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SCHEIN'S OCCASIONAL MUSIC AND THE SOCIAL ORDER IN 1620S LEIPZIG

In the early seventeenth century many Lutheran composers produced music in printed pamphlets for weddings, funerals and other ceremonies. Johann Hermann Schein, Thomas-Kantor in Leipzig, said that he composed and performed pieces for 'various occasions', admitting that some had been 'completed in haste'.¹ At least eighty-eight pieces by Schein survive in pamphlets from his tenure of the Thomas-Kantorate between 1616 and 1630, and more such pieces are known to be lost.² Other musicians in Leipzig such as Georg Engelmann and Samuel Michael wrote occasional pieces at a lesser rate, as did students from the university. And this repertory of occasional music was but part of the vast quantity of printed ephemera from the period, including thousands of poems, sermons and orations.

Occasional pamphlets remain largely unexplored by scholars, not least because they are so hard to grasp bibliographically. It would be a Herculean task to catalogue the thousands of extant pamphlets thoroughly, particularly if the lengthy title pages were to be transcribed. Short-title cataloguing can be inadequate because many of the pamphlets have similar titles, and often a song was issued in several editions for the same event. Bibliographical errors can easily arise with this dense output, as Gregory Johnston has shown with regard to Schein's funerary pamphlets.³ Furthermore, many extant pamphlets remain unknown. Often the holdings in

I am grateful to John Butt, Iain Fenlon, Geoffrey Webber, Peter Wollny and the anonymous reviewer for their valuable comments and suggestions.

¹ Pieces '*componiret*, vñnd bey fürfallenden *occasione*n *musiciret* . . . derer etzliche in eil verfertigt werden müssen'. Schein, *Israelisbrünlein* (1623), dedication, tenor partbook.

² S. Rose, 'Music, Print and Authority in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War', 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2001), i, pp. 60–1; ii, pp. 63–7.

³ G. S. Johnston, '“Der Schein trägt”: A Reappraisal of Johann Hermann Schein's Funeral Lieder', *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, 20 (1998), pp. 95–106. On these bibliographical problems in general, see W. Segebrecht, 'Die Bibliographische Erschließung der Gelegenheitsdichtung des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts', in *Beiträge zur bibliographischen Lage in der germanistischen Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. H.-H. Krummacher (Bonn, 1981), pp. 223–56.

libraries are bound up in *Konvoluten*, for which cataloguers have lacked the time or inclination to describe the separate entries. Only now is the full extent of occasional literature coming to light with the systematic survey by VD17, the German union catalogue for printed books of the seventeenth century.⁴

Despite these bibliographical challenges, and despite the fact that occasional compositions are rarely of the highest quality, the surviving pamphlets are of great interest for the contextual information that they supply about music and printing. Most commercial printed collections of the period tend to be context-neutral, offering music in its polyphonic bones in order to appeal to as wide a market as possible. By contrast the occasional pamphlets represent a single performance and hence often specify such matters as instrumentation. Frequently the place and date of performance are also recorded. And while the voluminous title pages are arduous for the bibliographer to transcribe, they supply numerous details for the historian about the rank of the dedicatee and the composer. Occasional music was the privilege of the elite and was often commissioned as a show of power and status. For musicians, the act of writing and presenting pamphlets asserted their place in civic society and strengthened their relations with patrons and colleagues. Occasional music, in short, was a mirror of the urban hierarchy and a vehicle for the socially ambitious.

DEFINITIONS

In its broadest sense, occasional music was part of the daily life of all musicians at Lutheran schools. Since the Reformation, one of the duties of schoolteachers and their pupils was to attend funerals, acting as mourners and singing during the procession and service. In the seventeenth century, pupils might find themselves attending up to three or four funerals a week.⁵ Such participation symbolised the lay involvement in the reformed faith but was also an economic necessity for teachers and pupils. The incidental earnings (*accidentia*)

⁴ Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts: <http://www.vd17.de>.

⁵ E. Kizik, 'The Pupil, the Master and Death: The Funeral in the Daily Life of a School in a Hanseatic Town', *Acta Poloniae Historica*, 78 (1998), pp. 53–80, at pp. 57, 70; A. Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, ii: 1650 bis 1723 (Leipzig, 1926), p. 78.

from weddings and funerals could make up to half of a teacher's income.⁶ At the Leipzig Thomasschule, the staff often quarrelled over the rules whereby the senior teachers received the largest proportion of the fees, even for funerals that they had not attended.⁷ The pupils themselves also earned a small fee – typically amounting to 6 pfennigs a week – which helped pay for their upkeep and their education.⁸

This article, however, focuses solely on occasions in Leipzig when Schein or another musician wrote a piece and then had it printed. Such events accounted for only a fraction of the Thomasschule's performances of occasional music. Newly composed pieces were reserved for leading citizens, learned men and church employees. Pieces were also specially written for civic festivals such as the annual council election (*Ratswahl*) or the commemoration of the centenary of the Reformation. It is important to distinguish between music for the town council and that for individual citizens, because in all likelihood these categories of pieces had different arrangements for their commissioning, funding and printing. The town council was Schein's employer and so he was duty-bound to honour it with pieces. At funerals and weddings, by contrast, he might be working on the commission of status-conscious citizens or entrepreneurially developing the market for his services.

By the 1620s strong conventions had developed in Leipzig regarding the genre of occasional pieces and the formats in which they were printed. These norms were established by Schein and then copied by his colleagues and successors. The conventions enabled music to express social rank, because a composer could honour an esteemed dedicatee by departing from the norm; they also aided the productivity of composers, providing a pool of easily replicable genres similar to the rhetorical formulae on which a poet could draw. A brief description of these musical conventions acts as an introduction to the repertory and the printed sources.

At wedding parties, the usual musical gift was a madrigal or villanella. Both of these Italianate genres were popularised by Schein in the 1620s. He wrote a series of nuptial madrigals for five voice-parts and continuo, plus many villanellas for two upper voices

⁶ Kizik, 'The Pupil, the Master and Death', p. 66.

⁷ A. Prüfer, *Johan Herman Schein* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 26–30.

⁸ Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, p. 78.

and a sung or instrumental bass; the villanellas were widely emulated by other musicians such as Andreas Unger and Johann Rosenmüller. All these pieces had German words, usually written by the composer and incorporating a conceit on the name or occupation of one of the dedicatees. Thus when the daughter of Johannes Höpner got married in 1633, Unger offered a piece titled *Hüpfperling*, which translates roughly as ‘hopping’ or ‘leaping’; and when Schein wrote pieces for the weddings of medical students, he devised texts full of medical metaphors and allusions to the sickness of love (*Aria*, 1624; *Cura d’amore*, 1625).

Nuptial madrigals were printed as a set of single leaves, one for each voice-part. By contrast, villanellas were printed on a bifolium (a single folio sheet) using score or choirbook format. Sometimes such a sheet was printed on only one side, like a broadside; more usually the sheet was printed with music on one side and a title page on the other. The format is seen in Unger’s *Hüpfperling* of 1633 (Figure 1a and b); note the verbose title page, describing the social standing of composer and dedicatee, and the additional poems in Latin and German. Bifolia were too large to be easily bound, and their fragility symbolises their ephemeral nature.

The pieces for funerals were more sombre, usually set to a German text and eschewing the use of instruments other than continuo. At some funerals, a composer offered a motet on a scriptural text: in 1628 Schein marked the death of the church superintendent Vincent Schmuck with a five-voice motet entitled *Symbolon* and set to the words ‘Das ist meine Frewde’. By the 1620s, however, the most usual genre was the cantional lied, a simple setting of a strophic German poem for four- or five-part choir. The term ‘cantional’ denotes a homophonic texture with the melody in the top voice, as pioneered in the 1580s by Lucas Osiander for chorale harmonisations. Schein, however, was the first composer to use this texture for newly written words and tunes. He wrote the words for almost all his funerary songs, often incorporating the name of the deceased as an acrostic. The music could be intense, with an unusual degree of dissonance, ‘hard’ leaps in the top voice and phrases interrupted by rests. The first known example of such a lied in Leipzig was Schein’s *Himmlischer Ehrenkron*, written for the burial of Nikolaus Selnecker in October 1619; thereafter he wrote many similar pieces for funerals. The genre continued to be

cultivated after Schein's death by such musicians as Georg Engelmann, Tobias Michael, Johann Rosenmüller, Werner Fabricius and Adam Krieger; examples were being written as late as the 1660s.

Owing to their musical simplicity, the cantional lieder could be printed in a variety of formats. Some appeared on bifolia similar to that pictured in Figure 1. Others were printed within quarto booklets known as *Leichenpredigten* (funeral sermons); these contained, as the name implies, a transcription of the sermon, and often also epitaphs, poetic tributes, an obituary and music. The booklets were more likely to be bound than the bifolia and hence their survival rate seems to be higher. Several lieder survive both on an independent bifolium and within a *Leichenpredigt*; I discuss below how such multiple formats may suggest the varied ways in which pamphlets were used.

In the parallel realm of occasional poetry, the 1620s saw the start of a shift from Latin to German. Until this period, occasional verse in Leipzig was written in learned tongues such as Latin, Greek and even Hebrew, keeping it exclusive to educated men within the university, churches and schools. Vernacular poetry began to appear in the 1620s, influenced by Martin Opitz's efforts to establish German verse that was more elegant than the traditional genres of drinking and courting songs. The sudden popularity of the cantional lied in the 1620s was perhaps a manifestation of the new acceptability of German verse. The shift to the vernacular also made occasional poetry accessible to the less educated, particularly women, who were barred from grammar schools, and allowed devotional verse to be included in the printed pamphlets.⁹

The remaining category of occasional music comprised the lavish polychoral motets written for civic festivals and the wedding services of leading citizens. Most of these large-scale pieces were settings of a few verses of a psalm. A tradition of polychoral occasional pieces already existed in Leipzig in the 1600s: when Schein was a student at the university, he wrote an eight-voice motet saluting its bicentenary (*Cantio secularis*, 1609), and similar pieces were written for weddings by Seth Calvisius and Johann Lyttich among others. When Schein became Thomas-Kantor in 1616, he continued to

⁹ Rose, 'Music, Print and Authority', i, pp. 39–42.

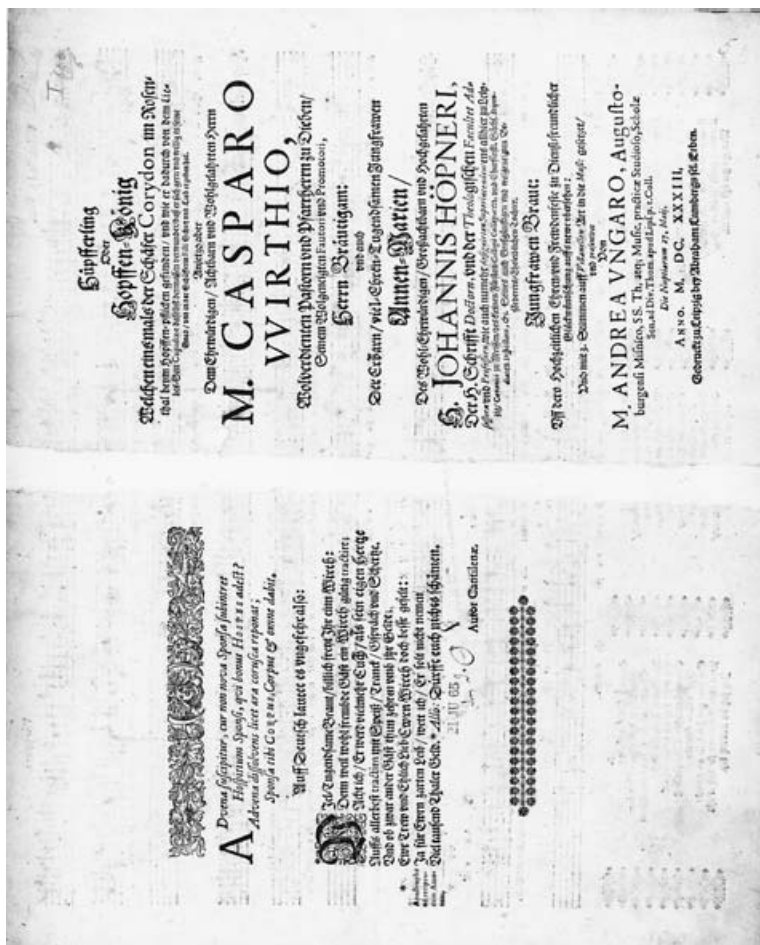


Figure 1(a) Andreas Unger, *Hopfflerling oder Hopffen-König* (Leipzig, 1633), first and last pages. Original size: approx. 390 × 310 mm. British Library, I.600.[5.]. Reproduced courtesy of the British Library Board

The image shows a page from a musical score, likely a lute tablature book, for the piece "Hopffestung oder Hopffen-König". The score is written in German and includes several parts: a vocal part for the first voice ("Vox Prima") and a second voice ("Vox Secunda"), and a lute part. The lute part is written in a style that combines standard musical notation with letters (a, b, c, d, e, f, g) representing fret positions on the strings. The text of the piece is a humorous song about a castle built on a hill of hops. The lyrics are written in a stylized, early modern German script. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines, and there are various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings. The overall appearance is that of a historical manuscript or printed score.

Figure 1 (b) Unger, *Hüpffestung oder Hopffen-König*, pages 2–3. Original size: approx. 390 × 310 mm. British Library, I.600.[5].
Reproduced courtesy of the British Library Board

write polychoral pieces but began to specify the use of instruments. At first, as in *Lyra Davidica* (1620), the instruments merely doubled the voices and perhaps Schein was notating a performance practice that was already well established. Later, however, he devised polychoral textures that required obligatory instruments and allowed for supplementary singers (*capellen*). In 1629 he celebrated the council election with *Lamentatio ecclesiae et consolatio Jehovae*, scored according to the title page ‘mit 9. und 14. Stimmen / Sampt einen *General-Bass* für die Orgel’. This description implies that the piece has a minimum of nine parts plus continuo, but that it can be augmented with five extra parts. In fact the scoring is more complicated still:

Choir 1: 5-part choir that is sometimes sung and sometimes acts as an instrumental ritornello, played either by strings or by a mixed ensemble of violin, transverse flute, 2 trombones and bassoon

Choir 2: 4 vocal concertists, doubled by an optional capella
Continuo

As is typical of Schein’s large-scale pieces of the late 1620s, there are sections for solo voices with continuo, and sections for instruments only (namely the ritornellos played either by the string band or by the mixed consort of strings, wind and brass).

Polychoral pieces were printed as a set of part-leaves. Figure 2 shows the title page and one of the part-leaves for *Lamentatio ecclesiae*. The pamphlet comprises ten part-leaves, one for each obligatory part. Each of the part-leaves for Choir 1 provides the music for both a singer and at least one instrumentalist (Figure 2b). Separate parts are not provided for the capella reinforcement of Choir 2, whose entries are merely marked in the concertist parts. Schein’s other large-scale pieces were also printed without separate parts for the capella.¹⁰ At first sight, such an omission seems to contradict the

¹⁰ B. Wiermann, ‘Die Entwicklung vocal-instrumentalen Komponierens im protestantischen Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts’, 2 vols. (D.Phil. diss., Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, 2002), i, pp. 346, 353. Schein’s only piece with printed capella parts is his *Te Deum laudamus* (Leipzig, 1618) but here, uniquely, he conceived the capella as an independent vocal choir: see C. Theis, ‘Johann Hermann Scheins Gelegenheitskompositionen: Zu Entstehungs- und Besetzungsfragen des großen geistlichen Konzerts bei Schein’, *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (2000), pp. 121–135, at p. 129.

arguments of Joshua Rifkin and Andrew Parrott that singers of concerted music did not share their copies.¹¹ But were the leaves in Figure 2 to be used in performance, manuscript parts would probably have been made for the extra performers. Both Michael Praetorius and Heinrich Schütz recommended that printed copies be supplemented with manuscript parts for capellen;¹² extra parts were also copied in Breslau when Schein's polychoral pieces were performed there (see below). The possibility remains, however, that the pamphlet was not used in performance but served a purely symbolic purpose.

OCCASIONAL MUSIC AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

Occasional music and verse were adornments that denoted social distinction, in the same way as fashionable or sumptuous clothing. The social significance of occasional pamphlets is evident from their title pages, which describe in great detail the rank of the recipients. It is also apparent in the sumptuary laws (*Kleiderordnungen*) that sought to regulate the behaviour and apparel of each social group.

Early modern Leipzig, like any other German city of the period, had a society divided into estates or orders (*Stände*). In such a system the status of individuals was determined by their ancestry, occupation, wealth and learning. In Leipzig the hierarchy ran approximately as follows:¹³

- Members of the council (*Raths-Personen*)
- Distinguished citizens and merchants (*Fürnehme Bürger und Handelsleute*)
- Ordinary citizens and shopkeepers (*Gemeine Bürger, Kramer*)
- Manual workers (*Handwercksleute*)
- Journeymen (*Gesellen*)
- Servants (*Dienstboten*)

¹¹ Summarised in A. Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir* (Woodbridge, 2000).

¹² M. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum III*, 2nd edn (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), p. 134 [*recte* p. 114]; H. Schütz, *Psalmen Davids* (Dresden, 1619), preface to General Bass partbook.

¹³ Extrapolated from *Des Raths zu Leipzig Ordnung wegen der Tracht und Kleidung* (Leipzig, 1634), sig. Aiii^r–Aiv^r and the 1640 *Kleiderordnung* reprinted in Z. Schneider, *Chronicon Lipsiense* (Leipzig, 1655), p. 540. For background information on *Stände* see L. C. Eisenbart, *Kleiderordnungen der deutschen Städte*, Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 32 (Göttingen, 1962), p. 60; and C. R. Friedrichs, 'German Social Structure 1300–1600', in R. W. Scribner (ed.), *A New History of Germany*, i: 1450–1630 (London, 1996), pp. 233–58.



Figure 2(a) Johann Hermann Schein, *Lamentatio ecclesiae et consolatio Jehovae* (Leipzig, 1629). Title page. Original size: approx. 180 × 295 mm. Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Leipzig. Reproduced by kind permission

The boundaries between these social groups, however, were fluid and there were several additional factors that could enhance an individual's status. Clerics and other church employees received many of the privileges of the upper estate without having to become citizens, and according to a Saxon edict of 1580 were absolved of such obligations as military service or watch-duty.¹⁴ Lawyers and

¹⁴ *Die evangelische Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, ed. E. Sehling, Bd. 1, Abt. i, Hälfte 1 (Leipzig, 1902), p. 383.

Figure 2 (b) Schein, *Lamentatio ecclesiae et consolatio Jehovae*, Choir 1, Cantus 1 / Violin 1 part. Original size: approx. 180 × 295 mm. Stadtgeschichtliches Museum, Leipzig. Reproduced by kind permission

medical doctors claimed that their profession raised them to the forefront of the community and qualified them as members of the first estate. The greatest privileges were secured by learning and academic qualifications. Professors and men holding doctorates were exempt from the town's sumptuary laws.¹⁵ They were,

¹⁵ E. Kroker, 'Leipziger Kleiderordnungen', *Mitteilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung vaterländische Sprache und Altertümer*, 10 (1912), pp. 18–74, at p. 38.

however, subject to the university's own ordinances, which strictly demarcated the hierarchy of the 'different estates of doctors, masters and other associates'.¹⁶

According to the town's sumptuary laws, all Leipzigers had to wear clothes that signalled their estate and origin. Silk satin (*Seiden-Atlas*), for instance, was the privilege of members of the council and their wives and daughters. Distinguished citizens were not allowed to wear anything more lavish than damask (*Damast*) or taffeta (*Tobin*). Ordinary citizens had to be content with modest woollen fabrics such as the so-called *Viertral*.¹⁷ Similar hierarchical entitlements were prescribed for the festivities at betrothals, weddings and funerals. In the wedding procession to church, servants could not be accompanied by more than twenty men and twenty women or girls; manual workers were entitled to thirty men and thirty women in their procession. Further rules governed the quantity and quality of food served at the wedding feast. Distinguished citizens and council members were allowed the most guests and the most sumptuous food.¹⁸

Despite these many regulations, Leipzigers repeatedly flouted the sumptuary laws. By denying the lower estates luxuries, the sumptuary edicts seem only to have made the townsfolk aspire to greater heights of conspicuous consumption. In 1640 the council reprimanded serving-girls who had been wearing items reserved for the children of distinguished parents, such as pearls and decorated shoes. It also attacked young journeymen (*Junggesellen*) who wore coloured silk stockings as if they were princes or nobles.¹⁹ At weddings and funerals, too, Leipzigers tended to break the bounds. In 1625 the council complained about people who were having ten or twelve tables of guests at their weddings rather than the four or five that were allowed.²⁰ Even worse was the behaviour of the city's elite, as seen in 1618 at the wedding of Jonas Möstel, son of the burgomaster. His bride arrived at the church in a procession

¹⁶ 'unterschiedliche Stände / der Doctorn / Magistern und anderer Verwandten'. *Des Raths zu Leipzig Vornehme Ordnung und Reformation* (Leipzig, 1596), sig. Div^r.

¹⁷ 1640 *Kleiderordnung*, reprinted in Schneider, *Chronicon Lipsiense*, p. 540. For a glossary of fabrics, see Eisenbart, *Kleiderordnungen*, pp. 123–34.

¹⁸ Kroker, 'Leipziger Kleiderordnungen', pp. 51, 60.

¹⁹ 1640 *Kleiderordnungen*, reprinted in Schneider, *Chronicon Lipsiense*, pp. 542, 552.

²⁰ Kroker, 'Leipziger Kleiderordnungen', pp. 70–1.

accompanied by 120 horsemen; Möstel himself arrived on a horse bedecked with plumes and gold braid; and the feasting lasted three days. Such profligacy attracted the censure of the Elector of Saxony, who demanded an explanation from the city council. It claimed that Jonas Möstel thought he was entitled to such extravagance because he held a doctorate. The Elector was unconvinced and imposed a heavy fine of 1,000 thalers.²¹

Music at weddings and funerals was another means of social display and was also regulated by ordinance. In general, polyphony and newly composed pieces were restricted to the elite. The 1634 ordinances of the Thomasschule instructed the cantor that polyphony during the funeral procession was reserved for 'those who belong in the distinguished, honoured estate or who serve church and school'; ordinary citizens had to be content with monophonic chorales.²² The council's permission was also required if a motet was to be sung before the house of mourning (*Trauerhaus*).²³

According to the descriptions on the pamphlets, many of Schein's pieces were written for distinguished citizens. Such men included the book dealer Gottfried Grosse, whose marriage was celebrated by *Residenza d'amore* (1618), and the merchant Hermann Hütten, whose death was marked by *Himlische Ehrenkron* (1629). Wives and children of a high-ranking citizen were also entitled to music, as with Hermann Hütten's daughter Maria, who received a *Madrigale* at her wedding in 1623. Most of the other recipients of occasional music were distinguished by their learning or by service to school and church. Thus Willhelm Avianus, headmaster of the Thomassschule, received villanellas from Schein and Unger for his wedding in 1630, much the same as any distinguished citizen might expect. The pamphlets cite Avianus's doctorate and his further posts (church deacon; assessor of the university's philosophy faculty) in a clear indication of the social advantages carried by learning.

Sometimes, however, an individual received a piece despite holding no distinguished rank, qualification or office. In 1627 Schein wrote a *Scherzo musicale* for the wedding of Marie von der

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 63–4.

²² 'welche im vornehmen Ehrenstande gelebt / oder sonsten Kirchen und Schulen gedienet'. *Des Raths zu Leipzig Vorneherte Schul-Ordnung*, sig. Ciii'.

²³ *Ibid.*, sig. Div'.

Perre, daughter of an ordinary citizen and painter (*Kunstmahler*), to Jacob Bürett, a goldsmith who did not even hold the title of citizen. Marie von der Perre, however, was Schein's sister-in-law and so family ties may have overruled the usual restrictions on occasional music. The *Scherzo musicale* might also have evaded the sumptuary legislation by being offered gratis, since one function of the laws was to prevent extravagant expenditure.

Because Schein had standardised the genres of occasional music – favouring the cantional lied for funerals and the madrigal or villanella for weddings – he could draw attention to an exceptional social rank by deviating from his normal choice of performing forces. His most modest occasional piece was *Jocus nuptialis* (1622), a song for solo voice and theorbo accompaniment ('á solo voce uff einer Tiroben'); the sparse texture may be explained by the fact that it was dedicated to Martin Cramer, deputy head of the Thomaschule and thus a relatively lowly member of the learned community. On the other hand, the leading members of the town council received sumptuous motets at their wedding services. In 1625 Theophilus Möstel, another of the sons of the burgomaster, got married to the accompaniment of a massive setting of Psalm 23 for three choirs of voices and instruments:

Choir 1: 3 voices, doubled by piffaros/cornetti and a bombard

Choir 2: 4 voices, doubled by strings

Choir 3: 4 voices, doubled by bombards

Continuo

The sound of the tutti portions and the visual display of the massed performers were manifestations of Möstel's prestige and of the wealth necessary to fund such a number of performers. The only other pieces of such sumptuousness, indeed, were those dedicated to the council itself.

Sometimes citizens were reprimanded for musical excesses. As already mentioned, in 1618 Jonas Möstel was fined by the Elector for the extravagance of his wedding. Among the Elector's complaints was that trumpets and drums had been used in church at the end of the marriage service. The council tried to excuse the scoring by explaining that the offending motet had originally been written by Schein for the centenary of the Reformation the previous year, but owing to his illness its performance had been postponed until

the wedding.²⁴ Despite the Elector's disquiet, Möstel had set a precedent that other citizens rapidly followed. In 1620 Schein again used trumpets and drums in *Musica divina*, for the marriage service of Sigismund Deuerlin.

Much later in the century, the council launched a campaign against music at funerals. In 1680 it attacked the singing of motets and lieder outside the house of mourning before the funerals of children and members of the lower orders; it also criticised the distribution of printed 'funeral songs' ('Leich-Carminum').²⁵ In future the council's consent was required for such performances or for the distribution of pamphlets. This suspicion of ceremony may have stemmed from the outbreak of plague in 1679, after which large public funerals were regarded as a health risk. However, there was also a wider trend against occasional offerings at the time. In 1677 the Danzig council banned funeral sermons and 'Leichcarmina' as an indefensible luxury; in 1705 the Nuremberg council specified that the number and format of printed funeral songs should correspond to social rank, so that the first estate should be entitled to two songs in folio format, while the second and third estates merited merely one song, printed in quarto.²⁶

Given the love of Leipzigers for social display, many citizens must have commissioned occasional music. There are no archival records of such transactions, but the ordinances sometimes speak of the 'begehren' (desire) of citizens, as for instance when advising the cantor to reject requests inappropriate to a person's status.²⁷ The same word appears on the title pages of some of Schein's pamphlets and indicates a piece written at the dedicatee's behest. Thus his song for the funeral of Katharina Anckelmann had been written 'at her friendly request' before her death.²⁸ Similarly his motet for the funeral of Theodor Möstel had been written on Möstel's 'most favourable commission during his life several years ago, upon his birthday'; the piece is a setting of Möstel's favourite devotional

²⁴ R. Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, i: *Bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 80–1.

²⁵ E. E. Hochweisen *Raths der Stadt Leipzig verbesserte Ordnung* (Leipzig, 1680), p. 13. *Carmina* (songs) usually denoted the poetic genre rather than musical settings.

²⁶ W. Reich, 'Die deutschen gedruckten Leichenpredigten des 17. Jahrhunderts als Musikalische Quelle' (Phil.D. diss., Karl-Marx Universität Leipzig, 1963), p. 9.

²⁷ *Des Raths zu Leipzig Vornehme Schul-Ordnung*, sig. Ciii'.

²⁸ 'uff freundliches begehren in die Music versetzt': Schein, *Ultimae lachrymae* (Leipzig, 1624).

motto, ‘Herr, ich hoffe auf dich’ (‘In thee Lord do I trust’).²⁹ To take another example, Seth Calvisius made a polychoral setting of Psalm 90, verse 10 on the commission of Peter Horn, a burgomaster of Weißenfels. Horn was evidently assembling material for his own funeral, for the motet’s words are a meditation on death (‘Unser Leben wehret siebntzig Jahr’ – ‘The days of our years are threescore years and ten’) while the rich eight-part texture honoured his high social rank. Calvisius, however, predeceased Horn and the piece received its first performance in 1615 at the composer’s own funeral in Leipzig; it was later printed as his swansong.³⁰

These references to commissions occur only on funerary pieces; wedding pamphlets, by contrast, usually describe the piece as having been presented by the composer out of a sense of duty or friendship, for example, ‘zu dienstgeflissene *Congratulation*’.³¹ To plan funerary music was part of the preparations that all good Lutherans made for their own death. Many Leipcigergs included provision in their wills for music at their funerals,³² and elsewhere in Saxony there were vivid examples of the ceremony being planned in detail. Wolfgang Albrecht von der Gabelantz, for instance, wrote his testament nine years before his death, selecting the biblical text for the sermon at his funeral and composing an aria to be sung at the graveside. Heinrich Posthumus Reuß not only commissioned Schütz’s *Musicalische Exequien* for his funeral but also specified the scriptural excerpts to be inscribed on his coffin.³³ Of course, many people must have wanted to ensure that their funeral would match their earthly status, and some may have wondered how they would be portrayed in the pamphlets that would appear after their death. But the planning of a funeral was also a devotional exercise and was likely to be mentioned in the printed commemoration, because it

²⁹ ‘uff dessen großgünstiges begehren noch bey seinem Leben / vor etlichen Jahren / uff seinen Geburtstag’. Schein, *Symbolon* (Leipzig, 1626). See also P. Leyser, *LeichPredigt aus den Worten des 31. Psalms . . . Beym Begräbnis . . . Theodori Möstels* (Leipzig, 1626), sig. Div^v.

³⁰ S. Calvisius, *Schwanengesang aus dem 90. Psalm Davids vers 10* (Leipzig, 1616). See also V. Schmuck, *Leichpredigt von der Musica . . . Bey Begräbniß . . . Sethi Calvisij* (Leipzig, n. d.).

³¹ J. H. Schein, *Aria* (Leipzig, 1625).

³² Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, pp. 85–7.

³³ G. S. Johnston, ‘Der Schwanengesang als Christlicher Begriff in der deutschen protestantischen Begräbnismusik des 17. Jahrhunderts’, in G. Fleischhauer et al. (eds.), *Tod und Musik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte, 59 (Blankenburg am Harz, 2001), pp. 177–88, at p. 184.

proved the piety of the deceased and therefore the faith on which his or her salvation depended.

MOTIVES FOR WRITING OCCASIONAL MUSIC

Whether or not an occasional piece had been commissioned, composers had several reasons of their own for writing and presenting pamphlets. Schein wrote some of his pamphlets as acts of friendship, while with others he sought to strengthen his relations with actual or prospective patrons. As F. E. Niedt said, occasional offerings allowed the musician 'to please people with flattering and ingratiating pieces'.³⁴ Furthermore the very act of writing a song or poem asserted the author's place in civic society and demonstrated the learning that could carry social privilege.

The social importance of writing for occasions can be seen in the pamphlets of verse that were compiled for weddings, funerals and academic ceremonies. Typically these *Festschriften* had contributions of poetry (and sometimes also music) from all the leading men of the city's learned life. The contributions were usually arranged by the status of the authors. Thus the *Festschrift* for the wedding of Georg Tobias Schwendendörffer (*Ἐνφημίαι γαμικαὶ festivitati nuptiarum*, 1626) contains thirty-seven poems, ordered like a procession with the rector of the university at its head and then an array of professors, clerics and holders of doctorates. Next came holders of the *Magister* degree and at the end there were a few students.³⁵ After each poem the author listed his academic qualifications or official titles, as proof of his rank. In some *Festschriften*, a verse by a high-ranking contributor was printed in a place more suited to one of lower station, and an editorial note explained that the poem had been received too late for inclusion in its proper position.³⁶

Students were particularly aware of the social capital to be gained via occasional verse. By delivering speeches and poetry, they not only endeared themselves to possible patrons; they also displayed

³⁴ 'Menschen zu gefallen / zu schmeichlenden und liebkosenden Stücken'. F. E. Niedt, *Musicalische Handleitung III* (Hamburg, 1717), sigs. E4^v-F1^r.

³⁵ British Library, C.107.e.20.(4).

³⁶ See the example from Uppsala discussed in A. Ström, *Lachrymae Catharinae: Five Collections of Funeral Poetry from 1628* (Stockholm, 1994), p. 33, and the example from Giessen discussed by J. Leighton, 'On Occasional Baroque Poetry', in D. Attwood, A. Best and R. W. Last (eds.), *For Lionel Thomas: A Collection of Essays* (Hull, 1980), pp. 1-20, at p. 13.

the education that could secure social advancement. Students were the most prolific contributors of verse to *Festschriften*, sometimes offering several poems or displaying their skill in languages as specialised as Hebrew or Spanish. The social importance of occasional verse also meant that universities and some grammar schools gave tuition in its writing.³⁷

Although music was not as conspicuous a sign of learning as erudite verse, many students wrote occasional songs. Through their printed occasional compositions, a series of students such as Eusebius Bohemus, Marcus Dietrich, Michael Siegel and Andreas Unger have found a place in bibliographies such as those of Eitner and RISM when otherwise they would be completely forgotten. Their occasional pamphlets can often be interpreted as tactics to advance their developing careers within church or school. Take the example of Unger, who matriculated at the university in 1625 and gained a Master's degree in 1631. His first job was as Hospitalpreceptor and then from 1631 he was the *Baccalaureus funerum* at the Thomasschule, the most junior teacher and in charge of music at minor funerals. He even had the audacity to apply for the post of cantor after Schein's death in 1630, and was taken seriously enough to be considered for an audition.³⁸ Eventually he became cantor at the Wenzelskirche in Naumburg in 1633/34. Unger greased the progression of his career with a series of occasional pieces, offered to such influential figures as Willhelm Avianus, headmaster of the Thomasschule, or Professor Johannes Höpner, superintendent of the city's churches; he described each man as his 'well-disposed patron and promoter'.³⁹ For Unger, like other students seeking a foothold in the learned hierarchy, occasional offerings were a way to build a network of patrons and supporters.

As Thomas-Kantor, Schein had a much higher status than the students, but he still had to cultivate good relations with his superiors. He repeatedly offered pieces to the councillors who promoted the town's music, notably the senior burgomaster Theodor Möstel and his family. As head of the council, Möstel was Schein's ultimate boss and sometimes recommended him for extra

³⁷ Kizik, 'The Pupil, the Master and Death', p. 74. Ström, *Lachrymae Catharinae*, p. 39.

³⁸ Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, pp. 104, 208.

³⁹ 'wolgeneigten *Fautori* und *Promotori*', on title pages of Unger's *Vogelsang* (Leipzig, 1630) and also his *Hüpfferling* (Leipzig, 1633).

rewards, as well as intervening on his side in disputes among the school staff.⁴⁰ Schein reciprocated the relationship by offering numerous pieces to the family. I have already mentioned the sumptuous motets for the weddings of Möstel's sons Jonas and Theophilus; in addition Schein offered a lied on the death of his daughter-in-law Sabina, and a motet and poem for the funeral of Theodor himself in 1626. As I have shown, some of these pieces were probably commissioned by the Möstels. But Schein also filled the pamphlets with expressions of his own sycophancy, describing Theodor as his 'most favourable and mighty patron and highly honoured *Gevatter*'.⁴¹

Other recipients of Schein's pieces included his colleagues at Leipzig's schools and churches. Rather than being commissioned, these pieces were probably offered as acts of back-scratching or as necessary obligations. A study of similar offerings in Uppsala suggests that occasional poetry was exchanged even between men who were bitter enemies in everyday life.⁴² Some of Schein's colleagues reciprocated the musical presents by contributing commendatory poems to his books: thus Heinrich Höpner, a Leipzig deacon and professor, received *Lyra Davidica* at his wedding in 1620, and seven years later wrote a panegyric for Schein's hymnal, *Cantional*. Schein also used pamphlets to maintain good relations with book dealers such as Zacharias Schürer, who supplied the Thomasschule with music and whose father's firm had published Schein's first music book, *Venuskrantzlein*, back in 1609.⁴³ Schein sent a villanella to Schürer when he got married in 1625, and a *Grab-Liedlein* when his son died in 1628. In 1629 Schürer himself died and Schein offered *Consolatioe animae* to the grieving family.

⁴⁰ Stadtarchiv Leipzig, Thomaskirchrechnungen, 25 December 1617. Prüfer, *Johan Herman Schein*, p. 32.

⁴¹ 'großgünstiger Patron . . . mächtiger Förderer und hochgeehrter Herr Gevatter', J. H. Schein, *Symbolon* (Leipzig, 1626). Taken literally, *Gevatter* might indicate that Möstel acted as a godfather for one of Schein's children; but the term may also be used metaphorically for a benevolent or respected older man.

⁴² Ström, *Lachrymae Catharinae*, p. 42.

⁴³ In 1624 Schürer was paid 25 fl. 4 gr. 5 pf. for music for the Thomasschule: Stadtarchiv Leipzig, Stadtkassenrechnungen 1624, fol. 202^v. See also Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, i, p. 113. For Schürer's biography see Josef Benzing, 'Die deutschen Verleger des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Eine Neuarbeitung', *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 18 (1977), cols. 1078–1322, at col. 1264.

Some of Schein's pamphlets were directed at men that he described on the title page as his friends. Although the meaning of friendship in this period is hard to recapture, these pamphlets nonetheless give a sense of the social circles in which Schein moved. One such 'friend' was Johann Winter, 'beloved former school acquaintance from Pforta and true friend';⁴⁴ like many of the elite of Saxony, Schein had attended the prestigious electoral school at Schulpforta and there sowed the seeds for many valuable connections in later life. Other dedicatees described as 'friends' included a lawyer, Elias Estharten; distinguished merchants such as Johann Elfeld; and Johannes Höpner, then archdeacon at the Thomas-kirche.

Occasional pamphlets were also exchanged by professional musicians, as a sign of respect and a means to reinforce professional identity. No pieces survive by Schein for a fellow musician, but the custom can be seen outside Leipzig. Several musicians received a congratulatory motet on their wedding, often from their teacher: thus in 1608 the Hamburg organist Jakob Praetorius II received a *Canticum nuptiale* from his teacher, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. By tradition men married only when they had finished their apprenticeship and mastered their craft, and hence the wedding present from the teacher perhaps also congratulated Praetorius on reaching full professional status. Musicians also paid their respects to deceased colleagues with funerary motets, as with Schütz's motet *Das ist je gewißlich war* (1631) in memory of Schein. The pamphlet described how Schein 'was visited by [his friend] shortly before his blessed departure and asked him to set to music the beautiful words of St Paul to Timothy'.⁴⁵ The same biblical text was used for the sermon at Schein's funeral and perhaps was his favourite devotional motto. Hence the motet was a kind of commission, but it also marked Schütz's esteem for his fellow composer: the pamphlet described Schein as Schütz's 'dearest friend' (*Amici sui Carissimi*) and a 'man who excelled through both his talent and his virtue' (*Viri quà ingenio quà virtute præcellentissimi*).

⁴⁴ 'vielgeliebten gewesene Pfortischen Schuelgesellens und vertraulichen Freundes'. Schein, *Villanellischer Holtzgang*, for the wedding of Johann Winter and Elisabeth Neldel, 1619.

⁴⁵ 'Alß von demselben Er / Kurtz vor seinem Seeligen Abschied besuchet worden / bittlichen angelanget / die Schönen Wort S. Pauli ad Tim.' See H. Schütz, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. P. Spitta, xii (Leipzig, 1892), p. 23.

Moving beyond the ranks of the music profession, several of Schein's funerary songs for Leipzigers seem also to have been written out of friendship. Some were intended for the mourning relatives and belong to a long tradition of sending consolatory letters or poetry to the bereaved. Examples of such epistles occur in the output of many poets, for instance with Martin Opitz's *Trostschrift* (1628) for his widowed friend David Müller; this devotional and poetic tradition has been extensively studied by Anna Carrdus.⁴⁶ Schein likewise wrote many pieces that are titled *Trost-Liedlein* (consolatory song) or speak on the title page of offering consolation. After the death of Jakob Grieben in 1620, for instance, he offered a song to give 'heart-quickenning consolation' ('Hertzerquickendem Trost') to the 'distressed widow and children left behind' ('nachgelassenen betrubten Wittiben und Kindern').⁴⁷ The title page described Grieben as Schein's 'affectionate friend' ('*affectionirten Freund*'), so the song may have been offered out of friendly sympathy, although the composer may also have been motivated by sycophancy given that Grieben had been a member of the town council. Intriguingly the piece does not seem to have been sung at Grieben's funeral; the pamphlet lacks the usual reference to the place and time of performance, and even omits the customary formula '*meditirt / componirt / und musicirt von Johan Hermann Schein*' ('devised, composed and performed by J. H. Schein'). Instead the song was probably presented privately to the family in the days shortly after Grieben's death.

Schein and Schütz also wrote songs upon the deaths of members of their immediate family, seemingly as genuine expressions of grief rather than as a display of status. In 1625 Schütz wrote a strophic continuo song, *Klaglied*, in memory of his late wife Magdalena; it was printed as an appendix to the funeral sermon by Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg.⁴⁸ According to the title page, the song was written to

⁴⁶ A. Carrdus, 'Thänen-Tüchlein für Christliche Eltern: Consolation Books for Bereaved Parents in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Germany', *German Life & Letters*, 49 (1996), pp. 1–17; id., 'Consolatory Dialogue in Devotional Writings by Men and Women of Early Modern Protestant Germany', *Modern Language Review*, 93/2 (1998), pp. 411–27.

⁴⁷ *Ewige Himmelsfreud* (Leipzig, 1620). Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków, Mus. Ant. Pract. S420.

⁴⁸ M. Hoë von Hoënegg, *Christliche LeichPredigt Beym Begräbnis der . . . Magdalena / Des . . . Herrn. Heinrich Schützens* (Leipzig, 1625) preserved in Landesbibliothek Gotha (LP E 8° III, 18[12]). Schütz's *Klaglied*, although printed as an appendix to the sermon, survives only in a copy detached from the rest of the booklet, preserved in the Ratsschulbibliothek, Zwickau (uncatalogued). A facsimile has been edited by E. Möller (Leipzig, 1984).

Magdalena's 'last honoured memory, from highly distressed feelings amid sighs and tears' ('zu letztem Ehrengedächtnis aus hochbetäubtem Gemüthe / vnter Seufftzer vnd Thranen gestellet'). Such a claim was no exaggeration, for Schütz's words were heartfelt and forsook all polite formulae:

O Magdlen / trewes Weib / ewr kan ich nicht vergessen /
 Euch lieb ich mehr und mehr:
 Ewr Tod mir aus mein Leib den rothen Safft möcht pressen
 Wolt Gott ich bey euch wer!

O little maid, true wife, I cannot forget you,
 I love you more and more
 And wish that your death would press the blood from my flesh;
 Would God that I were with you! (verse 6)

The pamphlet makes no mention of the piece being performed publicly; instead the continuo-song texture implies private performance, as does the impassioned tone of the verse.

Schein composed songs on the deaths of six of his children. He wrote the words himself, often using the first-person voice and lingering on his own pain as a grieving father. In *Patiens impatientia* (1627) for the death of his daughter Johanna-Susanna, he conveyed his distress by amassing agitated questions:

Ich heul und wein in meiner großen Not.	I howl and weep in my great trouble.
Ich ruf und grein: Wo bist du denn, mein Gott?	I cry and moan, Where are you now, my God?
Ach daß du doch so gar verbirgst dein Antlitz klar!	Ah that you so hide The light of your countenance!
Bewegt dich nicht mein Schmerz? Wo ist dein Vaterhertz?	Are you not moved by my sorrow? Where is your fatherly heart? (verse 1)

The music is in the cantional style, with an unusual intensity of dissonance and the phrases fractured by frequent rests. This particular pamphlet does not indicate whether the piece was performed publicly. By contrast a song such as *Schmerzliche Trauerklage* (1626), on the death of his daughter Johanna-Elisabethlein, bears the inscription 'set to be sung at her funeral' ('Bey dessen Leichenbegengnis zu singen verordnet'). In these raw and heartfelt pieces, Schein showed no concern for social display; instead he was perhaps seeking consolation by fashioning his grief into verse and music.

PURPOSES OF PRINTED PAMPHLETS

Why were occasional pamphlets printed? In answering this question it is necessary to consider the status of the pamphlets in the book trade. Although they were printed, they were not published. They were for private circulation rather than commercial sale. Very few pamphlets bore the name of a publisher and only a handful ever appeared in the book-fair catalogues that advertised the latest retail stock. Printers regarded the pamphlets as *accidentia*, commissions that were incidental to their main task of making books for the retail trade.⁴⁹

There is no evidence that the pamphlets were used by the performers at the actual occasion. I have already suggested that some of the small-scale funerary songs were not performed publicly. As for pieces whose performance is described on the title page of the pamphlet, manuscript parts would have been more convenient for the singers and instrumentalists. With sumptuous motets such as *Lamentatio ecclesiae*, the printed parts were insufficient for performance and needed to be augmented with manuscript copies for the capella. In other cases it can be proven that the pamphlet was printed after the performance. *Leichenpredigten* were usually produced several months after the funeral. On 9 October 1619 Schein performed a cantional song at the burial of Nikolaus Selnecker, but the printed version appeared only the following year.⁵⁰ An even greater delay occurred with Sebastian Knüpfer's motet 'Erforsche mich Gott', performed on 14 May 1673 at the funeral of Johanna Lorentz von Adlershelm but reaching print only the next year as an appendix to the *Leichenpredigt*.⁵¹

⁴⁹ S. Rose, 'Music-Printing in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War', *MLA Notes*, 61 (2004), in press.

⁵⁰ P. Leyser, *Leichpredigt aus den 71. Psalm . . . Bey Christlicher Sepultur . . . Nicolai Selneckers* (Leipzig, 1620).

⁵¹ *Bay unvermuthetem Hintritt . . . der Johannen Lorentzin von Adlershelm* (Leipzig, 1674). Modern edition in *Threnodiae sacrae: Beerdigungskompositionen aus gedruckten Leichenpredigten*, ed. W. Reich, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 79 (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 46–54. The motet also survives in a handwritten score, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. Ms. Autogr. S. Knüpfer 1. Despite the shelfmark, this manuscript is unlikely to be an autograph by Knüpfer; Daniel Melamed believes it to be a later and somewhat careless copy made from the original pamphlet. Melamed discusses the source as part of his consideration of the performing material that J. S. Bach prepared of the motet. See D. R. Melamed, *J. S. Bach and the German Motet* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 189–97.

Rather than being performing material, the pamphlets were used primarily for private presentation. Typically the author or composer gave a batch of pamphlets to the dedicatee, who then sent individual copies to friends and associates. A letter survives from Schein to the town council, presenting thirty copies of *Lamentatio ecclesiae* two days after its performance.⁵² Schein probably made similar offerings to individual citizens, although the only evidence is by analogy. In the 1660s, for instance, Sigmund von Birken presented pamphlets of occasional verse to citizens and nobles in and around Nuremberg, in batches ranging between twenty-two and 150 copies.⁵³ Sometimes, too, a nobleman's library contained large stocks of an occasional pamphlet dedicated to him, presumably as the residue of a gift of copies. In 1582 Leonhard Lechner wrote a motet as homage to Joachim Ernst of Anhalt; in 1920, the archive of the ducal household still held sixteen pristine, unused copies.⁵⁴

The presentation of single copies of pamphlets can be traced via the handwritten inscriptions on surviving copies. Several of the Festschriften for Leipzig weddings bear dedicatory inscriptions to members of the local elite, including Johannes Höpner (then archdeacon at the Thomaskirche) and Lorentz Sebalduß (a pastor working at Kalbe, near Magdeburg).⁵⁵ Annika Ström has likewise traced the distribution of pamphlets in Uppsala via the handwritten dedicatory inscriptions on surviving examples.⁵⁶ There were social reasons to send pamphlets off as gratis presentations: because an occasional offering enhanced the status of both author and recipient, they would want the pamphlet to be brought to the attention of all their peers. Even Schein's heartfelt songs for his dead children seem to have been distributed among the elite of Leipzig. The sole surviving copy of *Schmerzliche Trawerklage* (1626), in memory of his daughter Johanna-Elisabeth, bears a dedication, possibly in Schein's

⁵² Letter of 11 May 1629. Stadtarchiv Leipzig, Akten zur Thomasschule Stift VIII Bd 2a, fols. 231–2 (modern foliation).

⁵³ *Die Tagebücher des Sigmund von Birken*, ed. J. Kröll, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1971–4), i, pp. 391, 394.

⁵⁴ T. W. Werner, 'Die im Herzoglichen Hausarchiv zu Zerbst aufgefundenen Musikalien aus der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 2 (1920), pp. 681–724, at p. 692; *Leonhard Lechner Werke* (Kassel, 1954–98), xiv, ed. U. Martin, pp. 76–8.

⁵⁵ *On Gaudia votiva* (Leipzig, 1625), British Library, C.107.e.22.(23). Identified by D. Paisey, 'Some Occasional Aspects of Johann Hermann Schein', *British Library Journal*, 1 (1972), pp. 171–80, at p. 180 n. 3.

⁵⁶ Ström, *Lachrymae Catharinae*, p. 41.

hand, to 'Herrn Johan Zwickern, Rectoren zu S. Georgij Hospital'.⁵⁷ The hospital was a poorhouse run by the council outside the city's walls; its rector was a mid-ranking figure among the city's clerics and teachers. Perhaps by circulating his songs, Schein could share his grief and thus find solace.

It seems to have been preferable that occasional music was printed rather than retained in manuscript. Although there is evidence from outside Leipzig of occasional pieces that were presented in manuscript,⁵⁸ print carried several advantages. First, it allowed the easy reproduction of copies for circulation among friends and associates. Secondly, printed pamphlets had by convention a lengthy title page, where the recipient's status could be described in detail. Furthermore, print itself carried an aura of permanence and of preserving a text for posterity; such an aura increased the flattery of having one's name enshrined in a poem.⁵⁹

The significance of print for occasional pamphlets is indicated by its persistent survival in the late seventeenth century when other genres of vocal music had reverted to manuscript. By the 1670s the repertoires of modern church concertos had become localised and were often specific to a particular institution or choir. Many of the pieces written for the Thomaskirche were too difficult to be performed elsewhere; in any case, a self-respecting cantor of the period would want to use his own music rather than someone else's. With this narrowing in the dissemination of vocal music, there was no commercial reason to have it printed. Sebastian Knüpfer, who was Thomas-Kantor between 1657 and 1676, published a book of student songs in 1663 but otherwise did not have any of his church music printed – apart from seven occasional compositions. Similarly Johann Schelle, cantor from 1677 to 1701, did not have any of his church music printed apart from four funeral motets that appeared in *Leichenpredigten*.⁶⁰ The association between occasional music and print lasted even until the days of Johann Sebastian Bach. Of all Bach's extant cantatas, the only one to be printed during his lifetime was *Gott ist mein König* (BWV 71), a piece honouring the installation

⁵⁷ Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków, Mus. Ant. Pract. S501.

⁵⁸ e.g. Lechner's motet *Saxoniae princeps* (1585) for Elector August of Saxony. Presentation autograph at Sächsische Hauptstaatsarchiv, Dresden, Loc. 8307.

⁵⁹ Rose, 'Music, Print and Authority', i, p. 31.

⁶⁰ e.g. *Leichen-Spruch, Schuldiges Denck- und Grab-Mahl* and *Den wahren Weg zum Leben* (all from 1684).

of the Mühlhausen council on 4 February 1708. The council paid for the printing of this ‘congratulatory church motet’ (‘Glückwünschende Kirchen *Motetto*’), recognising the continuing power of print to celebrate and commemorate an event.⁶¹

Although many pamphlets were used as tokens to be presented, it would be wrong to interpret them all in this way. A salutary indication of the varying uses and audiences of the pamphlets may be suggested by the contrasting print-runs of *accidentia* listed in the 1694 accounts of the Leipzig printer Immanuel Tietze:⁶²

Disputation	350 copies
Disputation	300 copies
Disputation	10 copies
Funeral sermon	125 copies
Funeral sermon	200 copies
Funeral sermon	400 copies
Verse	325 copies
Verse	200 copies
Verse	600 copies

Some of Tietze’s print-runs were as short as ten copies, reminiscent of the small batches of verse or music presented by Schein and von Birken in the examples already discussed. By contrast, the print-runs of several hundred copies may indicate pamphlets that were used for several purposes besides presentation. Gerd-Rüdiger Koretzki has observed that the print-runs of occasional pamphlets often increased towards the end of the seventeenth century as their dissemination widened to encompass readers outside the circle of the dedicatee.⁶³ In the case of music, funerary offerings are the best examples of pamphlets that found several uses. Funerary music served a social function – in particular the deceased’s desire to be commemorated posthumously in a manner appropriate to his or her rank – but it also had a devotional significance. It consoled the bereaved and

⁶¹ See facsimile of title page and summary of council’s payments in H. T. David, A. Mendel and C. Wolff (eds.), *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (New York, 1998), pp. 52–4.

⁶² H. Meyer, ‘Druckkosten im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert’, *Archiv für Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, 6 (1881), pp. 276–9, at pp. 277–8.

⁶³ G.-R. Koretzki, ‘Kasualdrucke: Ihre Verbreitungsformen und ihre Leser’, in D. Frost and G. Knoll (eds.), *Gelegenheitsdichtung: Referate der Arbeitsgruppe 6 auf dem Kongreß des Internationalen Arbeitskreises für Deutsche Barockliteratur Wolfenbüttel, 1976* (Bremen, 1977), pp. 37–68.

appealed beyond the immediate occasion to believers preparing for their own death or for that of relatives.

These multiple purposes were evident in funerary verse and music that appeared in several editions. It was relatively common for funerary offerings to be initially printed as independent pamphlets, and then later to be incorporated within the *Leichenpredigt* containing all the verse, speeches and music written for the event. Take the example of the funeral of Hermann Hütten on 9 February 1629. Two pamphlets seem to have been printed immediately before or after the funeral. Schein offered a bifolium bearing a cantional lied, *Himlische Ehrenkron*.⁶⁴ Adam Olearius, a student, presented an eight-page quarto pamphlet with a verse *Dialogus* between Hütten's soul and the lamenting relations left on earth.⁶⁵ The title pages of both pamphlets speak of offering consolation to the bereaved children, suggesting that Schein and Olearius gave them as independent initiatives shortly after Hütten's death.

Schein's song and Olearius's *Dialogus* were also printed in the quarto booklet that contains Polycarp Leyser's funeral sermon and threnodies by many Leipzigers.⁶⁶ Although Schein's piece was unaltered, Olearius's poem appeared with revisions to improve its scansion. John Roger Paas suggests that the changes may represent Olearius's response to the comments of readers of the first edition, or perhaps that his poetic technique had advanced by the time that the *Leichenpredigt* was prepared.⁶⁷ Whatever, the appearance of the song and dialogue in a new format suggests that they had found a new purpose. Rather than being an immediate response to Hütten's death, the *Leichenpredigt* was a later enterprise offering a paper memorial to him and providing devotional reading for others. The delay in issuing the booklet was entirely typical: as already mentioned, some *Leichenpredigten* were printed up to a year after the funeral.

⁶⁴ J. H. Schein, *Himlische Ehren-Kron* (Leipzig, 1629). The sole copy is in Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Kraków, Mus. Ant. Pract. S540.

⁶⁵ A. Olearius, *Dialogus oder Gespraech der seligen Vaters-Seelen mit den Kindern, des . . . Herman Huettens . . . welcher Anno 1629. den 6. Februarii . . . verschieden* (Leipzig, 1629). Ratsschulbibliothek Zwickau, 6.6.32.(26).

⁶⁶ P. Leyser, *Leichpredigt aus den Worten S. Pauli . . . Beym Begräbnis des . . . Herrn Herman Hütten* (Leipzig, 1629). Olearius's dialogue is at sig. F2^r-F4^v; Schein's piece at sig.)?^{1r}-)?^{4v}.

⁶⁷ J. R. Paas, 'The Process of Poetic Assimilation as Revealed in the Earliest Known German Alexandrines by Adam Olearius', in J. Hardin et al. (eds.), *Der Buchstab todt – der Geist macht lebendig: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Hans-Gert Roloff* (Bern, 1992), pp. 761–74.

The time taken to produce the *Leichenpredigten* partly reflected their length and complexity: they were veritable books, containing long sequences of epitaphs and devotional poetry alongside the sermon itself. But the delays also suggest that the *Leichenpredigten* were not used for presentation and social positioning at the event; rather, they were read in the rich devotional culture that surrounded death. Many Lutherans had a small library of *Leichenpredigten* to which they turned for consolation when bereaved.⁶⁸ The sermons gave particular succour to those in sickness or distress: as an ordinance from Halle explained, ‘there are powerful and effective sermons for when God strikes us down, and these go to the heart more than any other’.⁶⁹ Alongside such devotional uses, *Leichenpredigten* could be consulted for biographical information. Polycarp Leyser’s sermon for Theodor Möstel, for instance, referred to the 1584 sermon for Möstel’s father as a source of information about the family’s lineage.⁷⁰ Lutherans planning their own funeral would doubtless scan through pamphlets in their library for inspiration, as too might poets who were seeking samples of verse to emulate. Some *Leichenpredigten*, such as Leyser’s sermon for Theodor Möstel, even appeared in the book-fair catalogues of titles for commercial distribution.⁷¹

FURTHER USES

Occasional music was particularly likely to find new uses after the event. Many of Schein’s pieces received further performances outside Leipzig. His pamphlets were known to cantors in many neighbouring towns such as Grimma, Naumburg, Waldenburg, Zeitz and Zwickau. Often these cantors had been educated at Leipzig and retained links with the city’s elite, enabling them to obtain presentation copies. Nikolaus Gengenbach, who had studied

⁶⁸ C. N. Moore, ‘The Quest for Consolation and Amusement: Reading Habits of German Women in the Seventeenth Century’, in L. Tatlock (ed.), *The Graph of Sex and the German Text: Gendered Culture in Early Modern Germany 1500–1700*, Chloe, 19 (Atlanta, 1994), pp. 247–68.

⁶⁹ ‘es sind ja kreffte und wirkliche predigten, wann uns gott heimsucht, die mehr denn andere zu herzen gehen’. *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, ed. Sehling, Bd. 1, Abt. i, Hälfte 2 (Leipzig, 1904), p. 442.

⁷⁰ Leyser, *LeichPredigt aus den Worten des 31. Psalms*, sig. Di^r.

⁷¹ *Catalogus Universalis / Verzeichniß aller Bücher so zu Franckfurt in der Herbstmeß / und Leipzigerischen Michaelsmarkt dieses jetzigen 1626. Jahres entweder gantz new oder verbessert* (Leipzig, 1626), sig. Fiii^r. The sermon is listed in the appendix of books available at the Leipzig fair but not at Frankfurt.

at the Thomasschule under Calvisius, was appointed in 1618 as cantor at Zeitz, a town twenty-five miles south-west of Leipzig. He must have cultivated close contacts with the Leipzig elite, for he was familiar with many of the latest occasional pieces and cited several in his singing primer, *Musica nova* (1626).⁷² He quoted a phrase from a Latin-texted concerto by Schein, *Applausus musicus*, printed in 1624 for the installation of the new university rector (p. 50). He included an extract from *Allegrezza spirituale*, written by Schein for the Reformation Centenary in 1617 (p. 62). And he also cited phrases from pieces by Schein that are otherwise unknown and almost certainly represent occasional music that is now lost ('Heilig ist Gott' and 'Preise, Jerusalem, preise', pp. 49–50).⁷³

Similar contacts took Schein's occasional music to Pirna and Naumburg. At Pirna the church library contained copies of occasional pieces such as Schein's *Symbolon*, originally printed for Theodor Möstel's funeral in 1626; the cantor, Johann Hermann Richter, noted that he had 'brought concertos from Leipzig by Schein and other authors' ('so ich von Leipzig gebracht . . . andere Concerten *J. H. Scheins* et aliorum authorum').⁷⁴ Meanwhile in Naumburg, the cantor at the Wenzelkirche from 1634 was Andreas Unger, who as we have seen had previously been the most junior teacher at the Thomasschule in Leipzig and had written occasional pieces while there. Through his links with Leipzig, Unger accumulated one of the largest known collections of the occasional music from the city. On his death in 1657, his personal library contained thirty-three printed occasional pieces by Schein. He also owned numerous occasional pamphlets by Schein's colleagues and successors, including Georg Engelmann, Samuel Michael and Tobias Michael.⁷⁵

Unger did not merely collect occasional pieces; he also seems to have performed several in Naumburg. The post-mortem inventory of his musical estate listed 'Capellen' for some of the large-scale

⁷² N. Gengenbach, *Musica nova, neue Singekunst* (Leipzig, 1626). Page references for Gengenbach's musical examples are given in the text.

⁷³ E. Möller, 'Die *Musica nova* (1626) der Zeitzer Kantors Nicolaus Gengenbach als Schützquelle', *Beiträge zur musikalischen Quellenforschung*, 3 (1994), pp. 58–64.

⁷⁴ W. Nagel, 'Die Kantoreigesellschaft in Pirna', *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, 28 (1896), pp. 148–166, at p. 160.

⁷⁵ A. Werner, 'Die alte Musikbibliothek und die Instrumentensammlung an St Wenzel in Naumburg a. d. S.', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 8 (1926), pp. 390–415, at pp. 403–14.

pieces – in other words, manuscript parts for extra performers. Schein's *Lobet den Herren*, for instance, had a set of clarini parts, presumably copied for use in performance.⁷⁶ More extensive copying of Schein's polychoral psalms occurred in Breslau (now Wrocław). Scribal copies of seven pieces survive in the collections of the Breslau churches, now held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (see Table 1). It is likely that these copies were made directly from the pamphlets, for three of the pieces survived in parallel printed and manuscript sources in Breslau until the Second World War. A sure sign that the copies were intended for performance is that two of them (*Singet dem Herrn, Ich freue mich*) include extra parts for capella reinforcements. Barbara Wiermann has shown that three of the copies (*Freuet euch; Ich freue mich; Herr Gott, dich loben wir*) belonged to the collection of Michael Büttner, who was cantor of the Maria-Magdalena Kirche between 1634 and 1662.⁷⁷ The church was a centre for the city's tradition of large-scale polychoral and concerted music. Evidently the pieces originally written for weddings and civic ceremonies in Leipzig were finding new uses in Breslau.

The strongest evidence for the versatility of Schein's occasional pieces is that he reworked many of them in his published partbook collections. In his book of spiritual madrigals, *Israelisbrünlein* (1623), he said that he included pieces that had already 'been composed and performed for various occasions' ('*componirt, unnd bey fürfallenden occasionen musiciret*'). None of the pieces in *Israelisbrünlein* survives in an earlier occasional version. However, about half of the villanellas in the three volumes of his *Musica boscareccia* (1621, 1626–7) are also known from bifolia for marriage celebrations. Three of the madrigals in *Diletti pastorali* (1624) survive in occasional pamphlets. And about fifty lieder in the *Cantional* (1627) were revisions of funerary pieces originally printed in *Leichenpredigten* or separately on bifolia.⁷⁸ When revising music for his published collections, Schein seldom recorded the original use or dedicatee.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 408. By the 1860s, much of Unger's collection was housed in the university library at Königsberg, where it was catalogued in great detail by J. Müller, *Die musikalischen Schätze der Königlich- und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Königsberg* (Bonn, 1870).

⁷⁷ Wiermann, 'Die Entwicklung vocal-instrumentalen Komponierens', i, pp. 417–33; ii, pp. 69–80.

⁷⁸ G. S. Johnston, 'Revision and Compositional Process in the Funerary Lieder of Johann Hermann Schein's *Cantional* (1627)', *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, 24 (2002), pp. 101–22. I am grateful to Professor Johnston for showing me a pre-publication copy of this article.

Table 1 *Breslau scribal copies of Schein's printed occasional pieces*

<i>Piece</i>	<i>Scoring</i>	<i>Printed parts and location</i>	<i>Manuscript parts (all in D B)</i>
Alleluia: Wol dem der den Herren fürchtet	8vv, bc	<i>Echo</i> (Leipzig, 1618). D LEsm	Bohn Ms. mus. 24.70
Der Herr ist mein Hirrt Freuet euch des Herren	3, 11, 18, 22vv, bc 9, 13, 18vv, bc	<i>Der 23. Psalm</i> (Leipzig, 1625). D LEsm Printed edition does not survive, but Andreas Unger had a copy in his library (1657). See Werner, 'Die alte Musikbibliothek', p. 412	Bohn Ms. mus. 200b Bohn Ms. mus. 200b
Herr Gott, dich loben wir	24vv, bc	<i>Te Deum</i> (Leipzig, 1618). PL WRu	Bohn Ms. mus. 200d. With added capella parts Also incomplete intabulation, Bohn Ms. mus. 47.1
Ich freue mich des, das mir geredt	14, 26vv, bc	<i>Votum nuptiale</i> (Leipzig, 1622). Now lost. Copy formerly held in Breslau: see Prüfer, <i>Johan Herman Schein</i> , p. 59	Bohn Ms. mus. 200e Also intabulation, Bohn Ms. mus. 20.244
Siehe also wird gesegnet	8vv, bc	<i>Lacrum verae pietatis</i> (Leipzig, 1618). Now lost. Copy formerly held in Breslau: see Bohn, <i>Bibliographie</i> , p. 380	Bohn Ms. mus. 24.68
Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied	8vv, bc	<i>Allegrèza spirituale</i> (Leipzig, 1617). D DI	Bohn Ms. mus. 200g with added capella parts

Library sigla:

D B, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

D DI, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden.

For 19th-century catalogues of the Breslau collections, see E. Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700 welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Academischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und der Königl. und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden* (Berlin, 1883), and id., *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau* (Breslau, 1890).

The only exception occurs in the *Cantional*, where he made every effort to single out the funerary songs he had written for his own family. He included headings describing the original dedicatees, and he preserved the original five-voice scoring to contrast with the four-voice writing that is prevalent in the *Cantional*.⁷⁹ Otherwise the occasional pieces were stripped of information about their context, and were presented in as neutral a form as possible to appeal to all the potential purchasers of a commercial edition.

Thus much of Schein's output originated as occasional compositions. Many pieces were doubtless commissioned by proud citizens eager to flaunt their status. Others served to advance Schein in his dealings with his patrons or to strengthen his bonds with colleagues. Some were offered as acts of friendship, to congratulate newly-weds or console the bereaved. And yet despite being so embedded in the fabric of Leipzig life, these occasional pieces later found entirely new uses. In part such reuse exemplified the ability of readers to find new meanings in printed material: as Roger Chartier has written, 'reading is a creative practice, which invents singular meanings and significations that are not reducible to the intentions of the authors of the text'.⁸⁰ But vocal music was particularly susceptible to being reused. Whereas erudite verse might include word games that were relevant solely to the occasion, songs rarely bore such semantic specificity. If a song text alluded to the name of the recipient, it often did so via an acrostic that was independent of the surface meaning of the words. As for the music, if it was of sufficient quality it could survive with different words or even be played instrumentally. Schein's productivity as a composer can in large measure be explained by the social necessity of offering poetry and music to Leipzigers; but the pieces that he 'hastily completed' for such occasions would later form the basis of his considerable reputation as a composer in seventeenth-century Germany.

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⁷⁹ Johnston, '“Der Schein trägt”', pp. 100–1.

⁸⁰ R. Chartier, 'Texts, Printings, Readings', in L. Hunt (ed.), *New Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 154–75, at p. 156.