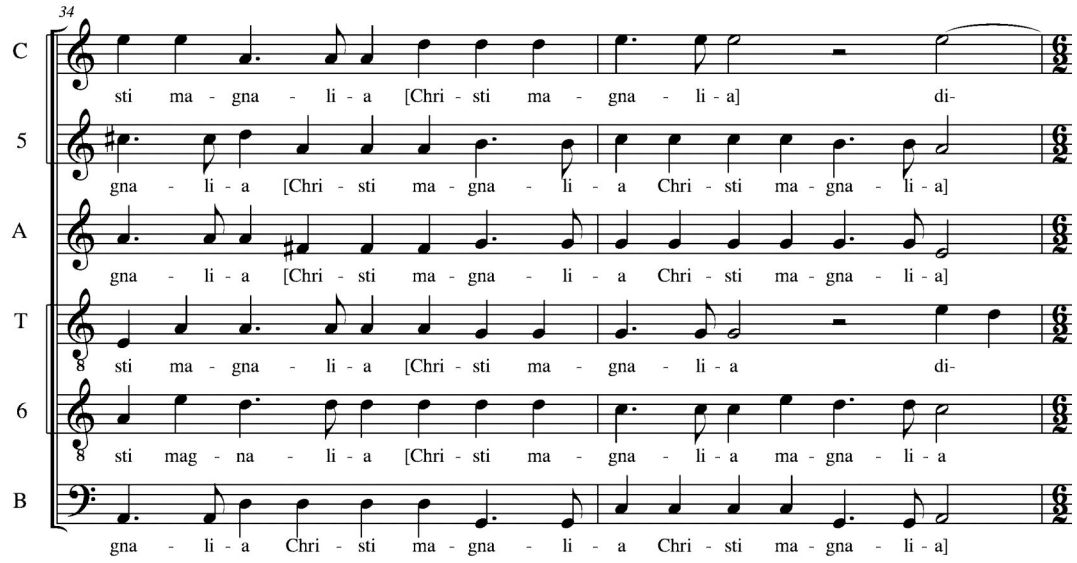
22
C
5
A
T
6
B
cam] Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di - - - - - - - cam
cam] Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di - - - - - - - cam
cam Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di - - - - - - cam
cam] Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di - - - - ca[m]
cam] Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di - - - - - - - ca[m]
cam Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di - - - - - - - cam]

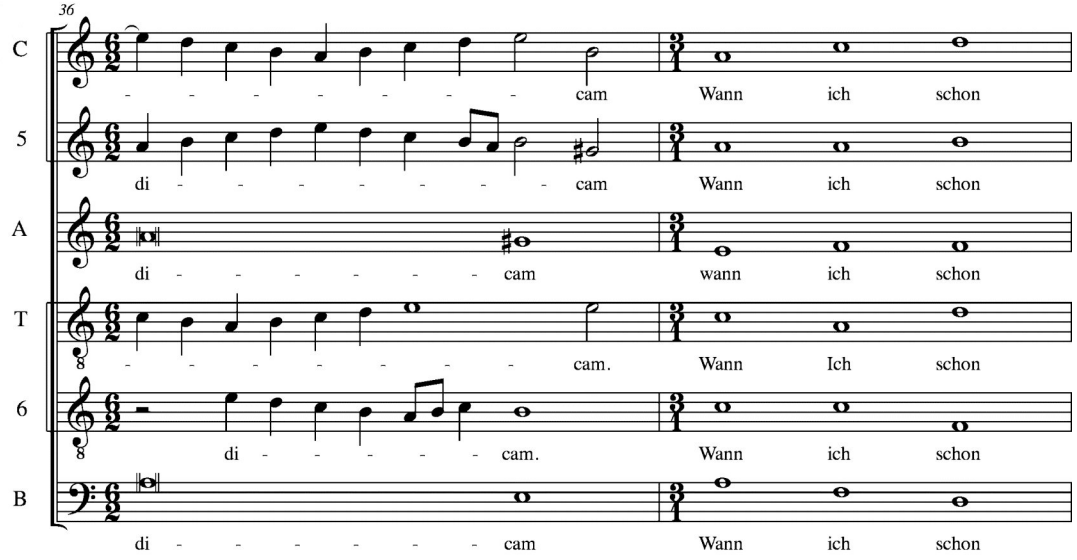

25
C
No[n] mo - ri - ar [Non mo - ri-
5
Non mo - ri - ar [Non mo - ri - ar]
A
No[n] mo - ri - ar no[n] mo - - - ri - ar vi-
T
No[n] mo - ri - ar [Non mo - ri - ar]
6
No[n] mo - ri - ar [Non mo - ri - ar] no[n] mo - - - ri-
B
Non mo - ri - ar [Non mo - ri-

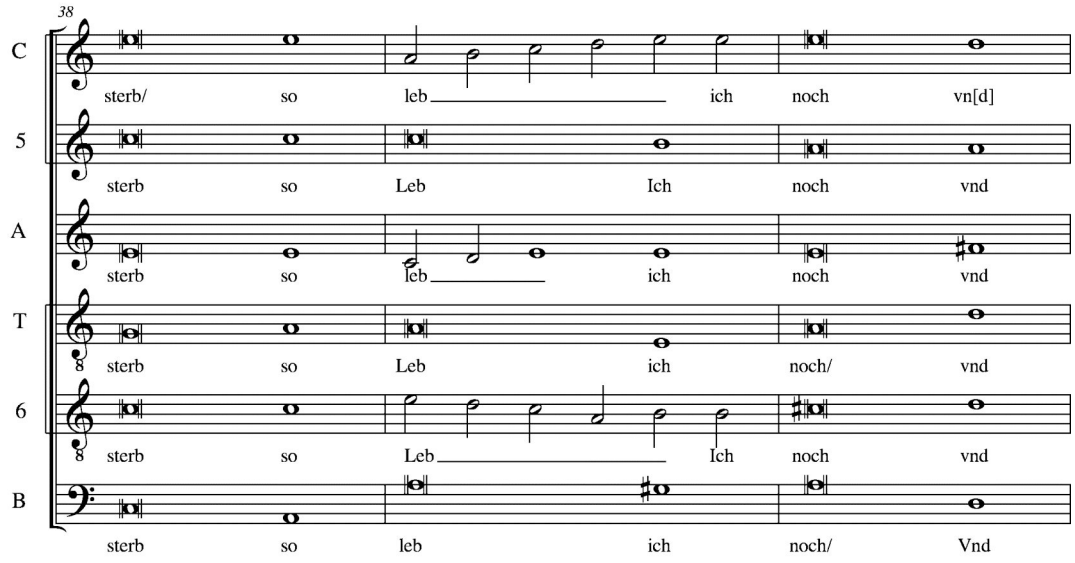

27
C
ar] vi - - - - vam [vi - - - - - vam]
5
vi - - - - - vam [vi - - - - - vam] vi - - -
A
vam vi - vam
T
vi - - - - - vam [vi - - - - - vam]
6
ar vi-
B
ar] [vi - - - - - vam] vi - - - -

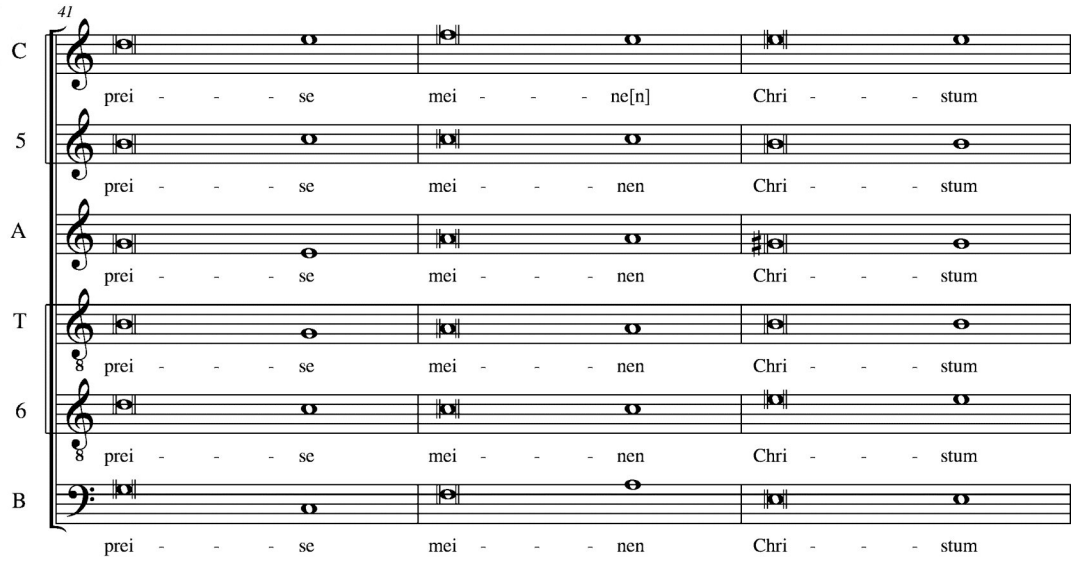

29
C
vi - - - - - - - - - - - - - - vam Chri - sti ma-
5
- - - - - - - - vam, vi - - - - - vam Chri - sti ma-
A
[vi - - - - - - - - vam] Chri - sti ma-
T
vi - - - - - - - - - - - - vam Chri - sti ma-
6
- - - - va[m] vi - - - - - - - - va[m] Chri - sti ma-
B
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - vam, Chri - sti ma-

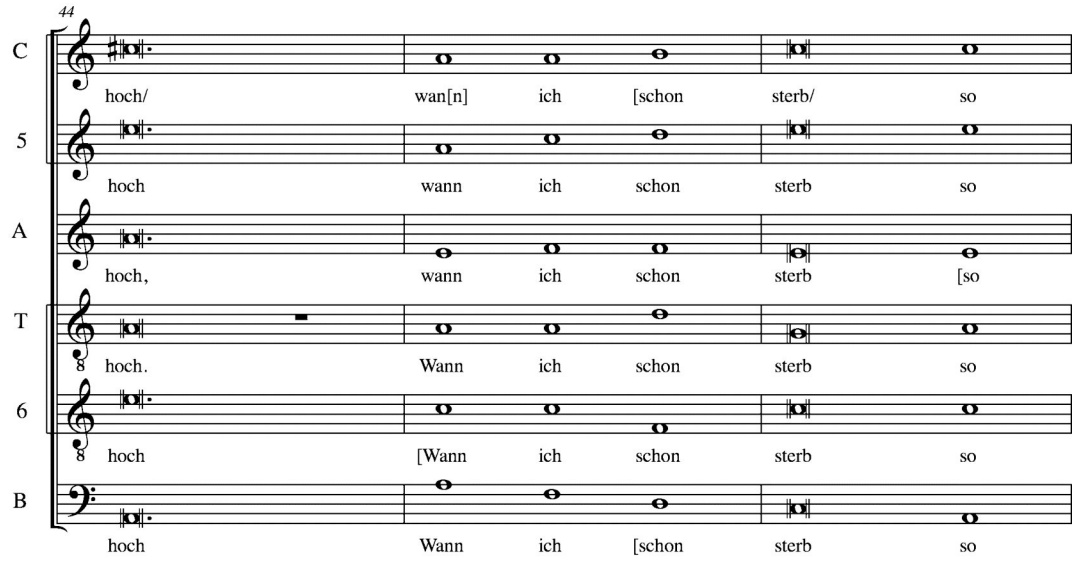

31
C
gna - li - a di - - - - cam Chri-sti mag-na - li - a di - - - - ca[m] Chri-
5
gna - li - a di - - - - cam Chri-sti ma-gna - li - a - di - - cam Chri-sti ma-
A
gna - li - a di - - - - cam Chri-sti ma-
T
gna - li - a di - - ca[m] Chri-sti ma-gna - li - a di - - - - ca[m] Chri-
6
gna - li - a di - - - - cam [Chri-sti ma-gna - li - a di - - - - cam] Chri-
B
gna - li - a di - - - - cam [Chri-sti ma-

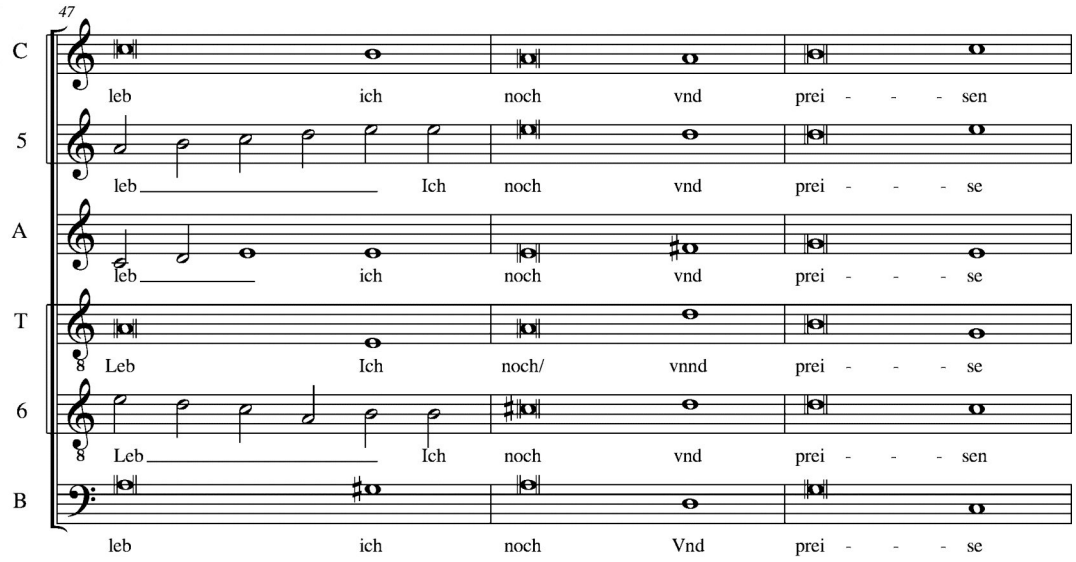

34
C
sti ma - gna - li - a [Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a] di-
5
gna - li - a [Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a]
A
gna - li - a [Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a]
T
sti ma - gna - li - a [Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a di-
6
sti mag - na - li - a [Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a ma - gna - li - a
B
gna - li - a Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a Chri - sti ma - gna - li - a]

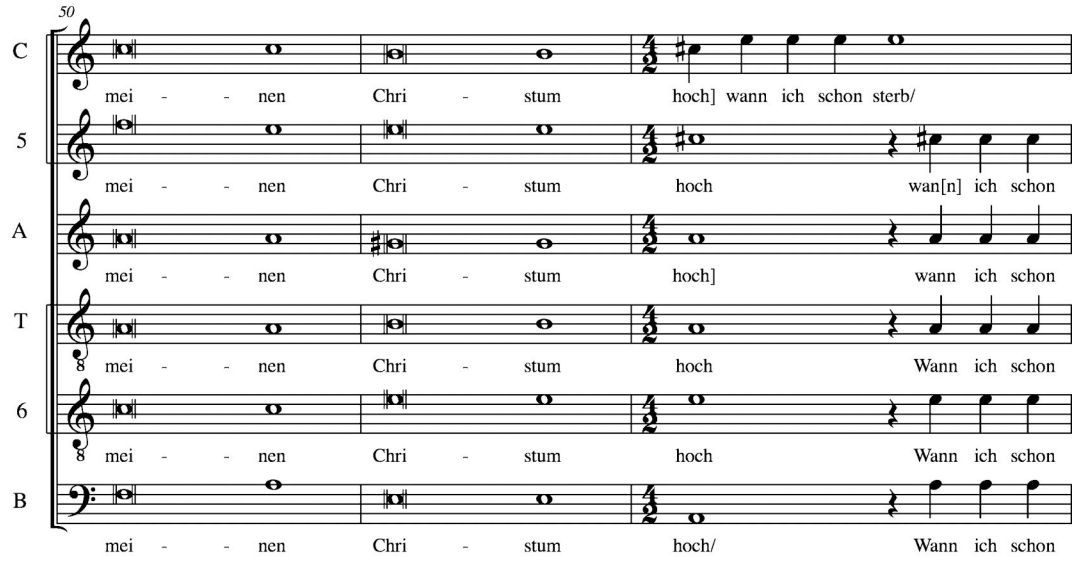

36
C
cam Wann ich schon
5
di - cam Wann ich schon
A
di - cam wann ich schon
T
cam. Wann Ich schon
6
di - cam. Wann ich schon
B
di - cam Wann ich schon

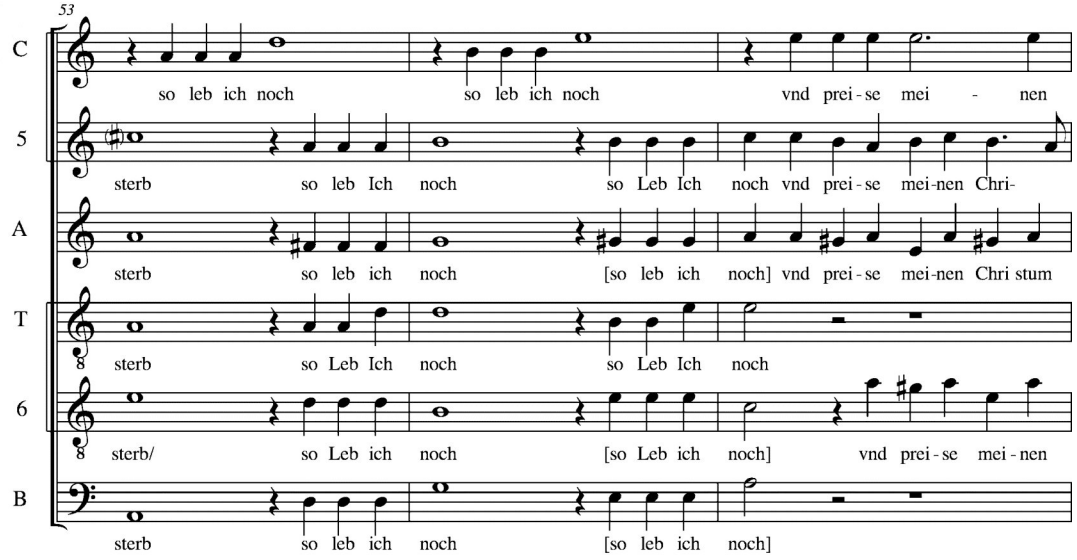

38
C
sterb/ so leb ich noch vn[d]
5
sterb so Leb Ich noch vnd
A
sterb so leb ich noch vnd
T
sterb so Leb ich noch/ vnd
6
sterb so Leb Ich noch vnd
B
sterb so leb ich noch/ Vnd

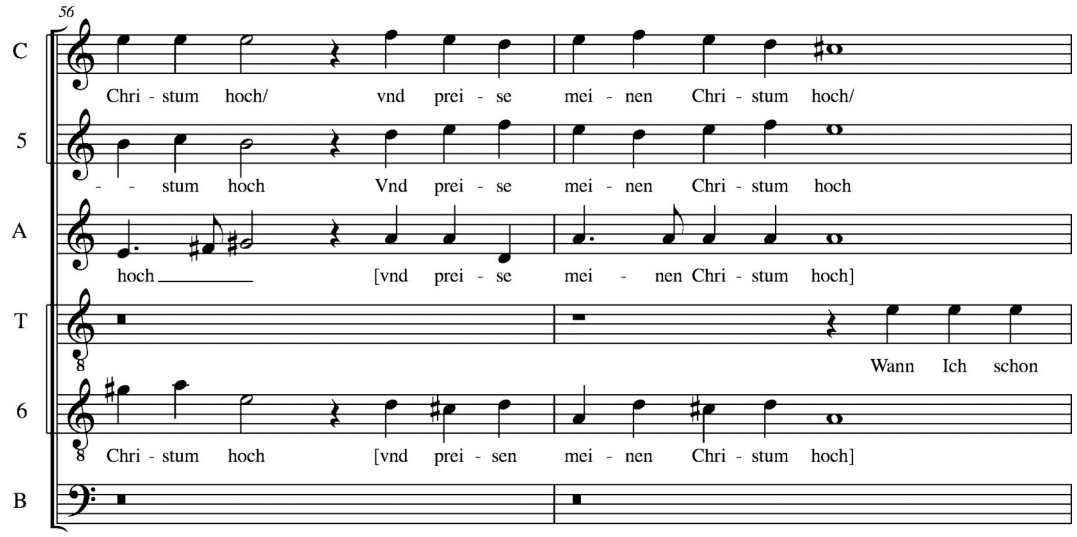

41
C
prei - - - se mei - - - ne[n] Chri - - - stum
5
prei - - - se mei - - - nen Chri - - - stum
A
prei - - - se mei - - - nen Chri - - - stum
T
prei - - - se mei - - - nen Chri - - - stum
6
prei - - - se mei - - - nen Chri - - - stum
B
prei - - - se mei - - - nen Chri - - - stum

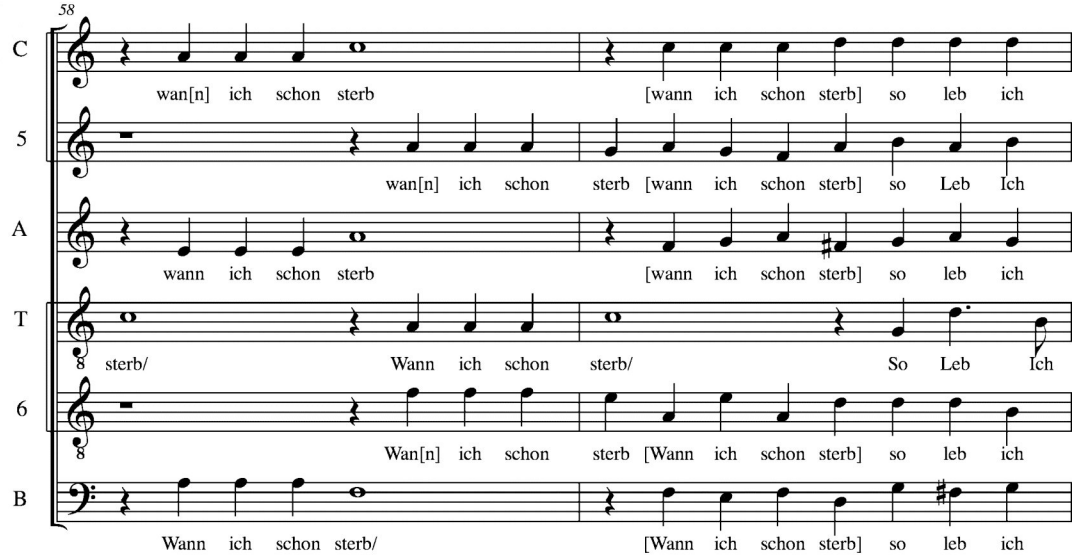

44
C
hoch/ wan[n] ich [schon sterb/ so
5
hoch wann ich schon sterb so
A
hoch, wann ich schon sterb [so
T
hoch. Wann ich schon sterb so
6
hoch [Wann ich schon sterb so
B
hoch Wann ich [schon sterb so

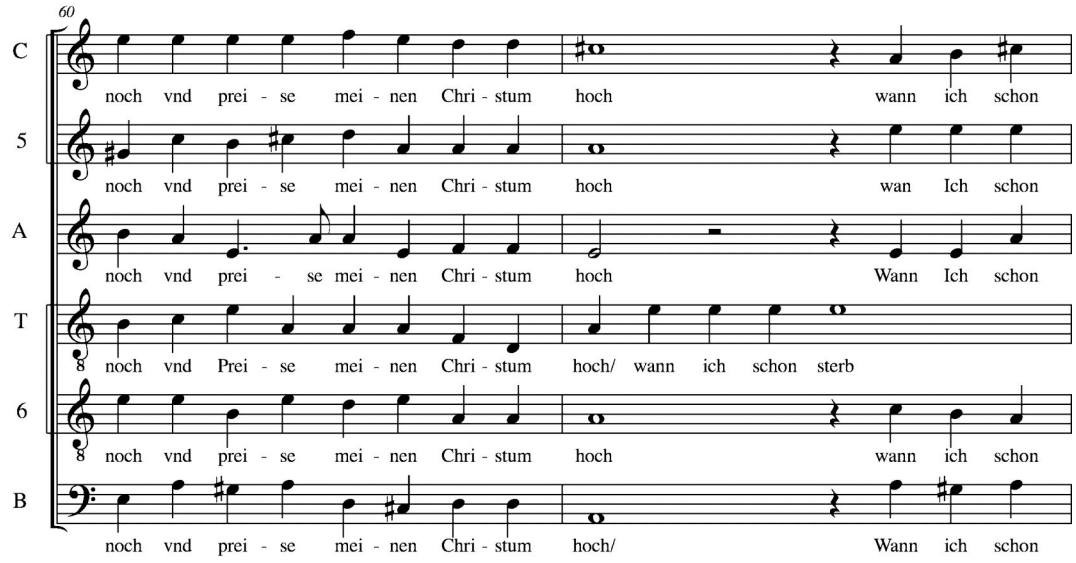

47
C
leb ich noch vnd prei - - - sen
5
leb Ich noch vnd prei - - - se
A
leb ich noch vnd prei - - - se
T
Leb Ich noch/ vnnd prei - - - se
6
Leb Ich noch vnd prei - - - sen
B
leb ich noch Vnd prei - - - se

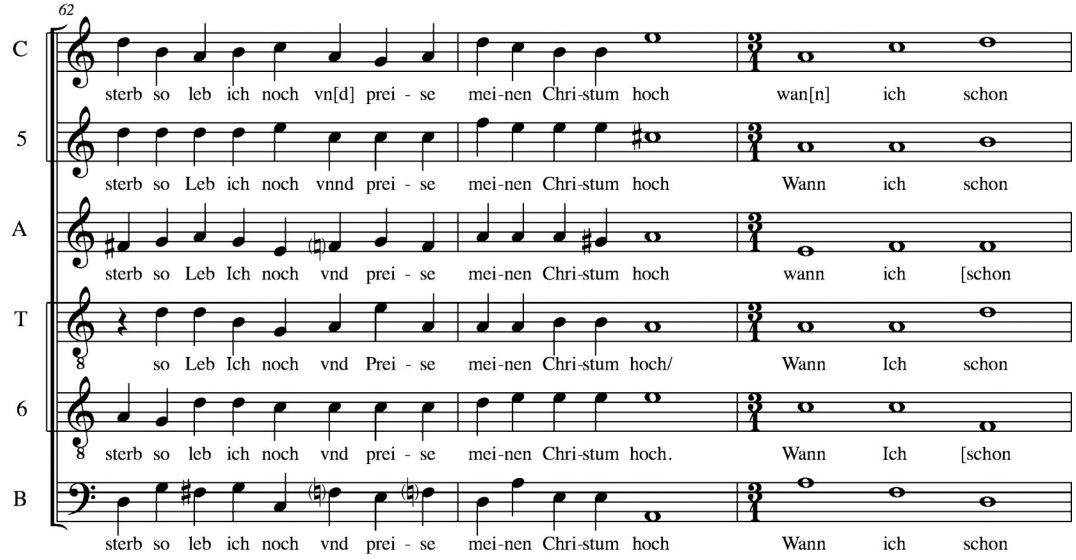

50
C
mei - - nen Chri - stum hoch] wann ich schon sterb/
5
mei - - nen Chri - stum hoch wan[n] ich schon
A
mei - - nen Chri - stum hoch] wann ich schon
T
mei - - nen Chri - stum hoch Wann ich schon
6
mei - - nen Chri - stum hoch Wann ich schon
B
mei - - nen Chri - stum hoch/ Wann ich schon


53
C
so leb ich noch so leb ich noch vnd prei - se mei - nen
5
sterb so leb Ich noch so Leb Ich noch vnd prei - se mei-nen Chri-
A
sterb so leb ich noch [so leb ich noch] vnd prei - se mei-nen Chri stum
T
sterb so Leb Ich noch so Leb Ich noch
6
sterb/ so Leb ich noch [so Leb ich noch] vnd prei - se mei - nen
B
sterb so leb ich noch [so leb ich noch]

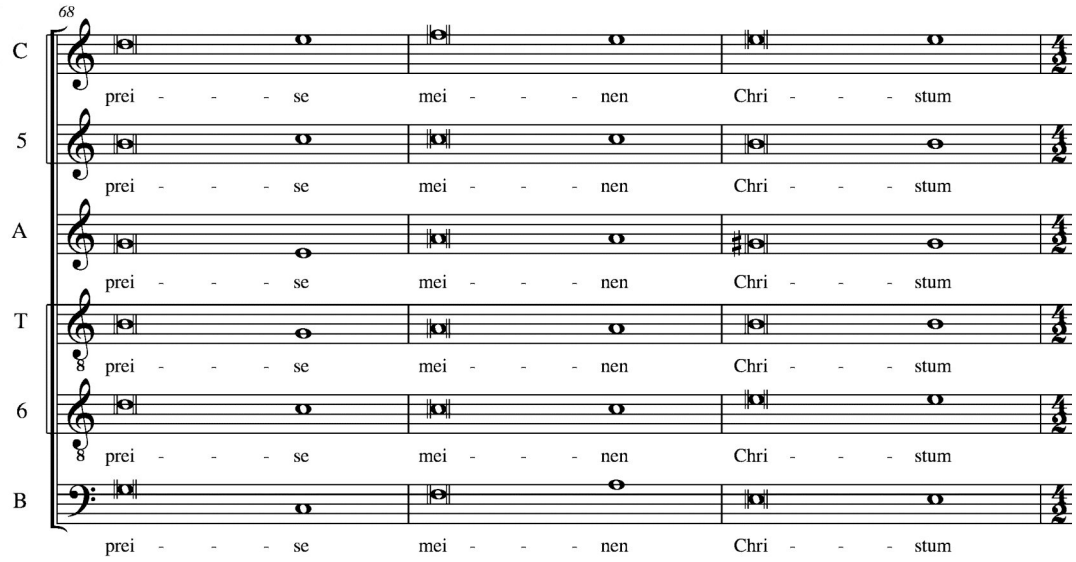

56
C
Chri - stum hoch/ vnd prei - se mei - nen Chri - stum hoch/
5
- - stum hoch Vnd prei - se mei - nen Chri - stum hoch
A
hoch [vnd prei - se mei - nen Chri - stum hoch]
T
Wann Ich schon
6
Chri - stum hoch [vnd prei - sen mei - nen Chri - stum hoch]
B

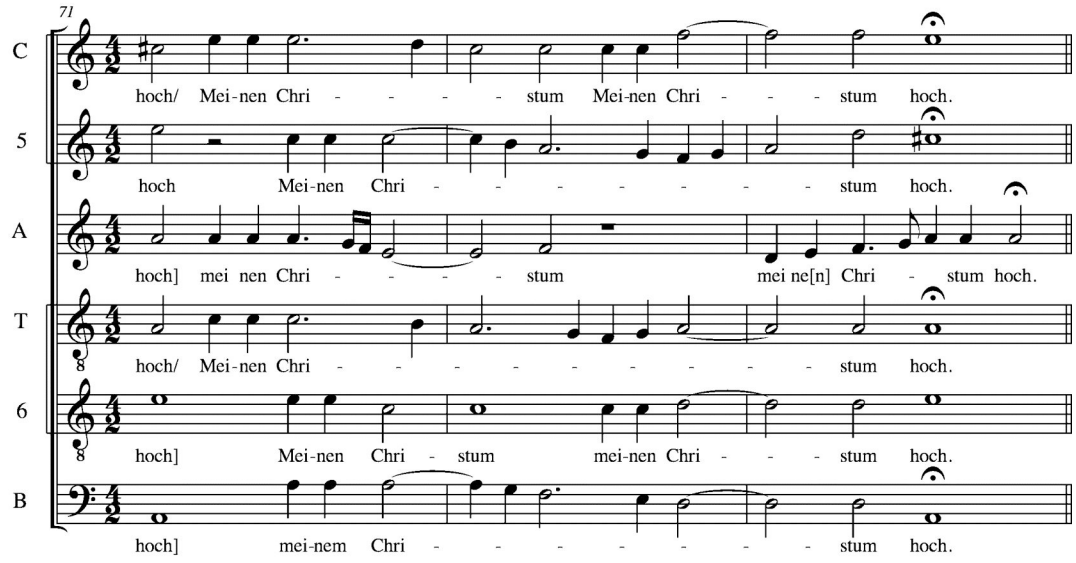

58
C
wan[n] ich schon sterb [wann ich schon sterb] so leb ich
5
wan[n] ich schon sterb [wann ich schon sterb] so Leb Ich
A
wann ich schon sterb [wann ich schon sterb] so leb ich
T
sterb/ Wann ich schon sterb/ So Leb Ich
6
Wan[n] ich schon sterb [Wann ich schon sterb] so leb ich
B
Wann ich schon sterb/ [Wann ich schon sterb] so leb ich

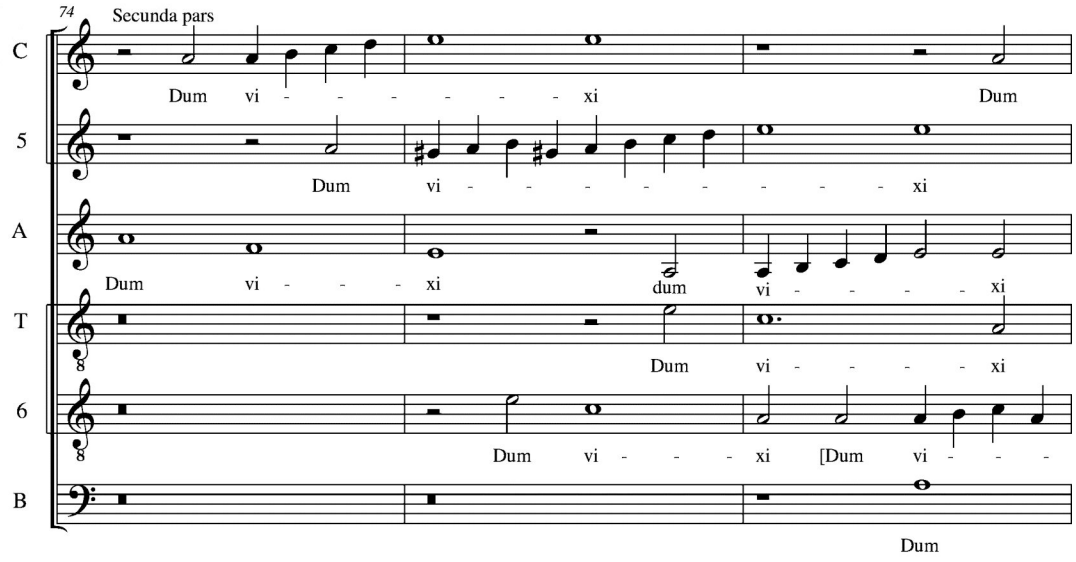

60
C
noch vnd prei - se mei - nen Chri - stum hoch wann ich schon
5
noch vnd prei - se mei - nen Chri - stum hoch wan Ich schon
A
noch vnd prei - se mei - nen Chri - stum hoch Wann Ich schon
T
noch vnd Prei - se mei - nen Chri - stum hoch/ wann ich schon sterb
6
noch vnd prei - se mei - nen Chri - stum hoch wann ich schon
B
noch vnd prei - se mei - nen Chri - stum hoch/ Wann ich schon

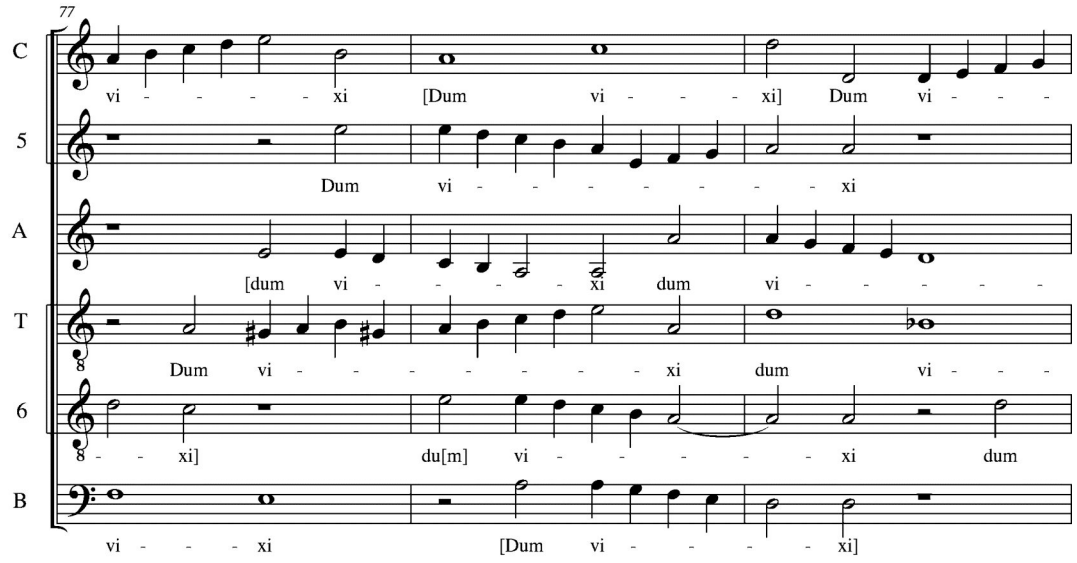

62
C
sterb so leb ich noch vn[d] prei - se mei-nen Chri-stum hoch wan[n] ich schon
5
sterb so Leb ich noch vnnd prei - se mei-nen Chri-stum hoch Wann ich schon
A
sterb so Leb Ich noch vnd prei - se mei-nen Chri-stum hoch wann ich [schon
T
so Leb Ich noch vnd Prei - se mei-nen Chri-stum hoch/ Wann Ich schon
6
sterb so leb ich noch vnd prei - se mei-nen Chri-stum hoch. Wann Ich [schon
B
sterb so leb ich noch vnd prei - se mei-nen Chri-stum hoch Wann ich schon

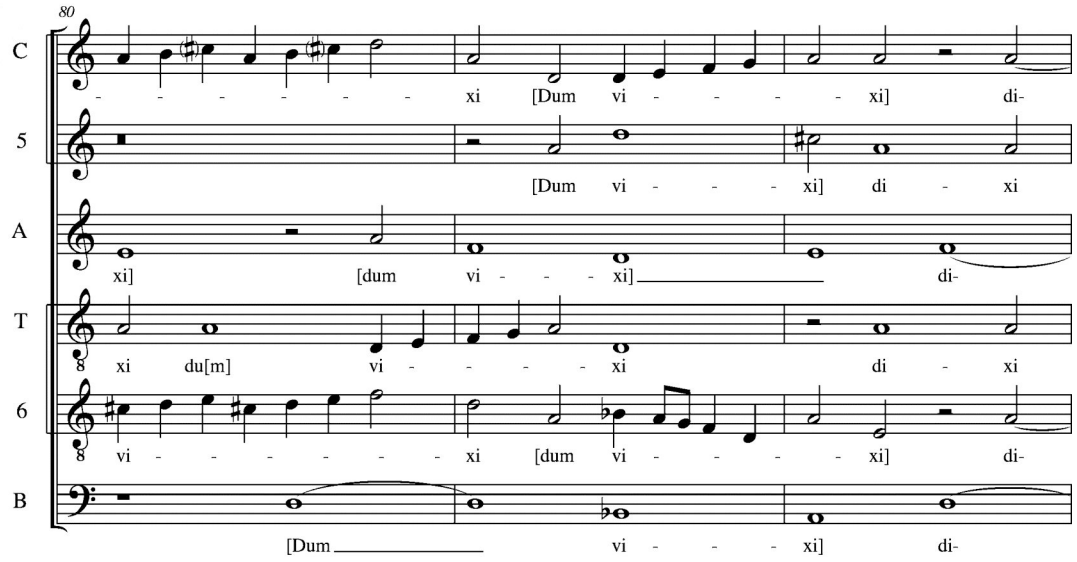
65
C
sterb so leb ich noch vnd
5
sterb so Leb Ich noch vnd
A
sterb so leb ich noch vnd
T
sterb so Leb Ich noch vnd
6
sterb so leb ich noch vnd
B
sterb [so leb ich noch vnd

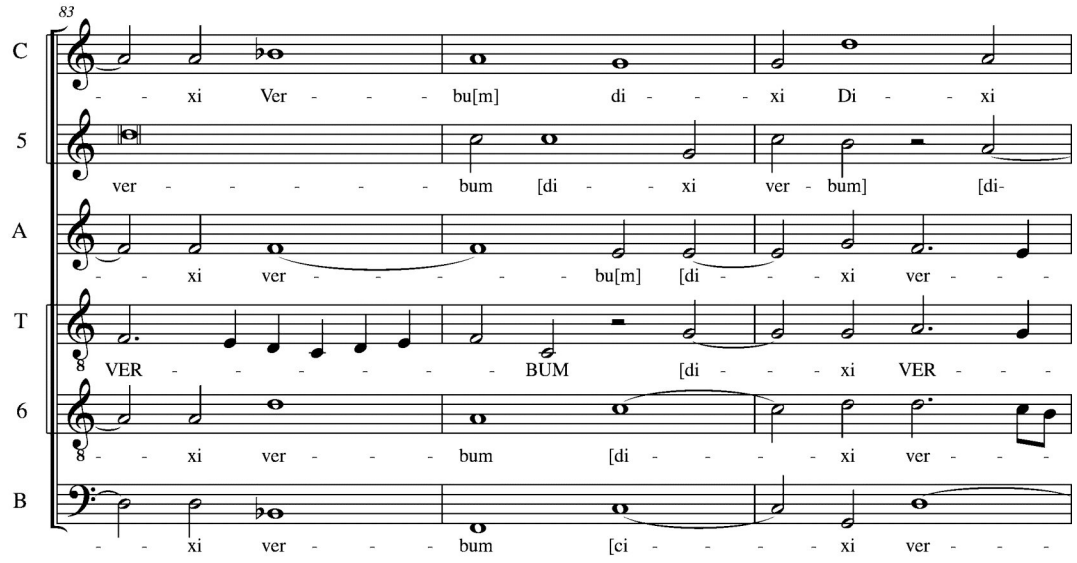

68
C
prei - - - se mei - - - nen Chri - - - stum
5
prei - - - se mei - - - nen Chri - - - stum
A
prei - - - se mei - - - nen Chri - - - stum
T
prei - - - se mei - - - nen Chri - - - stum
6
prei - - - se mei - - - nen Chri - - - stum
B
prei - - - se mei - - - nen Chri - - - stum

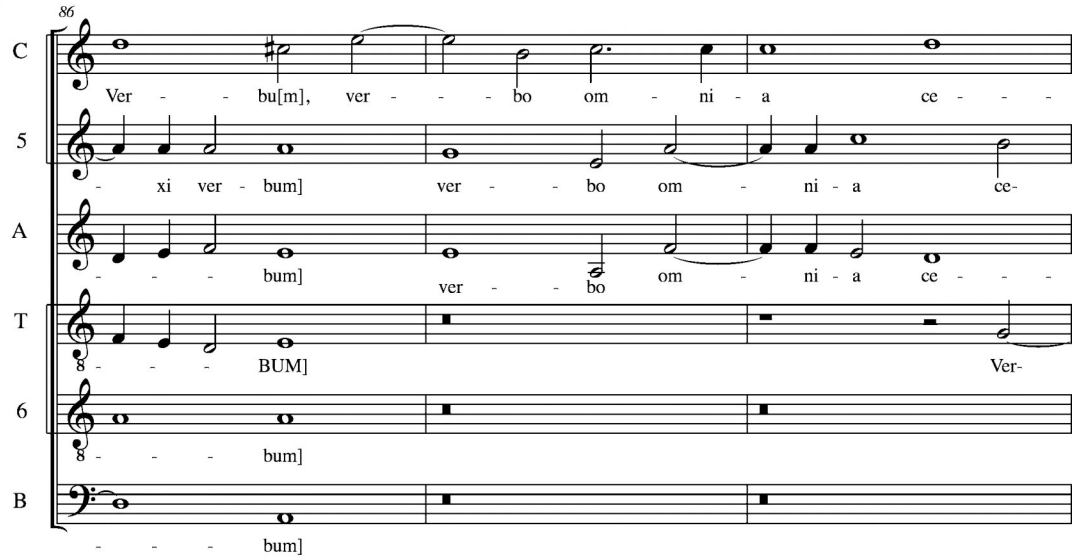

71
C
hoch/ Mei-nen Chri - - - - stum Mei-nen Chri - - - stum hoch.
5
hoch Mei-nen Chri - - - - - - - - stum hoch.
A
hoch] mei nen Chri - - - - stum mei ne[n] Chri - stum hoch.
T
hoch/ Mei-nen Chri - - - - - - - - - - stum hoch.
6
hoch] Mei-nen Chri - stum mei-nen Chri - - - stum hoch.
B
hoch] mei-nem Chri - - - - - - - - stum hoch.

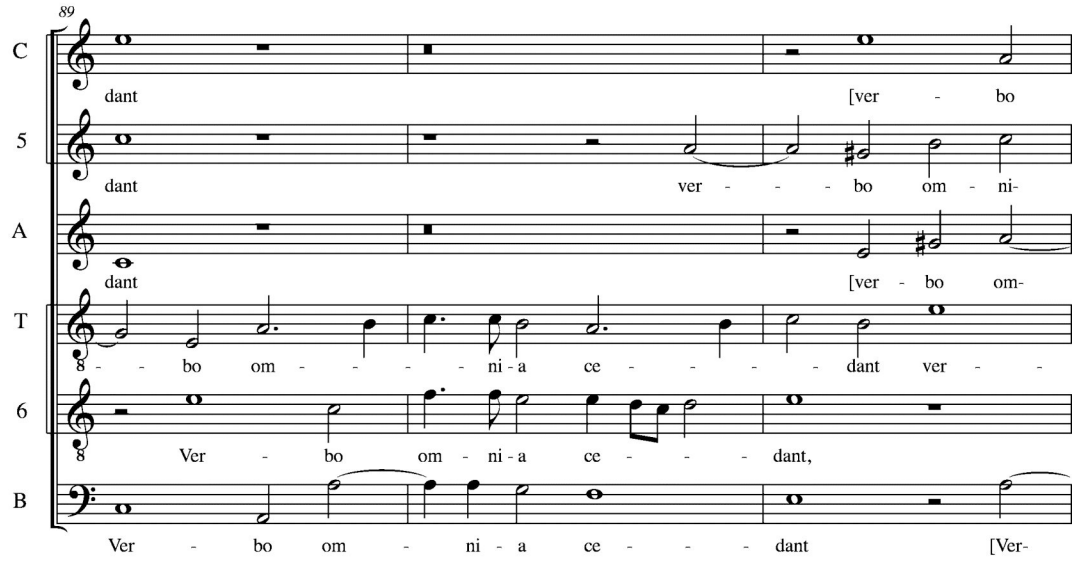

74
Secunda pars
C
Dum vi - - - - - - - xi Dum
5
Dum vi - - - - - - - - - xi
A
Dum vi - - - xi dum vi - - - - - xi
T
Dum vi - - - - - xi
6
Dum vi - - - xi [Dum vi - - -
B
Dum


77
C
vi - - - - - xi [Dum vi - - - - xi] Dum vi - - -
5
Dum vi - - - - - - - - - xi
A
[dum vi - - - - - - xi dum vi - - - - - - -
T
Dum vi - - - - - - - - - xi dum vi - - -
6
- - xi] du[m] vi - - - - - - - xi dum
B
vi - - - - xi [Dum vi - - - - - xi]

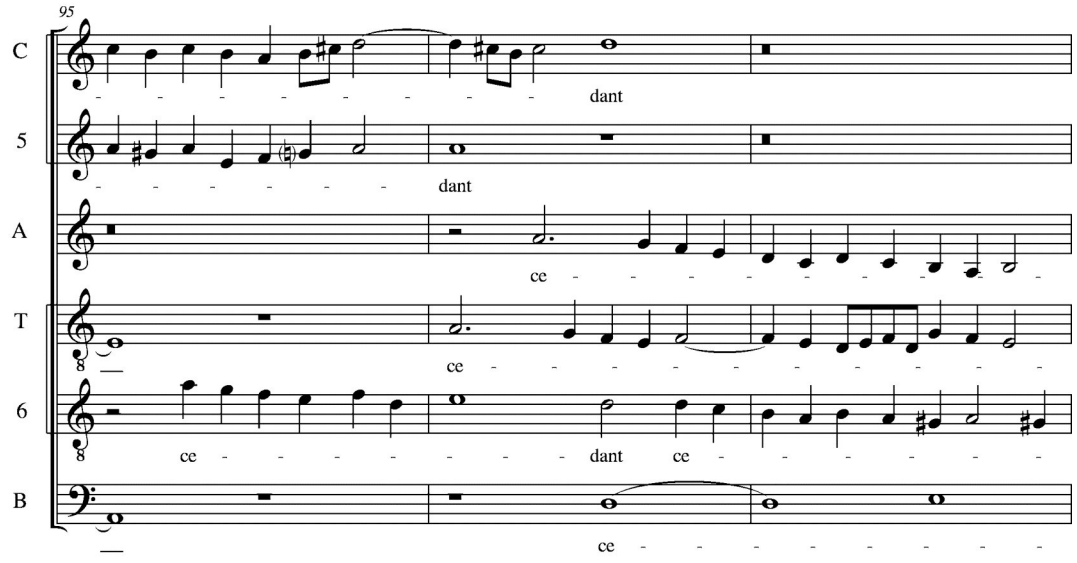

80
C
- - - - - - - - xi [Dum vi - - - - - xi] di-
5
[Dum vi - - - - xi] di - xi
A
xi] [dum vi - - - - xi] di-
T
xi du[m] vi - - - - - xi di - xi
6
vi - - - - - - - - xi [dum vi - - - - - xi] di-
B
[Dum vi - - - - xi] di-

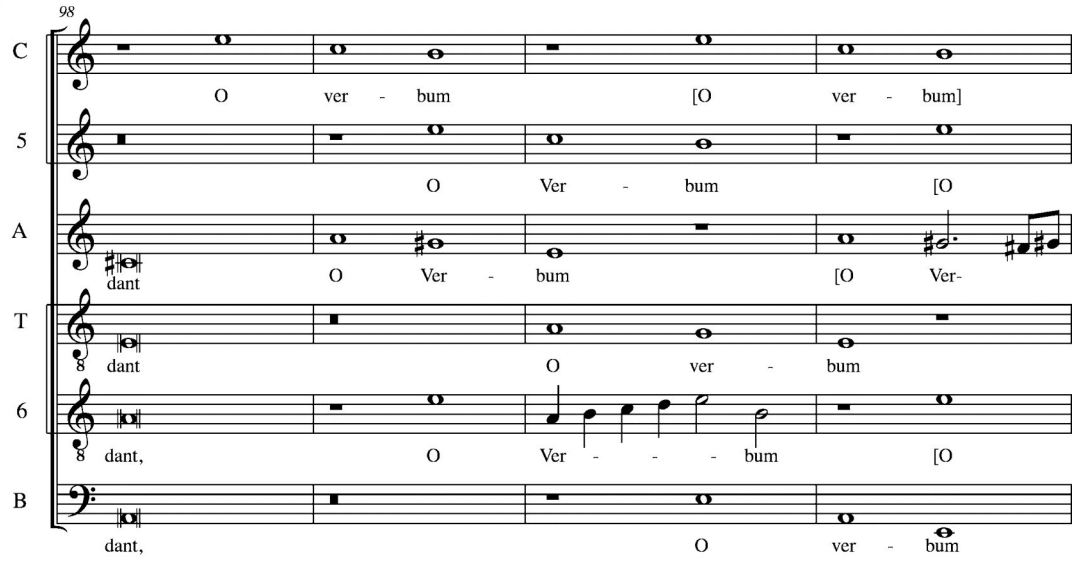

83
C
- - xi Ver - - - bu[m] di - - - xi Di - - xi
5
ver - - - - - - bum [di - - xi ver - bum] [di-
A
- - xi ver - - - - - bu[m] [di - - - xi ver - - -
T
VER - - - - - - - BUM [di - - - xi VER - - -
6
- - xi ver - - - bum [di - - - - - xi ver - - -
B
- - xi ver - - - bum [ci - - - - - xi ver - - -

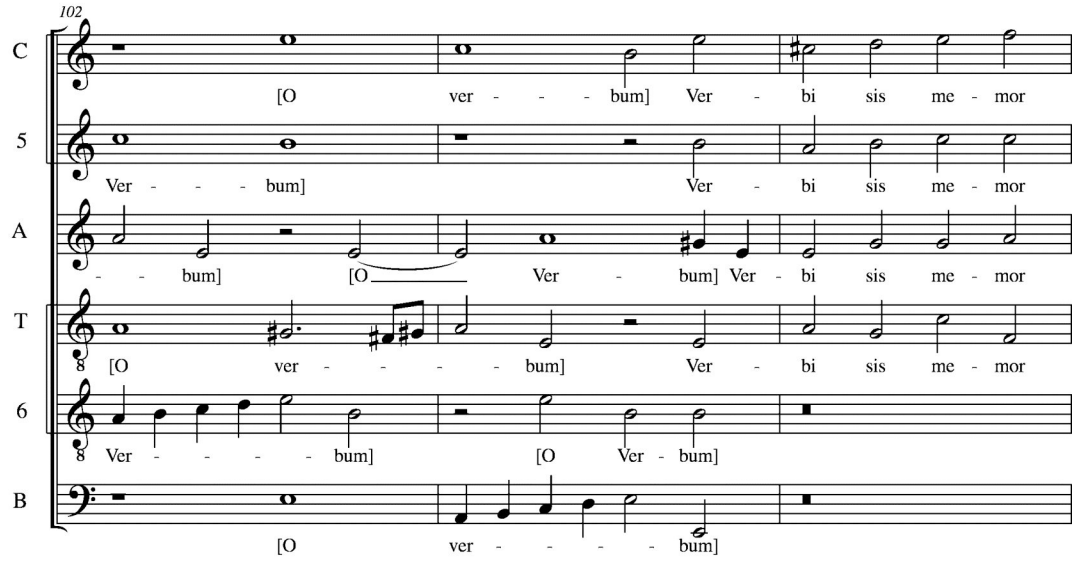

86
C
Ver - - bu[m], ver - - - bo om - ni - a ce - - -
5
- xi ver - bum] ver - - bo om - ni - a ce-
A
- - - - bum] ver - - bo om - ni - a ce - - -
T
- - - BUM] Ver-
6
- - - bum]
B
- - - bum]

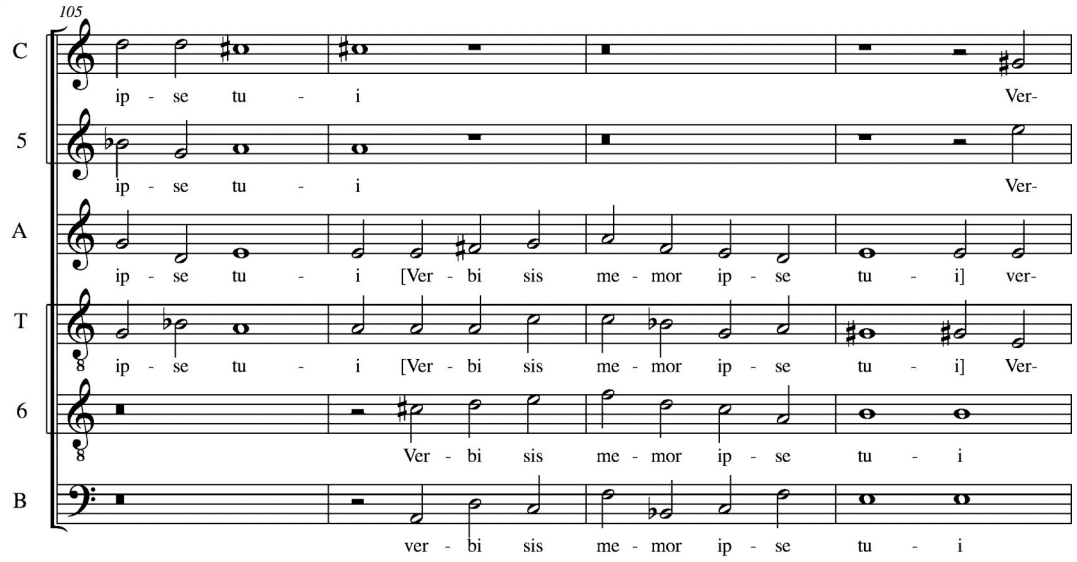

89
C
dant
[ver - bo
5
dant
ver - - - bo om - ni-
A
dant
[ver - bo om-
T
8 - - bo om - - - - ni - a ce - - - - - dant ver - -
6
8 Ver - bo om - ni - a ce - - - - dant,
B
Ver - bo om - ni - a ce - - - - dant [Ver-

92
C
om - ni - a ce - dant] ce-
5
a om - ni - a ce - dant ce-
A
- ni - a ce - - - - dant]
T
8 bo om - ni - a ce - - - - - - - - dant
6
8 ver - - - bo om - ni - a ce - - - - - - dant
B
- - bo om - ni - a ce - - - - - - - - dant]

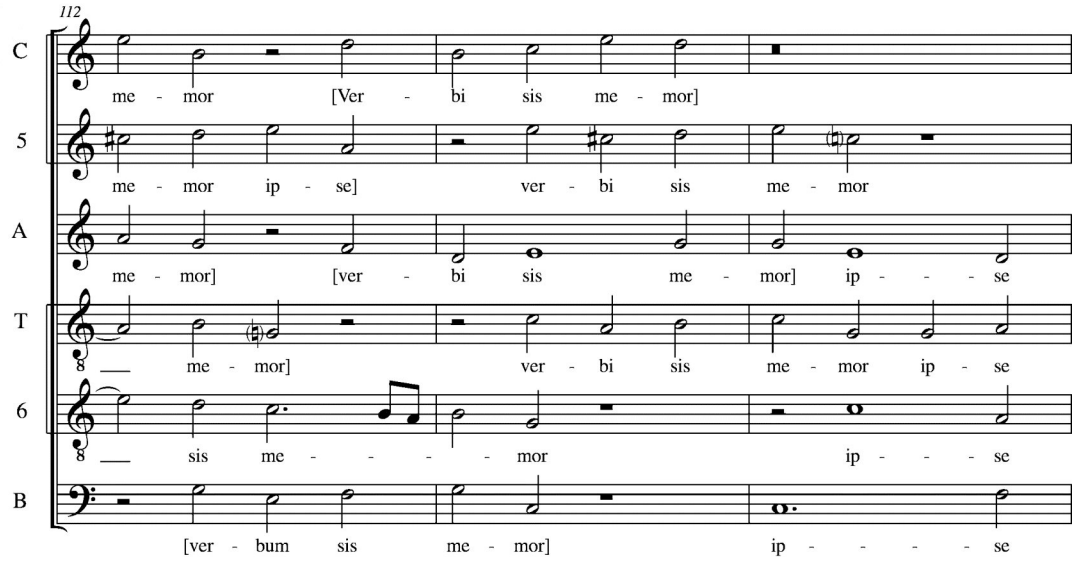

95
C
dant
5
dant
A
ce
T
ce
6
ce dant ce
B
ce

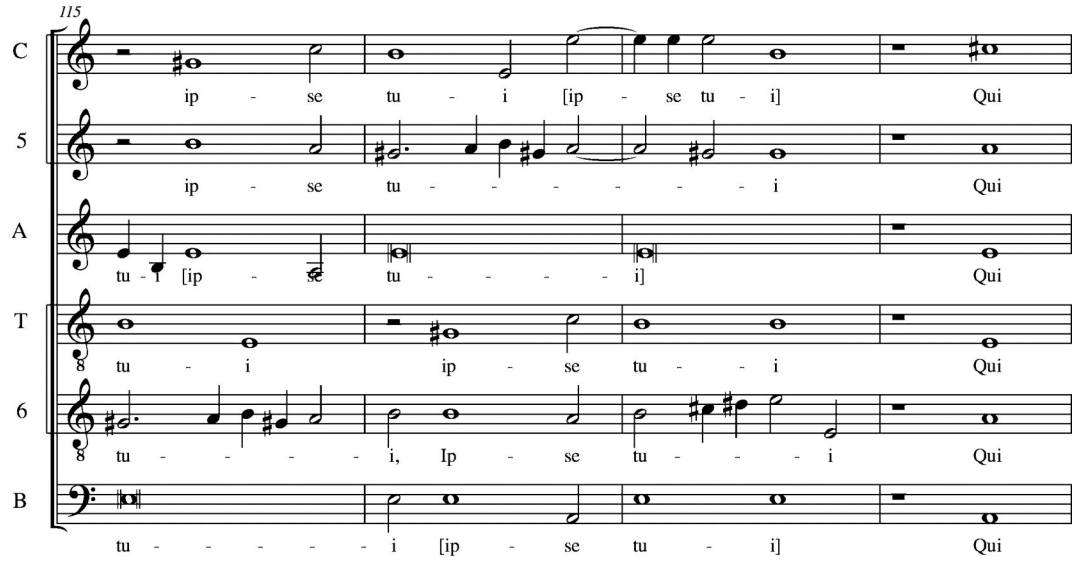

98
C
O ver - bum [O ver - bum]
5
O Ver - bum [O
A
dant
O Ver - bum [O Ver-
T
dant
O ver - bum
6
dant,
O Ver - - - bum [O
B
dant,
O ver - bum

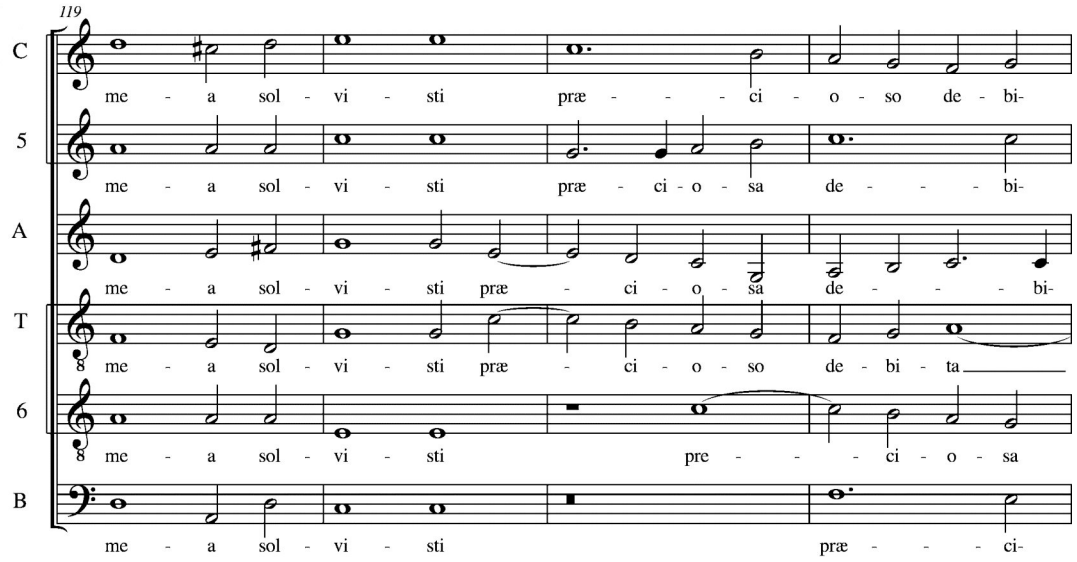

102
C
[O ver - - - bum] Ver - bi sis me - mor
5
Ver - - - bum] Ver - bi sis me - mor
A
- - bum] [O Ver - bum] Ver - bi sis me - mor
T
[O ver - - - - bum] Ver - bi sis me - mor
6
Ver - - - - bum] [O Ver - bum]
B
[O ver - - - - bum]

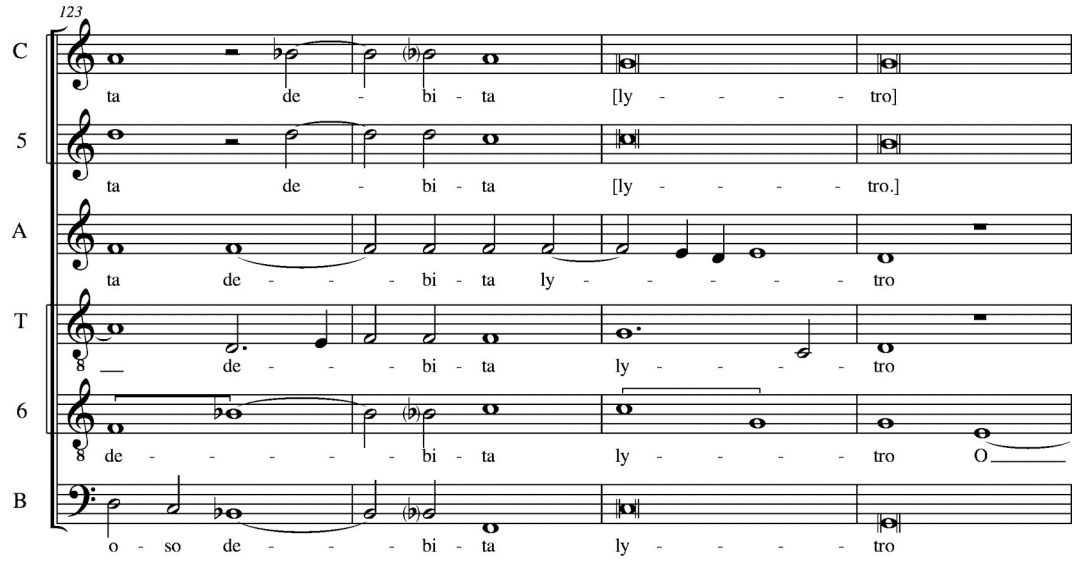

105
C
ip - se tu - i Ver-
5
ip - se tu - i Ver-
A
ip - se tu - i [Ver - bi sis me - mor ip - se tu - i] ver-
T
ip - se tu - i [Ver - bi sis me - mor ip - se tu - i] Ver-
6
Ver - bi sis me - mor ip - se tu - i
B
ver - bi sis me - mor ip - se tu - i

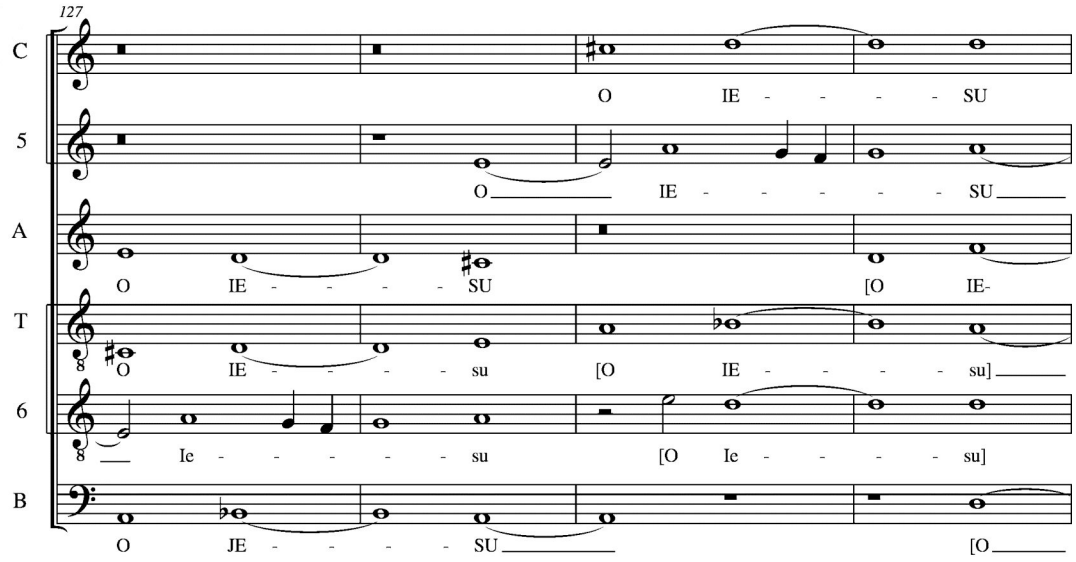
109
C
bi sis ver - bi sis me - mor Ver - bi sis
5
bi sis me - mor [sis me - mor] [Ver - bi sis
A
bi sis ver - bi sis me - mor [ver - bi sis
T
bi sis me - mor [Ver - bi sis me - mor] [Ver - bi sis
6
Ver - bi sis me - [m]or ver - bi sis Ver - bi
B
[ver - bum sis me - mor] [ver - bum sis me - mor]


112
C
me - mor [Ver - bi sis me - mor]
5
me - mor ip - se] ver - bi sis me - mor
A
me - mor] [ver - bi sis me - mor] ip - - - se
T
me - mor] ver - bi sis me - mor ip - se
6
sis me - - - - mor ip - - - se
B
[ver - bum sis me - mor] ip - - - - se


115
C
ip - se tu - i [ip - se tu - i] Qui
5
ip - se tu - - - - - - i Qui
A
tu - i [ip - se tu - - - - - i] Qui
T
8 tu - i ip - se tu - - i Qui
6
8 tu - - - - - i, Ip - se tu - - - - i Qui
B
tu - - - - - - i [ip - se tu - i] Qui

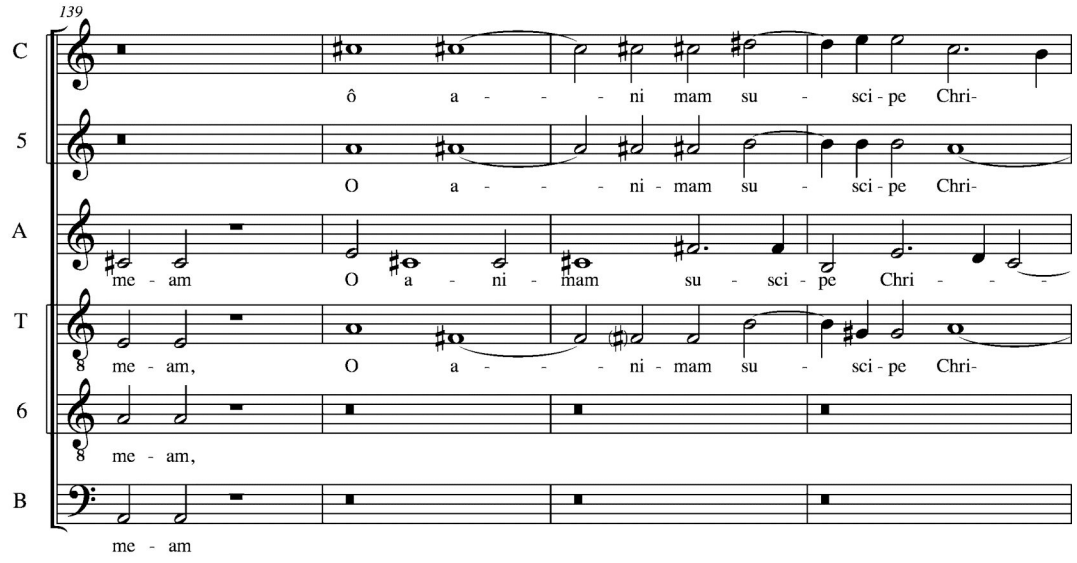

119
C
me - a sol - vi - sti præ - - - ci - o - so de - bi-
5
me - a sol - vi - sti præ - ci - o - sa de - - - - bi-
A
me - a sol - vi - sti præ - ci - o - sa de - - - - bi-
T
8 me - a sol - vi - sti præ - ci - o - so de - bi - ta
6
8 me - a sol - vi - sti pre - - - ci - o - sa
B
me - a sol - vi - sti præ - - - - ci-

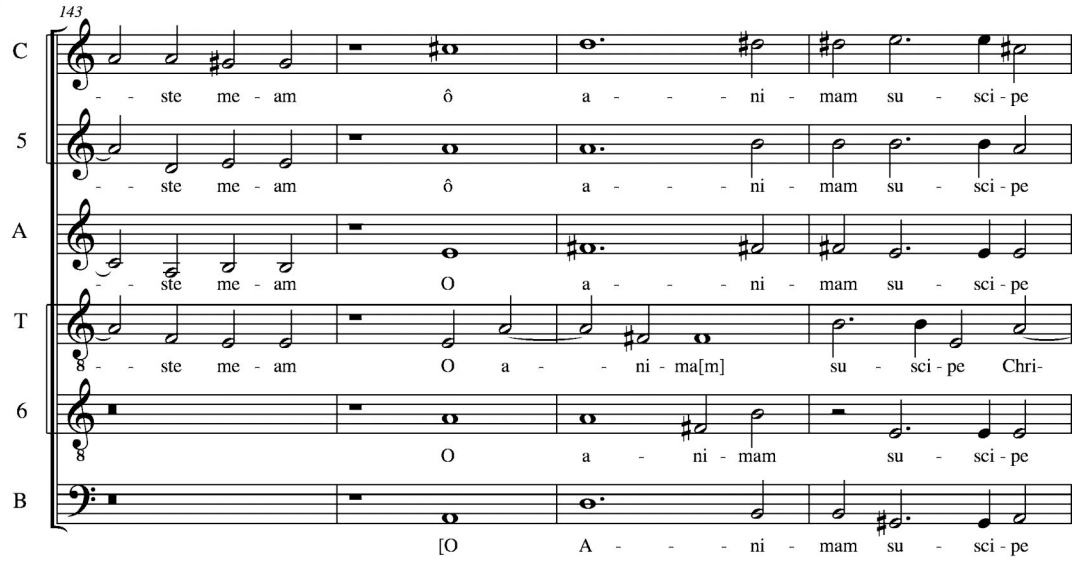

123
C
ta de - bi - ta [ly - - - - - tro]
5
ta de - bi - ta [ly - - - - - tro.]
A
ta de - - - bi - ta ly - - - - - tro
T
de - - - - bi - ta ly - - - - tro
6
de - - - - - - bi - ta ly - - - - - tro O
B
o - so de - - - bi - ta ly - - - - - tro


127
C
O IE - - - - - SU
5
O IE - - - - - - SU
A
O IE - - - - - SU [O IE-
T
O IE - - - - - su [O IE - - - - - su]
6
Ie - - - - - - su [O Ie - - - - - su]
B
O JE - - - - - SU [O

131
Now entering Sharpland!!
C
[O IE - SU]
O IE - - - - SU
5
O IE - - - - - - - - SU
A
- - SU]
[O IE - SU]
T
O IE - su [O IE - - - - su]
6
O Ie - - - - - - su [O Ie - su]
B
JE - - - - SU
O JE - - - - SU]

135
C
5
A
O a - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe Chri - - - ste
T
O a - - ni - ma[m] su - sci - pe Chri - - - - ste
6
O a - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe Chri - - - ste
B
O A - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe Chri - - - ste


139
C
ô a - - - ni mam su - sci - pe Chri-
5
O a - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe Chri-
A
me - am O a - ni - mam su - sci - pe Chri - - -
T
me - am, O a - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe Chri-
6
me - am,
B
me - am


143
C
- - ste me - am ô a - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe
5
- - ste me - am ô a - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe
A
- - ste me - am O a - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe
T
- - ste me - am O a - - ni - ma[m] su - sci - pe Chri-
6
O a - ni - mam su - sci - pe
B
[O A - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe

147
C
Chri - ste me - am ô a - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe
5
Chri - ste me - am ô a - - - ni - ma[m] su - sci - pe
A
Chri - ste me - am O a - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe
T
8 - - ste me - am O a - ni - ma[m] su - sci - pe Chri-
6
8 Chri - ste me - am O a - ni - mam su - sci - pe
B
Chri - ste me - am] [O A - - - ni - mam su - sci - pe
151
C
Chri - ste me - am.
5
Chri - ste me - am.
A
Chri - ste me - am.
T
8 - - ste me - am.
6
8 Chri - ste me - am.
B
Chri - ste me - am.]

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