

**Music and Confession in Heidelberg, 1556–
1618**

Matthew Alan Laube

Royal Holloway, University of London

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my supervisor, Stephen Rose, for his constant encouragement and critical eye over the course of many drafts. In the UK, Christian Leitmeir, Howard Hotson, Helen Deeming, Iain Fenlon, Katharine Ellis, Paul Harper-Scott and Robin Leaver all provided helpful information and feedback on my work. Joachim Kremer, Peter Wollny and Eike Wolgast provided valuable support and assistance with archives and sources during my time in Germany.

I wish also to thank the staff of libraries and archives in the UK and Europe: the British Library, Cambridge University Library, the Bodleian Library, the Library of St John's College, Oxford, National Library of Scotland, Glasgow University Library, Aberdeen University Library, the Universitätsbibliothek and Universitätsarchiv Heidelberg, Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Geheimes Hausarchiv and Bayerisches Staatsarchiv München, Staatsbibliothek Berlin, Theologisches Seminar Herborn, Bibliotheca Bipontina Zweibrücken, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Bach-Archiv Leipzig, Uppsala University Library and Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.

For their help with tricky German and Latin translation, thanks go to Annika Forkert, Peter Sjökvist and Mattias Lundberg. Fellow post-graduate students Ester Lebedinski, Clare Brady and Harriette Peel proofread and provided feedback through the entire process. Lastly, my greatest measure of gratitude goes to my wife, Elizabeth, who has been proud since day one.

Declaration of Authorship

I, Matthew Laube, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Abstract

As the boundaries between the Lutheran and Calvinist confessions hardened towards the end of the sixteenth century, music became a prominent symbol of confessional difference. In German-speaking lands, Lutheran churches often had organs whereas Calvinist worship did not; Lutherans detested the Genevan psalm tunes that were essential to Calvinist identity. This thesis examines the close relationship of music and religion in the city of Heidelberg in the turbulent period between its first fervent Lutheran reforms (1556) and the start of the Thirty Years' War (1618). By Electoral decree, Heidelberg and its churches violently oscillated four times between Lutheran and Reformed (Calvinist) confessions between 1556 and 1618. Although each change caused confessional tension throughout the city, Heidelberg's musical spheres showed continuities as much as discontinuities both within learned circles and on the popular level.

Examining the theory of confessionalisation in relation to music, my thesis challenges the theory's central premise that, in the process of building unified states and using social discipline to enhance secular power, 'the three great confessions—Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism—developed into internally coherent and externally exclusive communities distinct in institutions, membership and belief' (Heinz Schilling, 1995). Case-studies examine the hymn repertory in Heidelberg, the role of music in confessionalised education, the uses of music books, and music in court ceremony. Combining hitherto unknown archival material and numerous printed sources with methods of cultural history, gender theory and theory of ritual, my thesis revises previous views about Calvinist musical culture, shows the extensive overlapping of Calvinist and Lutheran musical cultures, and explores the relationship of confessionalised music to pre-Reformation religious and political networks.

Table of Contents

List of Tables	6
List of Figures	7
Abbreviations	11
Editorial Note	13
 1. Introduction: Music, Religion and Society in Heidelberg, 1556–1618	 14
City Profile	20
Musicians, Musical Spaces and Urban Networks	30
Confessionalisation as Historical Methodology	50
A New Vision: Confessionalisation, Performative Ritual and Identity Formation	54
 2. Hymns, Hymnbooks and Religious Ritual	 65
Liturgical Ritual and Church Orders	66
Hymns and Hymnbooks in Heidelberg, 1556–1575	77
Genevan Repertory: Psalters of Melissus (1572) and Lobwasser (1574–1620)	92
Conclusion	106
 3. Music, Education and Discipline	 109
Court Education	115
Latin and German Schools	129
University Students, Music and Anti-Social Behaviour	143
Latin Culture and Confessionalised Education	154
Conclusion	166
 4. Music Books, Social Networks and Gift Rituals	 168
Printed Music, Book History and Gift Rituals	169
Collections: Music Libraries in Heidelberg	175
Inscriptions: Private Gifts of Music Books	193
Dedications: Printed Music and Public Gifts	207
Presentations: Manuscripts and the Private Presentation of Music	213

Conclusion	224
5. Court, Ceremony and Confession	226
Society, Confession and Court Music	227
Court Wedding Festivities and Urban Topography	233
Confession and Princely Funeral Processions	250
Music, Gender and Intra-Court Politics	258
Conclusion	264
Conclusion	266
Bibliography	271
Appendices	
A: Transcription of 1610 Contrafactum Text, GHA, MS 10, Palat. Misc.	302
B: Heidelberg Court Musicians, 1556–1618	304
C: Table of Heidelberg Lutheran and Calvinist Liturgies, 1546–1618	309
D: Table of Hymnbooks Printed in Heidelberg and Neustadt, 1567–1620	314
E: Table of Hymns Contained in Heidelberg Hymnbooks (Including Comparison with Hymn Contents of Bapst, Bonn and Hemmel Hymnbooks)	321
F: Inventory of Books Purchased at Frankfurt Book Fair for the Bibliotheca Palatina, 1568–1580	334
G: List of Presentation Manuscripts in Cod.Pal.Lat.1878, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana	337

List of Tables

Table 1.1: Dynastic succession of Wittelsbach Electors Palatine, 1544–1623	22
Table 1.2: Structure of Legal Jurisdictions in Heidelberg	27
Table 1.3: Structure of Ecclesiastical Authority in Heidelberg	29
Table 1.4: Reproduction of Oskar Söhngen’s Table of ‘Various Forms of Musical Practice in Worship Services’, from <i>Theologie der Musik</i> (1967)	56
Table 2.1: Liturgical Calendars in Heidelberg, 1556–1618	73
Table 2.2: Number of Hymn Texts in 1561 Bonn Hymnbook and Heidelberg Hymnbooks, 1567–1575	87
Table 2.3: Comparison of text settings of Psalm 23 by Meusel and Melissus	97
Table 2.4: Heidelberg Editions of Lobwasser’s <i>Psalmen, des Königlichen Propheten Davids</i>	98
Table 2.5: Comparison of Psalm 23 by Meusel, Melissus and Lobwasser	99
Table 3.1: Educational Plans from the Palatine Court	115
Table 3.2: <i>Bibliotheca privata Friderici Comitum Palatini</i> , Cod.Pal.Lat.1917 and 1918	121
Table 3.3: <i>Inventarium rerum relictarum a Principe Christoforo Palatin</i> (1574), Cod.Pal.Germ.835	124
Table 3.4: Metres Used by Joachim Christian and Concordances of Melodies, Cod.Pal.Lat.1738	164
Table 4.1: Inventory of books belonging to Louisa Juliane, GHA 1989, folio numbers unknown	176
Table 4.2: Inventory of music books belonging to Friedrich IV (1610), Cod.Pal.Germ.809	181
Table 4.3: Music books in the Bibliotheca Palatina (listed in Cod.Pal.Lat. 1938) according to their appearance at the Frankfurt Book Fair	191
Table 4.4: Printed Music with Dedications to Electors Palatine (Excluding	

Hymnbooks)	208
Table 4.5: Text and Translation of <i>Sydere qui patrias</i>	217
Table 5.1: Known Wedding and Baptism Festivities Held in Heidelberg, 1556–1618	236
Table 5.2: Extant Archival Sources of Princely Funeral Processions in Heidelberg	250

List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Verse 1 of ‘Churfürst Friedrich, Pfaltzgraf bey Rhein, ist tod’, <i>GHA MS 10, Palat. Misc.</i>	14
Figure 1.2: Matthäus Merian, <i>Große Stadtansicht von Heidelberg</i> (1620), Läuwer Gass area	40
Figure 1.3: Parish map of Heidelberg	44
Figure 2.1: Page One of ‘Kurtze Anzeig...’ from <i>Psalter und Psalmen Davids</i> (DKL 1619 ⁰⁴)	76
Figure 2.2: Liturgical Calendar from <i>Gesangbüchlein Geistlicher Psalmen</i> (Bonn, 1561)	82
Figure 2.3: Title Pages of 1567, 1569 and 1575 Hymnbooks	85
Figure 2.4: Moveable Type of 1567 Hymnbook versus Woodblock of 1569 Hymnbook	86
Figure 2.5: Title Page of Paul Melissus’s <i>Di Psalmen Davids</i> (Schirat: Heidelberg, 1572)	94
Figure 2.6: Anagram of Elector Friedrich’s sons: Ludovicus, Kasimirus and Christoph, Paul Melissus’s <i>Di Psalmen Davids</i> (1572)	96
Figure 2.7: Heading and Page One of the ‘Common Psalter’ (<i>Gemeine Psalter</i>), DKL 1611 ⁰⁸	101
Figure 3.1: ‘Aus tiefer Not’ from Prayerbook of Elizabeth of Saxony (c. 1570), Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, Cod.Pal.Germ. 458, 26 ^v	117

Figure 3.2: Title Page of <i>Noctes Musicae</i> (Heidelberg/Leipzig: Vögelin, 1598)	150
Figure 3.3: <i>Album Amicorum</i> of Tübingen Student Johann Michael Weckherlin (c.1600), Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod.hist.oct.218, 264 ^r	151
Figure 3.4: Title Page of Volume One of <i>Flores Musicae</i> (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1600)	152
Figure 3.5: <i>Album Amicorum</i> of Achatius von Dohna (1550)	153
Figure 3.6: Title Page of Spethe's <i>Psalmorum Davidis</i> (Frankfurt?, 1596)	158
Figure 3.7: Title Page of <i>In Christianae religionis synopsis</i> , Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat.Lat.1738	160
Figure 3.8: Text of Question 1, <i>In Christianae religionis synopsis</i> , p. 7	162
Figure 3.9: Concordance with Tune for Question 1, <i>In Christianae religionis synopsis</i> , pp 58–61	163
Figure 4.1: The 'Communications Circuit', from Robert Darnton's <i>The Kiss of Lamourette</i> (1990)	173
Figure 4.2: Paul Melissus, <i>Di Psalmen Davids</i> (Heidelberg: Schirat, 1572), copy owned by Count Christoph, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Bibliotheca Palatina, F3181/F3182	194
Figure 4.3: Paul Melissus, <i>Di Psalmen Davids</i> (Heidelberg: Schirat, 1572), copy presented by Ludwig VI, National Library of Scotland, Cwn.247	195
Figure 4.4: <i>Psalmen und Geistliche Lieder</i> (Heidelberg: Mayer, 1567), copy owned by Johann Casimir, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Bibliotheca Palatina G404/G405	197
Figure 4.5: <i>Psalmen Davids, Sampt etlichen andern Psalmen vnd Geistlichen Liedern</i> (Amberg: Forster, 1596), signatures of Ludovicus Philippus (above) and Johann I (below), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Bibliotheca Palatina G294/G295	200
Figure 4.6: Hans Holbein, <i>The Ambassadors</i> (1533), National Gallery, London, 2.07m x 2.10m	202

Figure 4.7: <i>Psalmen Davids</i> (Amberg: Forster, 1596), ‘Jesus Christus, unser Seligkeit’, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Bibliotheca Palatina, G294/G295	203
Figure 4.8: Heading of ‘Herr Jesu Christ, wahr’ Mensch und Gott’, Cod.Pal.Germ.734, 82 ^r	204
Figure 4.9: Autograph of Anna von Solms-Lich, Cod.Pal.Germ.734, 84 ^v	205
Figure 4.10: Bernhard Amenreich’s ‘Herr nach deinem Willen’, presented to Friedrich III, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod.Pal.Lat.1878, 174 ^r	216
Figure 4.11: Opening Motif of Christian Hollander’s <i>Sydere qui patrias</i>	218
Figure 4.12: Dedication to Friedrich III by Christian Hollander, Cod.Pal.Lat.1878, 185 ^r –189 ^f	220
Figure 4.13: Dedication Page of Nikolas Rosthius’s <i>Et ait Joab</i> , Cod.Pal.Lat.1878, 190 ^r	221
Figure 4.14: Text Setting of ‘Vir Fortis’ in Rosthius’s <i>Et ait Joab</i>	222
Figure 4.15: Text Setting of ‘Pugnemus pro populo’ in Rosthius’s <i>Et ait Joab</i>	223
Figure 5.1: Copperplate by Matthäus Merian, <i>Große Stadtansicht von Heidelberg</i> (1620), Heidelberg castle and Hauptstrasse	234
Figure 5.2: Copperplate by Ulrich Kraus, <i>Heidelberger Schloss, Innenhof mit Springbrunnen</i> (1683)	234
Figure 5.3: Copperplate by Matthäus Merian, <i>Große Stadtansicht von Heidelberg</i> (1620), Friedrichsbau from city perspective	235
Figure 5.4: Copperplate by Matthäus Merian, <i>Große Stadtansicht von Heidelberg</i> (1620), Englischerbau from city perspective	235
Figure 5.5: Tobias Hübner, <i>Beschreibung der Reiss</i> (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), Ceremonial Gate of the Philosophy Faculty	240
Figure 5.6: Tobias Hübner, <i>Beschreibung der Reiss</i> (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), Ceremonial Gate of the Medical Faculty	241
Figure 5.7: Tobias Hübner, <i>Beschreibung der Reiss</i> (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), Ceremonial Gate of the Law Faculty	243

Figure 5.8: Tobias Hübner, <i>Beschreibung der Reiss</i> (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), Ceremonial Gate of the Theology Faculty	244
Figure 5.9: Tobias Hübner, <i>Beschreibung der Reiss</i> (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), Fireworks Display in the Neckar Valley	248
Figure 5.10: Bell Towers of Heidelberg and Funeral Procession Route	252
Figure 5.11: Funeral Procession of Landgraf Moritz of Hesse-Kassel of 1632, as depicted in <i>Monumentum sepulcrale</i> (Frankfurt am Main, 1638)	254
Figure 5.12: Markus zum Lamm, <i>Thesaurus Pictuarum</i> (1564–1606), Dorothea's Funeral Carriage Arriving in Heidelberg in 1580, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt, Hs. 1971	255

Abbreviations

<i>ADB</i>	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i>
<i>DKL</i>	<i>Répertoire international des sources musicales</i> , series B/VIII/1, <i>Das Deutsche Kirchenlied: Verzeichnis der Drucke von den Anfängen bis 1800</i> , ed. Konrad Ameln, Markus Jenny and Walther Lipphardt (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975).
<i>Ewv 1588</i>	A. Mays and K. Christ, 'Einwohnerverzeichnis der Stadt Heidelberg vom Jahr 1588', <i>Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der rheinischen Pfalz</i> I (1890).
<i>Ewv 1600</i>	A. Mays and K. Christ, 'Einwohnerverzeichnis des 4. Quartiers der Stadt vom 1600', <i>Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der rheinischen Pfalz</i> II (1893).
<i>GHA</i>	Geheimes Hausarchiv, Munich
<i>GLAK</i>	General-Landesarchiv Karlsruhe
<i>MGP XIX</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica</i> , vol. XIX, <i>Geschichte der Erziehung der pfälzischen Wittelsbacher</i> , ed. Friedrich Schmidt (Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1899).
<i>QuF</i>	Gerhard Pietzsch, <i>Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Musik am Kurpfälzischen Hof zu Heidelberg bis 1622</i> (Mainz: F. Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1963).
<i>Protocollum</i>	<i>Protocollum Contubernii: Visitation und Rechnungsprüfung von 1568 bis 1615</i> , ed. Gerhard Merkel (Heidelberg: Springer, 2001).
<i>Statuten</i>	<i>Statuten und Reformationen der Universität Heidelberg vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert</i> , ed. August Thorbecke (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1891).
<i>Sehling XIV</i>	Ed. Emil Sehling, <i>Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts</i> , vol. XIV, <i>Kurpfalz</i> (Mohr: Tübingen, 1969).
<i>Stein I</i>	Fritz Stein, <i>Geschichte des Musikwesens in Heidelberg bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts</i> , vol. 1 (Heidelberg: Koester, 1921).
<i>Stein II</i>	Fritz Stein, <i>Geschichte des Musikwesens in Heidelberg bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts</i> , vol. 2 (Heidelberg: Koester, 1921).

<i>UBH</i>	Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg
<i>Urkundenbuch I</i>	<i>Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg</i> , vol. 1, ed. Eduard Winkelmann (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1886).
<i>Urkundenbuch II</i>	<i>Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg</i> , vol. 2, ed. Eduard Winkelmann (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1886).
<i>Wackernagel</i>	Philipp Wackernagel, ed., <i>Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts</i> , 5 vols. (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1864–1877).
<i>Zahn</i>	Johannes Zahn, ed., <i>Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder</i> , 6 vols. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1889–93; reprinted Hildesheim: Olms, 1963).

Editorial Note

All dates are in Old Style. When quoting from primary sources, original spelling has been maintained. All translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. Musical transcriptions are my own. Original note values have been preserved, but bar lines have been added editorially. Names have been transcribed in their German original, unless an accepted English form exists (e.g. Frederick the Wise, rather the Friedrich der Weise).

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: MUSIC, RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN HEIDELBERG, 1556–1618

In September 1610, the Calvinist Elector of the Rhenish Palatinate, Friedrich IV, died at his princely residence in Heidelberg. Friedrich IV's court preacher and former tutor, Bartholomeus Pitiscus (1561–1613), copied into a journal several vernacular songs that were circulating the news of the Elector's death. Sung to the Genevan tune of Psalm 39 (*im Thon des 39. Psalms im Lobwasser*) and notated in Figure 1.1, one anonymous author wrote:

Elector Friedrich, Count of Rhenish Palatine, is dead,
Of that the Papal mob rejoices;
Do you not understand, you blind German land,
What, to the great joy and happiness of the Papists,
Will become of the bright city of Christianity?¹

Figure 1.1: Verse 1 of ‘Churfürst Friedrich, Pfaltzgraf bey Rhein, ist tod’, *GHA MS 10, Palat. Misc.*, unpaginated

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

This contrafactum is an example of how song was a powerful tool for Protestants battling against the threat of Catholic takeover. Indeed, vernacular song had served such anti-Catholic purposes since the start of Heidelberg's Reformation, when in 1546 a

¹ *GHA MS 10, Palat. Misc.*, unpaginated.

group of men stormed into the Heiliggeistkirche and disrupted the celebration of the Mass by singing the archetypally Lutheran hymn, ‘Es ist das Heil uns kommen her’.²

Yet ‘Churfürst Friedrich, Pfaltzgraf bey Rhein, ist tod’ also captured a profound anxiety felt in Calvinist Heidelberg over the ability of Protestantism to stand against the Counter-Reformation, as the Habsburg dynasty and its militant religio-political alliance (the Catholic League) gained strength throughout German-speaking lands after 1600. The open embrace of Calvinism by an Elector Palatine was at once significant and problematic. The Elector Palatine was one of the four lay members of the imperial College of Electors; and he occupied, in theory, the second highest secular seat of power in the Holy Roman Empire, making him one of the most visible princes in Europe. However, the Peace of Augsburg (1555)—which granted rulers the right to choose the religious confession of their territories according to the dictum ‘whose territory, his religion’ (*cuius regio, eius religio*)—provided imperial legal protection only to Lutherans and Catholics, not to Calvinists.³ Without the guarantee of strong political alliances with Lutheran rulers, the Elector Palatine (and numerous territorial princes who followed the Palatinate’s lead in adopting Calvinism after 1563) thus openly ran the risk of provoking military action and forfeiting imperial protection for himself and his territory.

To be sure, Friedrich IV had forged such political unions. By 1608, the Palatinate led the Protestant Union (*Protestantische Union*), a major alliance of Lutheran and Calvinist cities and territories united in opposition to Catholic Habsburg powers emanating primarily from Spain and Vienna, but also more locally from Catholic centres in Munich and Augsburg and Archbishoprics in Worms, Cologne and Speyer. The last verse of the 1610 contrafactum fittingly acknowledged the role of the Protestant Union for guaranteeing the survival of not only the Palatinate but the German nation as a whole: ‘Next to God, the German nation can persist through the [Protestant] Union (*Bund*)’ (*Durch den bund kan, nechst Gott, Teutschland bestehen*). (For a transcription of the entire contrafactum text, see Appendix A.)

If the text of the contrafactum described political anxiety and cross-confessional alliance, then the tune also acted as a powerful symbol of Heidelberg’s Calvinism and its links with other Calvinist areas. Rooted in Reformed church practices in Strasbourg,

² Johann Heinrich Alting, ‘Historia Ecclesiae Palatinae’, in *Monumenta Pietatis et Literaria Virorum in Re Publica et Literaria Illustrium Selecta*, ed. Ludwig Christian Mieg (Frankfurt am Main: Johannem Maximilianum a Sande, 1701), 157.

³ Steven Ozment, *The Age of Reform 1250–1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 259.

Genevan metrical psalm tunes had been in use among French Calvinists from the 1540s. By 1562, a full French psalter (containing all 150 psalms) had been created, featuring the poetry of Clement Marot and Theodor Bèze and tunes by Louis Bourgeois and Claude Goudimel. With distinctive dance-like metres described by the Lutheran Saxon court preacher Polycarp Leyser as ‘sounding lovely to worldly ears’ (*für den Weltlüsternden Ohren lieblich klingende Melodeyen*)⁴, Genevan tunes became a symbol of Calvinism irrespective of the text. With German translations by Ambrosius Lobwasser (1515–1585), Genevan tunes had been the preferred psalm repertory for Heidelberg’s Calvinist churches since the first printing of Lobwasser’s psalter there in 1574, only one year after its first publication in Leipzig. In territories which took a bi-confessional stance or saw well-organised Lutheran resistance to Calvinist reforms from above—such as Electoral Saxony around 1590 and Brandenburg after 1607—the singing of Genevan psalm tunes carried recognisably Calvinist overtones and sparked violent confrontations between Lutherans and Calvinists.⁵

Through its original text of Psalm 39, the Genevan tune created an intertextual layer for popular audiences on the streets or in taverns, linking Friedrich IV with King David’s meditation on the fleeting nature of life. As Psalm 39:4 reads, ‘Lord, let me know my end, and what is the measure of my days; let me know how fleeting my life is’.⁶ While other princely courts allegorised their leaders in mythological terms—Henri II of France and his queen Catherine di Medici were seen as Dieu and Juno, for instance—Palatine rulers saw their contemporary political and religious landscape through the lens of biblical allegory. In 1569 Friedrich III petitioned his sons, Johann Casimir and Ludwig VI, to model themselves on the Old Testament figure of Josiah, and ‘do away with godlessness’ (*die Abgötterei abschaffen*) and restore correct worship of God.⁷ To the surprise of French ambassadors in 1583, Johann Casimir, the regent for Friedrich IV, saw himself as the biblical Joshua leading the people of God to the

⁴ Preface by Polycarp Leyser to Cornelius Becker, *Der Psalter Davids Gesangweis* (Leipzig, 1602); see also Stephen Rose, “‘Haus Kirchen Cantorei’: Lutheran Domestic Devotional Music in the Age of Confessionalisation”, in *Musik in neuzeitlichen Konfessionskulturen (16.–19. Jahrhundert): Räume—Medien—Funktionen*, eds Norbert Haag, Michael Fischer and Gabriele Haug-Moritz (Ostfilden: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2014), 103–22.

⁵ For Electoral Saxony, see Fynes Moryson’s account in *Shakespeare’s Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson’s Itinerary, Being a Survey of the Condition of Europe at the End of the 16th Century*, ed. Charles Hughes (London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1903). In Brandenburg, after 1607 the Elector allowed both Lutheran and Calvinist confessions. See Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People, Confession: the Second Reformation in Brandenburg* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

⁶ Psalm 39:4. Quoted from *The Holy Bible*, New Revised Standard Version. Lobwasser’s translation of Psalm 39: 4 reads thus: ‘Herr Gott zeig mir das end meins lebens an/ Wie lang ich doch das haben kan/ Zeig mir die tag/ de mir seynd abgezelt/ Zu leben die auff dieser Welt’.

⁷ *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen, Kurfürsten von der Pfalz*, ed. A. Kluckhohn, vol. 1 (Braunschweig: C.A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1868), 513.

Promised Land; as a committed Calvinist, he responded to their diplomatic manoeuvres by invoking the Holy Spirit and citing passages from the Old Testament.⁸ Friedrich III's great-grandson, Elector Friedrich V, who led the Palatinate into the Bohemian conflict that sparked the Thirty Years' War, continued in the role of Josiah while also seeing himself as King David in his rule over the entirety of God's people.⁹

The contrafactum also captures perceptions of Heidelberg's predominance over other ostensibly more powerful cities on the highly fragmented confessional landscape. The 'bright city of Christianity' (*helle Stadt der Christenheit*), Heidelberg was a city of great political, religious and educational significance in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, its influence extending far beyond its borders. Since the 1560s Heidelberg had been a religious centre of international Calvinism, and after 1608 it was the centre of the Protestant Union. The university in Heidelberg drew Protestant (especially Calvinist) students from across western, central and eastern Europe, not only because of its well-known professors but also because of its status as a medieval university—an unusual feature for Reformed educational institutions, which had sprung up largely in the last quarter of the sixteenth century.

As the Elector Palatine was a latter-day King David leading the people of God, he then needed to rule in the figural centre of Christendom: Jerusalem. In a sermon celebrating the centenary of the German Reformation, delivered on the eve of the Thirty Years' War in November 1617, the Heidelberg court preacher Abraham Scultetus made this connection explicit in a congregational call and response reading of Psalm 48.¹⁰ Scultetus first read aloud: 'Yes, our God, as we have heard, we have seen it in the city of God, on his holy hill (i.e. Zion)' (*Ja/unser Gott/wie wirs gehöret haben/so sehen wirs/in der stadt Gottes/auff seinem heiligen berge*). The congregation then responded: 'Yes, our God, as we have heard, we have seen it in the city of Heidelberg, on the Zion of the Palatine Jerusalem' (*Ja/unser Gott/wie wir gehört haben/so sehen wirs/in der stadt Heydelberg/auff dem Sion des Pfälzischen Jerusalems*).¹¹ Here Scultetus invoked the same association of the Elector Palatine with King David, and introduces the

⁸ Claus-Peter Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History, 1555–1618* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1966), 43.

⁹ Graeme Murdock, 'The Importance of Being Josiah: An Image of Calvinist Identity', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998): 1043–1059; and *Caricatures of the 'Winter King' of Bohemia*, ed. and trans. Elmer A. Beller (London: Oxford University Press and H. Milford, 1928), plate 1.

¹⁰ For more on the Reformation centenary in 1617, see Hans-Jörg Schönstadt, *Antichrist, Weltheilgeschehen und Gottes Werkzeug: Römische Kirche, Reformation und Luther im Spiegel des Reformationsjubiläums 1617* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978).

¹¹ *Evangelische Jubeljahrs Predigt: Zu Heidelberg den 2. Novembris anno 1617 in der kirchen zum H. Geist gehalten, durch Abraham Scultetum* (Heidelberg: Johann Lancellot, 1617), 2.

Heidelberg Castle as Mount Zion, standing figuratively and physically on a hill high above Heidelberg.

To be sure, the reception of such claims was not unanimously positive. Nor were they unchallenged, even from within the city, as the chequered religious history of Heidelberg illustrates. The Palatinate became fully Lutheran in 1556 with the accession of Elector Ottheinrich. Guided by his councillors, Ottheinrich abolished the nominal Lutheran reforms of his predecessor, Friedrich II, in favour of thorough-going Lutheran reform modelled on the neighbouring territory of Württemberg. Ottheinrich's untimely death in 1559 meant that his vision for Lutheran reform was halted. Ottheinrich's successor, Friedrich III, continued the Lutheran reforms instituted in 1556 before converting himself and the Palatinate to Calvinism in 1563. Under Friedrich III, Heidelberg became the first Calvinist territory in the Empire and a bastion of Calvinism throughout Europe. But after the death of Friedrich III in 1576, his son Ludwig VI fervently re-instituted Lutheranism in the territory during his short reign between 1576 and 1583, expelling Calvinists from the Palatinate. Ludwig VI's Lutheran reforms were quickly reversed by his brother Johann Casimir in 1583. As regent to Friedrich IV, Casimir invited Calvinists back to the Palatinate and re-instituted the church orders developed in 1563 under Friedrich III. Heidelberg remained Calvinist until 1622, when French troops overran the territory after Friedrich V fatefully accepted the Crown in Bohemia and drove the Empire into the throes of the Thirty Years' War. With four official changes of confession between 1556 and 1618—five including those begun by Friedrich II in 1546—the Palatinate experienced more religious shifts than other German territories in this period.

This thesis constitutes the first study of music and confession in Heidelberg in the turbulent period between its first fervent Lutheran reforms (1556) and the start of the Thirty Years' War (1618). Recent musicological and historical studies have begun to address how early modern music and musicians operated in light of changing social, cultural and regulatory structures, as Protestant and Catholic churches sought to co-exist. Alexander Fisher has examined music in the bi-confessional city of Augsburg; more recently, he has discussed music's role in shaping the confessional stronghold of Catholic Bavaria.¹² Christopher Boyd Brown has similarly contended that music ensured the success of Lutheranism in the Bohemian town of Joachimsthal.¹³ These

¹² Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscape of Counter-Reformation Bavaria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹³ Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Reformation: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

studies, discussed in detail below, expose how music could help create distinctive religious identities, and how through music one sees the boundaries between confessional groups hardening increasingly as the sixteenth century faded into history.

This thesis resembles these previous studies, in its methodological aims and its use of archival and printed sources. Yet as a case study, Heidelberg enables study of issues not previously addressed. Unlike Augsburg, Bavarian cities and towns, or Joachimsthal, Heidelberg boasted three institutions responsible for the production, patronage and performance of music in the late medieval and early modern world: a princely court, a university and four well-supplied and established churches. Neither Augsburg nor Joachimsthal had a princely court or a university. Moreover, although previous musicological studies have investigated the establishment and development of Lutheran and Catholic musical cultures, none have examined Calvinism. Paradoxically, Lutherans throughout the empire tended to disagree more vehemently with Calvinists than with Catholics. In the 1590s, Polycarp Leyser (1522–1610) even concluded that it was ‘better [to be] papist than Calvinist’.¹⁴

This study is therefore well positioned to examine the intersection of music and confessional antagonism, and also the musical priorities of educational, political and ecclesiastical institutions on the dawn of the Baroque period. Until recently, musicologists have paid very little attention to Calvinism, perhaps seeing Calvin’s famous restrictions on liturgical music—which saw unison song without instruments as the only appropriate music for liturgy, with sacred part song intended for use in homes and schools—as out of step with a history of music centring on composers’ lives and canonical works. Not surprisingly, Calvinists and Calvinist music have therefore often attracted qualitative labels such as ‘narrow’, ‘austere’ and ‘uncultivated’.¹⁵ Even recent scholarship on Calvinist music has shown considerable conservativeness for adopting new musicological trends—focussing still on psalm-singing, on understanding a

¹⁴ Polykarp Leyser, *Eine wichtige und in diesen gefährlichen Zeiten sehr nützliche Frage* (Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg und Caspar Kloseman, 1620). For a discussion of this, see Bridget Heal, “‘Better Papist than Calvinist’: Art and Identity in Later Lutheran Germany”, *German History* 29 (2011): 584–609.

¹⁵ Robin Leaver, ‘The Reformation and Music’, in *European Music: 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 389; Allan Atlas, *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600* (New York and London: Norton, 1998), 520; Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 1, *Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 754–755.

specific composers' oeuvre within a strict Calvinist culture, and on the cultivation of instrumental music among amateurs.¹⁶

This thesis challenges such observations and trends. Adopting methodological approaches from cultural and social history, gender studies, book history and ritual studies, this study examines Calvinist musical production in a number of innovative ways. It explores in a sustained manner Calvinism practised outside of Francophone areas and after the death of John Calvin in 1564, featuring a fresh treatment of extant and heretofore undiscussed archival and printed sources of music-making typically absent in other Calvinist areas.

Fundamentally, this study challenges previous historical and musicological research that (intentionally or unintentionally) has treated religious confession as the primary regulator of musical experience in sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century German lands. As this study of Heidelberg will reveal, the production, circulation and reception of music was profoundly affected by an individual's social station, level of education and even location of residence within the city itself—not just to which confessional group he or she belonged.

The following introductory chapter presents a cityscape of Heidelberg and thereafter maps its music-makers and musical spaces through surviving archival records. The chapter concludes by outlining a new vision for understanding the complex and dynamic relationship between music, confessional identity and the confessionalisation process that will be employed in the four remaining chapters of the thesis.

I. City Profile

As previously stated, the presence of an Electoral court, a university and the ecclesiastical centre of the Palatine churches (and later Calvinism Europe-wide) made Heidelberg unique among early modern cities: after 1550 no other city in German lands was home simultaneously to these three powerful early modern institutions, respectively representing the pinnacle of political, educational and religious authority.¹⁷ This unique

¹⁶ Daniel Trocmé-Latter, 'The Psalms as a Mark of Protestantism: The Introduction of Liturgical Psalm-Singing in Geneva', *Plain-song and Medieval Music* 20 (2011): 149–167; and Richard Freedman, *The Chansons of Orlando Di Lasso and their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety and Print in Sixteenth-Century France* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001); Ross J. Miller, 'John Calvin and the Reformation of Church Music in the 16th Century' (PhD diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1971); Kristine Forney, 'The Netherlands, 1520–1640', in *European Music: 1520–1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006), 246–279.

¹⁷ Prague also boasted an electoral court, a university and ecclesiastical centre, yet Bohemia fell culturally and linguistically outside German areas. In Saxony, Frederick the Wise founded the university in

status as major centre (with its imperial and continental reach) contrasts with the city's small population and compact physical size. The city of Heidelberg in the sixteenth century thus generated multiple, sometimes contradictory experiences. On one extreme was an ostensibly provincial city with low levels of trade and strong local traditions among its residents. On the other extreme, Heidelberg drew countless foreign visitors as the seat of a powerful Elector within the Holy Roman Empire. English Traveller Thomas Coryat noted that Heidelberg was often referred to as 'noble city' (*Adelberg*) because of 'the nobility, the elegancy, and sweetnesse of the situation thereof'.¹⁸

Part of the House of Wittelsbach, the Elector Palatine was a member of the Imperial College of Electors. Equalling seven members in total, the College of Electors in the late sixteenth century consisted of four lay members (the King of Bohemia, Duke of Saxony, Count of the Palatinate and Margrave of Brandenburg) and three spiritual ones (the Archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Trier). Within the electorate, the Elector Palatine held a privileged position above other secular electors. The 1356 Papal Bull, the so-called 'Golden Bull' which established the seven electors, stated that the Elector Palatine should sit at the right hand of the Emperor, behind the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz, at any gathering over which the Emperor presided. The remaining electors, by contrast, sat at the Emperor's left hand, traditionally the weaker seat of power harking back to Jesus' privileged seat at the right hand of God.¹⁹ Furthermore, the Golden Bull gave the Elector Palatine the sole right to judge the Emperor and to govern the Holy Roman Empire in his absence, or more commonly during regency.²⁰ Electoral status carried with it rights and privileges which created significant distinctions from non-electing territorial rulers. Palatine princes thus received semi-regal powers in the form of 'rights of coinage, of levying custom duties, of mining and of the protection of the Jews'.²¹

Wittenberg in 1502, also the residence city of the Duke of Saxony, but the residence city changed when it moved to Dresden in 1548, leaving the university in Wittenberg. The university in Leipzig was also a Saxon university, not however in the princely residence city. In Electoral Brandenburg, the first university was founded in 1506 in Frankfurt (Oder), whereas the residence city was Berlin.

¹⁸ Thomas Coryate, *Coryat's Crudities*, vol. 2 (London: s.n., 1776), 337.

¹⁹ See Mark 16:19: 'So then the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was taken up into heaven and sat down at the right hand of God'.

²⁰ Ernest F. Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1896), 220–262. Also noted by Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities*, 359.

²¹ Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 28. Despite this, Electors Palatine expelled Jews from the Palatinate from 1390 until the late seventeenth century. See Franz-Josef Ziwes, 'Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Heidelberg', in *Geschichte der Juden in Heidelberg*, ed. Peter Blum (Heidelberg: Guderjahn, 1996), 36–41.

Table 1.1: Dynastic succession of Wittelsbach Electors Palatine, 1544–1623²²

Year of Rule	Ruler
	<i>Ancient succession right (Ältere Kurlinie)</i>
1544–1556 <i>Quasi-Lutheran</i>	Elector Friedrich II, 1482–1556 (∞1535, Dorothea von Dänemark und Norwegen, 1520–1580) *No children
	<i>House of Pfalz-Neuburg</i>
1556–1559 <i>Lutheran</i>	Elector Ottheinrich, 1502–1559 (∞1529, Susanne of Bavaria, 1502–1543) *No children
	<i>House of Pfalz-Simmern</i>
1559–1576 <i>Lutheran</i> (1559–1563) <i>Calvinist</i> (1563–1576)	Elector Friedrich III, 1515–1576 (∞1537, Marie von Brandenburg-Kulmbach, 1519–1567) *Eight children survived childhood, including Ludwig VI, Johann Casimir and Christoph. (∞1569, Amalia von Neuenahr-Alpen, 1539–1602)
1576–1583 <i>Lutheran</i>	Elector Ludwig VI, 1539–1583 (∞1560, Elisabeth von Hessen, 1539–1582) *Five children survived childhood, including Anna Maria, Friedrich IV, Katharina and Christine. (∞1583, Anna von Ostfriesland, 1562–1621)
1583–1592 <i>Calvinist</i>	Administrator Johann Casimir, 1543–1592 (∞1570, Elisabeth von Sachsen, 1552–1590)
1592–1610 <i>Calvinist</i>	Elector Friedrich IV, 1574–1610 (∞1593, Louisa Juliane von Oranien-Nassau, 1576–1644) *Five children survived childhood, including Louisa Juliane, Katharina Sophie, Friedrich V, Elisabeth Charlotte and Ludwig Philipp.
1610–1623 <i>Calvinist</i>	Elector Friedrich V, 1596–1632 (∞1613, Elisabeth Stuart, 1596–1662) *Ten children survived childhood.

The geographic location of the Palatine Wittelsbachs enabled them to play a prominent role in Imperial matters, especially compared to their Bavarian counterparts. Of the territories involved in the anti-Catholic movements which precipitated the Thirty Years’

²² Adapted from the dynastic tree in Armin Kohnle, *Kleine Geschichte der Kurpfalz* (Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 2008), 202 and 204.

War, the Palatinate was best situated geographically and politically to mount a strategic attack on the Habsburg claim to the throne of Bohemia. Indeed, Palatine Calvinists facilitated communication between discontent Bohemians and militant Protestants in Germany, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland. As Joachim Whaley has observed, Amberg in the Upper Palatinate (under the rule of Christian of Anhalt) and Heidelberg in the Lower Palatinate formed a natural 'axis of opposition to Habsburg rule...almost straight through the centre of Germany'.²³

Rivers connected the Palatinate with the ecclesiastical electorates of the Empire. Heidelberg lies on the River Neckar, regarded in the sixteenth century as the third major river in German lands behind the Rhine and the Danube.²⁴ From Heidelberg the Neckar via the River Rhine provided direct access to Mainz and Cologne. The River Mosel (a tributary of the Rhine intersecting at the city of Koblenz) was also easily reachable from Heidelberg, giving access to Trier, as well as the Free Imperial city of Metz for the imperial diets held there.²⁵

The prominence of Heidelberg on the imperial stage can also be attributed to its university. Initially called the *Hohe Schule*, the university in Heidelberg educated boys destined for careers as Palatine officials; additionally, it educated leading figures from other dynastic lines and intellectuals from around Europe more generally. The product of imperial privilege and the 'Great Schism' of 1377, which witnessed the papacy moving to Avignon and dividing the Western Christian church, the university in Heidelberg was founded to educate German students who because of their loyalty to Rome could no longer study at the University of Paris under the headship of the Avignon Papacy. Along with universities in Prague (1348), Vienna (1365), Erfurt (1379) and Cologne (1388), the university in Heidelberg (1386) was one of only five medieval universities in German-speaking areas founded in the fourteenth century. That three of these five universities were in residence cities of the Holy Roman electorate underlines the close connection of educational and political pursuits, in addition to allowing incumbent political leaders to oversee the education of future generations.

Since the fifteenth century, the university was particularly renowned for its humanist scholars. Thomas Coryat recorded that the university 'hath partly bred, and partly entertained many singular men of rare learning that...haue bene so excellent and

²³ Joachim Whaley, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, vol. 1, *Maximilian I to the Peace of Westphalia, 1493–1648* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 453.

²⁴ Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities*, 338.

²⁵ Metz hosted the Imperial Diet of 1356, where the Golden Bull was developed which conferred electoral status on the Palatinate.

learned writers that they haue gotten themselues such a celebrity of name, as will neuer be extinguished while the fabricke of the world do last'.²⁶ Coryat was doubtlessly referring to such leading humanists as Rodolphus Agricola (1444–1485) and Jakob Wimpfeling (1450–1528), each resident in Heidelberg at different stages of their careers. He could also have had in mind Conrad Celtes (1459–1508), perhaps the most notable and widely influential of Heidelberg's intellectual offspring. Often called the 'archhumanist', Celtes was educated under Agricola in Heidelberg, and throughout his life was integral in developing a literary infrastructure for the Reich.²⁷ It was the humanist society *Sodalitas litteraria Rhenana*, founded by Celtes with electoral patronage of Elector Philipp the Upright (1448–1508) that sealed Heidelberg's reputation as a humanist centre, uniting humanist movements in Mainz, Worms, Nuremberg, Augsburg and Ingolstadt.

Perhaps because of humanism, Heidelberg played an integral part in the formation of Protestantism. Philipp Melanchthon entered this world at Heidelberg between 1509 and 1514 for his university studies. Martin Luther also journeyed to Heidelberg in 1518 to present his new theology.²⁸ Present in Heidelberg during Luther's visit was the Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer (from 1515 to 1521), who would eventually not only lead the reforming efforts of the Free Imperial city of Strasbourg, but also leave his mark on Anglican reformed churches by assisting with writing the Book of Common Prayer (1549) as Regius Professor in Cambridge.²⁹ Later, Heidelberg's university would further lead the vanguard of learning by creating the first university chair of Arabic history and philology in 1605.³⁰

To militant Protestants of the mid to late sixteenth century, Heidelberg's university was not only instrumental to the practical training of ministers but also a guarantor of rigour and depth in an ever-developing educational world. Influential theological academies (or seminaries) and *gymnasia illustrata* sprang up throughout German and French-speaking areas—such as those in Geneva, Herborn, Hanau, Sedan, Bremen, Danzig and Zerbst. But the university in Heidelberg was the first and only Calvinist educational institution which was a full medieval university with separate

²⁶ Thomas Coryat, *Coryat's Crudities*, 364 and 368.

²⁷ Joachim Whaley, *German and the Holy Roman Empire*, vol. 1, 111–112.

²⁸ Heiko Oberman, *Luther: Man between God and the Devil* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 223; Gerhard O. Forde, *On Being a Theologian of the Cross: Reflections on Luther's Heidelberg Disputation, 1518* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997).

²⁹ For a discussion of Bucer's time in Heidelberg, see Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times*, trans. Stephen E. Buckwalter (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 21–47.

³⁰ Claus-Peter Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History*, 37.

faculties of theology, arts, philosophy and medicine.³¹ The reputation of Heidelberg as a medieval university was a factor in attracting those professors expelled from the Saxon University of Wittenberg in the 1590s, when the Duke of Saxony expelled intellectuals like Bartholomäus Keckermann (c.1572–1609) and Clemens Timpler (1563–1624), who did not fervently adhere to orthodox Lutheranism.³²

Despite playing a visible role in the landscape of sixteenth-century politics, education and religion throughout the empire, Heidelberg was a small city. Between the late fifteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, census records indicate that Heidelberg's population averaged roughly 6,200 inhabitants, around 500 to 600 of which were students.³³ Its population size made Heidelberg an unusually small city not only to host a princely residence and a university, but also to act as the territorial capital.³⁴ Cities with both universities and residences such as Cologne (20,000), Vienna (50,000) and Prague (70,000) were considerably larger than Heidelberg.³⁵ Non-residential university cities also outnumbered Heidelberg in total population: Leipzig (15,000) and Freiburg im Breisgau (10,000). The trend continues closer to Heidelberg in southwest Germany: Stuttgart, the residence city of Württemberg, numbered 9,000, and Tübingen averaged over 5,000 between 1470 and 1700.³⁶ Although Heidelberg was larger than some cities boasting a princely residence or university (Wittenberg 3,000; Dresden 4,000; or Altdorf 1,000),³⁷ cities of comparable size to Heidelberg such as Freiberg in Saxony and Ravensburg (southwest Germany) played comparatively minor roles in imperial affairs.³⁸

Despite its fame, the university in Heidelberg was itself always a modest enterprise, enrolling a comparatively small number of students and employed few

³¹ Karin Maag, *Seminary or University?: the Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560–1620* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995).

³² Joseph S. Freedman, 'The Career and Writings of Bartholomew Keckermann (d.1609)', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141/3 (1997): 305–364.

³³ *Ewv* 1588, 14.

³⁴ Reproduced in *Ewv* 1588 and *Ewv* 1600. For population, see *Ewv* 1588, 5–17.

³⁵ Étienne François, 'The German Urban Network between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Cultural and Demographic Indicators', in *Urbanization in History: A Process of Dynamic Interactions*, ed. Ad van der Woude, et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 85.

³⁶ Karl Pfaff, *Geschichte der Stadt Stuttgart nach Archival-Urkunden und andern bewährten Quellen*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart: Sonnewald, 1845), 89. Although the nearby university city of Tübingen had only 3,800 residents around 1600, the city had experienced a dramatic drop in population at the start of the sixteenth century due to the plague. Population numbers in 1470 numbered over 5,000. See also Wolfram Hauer, *Lokale Schulentwicklung und städtische Lebenswelt: das Schulwesen in Tübingen von seinen Anfängen im Spätmittelalter bis 1806* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003), 30.

³⁷ Wolfgang Mährle, *Academia Norica: Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf, 1575–1623* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000), 62.

³⁸ Josef Kulischer, *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, vol. 2/1 (München: Oldenbourg, 1988), 169.

professors compared to other medieval universities.³⁹ Despite a period of quick growth with 190 students enrolling by 1390, the student population remained below 1,000 until late in the seventeenth century. By comparison, 700 students enrolled at the founding of the university in Cologne in 1388; and the university in Vienna boasted 1,000 students by 1500, within one hundred years of existence.⁴⁰

Heidelberg's population, in addition to being small, was constantly changing. After the institution of Lutheranism in 1556, Heidelberg became the *Beamtenstadt* ('bureaucratic city') of the Palatinate, as the court henceforth oversaw both civic and ecclesiastical matters; new administrative posts were created and filled primarily by lawyers who now resided in Heidelberg.⁴¹ The city's population also changed with the inflow of foreigners, both short term visitors and permanent residents. From the 1560s Palatine foreign policy—developed by Elector Friedrich III—provided a safe haven for persecuted Protestants from the Low Countries, France and Germany, discussed in more detail below. Of Heidelberg's 6,200 inhabitants between the 1560s and 1610s, in short, approximately ten per cent were associated with the university—as students or professors—with another four per cent (roughly 250) comprising foreign refugees. Thus, the permanent, German-speaking population native to Heidelberg can be seen as closer to 5,400.

Despite cultural interchange more typical of large cities with ports and high levels of trade such as Hamburg, Rostock and other *Hansestädte*, Heidelberg was a city of small scale which relied upon—rather than reshaped—the trade activities and structures of civic authority developed of the late Middle Ages.⁴² Heidelberg was situated between two major trade routes. The first began in Genoa and Milan, proceeding up the Rhine through Basel, Strasbourg and Cologne to Antwerp, while the second was a convergence of two different routes: the western branch originated in Ferrara and moved through Verona, Augsburg and Nuremberg before reaching Frankfurt and Cologne; the eastern branch began in Venice, Trieste and Salzburg, subsequently converging with the western branch in Augsburg.⁴³ The Rhine via the Neckar also provided easy access to leading cities and courts in the Low Countries, the

³⁹ Eike Wolgast, *Die Universität Heidelberg, 1386–1986* (Berlin: Springer, 1986), 3.

⁴⁰ Erich Meuthen, *Kölner Universitätsgeschichte*, vol. 1, *Die alte Universität* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1988), 5; Karl Jordak, *Die Universität Wien, 1365–1965* (Vienna: Bergland, 1965), 80.

⁴¹ Andreas Cser, *Kleine Geschichte der Stadt und Universität Heidelberg* (Karlsruhe: Braun, 2007), 54.

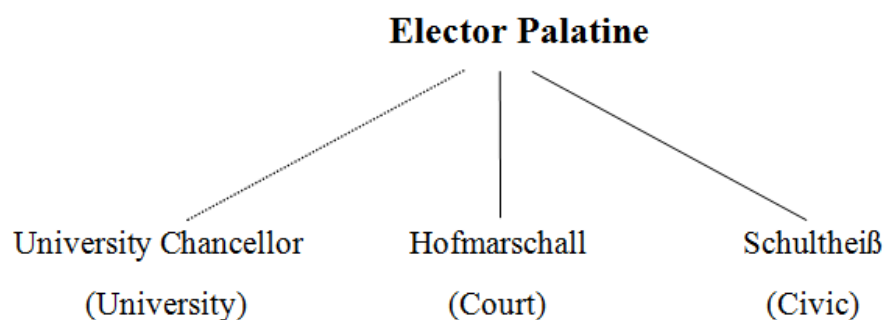
⁴² For a discussion of the circulation of music in trade and port cities, see Arne Spohr, 'How chances it they travel?' *Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland 1579–1630* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009); Bjarke Moe, 'Musikkulturel trafik i København og Rostock: Musikerrekruttering og repertoirefornyelse i første halvdel af 1600-tallet' (PhD diss., København Universitet, 2010).

⁴³ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century: The Perspective of the World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 144.

Hansestädte of northern Germany, as well as cities south of Heidelberg such as Strasbourg, Basel and Konstanz. Rivers connected Heidelberg with other Calvinist centres in the Low Countries and with Protestant cities along the Rhine from Strasbourg to Basel, providing an easy transportation route for the large numbers of refugees who sought safe haven in the Palatinate.

Compared to other cities in the empire, Heidelberg had a weak civic government. Free Imperial cities, as well as cities with weaker ties to direct princely oversight, were commonly run by city councils (*Stadtrat*), headed by a *Bürgermeister* ('mayor'). Councils in German Free and Imperial cities in the sixteenth century often saw themselves no longer as the confraternity of all burghers—as in the fifteenth century—but as the embodiment of divine authority whose task it was to govern all burghers under their charge.⁴⁴ Heidelberg, on the other hand, had no *Bürgermeister* in such a sense, although the term is found in contemporary documents; instead, the term was used for the *Schultheiss* ('bailiff' or 'sheriff'), who was appointed by the Elector Palatine and acted as an electoral liaison for city residents under power structures similar to that of medieval cities. The Schultheiss led the city council of Heidelberg which consisted not of elected burghers but of the elector's *Amtleute* ('officials') from the court and chancery.

Table 1.2: Structure of Legal Jurisdictions in Heidelberg



Residents of Heidelberg fell under one of three legal jurisdictions: the Schultheiss, the university chancellor or the Hofmarschall, shown in Table 1.2.⁴⁵ Although the Elector retained supreme authority in the city, those under university jurisdiction fell under their

⁴⁴ Joachim Eibach, 'Burghers or Town Council: Who Was Responsible for Urban Stability in Early Modern German towns?', *Urban History* 34 (2007): 21.

⁴⁵ Marco Neumeier, 'The Epitome of a *Residenzstadt*: Heidelberg at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century', in *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, ed. Sara Smart and Mara E. Wade (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 435.

own legally autonomous courts governed by the university senate. Throughout the late Middle Ages until the start of the Thirty Years' War, all aspects of church and state authority nonetheless either were known by, or fell in some way under the unofficial purview, of the Elector.⁴⁶ The Elector, however, hardly governed Heidelberg and the Palatinate alone, but was aided by several advisory councils. The highest such council was the *Oberrat*. After 1556, the *Oberrat* directed both domestic and foreign policy under the Elector Palatine. Elsewhere called the *Hofrat* or *Geheimer Rat* (the latter was preferred in Calvinist Brandenburg after 1608), the *Oberrat* consisted of three members of the court. The *Großhofmeister*, the most senior member of the *Oberrat* and coming from noble lineage, served as personal supervisor to the Elector in all matters of state, and spoke for the Elector in his absence.⁴⁷ The second highest position of the *Oberrat* was the *Kanzler*, who oversaw the university as well as the *Kanzlei* (the judicial and financial offices of the territory).⁴⁸ The *Hofmarschall*, the third member of the *Oberrat*, was responsible for the person of the Elector, overseeing the needs of his daily life and running the court. His close proximity to the Elector meant that the *Hofmarschall* was a close advisor to the Elector.

The *Oberrat* also oversaw the Palatine church council (*Kirchenrat*). The church council governed the church in all four quarters of the Palatinate, and enforced all religious and school reforms developed by the Elector and his *Oberrat* after 1556.⁴⁹ Additionally, all clerical positions in parishes and church administration—pastors (*Pfarrer*, *Kirchendiener*), superintendents (*Superintendenten*) and general superintendents (*General Superintendenten*)—were appointed by the church council. The church council under Ottheinrich and Ludwig VI consisted of between four and six members, in the first instance an even mixture of clergy and learned laymen. Under Friedrich III, the church council expanded to six members—three theologians and three

⁴⁶ For a detailed discussion of power structures in Heidelberg, see Volker Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat: Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz 1559–1619* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1970), 27–110.

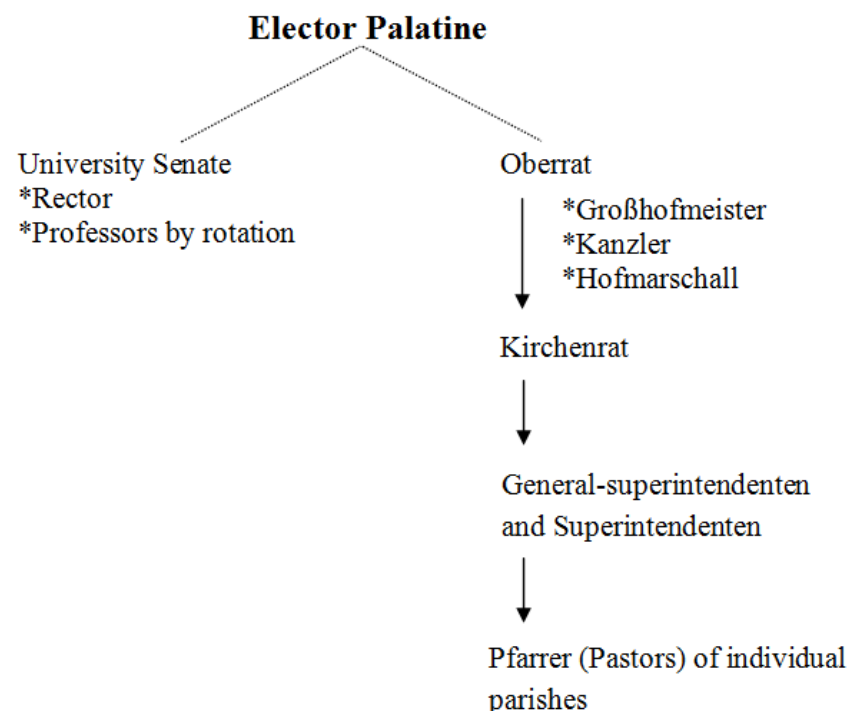
⁴⁷ After 1592 the *Großhofmeister* also oversaw the *Kirchenrat*, the ecclesiastical authority responsible for the establishment and adherence to official church polity for both Heidelberg and the Palatinate. By request of Elector Friedrich III, from 1564 to 1574 the position of *Großhofmeister* was vacant. From 1574 to 1576, as well as from 1592 to 1594, the Calvinist Graf Ludwig von Wittgenstein-Sayn served as *Großhofmeister* to Elector Friedrich III and his grandson, Friedrich IV.

⁴⁸ The *Kanzlei* was housed at the bottom of the castle in the chancery house (which was also called *Kanzlei*).

⁴⁹ Ecclesiastical visitations occurred annually in the Palatinate to ensure proper adherence to electoral decrees; superintendents visited the congregations in their parish (accompanied by a secretary from the church council and a commissioner of the Elector—*Beauftragter des Fürstens*) in the spring and submitted their findings to one of four general superintendents. The four general superintendents reviewed the visitation records in the summer and reported any pressing problems or concerns to the Elector by way of the church council.

learned laymen. Efforts were made to ensure all members of the church council were considered of equal standing and given equal voice, regardless of social class.⁵⁰ The council was led by the church council president (*Kirchenratspräsident*) who reported its activities directly to the Elector. With Friedrich III, the Lutheran office of the general superintendent was dissolved, and the superintendents reported directly to the church council.

Table 1.3: Structure of Ecclesiastical Authority in Heidelberg



This dissolution notwithstanding, the structure of church government was similar during Lutheran and Calvinist times in Heidelberg, and was crafted to incorporate Genevan Calvinist practices without losing the close electoral oversight developed by Heidelberg's early Lutherans. The archetypally-Calvinist office of elder within a congregation was introduced alongside the established office of deacon after 1564, signalling a clear move to Calvinism in Heidelberg and an alignment with Geneva. Yet, elders were not elected by individual congregations, as in Geneva, but were appointed by superintendents and confirmed by the church council. Heidelberg's Calvinist reforms thus had a different orientation than other Calvinist cities. Because its church structure

⁵⁰ Heidelberg church council was unique in not only allowing but in some cases preferring those of non-noble standing to hold such high offices in the court. See Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History*, 12–19.

remained under close supervision of the Elector, little room was left for a theologian or pastor to reform the city, as in Wittenberg, Geneva, Zurich or Strasbourg. Heidelberg's reforms were instead driven by the Elector; theologians were placed under him in the church council and university. Electors, especially Calvinist ones, sought to be connected with Heidelberg's civic, ecclesiastical and territorial authorities in a way more typical of late medieval than post-Reformation authority structure. Since Friedrich I (1425–1476), for instance, Electors frequently involved themselves in university life, often bypassing the university's own internal power structures to find solutions favourable to the Elector for persistent problems among students and professors.⁵¹

In sum, the structures of government and limited growth of trade and population of Heidelberg from the Middle Ages through the sixteenth century show it was not falling headlong into the social and economic changes which Jürgen Habermas sees as leading to the advent of modernity.⁵² The development of distinct public and private spheres was, according to Habermas, precipitated in part by the transformation of 'public' city space. He believes that, whereas public space was used by the powerful to display their power and privilege in the Middle Ages, the sixteenth century was fundamental in turning public space into a sphere of social action.⁵³ Public spaces became the locus of exchanging goods and ideas and a forum for political exchange as cities slowly weaned themselves from princely rule. Habermas's theory does not correspond well to Heidelberg between 1556 and 1618, given the Elector Palatine's close involvement with civic and educational structures and, as Chapter Five will discuss, the extensive use of public civic space for displaying his power.

II. Musicians, Musical Spaces and Urban Networks

Despite the city's small size and numerous changes of confession, music was embedded deep into the fabric of Heidelberg. It drew well-known composers, theorists and performers since the city's blossoming in the late Middle Ages. Drawing on the court chapel's established reputation, a Papal Bull from 1550 stated that Heidelberg musicians were the 'best of the entire German nation' (*in tota Germaniae natione prima*). Some of these musicians included the organist Arnold Schlick (1460–1521),

⁵¹ Henry Cohn, *The Government of the Rhine Palatinate in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 151.

⁵² Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989). For a useful evaluation of Habermas, see Dena Goodman, 'Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime', *History and Theory* 31 (1992): 1–20.

⁵³ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 27–30.

Chapel Masters Johann von Soest (1448–1506) and Lorenz Lemlin (1495–1549) and music theorist Sebastian Virdung (c.1465–before 1550), author of *Musica getutscht* (1511).⁵⁴ The court chapel via Heidelberg’s Latin school, the Neckarschule, fostered the so-called *Heidelberger Liedmeister*: Jobst vom Brandt, Georg Forster, Caspar Othmayr and Stephan Cirler. As pupils, these four students of Lorenz Lemlin sang for Catholic Mass services in the Heiliggeistkirche as well as in the court chapel. Their compositions constituted the bulk of the best-seller *Frische teutsche Liedlein*, a five-volume anthology of polyphonic fifteenth and sixteenth-century *Hofweisen* (‘Court songs’) edited by Forster and printed in Nuremberg.⁵⁵ Extremely popular, it was reprinted four times between 1539 and 1556 and was unique both in its size and scope as well as by its inclusion of full song texts, whereas earlier anthologies contained only incipits or beginnings of texts.

The musical environment of Heidelberg nevertheless exhibited many of the same diminutive features as the city itself. Just as it had few residents compared to other electoral cities, Heidelberg also had relatively low numbers of professional musicians in the court, church and city. The weak city government did not financially support a cadre of professional musicians to perform in civic functions; there was no equivalent to the *Ratsmusikanten* and *Rollmusikanten* found in Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig and Rostock.⁵⁶ None of the four parish churches of Heidelberg—the Heiliggeistkirche, the Peterskirche, the Barfüßerkirche and the Spitalkirche—employed a full-time musical staff. As with Adam Gumpelzhaimer (1559–1625) in Augsburg, for instance, church musicians in German lands could be prolific composers or publishers of music and performers of great renown. In contrast, the directors of music in Heidelberg’s churches both before and after the Reformation were primarily teachers in one of the four schools, a situation more common to small cities or rural areas.

Yet, as this section will discuss, a lack of notable or large numbers of professional musicians does not mean that music was any less powerful in defining different urban spaces, or that the activities of other types of music-makers were less meaningful and therefore less deserving of scholarly attention. Examining the

⁵⁴ For a transcription of the papal bull, see *QuF*, 72–73.

⁵⁵ RISM 1539²⁷, 1540²¹, 1549³⁷, 1556²⁸, 1556²⁹.

⁵⁶ For the activities of north German civic musicians, see Arne Spohr, ‘How chances it they travel?’, Heinrich Schwab, ‘Ratsmusik und Hausmusik—Offizielles und privates Musizieren aus der Zeit zwischen 1600 und 1800’, in *800 Jahre Musik in Lübeck. Teil II: Dokumentation zum Lübecker Musikfest 1982*, ed. Arnfried Edler, Werner Neugebauer and Heinrich Schwab (Lübeck: Senat der Hansestadt Lübeck, Amt für Kultur, Veröffentlichung XXI, 1983), 31–42; Bjarke Moe, ‘Musikkulturel trafik i København og Rostock’; Hermann Rauschning, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig* (Danzig: Kommissionsverlag der Danziger Verlags-Gesellschaft m.b.h., Paul Rosenberg, 1931), 86–112.

relationship of music and urban context has recently generated much interest in so-called ‘urban musicology’, as the ‘importance of contextualizing and historicizing not only the composition but also the production, transmission and reception of music [within urban environments] has been recognized for some time’.⁵⁷ Studies of music and urban context have commonly followed the example laid out in Reinhard Strohm’s innovative 1990 monograph on late medieval Bruges. In juxtaposing townscape and soundscape, he writes: ‘Late medieval Bruges is known to us through the stillness of pictures. Motion and sound are contained in them, but in a frozen form: reduced to an infinitely small fraction of time. Given time, the pictures would start to move, and the music would be heard’.⁵⁸ For Strohm, the now-silent music in past urban contexts was both ubiquitous and formative to its environment, and, by focussing foremost on people rather than just sources, the job of research is to free music from archival constraints.⁵⁹

Strohm’s approach was as inspiring as it was nascent. However, Tim Carter has observed how studies in urban musicology like Strohm’s are subject to the same pitfalls as ‘traditional’ musicology (to borrow a term from Joseph Kerman) by shifting scholarly focus from ‘great men, great works’ to issues such as patronage, genre, musical environment, and the problematic concept of ‘context’.⁶⁰ Like Strohm, Carter acknowledges the limitations created by a lack of archival material and by music’s temporality. But for Carter, the study of music in urban environments becomes more than just recovering lost sound; instead, he advocates a focus on musicians and the performance act to understand the networks of musicians and performance sites that underpinned the experience of sounds:

Buildings stand, paintings hang, but music dies away. Thus the (f)act of performance can signify more than what is actually performed, and the musician may have greater value than the music. But if the performance act is stronger than the musical text as a cultural identifier, and thus if what matters most in this music is more what is not in the ‘notes’ than what is, then the musicologist is left with the problem of what kinds of sources can illuminate these absent presences; it is hardly likely to be musical scores themselves.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Vanessa Harding, ‘Introduction: Music and Urban History’, *Urban History* 29 (2002): 5.

⁵⁸ Reinhard Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 1.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, vi.

⁶⁰ Tim Carter, ‘The Sound of Silence: Models for Urban Musicology’, *Urban History* 29 (2002): 8–18; Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 150.

⁶¹ Tim Carter, ‘The Sound of Silence’, 14.

Compared to ambiguous relations of music by contemporary observers mentioned above, Carter concludes that census-style records (where they survive) could reveal where musicians lived, how they trained and how flexibly they moved through musical and other spaces.⁶²

In mapping the musicians and musical spaces of Heidelberg's court, educational institutions and parish churches, the following section can be regarded as the first test of Carter's suggested directions for urban musicology, as civic census records compiled by the electoral authorities survive from the years 1588 and 1600, and remain to date still unexplored by musicologists.⁶³ When combined with other extant sources, census records indeed reveal a larger number of people making music in Heidelberg than scholars previously believed, as well as how individual musicians circulated professionally and privately through the city around them.

The Electoral Court

Before I discuss how court musicians moved through urban space, I must address current knowledge and archival problems regarding the identities and numbers of court musicians in Heidelberg. For the period after 1556, knowledge of the functions, patterns and personnel of the court's musical chapel is opaque at best. The repeated change of electoral administrations in the sixteenth century creates little continuity between ostensibly similar documents, such as payment records. The levelling of Heidelberg by French troops in 1622 as well as 1693 also contributes to a lack of extant archival documentation.

Until now, the most substantial study of music in Heidelberg was done in the 1960s by archivist and librarian Gerhard Pietzsch. Pietzsch sifted through a large number and great variety of archival and printed sources, publishing the known identities of Heidelberg court musicians and transcriptions of accounts of music-making by court musicians inside and outside the walls of the court.⁶⁴ Focussing in much more detail on the court (rather than the whole city) and presenting many new primary sources, his study was a natural extension of Fritz Stein's 1921 broad study of music in Heidelberg, *Geschichte des Musikwesens in Heidelberg bis zum Ende des 18.*

⁶² Ibid., 16–17.

⁶³ Other studies have used the concept of soundscape in urban music without referencing Carter, such as Robert Kendrick, *The Sound of Milan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Christine Getz, *Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth-Century Milan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

⁶⁴ See *QuF*.

Jahrhunderts.⁶⁵ Although my thesis relies heavily on Pietzsch's exhaustive identification of primary sources, Pietzsch made no attempt to write a history of music in the Heidelberg court, nor did he add any interpretation to his findings. What one finds in Pietzsch's study is nothing more than lists of musicians and musical events appearing in primary sources.

When studying music in the courts of early modern Europe, musicologists have typically drawn upon the plentiful documentation offered by payment records.⁶⁶ Regarding Heidelberg, Pietzsch finds that court payment records exist only from twelve of the 62 years between 1556 and 1618.⁶⁷ The average number of musicians employed by the court each year is unknown; Appendix B lists all of the musicians known to have worked either part- or full-time in the court. The 1550 Papal Bull praises twelve singers, an average number compared to other princely courts.⁶⁸ In 1577 payments were made only to trumpeters and the *Sengerey*, the latter consisting of a cantor (*Sengermeister*) and an organist. In the Lutheran interim between 1577 and 1583, at least three singers worked in the court. Sources from Heidelberg are not extant, but these singers applied in 1584 for positions in the Stuttgart court.⁶⁹ But by 1602, twelve *Musicanten* (to be differentiated from trumpeters, as discussed below) received yearly salaries in Calvinist Heidelberg; many of these were probably singers.

Using Pietzsch as a primary point of reference, however, scholars have assessed contemporary attitudes towards music in the court, as well as the activities of court musicians, on the basis of incomplete court payment records.⁷⁰ Even as recent as 2013, Klaus Winkler contended that after the death of Ottheinrich in 1559, '[t]he severe

⁶⁵ *Stein I* and *Stein II*.

⁶⁶ Juan José Carreras, 'The Court Chapel: a Musical Profile and the Historiographical Context of an Institution', in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, ed. Juan José Carreras and Bernardo García García (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 18. For a methodological discussion of court sources, see Andrew B. Wathey, 'Musicology, Archives and Historiography', in *Musicology and Archival Research*, ed. Barbara Haggh, et al. (Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 1994), 3–26.

⁶⁷ *QuF*, 51–65. Hofetat 1577 (GLAK 77/6135); *Staatseinnahmen und Ausgaben* 1594 (GLAK 77/5293); *Hoffrechnung aller Ausgaben* for the Amberg residence 1596–1598 (Staatsarchiv Amberg ORW 524); *Staatseinnahmen und Ausgaben* 1597 (GLAK 77/5296); *Pfalz Einnahmen und Ausgaben* 1599–1600 (GLAK 77/5295); *Pfalz Einnahmen und Ausgaben* 1602–1603 (GLAK 77/5292); *Hofstatus* 1608, 1611 and 1616 (HStA München, Fürstensachen nr. 1059^b).

⁶⁸ Many courts varied over time the number of singers in their employ. The Electoral court in Dresden, for instance, employed ten adult singers (three bassists, four tenors and three altists) in 1548. In 1555, by contrast, the court employed nineteen singers (four bassists, seven tenors and eight altists). Dane Heuchemer, 'Italian Musicians in Dresden in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century' (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1997), 36.

⁶⁹ Gustav Bossert, 'Die Hofkantorei unter Herzog Ludwig', *Württembergische Vierteljahrsschrift für Landesgeschichte, Neue Folge* 7 (1898): esp. 261, 262 and 283.

⁷⁰ *Stein I* and *Stein II*; Gerhard Pietzsch, *QuF*; Josef Pontius, 'Eine anonyme Kurpfälzische Orgeltabulatur' (PhD diss., Universität Saarlandes, 1960).

Calvinist teaching permitted no other music in the churches than monophonic congregational song. The Word of God was to be absolutely preeminent and should not become unintelligible through figural song. This made a choir of trained singers in the court superfluous, and the *Sengerey* was dissolved'.⁷¹ Other scholars have picked up on such a mis-reading. Linda Maria Koldau has made similar spurious connections between religion and the activities in the Heidelberg court in her study of gender and music in the early modern period.⁷² Andrew L. Thomas has written that 'a broad range of music was heartily favoured at the Heidelberg court until Frederick III'; Thomas attributes this cessation not just to court finances, but to Friedrich's leanings as 'a puritanical Calvinist'.⁷³

Andrew Wathey has warned against reading court payment records too positivistically, and emphasises viewing them in light of their authorship. He writes: 'The sheer physical bulk of the materials and their seeming consistency can create a false sense of historical continuity, in reality no more than a fixity of administrative practice. Similarly, wealth of archival detail can sometimes convey the impression that the records will speak for themselves and thus need no further interpretation'.⁷⁴ Court treasurers, he continues, created payments records in order to record monies coming into and leaving the court treasury, not to provide an exhaustive list of active musicians active in a court chapel.

To be sure, official payment records are useful sources when examined critically. Yet in Heidelberg, the terminology used to denote musicians' tasks varied from one court administration to the next. In 1577, for instance, the heading 'trumpeter' (*Trompeter*) collectively included all musicians not employed in the *Sengerey*: trumpeters, trombonists (*Posauner*), tower trumpeters (*Thürmbläser*) and drummers (*Paucker*) were all considered *Trompeter*, while in the *Sengerey* are found the Chapel Master and organist.⁷⁵ In 1602 payment records, the word *Trompter* is used once again to include trumpeters, trombonists, tower musicians and drummers. However, four trumpeters were also designated 'trumpeter instrumentalists' (*Trompeter Instrumentist*).

⁷¹ Klaus Winkler, 'Heidelberger Ballette: Musik und Tanz am kurpfälzischen Hof von Elizabeth Stuart und Friedrich V.', *Musik in Baden-Württemberg* 7 (2000): 16; Klaus Winkler, "'...der Princessin zu Heydelberg Dantzmeister hatts componirt": Heidelberg Court Music between Tradition and *avant-garde*', in *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, ed. Sara Smart and Mara E. Wade (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 517.

⁷² Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen-Musik-Kultur: ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2005), 167.

⁷³ Andrew L. Thomas, *A House Divided: Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1550–1650* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 90–91.

⁷⁴ Andrew B. Wathey, 'Musicology, Archives and Historiography', 7.

⁷⁵ No singers were on the permanent payroll at this time.

These four trumpeters received higher salaries than other trumpeters: 45 gulden rather than 20 gulden per annum. Their higher salary was a result neither of the additional duty of training apprentice trumpeters (*Lehrjunge*) nor of their own seniority.⁷⁶ More likely, these four musicians possessed versatile musical abilities, because, as Peter Downey has observed, court trumpeters sometimes doubled as singers in imperial courts throughout the sixteenth century.⁷⁷

Trends in other imperial courts provide another possibility: these trumpeters were paid not to play multiple instruments, but to play their instruments both outdoors and indoors for court chapel services. In Maximilian's court in Vienna, select trumpeters employed after 1600 boasted double titles, 'trumpeter musicians' (*Trompeter Musicanten*), and were entered in the records separate from trumpeters who played only signals and fanfares outdoors. The performance in sacred compositions for liturgical purposes accounted thus for the higher remuneration.⁷⁸ Similarly, the Württemberg court in Stuttgart also used similar wind instruments in chapel services, including lutes, bassoons, cornetts, trombones and others.⁷⁹ Thus, in the Calvinist court chapel in Heidelberg around 1600, the presence of 'trumpeter instrumentalists' meant either four more singers than previously thought, or the presence of numerous wind instruments in Calvinist chapel services.

Regarding other types of musician, records from 1602 onwards adopted a different terminology for referring to musicians: whereas *Sengerey* was used in 1577 to denote organist and cantor⁸⁰, from 1602 the generic term *Musicanten* designated all those active in the chapel, whether instrumentalists or vocalists.⁸¹ For instance, Christoph Eder (fl. 1600), employed in 1602 as a *Musicant*, was an Alto singer (*Altist*).⁸² Likewise, Johann a Fossa (fl. 1600) was also paid as a *Musicant*, and baptismal records from Heidelberg's Barfüßerkirche in 1601 indicated he was a cornettist (*Zinkenbläser*).⁸³ Finally, as *Musicant* Christoph Piscator (fl. 1600) composed

⁷⁶ City habitation records from 1600 show five apprentices living with their teachers, only one of which is called an instrumentalist and trumpeter, Balthasar Koch.

⁷⁷ Peter Downey, 'The Trumpet and its Role in Music of the Renaissance and early Baroque' (PhD diss., Queen's University Belfast, 1983), 166–72; yet, as singers in Heidelberg were classified as *Musicanten*, we might conclude that the title *Instrumentist* rules out the possibility of doubling as a singer.

⁷⁸ Herbert Siefert, 'The Institution of the Imperial Court Chapel from Maximilian I to Charles VI', in *The Royal Chapel in the Times of the Habsburgs*, 43.

⁷⁹ Edmund Bowles, 'A Brief Overview of Musical Ensembles with Brass Instruments in European Festivals of State', *Historical Brass Society Journal* 2 (1990): 80.

⁸⁰ GLAK 77/6135. *QuF*, 51.

⁸¹ GLAK 77/5292. *QuF*, 60.

⁸² *QuF*, 158.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

and dedicated numerous compositions to the Elector.⁸⁴ Library holdings from the electoral library of 1610 show Piscator (*Fischer*) had composed a *Magnificat*, *Benedictus* and *Nunc dimittis*, in addition to a four-voiced arrangement of Nicolaus Hermann's Lenten hymn 'Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ'.⁸⁵ The term *Musicant*, therefore, functioned as a catch-all category designed simply to differentiate chapel musicians from trumpeters and drummers who performed ceremonial functions and played largely outdoors.

The appearance of a musician in payment records does not confirm that that musician was actually active in the court. Records from 1577, made nearly one year after the accession of Ludwig VI, show required back-payments only to employees of the outgoing court who were dismissed in October 1576, rather than to the new employees of Ludwig. Similarly, official records containing salaries are not exhaustive lists of all musicians active in the court. Payment books for Friedrich IV's private account, for instance, show occasional payments made to musicians he invited to the Palatine court, many of whom are absent from official payment records. The French lutenist Carl Bocquet (c. 1570–before 1615) appears in official payment records in Heidelberg in 1602, but Friedrich's private payment book places Bocquet in the Palatine court on fourteen different occasions beginning three years earlier, in 1599.⁸⁶

Study of the city's census records further shows that junior trumpeters received lodging with their mentor or another court employee for the duration of their two-year apprenticeship. In 1600 five apprentices appeared in Heidelberg's habitation records, increasing the total number trumpeters from 15 to 20.⁸⁷ The performance of trumpet calls, perhaps in four choirs of five trumpeters, would doubtless have been deafening in its creation of musical splendour; normally Friedrich V considered three trumpeters sufficient to announce his presence in towns and cities as he travelled.⁸⁸

That musicians employed *ad hoc* or as apprentices do not appear on official court payment records can be reconciled with the provisional nature of their

⁸⁴ Ibid., 156.

⁸⁵ UBH Cod.Pal.Germ. 809, 112^v. Piscator's compositions will be discussed in Chapter Four.

⁸⁶ UBH Cod.Pal.Germ.784, 17^r. Friedrich gave money for various types of musical performance. On six occasions, Friedrich gave money to poor women at the city gate for their singing. Friedrich also paid for musical compositions, not just musical performances. On 5 September 1599 Friedrich paid 20 florins to the *altisten Musicanten* for 'a song prepared in the Elector's name' (*ein Lied uff pf. namen verfertigt*). Similarly, Friedrich paid 6 florins to have a Palatine hymnbook bound.

⁸⁷ The 22 year-old Hans Franz Waltthorn lived in his mother's and was taught by Corvinus Kol (*lernt bei Corvin*). Abraham von Fürtt (Fürth) lived with court trumpeter Georg Schmidt. Burckhard Ruckhard housed his apprentices Wilhelm [Friedel] and Abraham, and *Lehrjung* Steffan Kolb lived with his teacher Balthasar Koch. See *Ewv 1600*, esp. 33, 43, 63 and 96.

⁸⁸ *Beschreibung der Reiß: Empfahung deß Ritterlichen Ordens: Vollbringung des Heyraths: vnd glücklicher Heimführung* (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), 'Cartel und Thurnier Artickel', 58.

employment. More difficult, however, is recovering the names of the permanent court musicians for the years for which court records are not extant; the presence of these musicians must be gathered from other sources. The Silesian-born composer, organist and Chapel Master Johannes Knöfel (1525/30–after 1617) serves as a case in point. Knöfel—a leading musical figure in Bohemia from the 1590s onwards—is known from two sources to have worked in Heidelberg during the reign of Ludwig VI: a Stuttgart court act (*Urkunde*) from 1579, and the preface to his *Newe Teutsche Liedlein* (Nuremberg 1581).⁸⁹ It is therefore accepted that ‘[i]n 1583, after the death of Ludwig VI, the Elector Johann Casimir restored Calvinism to the Palatinate, and the Lutheran Knöfel was deprived of his post and returned to Silesia. Not long afterwards he moved to Prague: in 1592 he wrote in the preface to his *Novae melodiae* that he had already been living there for some time’.⁹⁰

These biographical details have thus far remained undisputed. Civic and university records now reveal, however, that Knöfel still lived in Heidelberg between 1587 and 1590. Census records state that Knöfel was indeed living in the *Collegium Dionysium* as a student: on 23 May 1588 *Jo. Cnefelius, Freystadiensis Siles.* was one of 22 students who ‘at this time eats at table and lives in the new Burse in Heidelberg’ (*so ietiger Zeit Ihre Tischbesuchung und Wohnung in der Neuen Bursch allhie zu Heidelberg haben*). Whether Knöfel was still officially active in the Heidelberg court during his time at the university is unknown, but the possibility cannot be ruled out given the court’s longstanding practice of employing university students both as permanent and as *ad hoc* musicians. Knöfel was possibly following a standard protocol for musicians in the court chapel to matriculate at the university, as Johannes von Soest (1476), Lorenz Lemlin (1513) and Caspar Othmayr (1533) had done before him. What is suggested is that the Lutheran Knöfel potentially never left Heidelberg, even with the re-institution of a Calvinist regime.⁹¹

Thus far, civic census records have shed new light on who was employed in the court. But the presence of Knöfel in Heidelberg, active in a different part of the city, illustrates not only how civic documents can provide heretofore unknown information about musicians, but how musicians moved through different urban spaces. Census

⁸⁹ *QuF*, 82–83.

⁹⁰ Lini Hübsch-Pfleger. ‘Knöfel, Johann.’ *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed April 22, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15204>.

⁹¹ He matriculated at the university on 14 April 1587 as *Johannes Knefelius, Silesius*, and on 26 February 1590 *Joannes Knefelius, Freistadiensis Silesius* was awarded a *Magister artium* by the Faculty of Philosophy. See Gustav Toepeke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, vol. 2, 1554–1662, (Heidelberg: Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 1886), 133 and 469.

records also provide a window into how otherwise disparate spheres of existence—spanning the entire social spectrum—were connected through the physical movements of court musicians. While court musicians worked in the electoral court with Heidelberg’s social elite, they lived their daily non-professional lives among people who stood little chance of ever passing through the castle gates.

Hieronymus Müller, for instance, was at the start of his career as a court trumpeter when the census of 1588 was taken. Records show that this *Trommeter zu Hof*, his wife and a child were lodgers in a house in *Läuwer Gass* in the eastern-most part of Heidelberg (Figure 1.2). Here they lived not among other court employees or musicians, but among day labourers. Indeed, Müller and his family lodged with a tanner (*Rotgerber*), his wife, six children and a maid; the street itself, located on the edge of the city along the city wall, received its name (*Läuwer Gass*) from the many tanners who had lived there since the fourteenth century.⁹² Müller was not the only court musician residing in this area of Heidelberg. Another trumpeter, Heinrich Neuhöfer, lived on an adjacent street (*Uff der Obern Strass gegen der Linnen zu*) with his family from 1588 or earlier until at least 1607. Like Müller, his neighbours were day and manual labourers, though of a greater variety than tanners alone; they included fishermen, bakers, weavers and whitewashers (*Tüncher*).⁹³ When comparing the daily movement of these Heidelbergers to and from their places of work, one sees them moving in contrary directions in several ways. While fishermen walked north towards the river and tanners remained in the *Läuwer Gass* at their shops, Müller and Neuhöfer (possibly in their colourful court liveries) walked south and in ascending the hilly path towards the castle exited the city space. Thus the trumpeters daily left the milieu of day labourers and ascended into the highest and most discrete social sphere in Heidelberg.

⁹² *Ewv* 1588, 170.

⁹³ *Ewv* 1588, 56; *Ewv* 1600, 69.

Figure 1.2: Matthäus Merian, *Große Stadtansicht von Heidelberg* (1620)⁹⁴, Läuwer Gass area, shown in red

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

The case of Müller and Neuhöfer is illustrative of a general situation in Heidelberg; more of such examples exist.⁹⁵ In them one sees the liminality of early modern musicians: moving regularly through distinct social spheres, while belonging fully and easily to none. Unlike their neighbours, court musicians fell under the jurisdiction of the Hofmarschall rather than Schultheiss. Yet court musicians were not aristocrats but non-noble employees of the court, with lodgings outside the castle. Through liminal musicians such as these, the social distance between otherwise disparate worlds is bridged. Müller and Neuhöfer were perhaps seen by, or engaged in conversation with, their neighbours in the morning and evening outside their working hours. But because court trumpeters functioned as a kind of Stadtpfeifer in Heidelberg and announced the hours of the working day, their trumpet calls into urban space from the castle towers connected trumpeters and their neighbours through sound as well.⁹⁶

Educational institutions: Schools and University

Court employees were not the only musicians to display a degree of liminality in moving through Heidelberg's urban spaces. Students, school pupils, teachers and professors were also trained and highly active in music, and will be discussed in detail

⁹⁴ The details surrounding the production of Merian's engraving are not fully known. Unlike his other engravings of German cities (found in his sixteen-volume *Topographia Germaniae*, published 1642–1654), the copperplate of Heidelberg from 1620 survives as a single sheet rather than in a bound collection of other engravings. See Ludwig Merz, 'Alt-Heidelberg in Kupfer gestochen', *Badische Heimat* 43 (1963): 112–124.

⁹⁵ The court harpist, Peter Franck, for instance, lived in the Burgweg along the city wall, among other people next to three shoemakers, a gunsmith (*Büchschmied*), a cooper, a glazier and two students: one from Hamburg and the other from Hungary. *Evv 1600*, 61–64.

⁹⁶ For the concept of liminality, see Katherine Butler Brown, 'The Social Liminality of Musicians: Case Studies from Mughal India and Beyond', *Twentieth-Century Music* 3 (2007): 13–49.

in Chapter Three. The university in Heidelberg consisted of three residential colleges: the Collegium Sapientiae (also Sapienzkolleg, the former Augustinian monastery), the Casimirianum (also called the Dionysianum) and the Burse (also Contubernium). The university furthermore consisted of four faculties (arts, medicine, theology and philosophy). The majority of university buildings stood close to one another west of the Heiliggeistkirche near the city wall bordering the western suburbs (*Vorstadt*).

In addition to the university, Heidelberg boasted four schools by 1556: the Neckarschule, the Paedagogium, the Peterschule and a French school. The Neckarschule was the city's oldest school. Founded in 1425, it educated the sons of burghers and was financed by burgher patrons and civic government, rather than a monastic institution. By the start of the sixteenth century, the Neckarschule educated more than just Heidelberg *Bürgerkinder*, accepting ten boys from Heidelberg families, 14 from other areas of the Lower and Upper Palatinate, and twelve foreign students.⁹⁷ Located on the bank of the Neckar in the shadow of the Heiliggeistkirche, the Neckarschule was deeply embedded in the city's ecclesiastical history and ceremonial life. From at least the fifteenth century, its pupils (called (*Alumnaten*)) had sung Mass in the Heiliggeistkirche; this continued after Heidelberg became Protestant in 1546. And, as Friedrich V and Elizabeth Stuart processed into Heidelberg across the Neckar after their wedding in 1613, the first building on their route once they entered the city was the Neckarschule. A detailed discussion of the festivities of 1613 is found in Chapter Five.

Demand for educating young boys for university had grown enough by the mid-sixteenth century to necessitate a second school teaching a classical curriculum. Taking over the recently dissolved Franciscan monastery (dubbed the Barfüßerkirche) in the east part of the city, the Paedagogium was founded in 1546 by Friedrich II. Like the Neckarschule, it educated 'competent persons for the service of the state and the church' (*tüchtige Personen für den Dienst des Staates und der Kirche*).⁹⁸ The Paedagogium, by contrast, was not a Latin school but the preparatory school of the university's Faculty of Arts; as such, the curriculum also taught Greek and Hebrew in addition to Latin, which (it was believed) would prepare students more adequately than the Neckarschule for university study.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the history of the Neckarschule and Paedagogium is intertwined. Between 1565 and 1587, teaching at the Neckarschule was dissolved, its pupils receiving instruction at the Paedagogium but still living in Neckarschule

⁹⁷ *Ewv* 1588, 236–237.

⁹⁸ *Ewv* 1600, 11.

⁹⁹ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule: von ihrem Ursprunge im 12. Jahrhunderte bis zu ihrer Aufhebung im Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg: Reichard, 1849), 32.

facilities. In 1588, however, Johann Casimir re-instituted teaching at the Neckarschule. Until the Thirty Years' War, both schools prepared pupils for study at the university.

Of the two vernacular schools little is known.¹⁰⁰ Nothing is known of the activities, curriculum or pupils of the Peterschule. Knowledge of a French school in Heidelberg comes only through parish records of a French congregation, which met in the lecture hall of the Collegium Sapientiae.¹⁰¹ Parish records list a French schoolmaster and a French cantor as two of its parishioners.¹⁰² Although the school's location and activities are unknown, however, it is probable that, like the French church, the French school served families of Huguenot refugees as well as French-speaking professors and court officials.

The student population was one of the most musically active demographics in the city; their music-making occurred both inside the walls of schools and university buildings as well as throughout the entire urban space. During Lutheran as well as Calvinist regimes, pupils from the Neckarschule and Paedagogium sang for Sunday and Wednesday services in Heidelberg's four parish churches. Pupils in both institutions received daily instruction in singing and music theory from a cantor or another teacher (*Preceptor*); at meals and at the start and end of instruction, pupils sang psalms and motets daily.¹⁰³ Additionally, Neckarschule pupils regularly sang from door to door to collect alms and sang for every funeral service in the city, dressed in recognisable black or blue robes.¹⁰⁴ In an age of high mortality rates, in which 20 percent of children died at birth and 50 percent died before age fifteen, the singing of students was thus as common to Heidelberg residents as the death that surrounded them.¹⁰⁵ Pupils also sang in special events of the electoral court, discussed in detail in Chapter Five. Funeral processions for members of the electoral family moved from the court to the

¹⁰⁰ The Peterschule was patronised by the Peterskirche and located within the parish's boundaries between that church and the *Keltortor*. See *Archäologischer Stadtkataster Baden-Württemberg*, vol. 32, Heidelberg, ed. Wolfgang Seidenspinner and Manfred Benner (Stuttgart: Baden-Württemberg Denkmalpflege, 2007), 227.

¹⁰¹ Gerhard Kaller, 'Wallonische und Niederländische Exulantensiedlungen in der Pfalz im 16. Jahrhundert. Entstehung und Stadthebung', *Oberrheinische Studien* 3 (1975): 327–352; also Gerhard Kaller, 'Die Anfänge der kurpfälzischen Exulantengemeinden Frankenthal, Schönau, Heidelberg und Otterberg (1562–1590)', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 147 (1999): 393–403.

¹⁰² *Das Kirchenbuch der französischen reformierten Gemeinde zu Heidelberg 1569–1577 und Frankenthal in der Pfalz 1577–1596*, ed. A. von den Velden (Weimar: Druck der Hof-Buchdruckerei, 1908).

¹⁰³ Gottfried Christian Lauter, *Neuer Versuch einer Geschichte des Reformirten Gymnasiums zu Heidelberg* (Heidelberg: Wiesen, 1800), 47; Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis origines et progressus* (Heidelberg: Reichard, 1846), 131.

¹⁰⁴ *Stein II*, 88.

¹⁰⁵ For mortality rates in early modern Europe, see Michael W. Flinn, *The European Demographic System, 1500–1820* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 16.

Heiliggeistkirche on the market square to the sound of over one hundred pupils singing funeral hymns.

University students were similarly active. Students at the Collegium Sapientiae—Heidelberg’s theological college—sang psalms in four parts at table, before and after each meal. Communal singing therefore occurred at least six times per day. As part of the *quadrivium* music assumed its place as *musica speculativa* in the lectures on mathematics. The professor of mathematics was to give weekly lectures on music in addition to his ordinary (*ordinarium*) lectures on mathematics, ‘presenting as much of theory and the harmonic proportions is concerned’ (*sovil derselben theorickh und die proportiones harmonicas belangt, ettwas anzeigen*).¹⁰⁶ Practical musicianship (*musica practica*) was also part of university life, especially for those planning to enter the service of the church. In 1587 theologian Johann Ampelander advised his son, Valentin Ampelander, a Calvinist student of theology in Heidelberg: ‘[Your voice] is beautiful and praiseworthy, but it also must be trained, so that you are in the future more suited for ecclesiastical functions’ (*Pulchram est et laudabile, sed et vox exercetur, ut as ecclesiasticas functiones aliquando sis aptior*).¹⁰⁷

For university students, music was often a corporate activity and a product of their communal living arrangements. Indeed, although roughly 100 students lived in one of the three residential colleges, the remaining student population was scattered in lodgings with other residents of Heidelberg. As Chapter Three examines, music was also a vital part of expressing youthful misbehaviour. Visitation reports to the Burse recount Calvinist and Lutheran students singing and playing instruments after permitted hours (*ultra horam nonam nocturnam*) in their student accommodation, as well as drunkenly wandering the city streets serenading young women. Music-making by students thus occurred not only around the clock but in every corner of urban space—taverns, streets and student bedrooms, in addition to the lecture or dining hall. It was also difficult for Heidelberg authorities to prosecute, as students fell under the often lenient jurisdiction of the university rather than the city or the church. Illicitly using the urban environment for music thus became a symbol of their semi-autonomous social status and a means of performing and reinforcing rituals of student identity.

Parish churches

¹⁰⁶ *Urkundenbuch I*, 168.

¹⁰⁷ Transcribed in *Briefe von Heidelberger Professoren und Studenten verfasst vor dreihundert Jahren*, ed. Hermann Hagen (Bern: Collin, 1886), 60.

Between 1556 and 1618, four parish churches existed in Heidelberg, one for each quarter of the city. Figure 1.3 shows the parish boundaries for the Heiliggeistkirche (green), the Peterskirche (blue), the Barfüßerkloster (brown) and the Spitalkirche (red). Although city parishes were all ‘public’ institutions and all included practices absent in the court chapel—such as the giving of alms and the weekly catechesis of children—each parish was unique, as each church served predominantly a different social class and a different physical quarter of Heidelberg.¹⁰⁸

Figure 1.3: Parish map of Heidelberg

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

The largest and most central of churches was the Heiliggeistkirche.¹⁰⁹ Founded in the fourteenth century as a residential institution (*Stift*) for both clerics and non-clerics studying at the university, the Heiliggeistkirche eventually replaced the Peterskirche as university church in 1413. The Heiliggeistkirche was also closely linked with the electoral court as a primary locus for courtly ceremony. From 1410 onwards Electors Palatine were buried in the chapel located in the east wing, and between 1556 and 1618 the funeral services for all six electors took place in the Heiliggeistkirche. The Heiliggeistkirche also housed the Bibliotheca Palatina, the private electoral library (including printed and manuscript music), in its galleries. As Chapter Four addresses, the galleries of the Heiliggeistkirche accommodated the library better than the castle by providing a central location for use by university students and professors, as well as

¹⁰⁸ *Ewv* 1588, 9.

¹⁰⁹ See *Die Heiliggeistkirche zu Heidelberg 1398–1998*, ed. Gottfried Seebaß, et al. (Neustadt an der Weinstraße: Umschau Buchverlag 2001); Eberhard Zahn, *Die Heiliggeistkirche zu Heidelberg* (Karlsruhe: Verlag Evangelischer Presseverband, 1960).

good light for reading from its large gothic windows.¹¹⁰ The parish was the largest and consisted primarily of merchants and students of the university and Neckarschule.

Despite the physical centrality of the Heiliggeistkirche, the Peterskirche was the oldest church in Heidelberg. Dating originally to 1196, the Peterskirche was the university church until 1413. That jurist and electoral advisor Christoph Ehem (1528–1592), leading reformed theologian Georg Sohn (1555–1589), and other figures significant to Palatine government and education were buried there shows that the church nonetheless maintained links with other civic institutions.¹¹¹

Referred to by Thomas Coryat as the ‘church in the suburbs’, the Barfüßerkloster was located east of the city centre within the walls of the city. The Barfüßerkloster was formerly the Franciscan cloister, and after its dissolution in 1556 it retained its function as both a spiritual and education institution, housing both a parish church and the university’s preparatory school, the Paedagogium. According to census records, its parishioners constituted a wide variety of social classes, ranging from fishermen and other day labourers to court officials and court musicians like Müller and Neuhöfer.

The Spitalkirche, formerly the Dominican friary where Luther presented his new theological ideas in 1518, was the smallest of the Heidelberg churches in terms of the size of its parish. Its parishioners were largely day labourers, such as fishermen, vine dressers (*Weingärtner*), blacksmiths, saddlers and even the city executioner (*Scharfrichter*). In short, they were the outcasts of Heidelberg’s population: the sick, the poor and the needy. Unlike the other parishes which were connected with educational institutions, the Spitalkirche was not, instead functioning as a hospital. In 1588 the residents of the Spitalkirche included the *Spitalmeister* (‘hospital master’) and his household (roughly 20 people), as well as 29 poor and sick men and women (*arme und kranke Männer und Frauen*).¹¹²

Unlike German-speaking parishes, the French church (*französische Kirche*) was not subject to parish boundaries. Its members were defined by their language rather than their place of residence. It met in the centre of Heidelberg, within the parish of the Heiliggeistkirche, in the lecture hall of the Collegium Sapientiae. University buildings were appropriate because the majority of its members were students and professors.

¹¹⁰ Thomas Coryat observed that it is ‘beautified with two singular ornaments aboue the other churches, that doe greatly grace the same: the one the Palatine Librarie, the other the monuments of their Princes’. Thomas Coryat, *Coryat’s Crudities*, 386.

¹¹¹ The epitaphs of those buried in Heidelberg churches can be found in Melchior Adamus’s collection, *Apographum monumentorum Heidelbergensium* (Heidelberg, 1612).

¹¹² *Ewv* 1588, 261.

Because the French church also drew a large number of French-speaking refugees from around the city, its congregation numbered approximately 250.¹¹³ And like the Barfüßerkloster, Peterskirche and the Heiliggeistkirche, the French church was connected with an educational institution: the French school.

The most basic and prominent sound of parish churches was not the skilled singing of their musicians or congregants, but their bells. Located in all corners of the city, the bells of four parish churches filled the Neckar valley both for ceremonial occasions as well as in the daily running of city life. Because of their ability to reach inhabitants quickly and meaningfully, bells regulated time in early modern society and marked both regular and special occasions.¹¹⁴ One consistent feature of court funeral ceremonies in Heidelberg, regardless of confession, was the ringing of bells. Bell towers across the city rang for one hour prior to the funeral procession, and rang continuously after the interment. The bell ringer (*Glöckner*) of parish churches rang for every funeral, wedding and baptism, in addition to regular weekly ringing on Sundays. The bell ringer was in fact a position of great importance, which is underlined by the fact that his official contract was signed by the incumbent ringer as well as the entire church council.¹¹⁵

No first-hand accounts of congregational singing in Heidelberg during this period survive. Observing trends elsewhere in German lands can nonetheless be helpful in positing how music in Lutheran and Calvinist congregations might have operated. Like the Elector's private court chapel, music was an integral part of fostering religious piety and identity in these five churches. Parish churches were accordingly subject to their ordinances created by church authorities regulating and standardising Palatine worship. As would be expected given the tumult of confessional strife plaguing Europe after the Reformation, musical practices and congregational singing in the parish churches were changed with each oscillation between Lutheranism and Calvinism.

Every Elector Palatine ruling between 1556 and 1618 issued one or more church ordinances, often following soon after their respective accessions. They took great pains to clarify changes to musical repertory and liturgy.¹¹⁶ Modelled on Johann Brenz's 1555 Lutheran ordinances from the nearby territory of Württemberg, church reform under Ottheinrich (1556–1559) allowed Latin-texted music while also increasingly

¹¹³ See the work of Gerhard Kaller, listed in footnote 101.

¹¹⁴ For more on bells, see Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

¹¹⁵ *Sehling XIV*, 455.

¹¹⁶ Liturgy will be discussed in Chapter Two.

emphasising German hymns and psalms (*teutsche gesenge und psalmen*) in congregational song in weekly services. These ordinances were reissued by Ludwig VI between 1576 and 1583. Heidelberg's Lutheran musical cultures shared similarities with other cities such as Wittenberg, Zwickau and Joachimsthal, where specific Latin and German liturgies were developed.¹¹⁷ In Tübingen, for instance, Matthias Hafenreffer—Lutheran court preacher in Stuttgart and Professor of theology in Tübingen—contended that Latin song sung by schoolboys and other 'learned people' (*gelehrte Leut*) constituted a defining mark of Lutheranism.¹¹⁸ Martin Luther in fact never intended Latin to be removed entirely from liturgy, as it was both didactically useful for the young and understood by many in learned centres.¹¹⁹

It is perhaps not surprising that Latin-texted music became the first target for Calvinist church authorities as Friedrich III began initial reforms in 1561. In the first full Calvinist church ordinance to be released in German lands after the Reformation, the 1563 ordinance allowed only 'German psalms' (*teutsche Psalmen*), excluding all Latin as well as German song (*teutsche Gesenge*). First-hand accounts also record organs being silenced and in some cases destroyed.¹²⁰ The view of music expressed in the Calvinist church orders throughout this period is characteristic of Reformed churches in the second half of the sixteenth century, one indication being the invocation of the Apostle Paul and New Testament scripture as the basis for a theology of music. John Calvin, for example, explains: 'The other matter is the psalms which we wish to be sung in the church as we have it from the example of the ancient church and also the testimony of Saint Paul, who says that it is good to sing in the congregation with mouth and heart'.¹²¹

On the basis of ordinances, Lutheran and Calvinist musical cultures appear on the surface to differ; Lutheranism appears more open to integrating past practices as well as what would have been the most skilled polyphony of the time, while Calvinism appears restrictive and stifling to musical composition, performance or enjoyment of any kind. However, the sound of Lutheran and Calvinist services in Heidelberg possibly differed far less than heretofore believed. As Joseph Herl has observed, organs were not

¹¹⁷ Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Reformation*, 64.

¹¹⁸ Matthias Hafenreffer, *Examen vnd Gegenbericht, Uber das jüngsten zu Heidelberg getruckt Calvinische Büchlin, nachfolgenden Tituls: Außführlicher Bericht, Was die Reformirte Kirchen in Teutschland, gleuben oder nicht gleuben* (Tübingen: Philipp Gruppenbach, 1608), 642.

¹¹⁹ Robin Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 192–193.

¹²⁰ Eike Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: C. Winter Verlag, 1998), 45.

¹²¹ Charles Garside, 'The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536–1543', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69 (1979), 10.

in consistent use in Lutheran areas until the eighteenth century, regardless of whether church authorities approved of them. And in the sixteenth century, he writes, organs retained their function from before the Reformation: ‘substituting for the choir and giving the choir the pitch’.¹²² That organs were present in congregations does not mean that they were vital parts of services or functioned uniformly from one congregation to the next. Moreover, following the 1561 and 1563 Calvinist reforms of Friedrich III, the destroying of organs in some cases did not occur until 1564 and 1566—meaning that organs could have been in use while policies took time to be developed and implemented. Moreover, Bartholomeus Pitiscus noted in a 1607 printed theological debate with Lutheran theologians from Tübingen that ‘one still finds many Reformed [Calvinist] churches in which the organs are used, as nowhere are they forbidden to use’.¹²³

Congregational singing was led by the same musical figures, as cantors were employed by Calvinist and Lutheran churches alike.¹²⁴ Cantors in parish churches were often also teachers at the school within the parish catchment: the Heiliggeistkirche and Neckarschule, Barfüßerkloster and Paedagogium, Peterskirche and Peterschule and French church and school.¹²⁵ Indeed, census records from 1588 indicate that the Heiliggeistkirche employed its own musical staff, a choir director (*Chorherr*) with the surname Schumacher, who potentially assisted (or oversaw) the Neckarschule staff in leading the pupils for Calvinist services.¹²⁶ School ordinances also confirm the continued desire among Calvinists for school boys to assist with congregational song, as in Lutheran times.

Continuities of sound between Lutheranism and Calvinism also occurred with repertory. Although the Lobwasser psalter appeared in 1574 in Heidelberg, no surviving ordinances forbade the singing of Lutheran hymns. The opposite is true, in fact. Calvinist hymnbooks contained Lutheran hymns alongside the German Genevan Psalter from the 1580s onwards. Continuity was also created by the proliferation of monophonic singing by Lutheran and Calvinist parishioners. Differences in church vocal music typically lie at the heart of confessional difference between Calvinist and

¹²² Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 130.

¹²³ ‘man findet noch vil reformirte kirchen/darinne die orgeln gebraucht werden. Wie sie denn zubauchen nirgend verboten sein’. Bartholomeus Pitiscus, *Ausführlicher Bericht, was die Reformierte Kirchen in Teutschland Gleuben oder nicht Gleuben* (Heidelberg, 1607), 457.

¹²⁴ Lutheran and Calvinist church ordinances alike also stipulate that bell ringers assisted with singing. *Sehling XIV*, 455.

¹²⁵ The arrangements for the Spitalkirche are unknown. Possibly a teacher from the Neckarschule led music, as that school’s pupils often supplied music there.

¹²⁶ *Ewv* 1588, 228.

Lutheran practice. Yet, as Herl concludes, Lutheran services incorporated polyphony or figural music only inconsistently, depending on the presence or capabilities of a choir.¹²⁷ In Heidelberg's churches, therefore, even when figural or polyphonic music was sung by the choir, the Lutheran congregational singing would have resembled that of Calvinism in being mainly monophonic.

Conclusion

Thus far I have focussed on music made within, or by individuals associated with Heidelberg's educational, political and ecclesiastical institutions. Music was of course composed, performed and heard in non-institutional spheres. Between the Heiliggeistkiche and the River Neckar was a dance hall (*Tanzhaus*); it had been in use since the fifteenth century, and no evidence exists to suggest it was closed entirely after the Reformation.¹²⁸ Weddings were also celebrated with music, not only in the churches but during wedding feasts and celebratory dancing in taverns afterwards. Domestic music-making was also a normal part of Heidelberg life. Protestants were encouraged to hold devotional family services in the home (*Hauskirche*) which included singing, and women and girls were encouraged to develop their piety by singing while working in the homes.¹²⁹ Unfortunately, however, many of the popular musical activities of homes, taverns and streets are lost to history, presumably because they were orally transmitted and performed.

This following study of Heidelberg is therefore limited to surviving documentary evidence and cannot address the fullness of its past musical culture. As Peter Burke has written, however, mediation makes comprehensiveness only an illusion, and our historical distance from past events and people should motivate new approaches rather than deter enquiry.¹³⁰ Viewing urban contexts through the lens of musicians and the networks they created, as Carter suggests, is particularly useful for sixteenth-century Reformation movements. Tracing the activities of people allows a history of confessionalisation to be written from the perspective of musicians, rather than an ideal vision of an elite, ruling few, as found in church ordinances. Such a lens is vital for

¹²⁷ Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars*, 112.

¹²⁸ Dancing was not forbidden by Heidelberg Calvinists, only prohibited in the street. In fact, Friedrich IV refused to hire Johann von Münster in the court because he wrote a tract against dancing. See Henry J. Cohn, 'The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622', in *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 145.

¹²⁹ Preface from *Psalm Davids* (Heidelberg: Lancelot, 1611). Discussed in Chapter Two.

¹³⁰ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd edition (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 103.

realising how music connected ostensibly separate institutions of power, and how sound might have created continuity in the face of confessional antagonism.

III. Confessionalisation as Historical Methodology

The tensions following the initial Protestant reform movements of the 1510s and 1520s—similar to the tensions from Heidelberg’s multiple religious reforms—have long fascinated scholars across multiple disciplines. Through perpetual historical reappraisal and theorising, scholars have sought to understand the significance of the European Reformations not only in the sixteenth century but also their continued effects five centuries later.¹³¹ One recent historical theory is confessionalisation.¹³² The concept of confessionalisation arose from the independent research of German historians Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, who saw competing religious groups exhibiting similar—rather than unique—qualities as they became more established. According to Schilling, from the mid-sixteenth century until after the Thirty Years’ War, ‘the three great confessions—Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism—developed into internally coherent and externally exclusive communities distinct in institutions, membership and belief’.¹³³ Reinhard writes that internal coherence and external exclusivity were possible because Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism each developed different confessions of faith, new societal norms, propaganda and tactics for censorship of heretical materials, education, social discipline, the enforcement of ritual, and the use of language for confessional conformity.¹³⁴

Scholars have used the notion of confessionalisation to elucidate firstly the building of early modern states, and secondly the characteristics, practices and interactions of different confessional groups.¹³⁵ In contrast to medieval authority paradigms in which all matters of the church fell (in principle) under Roman rule, secular rulers of Protestant territories in the Holy Roman Empire now oversaw ecclesiastical structures alongside their secular ones, as the once-strong religious

¹³¹ Brad S. Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012).

¹³² For a summary and evaluation of confessionalisation research to date, see Ute Lotz-Heumann, ‘Confessionalization’, in *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: a Guide to Research*, ed. David Whitford (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2008), 136–157.

¹³³ Heinz Schilling, ‘Confessional Europe’, in *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600*, vol. 2, *Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Thomas A. Brady, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 641.

¹³⁴ Wolfgang Reinhard, ‘Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters’, *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 10 (1983): 257–76.

¹³⁵ Philip Benedict labels these two foci as ‘strong theory’ and ‘weak theory’ of confessionalisation, respectively. See Philip Benedict, ‘Confessionalization in France? Critical Reflections and New Evidence’, in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 50.

hierarchies dissolved with the Protestant schism with Rome. Offices of church authority rose only as high as territorial superintendents (rather than one supreme authority governing all ecclesiastical matters in Europe); and instead of one city serving as a religious centre (such as Rome), numerous centres of reform—such as Wittenberg and Leipzig (Lutheran) or Heidelberg (Calvinist), for instance—acted as informal religious hubs, owing to their educational and political functions within their respective confessional groups. Decision-making for Protestant territories now stemmed equally from confession as dynasty and state interest (*Staatsräson*).¹³⁶ Thus, territories such as Electoral Brandenburg sometimes took a specific confessional stance in order to achieve a political end; Brandenburg aligned itself with Calvinism less from religious conviction but to take a firmly anti-Catholic—and therefore anti-Habsburg—position in the Imperial College of Electors. Indeed, confession became a means to preserve states through the alliances with powerful territories of the same confession and to fight long-standing battles within dynastic houses.¹³⁷

In the process, the confessional churches generated their own beliefs, rituals and cultures which princely rulers then had to institute and enforce. In relating religious mentalities to social and political organisation, Ronnie Po-Chi has importantly made the measures of ‘social discipline’ (developed by Gerhard Oestreich) which accompanied religious reforms synonymous with the confessionalisation process itself. While each confessional group was preoccupied with disciplining different problems, the three major confessional groups all used a variety of coercive methods (the so-called ‘moral police’) to achieve a unified state and expand state power. As Lutheranism, Catholicism and Calvinism articulated their beliefs and practices with greater clarity, the distinct religious cultures that formed were therefore a product just as much of the positive introduction of distinct beliefs and practices into society as their enforcement.¹³⁸ Resistance to imposed confessional belief not only created for church authorities clearer pictures of what true adherence needed to look like (or not look like), but also spurred on authorities to create ever clearer guidelines and strategies for proper adherence. Especially as confessional tensions came to a head in the 1590s, different locales instituted opposing strategies. Electoral Brandenburg adopted bi-confessionalism to mitigate tensions between Calvinists and Lutherans not only in popular culture, but also

¹³⁶ Magnus Råde, *England und Kurpfalz im werdenden Mächteeuropa (1608–1632): Konfession, Dynastie, kulturelle Ausdrucksformen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007), 24.

¹³⁷ Andrew L. Thomas, *A House Divided*, 187.

¹³⁸ Ronnie Po-Chi Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation, Central Europe, 1550–1750* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 122–142.

between court and country, noble and common. By contrast, other territories clamped down on outlawed or minority confessional groups, as in Electoral Saxony, where the violent suppression of Calvinists by Lutherans was immediately noticed by travellers such as Fynes Moryson.¹³⁹

Only recently have scholars of confessionalisation begun not only to examine the extent to which confessional groups were in fact distinct, but to acknowledge that each confession might have contained multiple cultures within them—that is, that there might be multiple types of Lutheranism, not subcultures constituting lesser manifestations of a centralised group, but multiple strands generating from the same centre.¹⁴⁰ Meanwhile the generators of social difference—social class, gender, education, for instance—have gone largely unresearched in confessionalisation research.

Musicologists have also begun to address questions of confessionalisation in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Alexander Fisher's study of Augsburg from 1580 to 1630 has offered a ground breaking understanding of music's role in confessionalisation within both popular and elite circles in a bi-confessional city.¹⁴¹ Following Schilling, Fisher posits that confessional lines between Augsburg's sizeable Lutheran and Catholic populations, despite outward peace, were hardening, with Augsburg 'becoming a microcosm of the religious struggles that would threaten to tear the Empire apart'.¹⁴² In a fascinating look at the use of music in popular culture, Fisher uses the well-known trial documents of Augsburg civic courts to examine the ways confessional tensions were channelled through contrafacta. He exposes other rich vistas of music in civic life. Procession, pilgrimages and even liturgy displayed and developed Catholic identity before the eyes of citizens of both confessions. Fundamentally, Fisher finds that music acted as an agent of religious expression as well as propaganda in the development of confessional identity.¹⁴³

¹³⁹ Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe*, 262–3.

¹⁴⁰ The primary example of this is Gnesio- and Orthodox Lutheranism as opposed to Melancthonian, or Philippist, Lutheranism, as observed by Thomas Kaufmann. See Thomas Kaufmann, 'Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche und Gesellschaft: Sammelbericht über eine Forschungsdebatte', *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 121 (1996): 1008–25 and 1112–21; and Thomas Kaufmann, 'Einleitung: Transkonfessionalität, Interkonfessionalität, binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität—Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese', in *Transkonfessionalität—Interkonfessionalität—binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität—Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz, et al. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003), 9–15.

¹⁴¹ Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 17.

Similar studies have borrowed many of the ideas of confessionalisation without subjecting the full study to the theory. Christopher Boyd Brown has investigated the Bohemian city of Joachimsthal, a Lutheran stronghold under the reforming influence of Johann Mathesius (1504–1565).¹⁴⁴ Brown has identified that music played a crucial role in implanting Lutheran theology in the hearts, minds and the daily routines of its residents. Although Joachimstahl was a mono-confessional city (unlike Augsburg’s bi-confessionality), Brown nonetheless traces the development of Lutheran culture as it became internally coherent and externally exclusive.

Musicological research into the crossing of confessional boundaries has increased in recent years.¹⁴⁵ For example, much attention has been paid to the Lutheran composer Leonhard Paminger (1495–1567), who worked fruitfully as schoolmaster, rector and secretary in Catholic Passau, and whose personal contacts and writings showed strong Protestant sympathies. Despite his Catholic surroundings, Paminger’s Lutheran identity nonetheless shines through his music; his *Da pacem* settings ‘can be understood as a sincere expression of personal sentiment, and a genuinely heartfelt response to the circumstances in which Paminger found himself’.¹⁴⁶

While Paminger flourished in such a context, he was not atypical in the larger scope of confessional history for holding theological views different from his immediate context, even though social discipline existed in part to counteract the presence of the numerous people like Paminger. The construction of the early modern state was dependent on the cooperation of a state’s subjects, who were to form their new religious identities in accordance with religious documents such as confessions of faith and catechisms.¹⁴⁷ The quality of an individual or community’s identity could be measured when the beliefs and practices were compared to these official documents. When people strayed or resisted, state-sponsored social discipline was the answer. The construction of confessional identities has attracted much attention from scholars, and has invited a variety of methodological approaches. Irena Backus and Matthias Pohlig, for instance,

¹⁴⁴ Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Reformation*.

¹⁴⁵ See Alexander J. Fisher’s studies of Augsburg (2004) and Bavaria (2014), and Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). For seventeenth-century Germany, see Mary Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

¹⁴⁶ David Burn, ‘Analysing Sixteenth-Century Chant-Based Polyphony: Some Methodological Observations, and a Case-Study from Leonhard Paminger’, *Musiktheorie* 27 (2012): 151. Robin Leaver has shown a similar crossing of confessional and national borders with hymn repertoires. See Robin Leaver, ‘Genevan Psalm Tunes in the Lutheran Chorale Tradition’, in *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden*, ed. Eckard Grunewald, et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004), 145–166.

¹⁴⁷ Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity*, 17.

have approached confessional groups from the perspective of writing history, because Protestants felt the need from the start to create historical lineage in order to garner a real sense of legitimacy.¹⁴⁸

Backus writes that ‘the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were characterised by an interest in history first and foremost and that the very omnipresence of history made it the obvious means whereby theologians of all religious parties could affirm their confessional identity’.¹⁴⁹ However true Pohlig and Backus’s findings might be (and there is no reason to doubt the efficacy of their arguments), they do not address how complex theological ideas about confessional identity circulated beyond learned theological circles.

Confessional identities were a product just as much of efforts ‘from below’ as from above. As Marc Forster has shown, the successful re-Catholisation in the Bishopric of Speyer was a result of lay efforts to convert the common population, rather than measures from church and state officials.¹⁵⁰ Conversely, Bodo Nischan has shown how popular resistance made it remarkably difficult for state authorities to alter confessional identities; in Brandenburg the prince’s efforts to convert his territory from Lutheranism to Calvinism were met with violence, and his efforts ultimately failed. Indeed, understanding how confessional identities were constructed and how they operated has eluded scholars. In her insightful summary of the current state of research on confessionalisation, Lotz-Heumann suggests that the future direction of this method lies in understanding identity, since it is ‘so far largely unknown how confessional identities and confessional cultures—on the eventual existence of which current research largely agrees—came into being’.¹⁵¹

IV. A New Vision: Confessionalisation, Performative Ritual and Identity Formation

Lotz-Heumann suggests that useful approaches would consider other regulatory factors in the production of confessional identity than the state: specific social groups or even the self, for instance. What Lotz-Heumann’s future direction lacks, however, is a way of

¹⁴⁸ Matthias Pohlig, *Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit und konfessioneller Identitätsstiftung: Lutherische Kirchen- und Universalgeschichtsschreibung 1546–1617* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007). See also Bruce Gordon, *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996); and *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England—Essays in Honour of Professor W.J. Sheils*, ed. Nadine Lewycky, et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012).

¹⁴⁹ Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation, 1378–1615* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 3.

¹⁵⁰ Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

¹⁵¹ Ute Lotz-Heumann, ‘Confessionalization’, 151.

assessing confessional identity without ultimately relying on confessional documents to determine the purity of confessional adherence. Heinz Schilling has posited that the formation of confessional identities and cultures was not only closely linked ‘with the development of national, territorial or regional political cultures’, but based largely on *confessiones fidei* (confessions of faith), which ‘left no room for [individual] interpretation’.¹⁵² Social discipline was carried out in order to orientate the religious identities of state subjects around the beliefs and practices laid out in such documents, and the church ordinances which regulated their regular administration in liturgy. In short, Lutherans were deemed Lutherans according to how closely they adhered to principles expressed in such representative confessional documents.

Among other things, the result of such an approach to the sixteenth-century Reformation movements is the creation of benchmarks. In other words, one representative example (be it an individual, community or city) is often chosen by scholars as a benchmark because it exemplifies most clearly and thoroughly the ideals of a particular religious reformer or constellation of reformers. It is against the ‘core’ of the benchmark that the extent of adherence or deviation of other manifestations of those ideals is measured.

Such confessional benchmarks have been created in numerous studies, but the trend is perhaps best seen in Karin Maag’s monograph on Calvinist institutions of higher education in the early modern period. Maag poses the question of whether the university in Heidelberg was really a Reformed university. She writes: ‘Assessing how far it is true to say that Heidelberg was a Reformed university for much of the period under discussion is a difficult task’, since ‘in 1600, for instance, the theology professors refused to abandon Melancthon’s work for Calvin’s institutes. Melancthon’s work was highly regarded both in Lutheran and in Reformed circles, but it is unusual to find the Reformed professors of Heidelberg expressing such a strong preference for a Lutheran work’.¹⁵³ Maag concludes that Heidelberg was not a Calvinist university in the same sense as the Genevan Academy, as in addition to theological matters it lacked the oversight of pastors and a component of pastoral care in the curriculum.

Admittedly, Maag makes no specific reference to the confessionalisation model in her investigation of Heidelberg. Still, her adoption of rigid and homogeneous confessional categories—part and parcel of the confessionalisation thesis, according to

¹⁵² Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth, ‘From Empires to Family Circles: Religious and Cultural Borderlines in the Age of Confessionalisation’, in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 28–29.

¹⁵³ Karin Maag, *Seminary or university?*, 168.

Schilling—thereby turns Geneva into the measuring stick by which Heidelberg and all other Calvinist institutions are judged. Unique characteristics of Heidelberg are ignored: not only is Heidelberg’s role as the centre of international Calvinism neglected, but its Philippist and Humanist roots are to blame for shaping a substandard rather than diverse brand of Calvinism.

The construction of confessional benchmarks has also been a tendency among musicologists and hymnologists. On the sole basis of John Calvin’s writings on music, Robin Leaver concludes that Calvinist congregational song across Europe ‘was restricted to the corporate, unaccompanied unison singing of metrical psalms to tunes of appropriate gravity that were untainted by secular associations’. Moreover, ‘there was no question of instrumental accompaniment’.¹⁵⁴ In a more extreme example, Oskar Söhngen painted with overly broad brushstrokes in a table designed to illustrate the musical cultures of different Protestant denominations (reproduced in Table 1.4).¹⁵⁵ Söhngen not only lacks information describing how individual cities of the same confession might have instituted the Reformation differently, but characterises whole confessional groups according to the theological views of one religious figure. The danger of such essentialism is immediately visible when one considers the observation of Bartholomeus Pitiscus in 1607 mentioned above, that many Calvinist congregations in German lands continued to use an organ in public worship.¹⁵⁶

Table 1.4: Reproduction of Oskar Söhngen’s Table of ‘Various Forms of Musical Practice in Worship Services’, from *Theologie der Musik* (1967)

	Congregational Song (<i>Gemeinde Gesang</i>)	Freely composed hymn texts (<i>Freie Kirchenlied-dichtung</i>)	Choral music in the home (<i>Chormusik im Hause</i>)	Choral music in services (<i>Chormusik im Gottesdienst</i>)	Organ and instrumental music (<i>Orgelmusik, Instrumental-musik</i>)	Altar song (<i>Altar-gesang</i>)
Zwingli	No	No	Yes	No	No	No
Calvin	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	No
Luther	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

¹⁵⁴ Robin Leaver, ‘The Reformation and Music’, 394–395.

¹⁵⁵ Table is entitled ‘verschiedene Formen gottesdienstlicher Musikübung’. Oskar Söhngen, *Theologie der Musik* (Johannes Stauda Verlag: Kassel, 1967), 30–31.

¹⁵⁶ See footnote 123.

The impulse to create benchmarks, or an ‘ideal type’, in early modern confessions is partly a response to state policies for confessional adherence. As Alain Badiou has observed, modern states (to which early modern states belong as well) develop imaginary ideal types (or ‘ghost identity’) in order to measure whether an individual or group ‘fits’ into state political agendas. He writes:

A state always generates the existence of an imaginary object that is supposed to embody an identitarian “average”. For example, let us call F (for “French”) the set of distinguishing features that authorize the state to refer at all times to the “French”—what identifies them and their particular rights, which are entirely different from those who “are not” French—as if there existed a completely identifiable “being French”.¹⁵⁷

Regarding confessionalisation, church ordinances (*Kirchenordnungen*) outlined what practical religious life was supposed to look like in ideal circumstances. The authors of the 1553 Württemberg church ordinance issued their ordinance ‘so that the churches of the principality are protected from all types of variation and invidious activity in these dangerous times, and the just, true and necessary services are stipulated’.¹⁵⁸ The standard by which the Württemberg subjects were measured was ultimately God and Scripture, since the ordinance was ‘to lead people to the right knowledge of God and to hold [the people] in right belief to eternal righteousness and blessedness’, and regularly scheduled ecclesiastical visitations assessed the extent to which individuals adhered to or strayed from prescribed beliefs.¹⁵⁹ However, as Ronnie Hsia (as well as the contrafactum opening this chapter) has shown, religious belief was never fully separate from political agendas, and punishments for transgressing authorised church ordinances often sent political messages as well.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Alain Badiou, *The Rebirth of History: Times of Riots and Uprisings* (London: Verso Books, 2012), 73.

¹⁵⁸ ‘damit allerlei ungleicheit und ergerliche handlung bevorab zu diser gefährlichen zeit in den kirchen unsers Fürstenthums verhüttet und der recht, warhafftig, nottwendig Gots dienst gefürdet wurde’. Ed. Sabine Arend, *Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, volume XVI, *Herzogtum Württemberg* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2004), 224.

¹⁵⁹ ‘zu der rechten erkanntnus Gottes fure und [in] rechtem glauben zur ewigen gerechtigkeit und seeligkeit bestatige und erhalte’. Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ In Heidelberg, for instance, the beheading of Johannes Sylvanus can be seen not just as an attempt to preserve Trinitarian theology, but also as a political move to reassure those sceptical of the Palatinate’s theological position of the viability of the territory’s Calvinism. See Wolfgang von Moers-Messmer, *Heidelberg und seine Kurfürsten: die grosse Zeit der Geschichte Heidelbergs als Haupt- und Residenzstadt der Kurpfalz* (Ubstadt-Weiher: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2001), 128.

The desire to create benchmarks in the pursuit of classifying the complex interactions of different types of people in different types of location is not limited to historians' understanding of the sixteenth century, however. What legal historian Kimberle Crenshaw says of twentieth- and twenty-first-century identity politics applies equally to Maag: 'the problem with identity politics is not that it fails to transcend difference, as some critics charge, but rather the opposite—that it frequently conflates or ignores intragroup difference'.¹⁶¹ Identity politics revolves around the desire of a minority social group to gain acceptance into the dominant culture that has traditionally excluded them. But integration comes at a price, as in order to gain a place in the culture, the subordinate culture must accept the definition of their own identity as articulated by the dominant culture. In this scenario, both dominant and minority cultures are defined (and definable) according to 'core properties'. As a result, intra-group difference is sacrificed in favour of an identity based on a basic lowest common denominator.

The concept of 'core' properties also finds discussion in gender theory. Regarding the construction of gender identity, Judith Butler has intentionally eschewed identity politics because she contends gender identity (or any other identity) contains no 'core'—that 'the culturally constructed binary lines of gender coherence produce the illusion of an "abiding substance", or gendered "core"'.¹⁶² For Butler, since the core of gender is empty, benchmarks cannot be created against which 'male' and 'female', 'homosexual' and 'heterosexual' can be measured. Instead of adhering to an innate gender core, Butler argues that gender identity is instead constructed through the performance of repeated ritual acts: '[T]he substantive effect of gender is performatively produced and compelled by the regulatory practices of gender coherence. Hence, within the inherited discourse of the metaphysics of substance, gender proves to be performative—that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be'.¹⁶³

To be sure, early modern confession is not the same as gender. To my knowledge, sixteenth-century confessional belief never has been treated as a genetic 'substance', as is often posited with gender orientation. However, both involve the construction of identity, and the frequency with which early modern people changed

¹⁶¹ Kimberle Crenshaw, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color', *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1991): 1242.

¹⁶² Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 33.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 34.

their own individual confessions to suit specific internal or external circumstances only underlines that identities were constructible and replaceable.

Following the basic thread of Judith Butler's seminal work on gender identity, this thesis suggests a new direction for confessionalisation research. It approaches confessional identity from the angle of performative identity, rather than core-filled identity. That is, confessional identities were constructed through repeatedly performing ritual acts. Rather than reading historical sources—such as visitation records, hymns and liturgy—as genuine manifestations of deeply held beliefs and practices, the focus will therefore be on how these aspects functioned while identities were constructed through ritualistic 'doings' rather than 'beings': how individuals and communities used ritual to construct their confessional life, how authorities used ritual to assert their power, and how the re-use, misunderstanding and refusal to adhere to prescribed ritual functioned as a means of resistance to religious and state authority.

A focus on ritual in the wake of the Reformation is especially appropriate, given that Protestants of many stripes reshaped rather than abandoned pre-Reformation rituals. As Peter Burke has contended, 'the reformers quickly felt the need for substitutes for what they had abolished, and ritual, expelled at the door, came back in through the window'.¹⁶⁴ Bettina Varwig has likewise observed that ritual was renegotiated rather than dismissed by Protestants, and celebrations of the Reformation centenary in 1617 bring this to the surface. Not only was 'Reformation day' made into a Lutheran feast day, but the figurehead of Martin Luther was celebrated on All Saints Day, the day set aside for worshipping saints of the church.¹⁶⁵

Although early modern ritual has been widely addressed by scholars from multiple disciplines, defining what early modern ritual—or ritual in any age—was and is has been challenging. Burke writes elsewhere: "'Ritual" is a difficult term to catch in a definition...it refer[s] to the use of action to express meaning, as opposed to more utilitarian actions and also to the expressions of meaning through words or images'.¹⁶⁶ Despite eluding definition, anthropologists and historians alike have noted the effects of ritual. According to Emil Durkheim, shared religious ritual is a unifying force, bringing together otherwise disparate sections of society: 'A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a

¹⁶⁴ Peter Burke, *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 230.

¹⁶⁵ Bettina Varwig, *The Histories of Heinrich Schütz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 28.

¹⁶⁶ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 257.

Church, all those who adhere to them'.¹⁶⁷ Durkheim's views have not only been expanded to include secular as well as sacred ritual, but ritual has been shown to be a separating as much as a unifying force. Ritual does indeed have a unifying ability, but instead of unifying a whole society it consolidates sections of society, uniting people already similar to one another in some way. As a result, society becomes more fragmented according to the specific rituals of its constitutive sections. Susan Karant-Nunn has found this to be the case with wedding and funeral ceremonies in early modern Germany. Although church officials insisted that all Christians attend these ritualised events to instil a sense of the Protestant belief of the 'priesthood of all believers', people were reluctant to venture outside of their own social class; instead, people 'identified with, and lent their support to, those in their own stratum'.¹⁶⁸

Just as ritual can create and maintain unity, it can also be a subversive force, because, as David Kertzer has observed, the same ritual can be interpreted in different (and divergent) ways. The multivocality of ritual can therefore create the experience of solidarity in the absence of consensus. He concludes: 'it should hardly be surprising that ritual symbolism is often ambiguous: the symbol has no single precise meaning. Put in more positive terms...the complexity and uncertainty of meaning are sources of their strength'.¹⁶⁹

Although ritual might be seen to unify in some cases and separates in others, ritual like gender identity has a strong performative element, and approaching ritual via its performativity allows a focus on what ritual does rather than on what it is supposed to mean.¹⁷⁰ Durkheim defines a Church as 'a society whose members are united because they *imagine* in the same ways the sacred world and its relationship with the profane world, and because they *translate* this shared representation in identical practices'.¹⁷¹ The most sophisticated treatment of the performative aspect of ritual is that of Stanley Tambiah.¹⁷² Refuting the supremacy of thought over action in sociological method, Tambiah corrects this imbalance by focussing on performative ritual for both its physical and mental (or 'drastic' and 'gnostic') qualities. For Tambiah, performance demonstrates that the social relations and networks of ritual are just as important as the

¹⁶⁷ Emil Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (London: Allen and Unwin, 1915), 47.

¹⁶⁸ Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: an Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 1997), 195.

¹⁶⁹ David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 11.

¹⁷⁰ Catherine Bell, *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 73.

¹⁷¹ Philip Smith and Jeffrey C. Alexander, 'Introduction: the New Durkheim', in *Cambridge Companion to Durkheim*, ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 26.

¹⁷² Stanley J. Tambiah, 'A Performative Approach to Ritual', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979): 133–169.

semantic structure of the ritual's text. Catherine Bell cautions, however, that while performance may throw more light on ritual and ultimately help us to understand what does (or does not) constitute a ritual, 'there is no basis to differentiate among ways of performing'.¹⁷³ In other words, because no criterion exists by which to judge whether one performance of a ritual is more accurate than another, a ritual cannot therefore be defined simply by one type of performance.

For Nischan, performance of ritual was a litmus test for measuring the 'purity' of confessional identity, as '[p]eople might not comprehend the subtle arguments of the theologians, but they certainly recognised the *fractio panis* as a Reformed ritual that suggested a Calvinist understanding of the sacrament just as they viewed exorcism as part of the Lutheran baptismal office'.¹⁷⁴ The most detailed treatment of confession and ritual is that of Susan Karant-Nunn. If Schilling sees religious documents as confessional cores, Karant-Nunn considers confessional ritual to be the heart of confessional groups. Drawing on examples from areas throughout the early modern German-speaking realm, she concentrates only on major rituals involving institutional oversight: marriage, baptism, etc. Her intentionally broad approach invites case studies to see in more detail how local ritual interacted with confessional trends. Thus, as a means of testing the confessionalisation theory's applicability to music, this thesis will focus on the interface of ritual and music in Lutheran and Calvinist individuals and communities in Heidelberg between 1556 and 1618, in order to understand not only how distinct different confessional groups were, but also how music—through ritualistic performance—reflected and actively shaped Lutheran and Calvinist identities.

Following Tambiah and Karant-Nunn, this thesis will examine not just the musical 'content' of ritual (in this case the confessional repertoires) but also the sites and patterns of their performance. Additionally, the multiple voices of those participating in ritual will elucidate the different ways the same rituals were experienced differently not only by those of different confessions, but also those of the same confession.

Chapter Two, 'Hymns, Hymnbooks and Religious Ritual', explores printed hymnbooks in Heidelberg and the extent to which Lutherans and Calvinists drew on a common repertory of German Protestant hymns, despite theological and liturgical differences. In order to create a suitable repertory consisting of all 150 psalms (similar

¹⁷³ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 42.

¹⁷⁴ Bodo Nischan, 'Ritual and Protestant Identity in Late Reformation Germany' in *Lutherans and Calvinists in the Age of Confessionalism*, ed. Bodo Nischan (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), II, 157.

to that in use in Francophone Calvinism since 1562), Heidelberg's Calvinists were forced to appropriate a large number of Lutheran hymns, until Lobwasser's German translation of the Genevan Psalter in 1573 (with its first printing in Heidelberg in 1574). However, despite the introduction of Lobwasser's psalter in Heidelberg churches after 1574, the initial Lutheran-based hymn repertory never disappeared. Indeed, almost without exception, hymnbooks printed after 1583 not only placed the Genevan and Lutheran-based repertories side-by-side, but contained instructions for the ritualistic use of Lutheran hymns in both domestic life and church life. Paradoxically, such ritual performance of both Lutheran and Calvinist hymns, I argue, was seen as essential (rather than problematic) to developing a proper German Calvinist identity.

Chapter Three, 'Music, Education and Discipline', examines how the impulse to educate through music—like social discipline—was trans-confessional. Education involved teaching the young certain ritualistic acts that helped to develop a proper confessional identity. Like Percy Scholes's study *The Puritans and Music*, which offered a picture of rich musical education among Calvinists in Commonwealth England and Puritans in North America¹⁷⁵, this chapter presents a similarly revisionist study of Calvinist musical education. Indeed, Heidelberg's Lutherans and Calvinists considered music a potent tool for shaping the young, thereby securing their success as a confessional group. This chapter examines educational programmes in the city's primary institutions—the court, schools and university—revealing through heretofore undiscovered or undiscussed primary sources that provisions for Calvinist music education continued the patterns established by both Lutheran predecessors and pre-Reformation Catholics. Princely pupils in the court regularly heard, composed and performed a wide variety of instrumental and polyphonic vocal music, as did pupils in Heidelberg's schools. Examining the musical activities of university students demonstrates how music was a part of youthful rowdiness, as loud singing and bawdy love songs accompanied students on their rite of passage from boyhood to adulthood. Finally, Latin-texted music remained an established part of educational life in Heidelberg. Despite the fervent prohibition of Latin in ecclesiastical life among Calvinists, two archetypally Calvinist documents—the Genevan Psalter and the Heidelberg Catechism—were translated into Latin and set to music for use by pupils

¹⁷⁵ Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: a Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934; reprinted London: Russell & Russell, 1962), 160–170.

and students alike, thereby continuing medieval ritual and enabling communication between foreign and German students.

Chapter Four, 'Music Books, Social Networks and Gift Rituals', investigates music book production, collection and circulation. Since the sixteenth century, the success of the Reformation has been attributed, in part, to printing and books—a view taken on and characterised in recent scholarship as 'no printing, no Reformation'. Yet, as this chapter examines, books were also deeply personal items. D.F. McKenzie advocates a sociological approach to bibliography, focussing less on books as sources of ideas and images and more on the myriad experiences of individual readers.¹⁷⁶ And as Natalie Zemon Davis has suggested, books were powerful 'carriers of relationships': in them one can see how individuals engaged with one another.¹⁷⁷ At its core, Chapter Four is an exploration of how music books circulated after initial purchase. It examines numerous heretofore unknown archival and printed sources that bear clear marks of the books' embeddedness in their owners' social world. Whether through printed dedications, presentation manuscripts or handwritten inscriptions in extant books, it demonstrates that music books and manuscripts were regularly exchanged not only across confessional lines, but in accordance with well-established rituals of gift-giving that tied together the identities of giver and recipient.

Chapter Five, 'Court, Ceremony and Confession', analyses the interface of local and imperial ritual in court ceremonies. Magnus Rüdé has suggested that religious belief was only one regulator of policy and running of princely courts in the confessional age, since a prince and his council were concerned with both the local and imperial well-being of the state.¹⁷⁸ Scholarly attention to princely courts should therefore focus on the inward as well as outward ramifications of policy. Accordingly, this chapter examines how the use of local and imperial ritual in court ceremony stabilised the social hierarchy within Heidelberg, and how elaborate musical provisions reflected the Palatinate's status within the empire rather than confessional norms. By comparing the musical aspects of different courtly funeral processions, I show that music was regulated by factors other than confession, such as gender, social class and age. Not all members of the court were given elaborate musical provisions for funeral processions; rather, music in processions reflected the deceased's gender and age as well as noble status or

¹⁷⁶ Donald F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

¹⁷⁷ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975), 192.

¹⁷⁸ Magnus Rüdé, *England und Kurpfalz*, 24.

confession. That musical provisions in the court were tied to gender is elaborated by looking at the chapel arrangements made at the arrival of Elizabeth Stuart to the Heidelberg court. In her case, she was denied the use of the chapel and given no singers. The result was services sounding like London parish churches rather than the chapel royal to which she was accustomed.

This thesis breaks new ground in several ways. Firstly, although it is not the first study to apply the confessionalisation thesis to music, it is the first study to examine confession with regard to the music of a court and a university. Heidelberg, uniquely among early modern German cities, was the only locale to contain a court and university as well as an ecclesiastical centre. Moreover, this thesis is the first full-length examination of music and ritual in early modern Germany. Ritual shows how identities were created and maintained. Ritual also shows how music consolidated different classes in the face of confession. Finally, this thesis is the first examination of music in the city of Heidelberg in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries since Fritz Stein's 1921 study. Although studies like that of Gerhard Pietzsch have addressed institutions and individuals of Heidelberg's musical life, none has investigated Heidelberg as a whole. One reason for this is perhaps the wide dispersion of archival sources, spread not only across Germany but as far afield as the Vatican and Scotland. Thus this study brings to light new sources and draws fresh conclusions about how music functioned in a city in the decades of its greatest blossoming, before the onset of the Thirty Years' War.

Chapter 2

HYMNS, HYMNBOOKS AND RELIGIOUS RITUAL

Divisions between Catholic and Lutheran sacred music in the sixteenth century have long attracted the attention of musicologists, historians and theologians. But although the relationship between Catholic and Lutheran groups was far from amicable, after 1550 Lutheran antagonism was at times more directed at Calvinism than Catholicism. Echoing the belief ‘better Papist than Calvinist’ held by Polykarp Leyser (mentioned in Chapter One), Brandenburg theologian Christoph Pelargus (1565–1633) wrote similarly that ‘Lutherans and Calvinists are as irreconcilable as water and fire’.¹

Official ecclesiastical publications such as church orders (*Kirchenordnungen*)—accompanied by clerical visitations and strategies for social discipline—were designed to create a confessionally uniform society, distancing a territory not only from opposing confessional areas but also from its own pre-Reformation past. Well-known musical markers that distinguished Calvinist from Lutheran music included the abandonment of Latin polyphony and organs in worship in favour of singing metrical psalms in the vernacular. For Lutherans, singing psalmody and versifying the whole psalter (as in Geneva) became closely tied with heretical Calvinist theology and invited accusations of ‘crypto-Calvinism’ or even violence. Fervent Lutherans prayed: ‘From strange melody, from all false doctrine, and from Calvinistic screaming, Lord, preserve us evermore’.²

However, the ferocious response that could accompany the performance or even mention of certain musical repertoires (such as that described by Bodo Nischan in Brandenburg³) gives the false impression of hermetically sealed confessional musical cultures, and belies the profound fluidity that existed between Lutheranism and Calvinism. Luther himself versified psalms from the 1520s onwards, albeit normally individual psalms like ‘Ein feste Burg’ (Psalm 46) and ‘Aus tiefer Not’ (Psalm 130). Lutherans also versified increasingly larger sections of scripture and set them to music—even the Calvinist hallmark of all 150 psalms. Well-known examples include Sigmund Hemmel’s polyphonic *Der gantz Psalter Davids* (Tübingen, 1569), and polyphonic psalm settings by Michael Praetorius in *Musae Sioniae IV* (Helmstadt, 1607). Possibly the best-known example is Ambrosius Lobwasser’s *Psalter des*

¹ Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People and Confession*, 88.

² ‘Für fremder Melodey/Für all falschen Lehr/Für Calvini Geschrey/Allzeit Herr uns bewahr’. Quoted and translated in Robin Leaver, ‘Genevan Psalm Tunes in the Lutheran Chorale Tradition’, 145.

³ Bodo Nischan, *People, Prince, Confession*, 145–153.

königlichen Propheten Davids, printed in Leipzig in 1573, in which the Lobwasser (a nominal Lutheran with Calvinist sympathies) translated the Genevan Psalter into German and retained the Genevan tunes. A counterblast to Lobwasser's perceived crypto-Calvinism was Cornelius Becker's *Der Psalter Davids gesangweis* (Leipzig, 1602, later set to music by Heinrich Schütz in 1628).

Because the musical boundaries separating the confessions were at times just as fluid as solid, a more nuanced view of music's role and power to confessionalise must be sought. By exploring the form, as well as the content, of religious ritual in Heidelberg, this chapter will problematise for the first time the fault lines between German Calvinist and Lutheran music.⁴ Hymns will throw into sharper relief the process by which Calvinists—religious authorities as well as popular culture—went about dismantling the patterns and repertoires of established Lutheran musical culture. Because Lutheranism was reintroduced between 1576 and 1583, the opposite process can also be seen: Lutherans replacing Calvinist culture. I begin by discussing church orders and liturgies instituted in Heidelberg between 1546 and 1618, before moving to an examination of hymnbooks produced in Heidelberg. The chapter concludes by looking at how hymns sung in non-liturgical contexts nevertheless became highly ritualised by Heidelbergers.

I. Liturgical Ritual and Church Orders

In recent years, scholars have sought to redefine what liturgy is and what it does. Rather than seeing it simply as a corpus of religious texts, ritual theorist Ronald Grimes believes that 'liturgy tries to focus all things through a few things. It does so by "re-presenting" events and event-ualizing structures. Liturgies make events endure, and they make structures "happen"'.⁵ The process of re-presenting 'a few things' in well-worn patterns does more than honour or memorialise whatever (or whoever) is being remembered, however; liturgy also forges community out of otherwise disparate individuals. As Lawrence A. Hoffman proposes, Christian liturgy is an especially powerful 'holistic network of interrelationships that bind together discrete things, acts,

⁴ Fritz Stein's study, published in 1921, mentions little of how Heidelberg's confessional changes might have impacted hymn culture. In a 1938 study, Hermann Poppen focussed only on the hymnbooks printed in Heidelberg between 1567 and 1575, and gives little attention to confessional implications. See *Stein II*, 84–88; Hermann Poppen, *Das erste Kurpfälzer Gesangbuch und seine Singweisen* (Lahr: Karlsruhe, 1938). For a general overview of Heidelberg's reforms, see Eike Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: C. Winter Verlag, 1998).

⁵ Ronald Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*, Rev. Ed. (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 52.

people, and events into the activity we call worship—or better still, ritual’.⁶ The anthropocentric approach to liturgy has led some scholars to regard it as social performance. It thus becomes an ‘arena of intense communication of cultural values and the negotiation of power within social formations at given historical moments’.⁷ Viewed in this way, liturgy is a ritual site that brings people into close collaboration, and it invests performers in the object and the outcome of religious worship, as well as in their local religious identity.

As social processes, liturgy and music have much in common. Musical performance involves—and indeed communicates—the dynamics of social relationships just as much as notes on a page. According to Nicholas Cook, ‘music subsists in the collaborative action of people playing and working together, so that performances can be thought of as complex social interactions, and scores as scripting them’.⁸ Instructions for liturgy, like musical scores, choreograph the actions of their performers. Yet they also leave spaces (what Cook calls ‘underdetermination’) in which performers make decisions collaboratively. Sometimes individuals reach harmonious unity, whereas at other times they jockey for position. Because liturgy is a site of social interaction, and music the sound of it, it is no surprise that liturgical music often forged most strongly the identity of Christian communities from the Middle Ages onwards. Susan Boynton’s study of the medieval abbey of Farfa, for instance, takes as its starting point that the unique fusion of local ritual with more universal aspects of liturgy ‘formed the foundation of [their] corporate identity’.⁹

The following discussion of Heidelberg liturgies (see summary in Appendix C) instituted between 1546 and 1618 thus differs from previous scholarly treatments. Whereas scholars such as Andreas Cser and Eike Wolgast have probed Heidelberg’s Lutheran and Calvinist liturgies primarily to understand either the religious convictions of the electors instituting them or to write a history of the city’s churches in broad brush strokes¹⁰, my chronological study examines liturgy and music for what they reveal of social and confessional interactions in Heidelberg. Beginning the discussion in 1546 (ten years before the stated scope of this thesis) allows me to discuss the reforms within

⁶ Lawrence A. Hoffman, *Beyond the Text: A Holistic Approach to Liturgy* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987), 173.

⁷ Clifford Flanigan, Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, ‘Liturgy as Social Performance: Expanding the Definition’, in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. Thomas Heffernan and E. Ann Matter (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), 714.

⁸ Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 2–3.

⁹ Susan Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 4.

¹⁰ For instance, Andreas Cser, *Kleine Geschichte der Stadt und Universität Heidelberg*; Eike Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik*.

their broader context, and to ask more fundamental questions. What were the power structures at play? What were the underdetermined spaces in liturgy, how did Heidelbergers negotiate them, and what does that reveal about how the local musical culture was governed?

Protestantism made its first inroads in Heidelberg in 1546, when Elector Palatine Friedrich II instituted moderate Lutheranism.¹¹ Described by historian Philip Benedict as ‘a fairly undogmatic, Melancthonian territorial church’, services in the city’s four churches introduced German settings of various liturgical texts, intended ostensibly to educate and edify both learned and lay parishioners.¹² In the liturgy for Sunday services, the priest (*Priester*) now sang the Gospel reading for the day in German rather than Latin; moreover, the priest sang the Gospel and Epistle facing the congregation rather than away towards the altar. These actions, prescribed in Luther’s *Deutsche Messe* (1526), undermined the Roman Rite by reversing the traditional action (not the ritual form) of the Mass. According to Robin Leaver, ‘instead of prayer and intercession directed from the church to God, [Luther] saw it as the proclamation of the Gospel from God to the worshiping community’.¹³

Yet the 1546 Palatine liturgy contained far fewer reforms than Luther’s *Deutsche Messe* and created considerable continuity with the Roman Rite practised only a year prior. It stipulated that ‘one should sing Matins as usual’ (*soll man die Metten singen wie gewonlich*), no changes apparently being made.¹⁴ In the Heiliggeistkirche, the presence of the rood screen also created a visual and aural continuity with Catholicism, separating the choir of schoolboys and adult *alumni* from the rest of the congregation.¹⁵ Additionally, the priest still chanted much of the service in Latin: the introductory Versicle and Collect before the Introit, and the entire Preface of the Roman Rite on Feast Days—all of which were abandoned by Luther completely. And while Luther placed a German congregational hymn between the Epistle and the Gospel, the Palatine liturgy retained the Roman Gradual, Alleluia and Sequence sung by the choir.

Flexibility was given to the priest in choosing who would sing during Communion and what would be sung. Either the congregation could sing ‘Jesus Christus unser Heiland’, ‘Gott sei gelobet’ or ‘another Christian German psalm’ (*sonst ein cristlichen teutschen psalmen*), or the choir could sing alone either ‘Discubuit Jesus

¹¹ For church ordinances from Friedrich II, see *Sehling XIV*, 90–108.

¹² Philip Benedict, *Christ’s Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 211.

¹³ Robin Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 292.

¹⁴ *Sehling XIV*, 91.

¹⁵ Eberhard Zahn, *Die Heiliggeistkirche zu Heidelberg*, 53.

cum discipulis suis', or the German *Pange lingua*.¹⁶ By leaving the decision open, the leaders of particular churches were given the power over parishioners to choose which option best suited their own tastes or the musical abilities and provisions of their particular congregations. Ambiguity in liturgical orders, however, also safeguarded rulers from the perception of flouting imperial law, especially before the Peace of Augsburg (1555) granted princes legal recognition as Lutherans. Indeed, the limited and non-dogmatic introduction of Lutheran elements into Palatine churches allowed Friedrich II to keep the peace with the city population and their growing interest in Protestantism, while maintaining the appearance of confessional neutrality within the Imperial College of Electors.¹⁷

In attempting to find a balance between imperial expectation and the maintenance of local peace, Friedrich's church ordinance showed some similarities with that used in Electoral Saxony, another territory where Protestant inclinations were balanced against imperial conformism. In the singing of the Credo, for instance, 'the choir however [should sing] the Latin Nicene Creed and the people "Wir Glauben all an einem Gott"' (*chorus aber das latheinish simbulum Nicenum und das volck: Wir glauben all an einem Gott*). The presence of 'and the people' rather than 'or the people' suggests that Latin- and German-texted material was sung in succession: the intonation of the Latin credo came before the congregation sang the vernacular setting.¹⁸ A similar wording can be found in the 1539–40 Saxon *Agenda oder KirchenOrdnung*.¹⁹ Hence in both Saxony and the Palatinate, the dual presentation of the Creed (Latin and German) enabled services to cater for their socially diverse congregations.

Lutheran reforms intensified during the reign of Elector Ottheinrich (r.1556–1559).²⁰ Over a decade before his accession in Heidelberg, Ottheinrich had already instituted Lutheranism in the satellite Palatine territory of Pfalz-Neuburg in 1543.²¹ Ottheinrich keenly replaced the quasi-Lutheran reforms of his predecessor with a more stringent and dogmatic programme. For the considerable task of converting the entire Palatinate, however, Ottheinrich revised his 1543 Neuburg order to incorporate numerous aspects of the Württemberg church order (1553) developed by the Lutheran

¹⁶ *Sehling XIV*, 97. See Appendix C.

¹⁷ Marco Neumeier, 'The Epitome of a *Residenzstadt*', 433; Eike Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik*, 18.

¹⁸ *Sehling XIV*, 96.

¹⁹ Ed. Emil Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. I/1, *Sachsen und Thüringen nebst angrenzenden Gebieten* (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1902), 271.

²⁰ For the full church ordinance issued by Ottheinrich, see *Sehling XIV*, 111–220.

²¹ Ed. Emil Sehling, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. XIII, *Altbayern* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1966), 41–99.

Reformer Johann Brenz (1499–1570) and instituted in cities such as Stuttgart and Tübingen.²²

Music in the 1556 reforms (later reinstituted by Ludwig VI between 1576 and 1583) marked Palatine liturgy as distinctly Lutheran. Ottheinrich's order firstly reduced the musical role of the priest—now called a pastor (*Pfarrer* or *Kirchendiener*). The pastor still sang the Collect, Epistle and Gospel but no longer the introductory Collect and Versicle. By 1556, the option of a bilingual Credo disappeared; it was now sung only in German. Moreover, the final hymn of the 1556 liturgy was now a congregational German hymn, rather than the *Agnus Dei* sung by the choir. But despite its aim of intensifying 1546 reforms, Ottheinrich's liturgy did not abandon all of Friedrich's reforms. By leaving them as one of several options, the 1556 liturgy created numerous underdetermined musical spaces in which leaders of congregations negotiated liturgical reform themselves. After 1556, the Introit could be sung in Latin by a choir or as a German hymn by the congregation. Similarly, surviving elements from the Roman Rite such as the Kyrie and Gloria could be sung in German or in Latin.²³ In addition to revealing low church attendance, visitation reports from the Palatine town of Germersheim (roughly 20 miles from Heidelberg) indicate that pupils in 1556 indeed sang in both German and Latin: 'On Sunday...when the pupils sang in Latin and German...no more than ten women and equally so many men were in the church' (*Auf den Sontag, als...die Schüler lateinisch vnd teutsch gesungen...so waren doch vber zehen weibspersonen vnnd souil männer nit inn der kirchen*).²⁴

The justification for underdetermining the language of music in liturgy was no less than Scripture itself. The order's section on church song began by stating: 'Hereafter we order that singing in the German churches of our territory should be in German; similarly in the other offices, reading and speaking should occur in German'.²⁵ Immediately thereafter, however, it read:

Yet, since St Paul allowed foreign yet comprehensible languages to remain in the churches of his time, so the pupils may from time to time sing a Latin song from the Holy Scriptures or the Mass to practise in the church, between the

²² *Sehling XIV*, 23.

²³ The order stated *Et in terra pax* rather than *Gloria*. Likely the *Gloria* was intoned, while the *Et in terra pax* followed sung by the choir.

²⁴ Georg Biundo, 'Bericht und Bedenken über die erste kurpfälzische Kirchenvisitation im Jahre 1556', *Jahrbuch der Hessischen Kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung* 10 (1959): 16.

²⁵ 'Hierauf wollen und ordnen wir, das die kirchensang bey uns teutschen in den kirchen unserer chur- und fürstenthumben teutsch gesungen, wie auch die andern ämpter mit fürlesen und fürsprechen in teutscher sprach geschehen sollen'. *Sehling XIV*, 162.

second and third ringing of the bells und before the congregation comes together.²⁶

On the one hand, the 1556 order reflected Luther's belief that Latin should be retained in towns with Latin schools, for the sake of the schoolboys' education.²⁷ On the other hand, the decision to maintain Latin hinged on more than the quality of education received by the schoolboys. Abandoning Latin also threatened local power structures and potentially undermined the financial well-being of schools. The Neckarschule in Heidelberg, for instance, received financial support from the civic government for supplying music in church services and for funerals—funding which would have been jeopardised had boys been dismissed.²⁸

Ottheinrich's rule lasted only three years, ending with his untimely death in 1559. His Lutheran reforms were temporarily taken up by his successor, Friedrich III, until the latter issued the first Calvinist church order in the Holy Roman Empire in 1563.²⁹ As it turned out, establishing Calvinism in the Palatinate apparently did not require a wholly original liturgy. Just as Ottheinrich incorporated a pre-existing liturgy into his 1556 church order, so too did the 1563 Calvinist liturgy (also used from 1583 to 1618) draw on at least three liturgies developed outside of the Palatinate—Johann a Lasco's liturgy for the Dutch Stranger Church in London, the Lutheran church order from Württemberg (1553) used by Ottheinrich, and the Genevan liturgy.

Liturgist Bard Thompson summarises the granular nature of the Heidelberg liturgy thus:

The Baptismal office is largely Genevan. The Communion liturgy is patterned after [Johann] a Lasco's service [for the Strangers' Church in London], though many of the prayers and the first part of the exhortation through the fencing of the table are Genevan. The communion confession, spoken in the first person, is from Württemberg; the absolution, pronounced by the celebrant in the first person, is comparable to that of Cologne (1543). The Catechetical office, which

²⁶ 'Jedoch, nachdem S[anc]t Paulus die frembd, doch etlichen bekante sprach zu seiner zeit in der kirchen zur besserung zulässt, so mögen die schuler zu zeiten einen lateinischen gsang aus der heiligen schrift oder derselben gmeß inen zur übung in der kirchen zwischen dem andern und dritten glockenzeichen und, ehe das gemeine volck alles zusammenkompt, singen'. Ibid.

²⁷ As Luther wrote in the preface to the *Deutsche Messe*, 'Denn ich ynn keynen weg wil die latinische sprache aus dem Gottis dienst lassen gar weg komen, denn es ist myr alles umb die jugent zu thun'. Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Ausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe)*, vol. 19 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1897), 74.

²⁸ The presence of schoolboys in services will be discussed in Chapter Three.

²⁹ *Sehling XIV*, 333–408.

stresses catechetical preaching, and the Preparatory office are both similar to that of Württemberg.³⁰

Shown in Appendix C, the liturgy for the non-communion Sunday service was built symmetrically around the sermon: reading from Scripture, sung psalm, prayer, sermon, prayer, sung psalm and Benediction from Scripture. Chanted elements such as the Collect, Epistle and Gospel were removed, as were the Introit, Kyrie and Gloria. All Latin text was removed categorically from liturgy, as was all music that was not congregational.

The section entitled ‘Of Church Songs and Vesture’ (*Von Kirchen Gesängen und Kleidung*) instructed:

As much as the singing of Psalms is used, the Apostle Paul warns that singing should be done not only with the mouth but also with the heart, and that everything should serve for building up the churches. Therefore, since the heart cannot praise God with what it does not understand, now we want that no other songs than the German psalms should be sung in our churches.³¹

This view of music in the second half of the sixteenth century is archetypally Calvinist, especially the invocation of the Apostle Paul and New Testament scripture. In contrast to the Lutheran emphasis on the Old Testament, with its descriptions of cymbals, harps and other instruments played to God as found in the Psalms, Calvinist thinking centred on New Testament writings about praying and singing Psalms and scripture to God. John Calvin, for example, believed: ‘The other matter is the psalms which we wish to be sung in the church as we have it from the example of the ancient church and also the testimony of Saint Paul, who says that it is good to sing in the congregation with mouth and heart’.³²

As stated in Chapter One, such Calvinist liturgical reforms were considered by sixteenth-century Lutherans and Catholics, as well by present-day musicologists, as curtailing the opportunities for church music. Yet when considering music and liturgy as social performance, Calvinist liturgy is highly underdetermined—thus flexible and

³⁰ Bard Thompson, ‘The Palatinate Church Order of 1563’, *Church History* 23 (1954): 348.

³¹ ‘So viel das singen der Psalmen belangt /vermahnet der Apostel Paulus /daß es nicht allein mit dem mund /sondern auch mit dem herzen geschehen /und das alles zur aufferbawung der Kirchen dienen soll: Dieweil aber das herz /Gott mit dem nicht loben kann /daß es nit verstehet /so wollen wir hiemit /das keine andere dann Teutische Psalmen in unsern Kirchen gesungen werden’. *Sehling XIV*, 401.

³² Charles Garside, ‘The Origins of Calvin’s Theology of Music’, 10.

open to interpretation and social interaction among performers—and leaves many aspects of liturgical music unaddressed. It did not, for instance, forbid Latin-texted music to be sung outside public worship. As Chapters Three and Four will discuss, the performance of Latin polyphony among schoolboys was a valuable pedagogical tool and itself a highly ritualised part of the school day. Additionally, the 1563 order did not specify what schoolboys were to do during services. As in Ottheinrich's reign, they continued to sing under the direction of a cantor in Calvinist times as well, and the intra-civic power structures between church and school remained intact—thus preserving a resemblance to Lutheran musical institutions. Finally, the 1563 order gave no guidance to pastors on what constituted a psalm (*Psalm*) versus a hymn (*Gesang*), even though they were integral components of liturgy and, supposedly, Calvinist identity. As the next section will explore, Calvinists in Heidelberg interpreted the definition of 'psalms' liberally, and transgressed clear confessional lines by singing Lutheran hymns alongside German translations of the Genevan Psalter until the Thirty Years' War.

Thus far I have focussed on Mass and service liturgies designed for daily or weekly performance in parish churches, but the yearly liturgical calendar also regulated ritual activities of Lutherans and Calvinists in Heidelberg, as seen in Table 2.1. Despite undergoing significant reform with each change of confession, especially with Calvinists, yearly liturgical ritual paradoxically never became a defining marker of confessional difference. Popular festivity such as carnival (*Karneval* or *Fasching*) had never taken root in medieval Heidelberg like it did in cities throughout German-speaking lands—in part because the electors ensured that occasional festivities of the court (weddings, birthdays and funerals, for instance) remained the preeminent events for city residents.³³

Table 2.1: Liturgical Calendars in Heidelberg, 1556–1618³⁴

Lutheran	Season	Calvinist
All Sundays		All Sundays
Christmas and the following day	25 December	Christmas and the following day
New Year's Day	1 January	New Year's Day

³³ For more on carnival, see Norbert Schindler, *Rebellion, Community and Custom in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 93–145; Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 289–334.

³⁴ Drawn from *Sehling XIV*. For Lutheran periods, see p. 163. The Calvinist liturgical calendar is found on pp 397 and 575.

Epiphany	6 January	
Candlemas (<i>Leichtmess</i> or <i>Purificationes Mariae</i>)	2 February	
Annunciation (<i>Verkündigung Mariae</i>)	25 March	
Easter and the following day	Easter	Easter and the following day
Feast of the Ascension (<i>Himmelfahrt Christi</i>)	Easter + 39 days	Feast of the Ascension (<i>Himmelfahrt Christi</i>)
Whitsun (<i>Pfingsttag</i>) and the following Monday	Easter + 49 days	Whitsun (<i>Pfingsttag</i>) and the following Monday
Feast of John the Baptist (<i>Johannis baptistae</i>)	24 June	
Visitation (<i>Mariä Heimsuchung</i>)	2 July	
Dispersion of the Apostles (<i>Aller Apostel Tag</i>)	15 July	
Assumption (<i>Verschiedung Mariae</i>)	15 August	
Feast of St Michael the Archangel (<i>Michaelis archangeli</i>)	29 September	

By comparison with the Lutheran liturgical calendar, Calvinists in Heidelberg celebrated relatively few liturgical events. As in Geneva, there were no celebrations of Mary, saints or Apostles, and no feasts for six months between early June (Whitsun) and late December (Christmas Day). Yet Heidelberg Calvinists were more moderate than their Swiss counterparts. The Reformed church in Bern, for instance, celebrated four holidays (Christmas, Circumcision of Christ on 1 January, Annunciation and Ascension). In Geneva, authorities by 1545 forbade any religious holidays except Sundays; Christmas and Easter were to be normal workdays.³⁵ Calvinists in Heidelberg thus fell between Swiss and Lutheran practice: they simultaneously emphasised the importance of Sunday as a religious holiday yet retained celebrations eschewed by

³⁵ On Genevan liturgical time, see, for instance, Scott M. Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Reformed Church, 1536–1609* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), esp. 123–144.

fellow Calvinists, even celebrating holidays lacking explicit Biblical mandate such as New Year's Day.

Liturgical time found expression in Heidelberg in numerous other ways, too. The Heidelberg Catechism was divided its 129 questions into 52 sections (one for each Lord's Day), and Calvinists also retained the *lectio divina* that provided Scripture readings for the whole year.³⁶ Liturgical time also governed patterns of music-making in liturgy. A revised Calvinist church order from 1601 began by quoting verbatim the 1563 order, stating: 'we want nothing other than German psalms to be sung in our churches'. In 1601, however, the Palatine church council added the phrase: 'the psalms also should align with certain times of year and to teaching' (*und dieselben nach gelegenheit der zeit und lehr gerichtet werden*).³⁷

Two extant sources give an impression of what church authorities envisioned. Recalling his time spent in Heidelberg from 1608 onwards, Johann Heinrich Alting (1583–1644) wrote that hymns of 'Luther and others' (*Lutheri & aliorum*) were 'sung on holidays in remembrance of the extraordinary works of Christ in the New Testament' (*festis canerentur, in memoriam praecipuorum Christi beneficiorum in N.T.*)³⁸ Perhaps Alting was referring to well-known Lutheran hymns for major feast days, such as Luther's advent hymn 'Nun komm der Heiden Heiland' (a translation of the Latin hymn 'Veni redemptor gentium'), his Easter hymn 'Christ lag in Todesbanden' or 'Komm Gott schöpfer Heiliger Geist' for Whitsun—all of which hymns were found in Heidelberg hymnbooks, discussed below.

Liturgical patterns for the year are also found in a 1619 hymnbook printed in the Palatine town of Neustadt (DKL 1619⁰⁴).³⁹ Seen in Figure 2.1, after the unpaginated preface material came a 'short index how one can read the beloved psalter according to the season, his person or desire, and to make [the psalter] common (or ecumenical); And foremost which psalms in particular to observe for every feast or Sunday Gospel reading'.⁴⁰ Here the reader finds individual psalms from the archetypally Calvinist Genevan Psalter, now ritualised and assigned to the entire liturgical year for use by Palatine Calvinists.

³⁶ Found in Johann Posthius's *Neue Gesäng Auff die Sontags Euangelia* (Heidelberg: Abraham Smesmann, 1596).

³⁷ *Sehling XIV*, 575.

³⁸ Johann Heinrich Alting, 'Historia Ecclesiae Palatinae', 204.

³⁹ *Psalter vnd Psalmen Davids: Nach Frantzösischer Melodey in Teutsche Reymen artig gebracht: Auch eines jedes Psalmen inhaltt/vnd kurtz Gebetlein darauß/Durch Ambrosium Lobwasser* (Neustadt: Heinrich Starck, 1619).

⁴⁰ 'Kurtze Anzeig wie ein jeder den lieben Psalter/nach gelegenheit der Jahrzeit/seiner Person oder anliegens/lesen/unnd ihm gemein machen kan. Und erstlich was für Psalmen/neben eines jeden Fest oder Sontags Evangelio insonderheit zu betrachten'.

Figure 2.1: Page One of ‘Kurtze Anzeig...’ from *Psalter und Psalmen Davids* (DKL 1619⁰⁴)

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Examining music in Palatine liturgy demonstrates a significant point of overlap between two ostensibly distinct confessional groups: both Lutherans and Calvinists sang German hymns and psalms. The 1556 Lutheran order gave pastors the option to sing a German congregational hymn for the Introit (instead of a Latin motet), and instructed that only a German hymn or psalm (*Gesang* or *Psalm*) could be sung before the Benediction;

Lutherans could thus begin and end services by singing together in vernacular song. This thread is picked up strongly in Calvinist reforms of 1563, who themselves sang German psalms to open and close the service.

Although the orders from 1556 and 1563 differ in their nomenclature—Lutherans used the phrase ‘German hymn or psalm’ (*Gesang oder Psalm*) while Calvinists specify only psalms (*Psalmen*)—vernacular song can be classified as an underdetermined area of liturgical blueprints for both confessional groups. Orders failed to define how a *Gesang* differed from a *Psalm*, and neither Calvinist nor Lutheran orders specified whether or not common subcategories of vernacular sacred song were acceptable, such as German translations of pre-Reformation Latin chant for congregational use (*Leisen*) or versifications of scripture by hymn writers of other confessions, for instance. The task of interpreting the church orders and choosing repertory was left to individual congregations and their pastors.

As the following section explores, hymnbooks reveal how the underdetermination of vernacular song in liturgical ritual played out in social interactions between individuals—and between confessional groups—amidst increasing religious tension in the city. Unlike liturgy, whose authorised domain was inside parish churches, hymn-singing occurred outside as well as inside the church. By examining hitherto unresearched sources and recasting previous knowledge in new ways, my discussion maps for the first time the extent to which hymns functioned as scripts for the proper engagement with God and fellow Christians. In addition, I trace the extent to which Lutheran and Calvinist hymn cultures overlapped, in a time when the Palatinate was the flagship Calvinist territory in the Holy Roman Empire.

II. Hymns and Hymnbooks in Heidelberg, 1556–1575

After his accession in 1556, Ottheinrich arranged a meeting with Palatine church leaders to discuss the printing of a hymnbook to accompany his church order. By the 1550s numerous official vernacular hymnbooks were in circulation around German lands. Valentin Bapst’s *Gesangbuch*, for instance, featured a preface written by Martin Luther and contained the basic Lutheran repertory that would be used for two hundred years after its initial printing.⁴¹ But rather than appropriating a hymnbook created elsewhere, Ottheinrich desired one ‘created out of a variety of books, mostly from the hymnbook from Bonn of Melanchthon and Bucer’ (*ex variis libellis, maxime ex Hymnologia*

⁴¹ Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars*, 156.

Bonnensi Menanchthonis et Bucer).⁴² By this, Ottheinrich likely envisioned Bonn's *Gesangbüchlein Geistlicher Psalmen* (DKL 1550⁰⁵), fashioned after the no longer extant 1539 psalter from Strasbourg compiled under Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer.⁴³

In 1543 Bucer was invited to assist in reforming the city of Bonn by the Archbishop Elector of Cologne, Hermann von Weid, who had recently developed Lutheran sympathies and desired to see it flourish in Bonn, the capital of the archbishopric. With the help of humanist and Lutheran Reformer Philipp Melanchthon, Bucer instituted a middle-way Protestantism that combined elements of Swiss Reformed belief with strands of orthodox Lutheranism originating in central Germany. According to Martin Greschat, Bucer was 'the champion of Protestant unification' and was interested foremost in bridging confessional differences with Catholicism and within Protestantism.⁴⁴

Bucer's openness to incorporating different confessional traditions into Lutheranism can be seen in the Bonn *Gesangbüchlein*. The preface confirmed that the printer, working with Bucer, had 'collected other sacred songs, currently in use, from several books and put them into one book' (*hab ich darneben die andere geistliche Lieder welche in Christliche gebrauch jetzt seind auch aus viele Büchern gesammelt in ein Büchlein gestelt*).⁴⁵ The *Gesangbüchlein* indeed consisted of 165 German psalms and canticles organised into a full psalter (150 psalms, including some psalms with multiple settings) and composed by a wide variety of hymn writers: primarily the hymns of Luther and his Wittenberg circle, but also including hymns by Anabaptist radicals in Augsburg and Bohemian Protestants, to be examined in detail below. In short, readers from nearly every denomination in Protestant Germany before 1550 could open this psalter and find hymns they recognised from their own confessional tradition.

Upon suggesting that the Bonn hymnbook be instituted in Heidelberg, Ottheinrich immediately met resistance from his appointed church superintendent, Tilemann Hesshusen (1527–1588), who by contrast wanted a hymnbook containing 'only the songs of Luther' (*cantionibus solius Lutheri*).⁴⁶ Hesshusen's criticism is

⁴² Heinrich Alting, 'Historia Ecclesiae Palatinae', 174.

⁴³ An extant copy of DKL 1550⁰⁵ exists in the Bibliotheca Palatina (the former Heidelberg court library) collection in the Vatican Library (microfilm number: G401). For the connection of Strasbourg and Bonn, see Gerhard Bork, *Die Melodien des Bonner Gesangbuches in seinen Ausgaben zwischen 1550 und 1630: eine Untersuchung über ihre Herkunft und Verbreitung* (Köln: Stauffen-Verlag, 1955).

⁴⁴ Martin Greschat, *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 132.

⁴⁵ *Gesangbüchlein Geistlicher Psalmen*, preface, Ai.

⁴⁶ Heinrich Alting, 'Historia Ecclesiae Palatinae', 174.

puzzling given that the Bonn *Gesangbüchlein* contained a large number of Lutheran hymns. Probably Ottheinrich took ‘German songs and psalms’ of the 1556 Palatine church order to mean a hymn repertory taken from a sequential ordering of 150 psalms, whereas Hesshusen favoured a hymnbook like Bapst’s that was organised according to the liturgical year. Hesshusen might therefore have intended to regulate religious instruction in church, schools and homes via Luther’s corpus of catechism hymns.⁴⁷ The conflict between Ottheinrich and Hesshusen illustrates how, even at the planning stage of a hymnbook, church and state leaders of the same confessional persuasion battled for position over a permitted repertory—or indeed an acceptable definition—of vernacular hymnody. It is unknown whether Ottheinrich’s hymnbook was printed and does not survive, or whether it never materialised.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, it is worth concluding that (at least in theory) Ottheinrich approved of the Bonn repertory for weekly worship in the Palatine.

Paradoxically, a hymnbook with contents modelled on a Bonn exemplar did appear in Heidelberg—not under Ottheinrich, but in 1567 under his Calvinist successor, Friedrich III. Indeed, four different hymnbook editions—modelled on a revised edition of *Gesangbüchlein Geistlicher Psalmen* (DKL 1561⁰⁶)—puzzlingly appeared in Calvinist Heidelberg over a decade after Ottheinrich (DKL 1567⁰⁴, 1569¹¹, 1573⁰¹ and 1575⁰⁷), to be discussed below.

Until recently, scholars believed that the majority of Protestant congregants in the sixteenth century regularly used hymnbooks during the liturgy.⁴⁹ Joseph Herl has suggested, however, that Lutherans did not usually sing from hymnbooks in liturgy until the eighteenth century, relying instead on a memorised repertory of hymns and the leadership of a cantor from the front of the church.⁵⁰ Hymnbooks found use more commonly in the home, for the cultivation of individual or familial piety. Dubbed the *Hauskirche* or *Hauskirchlein*, domestic religious services ensured the Protestant family ‘paid witness to God by avoiding sin, begetting children, demonstrating domestic love, lasting piety and good faith’.⁵¹ And on the basis of an extensive survey of funeral

⁴⁷ Robin Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, esp. 105–170.

⁴⁸ No entry exists in DKL.

⁴⁹ Blume calls an *Enchiridion* printed by Hans Lufft (Wittenberg, 1526) the ‘first Wittenberg congregational songbook’. See Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music: A History* (London: Gollancz, 1975), 47.

⁵⁰ Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars*, 87–106.

⁵¹ C. Scott Dixon, *Contesting the Reformation* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2012), 135.

sermons (*Leichenpredigten*), Patrice Veit has found that hymnbooks helped house fathers (*Hausväter*) introduce song into this domestic religious ritual.⁵²

Whether in the church or in the *Hauskirche*, singing hymns was a vital and effective tool for social cohesion. Of early modern England Christopher Marsh writes that communal singing ‘helped to bind people to a new church and to generate feelings of membership and ownership’.⁵³ In the 1570s, Immanuel Tremellius—professor of Hebrew in Heidelberg—used the imagery of congregational singing to illustrate the unifying power of scripture: ‘The Psalm shows the great kindness of all the good things which men do together, just like singing together unites men, just like providing a chain in the mind, and joining the people together for a symphony of one choir’.⁵⁴

Given the importance of singing, authorities were concerned about illicit or heretical hymns and hymnbooks. Martin Luther warned his followers against unauthorised song, and did so on the title page of an official Lutheran hymnbook, the *Bapst Gesangbuch*:

Nowadays many false masters make songs;
be aware, and learn to judge them rightly.
Wherever God builds his church and word,
there the devil is bound to be, with deceit and with murder.⁵⁵

Safeguarding the contents of hymnbooks was necessary for religious leaders like Luther, because authorised hymnbooks functioned as an index of permitted hymns, distinguishing on behalf of readers which hymns were allowed or forbidden. The command Luther gives—‘learn to judge [hymns] rightly’—could be accomplished by lay Protestants simply by seeing whether a given hymn, possibly heard on the street or in the tavern, was included in Bapst’s hymnbook.

⁵² Patrice Veit, ‘Private Frömmigkeit, Lektüre und Gesang im protestantischen Deutschland der frühen Neuzeit: Das Modell der Leichenpredigten’, in *Frühe Neuzeit—Frühe Moderne: Forschungen zu Vielschichtigkeit von Übergangsprozessen*, ed. Rudolf Vierhaus et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 280; see also Stephen Rose, ‘“Haus Kirchen Cantorei”: Lutheran Domestic Devotional Music in the Age of Confessionalisation’, 103–22.

⁵³ Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 392.

⁵⁴ Immanuel Tremellius and Franciscus Junius, *Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi, Scholiisque pernecessariis illustrati* (London, 1580), preface. Translation taken from Kenneth Austin, ‘“Epitome of the Old Testament, Mirror of God’s Grace, and Complete Anatomy of Man”: Immanuel Tremellius and the Psalms’, in *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 225.

⁵⁵ ‘Viel falscher Meister itzt Lieder tichten/Sihe dich für und lern sie recht richten/Wo Gott hin bawet sein Kirch und sein wort/Da will der Teufel sein mit trug und mord’. *Das Babstche Gesangbuch*, title page.

In this way, hymnbooks were not just tools for the free expression of individual piety; instead, following the ideas of Nicholas Cook discussed above, they were scripts created by religious authorities that choreographed the religious lives of their lay performers. In the preface to her edition of hymns of the Bohemian Brethren, published in Strasbourg in 1534, Katharina Schütz Zell (1497–1562) envisioned her hymnbook playing a part in overturning Roman ritual. Instead of the ‘priest, monk or nuns with their incomprehensible song’, Schütz Zell proposed that

the seven holy times, Mass, vespers, and matins, will be sung thus: the artisan at his work, the maidservant at her dishwashing, the farmer and vinedresser on the farm, and the mother with the wailing child in the cradle...And teach your children and relatives to know that they do not serve human beings but God, when they faithfully (in the faith) keep house, obey, cook, wash dishes, wipe up and tend children...and that (while doing this very work) they can also turn to God with the voice of song.⁵⁶

Direct access to God for all believers was a central tenet of the Reformation, a concept familiar to Schütz Zell and her husband, pastor Matthäus Zell (1477–1548), who worked to establish Protestantism in Strasbourg between the 1520s and 1540s. But what Schütz Zell’s hymnbook presented was a blueprint for repeated and proper interaction with God—the supreme relationship for Protestants—aimed at people hitherto unable to engage directly with God. Simply put, Schütz Zell was telling the laity what to say and how to say it.

More fundamentally, hymnbooks were, in the first instance, tokens of authorities’ engagement with music. In Heidelberg hymnbooks were printed only by the official court printer (*typographus principis*) whose employment was approved by the elector. (For a table of all hymnbooks printed in Heidelberg and Neustadt, see Appendix D.) From 1566 the church council moreover censored all printed books produced in Heidelberg to guarantee their confessional veracity.⁵⁷ Like the books of Schütz Zell and Bapst discussed above, hymn publications in Heidelberg thus reveal a script developed by authorities for repeated use in home and church. But as the following section will

⁵⁶ Elsie Anne McKee, *Reforming Popular Piety in Sixteenth-Century Strasbourg: Katharina Schütz Zell and her Hymnbook* (Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1994), 67.

⁵⁷ *Sehling XIV*, 430–431.

address, such books in Heidelberg permitted confessional overlap rather than exclusivity, through the ritualised use of hymns from opposing religious traditions.

No clues survive as to why Heidelberg's Calvinists appropriated the Bonn hymn repertory. Nevertheless, the alteration of paratextual matter made by Heidelberg printer and editor Johann Mayer reveals concern that it fit local practice. For instance, numerous woodcuts of biblical figures were removed, reflecting iconoclastic tendencies in Heidelberg and other Calvinist areas.⁵⁸ Mayer also removed a calendar and chart listing the liturgical celebration of Saints for every day of the year, seen in Figure 2.2.

Also, the Heidelberg church appropriated only a portion of the hymns in Bonn's hymnbook. Whereas the Bonn hymnbook contained 165 total hymns—a full psalter with several psalms receiving multiple settings—the 1567 Heidelberg hymnbook adopted one quarter of these and compiled them in a section categorised as psalms (*Psalmen*). The 1567 Heidelberg hymnbook also added a section of sacred songs (*Geistliche Gesänge*) that were not strict metrical settings of scripture, but more freely composed religious poetry set to music.

Figure 2.2: Liturgical Calendar from *Gesangbüchlein Geistlicher Psalmen* (Bonn, 1561)

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

⁵⁸ Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544–1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); on Heidelberg, see Eike Wolgast, *Reformierte Konfession und Politik*, 45.

Section one contained 55 psalms (*Psalmen*) and canticles (*Lobgesänge*). The psalm repertory included well-known versifications such as Luther's 'Ein feste Burg' (Psalm 46) and 'Aus tiefer Not' (Psalm 130), and 'Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herren' (Psalm 103) by Johann Gramann (1487–1541), pastor in Königsberg and onetime rector of the Thomasschule in Leipzig.⁵⁹ This section also included canticles (i.e. hymns taken from scripture other than the psalms). Immediately following the Benedictus hymn 'Gebenedeiet sei Gott der Herr', a setting of Luke 1:68–79⁶⁰, were three different settings of the Marian canticle (the Magnificat): Luther's setting, 'Mein Seel erhebt den Herren mein', as well as 'Mein Seel erhebt zu dieser Frist' and 'Maria das Junckfrewlin zart'.⁶¹

Section two consisted of 55 sacred songs (*Geistliche Gesänge*) and included a variety of hymns for ritualised daily domestic use: performance at table (*Tischgesang*) and for prayer (*für Gebet*), for instance. It also contained occasional hymns such as Luther's translation of the *Media vita*, 'Mitten wir im Leben sind', and the Bohemian song 'Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben', both of which were to be sung at funerals. The hymns in section two also maintained a didactic function. Mayer indicated in the preface that he selected 'the best and most useful psalms and other Christian songs' (*die besten vnd gebreuchlichsten Psalmen/vn[d] andere Christliche Lieder*) in the hope that it would create 'good-hearted Christians and those keen for God's honour and glory' (*guthertzige/vnd auff Gottes ehr vnd preis beflussene Christen*).

The didactic function of the sacred songs is underscored firstly by the intended readership, identified by Mayer as 'the youth and the common folk of the [Palatine] church' (*die jugend vnd dass gemeine volck dieser Kirche*). As Chapter Three explains, school pupils sang vernacular hymns multiple times every day as part of their religious education, while semi-literate 'common folk', to borrow a term from Robert Scribner, learned the basics of faith primarily through a combination of singing and seeing.⁶² Moreover, Luther's six catechism hymns began section two; the Calvinist printer Mayer even called readers' attention to their didactic purpose through the heading: 'Sacred

⁵⁹ On Gramann, see *ADB* 26, 388–389.

⁶⁰ Strasbourg pastor Johannes Anglicus (a colleague of Matthäus Zell).

⁶¹ Wackernagel III/561, IV/274 W IV/ 275.

⁶² See Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); see also Rebecca Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001).

Songs from the Catechism of Doctor Martin Luther' (*Geistliche Gesenge/aus dem Catechismo/Doc. Mart.Luther*).⁶³

The psalms and sacred songs fell into separate sections according to their relationship to scripture, but Mayer also gave the two sections separate pagination. In other hymnbooks such separate pagination indicates that the sections were printed and marketed separately (as with a 1569 hymnbook discussed below). With the 1567 hymnbook, this does not appear to be the case. Firstly, the title page of the hymnbook indicated that it contained one section of psalms and one of sacred songs, as did Mayer's preface. Section two, moreover, lacked its own title page, which would be expected if it circulated separately from section one. Hence the division of biblical texts from the other sacred songs probably expressed theological belief. Although the definitions of song (*Gesang*) and psalm (*Psalm*) were unclear, this division reinforced the Calvinist desire to sing scripture and avoid mixing it with other types of secular or even religious song.⁶⁴

Although the immediate source for the hymns was the Bonn hymnbook, each of the individual hymns had its own history, with many of the texts originating as early as the 1520s.⁶⁵ The 55 psalm and canticle texts were a more or less even mixture of Reformed and Lutheran texts—28 originated from Reformed authors and a further 21 psalms came from Luther or other Lutheran authors.⁶⁶ The origins of songs in section two were predominantly Lutheran—38 were written by Luther or other Lutheran authors compared to nine from Reformed authors.⁶⁷ The hymn tunes in the 1567 hymnbook also display confessional heterogeneity: of the 76 different tunes used in the 1567 hymnbook, 44 tunes first appeared in Lutheran hymnbooks and 28 tunes come from Reformed hymnbooks.⁶⁸ Of the latter 28, none were Genevan psalms, but instead

⁶³ 'Die seind die heiligen Zehen Gebott', 'Vater Unser inn Himmelreich', 'Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam', 'Jesus Christ unser Heiland', 'Wir glauben all an einen Gott'. The sixth, 'Aus tiefer not', was found in the psalms section.

⁶⁴ Charles Garside, 'The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music', 1–36.

⁶⁵ The confessional designations are taken in part from Hermann Poppen, *Das erste Kurpfälzer Gesangbuch*. And while it is anachronistic to assume the origins were known the Heidelberg Protestants, tracing their origins does serve a heuristic function by giving a general impression of the confessional contents.

⁶⁶ Reformed authors: Matthias Greiter, Ludwig Oeler, Wolfgang Dachstein, Bernhard Waldis, Thomas Blaurer, Johann Englisch and Symphorian Altbießer; Lutheran authors: Martin Luther, Erasmus Alberus, Johann Zwick, Erhard Hegewalt, Hans Sachs, Veit Dietrich and Heinrich Vogtherr. Six remaining texts are by: Jakob Dachser, Johann Horn and Michael Weiße.

⁶⁷ A further four are from Bohemian Brethren, two are pre-Reformation *Leisen*, one comes from Bonn, and one text is original to Heidelberg ('Herr, nach deinem Willen', written by Friedrich III).

⁶⁸ Lutheran hymnbooks: *Achtliederbuch*, DKL 1524¹²; Walter *Geistliches Gesangbüchlein*, DKL 1524¹⁸; Erfurt, DKL 1524^{03/04} and 1527⁰³; Klug DKL 1529⁰³, 1533⁰² and 1535⁰⁶; Magdeburg DKL 1540⁰⁹; Bapst DKL 1545⁰¹; Reformed hymnbooks: Strasbourg DKL 1525^{02/03}, 1526¹⁰, 1530⁰⁶, 1537^{02/05}, 1538⁰² and

came from Reformed areas such as Zürich and Strasbourg. Together, the texts and tunes of the 1567 *Psalmen und Geistliche Lieder* clearly show that Heidelberg's Calvinist hymn repertory was confessionally heterogeneous, with interconnections maintained with both Lutheran and Reformed areas.

At the time of Hermann Poppen's 1938 study, only three editions of this Bonn-inspired hymnbook were thought to have been produced in Heidelberg: the 1567 edition discussed above, and two editions from 1573 and 1575, each containing a full psalter with 150 psalms and over 80 sacred songs.⁶⁹ Thirty years after his study, the RISM project *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied* uncovered one further hymnbook in the University Library in Uppsala, Sweden.⁷⁰ A duodecimo printed in 1569, *Psalmen Hundert und Fünffzig/ Sampt andern Composition/ Geistliche Liedern/ und Kirchenordnung* has received no scholarly attention before this thesis. The title pages of the 1567, 1569 and 1575 editions are shown in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3: Title Pages of 1567, 1569 and 1575 Hymnbooks (Image of 1573 Unavailable)

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

The 1569 edition is unique compared to its 1567 predecessor and the successive hymnbooks of 1573 and 1575. It was the only edition printed by Michael Schirat,

1541^{05/06}, Bonn DKL 1561⁰⁶ and Zürich DKL 1540⁰⁶. Two come from the Bohemian Brethren DKL 1531⁰² and 1544⁰¹, and two are original to Heidelberg 1567.

⁶⁹ Hermann Poppen, *Das erste Kurpfälzer Gesangbuch*, 27–59.

⁷⁰ Currently lacking a shelfmark.

whereas the other three were printed by Schirat's friend and colleague Johann Mayer. Schirat and Mayer were both university printers from 1563 to 1578, working closely with one another and even being incarcerated together for printing a politically charged booklet in 1567—the content of which is unknown.⁷¹ The discovery of the 1569 hymnbook reveals for the first time that Schirat's printing technique fundamentally differed from Mayer.⁷² Instead of printing the musical notation with moveable type like the editions of Johann Mayer, Schirat used woodblock, displayed in Figure 2.4. Printing with woodblock was more expensive and time consuming to produce than moveable type, as each block of musical notation needed to be carved and was thus far less versatile. Given the effort involved to create woodblocks, one might have expected more than one printing of this hymnal—indeed, more editions may have been planned but never realised.

Figure 2.4: Moveable Type of 1567 Hymnbook versus Woodblock of 1569 Hymnbook

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

⁷¹ Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. Und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet: Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007), 357.

⁷² DKL recorded only that the 1569 book existed, not specific characteristics of its production or print technique.

The 1569 edition reveals that a full psalm repertory was circulating in Heidelberg by this date, not 1573 as Poppen believed. Compared to the 1567 edition and its 110 entries, the 1569 hymnbook contained 221 hymns in two sections: 158 psalms, seven canticles and 56 sacred songs. In the 1569 edition, the psalm repertory was no longer an even mixture of Strasbourgian Reformed and Lutheran texts, as in 1567; it was now dominated by 96 texts originating in *Der new gesangpsalter* (Augsburg, 1538). While the preface to the 1538 Augsburg psalter specifies that it contained ‘all the sacred songs that one sings in Wittenberg, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ulm, Zurich, Basel and Strasbourg, as well as many new songs that have never been printed before now’, the psalms appropriated in Heidelberg in 1569 were largely the poetic creations of a trio of authors connected with Augsburg, the Anabaptists Sigmund Salminger (c.1500–c.1554) and Jakob Dachser (d. 1567) and the Zwinglian Joachim Aberlin (d. c.1554).⁷³ After the Augsburg subset, the most significant groups in section one were the Reformed group (39 psalms) and Lutheran authors (28 psalms).⁷⁴ Section two of sacred songs, by contrast, was still dominated by texts from Lutheranism—35 were Lutheran compared to twelve by Reformed authors.⁷⁵ (The selection of tunes is discussed below.) Hence, while church authorities sought to distance the Heidelberg church from Lutheranism through the Heidelberg Catechism and church orders, the hymnbook they helped to produce displays a picture of confessional diversity and inclusion, now incorporating the musical creations of radical reform groups such as Anabaptists as well as moderate Lutherans.

Table 2.2: Number of Hymn Texts in 1561 Bonn Hymnbook and Heidelberg Hymnbooks, 1567–1575

	1561 Bonn	1567 Heidelberg	1569 Heidelberg	1573/75 Heidelberg
Section 1: Psalms and Canticles	165	55	165	165
Section 2: Sacred Songs	n/a	55	56	84

⁷³ ‘Psalter / sampt allen Geistliche liedern / so man zu Witte[n]berg / Nuernberg / Augspurg Vlm Zuerch Basel Strassburg zusinge[n] pflegt/ sampt vil Neuen erst jetzt hin zuthonen liedern Der gleichen vor nie ausgangen sein’.

⁷⁴ One was by the Protestant and mystic Adam Reussner, and one from Heidelberg.

⁷⁵ Four came from Bohemian Brethren Michael Weiße and Johann Horn, four were pre-Reformation *Leisen* and one came from Heidelberg.

Total texts	165	110	221	249
-------------	-----	-----	-----	-----

The repertoires in hymnbooks from 1573 and 1575 were drawn from the 1569 hymnbook. As they showed only marginal changes from 1569, I will thus not discuss them in detail here.⁷⁶ Suffice it here to say; while the editions of 1573 and 1575 added new 28 psalm and hymn texts, the confessional make-up was not significantly altered. As in 1569, section one was dominated by Augsburg authors, and Lutheran authors constituted the majority in section two.⁷⁷

It is unlikely that the laity of Heidelberg were aware of the confessional origins of their hymn repertory; perhaps ignorance of where hymns came from helped church officials to introduce it successfully without major problems. What would have been known to a subset of the Heidelberg population was how its hymn repertory compared to those instituted in nearby locales, or those contained in well-circulated hymn collections. I have already mentioned Bapst's 1545 hymnbook, which contained a preface by Martin Luther and served as the basis for Lutheran hymnbooks for almost three hundred years afterwards. Despite serving different confessional groups and organising their hymn contents differently, the Bapst and Heidelberg hymnbooks share a large number of hymn texts. Of the 110 total hymn texts found in the 1567 Heidelberg hymnbook, exactly one half (55 texts) are found in the Bapst hymnbook—16 psalms and canticles and 39 sacred songs—the majority of which are set to the same tunes.⁷⁸

A comparison with a Lutheran hymnbook from the same region as Heidelberg, the *Gesangbuch* from Pfalz-Zweibrücken (DKL 1557⁰⁷), yields similar results. Of the 110 total hymn texts in the 1567 Heidelberg edition, 56 (21 psalms and canticles and 35 sacred songs) have concordances with texts in the Lutheran Pfalz-Zweibrücken hymnbook. Lutheran reforms were first instituted in 1540 by Wolfgang von der Pfalz-Zweibrücken (1526–1569) and were maintained until the 1580s. Church officials there expressed disapproval of any form of Calvinism; a 1558 church visitation sought to identify and suppress any 'Zwinglian and Calvinist opinion' (*Zwinglische unnd Calvinische Opinionen*).⁷⁹ Heidelbergers were thus within only a two days' walk of a

⁷⁶ For a full discussion of the similarities, see Hermann Poppen, *Das erste Kurpfälzer Gesangbuch*, 58–59.

⁷⁷ The confessional breakdown of the new additions in 1573 are: nine from Reformed areas, four by Luther, nine from other Lutheran authors, four from Bohemian Brethren, one from Bonn and two original to Heidelberg.

⁷⁸ Some exceptions exist, notably the tune for 'Aus tiefer Not', which is set to the Strasbourg melody (*Zahn* No. 4438) rather than the Lutheran melody (*Zahn* No. 4437). However, the Lutheran melody is not absent; it is the tune for Psalm 2 'Hilff Gott wie geht es immer zu'.

⁷⁹ Ed. Klaus Bümlein, *Zweibrücker Gesangbuch 1557* (Heidelberg: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2007), 9.

territory where not only half of their hymn repertory was in use, but officials were actively rooting out Calvinist activity.

The psalter of Sigmund Hemmel (c.1520–1565) reveals an even more striking picture of shared music among opposing confessions. Hemmel was first a tenor (*Tenorist*) then chapel master (*Kapellmeister*) in the court of Ulrich (1487–1550) and Christoph von Württemberg (1515–1568) in Stuttgart between 1544 and 1565. Between 1550 and the 1560s he compiled *Der gantz Psalter Davids* (RISM A/1 H 5020) for use in the Württemberg court chapel. It was then printed posthumously in Tübingen in 1569. Like the 1569 Heidelberg hymnbook, Hemmel drew his texts and tunes almost exclusively from the 1561 Bonn hymnbook.⁸⁰ (Hemmel's psalter does not contain a second section consisting of sacred songs.) As a result, the Hemmel psalter shares 85 per cent (130 of 153 psalms) of its texts with those found in section one (*Psalmen*) of the 1569 Heidelberg hymnbook.⁸¹ The hymnbooks developed in Heidelberg, then, were hardly unique. Heidelberg's authorities were, to a certain extent, participating in a regional trend by drawing from the Bonn hymnbook. The desire to create a complete vernacular psalter was expressed by a range of people, confessions and institutions in southwest German territories, thus creating overlap in the musical cultures of such disparate institutions as the Calvinist churches in Heidelberg and the Lutheran court chapel in Stuttgart.

Thus far, I have addressed the mixed confessional origins of hymn texts in the four Heidelberg hymnbooks between 1567 and 1575. In various theologies of music circulating in sixteenth-century German lands, texts were the primary locus of theological meaning and instruction, and were thus often considered more important than tunes. In Lutheran circles entire sermons expounded the meaning of one hymn text. In Lutheran Joachimsthal, Johann Mathesius (1504–1565) preached a sermon about Psalm 46 using the text of Luther's hymn, 'Ein feste Burg', hoping not only to expound the meaning of Psalm 46 but also that his parishioners 'may prize [their] German hymn "Ein feste Burg" all the more'.⁸²

It was also on the basis of texts and their translations that Lutherans criticised Calvinist psalm singing. Because Christ was only foreshadowed rather than explicitly

⁸⁰ Hidehiko Hori, '*Der gantz Psalter Davids*' (1569) von Sigmund Hemmel: *Süddeutsche Psalmengesänge nach der Reformation* (Aachen: Shaker, 1997), 22.

⁸¹ The overlap of Hemmel and the 1569 Heidelberg hymnbook is less straightforward regarding tunes. Not only did Hemmel compose four-part settings of the tunes (compared to monophonic settings in Heidelberg), but the majority of tunes were newly composed by Hemmel. Of the 137 tunes in Hemmel, Hidehiko Hori estimates that 91 were new compositions. Hidehiko Hori, '*Der gantz Psalter Davids*' (1569) von Sigmund Hemmel, 35.

⁸² Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Reformation*, 101.

mentioned in a literal translation of the psalms, Lutherans warned of the judaising effect Calvinists introduced into Protestant theology—that is, Calvinists equated Christ as Messiah less explicitly than Lutherans. Both Melissus and Lobwasser (discussed below) rendered literal translations of Psalm 46, making no mention of Christ. In his ‘Ein feste Burg’, Luther on the other hand translated ‘the Lord of the Sabbath’ (*Herr Sabaoth*) directly as Christ, understanding an Old Testament psalm through the lens of the New Testament.⁸³ Such theological and translation disputes often occurred separate from any consideration of tune. Addressing the tunes themselves, Calvin believed that they should not distract the singer away from the meaning of the texts. Tunes were a way of learning the texts and they should never distract from the texts’ meaning. He therefore warned in 1543 that parishioners’ ears ‘not be more attentive to the melody than [their] minds to the spiritual meaning of the words’.⁸⁴

On a practical level, however, tunes were vital for ensuring the successful institution of a hymn repertory as a whole. Because sixteenth-century Protestant congregations did not use hymnbooks in liturgy with regularity, parishioners could only realistically sing as many tunes as they could memorise—estimated at roughly 20 tunes.⁸⁵ Effectively managing a small repertory of tunes could thus alleviate the difficulty of introducing a full psalter of 150 texts into congregations of largely illiterate members.⁸⁶

Heidelberg hymnbooks between 1567 and 1575 certainly held more tunes than individuals could easily memorise: the 1567 hymnbook contained 76 different tunes for 110 texts, for instance. However, although the 1569 edition added 111 new texts compared to 1567 (resulting in 221 texts in total), only four new tunes were added. Rather than assign one tune to each text, the 1569 hymnbook used existing tunes to set the majority of new texts. Nevertheless, a noteworthy and comforting observation to a Heidelberger, picking up the 1569 hymnbook for the first time, might have been that knowing only a handful of tunes still enabled the reader to sing the majority of the psalms and hymns. For instance, knowing two tunes enabled one to sing roughly 30 per cent of the 221 texts in the 1569 edition. The tune of Psalm 119, ‘Es sind doch selig alle

⁸³ Christopher Boyd Brown, ‘Devotional Life in Hymns, Liturgy, Music, and Prayer’, in *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Life, 1550–1675*, ed. Robert Kolb (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 255.

⁸⁴ Charles Garside, ‘The Origins of Calvin’s Theology of Music’, 20.

⁸⁵ Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars*, 153.

⁸⁶ According to Rolf Engelsing, roughly 3 to 4 per cent of the rural population of sixteenth-century German lands was literate, compared to roughly 30 per cent in cities. This will be discussed in Chapter Four. See Rolf Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Lesens in Deutschland Zwischen feudaler und industrieller Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart: Metzler Verlag, 1973), 20.

die’⁸⁷, sets 40 different texts in total, while the tune of Psalm 1, ‘Wol dem Menschen der wandelt nicht’⁸⁸, sets 27 texts.

Patterns of book ownership will be discussed in Chapter Four, but Miriam Usher Chrisman’s study of Strasbourg is important for the current discussion. On the basis of post-mortem inventories, she estimates that over 40 per cent of residents there, from across the social spectrum, owned books (largely devotional in nature, including numerous hymnbooks) at the time of their death.⁸⁹ In southwest German areas more generally in the second half of the sixteenth century, Michael Hackenberg has concluded that roughly 30 per cent of artisans owned books, a percentage which grew over the seventeenth century.⁹⁰ This comes despite low literacy levels. According to Rolf Engelsing, only 30 per cent of residents in cities with Latin schools like Strasbourg, or with universities like Heidelberg, achieved any form of full literacy.⁹¹ The majority of residents in Heidelberg most likely possessed (or at one time in their lives possessed) semi-literacy: the ability to write their name, to read some basic texts, or a mixture of both.⁹² Literacy in musical notation would doubtless have been lower still, given that pupils in Latin schools were usually the only ones taught to read notation.

Hence, recycling a handful of tunes had the effect of making the devotional script—presented by authorities through hymnbooks—easier to perform for book-buying public with limited literacy. Indeed, the tunes to Psalm 1 and 119 mentioned above would not have been difficult to sing. Firstly, both tunes were well known in Lutheran and French Calvinist churches. The tune to ‘Es seind doch selig alle die’ was taken from Strasbourg to Geneva by John Calvin and became the Genevan tune of Psalm 39. Concurrently, it also found a home among Lutherans and Catholics, printed in numerous Lutheran hymnbooks and set polyphonically for performance in Catholic

⁸⁷ Zahn No. 8303.

⁸⁸ Zahn No. 4433.

⁸⁹ Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480–1599* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 69.

⁹⁰ Michael Hackenberg, ‘Books in Artisan Homes of Sixteenth-Century Germany’, *The Journal of Library History* 21 (1986): 72–91.

⁹¹ For foundational studies of literacy, see Rolf Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre*; Karin Maag, ‘Education and Literacy’ in *The Reformation World*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (New York: Routledge, 2001), 543; Robert Scribner, ‘How Many Could Read? Comments on Bernd Moeller’s “Stadt und Buch”’, in *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Reformation in England und Deutschland*, ed. W.J. Mommsen (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979), 44–45.

⁹² Roger Chartier, ‘The Practical Impact of Writing’, in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 3, *Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1989), 112.

Bavaria by Orlando di Lasso (c.1532–1594) and by Balduin Hoyoul (1547/8–1594) for performance in the Lutheran court in Stuttgart.⁹³

In addition to being well known, both tunes were also accessible to the musically untrained. Both conformed to the popular bar form, seen archetypally in *Hofweisen* ('court songs') and early Lutheran hymns such as Luther's 'Ein feste Burg'. The *aab* structure was well known in the sixteenth century: Minnesingers had used it since the Middle Ages, and Friedrich Blume has even connected it to Eurasian population migrations.⁹⁴ Not only did the range of 'Wol dem Menschen' require readers to sing only an octave, see melody in Figure 2.4—but bar form enabled the poet to present the verses of the text logically, in order to maximise intelligibility of the scriptural message. In the first verse of 'Wol dem Menschen', for instance, the *Stollen* of verse one defines the man blessed by God in negative terms, i.e. by what he does not do; he does not walk in the counsel of the wicked, stand in the way of sinners or sit in the seat of mockers. In the *Abgesang*, by contrast, the actions of the same man are positively defined. That same man is blessed by actively delighting in the law of the Lord at all times (*Tag und Nacht*). This shift in understanding is announced in the *Abgesang* through the introduction of new musical material, combined with the word *sondern* ('but rather').

The versatility of tunes made hymnbooks, as scripts of Calvinist or Lutheran identity, easier to perform and understand. Paradoxically, the script given to Heidelbergers to perform was strikingly similar to that of Lutheran areas, even though confessional boundaries were ossifying in earnest around the empire in the 1560s and 1570s. Thus the evidence of Heidelberg's hymns contradicts Heinz Schilling's assertion that confessional groups after 1555 developed into 'internally coherent' and 'externally exclusive' communities (mentioned at the end of Chapter One). The internal musical coherence of Heidelberg's hymn repertory differed little from Bonn or their Lutheran neighbours, in the absence of a newly composed hymn and psalms repertory, as in Geneva.

III. Genevan Repertory: Psalters of Melissus (1572) and Lobwasser (1574–1620)

For church authorities in Heidelberg who sought a distinctly Calvinist musical repertory for use in German churches, the first half of the 1570s was an important time, as it saw

⁹³ Orlando di Lasso, *Der ander Theil teutscher Lieder* (Munich, 1572), RISM A/1 L 856. Balduin Hoyoul's polyphonic setting of 'Es sind doch selig' is found at Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart, Cod.mus.fol. I 17.

⁹⁴ Friedrich Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, 38.

the creation of two German translations of the Genevan Psalter. The first came from within the Palatinate, created by Paul Schede Melissus (1539–1602), poet laureate and librarian of the Palatine court. The second was that of Königsberg jurist Ambrosius Lobwasser, first published in 1573 in Leipzig, and then in 1574 in Heidelberg. Despite the Calvinist connotations created by Genevan psalm tunes (such as the violence that erupted among Lutherans in Brandenburg at their performance, as discussed in Chapter One), neither psalter was especially successful in replacing the earlier Lutheran-based repertory practised in Heidelberg. New light will be thrown on Melissus's and Lobwasser's psalters through a detailed comparison of their respective contents, and casting these publications for the first time against the backdrop of debates between Calvinist theologians in Heidelberg and Lutheran theologians from Tübingen elaborating the relevance of vernacular song for constructing confessional identity.

The psalter of Melissus—the *Di Psalmen Davids* (DKL 1572⁰⁴)—contained his German translations of the first 50 psalms of the Bible, set to tunes from the Genevan Psalter. Melissus was intimately familiar with the city of Geneva and its churches. In the late 1560s during travels through France and Switzerland, he befriended Theodore Bèze (1519–1605), the contributing author to the Genevan Psalter and John Calvin's successor as rector in Geneva; while in Geneva Melissus even converted to Calvinism.⁹⁵ In 1571 Melissus arrived in Heidelberg where the Elector asked him to find him a 'German Bèze' who could create a German psalter, for which Melissus soon after volunteered.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ On Melissus, see *ADB* 21, 293–297.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

Figure 2.5: Title Page of Paul Melissus's *Di Psalmen Davids* (Schirat: Heidelberg, 1572)

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Funded in large part by Elector Friedrich III, Melissus's psalter was printed in 1572 by Heidelberg printer Michael Schirat (the same printer as the 1569 edition above). At this point, Calvinism was not a recognised confession in the empire, and was viewed warily by the Viennese *Reichshofrat* who granted imperial privileges for books.⁹⁷ However, stemming in part from Melissus's position as poet laureate of the Palatinate and international reputation as a humanist scholar (with numerous connections across confessional lines), he was granted an imperial privilege for his Calvinist psalter nevertheless, for which imperial law guaranteed protection against piracy throughout the Holy Roman Empire for seven years.⁹⁸

Apart from imperial matters, however, the purpose of the psalter in Heidelberg was foremost to introduce Genevan psalms into congregational singing. As in

⁹⁷ On the *Reichshofrat*, see the preface to Hans-Joachim Koppitz, *Die kaiserlichen Druckprivilegien im Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien: Verzeichnis der Akten vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende des Deutschen Reichs* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), VII–XX.

⁹⁸ Ian Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place: Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 14.

Heidelberg's earlier hymnbooks, Melissus also included an appendix with translations of other scriptural texts—the 10 Commandments ('Erheb dein Hertz') and the Song of Simeon ('Nun lessest Herre zÿn'), although absent were Marian canticles, which were included in the four hymnbooks modelled on Bonn discussed above. Primarily an author of Latin poetry, Melissus's translations in the *Di Psalmen Davids* differed markedly from his usual literary output, not only in language but also in audience, as this was the only instance in his career of an illiterate or semi-literate popular culture regularly reciting his poetry.

Despite strong backing from the Elector and church authorities, *Di Psalmen Davids* produced mixed results. On the one hand, the psalter was aimed at learned and noble circles. Melissus's translations resembled the style of his learned poetry in Latin: he used a large vocabulary and frequently employed enjambments (i.e. carrying meaning over from one line of text to the next through incomplete syntax).⁹⁹ Although the psalms were German, the psalter's preface material was in Latin, German and Greek, and included the archetypally humanist feature of an anagram, displaying the names of the Elector's sons, Ludwig, Johann and Christoph, seen in Figure 2.6. On the other hand, *Di Psalmen Davids* failed to take hold in Heidelberg's churches and among its population. Melissus used a new German orthography for his vernacular poetry, but this made the language convoluted and confusing for a popular audience; even the Elector requested that Melissus reduce his overly ornate language.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ Gerhard Schuhmacher, 'Der beliebte, kritisierte und verbesserte Lobwasser-Psalter', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 12 (1967): 79.

¹⁰⁰ For a fuller discussion of the Melissus psalter. see Ralf Georg Czapla, 'Transformationen des Psalters im Spannungsfeld von gemeinschaftlicher Adhortation und individueller Meditation. Paul Schedes Psalmen Davids und Psalmi aliquot', in *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden*, ed. Eckard Grunewald et al. (Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag, 2004), 195–215.

Figure 2.6: Anagram of Elector Friedrich's sons: Ludovicus, Kasimirus and Christoph, Paul Melissus's *Di Psalmen Davids* (1572)

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

A comparison of Psalm 23 in Melissus's version and as given in the 1569 hymnbook (found in Table 2.3) illustrates the complexity of his German text. The opening verses of the 1569 text, written by Augsburg pastor Wolfgang Meusel (1497–1563), contained short lines of only seven or eight syllables per line (the rhyme scheme is 8:7:8:7), whereas Melissus used an extended and more difficult rhyme scheme with eleven syllables (11:11). While the subject of the psalm in Meusel's setting is the singer, Melissus chose to make God (*Gott*) the subject and the singer (*mich*) the indirect object. Moreover, in the second verse—*Mich rasten lest [Gott] uf gruner auen ranfte*—Melissus even began with the indirect object (*Mich*) and omitted a subject (*Gott*) altogether, leaving the semi-educated popular congregation to deduce for themselves who was granting them rest.

Table 2.3: Comparison of text settings of Psalm 23 by Meusel and Melissus

Psalm 23, Wolfgang Meusel (1567/69/73/75)	Psalm 23, Paul Melissus (1572)
<p>Mein Hirt ist Gott der Herre mein, Darum[b] würd mir nicht ma[n]geln:</p> <p>Ich wil auch gern sein schäfflein sein, Nach seiner güte angeln.</p> <p>Dann er last mich, genediglich, Ja da viel groß steht werden, Und fürt mich dann, zum Wasser hin an, Kült mich in allem leide.</p>	<p>Got waidet mich uf der hüt seiner haerde, Ær ist mein hirt, kain mangel haben wærde.</p> <p>Mich rasten lest [Gott] uf gruner auën ranfte, Ûnt bringët mich zûn stillen wassern sanfte:</p> <p>Labt meine Sel ûnt uf gerechten wegen Furet er mich, um seines names wegen.</p>

If hymnbooks are scripts for religious (or devotional) action, Melissus's psalter underscores the importance for vernacular hymnbooks to be intelligible and accessible to a broad market. But inaccessibility of translation was only one factor preventing Melissus's psalter from having a greater impact on German Calvinist psalm-singing in Heidelberg. Also, it only contained the first 50 psalms. Psalms with previously regular use, such as Psalm 119 ('Es sind doch selig alle die') or Psalm 103 ('Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herren'), thus now had no equivalent in Melissus. Whereas the Heidelberg hymnal based on the Bonn *Gesangbuch* appeared in four different editions, the Melissus psalter received only one printing in 1572.

More significant to Heidelberg's hymn culture than Melissus was the arrival of Lobwasser's psalter in 1574. This was printed in far greater numbers than Melissus's psalter. As Table 2.4 shows, Lobwasser's psalter received six printings in Heidelberg between 1574 and 1620; the town of Neustadt an der Haardt (today Neustadt an der

Weinstraße), a secondary Palatine printing centre after 1577, produced 19 editions between 1583 and 1620. These repeated editions of Lobwasser came despite criticism from Melissus and, he claimed, the Heidelberg church council as well. In a letter to his friend Johannes Lobbetius, Melissus claimed that Lobwasser ‘corrupts the last verse of every strophe, deforms its melody, ignores caesuras and proceeds thus in other places. In his version everything is very much like water, or watery, rather. The church council in fact thinks that also; they even said that in my hearing’.¹⁰¹

Table 2.4: Heidelberg Editions of Lobwasser’s *Psalmen, des Königlichen Propheten Davids*

Year/DKL	Printer
1574 ⁰³	Johann Mayer, with Matthäus Harnisch
1577 ⁰³	Johann Mayer or Michael Schirat
1578 ⁰³	Jacob Müller
1611 ⁰⁸	Johann Lancellot
1614 ⁰⁴	Johann Lancellot
1620 ⁰⁷	Jonas Rosen (printed by his widow)

Melissus’s second-hand account of the views of Heidelberg authorities is perhaps not completely trustworthy, as the church council nonetheless introduced Lobwasser’s translation in 1574.¹⁰² In fact, Melissus in his criticism identified the fundamental reason why Lobwasser’s psalter was preferable for a popular audience: that it adhered only loosely to poetic convention and it used simplified (or ‘watered down’) language.

Table 2.5 displays the simplicity of Lobwasser’s translation of Psalm 23 compared to those of Meusel and Melissus shown above. Lobwasser firstly emphasised plainly how God related to the singer, using words like ‘my’ (*mein*) and ‘I’ (*ich*). Additionally, Lobwasser refrained from omitting implied subjects as Melissus had done. And although the scheme of the first verse (10:10) is similar to Melissus’s (11:11),

¹⁰¹ ‘Lobwasser corrumpit in singulis paragraphis ultimos versus et melodiam depravat, caesuras negligit et heic alibi passim. In illius versione omnia sunt valde aquea, sive potius aquosa. Sic enim iudicat noster senatus ecclesiasticus. Idque dixerunt me audiente’. Alexander Reifferscheid, ed., *Briefe G.M. Lingelsheim, M. Bernegggers und ihrer Freunde* (Heilbronn: Henninger, 1889), 963.

¹⁰² ‘Psalterium Davidiis ex Gallico rythmis Germanicis redditum ab Ambrosio Lobwassero. Id Elector in usum cantus Ecclesiastici Ecclesiis suis commendavit: servatis tamen hymnis quibusdam Lutheri & aliorum, qui festis canerentur, in memoriam praecipuorum Christi beneficiorum in N. T.’. Heinrich Altling, ‘Historia Ecclesiae Palatinae’, 203.

Lobwasser broke up the long rhyme scheme into smaller components in order to communicate simple ideas. For instance, he organised the ideas presented in the first verse clearly and logically around a fact (‘God is my protector and shepherd’) and the practical implication of that fact (‘I will not fear’), separated plainly by the strong transition word ‘therefore’ (*darum*). On a smaller level, the first half of verse one is constructed similarly logically, as Lobwasser presented two main ideas, the second of which explained the first: the idea ‘my protector and my shepherd’ is revealed to be ‘God the Lord’ using the unassuming verb ‘is’ (*ist*). Because the church council needed to find Genevan psalm settings for use by congregations that included Heidelbergers at all levels of education, Lobwasser’s ‘watery’ and ‘corrupted’ translation, while perhaps artless, was nevertheless the best option.

Table 2.5: Comparison of Psalm 23 by Meusel, Melissus and Lobwasser

Psalm 23, Wolfgang Meusel (1567/69/73/75)	Psalm 23, Melissus (1572)	Psalm 23, Lobwasser (1573)
Mein Hirt ist Gott der Herre mein, Darum[b] würd mir nicht ma[n]geln:	Got waidet mich uf der hût seiner haerde, Ær ist mein hirt, kain mangel haben wærde.	Mein hûter und mein hirt ist Gott der Herre, Drumb förcht ich nicht dass mir etwas gewerre.
Ich wil auch gern sein schäfflein sein, Nach seiner güte angeln.	Mich rasten lest [Gott] uf gruner auën ranfte, Ûnt bringët mich zûn stillen wassern sanfte:	Auf einer grünen awen er mich weidet, Zum schoenen frischen wasser er mich leitet.
Dann er last mich, genediglich, Ja da viel groß steht werden, Und fûrt mich dann, zum Wasser hin an, Kûlt mich in allem leide.	Labt meine Sel ûnt uf gerechten wegen Furet er mich, um seines names wegen.	Erquickt mein seel von seines namens wegen, Gerad er mich fûhrt auf den rechten stegen.

In addition to its intelligibility, Lobwasser's translation carried clear Calvinist connotations. As mentioned in Chapter One, Bodo Nischan has written how performances of Lobwasser's psalms incited Lutherans to violence in Brandenburg.¹⁰³ Confessional tension also manifested itself in the backlash of Lutheran psalters that arose in reaction to Lobwasser. Cornelius Becker's *Der Psalter Davids Gesangweis, auff die in Lutherischen Kirchen gewöhnliche Melodeyen zugerichtet* (DKL 1602⁰²) and Johannes Wüstholtz's *Der Lutherisch Lobwasser* (DKL1617¹⁰) both set themselves clearly against the Lobwasser psalter by indicating their Lutheran-ness in their titles. That said, these reactions occurred in the 1590s or later, whereas examples from Heidelberg happened earlier, when the psalter may not have had such strong connotations.

As Lutheranism was re-introduced in Heidelberg (between 1576 and 1583) and was again replaced by Calvinism from late 1583 onwards, it is unknown whether Genevan psalms or Lutheran hymns incited similarly violent reactions from Heidelbergers. If it did occur, extant records make no mention of it.¹⁰⁴ To be sure, tensions did accompany each change of confession. In 1576 Calvinist professors and French and Dutch exiles were forced to leave Heidelberg with little time to gather their possessions, and extant ecclesiastical visitation records indicate the presence of troublesome Calvinists still residing in Heidelberg including Michael Schirat, the printer of the 1569 hymnbook and of Melissus's psalter.¹⁰⁵ On the re-Calvinisation in 1583, Lutheran professors and pastors were expelled and exiles were invited to return. On a popular level, 500 Heidelberg residents (nearly ten per cent of the total population) delivered a petition in July 1584 imploring on bended knee (*Fußfällig*) for the continued service of a Lutheran pastor and for religious freedom in city churches.¹⁰⁶ The university senate supported their request by writing a letter to Johann Casimir, asking him to show himself a 'gracious and mild ruler' (*gnedigster und milder herr*) to 'us and our poor wives and children' (*uns und unser armen weib und kindern*) by granting of religious practice (*das exercitium der religion*) and allowing two Lutheran pastors to continue preaching, administering the sacraments and visiting the sick.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People, Confession*, 145–153.

¹⁰⁴ The majority of civic documents were destroyed in 1622 and 1693. Nevertheless, no mention is made either in surviving visitation records from 1582 or in university records. See *Urkundenbuch I and II*.

¹⁰⁵ Karl Hartfelder, 'Kirchenvisitation der Stadt Heidelberg 1582', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 34 (1882): 251.

¹⁰⁶ *Urkundenbuch II*, 151.

¹⁰⁷ *Urkundenbuch I*, 321.

No evidence exists that Casimir granted their request, and the re-introduction of a Calvinist church order returned the Palatine to its former Calvinism. Yet extant hymnbooks suggest that German translations of Genevan psalms never became a major fault line between Lutherans and Calvinists in Heidelberg. During Lutheran times, Lobwasser's psalms remained in circulation. Two different printers produced two editions of Lobwasser's psalter, in 1577 and 1578. And a hymnbook printed in Neustadt in 1583 stated that Lobwasser's psalms were sung regularly in the Lutheran court chapel of Ludwig VI, despite the Elector's own efforts to rid the territory of Calvinist liturgy and practice.¹⁰⁸

Conversely, after the Palatinate was re-Calvinised in 1583, Lutheran hymns were printed alongside Lobwasser's psalms. Displayed in Appendix E, the majority of the Lutheran-based hymn repertory of the 1567 *Psalmen und Geistliche Lieder* was carried through to the Heidelberg hymnbooks of 1611, 1614 and DKL 1620⁰⁷, as well as the 19 Neustadt hymnbooks from 1583 to 1619. In the hymnbooks of 1611 and 1620 printed in Heidelberg, for instance, 65 per cent (71 of 110 total hymns) of the 1567 repertory is present and forms the basis of a new 'the common psalter' (*gemeinen Psalter*), shown in Figure 2.7.

Figure 2.7: Heading and Page One of the 'Common Psalter' (*Gemeine Psalter*), DKL 1611⁰⁸

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

¹⁰⁸ Hermann Poppen, *Das erste Kurpfälzer Gesangbuch*, 90.

In these hymnbooks, Lutheran and Calvinist hymn repertoires stood side-by-side; printers made no attempt to disguise the Lutheran origins of the hymns of the ecumenical psalter. Beginning in 1583 with hymnbook printing in Neustadt, Matthias Harnisch (c.1535–1596) began printing the early Heidelberg repertory of 1567 alongside the Lobwasser psalms under the heading: ‘Following are Psalms and other sacred Songs written by Christian and Blessed Men, selected from the common Psalmbook as the best and most useful of the Christian churches and congregations [of the Palatinate]’.¹⁰⁹ The preface to the Heidelberg psalter from 1611, *Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey* (DKL 1611⁰⁸), went one step further, by drawing on Lutheran views on the theology and practice of psalm singing. Rather than emphasising Calvin’s view of psalm-singing, the printer Johann Lancelot (d.1619) cited Luther as a means of persuading his readers of the importance of singing psalms: ‘Among the other books of holy scripture, the Psalter shall especially be known to all Christians. Since everything found in the whole Bible is found in the Psalms, beautifully and succinctly summarised and made into a little handbook (*Enchiridio oder Handtbuch*), it might be called a little Bible (*kleine biblia*), as Luther says rightly in his preface [to the Psalter, 1528]’.¹¹⁰

In similar fashion, Lancelot did not describe the tunes as connected with Geneva, but simply as ‘lovely melodies, which could be sung for the Christian stirring of feelings’.¹¹¹ Adding further Lutheran overtones, the 1611 preface made reference to the devotional music in the home, using the archetypally Lutheran illustration of the *Hausvater*:

May God grant, in his grace, that the great usefulness of this work, and the other psalms and sacred songs printed alongside the psalter, be seen by all men, not only for use in the public assembly of the church, for the edification of the whole congregation, but also for all Christian house fathers in their churches at home.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ ‘Volgen etliche Psalmen und andere Geistliche Lieder/ so von Christlichen Gottseligen Männern gestellt/ und aus dem gemeinen Psalmbüchlein/ als die gebräuchlichsten und besten/ der Christlichen Kirchen und Gemeyn dieser ort/ zu gutem ausgezegen/ und mit angehenckt worden’.

¹¹⁰ ‘Unter andern Buechern heiliger goettlicher Schrifft / sol billich der Psalter allen Christen sonderlich wol bekandt seyn. Dan[n] derselbig (wie Lutherus inn seiner Vorrede darüber recht sagt) wol möchte eine kleine biblia heissen / als darin[n] alles / so in der gantze[n] Biblia stehet / auff schönest vnd kürtest gefasset / und zu einem feinen Enchiridio oder Handtbuch gemacht vnd bereitet ist’.

¹¹¹ ‘...liebliche Melodeye[n], nach welchen sie zu Christlicher Bewegung der Gemuether / gesungen werden kundten’.

¹¹² ‘Gott gebe Gnad / dass die grosse Nutzbarkeit dieses Werckes von allen Menschen erkandt / vnd gedachte / wie auch andere beygedruckte Psalmen vnd geistliche Lieder / nicht allein in öffentlicher

The image of *Hausvater* underscores the intended ubiquity of hymns and hymn singing, occupying a place in the Calvinist home, as well as church. Lancelot's preface also confirmed that singing had ritual importance in rearing children and in everyday activities as well, overseen and encouraged by the *Hausväter*. Counterintuitively, the 1611 hymnbook (as well as an edition printed in 1620 by Jonas Rosen's firm) presented Lutheran hymns (rather than Calvinist psalms) as the preferred repertory for daily life. Whereas none of Lobwasser's psalms was suggested for singing daily before and after family meals, three hymns commonly performed in Lutheran churches were given this explicitly ritualistic function: 'Ich danck dir lieber Herre' was to be sung before meals, while after meals were 'Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht' (a German translation of the Compline hymn 'Christe, qui lux es et dies') or 'Christus der du bist der helle Tag'.¹¹³

At this point, one must ask why a Lutheran repertory not only existed but thrived in a Calvinist city, despite the availability of a confessionally appropriate repertory of psalms. Perhaps Lutheran hymns appeased the vocal Lutheran minority who in 1584 petitioned Casimir to allow a Lutheran pastor to remain. Given the lack of archival evidence illuminating hymn reception in popular culture, knowing how individual Heidelbergers engaged with hymns from outside their own confessional tradition is difficult. As I suggested in section two of this chapter, however, hymnbooks were foremost symbols of religious authorities' engagement with vernacular repertories, as officials sought to choreograph both the private and public religious activities of Heidelbergers. Seen thus, hymnbooks reveal that officials not only permitted but encouraged the ritual performance of a wide range of Protestant hymns. Put another way, engaging with God and fellow Heidelbergers was equally possible through singing Luther's hymns or Calvin's psalms. Instead of confessional tension, hymns inculcated a sense of reconciliation across confessional lines.

Alternatively, one might argue that I have erroneously treated Lutheran hymns and Genevan psalms as confessional benchmarks. In Chapter One, I criticised the idea that confessional identities contained a core, against which aberrations could be measured. I argued instead that confessional identity could resemble Judith Butler's theory that gender identity was performed through ritualised and stylised acts which

versam[m]lung der Kirchen / zu Erbawung der gantzen Gemeine: Sondern auch von allen Christlichen Haussvätern in ihren Hausskirchen...

¹¹³ For instance, seven years later, 'Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht', was set in cantional style (i.e. with melody in soprano voice) by Johann Hermann Schein (1586–1630) in his *Cantional oder Gesangbuch Augspurgischer Confession* (Leipzig, 1627), RISM A/1 S 1397, a publication containing the core Lutheran chorale repertory and organised according to liturgical or occasional use.

gave the illusion of a core. Perhaps Lutheran hymns and Genevan psalms were not strong markers of confessional identity, as I have claimed. Here I turn to irenic debates between Heidelberg (Calvinist) and Tübingen (Lutheran) theologians. Heretofore unconsidered by musicologists, they reveal that theologians from different confessional groups had dissimilar definitions of what types of music were confessionally Lutheran or Calvinist.

Irenicism was a theological movement emanating from Calvinist theologians in Heidelberg from as early as the 1560s. Funded largely by the electoral court, it was characterised by the impulse simultaneously to draw clear confessional lines with Lutherans and then seek reconciliation with them. Theologians Abraham Scultetus (1566–1624), David Pareus (1548–1622) and Simon Stenius (1540–1605), among others, emphasised in their writings and sermons the many commonalities of Lutheranism and Calvinism, seeing Luther not as an enemy but as a pioneer who reformed Christianity only partially due to his background in Roman religion.¹¹⁴

Driven in part by the illegality of Calvinism in the empire, Heidelberg's theologians developed a public image that downplayed their connection to Geneva. Thus, they did not necessarily 'want to be called Calvinists and were eager to demonstrate that they were in line with Luther's thought. Reading their works, one can come to this conclusion: The real Lutheran is a Calvinist. Or one can say: the real Calvinist is a Lutheran'.¹¹⁵ Put another way, the 'Reformed sincerely believed two things. The first was that they agreed with Lutherans on fundamentals. The second was that on less fundamental matters the Lutheran formulae were flawed and their own formulations were better'. Hotson continues: 'They therefore felt justified *both* in further reforming previously Lutheran churches when opportunities arose *and* in seeking fraternal relations with those Lutheran churches which resisted further reformation'.¹¹⁶

The pamphlet *Calvinismus Heidelbergensis* (1593), written by Simon Stenius (professor of ethics in Heidelberg), encapsulates the place of music in the reconciliatory efforts of Heidelberg's Calvinists. In an imaginary dialogue between a Calvinist student from Heidelberg and a Lutheran student from Wittenberg, the Lutheran student

¹¹⁴ For a recent and detailed discussion of irenicism, see Howard Hotson, 'Irenicism in the Confessional Age: the Holy Roman Empire, 1563–1648', in *Conciliation and Confession: the Struggle for Unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648*, ed. Howard Louthan et al. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 228–285.

¹¹⁵ Herman J. Selderhuis, 'Luther totus noster est: the Reception of Luther's Thought at the Heidelberg Theological Faculty, 1583–1622', *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 17 (2006): 101.

¹¹⁶ Howard Hotson, 'Irenicism in the Confessional Age', 244–245.

observed that Heidelberg's hymn repertory did not differ greatly from Wittenberg, since '[the Heidelbergers] together sing the pious hymns composed by Luther (and others) or the Psalms of David translated into our mother tongue by Lobwasser'.¹¹⁷ Stenius thus confirms that the hymns of Luther and others were not only permitted by Calvinists, but that they even enjoyed a stable place in the church's ritual life.

On the basis of the performance of vernacular hymns (including Lobwasser and the common psalter), the irenicist Bartholomeus Pitiscus appealed for confessional reconciliation with Lutherans. In *Ausführlicher Bericht, was die Reformierte Kirchen inn Teutschland Glauben oder nicht Glauben* (1607), printed by Gotthard Vögelin in Heidelberg, Pitiscus began by stating the position of his Lutheran opponents: 'The ninth criticism of our [Calvinist] ceremonies is that we have done away with Latin songs and collects in our church, and regulate the entire public service in German'.¹¹⁸ Pitiscus justified the use of vernacular by quoting 1 Corinthians 14: 2, 3, 12, 16, that if the language of the service is not intelligible, then a simple layman (*einfeltiger Leye*) is not comforted (*getröstet*) or reformed (*gebessert*), and does not know when in the liturgy to say 'Amen'. In Pitiscus's estimation, Lutheran hymns did not prevent Calvinist liturgy from achieving its purpose as ritual: binding 'discrete things, acts, people' or becoming an 'arena of intense communication' with God and one another, in the words of Flanigan, Ashley and Scheingorn.¹¹⁹

In response to Pitiscus, Matthias Hafenreffer (1561–1619), Lutheran court preacher in Stuttgart and professor in Tübingen, replied: 'No one would disagree that German hymns are sung loudly in German churches. Where one is mistaken, though, [Lutherans] will not condemn it if old Latin hymns or other sacred texts and compositions are also sung in churches with learned members'.¹²⁰ From a Lutheran perspective, the confessional difference with Heidelberg's Calvinists was not whether Calvinists sang metrical psalms or the songs of Luther (which seem to be conflated into Hafenreffer's labels *teutsche Gesang*); rather, he marked out Latin-texted hymns and

¹¹⁷ '...ubi multitudo confluit, hymni concinuntur pij, vel à Luthero compositi, vel ab aliis, vel etia[m] Psalmi Davidis à Lobwassero in vernaculam linguam translati'. Simon Stenius, *Calvinismus Heidelbergensis. Dialogus, Nemesius et Agatho* (Heidelberg, 1593), 9.

¹¹⁸ 'Der neunnde tadel in unsern Ceremonien ist/ das wir die lateinischen gesänge vnd collecten in unsern kirche[n] abgeschafft haben/ und den gantzen öffentlichen Gottesdienst in deutscher sprach verrichten'. Bartholomeus Pitiscus, *Ausführlicher Bericht*, 455.

¹¹⁹ Clifford Flanigan, Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, 'Liturgy as Social Performance', 714.

¹²⁰ 'Daß ferner, lauter teutsche Gesang in Teutschen Kirchen gesungen werden, wurd niemand straffen: wie man sich auch versihet, sie werden wiederumb nicht tadeln, wann bey solchen Kirchen, da auch gelehrte Leut seind, alte Lateinische Hymni, oder andere Gottselige Text und Compositiones gesungen werden'. Matthias Hafenreffer, *Examen vnd Gegenbericht, Über das jüngsten zu Heidelberg getruckt Calvinische Büchlin, nachfolgenden Tituls: Außführlicher Bericht, Was die Reformirte Kirchen in Teutschland, gleuben oder nicht gleuben* (Tübingen, 1608), 642.

compositions as particularly Lutheran. In an effort to demarcate Lutheranism from Calvinism's use of vernacular song, Hafenreffer somewhat problematically focusses on Lutheranism's retention of Latin, a practice common to educated Lutheran cities with *Lateinschulen* rather than a universal characteristic of Lutheranism.

Conclusion

This chapter opened with Christoph Pelargus's observation that Lutherans and Calvinists around 1600 were as irreconcilable as water and fire. While his observation was grounded in first-hand experience and applied to much of the empire, it was not true for Heidelberg. Before the Genevan Psalter was translated into German and introduced in the churches, Calvinists sang psalms and hymns drawn from around German-speaking lands, written by authors and performed in territories of different confessional beliefs from the Heidelberg Calvinists. Once the Genevan repertory arrived in the form of Melissus's and Lobwasser's translations, the largely Lutheran repertory remained in use in liturgical and non-liturgical contexts. Moreover, Lutherans between 1576 and 1583 continued to sing Lobwasser's psalms and circulate them in print. These findings fundamentally question the role of hymns in creating, to borrow from Heinz Schilling's definition of confessionalisation, 'internally coherent' and 'externally exclusive' confessional cultures.

By way of conclusion, I turn briefly to a printed music book that embodies the issues raised in this chapter. The *Neue Gesäng Auff die Sontags Euangelia* (1596), written by Palatine court physician Johann Posthius (1537–1597), contained 52 versified settings of the Gospels, one for each week of the year and drawn from the Calvinist lectionary used in Heidelberg. Created when the author was bedridden and unable to attend corporate worship services, he wrote in the preface, 'I undertook this work and composed new songs on the Gospel that show what we should learn from them, through which the name of the Lord will remain with us in honour and be praised far and wide'.¹²¹

The *Neue Gesäng* is a rich musical source for examining the intersection of hymns and ritual. Firstly, it illuminates the continuing importance of religious ritual for early modern Calvinists. Even though Calvinists were often the most fervent to abandon Roman ritual after the Reformation, *Neue Gesäng* is a reminder that religious ritual

¹²¹ 'Da hab ich dis werck furgenom[m]en / Vnd auff die Evangelia / Gedichtet neue Cantica / Darin kurzlich gezeiget an / Was wir daraus lehren han / Auff das der Nam Gottes des Herren / Bey vns gehalten werd in ehren / Vnd hoch gelobet weitt vnd breitt...' Johann Posthius, *Neue Gesäng Auff die Sontags Euangelia* (Heidelberg, 1596), 3.

itself remained vital to Calvinist identity, as the book's *raison d'être* was to ensure that an individual maintained the experience of ritual, even when bedridden. By grafting the patterns of public liturgy onto non-liturgical and otherwise autonomous (and self-regulating) domestic devotion, ritual could bridge disconnected physical spaces and supersede bodily presence, uniting the sick and ailing in their homes with the larger Christian community.

Secondly, the indelible fingerprint of Lutheranism on *Neue Gesäng* reinforced the local identity of Heidelberg Calvinists. Like the Calvinist hymnbooks above, Posthius selected a mixture of Lutheran and Genevan tunes for his versified Gospel texts. Of the 55 total tunes, 37 came from Lobwasser's psalms, while the remaining 18 came from Lutheranism and Reformed Strasbourg and included Marian canticles and Luther's catechism hymns.¹²² Traces of Lutheranism were further maintained by the basic premiss of the *Neue Gesäng*. The action of an individual singing a Gospel text on a Sunday morning is strongly reminiscent of Luther's *Deutsche Messe* (and Ottheinrich's 1556 order), in which the pastor sang the Gospel reading from the pulpit—a liturgical ritual abandoned by Calvinists in 1563, shown in Appendix C. The *Sonntags evangelia* was, moreover, an archetypally Lutheran genre, popularised by the Joachimsthal cantor Nikolaus Hermann, who created *Die Sonntagsevangelia über das Jahr in Gesänge verfasset für die Kinder und christlichen Hausväter* in 1560 to supply hymns for household devotions related to the Gospel reading for each Sunday throughout the year.¹²³ Finally, organs—or a lack of them—likely created further confessional overlap, despite being a commonly cited marker of confessional difference. As organs were not used in Lutheran churches with any consistency until the eighteenth century, it is plausible that both Lutherans and Calvinists in Heidelberg were accustomed to regularly singing without the accompaniment of an organ.

Section one of this chapter began by discussing the complementarity of liturgy and music as social performance. Liturgy and musical scores choreograph the collaboration of disparate people, binding them together through the performative act while also not overdetermining their actions. Following Boynton's study of Farfa, how uniquely a community combines local musical tradition with universal ritual can form a solid basis for collective identity. In Heidelberg, the basis of Calvinist identity can be

¹²² The remaining are all found in the 1567 hymnbook: 'Der tag ist so freudenreich', 'Komt her zu mir spricht', 'Unser vatter im himmelreich', 'Aus tieffer not', 'O Mensch beweine deine Sünde groß', 'Mein Seel erhebt den Herren mein', 'Herr Gott der du erforschest mich', 'In dich hab ich gehofft', 'An wasserflüssen Babylon', 'Durch Adams fall', 'Es ist das Heil', 'Nu freuet euch lieben Christen gemein', 'Es spricht der unweisen mund wol'.

¹²³ Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Reformation*, 160.

seen as the retention of recognisably Lutheran musical elements, yet fitted to the basic liturgical patterns of Geneva.

Calvinist identity furthermore required a visibly Lutheran element, in order to ensure its survival in an empire where Calvinism was outlawed. One might be tempted to see this ostensible aberration from a perceived Calvinist norm as intra-group difference—that is, our definition of Calvinist music needs to be wider to include greater variation. Such views are those of identity politics, and even of recent scholars of confessional cultures.¹²⁴ Yet they are problematic because they require the existence of a ‘core’ within confessional identity, against which aberration is measured.

This chapter offers a different interpretation: Heidelberg’s Calvinists were fully Calvinist even while singing the hymns of Luther. The irenic message of Heidelberg theologians revolved wholly around the belief that Lutheranism was the *sine qua non* of German Calvinism, that without Luther precipitating the Reformation the way he did, they would not exist. Ritualising Lutheran hymns thus expressed through sound an identity incorporating elements of its pre-Calvinist past, as well as its present. In the *Ausführlicher Bericht* (1593) discussed above, Bartholomeus Pitiscus could therefore, without compromise or worry, instruct Heidelberg’s Calvinists to ‘sing happily with Doctor Luther...and with King David’ (*Vnd singen desswegen frölich mit dem D. Luther...Vnd mit dem könig David*).¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Historian Thomas Kaufmann, for instance, has advocated for an understanding of intra-confessional diversity (*binnenkonfessionelle Diversität*) within Lutheranism. Thomas Kaufmann, ‘Einleitung: Transkonfessionalität, Interkonfessionalität, binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität’, 9–15.

¹²⁵ Bartholomeus Pitiscus, *Ausführlicher Bericht*, 475.

Chapter 3

MUSIC, EDUCATION AND DISCIPLINE

As discussed in Chapter Two, hymns were a means of bridging religious difference across confessional lines, as well as expressing solidarity within confessional groups. This was possible because confessional identity, as this thesis contends, was not something innate with a core substance but was learned and built through repeated actions, resulting in local variation upon general trends. This chapter will turn to education in Heidelberg and music's place within educational programmes, in order to examine strategies of teaching and building confessional identities. Although Heidelberg was renowned in the sixteenth century for its university, education was a process found on many social levels and across all of Heidelberg's institutions: in the court, churches, schools, university, and within popular culture.

Sixteenth-century Reformers considered education vital to ensuring the success of the Reformation as a whole, as Gerald Strauss has clearly articulated.¹ It was viewed as a powerful tool for carving the basic shape of the individual confessional groups—whether gained in ill-equipped rural schools, at a grammar school (*Lateinschule*), or from a private tutor in a princely court. Following classical philosophers like Xenophon and Aristotle, sixteenth-century pedagogues had two primary beliefs: that the young were still in development and thus the most pliable section of society, and that youthful behaviour directly affected an individual's actions as an adult.² Accordingly, Wolfgang Reinhard includes education as one of the seven basic factors used by confessional groups to mould their distinct characters, as church leaders 'tried to win the future by expanding and streamlining its educational system so as to safeguard the "right" alignment of its children'.³

As a top-down process, education served only partly to enlighten their pupils with previously unknown information. It was to shape—efficiently and indelibly—the behaviour of the young. As new school ordinances abounded, officials of all confessions 'stress[ed] religious education and exercises together with the control of

¹ Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, esp. 1–28.

² *Ibid.*, 153.

³ Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: a Reassessment', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 75 (1989): 392. The seven factors articulated by Reinhard are: written confessions of faith; confessional oaths and subscription; propaganda and censure; education; social discipline; rites and ritual; confessional regulation of language. For a discussion of them, see Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 10 (1983): 257–277.

religious and moral behaviour'.⁴ In this way, the fabric of educational policy in sixteenth-century German lands contained strong threads of control, and pedagogy, whose purpose became increasingly to outline how the young were supposed to act, became interlinked with coercive measures of social discipline.⁵

The impulse to educate through music was—like social discipline—felt across confessional lines, seen clearly in didactic music books developed to aid confessional education. As discussed in the conclusion to Chapter Two, musical settings of the lectionary sprang up in German lands so that a wide section of society would repeatedly perform and memorise scripture. Lutheran pastor Nicolaus Herman hoped that, for residents of Joachimsthal, singing the contents of his archetypal *Sonntags Evangelia* (1561) would become habitual, especially among the young, so that 'the Word of God would inwardly form [the individual] more deeply, and from day to day better meditate on the Word' (*das Wort Gottes tieffer einbildet, und von tag zu tag dem Wort besser nachdenckt*).⁶

But while Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists agreed in some manner on the importance of internalising scripture, Herman's selection of tunes 'of our venerable dear father and teacher Doctor Martin Luther' (*der Ehrwurdig unser lieber vater und Preceptr D. Martinus Luthers*) were intended for Lutherans, not generic Christians.⁷ In similar fashion, Posthius's *Newe Gesäng* presented the same New Testament scripture with a repertory of tunes that reinforced Heidelberg's Calvinist confessional culture of celebrating Lutheran heritage. In the Catholic world, Herman's *Sonntags Evangelia* inspired a priest in Graz, Andreas Gigler, to create his *Gesang Postill* to aid devotion during the Mass—reflecting the wariness many Catholics had of domestic singing.⁸

Versified lectionaries were not the only, or even the foremost, musical creations with a didactic purpose. As Robin Leaver has suggested, 'for Luther, and the immediate generations that followed him, all hymns, whether sung in home, school, or church, were catechetical... The people sang them to express their faith and theology but found as they sang them their hearts and minds were being formed by what they sang'.⁹ Put another way, the very essence of Protestant hymn culture in the sixteenth century was

⁴ Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State', 392.

⁵ In addition to being one of Reinhard's seven factors, social discipline is discussed in length in Ronnie Po-Chi Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550–1750* (London: Routledge, 1989).

⁶ Nicolaus Herman, *Die Sonntags-Evangelia von Nicolaus Herman (1561)*, ed. Rudolf Wolkan (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1895), 5.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ For a discussion of these three books, see Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Reformation*, 160.

⁹ Robin Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 168.

didactic, as an entire society required educating in new doctrine and habituating to new norms. Leaver points out that the corpus of Lutheran hymnody from the sixteenth century onwards grew out six hymns corresponding specifically to Luther's catechisms of 1529—his so-called catechism hymns.¹⁰

Music, it was believed, aided in planting religious ideas in the memory of the young. Drawing on the Socratic concept of memory as imprinting a wax tablet with a signet ring (*Tabula memoriae*), Protestant reformers emphasised the importance of musical memory in governing and perpetuating the worship of the Lord.¹¹ John Calvin wrote: 'After the intelligence must follow the heart and the affection, a thing which is unable to be except if we have the hymn *imprinted on our memory*, in order never to cease from singing'.¹² Similarly, a German Jesuit recorded in 1586 how he 'could not make [young boys] remember even the words of the Lord's Prayer'. He continued: 'But now that I have taught them to sing, they learn the Apostle's Creed and the Ten Commandments in a few hours, and I doubt they will ever forget them'.¹³ Memory, when imprinted at its most malleable before adulthood, allowed pupils and students alike to carry an edifying musical repertory with them into adulthood, and to self-confessionalise and self-regulate their devotional lives without the need for close supervision.

The tools of music education were trans-lingual as well as trans-confessional. The internationality of humanism meant that Germans engaged with the same texts and concepts as Swiss, French or Italian humanists. Not only were Pythagoras, Boethius and other sources of classical knowledge of interest from Scandinavia to Italy, and England to Bohemia; but Latin (as the *lingua franca* of sixteenth-century humanism) enabled the same music-theoretical texts to cross linguistic boundaries.¹⁴ Furthermore, Philipp Melancthon, a major (if not the primary) figure in developing the Latin school in northern Europe, emphasised a classical curriculum similar to that taught in Italy—

¹⁰ For Luther's catechetical hymns, see Chapter Two, and Robin Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 111.

¹¹ For *Tabula memoriae*, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 17–37.

¹² Emphasis mine. John Calvin, Preface to the 1551 Genevan Psalter.

¹³ Bernhard Duhr, *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVI. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder Verlag, 1907), 459–460. Translation taken from Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, 234.

¹⁴ Heinrich Glarean's *Dodekachordon* found use in primarily in Protestant schools across Germany, despite Glarean's own Catholic beliefs. Its influence crossed national borders as well, as the *Dodekachordon* even played a defining role in debates about music during the proceedings of the Council of Trent. See *Heinrich Glarean's Books: The Intellectual World of a Sixteenth-Century Musical Humanist*, ed. Iain Fenlon and Inga Mai Groote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

taught in Latin and including Cicero, Aristotle and Augustine, for instance—albeit revised to educate pupils for service in the church rather than in medicine or law.

For Melanchthon, retaining instruction in Latin was paramount to prepare students for a career in the church. Without Latin ‘God cannot be known’, wrote Olaus Theophilus, headmaster of the cathedral school in Copenhagen (1565–75) and a pupil of Melanchthon. ‘[W]ithout it we are mired in damnation. Through Latin composition we weaken—no, overthrow—the empire of the devil. It is necessary for the salvation of our souls’.¹⁵ On the one hand, in church worship the use of Latin was a clear signal of confessional difference—between Lutherans and Calvinists, as seen in Chapter Two, and between Protestantism and Catholicism more generally. On the other hand, outside the walls of a Protestant church, humanism made Latin not only trans-confessional but a clear continuation of medieval scholasticism: it prepared pupils for ecclesiastical careers, and (as in Catholicism) was essential for understanding of God and scripture.

One further reason for the trans-confessional and trans-linguistic nature of education was its connection to ritual. Many of the patterns regulating Lutheran musical education were not newly invented in the sixteenth century; instead, they re-inscribed rituals developed under Catholicism. Martin Luther, for instance, was trained in and propagated the musical environment he experienced as a boy in the Latin schools of Eisleben and Magdeburg. Indeed, it was there that he encountered the plainsong and liturgical sources he would later translate into German.¹⁶ Lutheran education instead re-inscribed musical practices of the late Middle Ages with new meaning and infused them with a distinctive enthusiasm.

Educational institutions were themselves highly ritualistic sites of social interaction. In addition to ceremonies (such as the granting of degrees), sixteenth-century educational institutions ritualised their school days to a high degree; predictable and repeated patterns of religious activities (singing and prayer) as well as classroom instruction subdued pupils and made them teachable. This kept pupils out of what educational theorist Peter McLaren calls a ‘streetcorner state’ of uncontrolled physical movement and thought, and helped them to remain in a ‘student state’ and ‘sanctity state’ for receiving instruction in sacred and secular matters.¹⁷ McLaren argues that instructional rites ‘provided blueprints for both “thinking” and “doing”’. Through this

¹⁵ Quoted in Kristian Jensen, ‘The Humanist Reform of Latin and Latin Teaching’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 78.

¹⁶ Robin Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 24.

¹⁷ Peter McLaren, *Schooling as a Ritual Performance: Towards a Political Economy of Educational Symbols and Gestures* (London: Routledge, 1993), 85–94.

pedagogical engagement, students were structured to think of the world in certain ways; they were motivated to act upon their world according to prescribed symbols and in their arbitrary or calculated juxtapositions'.¹⁸

McLaren's ideas have unexplored resonances with early modern education, as sixteenth-century educational programmes were equally devoted to teaching stylised acts that pupils were first to imitate and then to repeat into adulthood. Yet the specific concept of ritual adopted by German humanists to guide the young into proper adherence and practice took the form of habit development (*Habitus, consuetudo*). Following classical philosophers such as Quintilian and Aristotle, humanists held that repeated imitation of prescribed actions (the ritual blueprint, in McLaren's formulation) was fundamental to disciplining the whole being—the mind as well as the physical body. Accordingly, Strauss concludes, 'Lutheran educators thus embraced habituation as the only method promising to effect the personality change on which the evangelical reform of individual and society depended'.¹⁹

Habit, however, was as potentially damaging as it was salutary. For John Calvin, habituation must be accompanied by knowledge of what the individual is doing. Otherwise, man is no different from animals, since 'a linnet, a nightingale, a parrot may sing well, but it will be without understanding'.²⁰ In his *Liber de Anima* (1540, revised 1553), Philipp Melanchthon concluded that habituation (*consuetudo, gewöhnen*) enabled an individual to develop both virtues and vices; habits could thus arm the individual in the fight against harmful actions or thoughts, or they could hasten his decline.²¹ Martin Bucer wrote similarly of the cumulative effects of bad habits, especially the habit of singing lascivious and worldly songs: 'The warnings of God increase daily, and punishments keep step with them. Woe to us if we do not wake up, if we do not look more deeply into ourselves, and become more zealous in Christian action'.²² To the Protestant mind, the actions of an individual (especially a child) were not isolated incidents, but potentially repeatable events wherein a person could daily enjoy the favour, or incur the wrath, of God. Guarding against bad habits, in short, was the most effective form of social discipline.

This chapter aims to shed new light on the uses of music in a variety of educational programmes implemented in Heidelberg, and to identify how programmes

¹⁸ Ibid., 218.

¹⁹ Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, 153.

²⁰ Charles Garside, 'The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music', 33.

²¹ Gerald Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, 78.

²² Charles Garside, 'The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music', 31.

of musical education changed diachronically from the first full institution of Lutheranism in 1556 and through the Calvinist period to the Thirty Years' War. Little scholarship exists on Calvinist musical education; and what does exist addresses French and English rather than German Calvinism.²³ Moreover, the possibility of Calvinist music education resembling that of other confessions has not yet been considered in a concentrated way. Although music's role in Lutheran and Calvinist educational programmes across Europe differed greatly, this chapter compares the educational programmes of these two confessions in one place. Heidelberg is an ideal subject for such a study, as its educational institutions changed successively from one confession to the other. This allows me to cast the continuities and discontinuities in greater relief, showing that there were far greater continuities than previously assumed.

As noted above, education was a means of affecting behaviour, not just imparting information. The scope of this chapter also extends to the musical education of students at Heidelberg's university. Although music received only occasional attention as part of the university curriculum, it played an important role in relation to the discipline of student confession and behaviour.²⁴ Music displays how students—despite being the future leaders of confessional churches, states and homes—were social outliers in an ostensibly homogeneous society. Students were not only often foreign, but they had their own musical practices and rituals that were often not sanctioned by the Heidelberg authorities. Students, moreover, enjoyed a semi-autonomous legal status that complicated rather than assisted with discipline. Finally, education itself often involved engaging with ideas found with those of opposing confessions, as the correctness of local beliefs are put in greatest relief when compared to heretical thought, practice or belief. Pockets of confessional flexibility were created for educational pursuits, then, in which private tutees, school pupils and university students performed music otherwise discouraged for residents of Heidelberg.

This chapter will proceed by examining the musical programmes for princely and noble children of the court, before turning to the activities of the city's schools and the university. Concluding is a discussion of Latin-texted polyphonic music for Calvinists that ties all these ostensibly separate institutions together, demonstrating that

²³ Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England*. On Geneva, see Ross J. Miller, 'John Calvin and the Reformation of Church Music in the 16th Century', 262–284; Daniel Trocmé-Latter, 'The Psalms as a Mark of Protestantism', 153.

²⁴ In Heidelberg, the professor of mathematics gave only occasional lectures on music, in addition to his ordinary (*ordinarium*) lectures. As part of the *quadrivium* music thus assumed its place as *musica speculativa* in the lectures on mathematics. See *Urkundenbuch I*, 168.

music education bridged not only confessional difference but institutional boundaries as well.

I. Court education

Four educational plans for noble children in the Palatine court, made between 1580 and 1583 and shown in Table 3.1, throw new light on music's place in the princely education of both boys and girls. Scholarly enquiry to date has paid only scant attention to these sources, or has only considered them selectively. Linda Maria Koldau, for instance, has examined them almost exclusively to discuss Palatine provisions for female education, leaving all else untouched.²⁵ This thesis is thus the first to examine music in these educational plans and to set them in a wider musical and confessional context.

Table 3.1: Educational Plans from the Palatine Court²⁶

Year	Title	Intended pupils and their ages
1580	<i>Häusliche Kinderordnung</i>	Katharina (8), Christine (7)
1581	<i>Studienordnung</i>	Friedrich IV (7)
1582	<i>Tagesordnung</i>	Friedrich IV (8), Katharina (10) and Christine (9)
1582	<i>Lern- und Lebensordnung</i>	Christine (9)

In what follows, I will demonstrate how these educational plans encouraged music as part of habitual devotional activities for the private building of religious identity. At the same time, music education at the court, such as the regular study of Latin polyphonic music or the performance of keyboard music by females, served specifically non-confessional ends, and can be better interpreted as teaching skills useful to aristocrats regardless of denomination. Unfortunately, no education plan survives apart from these four, necessitating the use of other types of court document. Thus, I also refer to the inventories of library established by the tutors of Palatine princes, and to practices at other courts such as Pfalz-Neuburg and Dresden, to elaborate this heretofore unexplored aspect of court musical life.

²⁵ Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen-Musik-Kultur*, 166–183; for a recent examination of court education that neglects music education altogether, see Andrew L. Thomas, *A House Divided*, 23–63.

²⁶ Originally in manuscript form in the Bibliotheca Palatina collection, all are transcribed in *MGP XIX*, 266–292.

The first two of the extant educational plans make mention of music, in the first instance, as part of devotional reflection. The *Häusliche Kinderordnung* (1580), created by Palatine physician, court librarian and tutor Johann Struppius (1530–1606), outlined the strategies for daily educating through the year (*durch das Jahr Halten*) two daughters of the Lutheran Ludwig VI: Katharina (aged eight) and Christine (aged seven).²⁷ After beginning the day ‘finely chaste and devout in the fear of God’ (*Inn Gottsfurcht fein zuchtig und andächtig*), the girls learned prayers, catechisms, psalms and proverbs (*Gebättlein, Catechismum, Psalmen und Spruch Recht lernen*) until lunchtime. Thereafter they moved to the kitchen to learn to cook, spun intermittently throughout the day, and after dinner sang sacred songs (*geistliche Lieder*) and said prayers. For these two Lutheran girls, music appears not to have been part of their lessons during the daytime, but was taught to facilitate their devotional reflection after a day of education in religious practices and housework.

What the girls sang, or how they sang it, has left no trace in extant sources, making it impossible to know how the hymns contained in hymnbooks were appropriated in their individual private chambers. Nevertheless, the extant manuscript prayer books of Elizabeth of Saxony—the Lutheran wife of the Calvinist Johann Casimir who lived in the Heidelberg court just three years after this educational plan was developed—suggest that women in the court sang or recited hymn texts in daily devotions.²⁸ Scattered amongst the many transcriptions of her original prayers, Elizabeth copied out the texts (without tunes) of numerous hymns—including Luther’s versification of Psalm 130 (‘Aus tiefer Not’) and the Miserere (‘O Herr Gott begnade mich’) of Strasbourg cantor Matthias Greitter (1495–1550), seen in Figure 3.1. Whether sung or recited, hymns therefore found performance at designated times for devotional music, as well as at more general times of devotion.

²⁷ *MGP XIX*, 265–266.

²⁸ Cod.Pal.Germ. 458, 26^v–28^v.

Figure 3.1: ‘Aus tiefer Not’ from Prayerbook of Elizabeth of Saxony (c. 1570), Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, Cod.Pal.Germ. 458, 26^v

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

The *Studienordnung*²⁹ (1581) also incorporated times for fostering devotional music. Aimed at the seven-year-old Friedrich, it stated only that, in addition to studying music as part of the liberal arts (*Musica, Arithmetica, Phisica, Ethica, Geometria und Astronomia*), his education was ‘under no circumstance to omit pious studies and the Latin catechism, but with each year should pursue these with more and more diligence’.³⁰ Friedrich was ‘to memorise weekly the relevant section from the

²⁹ *MGP XIX*, 266–277.

³⁰ ‘das Studium pietatis und lateinischen Catechismi, sondern mit dem alter von Jahren zu Jahren Je mehr und vleißiger getrieben werde’. *Ibid.*, 269.

Sontäglichen Evangelijß’ (wochentlich das furnembst aus den Sontäglichen Evangelijß auswendig lernen).³¹

In this ordinance, the importance of habit can be seen. Only by ensuring that Friedrich learned the Latin catechism ‘with more and more diligence’, and weekly memorised the Sunday Gospel, could the cumulative effect of healthy and balanced patterns of learning take effect. Here *Sonntags Evangelia* could mean memorising either the *lectio divina*—the appropriation of portions of scripture for the entire liturgical year stemming from the Middle Ages—or the publication of that name by Nikolaus Herman (discussed above and in Chapter Two), which set the gospel texts from the entire liturgical year to tunes well known to Lutherans. The *Sonntags Evangelia* enjoyed a wide audience which easily could have included the Palatine court tutors. Later editions of the *Sonntags Evangelia*, appearing in the 1580s onwards, were comprehensive books, containing numerous woodcut illustrations and an index fit for educating young princely singers.

Whereas the *Studienordnung* established Friedrich’s educational routines, a schedule of his day (*Tagesordnung*, 1582) was created the following year.³² Written primarily for Friedrich IV (now aged eight), this programme also included his older sisters Katharina and Christine—the same two older sisters discussed above, but now aged ten and nine, respectively. As Cornelia Niekus Moore has observed, noble girls often visited the lessons of their brothers, with the effect that the level of education for some girls sometimes equalled that of their male counterparts or their future husbands.³³ In contrast to the 1581 *Studienordnung*, the daily schedule from 1582 was more explicit in its musical provisions. Four days a week, from 2 to 3 o’clock in the afternoon, Friedrich (and possibly also his sisters) dedicated their time to ‘learning the tune or melody of a song’ (*lernen den Thon oder Melodiam eines gesangs*).³⁴

The *Studienordnung* shows that Friedrich’s education (as well as that of his sisters) concentrated on religious development, thus ruling out the likelihood that the eight-year-old Friedrich sang exclusively secular songs in these afternoon *Singstunden*. At most, they likely sang a mixture of sacred and secular songs. Or they might have sung or studied in depth the text of one chosen hymn, as Koldau has suggested.³⁵ Spending an hour with one song could also have served to memorise psalm tunes and

³¹ *MGP XIX*, 274.

³² *Ibid.*, 277–280.

³³ Cornelia Niekus Moore, *The Maiden’s Mirror: Reading Material for German Girls in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987), 44.

³⁴ *MGP XIX*, 280.

³⁵ Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen-Musik-Kultur*, 171–172.

chorales, imprinting them onto the mind like a *Tabula memoriae*. In this way, the hour was spent in a type of devotional reflection through internalising pre-existing songs.

One further possibility not considered in previous studies, however, is that Friedrich was encouraged to write hymns of his own. Although possibly dating from later in Friedrich's life, two of Friedrich's hymns—'Frieden und recht beger ich Herr' and 'Herr Jesu Christ du höchstes Gut'—appeared posthumously in Palatine hymnbooks as early as 1619;³⁶ the latter hymn—'Herr Jesu Christ du höchstes Gut'—is also found unpublished in the journal of court preacher Bartholomeus Pitiscus, possibly dated around 1610. Attached to Pitiscus's manuscript record of Friedrich's hymn is the subtitle: 'Cantio à Friderico IV. Electore composita'.³⁷ These hymns written by Friedrich, even if not composed during his childhood, demonstrate how a habitual engagement with devotional music likely remained with Friedrich his entire life.

Education in music also served purposes that supplied princely pupils with the expected skills of their social station as well as their confession. The same *Tagesordnung* of 1582 also includes a more specialist musical education for Friedrich: it indicates that, on Wednesdays between 1 and 2 o'clock in the afternoon, he busied himself 'with music' (*mit der Musica*). Similarly, on Sundays Friedrich was occupied 'with sacred psalms and music' (*mitt geistlichen Psalmen und Musica beschäftigen*).³⁸ The term *Musica* is likely to indicate education in music theory and the performance of figural music (i.e. measured music, usually in several parts), rather than the general ability to sing a monophonic hymn that was part of devotional education. Indeed, within the Wittelsbach line, educating boys in music involved an engagement with the types of music Friedrich heard in his father's court chapel, which featured a cadre of professional singers and (during Friedrich's childhood) was led by the noted Silesian composer and organist Johannes Knöfel.

In the Lutheran satellite court of Pfalz-Neuburg, the eight-year-old Wolfgang Wilhelm (1578–1653) received an education in music that necessitated the purchase of three sets of partbooks from Augsburg bookseller Hans Georg Portenbach in 1586.³⁹ Included in the purchase were an anonymous '7 *psalmorum poenitentialium* (10 Kr.)' [possibly Lasso's *Psalmi Davidis poenitentiales*⁴⁰], the '*Cantica sacra Orlandi di*

³⁶ Discussed in Chapter Two, *Etliche Psalmen und Geistliche Lieder/so von D. Martin Luthern...* (Neustadt: Heinrich Starck, 1619), 157–160.

³⁷ GHA, MS 10, Palat. Misc., unpaginated.

³⁸ MGP XIX, 278

³⁹ Ibid., CVI.

⁴⁰ RISM A/1 L 952.

*Lasso*⁴¹ (16 Kr.)', and the '*Septem psalmi poenitentiales*' of Alexander Utendal published in Nuremberg in 1570.⁴² The guidelines (*Instruktion*) for the education of Wolfgang Wilhelm's younger brothers in 1595 indicate that the princely tutor, Kaspar Heuchelin, was to sing a German or Latin psalm (*einen deutschen oder lateinischen Psalm singen*) with them every day after lunch. In these daily exercises, however, Heuchelin was to be careful 'not to burden them with the rules of music' (*mit praeceptis und regulis musicis nicht beschweren*).⁴³ Given that two of these three books were collections of Latin psalms, Heuchelin may have led his pupils in singing polyphonic compositions, while keeping music-theoretical instruction to a minimum. Such books were thus not bought for close study of compositional technique; but, just as princes often understood and engaged with Latin texts despite lacking in-depth knowledge of grammar or vocabulary⁴⁴, singing polyphonic music from these books on a daily basis enabled the princes to engage regularly with skilled compositions in a superficial way but did not require them to spend time learning specialist knowledge, which might have been viewed as unduly artisan.

In Heidelberg, similar small libraries were maintained by princely tutors, the inventories for two of which survive in the Bibliotheca Palatina and have heretofore received no substantive scholarly treatment from musicologists.⁴⁵ Their significance lies firstly in how the libraries display the actual repertory in the face of often ambiguous (and underdetermined) instructions regarding music in educational plans. But also, they are significant for showing what happened to the repertory of music education as the court changed from Lutheranism to Calvinism in 1583. These libraries throw light onto what it meant in Heidelberg for Calvinists to engage 'with music' (*mit der Musica*), and what it meant for Friedrich's music education to have been begun by Lutherans but finished by Calvinists.

The *Bibliotheca privata Friderici Comitis Palatini* (Private library of Friedrich, Count Palatine)—inventoried in 1589 and again in 1594—was assembled by his tutors Georg Michael Lingelsheim (1556–1636), Otto von Grünrade (1545–1613) and Bartholomäus Pitiscus (1561–1613).⁴⁶ As it turned out, Friedrich was not a particularly keen student; his uncle, Johann Casimir, remarked to his tutors that 'they will not make

⁴¹ Possibly RISM A/1 L 961.

⁴² Utendal, RISM A/1 U 119.

⁴³ *MGP XIX*, CVIII.

⁴⁴ Andrew L. Thomas, *A House Divided*, 49.

⁴⁵ Pietzsch has transcribed parts of the libraries' contents but offered no comment on their significance to education or musical life in the court. *QuF*, 50–51, 61–62.

⁴⁶ For Melissus's role in cataloguing the library, see the recent online research into the Bibliotheca Palatina carried out by the Heidelberg UB: <http://codpalgerm.uni-hd.de>, accessed 22 April 2014.

a Doctor of him; the tutor must therefore not overload him with studies' (*Sie werden kein Doktor auß Ime machen; derowegen muß der praeceptor Ine auch mit Studio nit yberladen*).⁴⁷ In addition to various hymnbooks catalogued with other theological books, the section specifically designated for music (*Libri musici*) included eight items. Among them are two publications by Orlando di Lasso containing Latin and French-texted music, an anthology of four-part polyphony (probably motets) by Cipriano de Rore, a volume of French psalms and Italian secular music in the *Gemma Musicalis* edited by Friedrich Lindner. From this collection one can surmise that, as in Pfalz-Neuburg, his tutor Bartholomäus Pitiscus sang psalms with Friedrich (albeit in Latin and French rather than German), in addition to Italian-texted secular music.

Table 3.2: *Bibliotheca privata Friderici Comitis Palatini*, Cod.Pal.Lat.1917 and 1918⁴⁸

Inventory Entry	Printing City, Year	RISM Concordance (where possible)
Orlandi, moduli 5 vocum ⁴⁹	Antwerp or Paris, 1571 Paris, 1588	A/1 L 843 A/1 L 844 A/1 L 845 A/1 L 846 A/1 L 847 A/1 L 986
Cipriano de Rore etc., a quatro voci	Venice, 1563 (likely <i>Motetta D. Cipriani de Rore et aliorum auctorum quatuor vocum parium de canenda...</i>)	B/1 1563 ⁴
Enblemes mis en musique. MS. 5. voc	?	n/a
Sacrae cantiones 5 et 6 voc, Octavo	?	?
D'Orlande, le Thresor de Musique	Geneva, 1576	A/1 L 893
Le neuf Muse Palatines	Manuscript	n/a
Psalmodia musica. Gallicé	?	?

⁴⁷ *MGP XIX*, 294.

⁴⁸ The concordances in Table 3.1 are my own.

⁴⁹ This volume of Lasso could either be Antwerp or Paris editions published in 1571. This possibility is suggested by other volumes published in the 1560s and 1570s, such as the volume of Cipriano de Rore contained here. However, if the volume of Lasso was published later (purchased around the same time as Friedrich Lindner's *Gemma musicalis* of 1588), then the Lasso volume could plausibly be the later edition published in Paris in 1588.

Friderici Lindneri Gemma Musicalis	Nuremberg, 1588	B/1 1588 ²¹
---------------------------------------	-----------------	------------------------

Importantly, after the death of his Lutheran father in 1583, Friedrich's upbringing was overseen by his Calvinist uncle, Johann Casimir—meaning that, while educational programmes developed between 1580 and 1583 reflected Lutheran sensibilities, the libraries were built (or at least retained) by Calvinists. One might argue that the books of Italian music—seen as decadent and lascivious by many Calvinists—were silent, unused remnants from Lutheran times. Such an interpretation, however, neglects the fact that books in Friedrich's tutorial library were published after the court (and Friedrich's education) had re-instated Calvinism in 1583. For instance, the first volume of Lindner's *Gemma Musicalis* appeared in 1588—over five years since Lutheran rule in the court. These partbooks were therefore a new addition by Calvinists in the court, for the education and enjoyment of a now Calvinist Friedrich IV. Indeed, at this same time in 1594, Friedrich made a payment of six Guldens (*xj Gulden Batzen*) to Lindner for 'some musical songs which he supplied to my Gracious Lord' (*etlicher Musicalischen gsäng, so er m. gsten herrn gliuert [geliefert]*), possibly Lindner's last printed volume *Bicinia sacra*, containing text-less *ricercars* for *solfeggi* exercises as well as compositions with texts of di Lasso and others.⁵⁰

One further possibility is that these are now lost songs that Lindner delivered in manuscript form; thus they could resemble the Lindner choirbooks that contain the otherwise unknown Catholic repertory of St Aegidi in Lutheran Nuremberg.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the Lindner books suggest that Friedrich must have enjoyed singing madrigals. More generally, however, given the popularity of Italian secular music and Latin sacred music at the Dresden court and in Lutheran cities such as Nuremberg, Pitiscus regarded Italian-, Latin- and French-texted polyphony as important for educating a young nobleman who would, as a necessary part of his princely duties, require familiarity and skill in a wide range of music.⁵²

Another manuscript library inventory is catalogued in the Bibliotheca Palatina— assembled by a prince from a previous generation: Christoph (1551–1574).⁵³ The inventory dates from 1574, and was created just after Christoph's untimely death while

⁵⁰ *QuF*, 57.

⁵¹ Stanley Boorman, et al. "Sources, MS." *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed March 7, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50158pg30>.

⁵² For a discussion of Italian music (especially Lindner) in Nuremberg musical societies, see Susan Lewis Hammond, *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 45–76.

⁵³ Cod.Pal.Germ.835.

fighting the Huguenot cause in France. As Christoph was fourth in line to the throne, he turned his attention to the riches of learned and princely culture, receiving ‘a thorough education and [he] was as practised in all the knightly arts as in the study of classical Antiquity’ (*eine sorgfältige Erziehung und war in allen ritterlichen Künsten ebenso geübt, als in den Studien des classischen Alterthums*).⁵⁴ After initially studying in Calvinist Geneva, he completed his university studies in Heidelberg before becoming rector of the university in 1566.

The manuscript inventory’s contents, on the one hand, expose the library’s tutorial function. Some of the books were published between 1560 and 1565, when Christoph would probably have received the fundamentals of his music education; moreover, his library contained the expected range of music books for young pupils: a book of didactic *Tricinia*, partbooks of polyphony as in Pfalz-Neuburg, and tablature books for learning a stringed instrument or keyboard. Similar intabulations were owned by Saxon princes at the Dresden court: elector-prince Johann Georg (b. 1585) owned a manuscript book containing intabulations of psalms, hymns and secular dances, compiled by court citharist Michael Mölich.⁵⁵ Similarly, Saxon court organist Augustus Nörmiger assembled a *Tabulaturbuch* of Lutheran hymns and dances for Christian II of Saxony (1592).⁵⁶

On the other hand, unlike Friedrich’s library, it seems that Christoph added books to his library even up to the year before he died, indicating that its function was not purely educational. To sixteenth-century pedagogues, the chief end of habituation was not mindless repetition but ‘inventiveness and independent judgement’.⁵⁷ Using the print dates as a provisional guide, the contents of this library not only suggest which books were used in his education, but how a pupil’s musical tastes developed over nearly a decade after ceasing lessons with a private tutor—a time frame which also included his conversion from Lutheranism to Calvinism.

⁵⁴ Ludwig Häusser, *Die Geschichte der rheinischen Pfalz nach ihren politischen, kirchlichen und litterarischen Verhältnissen*, vol. 2 (Heidelberg: Mohr, 1845), 79.

⁵⁵ *Tabulatur Buch auf der Cyther* (1593). See *Das erziehungswesen am hofe der Wettiner Albertinischer (haupt-)linie*, ed. Julius Richter, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogia, 52 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1913), 157.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 158–159. For transcriptions of selected compositions in these books, see Wilhelm Merian, *Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturbüchern* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927).

⁵⁷ Gerald Strauss, *Luther’s House of Learning*, 62.

**Table 3.3: *Inventarium rerum relictarum a Principe Christofero Palatin (1574)*,
Cod.Pal.Germ.835**

Inventory Entry	Title and RISM Concordance (where identifiable)	Size and/or Binding (where stated)
Allerhandt haußgesäng unnd lied	?	Decimo-sexto, weiß Perment
Allerhandt lieder	?	Octavo, in weiß carten
Chansons spirituelles	?	Decimo-sexto, gelb Perment
Lautenbuch Bern. Jobin.	Either volume one or two of <i>Neuerlessener Lautenstück</i> (Strasbourg, 1573) A/1 J 546	Quarto, weiß Perment
Allerhandt lieder	?	Octavo
5 partes Mailandj	Possibly one of the four editions of Meiland's <i>Cantiones sacrae</i> (Nuremberg, 1564/69/72/73) A/1 M 2173 A/1 M 2174 A/1 M 2175 A/1 M 2176	Rot Carten vergult
5 partes Mailandj	Possibly <i>Neue Auserlesene Teutsche Liedlin</i> (Nuremberg, 1569) A/1 M 2177 or <i>Selectae cantiones</i> (Nuremberg, 1572) A/1 M 2178	Rot Carten vergult
5 partes Mathias Gastritz	Either <i>Novae Harmoniae cantiones</i> (Nuremberg, 1569) A/1 G 565 or <i>Kurtze und sonderliche Neue Symbole</i> (Nuremberg, 1571) A/1 G566	Rot Carten vergult
4 Partes Clemens non papa, Weiß Perment	?	Weiß Perment
5 Partes Lateinisch gsang zu Antorf getruckt	Antwerp, ?	weiß Perment
5 Partes Orlandj	?	weiß Perment

5 Partes Steffani Roseti	If sacred, <i>Novae quaedam sacrae cantiones</i> (Nuremberg, 1573) A/1 R 2730; if secular, one of his three books of madrigals, including <i>Il primo libro de madregali</i> (Venice, 1560) A/1 R 2725; <i>Musica nova</i> (Rome, 1566) A/1 R 2727; <i>Il lamento di Olimpia con 1 canzone</i> (Venice, 1567) A/1 R 2729	weiß Perment
6 Partes Leonardj Pamingers	Probably <i>Primus tonus ecclesiasticarum cantionum</i> (Nuremberg, 1573) A/1 P 828	weiß Perment
6 Partes Joachimi Burckh	Possibly <i>Sacrae Cantiones</i> (Nuremberg, 1573) A/1 B 4966	weiß Perment
Tricinia Christiani Holandi	<i>Triciniorum</i> (Munich, 1573) A/1 H 6325	weiß Perment
Geistliche Dischgeseng Joachimi Magdeburgij, 4 partes	<i>Christliche und Tröstliche Tischgesenge mit vier Stimmen</i> (Erfurt, 1572) DKL 1572 ⁰⁷	Octavo
Tricinia Mathei le Maistre, 3 partes	<i>Catechesis numeris musicis inclusa</i> (Nuremberg, 1559 or 1563) A/1 L 1841 or 1842	?
Kirchengesang	?	Rott vergult Pappen

A desire for fine possessions that reflected learning and social status is seen in the bindings of Christoph's music books. Of the eighteen total titles, ten books were bound in *Pergament* (a durable animal skin rather than wood or paper), and three books were gilded. The lack of titles, or years of publication, make the contents of Christoph's library difficult (though not impossible) to determine, but it is clear that he owned predominantly sacred and Latin-texted music printed in Nuremberg or the Low Countries.

His library displays uncommonly wide musical tastes for an early German Calvinist. With the compositions of Stefano Rossetti, for instance, the books Christoph likely owned are either Rossetti's madrigals and other Italian-texted secular music printed between 1560 and 1567, or his *Novae quaedam sacrae cantiones* (Nuremberg, 1573)—a volume of Latin motets. Comparing the appearance of these books with Christoph's age at that time presents unexpected possibilities for Protestants who supposedly followed Calvin and avoided all music but the psalms. The publication of Rossetti's book of five-voiced madrigals in 1560 coincides with Christoph's ninth birthday—roughly the same age that Friedrich IV engaged several hours every week *mit der Musica* and that pupils in the Pfalz-Neuburg court sang polyphony with their tutor. By contrast, Ferretti's 1573 *Novae quaedam sacrae cantiones*, a book of Latin-texted motets, was published when Christoph was 22 years-old. Evidently there was no prohibition, for the child Christoph, on conservative Lutherans singing secular music, nor a prohibition as an adult Calvinist on singing Latin polyphony.

Further transgression of confessional lines can be seen in the 1573 *Primus tonus ecclesiasticarum* of Leonhard Paminger—a Lutheran who worked as schoolmaster and secretary at the St Nikola school in Catholic Passau. As David Burn has pointed out, Paminger exercised caution to avoid drawing too much attention to his Lutheran beliefs. Yet he did express them in clear ways. He had befriended Martin Luther, and dedicated two compositions to Philipp Melanchthon—one of which can be found in *Primus tonus ecclesiasticarum*. Thus, the possession of Paminger linked Christoph not only to a crypto-Lutheran composer, but to compositions that bridged Lutheranism and Catholicism.

The library inventories for Friedrich IV and Christoph, in sum, reveal that Latin-texted motets and secular vocal music were important to the education of a Calvinist prince, despite such music being either banned from public worship or branded as lascivious. For princes, acquiring skill in singing or composing polyphonic music was a privilege (and, indeed, an expectation) of his social station. Fostering such ostensibly distinct musical habits as singing polyphonic works with Latin text and composing monophonic vernacular hymns corresponded to different sides of their identities as confessional leaders and as learned individuals.

Returning to 1582 during the final full year of the Lutheran interim, the *Lern- und Lebensordnung* (1582) outlined the education of the nine-year-old Princess

Christine.⁵⁸ Christine's daily lessons were primarily religious and conducted in German, although she also learned parts of the Bible in Latin (though without training in Latin grammar). And as she had done since she was six, Christine was to read the Bible, pray and sing psalms 'not only in the church itself' (*nicht allein Inn der Kirchen selbst*) but in private as well.⁵⁹

The uniqueness of this ordinance for Christine's education lies in its provision for instruction in instrumental music, a provision absent in other extant sources. In the hours after lunch, Christine's tutors believed it 'would also be praiseworthy and advisable for Her Courtly Grace to learn something on the *Instrumentlein* (clavichord or virginals)' (*Wehre auch löblich und Rathsam, das I.F.G. etwas uffen Instrumentlein darneben lernet*).⁶⁰ The keyboard provided a rich musical experience during evening devotions, and she was encouraged after dinner also to 'sing something from the Psalms or play them on the virginals' (*was von Psalmen daruff singen oder dieselben uffen Instrumentlin schlagen*), in addition to saying her prayers and reading her Bible.⁶¹

Such performance of psalms and hymns on keyboard instruments has resonances with practices in the Saxon court in Dresden. The Saxon court organist Augustus Nörmiger assembled two manuscript books of keyboard tablature for members of this Lutheran court: in addition to a *Tabulaturbuch* for Christian II of Saxony (1592), he also compiled a *Tabulaturbuch* of Lutheran hymns and psalms (as well as secular dances) for Princess Sophia of Saxony (1598).⁶² Of the 133 total intabulations found in the latter tablature book, 77 were Lutheran hymns and psalms, and included Luther's six catechism hymns discussed above and his metrical settings of scripture (Psalm 130: 'Aus tiefer Not'; Exodus 20: 'Dies sind die heiligen Zehn Gebot'; the Magnificat, Luke 1: 'Meine Seel erhebt den Herren').⁶³ Sophia's tablature book probably includes settings of some of the same sacred hymns and psalms that Christine played in Heidelberg.

Performing hymns regularly on the keyboard had a clear confessional purpose, as it helped these young girls to become more devoutly Lutheran. Yet, for young women, learning to play a keyboard instrument was equally a means of cultivating an attractive feminine image for potential suitors, regardless of confession.⁶⁴ As will be

⁵⁸ *MGP XIX*, 286–292.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 291.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 288.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁶² *Das erziehungswesen am hofe der Wettiner Albertinischer (haupt-)linie*, ed. Julius Richter, 158–159.

⁶³ A list of the book's contents can be found in Wilhelm Merian, *Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturbüchern*, 220–228.

⁶⁴ See, for instance, Katherine Butler, 'Image and Influence: The Political Uses of Music at the Court of Elizabeth I' (PhD Diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011).

discussed in Chapter Four, the Calvinist Louisa Juliane (Friedrich IV's wife) was a keyboardist, as her library inventory reveals. Elizabeth Stuart similarly played keyboard instruments, as evidenced by the volume *Parthenia* (1613). Dedicated to Elizabeth, *Parthenia* was the first printed book of music for virginals and contained music by William Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and John Bull.⁶⁵ For Christine in 1583, cultivating an attractive image would have been especially important in order to maximise her appeal. The youngest of three surviving daughters of Ludwig and Elizabeth von Hessen, she faced considerable competition for attracting male suitors from within her own family. The details surrounding Christine's life are largely unknown, yet it appears that Christine did not marry, and she continued to live in the Heidelberg court with her brother Friedrich after the death of their father that same year.

Extant documents do not indicate the extent to which Christine continued playing psalms on the virginals once the court returned to Calvinism in late 1583. The activities of later electresses, such as Louisa Juliane and Elizabeth Stuart, certainly make such performances highly likely. What is clear, however, is that keyboard playing served both confessional and non-confessional ends at the Heidelberg court. Proficiency on the keyboard doubtless heightened devotional fervour as a princess pursued a form of private self-confessionalisation. But skill on the keyboard—whether a princess played pavans, galliards or psalms—also served the non-religious end of making her more marriageable. Moreover, in both Lutheran and Calvinist times, noble children were taught to be consumers of a variety of musical material: sacred and secular; polyphonic, monophonic and tablature; vocal and instrumental; scriptural and non-scriptural; and with German, Italian, French and Latin texts.

Calvinists, even aristocratic Calvinists, are often supposed to have been suspicious of all music other than monophonic psalms in the vernacular.⁶⁶ Klaus Winkler even assumes that the musical reforms implemented as part of disciplining parish churches also regulated court music in Heidelberg. He writes of Friedrich III's Calvinist reforms: 'Since Calvinist doctrine only allowed one-voice congregational song in church, a professional choir [in the court] was no longer needed, most musicians were surplus to requirements, and even the organs disappeared'.⁶⁷ By contrast, court educational plans regarded the habitual performance of polyphonic, Italianate or

⁶⁵ Janet Pollack, 'Princess Elizabeth Stuart as Musician and Muse', in *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies*, ed. Thomasin K. LaMay (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 399–424.

⁶⁶ See discussion in Chapter One.

⁶⁷ Klaus Winkler, '"...der Princessin zu Heydelberg Dantzmeister hatts componirt": Heidelberg Court Music between Tradition and *avant-garde*', in *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, ed. Sara Smart and Mara E. Wade (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 517.

instrumental genres not as a threat to discipline, but as an activity typical of the nobility across German-speaking lands.

II. Latin and German Schools

As discussed in the previous section, the educational programmes in the Heidelberg court used music less to reinforce any differences between the musical cultures of Lutheranism and Calvinism, but instead to supply noble youth with musical knowledge commensurate with their social station. Noble Calvinists patronised and cultivated music with the young, despite simultaneously implementing policies restricting music's place in church and in popular circles. This section now turns to official educational institutions that were charged with educating a larger number of pupils than at court, pupils who might subsequently serve in Palatine churches and government offices. That charge came from multiple, sometimes conflicting voices: from the Elector and the court in some cases, but in other cases from the city council. Four schools served Heidelberg's young—the Neckarschule, the Paedagogium, the Peterschule and a French school. As demonstrated in Chapter One, the schools were connected to different parish churches of Heidelberg (Figure 1.3). The curricula of these schools give significant new insights into Calvinist musical education, an area previously unresearched by musicologists.⁶⁸

Founded in the twelfth century by Heidelberg's citizenry and civic endowment, the Neckarschule functioned in the sixteenth century as a *Stadtschule* for the education of burghers' sons. Statutes from 1587 indicate that the school offered 36 places for pupils (called *Nicriner*): ten places for pupils from Heidelberg, fourteen from the elsewhere in the Palatinate and twelve places reserved for foreign pupils.⁶⁹

The primacy of the Neckarschule in the educational landscape of Heidelberg was interrupted in 1545 with the founding of the Paedagogium. In the early 1540s, the university experienced a decline in the number and quality of students, and as Friedrich II ascended to the throne in 1545, he requested that each of the four university faculties submit reports suggesting possible solutions. The preferred solution was to found a preparatory academy for the arts faculty that more rigorously prepared students for university study. The curriculum, drafted by the Strasbourg humanist Paul Fagius (1504–1549), delivered a classical curriculum in Latin, as well as instruction in Greek

⁶⁸ See footnote 23 of this chapter.

⁶⁹ *Ewv* 1588, 237–238.

and Hebrew.⁷⁰ The Neckarschule, by contrast, taught its classical curriculum only in Latin. And whereas the Neckarschule traditionally stood under the auspices of the Bürgermeister and town council, the Paedagogium fell under the dual supervision of the church council and the university until 1575, from which point it was governed solely by the church council.

Inhabiting the dissolved Franciscan monastery (together with the parish church of the Barfüßerkirche), the Paedagogium educated a total of 87 pupils—40 of which were scholarship holders (*Stipendiaten*).⁷¹ Spread over four to six year groups (*Classes* or *Heufflin*)⁷², pupils ranged in age from five to eighteen.⁷³ In 1588, 38 of 40 scholarship holders lived in school quarters.⁷⁴ Census records further reveal that the Paedagogium employed a Headteacher (*Rector*), Deputy Head (*Conrector*), five teachers (*Praeceptores*), a cantor (*Cantor*) and a porter (*Schaffner* or *Oeconom*).⁷⁵ The Neckarschule employed a rector as the primary teacher, an inspector (*Inspector*) who lived with the pupils, and a porter.⁷⁶ The Neckarschule taught four year groups of boys of a similar age to those in the Paedagogium.⁷⁷

Between 1556 and 1587 the Neckarschule and Paedagogium merged, as a means of maximising financial and teaching resources. Between 1556 and 1565, the Neckarschule became a preparatory school to the Paedagogium.⁷⁸ By 1565 Friedrich III instigated a full re-organisation of the schools in which the Paedagogium absorbed the Neckarschule—to the extent that the 36 poor pupils of the Neckarschule would still receive accommodation and board in their own institution, but receive their instruction at the Paedagogium. None of the pupils at either school paid fees. While *Nicriner* continued to sing for alms and for funerals, free instruction, food and accommodation for pupils at the Paedagogium were funded with proceeds from the dissolution of a wealthy cloister in Sinsheim.⁷⁹ This re-organisation, according to Friedrich III, would save money, as teachers would not need to be employed by both schools.⁸⁰ More

⁷⁰ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 32.

⁷¹ *Ewv 1600*, 11; Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Die erste Gelehrtschule Reformirten Glaubensbekenntnisses in Deutschland oder Geschichte des Pädagogiums zu Heidelberg unter dem Kurfürsten Friedrich III. von der Pfalz in den Jahren 1565–1577* (Heidelberg: Groos, 1855), 2.

⁷² Between 1556 and 1565, the Paedagogium had four classes. Otherwise, it had six.

⁷³ *Ewv 1600*, 11.

⁷⁴ *Ewv 1588*, 133.

⁷⁵ *Ewv 1588*, 133; Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte des Paedagogium*, 3.

⁷⁶ Friedrich Peter Wundt, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Stadt Heidelberg*, vol.1 (Mannheim: Burgerspitals-Buchdrucker, 1805), 373.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 372.

⁷⁸ *Ewv 1588*, 237.

⁷⁹ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 41.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 43.

significantly, however, placing the Neckarschule under the jurisdiction of the Paedagogium allowed him—by way of the church council—to play a more significant role in shaping the education of these poor pupils and *Bürgerkinder*. To Friedrich III in 1565, this meant that the Paedagogium was to become specifically a ‘nursery for teachers and preachers’ (*Pflanzschule von Lehrern und Predigern*).⁸¹ That increased disciplinary oversight became a driving force in educational reforms is supported by the dismissal of a member of the church council (identified only as Nathanael) in 1567, on the basis that he ‘did not want to use the rod on the boys’ (*die Ruthe nicht brauchen wolte gegen die Jungen*).⁸²

Friedrich’s investment in the Paedagogium also linked to issues of authority. As a *Stadtschule*, the Neckarschule maintained autonomy from court authorities and generated income by other means than exclusive electoral patronage—including by singing for funerals and church services and while collecting alms. Dissolving instruction at the Neckarschule—without dissolving the institution itself—and sending the *Alumnaten* to the Paedagogium for instruction was a means of consolidating Friedrich’s power over the education of the young; and, because the Paedagogium was governed in part by the church council, it maximised Friedrich’s confessionalisation efforts. This arrangement lasted until 1587, when Johann Casimir re-founded the Neckarschule as a school administering its own instruction, albeit with a revised curriculum to prepare its pupils more adequately for university study.

Little is known of the vernacular schools.⁸³ The activities, curriculum and pupils of the German schools, the Peterschule and the Spitalschule, are largely unknown. Census records reveal that a former Hofcantor, Caspar Wolf—who led the singing of (possibly polyphonic) hymns and psalms in the court chapel—was schoolmaster of the Peterschule and the school *am Spital* in 1600.⁸⁴

Knowledge of the French school similarly comes through oblique sources. The congregational records of the French church count a French schoolmaster as one of its parishioners, while Jean de Cupre identifies himself in his volume of madrigals *Livre premier contenant trente Madrigales a cinq voix* (Frankfurt, 1610) as a ‘musician and

⁸¹ Ibid., 40.

⁸² *Ewv* 1588, 238.

⁸³ The Peterschule was patronised by the Peterskirche and located within the parish’s boundaries between that church and the *Keltertor*. See *Archäologischer Stadtkataster Baden-Württemberg*, vol. 32, Heidelberg, 227.

⁸⁴ *QuF*, 102.

school master at the Palatinate in Heidelberg' (*Musicien & Maistre d'Ecole au Palatinat à Heidelberg*).⁸⁵

Although the French school's location and activities are unknown, it probably, like the French church, served families of Huguenot refugees as well as French-speaking professors and court officials. As such, their musical education probably resembled that found in other French Calvinist centres—such as Geneva. Daniel Trocmé-Latter has recently discussed how Genevan school curricula devoted one hour four times a week to musical instruction that aimed to teach children the psalms. Cantors' roles were decidedly much more multi-dimensional than this, however, as they had to function as 'a musician of the city as much as of the church: a music editor, arranger and composer, a church musician, a town musician, a music tutor and a schoolmaster'.⁸⁶

Instruction in the Neckarschule and Paedagogium was delivered by specialised musicians, as well as other teachers. With Friedrich III's reforms, the Paedagogium employed a cantor from 1565 to work alongside the other five teachers (*praeceptores*).⁸⁷ Nicolaus Rosthius (c. 1542–1622) worked as cantor of the Paedagogium, likely soon after matriculating at the university on 9 December 1579.⁸⁸ Formerly Rosthius taught music at a Protestant school in Linz (1578–79) and worked as Kapellmeister in Weimar until 1571, before the latter's choir was dissolved. From early 1583, Andreas Raselius (c. 1563–1602) followed Rosthius as cantor, before leaving Heidelberg late that year with the Calvinist reforms of Johann Casimir. Before returning to Heidelberg in 1600 as Kapellmeister, Raselius was assistant schoolmaster and cantor in the Gymnasium Poeticum in Regensburg.

In the Neckarschule, by contrast, there is no record of a cantor being employed before 1587. Between 1565 and 1587, pupils there received their musical instruction from the cantor of the Paedagogium who received a salary of 40 Guldens per annum.⁸⁹ However, other instructors in both institutions led the schoolboys while singing for funerals and in church services, as was the case since the Middle Ages in the Neckarschule. Written descriptions of court funeral processions between 1556 and 1610 (to be discussed in Chapter Five) reveal that the ordinary teachers (*praeceptores*) rather than a cantor led the boys' singing. In sixteenth-century Protestantism, schoolmasters

⁸⁵ RISM A/1 C 4600.

⁸⁶ Daniel Trocmé-Latter, 'The Psalms as a Mark of Protestantism', 154.

⁸⁷ *Stein II*, 102.

⁸⁸ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte des Paedagogium*, 47.

⁸⁹ *Stein II*, 89 and 102.

and teachers often had skills in music. As Luther famously said, ‘a schoolmaster must know how to sing; otherwise I do not look at him’.⁹⁰

The premiss of the confessionalisation thesis is that confessional churches became ‘internally coherent’ and ‘externally exclusive’ as they tried to ‘win the future by expanding and streamlining its educational system so as to safeguard the “right” alignment of its children’.⁹¹ And as Strauss has claimed, habituating the young was the ‘only method’ that could promise the survival and success of Protestantism.⁹² Paradoxically, even though Lutheran and Calvinist authorities aligned the youth according to different doctrines, a comparison of the daily patterns of music-making in city schools during Lutheran and Calvinist periods exposes striking similarities.

(a) Lutheran periods: 1556–1563, 1576–1583

During periods of Lutheranism under the reigns of Ottheinrich and Ludwig VI, Heidelberg’s schools adhered to the *Ordnung der Schulen* (1556), which was closely modelled on Ottheinrich’s previous ordinance for Pfalz-Neuburg (1554).⁹³ The 1556 order targeted Latin schools in particular⁹⁴, and aimed ‘that the schools adhered not only to the teaching of the good and useful arts, but are also useful and necessary to the preservation of the essential offices in church, government and households’.⁹⁵ Complementing Ottheinrich’s Lutheran church order of the same year discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, the school order served to make Heidelberg’s schools into confessional institutions, and its pupils devoted Lutherans. In addition to instruction in the main subjects of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric and logic) in Latin, pupils at the Neckarschule and Paedagogium learned Luther’s Small Catechism, a defining doctrinal document of Lutheranism.

Attention was paid to every pupil to ensure their habitual recitations were without errors: ‘On Wednesday and Sunday one should recite the catechism, in all

⁹⁰ Quoted in Robin Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 278.

⁹¹ Wolfgang Reinhard, ‘Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: a Reassessment’, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 75 (1989): 392.

⁹² Gerald Strauss, *Luther’s House of Learning*, 153.

⁹³ Two different entries exist in VD16: ZV 22219 and P 2151; *Schulordnung, wie dieselbige in des durchleuchtigsten, hochgebornen fürsten und herrn, herrn Ottheinrichs, pfaltzgraven bey Rhein, des heiligen römischen reichs ertzdruchsessen und churfürsten, hertzogen in Nidern- und Oberbayrn etc., chur- und fürstenthumben gehalten werden soll* (Neuburg: Kilian, 1556).

⁹⁴ The 1556 order addressed Latin schools as opposed to German schools; thus, it applied to the Neckarschule and Paedagogium which merged shortly afterwards (as mentioned above). The Paedagogium ceased its instruction as a preparatory school and adopted a Latin school curriculum.

⁹⁵ ‘das die Schulen nicht allein zur lehr der gutten nützlichen Künsten, sonder auch zuerhaltung der nötigen Ambter inn Kirchen, in Regimenten vnd im haußhalten dienstlich nützlich vnd nötig sind’. Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 59–65.

classes, and the teachers should listen to every boy, one after the other, speak completely and clearly the Ten Commandments, Creed and Lord's Prayer' (*Den Mitwoch vnd Sonnabend soll man zum Catechismo brauchen, durchaus in allen hauffen, vnd sollen die Praeceptores jeden jungen nacheinander hören, gantz vnd deutlich sprechen, Decalogum, Symbolum, precationem Dominicam*).⁹⁶ As pupils progressed into older year-groups, their exercises built on their knowledge of basic Lutheran doctrine and addressed increasingly complex topics from the catechism.⁹⁷

Music also constituted a daily part of a pupil's education at the Paedagogium and Neckarschule, as they participated in standard Lutheran musical activities. As summarised by John Butt, this meant that every day 'all boys had to attend singing lessons, join in the singing which opened and closed instruction and lead the congregational singing in the daily church services, Mass and Vespers'.⁹⁸ All these activities were present in Heidelberg, with the exception of daily Mass and Vespers. In Heidelberg Vespers occurred every week on two work days (rather than every work day).⁹⁹

Singing lessons formed a core of the afternoon curriculum of the school day. In the first year-group (*prima classis*¹⁰⁰), 'these children will also be held to [learn] music, and sing with the others, as indicated hereafter' (*Dise Kinder sollen auch zur Musica gehalten werden, vnd mit den andern singen, wie hernach angezeigt wirdt*).¹⁰¹ In the *secunda classis*, 'daily one should practise music with all boys in the first hour of the afternoon' (*Teglich soll man die erste stund nachmittag alle knaben in der musica üben*).¹⁰² Similarly, for pupils in the *tertia classis*, 'in the hour after noon, these [pupils] should be rehearsed in music with the others, as previously said' (*In der Stund nach mittag sollen dise mit den andern in Musica geübt werden, wie zuvor gesagt*).¹⁰³ As all year-groups practised music in the same hour after lunch, it is likely that all pupils in the

⁹⁶ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 63.

⁹⁷ 'Vnd die grössern soll man weiter fragen im Catechismo, Quot sunt personae Divinitatis? Quid sit Lex? Quid peccatum? Quid Evangelium? Quid poenitentia? Quomodo homo accipit remissionem peccatorum? vnd soll ernstlich befohlen werden, das ein gleicher Catechismus durchaus im land gebraucht werde'. Ibid.

⁹⁸ John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 5; Georg Schünemann, *Geschichte der deutschen Schulmusik* (Leipzig: Kistner & Siegel, 1928), 91.

⁹⁹ *Sehling XIV*, 165.

¹⁰⁰ In Heidelberg, younger year-groups were given smaller numbers, while older year-groups were given higher numbers. That is, the youngest pupils entered at the first year-group (*prima classis*) and progressed to the fourth or fifth class. This reversed the usual pattern of German grammar schools in which the *prima classis* consisted of the oldest pupils, as in Leipzig, for instance.

¹⁰¹ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 61.

¹⁰² Ibid., 63.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

schools met together for group music lessons—especially given the phrase ‘with the others’ (*mit den andern*) in the instructions for the *tertia classis*. Thus, although the curriculum for the *quarta classis* contained no reference to music, they could theoretically have attended school-wide lessons.

What pupils of the Neckarschule and Paedagogium sang during these six hours per week was unspecified. Nevertheless, it is likely that their daily musical activities prepared them for their primary weekly responsibility of supplying music in Heidelberg’s churches—Vespers on two nights per week as well as multiple Sunday services. Although not always verified, pupils probably sang for the services of churches with which their schools were associated.¹⁰⁴ Since the twelfth century, pupils of the Neckarschule sang for services in the Heiliggeistkirche. Meanwhile, the pupils of the newly founded Paedagogium presumably sang for services in the adjacent Barfüßerkirche;¹⁰⁵ both institutions were housed in buildings formerly occupied by the Franciscan monastery in the east end of the city. Students of the Peterschule sang in the Peterskirche.¹⁰⁶

Daily singing could also have prepared students for events that occurred less regularly and more unpredictably, as pupils from the Neckarschule also sang for funerals of Heidelberg residents. Because the Neckarschule was a *Stadtschule* whose income did not come from the university or the court, it relied on such musical occasions to generate revenue.¹⁰⁷ Although the pupils sang the standard Lutheran translations of chants associated with funeral rites—*Media vita* (‘Mitten wir im Leben sind’) and *Da pacem Domine* (‘Verleih uns Frieden gnädiglich’), for instance—they could have used their allotted singing time to refresh their memories or to teach the repertory to new or younger pupils. Such use of time was highly likely as pupils prepared to participate in elaborate courtly funeral processions, which required a higher level of performance. The procession for Ottheinrich in 1559 saw school pupils singing in alternation with court singers the hymns ‘Mitten wir im Leben sind’, ‘Mit Fried und Freud fahr ich dahin’, ‘Aus tiefer Not’ and ‘Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben’.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ The *Schulordnung* specified that ecclesiastical figures selected the weekly hymn repertory, mandating that the pupils ‘sing no other song or psalm in the church than what is required by the superintendent or pastor’ (*in der Kirchen kein ander gesang oder Psalm singe, dann wie jm von den Superintendenten oder Pfarrer befohlen wird*). Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 60.

¹⁰⁵ Pupils attended services there during the week. Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 109.

¹⁰⁶ *Stein II*, 90.

¹⁰⁷ As later sources indicate, every pupil present received two *Kreuzer* for their service, while the precentor received a half *Batzen*. *Stein II*, 90.

¹⁰⁸ Discussed in section three of Chapter Five.

Another means of generating revenue was by singing door to door to collect alms. Wearing black or blue robes¹⁰⁹, pupils sang door-to-door ‘on the holy Easter day, Ascension, Whitsun, Christmas, and then still further on the day after these high feast days, as well as New Year’s Day’. This reinforced these feasts of the liturgical calendar in the urban soundscape, which (as the following section addresses) continued under Calvinism as well, and connected the daily requirement of singing to the cycle of the church year.¹¹⁰

As their musical activities demonstrate, school pupils were a highly visible section of society for a German city like Heidelberg that hosted Latin schools. And paradoxically, despite their age, pupils could have a salutary effect of the whole of society, as their role in ecclesiastical life made them models for what proper adherence—and indeed the future of Protestantism—looked like. Indeed, according to Heidelberg preacher Abraham Scultetus, the sacred songs ‘sung by the poor schoolboys from door to door (*vor den Thüren*) have brought countless people to believe in the truth’.¹¹¹ It is not surprising that the adherence of schools to the 1556 ordinance were monitored on a regular basis by visitations of Latin and German schools throughout the Palatinate.¹¹² A *Nota* at the conclusion of the order stated that ‘whether schools are German or Latin, the pastors of the same area shall be responsible to visit the school at least once every month’.¹¹³ Ritual and discipline thus developed hand in hand. As the participation of pupils in public church life became increasingly ritualised to Lutheran practice with the release of the 1556 school ordinance, supervision over their activities was itself exercised according to regular patterns.

(b) Calvinist periods: 1563–1576, 1583–1618

Documents from Calvinist periods exist in more abundance than Lutheran times.

Whereas the 1556 *Schulordnung* was the only Lutheran education order developed in Heidelberg in the period under consideration in this thesis, numerous extant sources

¹⁰⁹ *Stein II*, 88.

¹¹⁰ ‘Vf den Heyligen Ostertag, Auffahrts Tag, Pfingsttag, Christtag, vnd Dann noch ferner den Nechsten vf jedes solch hohe Fest folgenden Tag sambt dem Newen Jahrs Tage’. Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 128.

¹¹¹ ‘die geistreiche Gesänge... von den armen Schülern vor den Thüren gesungen worden/ unzählich viel Menschen zu der Erkandnuß der Warheit befördert’. Abraham Scultetus, *Neue Jahrs Predigt: Das ist Historischer Bericht/ wie wunderbarlich Gott der Herr die verschiene hundert Jahr seine Kirche reformiert, regiert/und biß daher erhalten* (Heidelberg: Johann Lancellot, 1617), 18.

¹¹² Visitation reports are not extant.

¹¹³ ‘NOTA: Wo Schulen teutsch oder Lateinisch sind, sollen die Pfarrer desselben orts schuldig sein, die Schul in einem Monat aufs allerwenigst einmal zu visitiern’. Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 65.

reveal how the music education of Calvinist school pupils in these same two schools was not only highly valued but underwent reforms in order to improve the quality of singing. As these sources illuminate, the characteristics of Lutheran education as summarised by John Butt above—singing lessons, singing at the opening and close of instruction and in church services—carried few confessional connotations and remained in place under Calvinist reforms.

The first Calvinist educational reforms took place in 1565, following the Calvinist church order in 1563 discussed in Chapter Two. It eliminated all teaching at the Neckarschule, and provided free instruction for the *Nicriner* at the Paedagogium. Placing the Neckarschule under the umbrella of the Paedagogium not only increased the number of pupils attending lessons daily at the Paedagogium to roughly 80, but also gave the church council full governance over these two schools. This re-organisation made the Paedagogium the first Calvinist gymnasium in the empire; and just as Ottheinrich's *Schulordnung* sought to make pupils good Lutherans, the 1565 reforms sought to make pupils devoted Calvinists. All staff were to adhere to the doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism, and this catechism (rather than Luther's) was taught one hour per day in the *quinta classis*. While these pupils learned the catechism, those in the *quarta classis* attended 'evening prayer...in the church [i.e. Barfüßerkirche]' (*preces vespertinae...in templo*).¹¹⁴

From 1565, musical instruction continued as part of the Paedagogium's daily activities.¹¹⁵ The curriculum lacks any reference to singing or to music in general, but the cantor of the Paedagogium 'had to give two hours of instruction daily, to teach music on Wednesdays and Saturdays and to lead singing in the Heiliggeistkirche' (*hatte täglich 2 Stunden Unterricht zu geben, Mittwochs und Samstags die Musik zu lehren und den Gesang in der Kirche zum Heil. Geist zu leiten*).¹¹⁶ From this, it is unclear whether the cantor's daily instruction involved lessons in singing or another subject. If the former was true, Calvinist pupils sang twice as long after lunch as their Lutheran counterparts in 1556. Expanding the *Singstunden* to prepare the music for weekly services is certainly plausible, given that he taught 80 pupils in total (rather than 40) after the merging of the schools. In this scenario, Wednesday and Saturday's instruction

¹¹⁴ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 109.

¹¹⁵ The curriculum survives only as *Ordo lectionem Pedagogii*, in Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 108–110.

¹¹⁶ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte des Paedagogiums*, 3; *Stein II*, 102.

in music could either have been music theory or instrumental instruction, as discussed in more detail below.¹¹⁷

What is clear is that the cantor now led singing in the main city church, the Heiliggeistkirche, which marked a significant change from previous Heidelberg tradition. Not only was this position held by a teacher at the Neckarschule since the Middle Ages, but the Paedagogium was already attached to the Barfüßerkirche and supplied pupils to sing for their services. The statutes make provision for this change, however; one of the five teachers was responsible for overseeing pupils singing in other parish churches (*templo suburbano*), ensuring that pupils ‘will sing psalms modestly with the rest of the church’ (*psalmos cum reliqua ecclesia modeste canunto*).¹¹⁸

The richest record of schoolboys making music under Calvinist rule comes from the education reforms of 1587. From 1565 to 1587, the Neckarschule and Paedagogium delivered instruction as one institution. But in 1587, Johann Casimir re-instated the Neckarschule with the ability to employ its own teachers and deliver a Latin school curriculum; by doing so, however, Casimir re-founded an institution that fell outside of his official jurisdictional purview. His control was nonetheless felt in a *Schulordnung* (1587) that guided the school’s re-establishment as a Calvinist Latin school.¹¹⁹ Once again, whereas Ludwig VI’s Lutheran reforms between 1576 and 1583 instructed the use of Luther’s Small Catechism, the Heidelberg Catechism returned as the primary confessional document from which pupils learned the fundamentals of Christian religion.¹²⁰

Pupils in both schools led full and active musical lives, compared not only to other Heidelberg residents but to school pupils in German lands of any confession as well. In the Paedagogium, pupils sang communally several times each day, not including their regular curricular instruction in music. Just as was standard in Lutheran schools, ‘the first lesson in every class should begin with a prayer or a song of praise, the last be closed with the same’ (*In Jeder Claß soll die Erst Lection mit gebett oder einem Lobgesang Anfangen, die Letzte darmit beschlosen werden*).¹²¹ Meals in both schools also punctuated the start and end of the day with music, as after the meal a

¹¹⁷ Reports from the church council in 1560 provide no further clues: ‘Nach Mittag Mitwochs. Sollen sie In der Rechenkunst Sampstags nach Auflegung des Sonntäglichen Evangelii ode Epistell In der Musika beyde Classes zu hauß geübt werden’. Gottfried Christian Lauter, *Neuer Versuch*, 47.

¹¹⁸ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 115.

¹¹⁹ The 1587 charter (*Urkunde*) and statutes (*Leges*) are transcribed in Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 50–64.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹²¹ Gottfried Christian Lauter, *Neuer Versuch*, 47.

prayer was said ‘some type of motet is sung’ (*irgend eine Motette gesungen*).¹²²

‘Motette’ undoubtedly denotes polyphonic music but is ambiguous as to the type of text: it could encompass Latin-texted works such as Latin psalms, extracts from the Vulgate, or moralistic odes. They could also possibly be German-texted works with scriptural texts.

The likelihood that pupils sang Latin-texted polyphony at meals is increased by the distinctions made in Neckarschule statutes between different types of music book. Before and after meals, statutes indicated that ‘one or another piece should be sung [by pupils] from part books’ (*eines oder das ander Stück aus den partibus gesungen werden*).¹²³ By contrast, instructions for evening prayer specify Lobwasser’s vernacular psalter.

When the Alumni come to communal prayer, they should not run or make noise, but each should go to the table corresponding to his voice—the basses sit at the first table, the altos at the second table, the tenors at the third table, and the descants at the last table—and sing in four voices several Laws (*Gesetze*), at least two, from the Lobwasser (of which the pupils should begin from the start and regularly progress through it)...and close again with singing two Laws.¹²⁴

In this case, the word *Gesetz* is unclear in denoting what the pupil sang, as it could be a synonym for chapter (*Kapitel* or *Caput*)—suggesting that pupils sang at least four full psalms at each evening prayer. With four psalms daily, pupils would sing the entire psalter every 38 days. Alternatively, *Gesetz* could refer to the Old Testament law found in the Decalogue. Luther composed a famous hymn setting of the Decalogue (‘Dies sind die heilige Zehn Gebot’) as one of his six catechism hymns, but Lobwasser did as well (‘Erheb dein Herz, thu auff dein Ohren’). In this case, pupils sang four of the Ten Commandments daily; doubtless, consistently reminding pupils what God required of his people was seen by authorities as an effective tool for shaping and controlling behaviour during childhood.

¹²² Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 131.

¹²³ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 58.

¹²⁴ ‘Wann nun die Alumni in die Communität ad preces kommen, sollen sie gar kein Laufen oder Getümmel machen, sondern ein Jedweder soll zu seiner Stimm, vber seinen Tisch, da dann die Bassisten vber Primam, die Altisten vber Secundam, die Tenoristen vber Tertiam, die Discantisten vber Ultimam mensam sitzen, vnd etliche Gesetze, auf das wenigste zwei, aus dem Lobwasser (den sie von vornen anfangen und damit ordentlich durchfahren sollen) singen auf 4 Stimmen...und wiederumb mit singung zweier Gesetze beschliessen’.

Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 57.

Cultivating devotion among pupils was not the only function of music: pupils also regularly engaged with music as a recreational activity. During allotted times throughout the week (*in der Wochen Zu gewissen Stunden*), pupils may have sung or played string instruments (if they owned one)—albeit under strict supervision. One of the five teachers of the Paedagogium lived across the street from the school¹²⁵, and was to ‘give attention to the morals and discipline of the boys’ (*vf der Jungen Mores vnd Disciplinam Achtung geben*) and ‘shall practise music with them’ (*mit ihnen Musicam vben solle*).¹²⁶ When something improper occurred, he was ‘to punish them with severity’ (*mit ernst an ihnen straffen*), and if necessary bring in the disciplinary authorities from the church council (*Inspectores*).

This example was part and parcel of greater measures for control over pupils. Indeed, from 1587 onwards, more confessional supervision was conducted over pupils than had previously been the case. Before gaining a place in the Neckarschule, all prospective pupils not from Heidelberg first supplied a reference from previous schoolmasters and underwent an examination in the Paedagogium. If he passed, he then had to prove himself academically and behaviourally in the *tertiam Classem* at the Paedagogium, demonstrating to inspectors reporting to the church council that he could ‘conduct himself appropriately by the laws and statutes of the school’ (*den legibus vnd statutis der Schulen sich durchauss gemes verhalten*); or in other words, inspectors sought to ensure potential pupils possessed no bad habits. If this condition was met, he then gained a permanent place in the Neckarschule.

Such examinations helped Casimir and the Calvinist church council aid the confessionalisation process of the city through educating the young; and no similar screening appears to have happened prior to 1587. Paradoxically, the same church council, which from 1583 advocated restrictions of music in liturgical contexts, included an examination in music for entrance in the Neckarschule. Taking place at the stage between submitting a reference and entering the Paedagogium’s *tertiam Classem*, pupils were ‘examined in the arts by our Rector of the Paedagogium, but by the cantor in music’ (*von Vnserm Paedagogii Rectore in artibus, vom Cantore aber in Musicis examinirt*).¹²⁷ The contents of this examination are unknown, but it doubtless included singing, as passing the examination and entering the *tertiam Classem* meant that the

¹²⁵ He lived in the *Lorscherhaus*.

¹²⁶ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 129.

¹²⁷ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*, 126.

pupil ‘might perform [whatever] needs regarding singing’ (*die Notturfft Im Gesang leisten möge*) existed in Heidelberg churches.¹²⁸

Entrance examinations in music were not standard in Latin schools in German lands. At the Thomasschule in Leipzig, for instance, entrance examinations in music first began in 1634. Because pupils of the Thomasschule sang ‘in both churches, also in funeral processions and wedding, and then finally by collecting alms’, examinations ensured that applicants were ‘not unskilled in musical arts, but well experienced and could sing a piece fully and artfully’.¹²⁹ On the surface, comparing the statutes of these institutions reveals that a Calvinist school was apparently more musically selective than a prestigious Lutheran school that later gained a reputation for high-quality music. This suggests that a desire for skilled performers, regardless of the chosen repertory, was felt across confessional lines. More fundamentally, examinations in music allowed schoolmasters to control the pupil intake and improve the quality of music-making over time.

During Calvinism, moreover, vocal training remained vital for pupils of the Neckarschule, as they continued to supply music for funerals of all citizens of Heidelberg. As stated in Palatine church orders, Calvinist precentors led pupils in the same basic repertory sung by Lutherans—‘Mitten wir im Leben sind’ or ‘Nun lasst uns den leib begraben’.¹³⁰ Yet the statutes of the Neckarschule displayed more concern for misbehaviour of the boys while dispensing musical duties than it did for other musical elements. Pupils were to conduct themselves ‘the entire time in good order’ (*allezeit und in guter Ordnung*), and while singing were ‘to give respect to one another’ (*auf einander gute Achtung geben*) and not ‘to sing shortly before or shortly after the precentor and, much more, to render not a weak shout but a devout song’ (*jetzt nicht bald dem praecentori vor, bald nach singen und nicht vielmehr ein armes Geschrei und dann einen andächtigen Gesang führen*).¹³¹ As funerals took place outside school, statutes further mandated against unruly behaviour in the city after the event had

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ ‘...in beyden Kirchen/auch auff in Leichenbegängussen und Hochzeiten/und dann endlichen bey der Currenda...in artes Musica nicht rudes, sondern deroselben guten theils erfahren/und ein Stück fertig und artig musiciren können’. *Des Rats zu Leipzig Vernewerte Schul-Ordnung* (Leipzig, 1634), sig. C4r; facsimile in *Die Thomasschule Leipzig zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs: Ordnung und Gesetze, 1634, 1723, 1733*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat, 1987).

¹³⁰ See Chapter Five the hymn repertory used for electoral funeral processions.

¹³¹ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 62.

finished: ‘when your singing in the church is over, then they should not scatter here and there, or go off course, but silently...return to the school without delay’.¹³²

To be sure, concern for misbehaviour was one component of a larger agenda of safeguarding the well-being and safety of the pupils, however. Singing for funerals can be considered a highly ritualistic activity, whether in terms of the regular repetition of particular hymns and expected actions and biblical texts spoken during the services or the processions, or at the graveside. Equally ritualistic, however, was the pupils’ close exposure to corpses, placing them in direct danger of disease and other deleterious things. The 1587 ordinance for the Neckarschule thus mandated that the pupils not only maintain good order (*richtige Ordnung*), but divide into two choirs (*der Primus und Secundus*) and alternate the duty of singing at funerals. This, in turn, limited the boys’ exposure to the decaying corpses (*Einmischung der Faulen, die bei allen Leichen mitlaufen wollen*) and kept them out of harm’s way.¹³³

The musical activities of Heidelberg’s school pupils were negatively affected by the misbehaviour of other youth. As in Catholic Bavaria or Lutheran Nuremberg, Heidelberg saw a high number of poor youth posing as *bona fide* pupils and singing for alms which they then kept for themselves.¹³⁴ As in Munich and Nuremberg, pupils in Heidelberg therefore ceased intermittently from singing door to door from the 1560s onwards. Calvinist and Lutheran authorities alike released an *Almosenordnung* first under Friedrich III, then by Ludwig VI in 1581, and finally under Friedrich IV in 1600. Their concern was the potential of music to cause social disorder: ‘therefore the singing in the streets—in which disorder the wicked creep and hide themselves—should be abolished’ (*so soll hinführo das Singen auf den Gassen (in welcher Unordnung dann sich die Bösen verbergen und mit unterlaufen) allenthalben abgeschafft werden*).¹³⁵

Banning street singing was not solely a confessional issue. Sources from Heidelberg reveal that authorities believed it their duty to care for such poor boys. Records in Nuremberg or Munich are silent on what happened to poor youth. In the Palatinate, once they were identified, school officials recorded their names and hometowns, and assisted them in getting any essentials they might need (*so viel möglich geholfen werden...mit rechten Sachen*).¹³⁶ In this way, abolishing street singing was not a purely Calvinist issue (as all confessions dealt with this problem), nor was discipline

¹³² ‘...wann ihr gesang in der Kirche vorüber, da sollen sie sich mit nichten hin und her zerstreuen oder verlaufen, sondern still...und ohne Verzug sich wiederum auf die Schule machen’. Ibid.

¹³³ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 61–62.

¹³⁴ Alexander Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 215.

¹³⁵ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 23.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 24.

its chief end. Ultimately, silencing pupils boiled down to encouraging and enabling charity, as it made the process of identifying needy boys more efficient.

This section has discussed how programmes for music education showed continuity between Lutheranism and Calvinism. Chapter Two addressed how the existing Lutheran hymn repertory expanded under Calvinists to include Lobwasser's psalms, incorporating two confessional repertories side by side. In like fashion, the daily patterns of Lutheran music education were trans-confessional in Heidelberg, as singing lessons, singing at the open and close of daily instruction and leading congregational singing in church services remained in place despite liturgical reforms. More trans-confessional still was a concern for preventing and punishing misbehaviour. In the next section, I turn to music-making of those in the next stage of their educational journey: university students.

III. University Students, Music and Anti-Social Behaviour

If educational plans for pupils used coercive discipline in conjunction with constant exposure to doctrinal texts to create a society of dedicated Christians, the activities of university students perhaps offer a barometer for their success. Were disciplinary measures still required after pupils left school, or did the young remain just as unruly, entering a new stage of life with fresh vigour to make use of all opportunities that lay before them?

Characterising pupils and university students as a homogenous group with a uniform tendency for doing good, or for trouble-making, is overly simplistic. Nevertheless, Susan Karant-Nunn has contended that sixteenth-century German society was highly fragmented not solely (or even primarily) along confessional lines, but along socio-economic and class lines as well. Rituals, she writes, illustrate how people 'identified with, and lent their support to, those in their own stratum'.¹³⁷ Popular, uneducated, semi-literate and illiterate levels of society identified with one another and felt disconnected from those in higher social stations, even though all might share the same confessional affiliation.

University students were their own social group, in part because sixteenth-century students enjoyed a special legal and social status dating back to the so-called *Habita*, the imperial protection granted to students leaving their homelands to study. Autonomous student status was undergirded by the practice of taking university oaths as the most significant aspect of matriculating, as it marked a student's reception into the

¹³⁷ Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual*, 195.

academic community. Although oaths varied from one location to another, they commonly required—well into the eighteenth century—that the student swear obedience to the rector, to abide by the university statutes, to promote the welfare of the university and not to avenge injustice by unauthorised means.¹³⁸

Fynes Moryson, a student from Peterhouse, Cambridge, who travelled extensively in Europe in the 1590s, described his experience of taking university oaths in Wittenberg as having five parts: ‘first that I should obey the Rector, secondly that I should reade and obserue the Statutes, thirdly that I should obey any lawfull Arest, fourthly that I should submitt my selfe to banishment if it were imposed vpon me, fiftly that I should not reveng any wrong by violence’.¹³⁹ Similar oaths were taken in Heidelberg.¹⁴⁰

Legal jurisdiction not only separated students from mainstream society, but increasing numbers of foreign students also disconnected the student population from local power structures. Moryson noted that some foreign students did not fall under either magisterial or university authorities, but ‘the Students of Hungary, by the fauor of Phillip Melancton had a priuiledge not to be called before the Rector, but to haue all theire causes iudged by an Elder chosen of theire owne nation’.¹⁴¹

From 1560 to the 1610s, Heidelberg’s student population consisted of roughly 30 per cent foreign students, peaking at 40 per cent in 1600.¹⁴² Such percentages are high even compared to larger universities attracting foreign students from European hinterlands. Leipzig, for instance, attracted students from Bohemia and Poland. Yet, despite its proximity to these areas, its foreign enrolment never exceeded that of Heidelberg.¹⁴³ At Heidelberg, the total percentage of foreign students remained relatively constant until the Thirty Years’ War, but the nationalities represented among these foreigners changed considerably. In the 1570s almost half of the foreign students were French or Walloon.

After 1590 the number of French-speaking students gradually declined, and despite Heidelberg’s considerable distance from Eastern Europe, 35 per cent of foreign

¹³⁸ Rainer Christoph Schwinges, ‘Admission’, in *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 1, *Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 182.

¹³⁹ Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare’s Europe*, 307.

¹⁴⁰ *Statuten*, 11–13.

¹⁴¹ Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare’s Europe*, 307.

¹⁴² Franz Eulenburg, *Die Frequenz der deutschen Universitäten: von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1904), 112; Claus-Peter Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History*, 37–38.

¹⁴³ Hilde de Ridder-Symeons, ‘Mobility’, in *A History of the University in Europe*, vol. 2, *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, ed. Hilde de Ridder-Symoens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 422.

students came from Poland, Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary.¹⁴⁴ Regarding the degree of autonomy of foreign students in Heidelberg, it is unclear whether they could await examination by an elder of their own country (as noted by Fynes Moryson in Wittenberg). In any event, the university statutes not only make no mention of different types of foreign student, but indeed leave open the assumption of treating German and foreign students as legal equals.

Being subject to university authorities in German lands placed students in a unique and exceptional position—underpinned by both law and tradition—relative to state and church authorities during the confessionalisation process, the impact of which position has yet to be fully explored.¹⁴⁵ As discussed in Chapter One, state, ecclesiastical and university authorities in Heidelberg all fell ultimately under the purview of the Elector Palatine.¹⁴⁶ Yet the university maintained its semi-autonomy stemming from the Middle Ages, with its own senate, courts and legal statutes; this gave the university the ability to discipline students for all matters except capital offences. Even the debates about church discipline in 1560s Heidelberg, between those advocating state control of religious matters and those preferring a supremely powerful consistory (as in Geneva), did little to challenge existing university jurisdiction over students.¹⁴⁷

Regarding religion, the special legal status of the university and of students exempted them from the primary disciplinary means of church and state authorities aimed at homogenising Heidelberg society. Only the 70 students resident in the Collegium Sapientiae—Heidelberg's theological college—were examined by members of the church council at matriculation and subject to visitations by ecclesiastical officials.¹⁴⁸ Those students who received electoral sponsorship were also required to take an oath affirming the Reformed faith.¹⁴⁹ But the majority of students (between 200 and 300) remained exempt from examination at yearly visitations by ecclesiastical

¹⁴⁴ Claus-Peter Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History*, 37–8.

¹⁴⁵ Robert Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Hambledon, 1987), 86.

¹⁴⁶ Volker Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 27–110.

¹⁴⁷ Charles Gunnoe, *Thomas Erastus and the Palatinate: A Renaissance Physician in the Second Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), esp. 163–209.

¹⁴⁸ Eike Wolgast, 'Das Collegium Sapientiae in Heidelberg im 16. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 147 (1999), 307.

¹⁴⁹ Karin Maag, *Seminary or University?*, 168.

authorities to Heidelberg residences and churches, and were only required not to practise religion contrary to the Augsburg Confession.¹⁵⁰

The Elector and university senate both mandated that all students attend services every Sunday in the university church, the Heiliggeistkirche. But enforcing obedience to this official religious decree was charged to university personnel, rather than to state and church authorities as with other Heidelberg residents.¹⁵¹ For those living in one of the two non-theological colleges—the Casimirianum and the Contubernium—twice-yearly visitations were similarly conducted by officials from within the university rather than magistrates. The visitors' broad aim was to ensure that students obeyed the statutes of the university and the rector and upheld the honour of the university; they also ensured that practical matters such as food rations and menus were administered properly.¹⁵² To use Peter McLaren's term, visitations helped to curb the influx of rituals from the 'streetcorner state' of students into sanctioned 'student state' and 'sanctity state'. While the latter two terms denote a receptive learning and religious mind-set respectively, the 'streetcorner state' characterises the culture of students outside of school or university buildings. There students 'play out the roles and statuses that predominantly reflect the dynamics of their peer relationships and identities' and 'frequently and characteristically unleash and give vent to their pent-up frustrations' with a great deal of physical contact.¹⁵³

The mixed success with controlling students is suggested by a prayer in the 1563 church ordinances for Palatine churches. It reminded students and pupils attending Sunday services in Heidelberg that 'neither fornicators, idolaters, adulterers, thieves, the greedy, drunkards, blasphemers or robbers will inherit the kingdom of God'.¹⁵⁴ University ordinances against students bathing in the Neckar and indecently running naked along the river banks were released in 1551, and again in 1558, a problem also experienced with students in Cambridge.¹⁵⁵ As in Wittenberg, students in Heidelberg wormed their way into wedding celebrations in order to drink, feast and dance to the music of fiddles.¹⁵⁶ Heidelberg students were mandated by the Electoral court not to attack the night watchmen, fire gunshots aimlessly or direct bawdy poetry at

¹⁵⁰ Karin Maag, *Seminary or University?*, 156; Karl Hartfelder, 'Kirchenvisitation der Stadt Heidelberg 1582', 239–256; Gustav Adolf Benrath, 'Das kirchliche Leben Heidelbergs in den Jahren 1593 bis 1595', *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* x (1966): 49–82.

¹⁵¹ *Urkundenbuch II*, 167.

¹⁵² *Statuten*, 3; for visitation reports, see *Protocollum*.

¹⁵³ Peter McLaren, *Schooling as a Ritual Performance*, 86–87.

¹⁵⁴ *Sehling XIV*, 377.

¹⁵⁵ George Dyer, *Privileges of the University of Cambridge*, vol.1 (London: Printed for Longman and Co., 1824), 303–305.

¹⁵⁶ Simon Stenius, *Calvinismus Heidelbergensis*, 5; Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe*, 316.

‘honourable’ young women (*ehrbare Mädchen*). Given such behaviour, town and gown were frequently in conflict. In 1571, two students were murdered by citizens in separate incidents—crimes which university officials protested went unpunished by civil courts. City doctors moreover refused in 1590 to treat anyone under university jurisdiction until the injured made themselves known to their authorities.¹⁵⁷

Student disorder was also connected to confessional difference, though to a considerably lesser extent than the student violence of the *Calvinistensturm* in Leipzig, in which students attacked suspected Calvinist merchants.¹⁵⁸ In 1602 magistrates requested a report from the Casimirianum concerning scholarship holders who, ‘out of hate for the pure [Calvinist] religion and mocking church officials and professors, are supposed to have made sermons into stuff of comedies’.¹⁵⁹ In 1600 student rowdiness proved attractive to the fifty-year-old Professor of Hebrew, Herman Rennecherus, who chopped down the door of the Contubernium with an axe while carousing with students; he then mocked the citation from the university senate, an act for which he was dismissed from his post and banished for ten years.¹⁶⁰ In short, any number of sparks, both from inside and outside the university population, could ignite students and cause their youthful exuberance to flare into Carnival-like misbehaviour which threatened the peace of the university and disturbed the precarious town-and-gown balance.¹⁶¹

It is against this backdrop that I move now to discuss music-making of Heidelberg’s university students. Records of visitations to the Contubernium from 1576 to 1578 illustrate just how deep-seated was the problem of noisy student behaviour and music-making: four of the six twice-yearly visitations from this three-year period detail how music accompanied raucous behaviour. Indeed, music also constituted raucous behaviour in itself, when students played instruments and sang outside the permitted time for recreation after dinner—from 8 to 9 o’clock in the evening. In December 1576 the visitor, Professor of Poetics Lambertus Ludolfus Helm (1535–1596), found the most common infraction to be that:

some inopportuno desire wine, at which occasion it happens that crashes and clamouring are heard even in some of the bedrooms. Thereby it also happens

¹⁵⁷ *Urkundenbuch II*, 135, 156–157, 162.

¹⁵⁸ Karl Czok, ‘Der “Calvinistensturm” 1592/93 in Leipzig—seine Hintergründe und bildliche Darstellung’, *Jahrbuch der Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig* (1977): 123–144.

¹⁵⁹ *Urkundenbuch II*, 176.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 174.

¹⁶¹ For discussions of Carnival, see Norbert Schindler, *Rebellion, Community and Custom*, esp. 93–144; Robert Scribner, ‘Reformation, Carnival and the World turned Upside-down’, *Social History* (1978): 303–29.

that some go out outside of this common dwelling with musical instruments until deep in the night, even in this time of mourning [after the death of Friedrich III].¹⁶²

Lambertus added that, ‘some usually wander with musical instruments in the streets and with them lead away servants, and very often they even sleep outside’.¹⁶³ Yet, despite the students being reprimanded by the rector, the observations made on Lambertus’s next visit, in July 1577, required the rector once again to remind the students that it was allowed to practise music, without drinking, after dinner but without being noisy.¹⁶⁴

Only five months later, in November 1577, Lambertus questioned five students for reports of disorderly behaviour.

Traub, Settelmeier, Widekoppius, Bachmannus, Praetorius, Theodoricus—these students were ordered to remain when the rest had been dismissed, and when they were questioned about recent drinking together, they said that they had neither been drinking together nor raised shouts and cries nor echoed the leader [as a musical game], but they had been practising music, saying they were ten in number and had [only] four measures of wine.¹⁶⁵

Despite being given a sentence of two and a half days in the university jail for their infractions, the subsequent visitation to the Contubernium in June 1578 saw one student, Traub, again at fault for his rowdy behaviour. As the visitor, Professor Johann Jungnitz (d. 1588) wrote: ‘When at table I would desire the students to think that they are students. If someone would come here, it is just as if one had come into the tavern. The next Sunday, they sang Reutterliedlein [riding songs] here, Traubius and Reinhardus’.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² ‘Quod quidam intempestive petunt vinum, qua occasione fit, ut etiam in quibusdam cubiculis audiantur strepitus et vociferationes. Inde etiam fit, ut quidam egrediantur extra hoc contubernium cum musicis instrumentis ad multam noctem, et quidem hoc tempore luctus’. *Protocollum*, 54.

¹⁶³ ‘Solent aliqui musicis instrumentis vagari in plateis et secum abducunt etiam famulos, et saepenumero dormiunt etiam foris’. *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 59.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Traub, Settelmeier, Widekoppius, Bachmannus, Praetorius, Theodoricus: his post dismissos reliquos studiosos iussis remanere, interrogati de computatione nuper habita, dicebant se nec computasse nec clamores et vociferationes excitasse nec responsasse d. regenti, sed musicam exercuisse, decem dicentes se fuisse et habuisse 4 mensuras vini’. *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁶⁶ ‘Ad mensam cuperem studiosi cogitare, quod sint studiosi. Si quis huc veniret, proinde est, ac si quis veniret in tabernam. Proxima dominica haben sie reutterliderlein hie gesungen, Traubius, Reinhardus’. *Ibid.*, 67.

On a basic level these accounts illustrate the fraternity of student life created through tavern-like drinking and music-making. But on a deeper level they raise the problematic issue for understanding the relationship of music and social discipline: were authorities musically capable enough, or truly interested, to establish where noise stopped and where music began? Indeed, the defence of the five students in November 1577 exploited the ambiguity between singing and shouting, music and noise. To be sure, both singing and shouting are bodily actions, requiring the use of lungs to draw in air, the vocal chords to produce the sounds and the mouth to project them—not to mention the use of hands either to project the vocal sounds further, or to strike, bang or clap whilst vocalising. But the fundamental overlap of sound and music was part and parcel of the songs students commonly sang—Jungnitz identified them as ‘riding songs’ (*Reutterlieder*)—which themselves played the ambiguity of noise and music off of each other.

The Frankfurt anthology *Gassenhawerlin und Reutterlidlin* (1535) contains the largest collection of this genre that descended from the Minnesang tradition, and its individual songs are dispersed widely throughout sixteenth-century printed music.¹⁶⁷ Although the appearance of these three-voiced popular songs in print suggests their appropriation for elite use to some extent, their unique combination of bawdy texts, tunes written by well-known composers and a small printed format (small enough to fit in the palm of a hand) corresponds well to the needs and interests of a youthful male. In short, this book could be read by and appeal to those educated in music, interested in bawdy poetry and inclined to sing during frequent travels.

Printed music books from the Heidelberg printer and publisher Gotthard Vögelin also left open the possibility for students to act in unauthorised ways, despite the books being under censorship from court and university authorities.¹⁶⁸ The title of the lute book (see Figure 3.2), *Noctes musicae* (*Nights of music*) of 1598, itself invites two contradictory readings.¹⁶⁹ Invoking the image of the night in the title suggests, on the one hand, a civilising and authorised performance in the evening to candle-light, such as that cultivated at the Heidelberg court or among Tübingen residents. (See Figure 3.3) This paratextual message is reinforced by the image on the title page of *Noctes musicae*, likely King David taming a lion, and the proverb: ‘Not by force but by lyres’ (*Non vi*

¹⁶⁷ For modern edition, see *Gassenhawerlin und Reutterliedlin*, ed. Hans Joachim Moser (Hildesheim, 1970).

¹⁶⁸ *Sehling XIV*, 430; Ian Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion: The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012), 162–3.

¹⁶⁹ Matthias Reymann, *Noctes musicae* (Leipzig or Heidelberg: Gotthard Vögelin, 1598).

sed chely). David taming a lion reverses the biblical image of David the shepherd, who ‘struck [the lion] and killed him’ when a lion or bear took one of his sheep.¹⁷⁰ And just as David tamed the wild beast through his harp, so too the musician who played the music contained in the book could tame wildness in himself and in those listening. The pieces based on Lutheran chorales such as ‘Erhalt uns Herr’ were perhaps intended likewise to tame the soul through the pious and doctrinal associations of these melodies.

Figure 3.2: Title Page of *Noctes Musicae* (Heidelberg/Leipzig: Vögelin, 1598)¹⁷¹

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

On the other hand, however, this book equally leaves open to possibility of much more subversive musical recreation. To a rowdy-minded student browsing in Vögelin’s print shop or thumbing through a copy owned by a friend, seeing the title *Nights of music* would evoke visions of communal music-making of a different sort: of drinking late at night on city streets while possibly searching for female companionship. The image of David easily becomes Orpheus taming the beasts with music, while the phrase ‘Not by force but my lyres’ speaks less of taming the spirit within and more about melting the

¹⁷⁰ 1 Samuel 17:35.

¹⁷¹ *Noctes Musicae* was published in 1598, when Vögelin was moving his print shop from Leipzig to Heidelberg. Thus, it is unclear whether the book was produced and published in Leipzig or Heidelberg.

hearts of women through nocturnal serenading.¹⁷² Indeed, the dance movements (twelve passamezzos, five pavans and ten galliards) printed at the end of the volume could have been useful for such lascivious purposes.

Figure 3.3: *Album Amicorum* of Tübingen Student Johann Michael Weckherlin (c.1600), Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod.hist.oct.218, 264^r
[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

The sequel to *Noctes musicae*, the two-volume *Flores musicae* (1600), printed by Vögelin, would have further equipped Calvinist students for illicit nocturnal serenading.¹⁷³ (See Figure 3.4) The majority of the book's contents were lute settings of secular songs by well-known Italian composers such as Giovanni Ferretti and Luca Maurenzio, and the Italian-educated Augsburg organist, Hans Leo Hassler. Although the full texts are not included, the titles are enough to connect lute playing with night

¹⁷² See John Block Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), esp. 146–212.

¹⁷³ Johann Rude, *Flores musicae* (Heidelberg, 1600).

time serenading: ‘Up, up, sleep no more’ (Su, su, non piu dormir), ‘I see that you are beautiful’ (Io veggio che sei bella) or ‘O, my beautiful nymph’ (O bella ninfe mia).

Figure 3.4: Title Page of Volume One of *Flores Musicae* (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1600)

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Like musical recreation itself, nocturnal serenading was not always a prohibited activity, as an entry from 1550 in the *album amicorum* of Königsberg student Achatius von Dohna suggests. Seen in Figure 3.5, the image portrays two students holding lutes while two others serenade two women from the street, under moon and starlight. The artist included the Latin verse: ‘I do not know what love may be, nor am I in love, nor am I loved, nor have I loved anyone; but I do know that whoever loves is burnt up in a great fire’. Like *Noctes musicae* this verse plays on a double meaning linked to the different ways of performing music. A ‘great fire’ could denote the eternal punishment for the sin of pursuing love under the wrong circumstances, requiring the musician to exercise caution and play temperately to restrain inappropriate desires. On the other

hand, the proverb leaves open the interpretation that singing and strumming music sensually is for the express purpose of igniting a great fire of lustful desire in the body itself.

Figure 3.5: *Album Amicorum* of Achatius von Dohna (1550), now lost¹⁷⁴

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

As discussed in Chapter One, scholarly enquiry has typically considered music in the ‘Age of Confessions’ for its ability to express or conceal confessional agendas. Students, however, had interests that overrode confessional agendas and that combatted measures for discipline. Linked to male rites of passages, their musical activities expressed their legal freedoms and fuelled their pursuit for fraternal bonding and female companionship. Moreover, in the hands of students, the sheer noise of music was both dangerous and symbolic. Statutes for the Contubernium considered music neither as a cultivated art form nor as potentially disturbing to confessional equilibrium—that is, whether a repertory was too Catholic or Lutheran. Instead, statutes grouped music with other potentially disturbing sounds by forbidding ‘untimely singing, piping, beating or

¹⁷⁴ Walter Salmen, *Musikleben im 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1976), 146–147.

similar offences'.¹⁷⁵ Because their task was to ensure adherence to the statutes, visitors can be seen engaging with music in decidedly non-confessional ways, as their concern lay foremost with music's potential to bring civic unrest between town-and-gown when practised by noisy students.

IV. Latin Culture and Confessionalised Education

Given that music both accompanied and incited students to uncontrollable rowdiness, one wonders why the rector of the Contubernium continued not just to permit but to remind students of their freedom to make music recreationally. Doing away with all musical activity in free time would surely have constituted a decisive step in silencing the noisy night hours. Such a prohibition would satisfy a stereotype of Calvinist and Puritan removing potential causes of immorality and sanction immoderate uses of leisure time.¹⁷⁶ What was it about music that made dealing with habitual abuses worthwhile?

For Lutherans and Calvinists alike, possessing musical skill was a useful part of being good churchmen. In 1587 the Bernese theologian Valentin Ampelander (d. 1587) advised his son, Rudolph, a student of theology in Heidelberg, not to neglect music:

It is beautiful and praiseworthy, but also the voice must be trained, so that you are in the future more suited for ecclesiastical functions...Organise your studies in such a way, that you are prepared and capable, be it that you are wanted for scholarly or for ecclesiastical functions in the future.¹⁷⁷

Gaining proficiency in music was more than simply providing an alternative to lascivious behaviour. Especially for those en route to becoming future administrators of social discipline as pastors or teachers, possessing musical abilities would enable them better to supervise the liturgical and recreational musical activities of parishioners or pupils under their charge.

¹⁷⁵ *Statuten*, 141.

¹⁷⁶ Francis J. Bremer, *Puritanism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 59–60; H. P. Clive, 'The Calvinist Attitude to Music, and its Literary Aspects and Sources', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 19 (1957): esp. 90–94; in such a view in music, see George J. Buelow, *A History of Baroque Music* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 210.

¹⁷⁷ 'Pulchrum est et laudabile, sed et vox exercetur, ut ad ecclesiasticas functiones aliquando sis aptior...Sic institue tua studia, ut, sive ad scholasticas sive Ecclesiasticas aliquando functiones requiraris, instructus sis et idoneus'. Hermann Hagen (ed.), *Briefe von Heidelberger Professoren und Studenten verfasst vor dreihundert Jahren* (Heidelberg: C. Winter Verlag, 1896), 60.

Music, as shown with Calvin and Luther above, also had the power to sway the heart of man for good as well as bad. In Heidelberg, students, professors and electoral authorities indeed made special attempts to confessionalise students with music and thereby to make them devoted and sincere Calvinists. Most regular was singing psalms communally at table four times per day. Describing life in the Collegium Sapientiae, Johann Rudolph Ampelander (1566–1605) reported to his father: ‘For at five o’clock every single day, at the rising of the sun, as well as at eight o’clock with its setting, we sing our chapters [of the psalms]. We never enter the tables, never are the tables taken away, unless we first sing certain parts’.¹⁷⁸

Swiss student Huldrich Torgus elaborated further in November 1585 that professors of theology Georg Sohn and David Pareus took turns leading the singing. Torgus added that the psalms sung were those ‘edited in the compendium by Lobwasser’ (*à Lobwassero in compendium redacti*).¹⁷⁹ Psalm singing among students was not unique to the Collegium Sapientiae—which fell exceptionally under the authority of the church council—but was practised in the other colleges as well.¹⁸⁰ For students educated as children in Heidelberg, this practice was also well known, as singing German psalms to Genevan tunes at table was part of daily life in the city’s Latin school, the Neckarschule.¹⁸¹

On the surface, reports that university students sang German psalms might not seem noteworthy; Heidelberg was in a German territory, and Calvinists were committed to singing in the vernacular for the sake of intelligibility. As Calvin wrote in 1543 in the preface to the Genevan Psalter, ‘we have the express commandment of the Holy Spirit that prayers be made in the common language and understood by the people. And the Apostle says that the people cannot respond, Amen, to the prayer which has been made in an unknown tongue’.¹⁸² In Dutch areas, the *Souterliedekens* signalled by the 1550s the start of creating vernacular psalters in Dutch, while the Dutch translation of the Genevan Psalter by the Palatine refugee preacher Peter Datheen appeared in 1566 simultaneously in Ghent and Heidelberg.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁸ Nam hora quinta singulis diebus ad Solem orientem et octava ad Occidentem nostra canimus capita. Nunquam ad mensas accedimus, nunquam mensae remouenteur, nisi certa prius canamus membra’. Ibid., 66.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 77.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 68.

¹⁸¹ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 57.

¹⁸² Charles Garside, ‘Origins of Calvin’s Theology of Music’, 31–2.

¹⁸³ For a facsimile of the 1566 Heidelberg psalter, see *De Psalmen Davids. Met Catechismus, Formulieren, en Gebeden*, ed. J. N. Ijkel and W. van’t Spijker (Houten: Den Hertog, 1992).

As discussed in Chapter Two, Calvinist church ordinances in Heidelberg from 1563 onwards mandated the abolition of Latin in all services, in favour of vernacular song.¹⁸⁴ The written debate between Heidelberg irenic Calvinists and Lutheran theologians in Tübingen show further that Latin-texted liturgical music was a dividing line between the two Protestant denominations. But while the singing in the vernacular in the Collegium Sapientiae complemented liturgical practices of Calvinists, it ran deeply contrary to the medieval custom of university life that students and professors speak only in Latin, a custom which remained in force well into the eighteenth century. The statutes of the Faculty of Arts required that ‘alongside the above exercises, this is also not of least importance, that the students apply themselves at all times to speaking in Latin, where they live and whenever they are with one another’.¹⁸⁵ Similarly, college statutes of the Contubernium required ‘all inhabitants of the Burse to use the Latin language when with one another, be it outside or inside the college’.¹⁸⁶

Such requirements indeed extended further back to communal life in the Neckarschule and Paedagogium, where statutes required that teachers ‘speak in Latin with the students, in order to grow up somewhat, and get them also to speak in Latin’ (*Das er mit den Schulern, so etwas erwachsen, latein rede vnd sie auch latein zu reden gewene*).¹⁸⁷ Even court educational plan from 1581 saw that princely tutees had skills ‘in speaking as well as in writing’ (*so wohl in Reden als in schreiben*) Latin.¹⁸⁸ Latin was therefore an essential element in all of Heidelberg’s educational institutions: it was a tool for ridding boys of vulgar words and phrases they knew in German, but more importantly it enabled access to a trans-confessional humanist culture.

Conducting all academic and recreational activities in Latin was more than a ritual of university life. It also enabled native and foreign students to communicate, a pressing need for the highly diverse and international student population of Heidelberg. Extant sources indicate that foreign students in Heidelberg were not always able to speak German with any proficiency. In 1597 Professor of Law Petrus Heymann complained when he was required to read publicly the high court ordinances (*Kammergerichtsordnungen*), as ‘the foreigners who study law here would not benefit,

¹⁸⁴ *Sehling XIV*, 401.

¹⁸⁵ ‘Neben obgemelten Übungen und exercitiis ist auch dise nit die geringst, das die studiosi sich befeissen, für und für, wo sie wohnen oder beieinander sein oder komen, lateinisch zu reden’. *Statuten*, 110.

¹⁸⁶ ‘alle einwoner der burßen, es sei aus oder innerhalb des contubernii, sich under ihnen der lateinischen sprachen gebrauchen’. *Ibid.*, 140.

¹⁸⁷ Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 61.

¹⁸⁸ *MGP XIX*, 275.

as the ordinances are written in German'.¹⁸⁹ Foreign students also lodged with local citizens in order to learn German. Census records from 1588 reveal that the French schoolmaster, Jakob Villi, lodged foreign students from Geneva, France and Holland who 'learned the German language'.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, German abilities were not even guaranteed among the international professoriate in Heidelberg, as Kenneth Austin has suggested regarding Immanuel Tremellius.¹⁹¹ Elsewhere in Germany special arrangements were made for accommodating foreign students and their tenuous abilities with the local vernacular, especially students from Eastern Europe. In the 1540s Wittenberg, for instance, Melanchthon conducted services in Latin for Hungarian students who spoke little German and could not take the Eucharist from Luther in German services.¹⁹²

Ampelander and Torgus's accounts from Heidelberg of ritualised singing in German would therefore certainly have run contrary to a custom of university life. Equally significantly, it would have meant a violation of the fundamental Calvinist principle of the intelligibility of scriptural text, as the German psalm texts being sung were potentially unintelligible for up to one-third of the student population. It also contradicts Calvin's belief that habitual religious action must be understood, or else man is no different from animals.¹⁹³

It is against this backdrop that the principal doctrinal texts of German Calvinism—the Genevan Psalter and the Heidelberg Catechism—appeared in Heidelberg during the 1590s, set to music with newly translated Latin texts. These two music books specifically suited students and the unique customs of university life—and, to a large extent, of Latin schools and court education—at a time when student diversity was at its height: when French and Dutch students were beginning to decline and the numbers of students from Bohemia, Hungary, Poland and Moravia were rising steeply. In addition to facilitating communication, these books built two sides of students' identities simultaneously: they supplemented the classroom instruction in Latin, thereby making students more learned in the classical curriculum, while also making them more educated (and hopefully devoted) Calvinists. Versified Latin translations of Calvinist

¹⁸⁹ 'Auch wuerden die auslender, die hier ius studirten, nichts profitiren, da die kammergerichtsordnung in Deutsch geschrieben sei'. *Urkundenbuch II*, 172.

¹⁹⁰ *Evv* 1588, 194.

¹⁹¹ Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 139.

¹⁹² Ágnes Ritoók-Szalay, 'Warum Melanchthon? Über die Wirkung Melanchthons im ehemaligen Ungarn', in *Melanchthon und Europa*, vol.1, ed. Günter Frank and Martin Treu (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2001), 277.

¹⁹³ Charles Garside, 'The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music', 33.

texts, in other words, helped students to inhabit simultaneously McLaren's 'student state' of being receptive to secular knowledge and the 'sanctity state' of (in this case) 'making Calvinists'.¹⁹⁴

The *Psalmorum Davidis, prophetae regii, paraphrasis metrorhythmica*, a Latin translation of the Genevan Psalter, was printed in partnership with the Heidelberg bookseller Peter Mareschall in 1596.¹⁹⁵ Translated by Andreas Spethe, an administrator and prefect in Westerburg in a satellite territory of the House of Leiningen in present-day Rheinland-Pfalz,¹⁹⁶ these four-part Latin psalms (according to the title-page) were 'to be the exercises for scholastic youth in the morning and evening' (*exercitium scholastica iuventuti matutinum et vespertinum futura*), as shown in Figure 3.6. Spethe might have had in mind a continuation of the medieval practice of singing psalms to start and end the school day, which was retained in Heidelberg's Paedagogium and Neckarschule.¹⁹⁷ Or he could also have envisaged the singing of psalms before and after meals in schools and university colleges, given the strong links of this book to Heidelberg. Equally plausible was singing Latin psalms to the daily Office services as was the case in some Lutheran books of Latin hymns. The *Florilegium selectissimorum* (Leipzig, 1606) of Erhard Bodenschatz, for instance, included a chart assigning particular psalms to the liturgical hours.¹⁹⁸

Figure 3.6: Title Page of Spethe's *Psalmorum Davidis* (Frankfurt?, 1596)

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

¹⁹⁴ Peter McLaren, *Schooling as a Ritual Performance*, 180–216.

¹⁹⁵ For a discussion of the relationship of the Mareschall firm to Frankfurt printers, see Ian Maclean, *Learning and the Market Place: Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 163–226.

¹⁹⁶ Little is known of Spethe. For records of his activities as an administrator, see *Das Erzbistum Trier* 5, ed. Wolf-Heino Struck (Berlin, 1988), 46; Hellmuth Gensicke, 'Westerburg', *Nassauische Annalen* 99 (1988): 203.

¹⁹⁷ Klaus Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1969), 622–623.

¹⁹⁸ No such division in Spethe is prescribed explicitly, however. For Bodenschatz, see Arno Werner, 'Musik und Musiker in der Landesschule Pforta', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 8/4 (1907): 539–540.

The psalter's dedication to Friedrich IV, Elector Palatine, described how the people of Heidelberg sang psalms not only in the churches, but 'in the homes of citizens, by husbandmen in the country' and throughout the 'hills which encompass the rapid Rhine and the River Neckar'.¹⁹⁹ Although there is no evidence of Heidelberg colleges adopting these Latin psalms, Spethe's preface suggests that he saw his book embedding psalm-singing even further into the fabric of the Palatinate. Even though the Latin text was comprehensible only to a small and closed section of Heidelberg society, confessionalising scholastic youth nonetheless necessitated altering the psalter's original vernacular for the sake of intelligibility and re-appropriating academic ritual to reflect the cross-section of Calvinist and academic needs.

A second principal text of Calvinism to appear set to music at this time was the *In Christianae religionis synopsin*, the title page of which is found in Figure 3.7. Heretofore unconsidered in research on Heidelberg in the confessional age, this rhymed Latin translation of the Heidelberg Catechism was created by Heidelberg university student and bookbinder Joachim Christian Sachs.²⁰⁰ Dated 1594, it survives in manuscript form in the Vatican Library as part of the Bibliotheca Palatina, the electoral

¹⁹⁹ 'in domibus cives recitant, in rure coloni cumque iugis lato resonant examine colles quos rapido rheni cum flumine Neckar ambit'. Spethe, *Psalmorum Davidis*, preface.

²⁰⁰ Matriculated as *Joachimus Sachs, Brandenburgensis, bibliopegus* on 14 November 1593.

library given by Johann Tserclaes, Count of Tilly, to Pope Gregory XV as a spoil of war.²⁰¹ The manuscript is in upright octavo format and contains 79 numbered pages. It measures 196 x 165 mm, making its height slightly shorter and its width slightly wider than standard octavo. Joachim Christian's occupation as a bookbinder and the careful presentation of the manuscript suggests that it was a printer's copy-text, possibly presented to the Heidelberg court for approval. Either this text never made it into print (for unknown reasons), or if it did, all printed copies are now lost.

Figure 3.7: Title Page of *In Christianae religionis synopsin*, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Palat.Lat.1738

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

This musical setting of a Latin catechism was relevant to all three of Heidelberg's educational institution, not just because Latin was learned and spoken in court, schools and university, but because of the context from which the document arose. Joachim Christian was a matriculated student at the university, and by dedicating the catechism to Friedrich IV (as Spethe did two years later with his psalter), Joachim Christian was

²⁰¹ Vatican Library shelfmark, Palat.Lat. 1738.

soliciting official support from the electoral court—be it financial assistance for production costs or state approval of the work’s confessional legitimacy. Joachim Christian’s further dedication to Otto von Grünrade (1545–1613), president of the territorial church council and advisor and former tutor of Friedrich IV in the court, suggests his catechism enjoyed additional support from the Palatine government, possibly for use in schools or in princely education. Copies of the Heidelberg Catechism in Latin prose first appeared in 1563, simultaneous to the release of the German version found in the church ordinances.²⁰² However, the year in which the versified Latin catechism was created coincided with a large-scale and thorough-going visitation of Palatine schools begun in 1593. Led by von Grünrade the visitations especially targeted the Paedagogium, the preparatory school for the university’s Faculty of Arts.²⁰³

In contrast to Spethe’s work as translator of the Genevan Psalter, Joachim Christian assumed a more prominent role in creating his Latin catechism, acting both as editor of musical content and translator and versifier of the words. Like Spethe, Joachim Christian intended his Latin setting not for the classroom alone, but to mould young hearts and minds and draw them closer to God. The dedicatory preface to Friedrich states: ‘The everlasting grace of God be with you, let it be given through the piety of this little book’ (*Dei gratia sempiterna tecum, detur de pietate quod libelli*).

Joachim Christian retained defining features of the original vernacular Heidelberg Catechism of 1563 in his new setting. He retained a question-and-answer format and divided the catechism into the same three main sections as the original: the misery of man, the redemption of man, and the gratitude of man. Where Joachim Christian showed freedom of interpretation, however, was in choosing nine different classical poetic metres for setting the text, seen in Table 3.4. These poetic metres were well known to university students from their days in Latin or preparatory school. Poetry was considered a learnable skill, regarded as ‘a practical accomplishment rather than an inspired art’.²⁰⁴ Philipp Melancthon even felt that anyone unable to write poetry was not entitled to hold an opinion in learned matters.²⁰⁵

Importantly, Joachim Christian set the text to four-part well-known tunes (*melodia illustrata*) instead of monophonic song as found in Calvinist liturgical contexts. The catechism’s texts were found in the first section of the book, while the

²⁰² VD16 P 2183. *Catechesis Religionis Christianae* (Heidelberg: Schirath and Mayer, 1563).

²⁰³ Gustav Adolf Benrath, ‘Das kirchliche Leben Heidelbergs’, 49–82.

²⁰⁴ Kristian Jensen, ‘The Humanist Reform of Latin and Latin Teaching’, in *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, ed. Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 74.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

tunes were found at the back. Each question gave a corresponding page where the tune could be found. For Question 1, for instance, the reader was referred to page 58 for the correct tune, shown in Figures 3.8 and 3.9.

Figure 3.8: Text of Question 1, *In Christianae religionis synopsin*, p. 7

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Figure 3.9: Concordance with Tune for Question 1, *In Christianae religionis synopsis*, pp 58–61

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

The tunes he chose shed light on what type of musical repertory a student possessed, and more importantly, how a student chose that repertory to confessionalise himself. While two melodies are of unknown origin, seven of the nine melodies have concordances with standard curricular texts well known by Catholic, Lutheran and

Calvinist students alike. One melody can be found in Heinrich Glarean's *Dodecachordon*, an influential music theory treatise printed in Basel in 1547.²⁰⁶ Despite Glarean's Catholicism, *Dodecachordon* contained music of interest to both Protestants and Catholics: compositions of Josquin des Prez (a favourite of Luther) and the later Wittenberg lecturer in music, Sixt Dietrich.²⁰⁷ Six other melodies came from George Buchanan's Latin psalter *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica* (first published in 1571), edited in 1586 by Rostock professor Nathan Chytraeus to fit original melodies by Statius Olthoff, cantor in Rostock, in order to facilitate the learning of Horatian ode settings.²⁰⁸

Table 3.4: Metres Used by Joachim Christian and Concordances of Melodies, Cod.Pal.Lat.1738

Title of melody	Page in Cod.Pal.Lat 1738	Number of occurrences in Cod.Pal.Lat 1738	Concordance	Original text
Sapphicum	58–61	5	Heinrich Glarean, <i>Dodecachordon</i>	Ut queant Laxis
Iambicum dimetrum	62–63	4	Buchanan 1588, Genus dicolon distrophon	Pecti, nihil me, sicut antea, iuvat Scribere versiculos, amore perculsum gravi. (Horat. Ep. II)
Heroicum	64–65	1	Buchanan, Psalm 1	Felix ille anime
Iambicum dimetrum et trimetrum	66–67	5	Buchanan, Psalm 3?	
Choriambicum	68–69	4	Buchanan, Psalm 28	Princeps stelliferis altior orbibus
Iambicum trimetrum	70–73	2	Unknown	

²⁰⁶ Heinrich Glarean, *Dodecachordon*, trans. Clement A. Miller, vol. 2 ([Rome], American Institute of Musicology, 1965), 520. The melody is listed as 'anonymous'.

²⁰⁷ Martin Staehelin, 'Sixt Dietrich, ein deutscher Musiker der Reformationszeit', in *Kirche und Gesellschaft im Heiligen Römischen Reich des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Harmut Boockmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 165–185.

²⁰⁸ Benedikt Widmann, 'Die Kompositionen der Psalmen von Statius Olthof', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* v (1889): 290–321.

Trochaicum	74–75	3	Unknown	
Phalaeicum	76–77	7	Buchanan, Genus phalaeicum, sive Hendecasyllabum	Si vitare velis acerba quaedam
Elegiacum	78–79	8	Buchanan, Psalm 88	Luce voco te, nocte voco te, sola salutis, Spes, columen, vitae praesidiumque meae.

Through its neo-Latin contents, the Buchanan psalter connected students in different places and from different confessions. As inscriptions in extant copies printed in Calvinist Herborn indicate, Chytraeus's edition of Buchanan found use among students of different denominations across Europe. Olaus Lixander, a Swedish student of Lutheran theology in Wittenberg and Rostock in the 1590s, used his 1588 edition of Buchanan as his *album amicorum* to collect nearly thirty signatures of professors and fellow students.²⁰⁹ In Electoral Saxony, Joachim von Machwitz and Martin Killian commemorated the friendship they made at the electoral school (the Schulpforta) with an inscription in a Herborn copy of Buchanan's psalter from 1600.²¹⁰ Finally, Amersfoort-born Henricus Saelius, a student of medicine in Rostock, inscribed in his copy of the 1588 edition from Herborn: 'I am Henricus van Selaj, [this book was] bought in Stralsund, June Ao 89, for an agreed price of twelve Schillings'.²¹¹

While Joachim Christian's use of classical metre (drawn largely from Buchanan) could suggest that his catechism supplemented humanistic activities in the classroom, more fundamental is the fact that the metres and melodies supporting this confessional text were well known to students, yet were potentially completely unknown to the popular stratum of Heidelberg citizens around them who had not been to Latin school. The appearance of these Calvinist documents with new Latin texts has significant implications for the confessionalisation theory as it applies to music. The sound of

²⁰⁹ University Library, Uppsala, Cod. Y. 84.

²¹⁰ British Library, London, Hirsch III.968. Inscribed is: 'Joachim Alberti from Machwith gave this as a gift to his illustrious friend Martin Kilian, because of grateful remembrance, at the moment when he was about to depart from the Gymnasium Porta, the year of Christ 1605' (*Hoc grata[e] recordationis ergo Joach. Alberti a Machwitz Martino Kilian amico suo illustri Gymnasio Porta iam iam discessuro dono dabat Anno X 1605*).

²¹¹ 'Sum Henrici van Selij Emptus Sundij; Cal. Junij A[nn]o 89. constat'. Bavarian State Library, Munich, B.metr. 302 t; *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, vol. 2, ed. Adolph Hofmeister (Rostock: Stillerschen Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1891), 229.

Latin-texted vocal music carried strong associations with Catholic and (to a considerable extent) Lutheran culture, especially for those unable to understand Latin.

These two Calvinist texts therefore signal a reversal of the archetypal Calvinist mandate of singing in the vernacular, as singing in Latin aided understanding for non-German speaking students. Following Nicholas Cook's approach of seeing musical scores as scripts for the social interaction of performers, Latin-texted music choreographed communication between students otherwise separated by language.²¹² Furthermore, in them we see how adapting confessional literature to the needs of students consequently meant further distancing them from the norms of mainline Heidelberg society. Considered alongside the numerous vernacular hymnbooks created in Heidelberg, Latin music books therefore display the musical heterogeneity of an ostensibly uniform confessional area, as creating part songs with Latin text served to build Calvinist identity just as much as unison vernacular psalms.

Conclusion

Far from being disconnected from Heidelberg culture and society, music was fundamental to expressing different facets of studenthood. Because music moved easily across borders as an aural as well as a textual phenomenon, students used music to shape the different, and sometimes irreconcilable, parts of their identities, in order to pursue the desires that lay before them and to connect themselves with students in other locales. In the case of princely pupils, gaining familiarity with Italian- or Latin-texted polyphony helped them to circulate within their wider courtly world. One need only think of the electoral court in Dresden and its importation of Italian singers and cultivation of Italian music (such as that of Scandello) to see the circles in which Palatine princes circulated.

Heinz Schilling rightly summarises that official statements of doctrine, like the Heidelberg Catechism or Genevan Psalter, 'left no room for interpretation'; individuals and religious communities alike were to adhere to the prescribed script for learning new theology.²¹³ Yet, the case of students reveals how both individuals and communities could perform the same confessional identity by an ostensibly contradictory means of Latin. Moreover, university students could move with relative ease from their confessional persona of singing psalms after dinner to a secular persona of nocturnal

²¹² Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score*, 2–3.

²¹³ Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth, 'From Empires to Family Circles: Religious and Cultural Borderlines in the Age of Confessionalisation', 28–29.

rowdiness, leaving little or no textual trace for their prosecution. Indeed, the repeated visitation exercises underline how catching students in the act of transgression could decrease their chances of passing their rowdiness off as legitimate recreation.

The case of Heidelberg elaborates a common binary of social history: an idealised world and a reality that falls woefully short. Yet, as Lyndal Roper has suggested, different sources such as those used here—printed and manuscript, official dictate and unofficial activity—are themselves ‘complex cultural products’ that provide windows into the power struggles and motivations for misbehaviour.²¹⁴ While statutes prescribed the ideal level of expected adherence from students resembling Badiou’s ideal types discussed in Chapter One, they also reflected the university’s formula for maintaining semi-autonomy from electoral authority and retaining their much cherished privileges, in a time when the special status of universities throughout Germany began to dwindle under increased princely rule. In this light, the visitation reports to Heidelberg colleges were desperate attempts to convince the Elector of the university’s continued ability to control and discipline students, as much as documenting actual strategies for discipline.

The aim of disciplinary activities during the confessionalisation process was to exert force on subjects in order to affect their behaviour. This occurred by guiding their rituals and overseeing their habit formation. Yet music uniquely shows what authorities were up against, as personal confessional belief, or imposed confessional expectation, was only one force affecting behaviour. Students, like all other people, were simultaneously subject to more pressing, inviting and ritualised forces linked to their legal freedoms as well as their bodily impulses. Wooing women with song and lutes during the night, and immediately thereafter singing Genevan psalms with other students at breakfast, were not at odds, but two sides of the same coin.

²¹⁴ Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1994), 161–162.

Chapter 4

MUSIC BOOKS, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND GIFT RITUALS

*Books do not merely recount history; they make it.*¹

Thus far, I have examined printed and manuscript books of music, in part through Nicholas Cook's notion of musical notation as a script for social interactions. Chapter Two focussed on printed hymnbooks and their role in shaping the devotional activities of Heidelberg residents, while Chapter Three investigated how Latin-texted polyphonic settings of the Genevan Psalter and the Heidelberg Catechism not only confessionalised German and foreign students, but also enabled basic social interaction between them. This chapter asks a different question: what were the factors regulating the acquisition of music books in Heidelberg? As James Davies writes of printed music in general, 'in their backward-looking stance, all scores, and all "musical works" with them, are receipts; they validate a past, real musical engagement'.² In this vein, Chapter Four will explore how individuals engaged with various types of music book after initial purchase. New scholarly knowledge will be generated by my application of theories of ritual and gift-giving to a wide range of printed music and numerous heretofore unknown archival sources—including presentation compositions, handwritten inscriptions in music books, and catalogues of individual and institutional music libraries—to show both that Heidelbergers engaged with a hitherto unacknowledged variety of music books, and that they used their music books to encourage and document social exchange with one another.

The chapter will begin with a discussion of book history and rituals of gift-giving. Thereafter I examine the music libraries of Friedrich IV and his wife Louisa Juliane, as well as the music books of the Bibliotheca Palatina, the electoral library housed in the galleries of the Heiliggeistkirche. I then turn to handwritten inscriptions found in extant books from Heidelberg, which record the circumstances under which printed music was privately given as a gift. Following this discussion of music books exchanged privately, I then explore gifts of music made publicly, examining instances of composers or editors dedicating volumes of printed music to various Heidelberg figures. The chapter will conclude by probing heretofore undiscussed musical

¹ Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990), 135.

² James Davies, 'Julia's Gift: the Social Life of Scores, ca. 1830', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131 (2006): 308.

manuscripts (surviving in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) given to Calvinist Electors Friedrich III and Johann Casimir.

I. Printed Music, Book History and Gift Rituals

Books are powerful. Since the earliest days of printing, books have driven authors, readers, retailers and opponents alike to action: to produce more books, to burn or censor books, and to protect their contents as well as the rights of those who produced them. The success of the humanist Erasmus can be attributed in part to the appearance and wide circulation of his books in print as well as his close relationship with Basel printer Johann Froben. Yet Erasmus also warned against, and actively sought to prevent, abusive and indiscriminate printing of what he saw as potentially damaging material, produced by printers with ostensibly good intentions to advance his cause within the empire.³ Upon learning that a letter of his to the archbishop of Mainz had been printed without his knowledge, he lamented that ‘the enthusiasm of some of these [German printers] does me more harm than the malice of my enemies...Our enemies show more sense than we do: they conceal everything and do their plotting in the dark, while on our side nothing is hid’.⁴

The perceived power of books led to myriad strategies for their censorship.⁵ Some were official programmes instituted on a large scale—a city, region or territory—and were often overseen by (a combination of) church, civic or university authorities. In 1615, ecclesiastical visitations were ordered in the Calvinist Lower and the Lutheran Upper Palatinate.⁶ As the visitors were in the service of the Elector, they were all Calvinist; and special instructions regarding books were given to them for visiting the Upper Palatinate. The inspectors were to examine the libraries of each pastor to determine ‘what types of books he has and what authors he reads’ (*was er für bücher habe und vor autores lese*), as his books directly influenced the sermons he delivered to the people.⁷ Similar wording is found in Saxon visitation instructions from 1569.⁸ The

³ Erasmus’ criticisms of German printers are numerous. See, for instance, letter to Luigi Marliano, 25 March 1521, in *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 1122–1251 (1520–1521)*, vol. 8 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 169–75.

⁴ Letter to Petrus Mosellanus, 31 July 1520. *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵ The literature on censorship is large but often confined to specific case studies. For a recent discussion of broad trends of censorship throughout the Holy Roman Empire, see Ian MacLean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*, esp. 134–170.

⁶ As mentioned in Chapter One, the Upper Palatinate resisted the imposition of Calvinism and was allowed to remain Lutheran.

⁷ *Sehling XIV*, 613–14.

⁸ Emil Sehling, ed., *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. I/1, *Sachsen und Thüringen nebst angrenzenden Gebieten* (Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1902), 245. Lutheran visitors in Saxony were also instructed to check the books owned by each parish pastor. Thus, checking books was probably

selection of books on a pastor's shelf was therefore hardly incidental or passive. To inspectors they actively gauged the health not only of a pastor's theological beliefs, but by extension that of his entire parish.

Controlling books also occurred on a small scale. Despite the custom of schoolboys to commemorate their friendships through gifts of books (seen at the end of Chapter Three), students of Heidelberg's Neckarschule were forbidden from exchanging books with one another (*an andere vertauschen*), due to their propensity for procuring profane books. Swapping books was only allowed with previous knowledge of the superintendent.⁹

Like their (often multiple) owners, books were highly mobile. As material objects, they could be crafted to circulate widely and to fit the social activities of their buyers—be they students, diplomats or refugees. Small book sizes—octavo or duodecimo, for instance—could fit easily in a person's pocket or bag. And from a printer's perspective, small books were also disproportionately profitable: the paper was cheaper than that used for larger book formats, and the amount of labour required was lower.¹⁰ The book trade was itself an international phenomenon. Books published in Venice, a leading centre of the book world, 'reached into every corner of the European market, wherever printed texts were desired... Venice commanded the market in Spain, Portugal, Hungary and Poland. These were all outside the heartland of the European book world'.¹¹ Ian Maclean has also demonstrated how Latin books printed in Frankfurt, Antwerp and Basel circulated in a distinctly trans-linguistic, international European market, stretching 'throughout the German-speaking area of Europe and into France, Switzerland, the Low Countries, Northern Italy, and, later, England and Central Europe'.¹² Despite (or because of) the limited number of printers in Heidelberg, books produced internationally reached the city with relative ease—whether informally via students and professors, or, as this chapter explores, through private gifts or the court's endowment for the twice-yearly purchase of books at the Frankfurt book fair.

Because of the power of books to disseminate information to a wide audience with new-found speed and efficiency, scholars today have concentrated on the role of

standard practice in Protestant territories. In the 1579 Saxon visitation, the inspectors were uncertain what to do with the Calvinist books they encountered. See Heiko Jatz, *Wittenberger Reformation im Leipziger Land: Dorfgemeinden im Spiegel der evangelischen Kirchenvisitationen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2007), 129–130.

⁹ Johann Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*, 63.

¹⁰ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 153.

¹¹ Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 66.

¹² Ian MacLean, *Learning and the Market Place*, 11.

printed texts in precipitating large-scale social change and connecting people across social boundaries. In her foundational study of printing, Elizabeth Eisenstein considers books and printing fundamental to ushering in modernity, namely for their role in developing religious individuality and precipitating the scientific revolution.¹³ Others go further and hold printing to be the *sine qua non* of Protestantism.¹⁴ Mark Edwards is critical of this overestimated view of printed books—summarised as ‘without printing, no Reformation’—as a mono-causal reading of history¹⁵; and historians of the *Longue durée*, while espousing a view similar to Eisenstein, attempt to see the relationship between printing and modernity as a complex process involving not just book production, but changes in reading practices (aloud versus silent), reading spaces (private versus public) and sociability.¹⁶

Aside from the long-term impact of printing, more pertinent to this thesis is that books in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were often profound markers of social difference. The cost of books meant that ownership often differed by social station. While printing small books on low-quality paper made them more affordable for craftsmen and peasants, the cost of even cheaply printed material surpassed that of basic life necessities, such as bread.¹⁷ Low literacy rates also curtailed people’s experience of books. Rolf Engelsing has concluded that 3 to 4 per cent of the population in rural locales were literate, compared to 10 to possibly 30 per cent in sixteenth-century German cities like Heidelberg.¹⁸

However, it would be wrong to assume that only the literate owned books or that literacy was attained exclusively by those in upper classes. As Miriam Chrisman has estimated, 44 per cent of burghers in Strasbourg owned books at their death.¹⁹ And of that 44 per cent, 25 per cent were semi-literate craftsmen and artisans. The proliferation of reading aloud—a hybrid form of literacy, according to Robert Scribner and Jean-François Gilmont—meant that even those with low or no literacy could still gain access

¹³ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), esp. 683–708.

¹⁴ Bernd Moeller, ‘Stadt und Buch: Bemerkungen zur Struktur der Reformatorischen Bewegung in Deutschland’, in *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Reformation in England und Deutschland*, ed. W.J. Mommsen (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979), 25–39.

¹⁵ Mark U. Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005), 2.

¹⁶ From the three-volume series *A History of Private Life*, see *A History of Private Life*, vol. 2, *Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier and trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1989), esp. 111–160.

¹⁷ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 346–7.

¹⁸ Rolf Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre*, 20.

¹⁹ Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Lay Culture, Learned Culture*, 69.

to a variety of books.²⁰ For many people, reading was a communal act, as it was over books that a group of people with mixed literacy skills could not only engage with a written text, but also relate socially with one another.

Because books were socially meaningful and contingent objects, the act of giving books bound together otherwise discrete people. In his ground-breaking study on the gift, French sociologist Marcel Mauss contends that gifts are not free but carry an obligation to reciprocate.²¹ Claude Lévi-Strauss built on Mauss's study and argued that exchange is a universal basis of kinship systems, and that the presentation of a gift binds the giver and recipient in a continuing social relationship.²² Anthropologist Karen Margaret Sykes has recently expounded on the extent to which gift culture prioritises sacrifice, honour and social stability over economic gain, and counters the assumption 'that economic reason, especially utilitarian value, dominates human life'.²³

Giving gifts is furthermore a ritual activity, as a gift is only fully recognised and realised when it conforms to pre-existing parameters.²⁴ According to Julie A. Ruth, 'gift-giving and gift-receiving activities take place with a situational context, which also influences the nature of the gift exchange and its consequences'.²⁵ In other words, a one-off gift is paradoxically not an isolated event: it was scripted by past events and will guide future presentations. Helmuth Berking defines gift-giving as a 'ritual practice through which the current value of a relationship may be communicated and maintained'.²⁶ Gifts are therefore tangible representations of social relations. In the sixteenth century, as today, preparing and presenting a gift was not only ritualistic in itself, but often took place at ritual occasions such as weddings, christenings or other rites of passage within an individual's life.

²⁰ Jean-François Gilmont, 'Protestant Reformations and Reading', in *A History of Reading in the West*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 213–237; Robert Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk*, 3. Similar observations have been made in Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, 189–226.

²¹ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (London: Cohen & West, 1969).

²² Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, trans. James Harle Bell and John Richard von Sturmer (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969); Robert Layton, *An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 76.

²³ Karen Margaret Sykes, *Arguing with Anthropology: An Introduction to Critical Theories of the Gift* (London: Routledge, 2005), 2.

²⁴ John F. Sherry, Jr., 'Gift Giving in Anthropological Perspective', *The Journal of Consumer Research* 10 (1983): 157–168; Cele Otnes and Tina M. Lowrey, ed., *Contemporary Consumption Rituals: A Research Anthology* (Mahwah, N.J. and London: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004); M.J. Schneider, 'Aspects of Mandan/Hidatsa Giveaways', *Plains Anthropologist* 26/91 (1981): 43–50.

²⁵ Julie A. Ruth, 'It's the Feeling that Counts: Toward an Understanding of Emotion and Its Influence on Gift-Exchange Processes', in *Gift Giving: A Research Anthology*, ed. Cele Otnes and Richard F. Beltramini (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1996), 196.

²⁶ Helmuth Berking, *The Sociology of Giving*, trans. Patrick Camiller (London: Sage, 1999), 5.

Regarding the presentation of sixteenth-century books as gifts, Natalie Zemon Davis identifies three basic (though not exclusive) forms of gift that emerged with the rise of printing: book dedications, informal gifts between individuals, and bequests.²⁷ Inheriting the patterns of ownership from medieval manuscript culture, sixteenth-century individuals considered books common property rather than the exclusive property of one person, as their intellectual contents were given by God and thus belonged to no man. Books were, moreover, inherently socially binding—the result of collaborative efforts. Such collaborative efforts are summarised by Robert Darnton’s notion of a communications circuit (Figure 4.1)—a ‘life cycle’ of books—showing how books linked the ‘author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader’.²⁸

Figure 4.1: The ‘Communications Circuit’, from Robert Darnton’s *The Kiss of Lamourette* (1990)

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Although book production was a potentially lucrative business, books were powerful material tokens of social relationships—what Davis calls a ‘privileged object’ that ‘resisted permanent appropriation and [that] it was especially wrong to view only as a

²⁷ Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: The Prothero Lecture’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, 33 (1983): 73.

²⁸ Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette*, 111.

source of profit'.²⁹ Davis thus concludes that for the illiterate and literate, for urban and rural persons, alike, 'the given book may have loomed larger in their lives than the purchased one'.³⁰

While being a specialist item, printed music books, on the one hand, have much in common with other types of printed material. Like Darnton and Davis, Mary Lewis has found that the paratexts (dedications, prefaces, etc.) of early modern music books offered a means of building and maintaining relationships between those involved in a book's production and use: the authors, the dedicatees and other readers, as well as printers, publishers and booksellers.³¹ Like Zemon Davis, Rob Wegman finds that music was a regular and meaningful gift in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³² Likewise, Stephen Rose has observed that music books were commonly offered as gifts by composers, 'offered freely, even though such gifts were usually given and repaid under obligation'.³³

On the other hand, printed music contained inherently social components not found in other printed material. Partbooks, for instance, required multiple people to be present before a 'reading' could take place, as the melodic lines for different voices were notated in different books. Just as people relate to one another in real time (which, in the sixteenth century, often occurred over music) and perform identities which are 'tenuously constituted in time' (following Judith Butler), partbooks required performance, unfolding across time, to enact social meaning.³⁴

This chapter examines the social function and significance of music books in Heidelberg, particularly instances in which they were given or received as gifts. Rose has explored how some composers acted as self-publishers and freely distributed their music, considering it a gift of God and thus 'common property rather than [their] own creation to barter and sell'.³⁵ Here I build on Rose's study and explore the idea of music as gift, expanding his discussion of public gifts (such as printed dedications) to include private and informal gifts of music books, casting them against a backdrop of ritualistic gift-giving.

²⁹ Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts', 87.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Mary S. Lewis, 'Introduction', in *'Cui dono lepidum novum libellum'? Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt, et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 3.

³² Rob Wegman, 'Musical Offerings in the Renaissance', *Early Music* 33/3 (2005): 425–437.

³³ Stephen Rose, 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600–40', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130/1 (2005): 1.

³⁴ Judith Butler, 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory', *Theatre Journal* 40/4 (1988): 519.

³⁵ Stephen Rose, 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade', 32.

Examining the intersection of music and gift rituals enables me to discuss how individuals engaged with the world around them. As I show, Heidelbergers sought and maintained various types of relationship in the ‘Age of Confessionalisation’—political, professional, familial or religious—that transgressed confessional and political lines, and spanned considerable geographical distance. Gifts also carried clear undertones of both the giver and recipient’s subjective identities. According to Marcel Mauss, ‘to give something is to give a part of oneself’, and unless the intention behind a gift is to sever a relationship, gifts represent the giver’s perception of the recipient’s identity.³⁶

Regarding gifts from composers, examining music and gift rituals also exposes how their compositional creativity was shaped by external requirements, such as the desires of patrons or possible employers. Before I examine cases of handwritten inscriptions, printed dedications in music books and presentation manuscripts gifted to electors, my discussion will begin with an analysis of the contents of two individual music libraries and one institutional library.

II. Collections: Music Libraries in Heidelberg

Two private libraries belonging to individuals of the electoral family—Louisa Juliane and Friedrich IV—survive in archives in Munich and the Vatican, and have yet to be analysed in depth by musicologists or historians.³⁷ In contrast to the inventories of tutorial libraries discussed in Chapter Three, the two post-mortem inventories under discussion here list the books owned by Friedrich IV and Louisa Juliane at the end of their lives: she was 67 at the time of cataloguing in 1644³⁸, while his inventory was made in 1610 when he died at the age of 36. The inventories show little or no overlap with the tutorial collections, suggesting that the books listed therein were acquired when their owners were well into adulthood.

Louisa Juliane’s library followed her into exile after her son, Friedrich V, accepted the Crown of Bohemia in 1619—an act which, in part, precipitated the Thirty Years’ War and forced Louisa Juliane to flee Heidelberg for her own safety. She resided at princely courts in Stuttgart, Berlin and finally Königsberg, where she died in 1644

³⁶ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, 10.

³⁷ Both inventories are listed in *QuF*, but lack any critical commentary on them. Louisa Juliane’s library received only cursory treatment in Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen-Musik-Kultur*, 170.

³⁸ Because Louisa Juliane’s library was inventoried at her death in 1644, it is impossible to know how or when each of the books came into her possession during her years in Heidelberg. Yet, several of the in total 16 music books listed were printed during her time in Heidelberg—suggesting that, unless she was closely involved in a second-hand book market (abnormal for an Electress), she acquired or was presented with these books soon after their publication.

and her library was catalogued.³⁹ Given the logistical difficulties (and potential danger) of transporting belongings across such long distances during a time of war, it seems reasonable to believe that Louisa Juliane's collection of books was meaningful to her—either personally or as part of her social station. With Friedrich IV, the location of his library similarly suggests that his books were personally significant. Kept in the meeting room of the Elector's high council (*alte Rahtstuben*) in the castle, where Friedrich conducted official business, his library served a public as well as private function. While his books were his own, they would also have been on display as a symbol of his privileged political and social position.

The musical contents of these two libraries are shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. To be sure, music books were only a portion of these libraries' total holdings. According to early twentieth-century historian Bertha Antonia Wallner, the library of Louisa Juliane contained classical literature in Latin, the well-known works of French literature, Calvinist theological writings, historical tracts and philological books, in addition to sixteen music books.⁴⁰ Friedrich IV's library, by contrast, totalled approximately 1,000 books.⁴¹ With no category of the inventory designated for music, music books are found within three classifications: books of theology, philosophy, and engravings. In sum, fifteen music books are found—fewer than 2 per cent of his total holdings.

Table 4.1: Inventory of books belonging to Louisa Juliane, *GHA* 1989, folio numbers unknown

Inventory entry	Publication details	Genre	Text
Ambrosij Lobwassers mit 4 stimmen vndt in Goldt, roth eingebunden, in octa[vo]	Unknown	Sacred	German
5 Musicalische Bucher par Jean de Cupre, Musicien à Heidelberg, In blo papier	RISM A/1 C 4600 Jean de Cupre, <i>Livre premier contenant trente madrigales à cinq voix</i> [Frankfurt	Secular, Madrigals	French

³⁹ On Louisa Juliane, see Fanny Elizabeth Bunnett, *Louise Juliane, Electress Palatine, and Her Times* (London: J. Nisbet, 1862).

⁴⁰ The extant manuscript inventory was not made available to me in the course of archival research due to the delicate condition of the document. I therefore cannot be sure exactly how many books were listed in the inventory. Bertha Antonia Wallner, *Musikalische Denkmäler der Steinätskunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Lentner, 1912), 383.

⁴¹ *UBH* Cod.Pal.Germ. 809.

	(Main), Nikolaus Stein, 1610]		
Ein Musikalisch theil vber 50 psalmen, In weiss leder:	RISM A/1 L 1690 Claude Le Jeune, <i>Premier livre, contenant 50 pseumes de David mis en musique</i> [Paris, Vve R. Ballard, 1602]	Sacred	French
3 kleine Musicalische büchlein, geschrieben, In weiss vergult perg.	Manuscript	Unknown	Unkn wn
Noch ein alt geschrieben lauten oder Instrumentenbuch, In weiss leder	Manuscript	Lute or keyboard	n/a
Pseumes de David, Imprimé à Montauban, mit Golt gesticktem Bundt vnd Vergulten schnit	Montauban, year?	Sacred	French
Pseumes de David, Inp. à Geneue, In weiss Vergult pergam.	Geneva, year?	Sacred	French
Les pseumes de David et les saints Cantiques de la Bible, in 8, In weiss perg.	Unknown	Psalms	French
Ein lauten oder Instrumentenbuch, In fol., In weiss perg.	Unknown	Lute or keyboard	n/a
Les saints cantiques en rime par mr. de Beze, In blo papier, In 8	Unknown	Sacred	French
Neues Testament mit psalmen Davids vnd Pf. Catechismo 1597, In Amberg getruckt, In 12, In weiss leder vergult	DKL 1597 ⁰¹ Could be DKL 1596 ⁰¹ , see below	Sacred	German
Psalmen Davids, frantz. vnd Teutsch, In 16, Vnd Roth vergult leder	Geneva, possibly lost edition from 1587 printed by Commelin ⁴²	Sacred	French and German
Ein Frantzösisch psalmenbuch In 8, In roth Leder eingebunden	Unknown	Sacred	French
Ein Tabulaturbuch in 4to, In weiss Pergament	Unknown	Lute or keyboard	n/a
Les pseumes de Daud, frantzösisch, gar klein	Unknown	Sacred	French
Kirchengesang	Unknown	Sacred	German ?

⁴² Wilhelm Port, *Hieronymus Commelinus, 1550–1597: Leben und Werk eines Heidelberger Druck-Verlegers* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1938), 122.

As Natalie Zemon Davis has warned, books standing on a shelf were not necessarily read; likewise, book owners did not automatically agree with the contents in the books they owned.⁴³ Moreover, the purpose of post-mortem inventories was not to convey detailed information about how, when or why particular books were acquired; instead, they aided the process of distributing the deceased's possessions and gave a glimpse, however biased, into the individual's intellectual or religious activities, described especially during funeral sermons (*Leichenpredigten*).⁴⁴ Libraries also pose a problem for scholars regarding the motivation of their owners. Following Michel Foucault's belief that pre-Enlightenment libraries did not reflect a desire towards universality of holdings but 'were the expression of an individual choice', Jennifer Summit contends that sixteenth-century libraries were constructed 'through a purposeful selection of materials, directed toward specific interests'.⁴⁵

But, if books were presented as gifts, as Natalie Zemon Davis has convincingly shown, personal libraries might reflect less the tastes of their owner, but rather the choices of another. In this way, libraries reflected, and resulted from, a person's embeddedness in their social world—some books actively sought and others passively received. And, as the cases of Louisa Juliane and Friedrich IV illustrate, library contents were determined as much by the performance of social obligation as subjective musical taste.

Louisa Juliane's library largely conforms to the norms of musical practices and book ownership for a Dutch-born, French-speaking noblewoman living in a German court. Tablature books were common for noblewomen, as plucked and keyboard instruments were considered most suitable for female music-making; wind instruments carried phallic connotations and could therefore evoke an improper image of sensuality in the performer and listener alike. Playing the lute or a keyboard instrument was useful for attracting a noble husband, and, even once a woman married, was a learned and genteel recreation befitting their social station.⁴⁶

Hymnbooks, prayer books, catechisms and other devotional literature were another musical norm for noblewomen. Like lute or keyboard music, devotional song

⁴³ Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts', 81–85; Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, 191.

⁴⁴ Patrice Veit, 'Private Frömmigkeit', 271–295.

⁴⁵ Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 5.

⁴⁶ See, for instance, Julia Craig McFeely, 'The Signifying Serpent: Seduction by Cultural Stereotype in 17th-Century England', in *Music, Sensation and Sensuality*, ed. Linda Austern (New York: Routledge, 2002), 299–317; Katherine Butler, 'Image and Influence: The Political Uses of Music at the Court of Elizabeth I', 46–91; see also the discussion of music-making among noble women, in Part I of Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen-Musik-Kultur*, 1–307.

fostered a deep religious piety that was markedly different from a man's, a piety developed and expressed in private solitude rather than for a watching public. To take a later example, the 1651 *Vinetum evangelicum, Evangelischer Weinberg* (Wolfenbüttel, 1651) contains many devotional hymn texts and melodies for private worship composed by Sophie Elisabeth of Mecklenburg (1613–1676) during her early life at court in Güstrow and Kassel.⁴⁷ Likewise, music aided a woman's reading of scripture in the Heidelberg court. Chapter Three discussed how prayer books of noble women contained hymn texts (Figure 3.1). Two manuscript editions of Magdalena Heymair's versification of the book of Acts, dedicated to Electress Dorothea (1520–1580) and currently held in the Bibliotheca Palatina, were possibly used as devotional aids by Dorothea or other women in the court.⁴⁸ Whereas any kind of prayer or scriptural text enables communication with God, the verse, rhythms and the musical settings found in the books owned by Louisa Juliane might have allowed such texts to imprint themselves more deeply on her memory.

Despite this, Louisa Juliane's library also subverted gender norms. She owned several sets of partbooks—typically the reserve of professional and amateur male musicians. In addition to a four-part setting of the Lobwasser psalter, she owned a set of three manuscript partbooks with unknown contents (*3 kleine Musicalische büchlein, geschrieben*). Of the identifiable books, the first set contained five-voiced madrigals by the Heidelberg cantor and school master Jean de Cupre (discussed in Chapter Three). The second set was a musical setting of 50 psalms (*Ein Musikalisch theil vber 50 psalmen*), likely the *Premier livre, contenant 50 pseumes de David mis en musique* (1602) of Claude le Jeune (1528/1530–1600), which he dedicated to Louisa Juliane.⁴⁹ These two sets of partbooks implied convivial performances with a mix of female and male singers, rather than the solitary music-making on lute or keyboard that was stereotypically associated with women. They further indicate that Louisa Juliane had an excellent musical education, possibly comparable to Sophie Elisabeth of Mecklenburg's (who studied the lute and gamba in Güstrow and as an adult learned counterpoint from Heinrich Schütz).⁵⁰

Le Jeune's *50 pseumes* was published two years after the composer's death; his sister, Cécile le Jeune, wrote the preface and saw the collection through to publication.

⁴⁷ Cecelia Hopkins Porter, *Five Lives in Music: Women Performers, Composers, and Impresarios from the Baroque to the Present* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 10–38.

⁴⁸ Magdalena Heymair, *Liederzyklus über die Apostelgeschichte* (1573), *UBH Cod.Pal.Germ.381*.

⁴⁹ The absence of a record of multiple partbooks could stem from Louisa Juliane owning only one of the books, from the partbooks being bound into one volume, or could simply be an omission.

⁵⁰ Cecelia Hopkins Porter, *Five Lives in Music*, 25–26.

According to Cécile, Louisa Juliane received instruction in ‘the principles of music’ (*les principes de la musique*) from le Jeune at some point during her childhood in Delft, or possibly in France. And although Claude le Jeune never married or produced offspring, Cécile records that he considered himself married ‘to music, and there God had so blessed him richly’ (*de la Musique, et Dieu l’ayant tellement beny*) with offspring in pupils like Louisa Juliana. As his musical child, le Jeune believed that ‘a day would come in which he could offer her something’ (*que s’il trouuoit son iour, auant que de vous en pouuoir presenter quelque’un*).⁵¹ According to Cécile’s dedication, le Jeune requested that she dedicate this collection of psalms to Louisa Juliane after his death. Although it was common for musicians to describe their male pupils as their metaphorical progeny⁵², it was unusual for this patriarchal discourse to be applied to a female pupil.

The le Jeune partbooks suggest that Louisa Juliane perhaps did not select each of the music books in her library; as dedicatee she could conceivably have received a copy, perhaps with a handwritten inscription from Cécile, the printer or publisher. Yet we glean from this example that books received passively could nonetheless carry tremendous personal meaning. Le Jeune’s printed volume, as a ‘carrier of relationships’, to use Natalie Zemon Davis’s phrase⁵³, went beyond customs of the book trade to something more intimate: it commemorated the bond she and le Jeune developed as teacher and pupil at least ten years prior, which generated his desire to endow his metaphorical musical daughter with something of value after his death.

Le Jeune’s volume is revealing on a number of different levels, as well. It demonstrates that dedicatees were not always chosen according to the reward they could grant, and that music could develop strong social relationships across geographical, chronological and cultural distance. Although Louisa Juliane had travelled to a new land, sending Huguenot psalms to her reaffirmed the confessional unity le Jeune shared with her. We should not presume that Louisa Juliane performed from le Jeune’s volume; it may have simply stood on her bookshelf. But given Louisa Juliane’s training in musical composition under le Jeune, her ownership of several editions of polyphonic music—however unusual—was conceivably connected to an uncommon skill in, and a value of, music.

⁵¹ For a transcription of the preface, see Linda Maria Koldau, 168–169.

⁵² Paula Higgins, ‘Musical “Parents” and Their “Progeny”’: the Discourse of Creative Patriarchy in Early Modern Europe’, in *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, ed. Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 169–86.

⁵³ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, 192.

Turning now to Friedrich IV's music library, his collection consisted almost exclusively of sacred music, in particular, psalms and hymns with scriptural texts. Fifteen music books are listed. Entries for five books contain the word psalm, while two books specify a scriptural text (*Evangelia* and *Lieder aus der Bibel*) and eight refer overtly to songs for the *Kirche* and church-related practices, such as liturgical movements or prayer. Only one set of three partbooks and a tablature book could constitute Friedrich IV's collection of secular music; that said, the partbooks could equally have contained sacred music (Latin or vernacular polyphony), and the intabulations could have contained sacred as well as secular music, as the lute tablature books printed in Heidelberg (discussed in Chapter Three) illustrate.⁵⁴

**Table 4.2: Inventory of music books belonging to Friedrich IV (1610),
Cod.Pal.Germ.809**

Genre and print format indicated in original inventory	Inventory entry (transcribed)	RISM	Number of voices
Theologici in 4o	Kirchengesenge der Brüder in Böhmen vnd Mehren Ao 1606	Possibly a mistake in year (1606 for 1596) or this is an edition of DKL 1596 ⁰³ created later which is not recorded in DKL	Unknown
Theologici in 4o	Martini Lutherj Geistliche Lieder durch Bartholomaeum Gesium Frankckfurt Ao 1607, in weiß Leder, grünem Schnidt	DKL 1607 ⁰³	4–5
Theologici in 4o	Melchioris Vulpij Kirchengesäng getruckt Zu Jhene 1609 in Rodt Leder, grünem Schniedt	DKL 1609 ¹²	4–5
Theologici in 8o	Lobwasser mit vier Stimmen	Unknown	4
Theologici in 8o	Christ. Fischers Magnificat item benedictus item nunc dimittis	Unknown	4?

⁵⁴ Johann Rude, *Noctes Musicae* (Heidelberg/Leipzig: Vögelin, 1598); Matthias Reymann, *Flores Musicae*, 2 vols. (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1600).

Libri Theologici in duodecimo et decimo sexto	And. Raselij Kirchen contrapunct	DKL 1599 ⁰⁴	5
Libri Theologici in duodecimo et decimo sexto	Heydelberisch psalmenbuch	Unknown	1
Libri Theologici in duodecimo et decimo sexto	Joh. Postij geseng vber die Evangelia	DKL 1608 ¹¹	1
Libri Theologici in duodecimo et decimo sexto	Heydelbergisch psalmenbuch	Unknown	1
Libri Theologici in duodecimo et decimo sexto	Psalmenbuch Zu Franckfurt mit verguldetem schnit	Frankfurt (Oder)?	Unknown
Libri Theologici in duodecimo et decimo sexto	Wittenbergisch psalmenbuch Item	1592 ¹⁵ ?	Unknown
Libri Theologici in duodecimo et decimo sexto	Wittenbergische lieder aus der Bibel, in schwartz sammet beide	1592 ¹⁵ ?	Unknown
Libri Philosophici in Octavo	Dreyfach Liederbuch vffn schnit verguldt	Unknown	3
Kupferstuck	Kirchengesäng (quatuor vocom Thomae Mancinj, in weiß leder)	RISM A/1 M 325? ⁵⁵	4
Kupferstuck in gross 4o	Ein lautenbuch in rott leder verguldt darin nichts geschrieben	Unknown	Instrumental

The number of books of sacred music might, on the one hand, correspond to Friedrich IV's self-identity as a pious Calvinist and leader of the political alliance, the Protestant Union. On the other hand, the contents stand at odds with Friedrich IV's reputation as a great lover of both sacred and secular music, as noted by Gerhard Pietzsch.⁵⁶ After all, it was under Friedrich IV when the English composer and violinist Thomas Simpson worked in Heidelberg and published his collection of dances *Opusculum Neuwer Pavanen, Galliarden, Courtanten unnd Volten* (Frankfurt, 1610)⁵⁷; indeed, the court chapel blossomed around 1600 and employed numerous vocalists and instrumentalists to perform in chapel services (see Appendix B and my discussion of payment records in Chapter One). And as noted in Chapter Three, Friedrich IV made a private payment to

⁵⁵ None of Mancinus's publications were for four voices, except his *Passio domini* (Wolfenbüttel, 1620). Martin Ruhnke acknowledges that Mancinus's passion compositions date from before 1602, making it likely that Friedrich IV owned a no-longer extant copy. See Martin Ruhnke, 'Mancinus, Thomas'. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed April 24, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17599>.

⁵⁶ *QuF*, 57.

⁵⁷ RISM A/1 S 3496.

the Nuremberg cantor Friedrich Lindner, an active editor of Italian music and Lutheran church music.⁵⁸ Furthermore, in the fourth volume of his *Musae Sioniae* (1607), Michael Praetorius wrote a dedicatory preface to Friedrich IV, praising the elector's love and support of both 'noble music and German Psalm settings' (*der edlen Musica, und Deutschen Psalmen tragen*), discussed in more detail below.

Why did Friedrich IV not own a wider variety of music that might have reflected his own musical interests? It is possible that he did, but the inventories do not survive. Alternatively, this post-mortem inventory might show only part of the picture—meaning that Friedrich IV possibly used books owned institutionally by the court, as Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel did, for instance.⁵⁹ Here I would like to raise the heretofore unconsidered possibility that Friedrich IV's library was symbolic more than practical. That is, his music books were gifts of state rather than his own selection, resulting from engagement with his social world rather than reflecting his devotional or musical activities.

To begin with, Friedrich's books were, as mentioned above, kept in the *alte Rahtstube*—the meeting room of his private council—rather than his private quarters, where he might have used his music books for devotion in the mornings and evenings.⁶⁰ In addition, seven of his fifteen music books (nearly half) were scored for more than one voice. Multi-voiced settings of hymns were not aimed primarily at individual private devotion; instead, they were intended for domestic family worship or, as Chapter Three discussed in relation to Latin psalters and university students, in an organised community.

More fundamentally, aspects of Friedrich IV's music library correspond closely with his political activities between 1600 and 1610, in which he actively cultivated Lutheran allies that culminated in the formation of the Protestant Union. For instance, one of the music books—the *Geistliche Deutsche Lieder. D. Mart. Lutheri* by Bartholomäus Gesius (1562–1613), cantor of the Marienkirche and teacher at the Ratsschule in Frankfurt (Oder)—was published in Frankfurt (Oder), a printing centre and university city in Electoral Brandenburg, in the same period that Friedrich IV aided

⁵⁸ *QuF*, 57.

⁵⁹ On the music library of the Kassel court, see Ernst Zulauf, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landgräfllich-Hessischen Hofkapelle zu Cassel bis auf die Zeit Moritz der Gelehrten', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*. Neue Folge. 26 (1901): 99–119.

⁶⁰ On the layout of the Heidelberg castle, see Julius Koch and Fritz Seitz, ed. *Das Heidelberger Schloß. Mit Genehmigung des Großherzoglich Badischen Ministeriums der Finanzen*, 2 vols. (Darmstadt: Bergsträsser, 1887 and 1891); Stephan Hoppe, 'Die Architektur des Heidelberger Schlosses in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Neue Datierungen und Interpretationen', in *Mittelalter. Schloss Heidelberg und die Pfalzgrafschaft bei Rhein bis zur Reformationszeit*, ed. Volker Rödel (Regensburg: Schell & Steiner, 2002), 183–190 and 205–210.

in the conversion of the Brandenburg Elector Johann Sigismund and his court from Lutheranism to Calvinism. Before his accession in 1608, Sigismund visited Heidelberg, where he ‘came to know the elector’s family, especially Friedrich’s wife Louise Juliane...in fact, while he visited the Palatinate, probably in 1606, he secretly became a Calvinist’.⁶¹ With Sigismund publicly embracing Calvinism in 1608, this multi-voiced music book, created by one of Brandenburg’s foremost musicians, entered Friedrich IV’s library in the same few years that Brandenburg and the Palatinate forged their most intense political and confessional alliance.

Paradoxically, music books from electoral Saxony—a religio-political territory antagonistic to the Palatinate—also entered Friedrich IV’s library, at a time of heightened political tension. In 1608, only eleven days after the collapse of the Reichstag in Donauwörth, the Protestant Union had formed. This power bloc of Protestant cities and territories, as described in Chapter One, was created to protect Protestant interests from Catholic Habsburg powers. However, Saxon officials refused to join, despite themselves being Lutheran.

Thus, even though political alliance between the Palatinate and Saxony had broken down, music books from Saxony were nevertheless inventoried in 1610—namely, two hymnbooks identified as being from Wittenberg (*Wittenbergisch*) and *Ein schön geistlich Gesangbuch* (1609), a book of hymns of Luther and other pious Christians (*D. Mart. Lutheri, vnd anderer frommen Christen*) created by Weimar cantor Melchior Vulpius (c.1570–1615). The title page of *Ein schön geistlich Gesangbuch* makes plain that the contents were set for four and five voices, and that his polyphonic hymns in cantional style were intended to be sung in the Christian congregations (*in den Christlichen Gemeynnden zu singen gebräuchlich, begriffen*) in Weimar, the capital of the Saxon satellite territory of Saxe-Weimar. Vulpius’s settings could also have found use in the locations of the book’s production: Jena, where the book was printed, and Erfurt, the city of the book’s publication.

The exact circumstances surrounding the entry of these Saxon books into Friedrich IV’s library are unknown. Possibly they were presented at diplomatic meetings, attended by Friedrich IV, with members of the Saxon court.⁶² Indeed, acquisition via gift is the most likely scenario, short of Vulpius leaving his Lutheran

⁶¹ Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People, Confession*, 81 and 83.

⁶² As Peter Wilson writes, the internal organisation of the Protestant Union remained provisional throughout its existence, as members continually held out hope that Saxony would become a member and head the Union’s north German directorate. The numerous overtures for Saxony to join, however, were never successful. See Peter H. Wilson, *Europe’s Tragedy: A New History of the Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin, 2009), 225–226.

position and applying for employment at the Palatine court. That Friedrich IV himself procured this archetypally Lutheran book for his own performance activities is unlikely, given that it contained settings for multiple voices. And if purchased for use in his Calvinist court chapel, the books would probably not have been kept in his private library.

In addition to political networks, Friedrich IV's library shows networks he maintained with court musicians. He owned the *Kirchen-Contrapunct* (1599) of his Kapellmeister from 1600 to 1602, Andreas Raselius—a well-known collection of Lutheran hymns in cantional style. Friedrich IV also owned three no-longer extant Gospel canticles by court *Musican*t, Christoph Piscator (fl. 1600): the Magnificat (Song of Mary), the Benedictus (Song of Zacharias) and Nunc dimittis (Song of Simeon). Because Piscator and Raselius were in Friedrich IV's employ, it is reasonable to conclude that he received them as gifts rather than purchasing them; as such, they could either be part of Raselius's and Piscator's applications for employment, or given as a continuing obligation after they received their positions.

Like the Gesius and Vulpius volumes discussed above, the Raselius collection and probably also the Piscator canticles were set for multiple voices, ruling out that Friedrich IV performed from them as part of his personal devotional life. Yet these two gifts from musicians within his own court are problematic for a picture of a Calvinist prince cultivating archetypally Calvinist music at court—i.e. monophonic psalms in the vernacular, as Winkler has suggested.⁶³ Although the language of Piscator's music is unknown (these canticles also received vernacular settings from Luther and others, see Chapter Two), these three canticles were integral parts of Roman and Lutheran liturgical ritual as the Gospel texts for the canonical hours of Lauds (Benedictus), Vespers (Magnificat) and Compline (Nunc dimittis). Moreover, Piscator presented the Calvinist Friedrich IV with a musical setting of the Magnificat. The Magnificat was the foremost Marian text, and seen with some scepticism by many Calvinists due to its Catholic connotations in praising Mary.⁶⁴

Further transgression of confessional lines is found not only in Raselius's *Kirchen Contrapunct*, but in Raselius as an individual. Himself an ardent Lutheran, Raselius left Heidelberg in 1583 (at the re-Calvinisation of the Palatinate under Johann

⁶³ Klaus Winkler, 'Heidelberger Ballette: Musik und Tanz am kurpfälzischen Hof', 16; Winkler, 'Heidelberg Court Music between Tradition and *avant-garde*', 517.

⁶⁴ For a discussion of Calvinist reactions to Marian images, see Bridget Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 141–148.

Casimir) to work as cantor and school teacher in Regensburg. Published in 1599, *Kirchen Contrapunct* contained Raselius's five-part settings of Lutheran hymns, aimed at musically literate amateur musicians and church and school choirs. While Friedrich IV was trained in music as a child (see my discussion of his education in Chapter Three), the multi-voiced nature of the music would make it unlikely that Friedrich IV sang from it privately. It is perhaps unlikely that these multi-voiced settings were used for communal performance with those in his Calvinist high council before or after meetings; instead the books were symbolic, standing on the shelves of the meeting room as tokens of past social interactions and political pursuits.

The construction of a private music library was neither motivated only to facilitate musical performance, nor the selection of its contents made solely by musical taste. Instead, as the cases of Louisa Juliane and Friedrich IV have demonstrated, their music books reflect a wider engagement with their respective social worlds. Their libraries confirm that they conformed to musical norms of Calvinism, insofar as their books showed a love of psalms and that they did not own lascivious secular music. Yet, books also expose points Friedrich IV and Louisa of Juliane's subversion and transgression of social and confessional norms, as part of their privileged social station and duties as a territorial ruling family.

Institutional libraries were markedly different in form and function from private libraries. Whereas individuals could accumulate books via agents, private purchase or personal networks, institutional libraries—such as university, school or monastic libraries—often acquired books in less consistent or active ways. University libraries (like the universities themselves) relied on the patronage of territorial princes for some, or the majority, of their operating costs—meaning that a library's state was often subject to a patron's affinity for books, or the general financial state of the territory.⁶⁵ Given the availability of printed books, universities often invested little money in the purchase and upkeep of library books. The primary means of accumulating books for institutions thus came largely through donations and bequests.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Ladislaus Buzás, *German Library History, 800–1945*, trans. William D. Boyd (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland and Co., 1986), 178.

⁶⁶ The donation of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester in the 1430s and 1440s, for instance, was crucial to supplying the flagging university library in Oxford, which struggled to match the collections of well-endowed college libraries. Likewise, the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, grew significantly with the bequest of Archbishop Matthew Parker's library in 1574. Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 319–320; Bruce Dickins, 'The Making of the Parker Library', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6 (1972): 19–34.

As Andrew Pettegree points out, libraries underwent a crisis with the advent of print.⁶⁷ Whereas medieval libraries held unique manuscripts that did not circulate widely, the printing press meant that a person did not necessarily have to visit an institutional library in order to read a particular text; libraries could be created individually, as the discussion above illustrates. Sixteenth-century institutional libraries, instead, gradually became convivial social spaces where one not only found books, but also freely conversed with others interested in book culture, learning or politics.⁶⁸

Numerous institutional libraries could be found in sixteenth-century Heidelberg. Each of the three residential colleges of the university contained a small library. The Collegium Sapientiae had roughly 1,000 books in its possession, and lent them to students for their academic studies and recreation;⁶⁹ it is unclear whether the Neckarschule or the Pedagogium also maintained small libraries.⁷⁰ Regardless, the most prominent of libraries in Heidelberg was the Bibliotheca Palatina.

Referred to in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the ‘mother of all libraries’ (*Mutter aller Bibliotheken*), the Bibliotheca Palatina had its roots in the founding of a castle library by Ludwig III in the Heiliggeiststift, which he gave for use to the university in the 1430s.⁷¹ The connection to the university was confirmed in 1466, when the Bibliotheca Palatina was combined and catalogued with the books of the university. On the one hand, the Bibliotheca Palatina in the sixteenth century served as a symbol of princely splendour and Heidelberg’s tradition of learning stretching back to the Middle Ages. On the other hand, it also served Heidelberg practically: students, court officials and citizens could consult and even borrow books.⁷² In this way, the Bibliotheca Palatina resembled the University Library in Wittenberg. Under the patronage of the Elector of Saxony and housed in the castle in Wittenberg, this library was nonetheless founded ‘for the common use of all doctors as well as students of our university, past and present’.⁷³

At its height in the late sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth century, the Bibliotheca Palatina contained approximately 5,000 printed books and 3,500

⁶⁷ Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, 320.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 321.

⁶⁹ A 1621 catalogue of the Collegium Sapientiae library (*Bibliotheca Collegii Sapientiae Heidelbergens. in hunc ordinem congest. ao. M.DCXXI Monte Julio*) survives at GLAK 205/74.

⁷⁰ No mention of libraries is made in statutes of either institution. See Johann Friedrich Hautz, *Geschichte der Neckarschule*; Hautz, *Geschichte des Paedagogium*; Hautz, *Lycei Heidelbergensis*.

⁷¹ Elmar Mittler, ed., *Bibliotheca Palatina: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986, Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg* (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1986), 1.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 429–430.

⁷³ Letter of Friedrich the Wise from 1512; cited in Sachiko Kusakawa, *A Wittenberg University Library Catalogue of 1536* (Cambridge: LP Publications, 1995), xv.

manuscripts—a considerable sum compared to Wittenberg’s 1,606 total items or Tübingen’s university library.⁷⁴ But the Bibliotheca Palatina was as noteworthy for its location in the galleries of the Heiliggeistkirche, where the large windows provided light for reading, as for its collection. On visiting the library around 1600, English traveller Thomas Coryat wrote: ‘Truly the beauty of this Librarie is such both for the notable magnificence of the building, and the admirable variety of bookes of all sciences and languages’. He continued: ‘I beleeeve none of those notable Libraries in ancient time so celebrated by many worthy historians...I attribute so much unto it that I give it the precedence aboue all the noble Libraries I saw in my trauels, which were especially amongst the Iesuits in Lyons, Spira, and Mentz’.⁷⁵

The library was also unique for the way in which it acquired books. Whereas institutional libraries often grew through bequests or donations, the Bibliotheca Palatina grew in large part through an endowment instituted by Ottheinrich at his death expressly for the purchase of books. In his Last Will and Testament, Ottheinrich wrote:

Therefore we settle and intend, that at the least at each and every Frankfurt fair after our death fifty guldens be used to buy useful books on the counsel of those charged by the [court] authorities, and incorporated in an orderly manner into the library. We bequeath fifty guldens to be supplied in perpetuity (*für und für*) for every Frankfurt fair, and order its immediate and perpetual application.⁷⁶

To ensure his successors adhered to his wishes he stipulated further:

Were our inheritance of fifty guldens for each and every Frankfurt fair to be culled by successors of the territory, that is one hundred guldens annually for the library to be defaulted or neglected, and as such to neglect to use money for two

⁷⁴ The number of books in Tübingen’s University library is unclear, in part because the library burned down in 1534. But the donation of 2,600 volumes by Ludwig Grempp of Freudenstein is thought to have expanded the library considerably; while a large number, it did not come close to equalling the Bibliotheca Palatina. See Wolfgang Kehr, ed., *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland*, vol. 9, *Baden-Württemberg und Saarland, T–Z* (Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1994), 21; Herbert Georg Göpfert, ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buchwesens im konfessionellen Zeitalter* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), 181–183.

⁷⁵ Thomas Coryat, *Coryat’s Crudities*, 341–342.

⁷⁶ ‘so setzen und wollen wir, daß auf das wenigste alle und iede Franckfurter mess nach unserm todt funfzig gulden zu gemelter bibliothek gewendet und um dieselbige nützliche bücher nach rath deren, welcher die verwaltung befohlen, erkauft und in ordnung gebracht werden, welche funfzig gulden wir also in iede Franckfurter mess für und für dahien zu werden verschaffen legiren und verordnen, dieselbige unverzüglich und ewiglich dahien zu gebrauchen und anzulegen...’ Elmar Mittler, ed., *Bibliotheca Palatina: Katalog zur Ausstellung*, 12.

consecutive Frankfurt fairs in the above mentioned amount, then we order that the legacy, transaction and namely 2,000 guldens of property, or permanent one-hundred gulden annual interest...should be waged.⁷⁷

The Frankfurt book fair, held twice-yearly, was one of the principal forums for the purchase of books in German-speaking lands. As the French printer, Henri Estienne, noted, many flocked to Frankfurt twice-yearly: 'here all may enjoy the living voices of many honoured persons, who gather here from many different academies... And not only the philosophers; those celebrated universities of Vienna, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Heidelberg, Strasbourg...send to the Fair not only their philosophers but also poets, representatives of oratory, of history, of mathematical sciences...' ⁷⁸ In addition to Heidelberg intellectuals, court officials responsible for managing Ottheinrich's endowment may also have attended to buy books, or their decisions may have been made from the catalogues distributed ahead of each fair.⁷⁹ The Bibliotheca Palatina is thus a unique and revealing historical source for exploring the types of book desired by sixteenth-century humanists in general and Palatine officials in particular.

The Bibliotheca Palatina contained a sizeable collection of music, known primarily from a manuscript catalogue from 1544 (*UBH Cod.Pal.Germ.318*) and a re-cataloguing of the library in 1581 (*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod.Pal.Lat. 1938*). Cataloguing manuscript and printed music (both bound and unbound), the 1544 inventory recorded the individual compositions contained in music books, rather than simply the information on the title page of a collection, as seen with library inventories discussed above. In total, the 1544 inventory recorded approximately 4,500 items.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ 'Würden aber unsere erben und nachkommen an der chur an erlegung solcher fünfzig gulden zu einer ieden Franckfurter mess, das ist einhundert gulden jährliches einkommens zur bibliothecam säumig oder fahrlässig sein und also solch geld zwo Franckfurter messen nach eineander obbestimmter massen zu entrichten und anzuwenden unterlassen, so wollen sezen und ordnen wir, daß alsdan solch legat und geschäft und nemlich zwei tausend gulden hauptguths oder hundert gulden iährlich beständiger zienss,,sollen gereicht werden'. Ibid.

⁷⁸ 'Hic nanque viva multorum praeceptorum voce, qui e variis Academiis confluent...Nec vero philosophos tantum celebres illae Academiae, Viennensis, Witebergensis, Lipsiensis, Heidelbergensis, Argentoratensis...non philosophos tantum illuc mittunt: sed et quosdam poetices, quosdam artis orationae, quosdam historiae, quosdam mathematicarum scientiarum...' James Westfall Thompson, ed., *The Frankfort book fair; the Francofordiense emporium of Henri Estienne* (Chicago, Caxton Club, 1911), 168–171.

⁷⁹ For an analysis of fair catalogues of the Frankfurt and Leipzig fairs, see Albert Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien* (Hilversum: F.A.M. Knuf, 1965).

⁸⁰ An alphabetical list of compositions in the 1544 inventory is found in: Jutta Lambrecht, *Das Heidelberger Kapellinventar von 1544 (Codex Pal. Germ. 318)*, vol. 2 (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 1987), 378–522.

Despite its size and importance in the early modern world, as well as its sizeable music library, the Bibliotheca Palatina has received little attention from musicologists. No attempt has been made to connect the library's musical contents either with music-making within the city itself, or Heidelberg frequent confessional changes. Jutta Lambrecht's study of the 1544 catalogue, for instance, is aimed primarily at providing a transcription of the catalogue manuscript. It fails to address how the collection of music might have been used and does little with the 1581 inventory.⁸¹

Thus, as a new and heretofore unconsidered approach to the Bibliotheca Palatina, comparing the inventories from 1544 and 1581 and the publication dates of the printed music makes it possible to trace how many and which music books entered the Bibliotheca Palatina between the establishment of Ottheinrich's endowment in 1559 and the cataloguing in 1581—thereby revealing how the collection grew with Ottheinrich's endowment. Comparing the 1544 and 1581 inventories indicates that 50 music books entered the library in this period, the titles of which are found in Appendix F. All those 50 items, however, bear a print date ranging from 1568 to 1580.

How these 50 music books came into the library is unclear. One possibility is that they were purchased as a bundle as late as 1580. Another possibility is that they came from another library which the Bibliotheca Palatina absorbed—as it did in 1567 with the sizeable library of Ulrich Fugger.⁸² One further possibility I explore here is that they were purchased gradually and regularly over the decades between the 1560s and 1581 via Ottheinrich's endowment of the Bibliotheca Palatina.

Publication date alone is not a reliable guide for when the music books might have entered the Bibliotheca Palatina: a book printed in the 1560s could have been acquired in the 1570s through bequest or from a book dealer's back stock, which could include books up to 50 years old.⁸³ However, by categorising the 50 music books according to their appearance at the Frankfurt fairs (rather than their print date), they fall into consistent patterns, shown in Table 4.3. For four particular years, books owned by the Bibliotheca Palatina appeared in nearly equal proportion in catalogues distributed prior to spring and autumn fairs. For instance, of the library's seven music books that appeared at the 1572 fairs, three were sold at the spring fair while four appeared at the autumn fair. Similar patterns are found in 1569, 1573, 1577 and 1578. In 1575, the

⁸¹ The 1581 inventory found in Cod.Pal.Lat.1938 is transcribed in Appendix 5.2 of Jutta Lambrecht, *Das Heidelberger Kapellinventar von 1544*, vol. 2, 621–639.

⁸² Elmar Mittler, ed., *Bibliotheca Palatina: Katalog zur Ausstellung*, 368–369.

⁸³ Stanley Boorman, *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 49.

reverse is seen, as nearly all the books appearing at fairs that year were found at the autumn fair. Moreover, the decrease in number of books seen in 1576 (one music book compared to seven and nine in 1575 and 1577, respectively) would have been consistent with the change of electoral administration with the death of Friedrich III in 1576; the patterns and court personnel purchasing books would have been disrupted, as Ludwig VI established his own court.

These patterns shown in Table 4.3, to be sure, are suggestive rather than authoritative; after all, the fair catalogues that circulated before each fair did not guarantee that all the books listed were actually present, and the catalogue did not list all the books available at the fairs. However, if the 50 music books added to the Bibliotheca Palatina between 1544 and 1581 were acquired randomly or sporadically via bequest or absorption, such patterns over several years would be highly unlikely. The patterns suggest the possibility that (for some years, at least) Palatine officials responsible for the library's endowment purchased a pre-determined number of music books at each of the twice-yearly Frankfurt fairs.

Table 4.3: Music books in the Bibliotheca Palatina (listed in Cod.Pal.Lat. 1938) according to their appearance at the Frankfurt Book Fair

	Spring Fair	Autumn Fair	Both S/A Fairs	Not found in fair catalogues	Total
1568	1	0	0	0	1
1569	1	1	0	1	3
1571	0	2	1	0	3
1572	3	4	0	0	7
1573	6	5	0	0	11
1574	1	1	0	3	5
1575	1	6	0	0	7
1576	0	0	1	0	1
1577	3	3	1	2	9
1578	1	1	0	0	2
1580	0	1	0	0	1

Situated in this light, the 1581 inventory of the music books in the Bibliotheca Palatina discloses how many and which purchases were made by Calvinist (1568–1576) and

Lutheran (1577–1581) officials belonging to, or acting on behalf of, the court. During the Calvinist regime between 1568 and 1576, a total of 38 music books acquired by the Bibliotheca Palatina appeared at the Frankfurt fair. Following the scholarly belief that only vernacular psalmody was fostered in Friedrich III's court, one might expect purchases of vernacular settings of the psalms or hymns, such as Sigmund Hemmel's polyphonic psalm settings of 1569 mentioned in Chapter Two, that was composed for use in the Lutheran court chapel in Stuttgart and formed the basis of Heidelberg's Calvinist hymnbooks of 1567, 1569, 1573 and 1575.⁸⁴

On the contrary, well over half of purchases (24 in total) were partbooks containing Latin-texted polyphonic music, originally composed for liturgical as well as para-liturgical performance in Catholic and Lutheran areas. The third volume of *Patrocinium musices* (1574) by Munich Kapellmeister Orlando di Lasso, for instance, contained mass propers for Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, while his Magnificat settings, such as the 1573 edition owned by the library, were possibly intended for performance in Sunday vespers services in the Munich court chapel.⁸⁵ The five collections of motets, such as those of Jakob de Kerle and two of Alexander Utendal owned in Heidelberg, could also have had liturgical connections, as throughout sixteenth-century Catholic and Lutheran lands, Latin motets were regularly inserted into the liturgy to correspond with cycles of the liturgical calendar.⁸⁶ Although irenic debates between Calvinists and Lutherans reveal that Latin was a genuine dividing line between the two confessions, as discussed in Chapter Two, Calvinists nevertheless purchased partbooks of Latin-texted polyphony. As Chapter Five will discuss in depth, the Heidelberg court required such music as a component of princely splendour, regardless of its confessional affiliation.

Also stemming from irenic debates, one might expect Lutheran court officials from 1577 to prioritise purchasing music books with Latin texts, as a means of differentiating themselves from Calvinists. Yet, as the 1581 inventory demonstrates, their twelve purchases from 1577 to 1581 were distributed largely evenly between German-texted sacred and secular songs (six in total) and music with Latin text (four). The genre of music that separated Lutheran from Calvinist purchases was Italian(ate)

⁸⁴ RISM A/1 H 5020.

⁸⁵ Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 83.

⁸⁶ That motets were in regular use in Lutheran liturgy is strongly suggested in the numerous printed collections of Georg Rhau in Wittenberg, such as *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538), *Selectae harmoniae...de Passione Domini* (1538) and *Vesperarum precum officia* (1540); see Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 133–147; Hugo Leichtentritt, *Geschichte der Motette* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908), 317–329.

music. While Calvinists bought no music with Italian texts, Lutheran officials acquired *Il primo libro delle canzone alla napolitana* (1577) of Teodore Riccio (c.1540–c.1600), an Italian-born composer active in the Lutheran courts of Brandenburg-Ansbach and Königsberg, who published his multi-voiced Italian secular song alongside more traditional Lutheran chorale settings.⁸⁷ Palatine Lutherans also purchased a now-lost edition of Jakob Regnart's *Cantiones Italianae* (1580), first published in 1574 and with a second volume following in 1581.⁸⁸ The Flemish-born Regnart studied in Italy from 1568 to 1570 and thereafter worked in a series of Habsburg courts—first in Prague, then at Innsbruck. For Palatine Lutherans, then, the musical gap created by Calvinism stemmed from an absence of Italian secular music rather than Latin sacred music.

To conclude, Jennifer Summit has postulated that early modern libraries were 'creative, rather than static, entities, the product of selection rather than simple retention'.⁸⁹ Examining how Palatine court authorities engaged with the Frankfurt fair and built up the musical holdings of the Bibliotheca Palatina with Ottheinrich's gift reveals a wider acceptance of music among Calvinists there than previously thought. Rather than purchasing a vernacular psalm repertory as one might expect, Latin-texted polyphony—associated with particularly non-Calvinist liturgical functions—was the most numerous type of music book acquired. Although I have shown how private libraries were the product of the passive receipt of gifts as well as active selection, private music libraries were nevertheless creative rather than static. Music libraries were more than utilitarian collections of books that facilitated musical recreation: they revealed a library owner's social network of relationships, and how music books could bind individuals together across time and space.

III. Inscriptions: Private Gifts of Music Books

Following Darnton's communications circuit (Figure 4.1), libraries were dynamic collecting points for books. Libraries illustrate the diversity of interests and motivations behind individuals and institutions collecting music books. However, Darnton neglects that, when a book reached its readership in the final stage of his communications circuit, its life was often just beginning. Vibrant second-hand markets moved books between readers long after their initial date of production. Yet, tracing how books circulated after

⁸⁷ RISM A/1 R 1295. See also Walter Blankenburg and Norbert Dubowy. 'Riccio, Teodore'. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed 30 April, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23369>.

⁸⁸ Regnart's lost 1580 edition was likely the preceding volume to RISM A/1 R753, *Il secondo libro delle conzone italiane* (Nuremberg, 1581).

⁸⁹ Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library*, 4.

initial purchase is a difficult task for scholars. Unless inscriptions were made that give clues of provenances, few other types of source show with any accuracy how books moved between readers. In the following section, I turn to several rare instances in which inscriptions not only survive in Heidelberg's music books, but also indicate that music books moved as gifts within and across confessional lines.

The first example (Figure 4.2) is a copy of Melissus's 1572 *Di Psalmen Davids*, his German translation of the Genevan Psalter, as discussed in Chapter Two. Currently held in the Vatican Archive (F3181/F3182), this copy bears an inscription made on the flyleaf by Melissus himself, indicating the year 1572 and the recipient: Prince Christoph, the learned son of Friedrich III whose educational library was discussed in Chapter Three. In addition to writing that the book was 'a gift from the renowned Paul Melissus, Franken' (*Ex dono Clarissimi Viri Pauli Melissi, Franci*), Melissus also included the acronym of Christoph's personal motto 'H[ebe] G[ott] f[ür] A[ugen]' ('Lift God for [all] eyes [to see]').

Figure 4.2: Paul Melissus, *Di Psalmen Davids* (Heidelberg: Schirat, 1572), copy owned by Count Christoph, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Bibliotheca Palatina, F3181/F3182

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Given that the inscription is so cleanly written and that the book was presented to one of the book's dedicatees in the same year as its publication, it is reasonable to conclude that it was presented to Christoph as Melissus's acknowledgement of his courtly patronage. Regarding gift rituals, Pierre Bourdieu holds that gift exchange was a means of exercising power. In presenting a gift, the giver wielded power over the recipient by obliging him to reciprocate. Only on the next exchange could the initial receiver regain power.⁹⁰ In the case of Melissus and Christoph, the exchange of gifts balanced the power relationship between a court poet and his princely patrons. Via the printed dedication to Friedrich III and his three sons (including Christoph), as well as the personally inscribed copy presented to Christoph, Melissus's gesture can be interpreted as reciprocating the court's gift of patronage and thereby obligating Christoph and the electoral family to continue providing financial support for his future endeavours.

If the Vatican copy of Melissus's psalter shows gift exchange between members of the same confessional group, a different copy, currently held in the National Library of Scotland, displays the presentation of this music book across opposing confessional lines.⁹¹ This copy contains the inscription, shown in Figure 4.3: 'A gift, in this place of mine, from Elector Ludwig VII [*sic*], Count of the Palatinate, 17 March, Anno 1580' ('Ex dono H[oc] l[oco] mi Electoris Ludovici 7. Comitis Palatinj: 17 Martij A[nn]o 1580').

On the basis of its musical contents, it is unexpected that it should be presented as a gift by the Lutheran Ludwig VI in 1580, at the height of Ludwig's re-Lutheranisation of the Palatinate. Not only was Melissus's psalter commissioned by an outspokenly Calvinist elector and set by a Calvinist and Philippist poet, but it contained Genevan psalm tunes despised by many Lutherans throughout Germany; Bodo Nischan documents how these melodies incited Lutherans to riot in Brandenburg.⁹² To be sure, Lobwasser's psalter found use among a minority of Lutherans; however, there is no evidence within the Palatinate that any group other than Calvinists embraced Melissus's psalter.

Figure 4.3: Paul Melissus, *Di Psalmen Davids* (Heidelberg: Schirat, 1572), copy presented by Ludwig VI, National Library of Scotland, Cwn.247

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

⁹⁰ Jeremy F. Lane, *Pierre Bourdieu: A Critical Introduction* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 104.

⁹¹ National Library of Scotland shelfmark Cwn.247.

⁹² Bodo Nischan, *People, Prince, Confession*, 145–153.

What, then, were Ludwig VI's motivations for presenting this archetypally Calvinist publication as a gift? Lacking the identity of the recipient admittedly makes it impossible to reconstruct the exact circumstances of the transaction. Yet Marcel Mauss's formulation mentioned at the start of this chapter—that part of the giver's identity is imparted through his gifts—opens up the possibility that Ludwig VI's status as a dedicatee overrode the book's Calvinist connotations. Ludwig VI, in other words, was gifting a book dedicated to him by a poet who, by the 1580s, was well known and respected in humanist circles across Europe. In this light, the book itself was viewed less as confessionally Calvinist and more as symbolic of Ludwig VI's social status, learnedness and personal intellectual networks.

Music books were also witness to intra-familial dynastic struggle. As Andrew L. Thomas and others have written, dynastic rivalries originating in the Middle Ages impacted which particular confession was adopted within individual courts; the Heidelberg and Munich courts, as two lines within House of Wittelsbach, split along confessional lines as a result of their intra-dynastic competition—which in turn fuelled further rivalry.⁹³ Yet, princely duties required that nobility and their courts engage regularly with individuals and courts of opposing confessional belief in their dynastic networks. In many cases, daughters of princes were wedded to suitors who promised the best political future of her father's territory, even if the daughter and her husband

⁹³ Andrew L. Thomas, *A House Divided*, 8; Volker Press, 'Bayerns wittelsbachische Gegenspieler-Die Heidelberger Kurfürsten, 1505–1685', in *Um Glauben und Reich: Kurfürst Maximilian I.*, ed. Hubert Glaser (Munich: Hirmer, 1980), 24–39.

adhered to different confessions. Chapter Five will examine the case of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I of England, who married Friedrich V and lived in the Heidelberg court from 1613 to 1619. Although Elizabeth and Friedrich were both Protestant, her Anglicanism stood at odds with Friedrich's Calvinism, in particular in the area of sacred music.

The only extant copy of the 1567 *Psalmen und Geistliche Lieder*, printed in Heidelberg and discussed in Chapter Two, belonged to Johann Casimir—the staunch Calvinist and later Administrator of the Palatinate between 1583 and 1592. This copy contains inscriptions by four members of the electoral family (Figure 4.4). Casimir's inscription, as well as those of his father, Friedrich III, and his sister, the eighteen-year-old Anna Elisabeth, are dated 1567; and they were made as Casimir was on the brink of his departure on an extended military campaign in which Palatine troops aided Calvinists in France against Catholic forces. His father and sister inscribed messages reminding him of God's providence as well as his familial ties. Friedrich III wrote his personal motto of faithful leadership, 'Lord, according to your will' (*Herr, nach deinem Willen*), while Anna Elisabeth simply wrote that she was his 'faithful sister as long as I live' (*ewer getreue schwester die Zeit meines lebens*). Given the timing of the inscriptions, it is possible that Casimir carried his hymnbook with him during his military service.

Figure 4.4: *Psalmen und Geistliche Lieder* (Heidelberg: Mayer, 1567), copy owned by Johann Casimir, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Bibliotheca Palatina G404/G405

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Inscriptions by Friedrich III and Anna Elisabeth are not the only ones on the blank flyleaves, however, as the opposite page carries an inscription made seven years later, after Casimir had returned from France. In 1574, once again as Casimir prepared to assist French troops in early 1575, Casimir's wife, Elisabeth of Saxony, inscribed his hymnbook: 'Govern me my Lord by your spirit, Countess Elisabeth, wife of my Lord as I live' (*regier mich herr nach deinem Geist, Elisabeth pfalzgraffin, meiner herren gemahl weil ich lebe*). Despite her ostensible submission to her husband, Elisabeth and Casimir's marriage was unhappy from the start. As is well documented, Elisabeth's father, August, Elector of Saxony, had hoped the marriage would help win Casimir to Lutheranism.⁹⁴ In the end, however, Casimir remained a fervent Calvinist and even imprisoned his still-Lutheran wife just before her death in 1589, after she supposedly masterminded an assassination attempt on her husband.⁹⁵ It is possible that Elisabeth of Saxony inscribed Casimir's hymnbook on his request, or that she was participating in a ritual of the Palatine electoral family. Alternatively, this copy could have become a family copy by 1574, considered the communal property of all four individuals. In any

⁹⁴ ADB 6, 7–8.

⁹⁵ Friedrich von Bezold, *Die letzten Jahre der Pfalzgräfin Elisabeth* (Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie, 1879), 12–13.

event, the inscriptions underscore how social interaction might occur via sixteenth-century music books, even when relationships were otherwise strained.

Another hymnbook, a 1596 duodecimo copy of Lobwasser's psalms printed in Amberg in the Upper Palatinate and held in the Vatican Archive, contains seven signatures on the book's blank flyleaves of figures within and close to the Palatine branch of the Wittelsbach line: Georg IV of Leuchtenberg and his wife Elisabeth; the electoral advisor Christian of Anhalt; Johann Georg, Administrator of Strasbourg; Philipp Ludwig of Pfalz-Neuburg (also known as Ludwig Philipp); Johannes I of Pfalz-Zweibrücken; Johann Augustus of Pfalz-Betzelsstein.⁹⁶ The owner of the book is unknown. Its owner was possibly Friedrich IV, given that the inscriptions are dated 1601. Or alternatively, it could have belonged to his wife, Louisa Juliane, whose library held an Amberg psalter from just one year prior.⁹⁷

Regardless of the owner, the signatures in this hymnbook represent a celebration of familial bonds that crossed confessional lines, one which took place in a music book (Figure 4.5). In 1601 Friedrich IV was gravely ill, and although he did in fact recover and lived nearly a decade longer, the prospect of his untimely death caused these individuals to engage in fierce debates over who would succeed the Calvinist Friedrich and administrate the Palatinate for the underage successor, Friedrich V. The rightful regent was Philipp Ludwig of Pfalz-Neuburg, prince of the Neuburg territory in the Upper Palatinate. Maintaining Lutheranism throughout his territory, Philipp Ludwig rejected Catholicism and any form of Protestantism other than Lutheranism (including Calvinism). In a letter to a Neuburg court tutor in 1598, Philipp Ludwig instructed that, should his sons receive an invitation to a wedding or baptism performed in the Calvinist or Catholic manner, '[the sons] should with mild modesty excuse themselves and properly request with an announcement that they were born and raised in a different religion'.⁹⁸

To the Heidelberg court, Philipp Ludwig's refusal to acknowledge Calvinism was viewed as sympathy for Catholicism and caused serious concern for those in Heidelberg interested in continuing Friedrich IV's anti-Habsburg alliances. Indeed, Philipp Ludwig was seen as such a threat that Friedrich IV composed a last will and testament, under the direction of his advisors, blocking the Neuburg prince's claim to

⁹⁶ *Psalmen Davids, Sampt etlichen andern Psalmen vnd Geistlichen Liedern* (Amberg: Forster, 1596), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Bibliotheca Palatina G294/G295.

⁹⁷ See Table 4.1.

⁹⁸ 'sollen sie sich mit glimpflicher Bescheidenheit entschuldigen und gebührlich dafür bitten, mit Vermeldung, dass sie in einer andern Religion...geboren und erzogen [wurden]'. *MGP XIX*, 100.

the position of administrator.⁹⁹ In Philipp Ludwig's stead, Friedrich named Johann I of Pfalz-Zweibrücken as successor, who as a Calvinist created confessional continuity with Friedrich's reign.

Figure 4.5: *Psalmen Davids, Sampt etlichen andern Psalmen vnd Geistlichen Liedern* (Amberg: Forster, 1596), signatures of Ludovicus Philippus (above) and Johann I (below), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Bibliotheca Palatina G294/G295
[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

In these two heretofore unresearched music books—the 1567 hymnbook and 1596 psalter—one finds evidence of Natalie Zemon Davis's belief that 'property in a book was as much collective as private', insofar as individual relatives of the book's owner left indelible marks in a book during a real-time encounter.¹⁰⁰ The two books display the nobility re-affirming their dynastic relationships, even in the face of confessional

⁹⁹ Volker Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat*, 422–425.

¹⁰⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts', 72.

division. To be sure, princely spectacles were much more powerful public displays of dynastic ties and political alliances than inscriptions in a book. As Chapter Five addresses, court festivities and processions in Heidelberg, especially the electoral wedding of 1613 between Friedrich V and Elizabeth Stuart, were staged in order to make visible the Palatinate's political and dynastic networks.

But as Roger Chartier points out that, signatures were powerful tokens of an individual's engagement with and authorisation of a document.¹⁰¹ While early modern nobility delegated much of their writing to scribes, signatures had to be authentic, as inscribing another person's signature was forgery. Consequently, early modern autographs 'acted as a textual representation of an individual's identity, [were] legally binding and gradually supplanted the seal as a device of authenticity'.¹⁰² Thus, the inscription of music books not only located nobility in their web of dynastic relations, but also re-affirmed that their familial bond transcended confessional difference.

Why were music books sites for commemorating dynastic bonds and familial identity? In contrast to public spectacle, the celebration of networks in music books was private, witnessed only by the signees. As suggested in Hans Holbein's (c.1497–1543) painting, *The Ambassadors* (1533), shown in Figure 4.6, music books were powerful symbols for diplomatic unity in the sixteenth century. The painting depicts two men: the French ambassador to England, Jean de Dinteville (1504–1555), on the left, and on the right Georges de Selve (1508–1541), ambassador to the Venetian Republic and Holy See. Typically interpreted as capturing the struggle for church unity, *The Ambassadors* features a much-discussed rendering of a Lutheran hymnbook—Johann Walther's *Geystliches Gesangbüchlein* (Wittenberg, 1524)—with clear depictions of the hymns 'Komm Heiliger Geist' and 'Mensch wiltu leben seliglich'.¹⁰³ Hymnologist Markus Jenny supports this interpretation, suggesting that these particular hymns symbolised political and religious concord in the face of deep division because they found use in both Protestant and Catholic churches—as musical settings of the fifteenth-century Pentecost hymn *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and of the Ten Commandments.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Roger Chartier, *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 16–19.

¹⁰² James Daybell, *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512–1635* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 95.

¹⁰³ For a guide to research on, and analyses of, *The Ambassadors*, see Erika Michael, *Hans Holbein the Younger: A Guide to Research* (London: Routledge, 1997), 388–410.

¹⁰⁴ Markus Jenny, 'Ein frühes Zeugnis für die kirchenverbindende Bedeutung des evangelischen Kirchenliedes', *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 8 (1963): 123–128.

Figure 4.6: Hans Holbein, *The Ambassadors* (1533), National Gallery, London, 2.07m x 2.10m

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Here I would like to contribute further evidence of hymns' ability to create diplomatic and dynastic concord. Amongst the inscriptions in the flyleaves of the same 1596 Amberg psalter described above is a hymn text and tune entitled 'Jesus Christus, unser Seeligkeit', shown in Figure 4.7. Originally the fifteenth-century Bohemian Corpus Christi hymn 'Jhesus Christus nostra salus', the tune found extensive use among early Lutherans via Michael Weisse, who had appropriated it for use by the Bohemian Brethren in his hymnbook of 1531 and paired the tune with the vernacular text 'Jesus Christus, Gottes Sohn in Ewigkeit'.¹⁰⁵ In 1555, Weisse's tune was used for a newly written text, 'Jesus Christus, unser Seeligkeit', in *Ein Schlesich singebüchlein*¹⁰⁶ (Breslau, 1555) of the Silesian Lutheran pastor Valentin Triller (1493–1573). This book was intended not only to edify Silesian Lutherans, but also to demonstrate for other

¹⁰⁵ Zahn No. 1433.

¹⁰⁶ 'Ein Schlesich singebüchlein aus Goettlicher schrifft von den fuernemsten Festen des Jares vnd sonst von andern gesungen vnd Psalmen gestelt auff viel alte gewoenliche melodien so zum teil vorhin Lateinisch zum teil Deutsch mit Geistlichen oder auch Weltlichen texten gesungen seind Durch Valentinum Triller von Gora Pfarherrn zu Pantenaw im Nimpschischen Weichbilde...'

Protestants that they ‘practised a pure and irreproachable Christian [i.e. Lutheran] doctrine’ (*eine reine vntadliche Christliche lere handeln*).¹⁰⁷ By 1567, however, the text of ‘Jesus Christus, unser Seeligkeit’ had crossed confessional and geographical lines once more, and circulated widely as a counter-Reformation hymn in the Catholic hymnbook of German priest Johann Leisentritt (1527–1586), entitled *Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen der Alten Apostolischer recht und warglaubiger Christlicher Kirchen* (Bautzen, 1567).¹⁰⁸

Figure 4.7: *Psalmen Davids* (Amberg: Forster, 1596), ‘Jesus Christus, unser Seligkeit’, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Bibliotheca Palatina, G294/G295
[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

If this hymn was sung in 1601 as the signees gathered, it displays how music could create a middle ground. Although the manuscript hymn included in the flyleaves in 1596 reproduced Triller’s original setting for Lutheran use, the text was by this time

¹⁰⁷ Triller was likely guarding against accusations of being a Schwenckfelder. *ADB* 38, 615–618.

¹⁰⁸ DKL 1567⁰⁵.

also widely known as a Catholic hymn. From the perspective of the Palatine court, the text (as well as the tune with its medieval origins) would have pleased alleged Catholic-sympathisers such as Philipp Ludwig of Pfalz-Neuburg. The tune's associations with Weisse, Bohemia and Lutheranism, however, would have gained the approval of a range of Protestants like Christian of Anhalt and Friedrich IV, the latter of which owned a 1606 edition of Weisse's hymnbook in his private library (see Table 4.2).

A further example of hymns' ability to create concord comes from 1585, in the form of another handwritten hymn found amongst miscellaneous court papers currently in the Bibliotheca Palatina.¹⁰⁹ In the manuscript, Cod.Pala.Germ.734, is a poetic re-setting of the Lutheran funeral hymn 'Herr Christ, wahr' Mensch und Gott'. A song text without notation, it bears the heading 'A song to Christ the Lord, to sing for a blessed hour of death, to the melody "Venus, du und dein Kind"', shown in Figure 4.8.¹¹⁰ After the final verse, an inscription reveals the poem's author to be Anna of Solms-Lich (1520–1594), as seen in Figure 4.9. In the dedication made in the author's own hand, Anna wrote: 'Lord, by your will, Anna countess of Hohenloe, born countess of Solms, etc., I dedicate this to your Grace, from your servant, with a faithful heart known to God'.¹¹¹

**Figure 4.8: Heading of 'Herr Jesu Christ, wahr' Mensch und Gott',
Cod.Pal.Germ.734, 82'**

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

¹⁰⁹ UAH Cod.Pal.Germ.734.

¹¹⁰ 'Ein Liedt zu dem Herren Christo vmb ein seliges sterbstündlein zu singen, Inn der Melodey VENUS du vnndt dein kindt'.

¹¹¹ 'Her[r] in deynem willen, Anna greffin von hohenloe geborne greffin von Solmes &c widme ewer fürstliche genaden vnderthenige deinen mitt trewem hertzen das erkan gott'.

Figure 4.9: Autograph of Anna von Solms-Lich, Cod.Pal.Germ.734, 84^v

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

The occasion of the poem was the death of Anna of Denmark (1532–1585), Electress of Saxony and mother of Elizabeth of Saxony, Johann Casimir's Lutheran wife. In the same bundle of papers is also a manuscript of a funeral sermon for Elizabeth, delivered in the court on 29 October 1585 by her personal Lutheran court preacher, Bartholomeus Hoffmann (c.1544–1589).¹¹² The dedicatee of this hymn was not Elizabeth of Saxony but her Calvinist husband, Johann Casimir, who had governed the Palatinate and re-converted it to Calvinism for two years at this point, after the death of his brother Ludwig VI.

Anna von Solms-Lich's hymn setting is unique, firstly, in that she changed the rhyme scheme from a steady 8:8:8:8:8:8 to a more irregular 6:6:7:7:7:6. She also replaced the original and well-known tune 'Vatter unser im Himmelreich' with 'Venus du und dein Kindt', an Italianate secular tune whose text describes the disastrous results of the momentary pleasures offered by Venus and Cupid. It first appeared in print in German-speaking areas in *Kurtzweilige teutsche Liedlein nach Art der Neapolitanen oder welschen Villanellen* (Nuremberg, 1574), a collection of 67 madrigals composed by Jacob Regnart (1540 to 1545–1599), Kapellmeister to Habsburgian courts in Prague and Innsbruck.¹¹³ The text of 'Herr Jesu Christ, wahr' Mensch und Gott' was written by Wittenberg professor of Latin and Hebrew, Paul Eber (1511–1569), and was embraced by Lutherans as well as Calvinists. For instance, it was a favourite of Christian I

¹¹² UAH Cod.Pal.Germ.734, 11^v–35^v

¹¹³ RISM A/1 R 742.

(d.1591), the Duke of Saxony with strong Calvinist sympathies, and entered into the Palatine Calvinist hymn repertory in 1591, albeit with its original tune and rhyme scheme.¹¹⁴ The tune of ‘Venus du und dein Kind’ later formed the basis for the Lutheran funeral hymn, ‘Auf meinen lieben Gott’, which after 1600 was set by such Lutheran composers as Johann Hermann Schein, Dietrich Buxtehude and J.S. Bach.¹¹⁵

It is impossible to know how well Anna of Solms-Lich’s gift was received by Casimir, or whether her hymn setting was performed in Heidelberg. On the one hand, Italian secular music had a mixed reception in Heidelberg. Chapter Three examined how Friedrich IV owned books of Italian vocal music, including Lindner’s *Gemma musicalis* (1588). Yet as discussed above, books of secular Italian vocal music came into the Bibliotheca Palatina once the court had re-introduced Lutheranism in late 1576/early 1577; before that, no Italian music made its way into the library under Calvinism. On the other hand, gift-giving requires the donor to anticipate the desires and tastes of the recipient. Because gifts are ‘tangible expressions of social relationships’, as John Sherry has posited, Anna of Solms-Lich would have had to believe that her hymn would not only have been well received by Casimir but also have deepened their relationship—unless she was intentionally trying to sever their relationship, an unlikely scenario given her dedication.¹¹⁶

Regardless of Casimir’s reception, Anna of Solms-Lich’s gift infused funeral ritual with the latest musical fashion, and juxtaposed a confessionally authorised text with a tune that carried connotations of illicit carnal love. Whereas Markus Jenny suggests that hymns could create concord on the basis of a hymn’s medieval origins and shared use in opposing confessional groups, this latter example from Heidelberg suggests that hymns could bind individuals across confessional lines because the hymns themselves were alterable. By selecting Regnart’s tune, Anna von Solms-Lich tapped into shared social conventions of cultivating Italian music in German court culture. Indeed, it was the Dresden court (home of the deceased Anna of Saxony) that attempted in 1580 to engage Regnart as Kapellmeister.¹¹⁷

In sum, inscriptions and autograph signatures provide a new perspective on how music books were sites of commemorating communal and familial identity. As

¹¹⁴ On Eber, see *ADB* 5, 529–531. ‘Herr Jesu Christ, wahr’ Mensch und Gott’ first appeared in print in the Palatinate in 1591 in DKL 1591⁰³, printed in Neustadt.

¹¹⁵ Zahn No. 2164. Johann Hermann Schein, *Cantional oder Gesangbuch Augspurgischer Confession* (Leipzig, 1627); Buxtehude’s chorale setting of ‘Auf meinen lieben Gott’ is found in BuxWV 179; for J.S. Bach, ‘Auf meinen lieben Gott’ is set as the concluding chorale of BWV 148 and BWV 188.

¹¹⁶ John F. Sherry, Jr., ‘Gift Giving in Anthropological Perspective’, 158.

¹¹⁷ *ADB* 27, 568–570.

discussed in Chapter Two, Nicholas Cook has suggested that music performances are complex social interactions, and musical scores function as scripts. In this section, I have suggested that, if social bonding occurred through performance, then music books were preferred sites for commemorating those social interactions. Focussing primarily on the economic relationship between author, the producers and buyers (as Darnton has done) gives the false impression that books were less important in other, non-economic circuits. On the contrary, inscribed copies of books carried a sentimental rather than economic value, celebrating a long-established relationship.

IV. Dedications: Printed Music and Public Gifts

If handwritten inscriptions were meant only for the eyes of the recipient, printed dedications in published volumes of music display gift-giving before an international and trans-confessional book-buying public. As Karl Enekel has suggested, dedications in sixteenth-century print culture were not a newly created phenomenon; instead, they inherited the dedicatory practices of the fifteenth-century manuscript world.¹¹⁸ Enekel contends that, like manuscripts, the printed dedication functioned as an official act of publication—that is, a printed work without a dedication was tantamount to unpublished. As Enekel formulates, ‘without a dedicatee a work does not have any *auctoritas*; without *auctoritas* there is no authorship’.¹¹⁹

Printed dedications thus relied on a tripartite relationship of author, dedicatee and reader, creating a fundamental difference between gifts of printed music captured in inscriptions and printed music publicly dedicated to the same princely figures. In fact, literary theorist Gerard Genette makes a fundamental distinction between dedications (*dédier*) and inscriptions (*dédicacer*).¹²⁰ While both are tokens of esteem directed to a specific person or group of people, a dedication involves many (or all) copies of a given work, regardless of who eventually owns those copies. Inscriptions, by contrast, occur at the level of individual copies of that same book. The value of an inscription comes from being found only in one unique copy, and the inscription in turn enhances the material value of that copy by ‘by making this book different’.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Karl Enekel, ‘Reciprocal Authorisation: the Function of Dedications and Dedicatory Prefaces in the 15th- and 16th-Century “artes antiquitatis”’, in ‘*Cui dono lepidum novum libellum*’? *Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt, et al., (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 35–47.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 43.

¹²⁰ Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 117.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 142.

Displayed in Table 4.4 are the eleven music books dedicated to Electors Palatine between 1556 and 1618. The majority were dedicated to Calvinist electors, numbering eight in total, as opposed to three books dedicated to Lutheran electors. And of the five electors represented, Friedrich IV attracted the most dedications; at five dedications, this constitutes nearly half.

Table 4.4: Printed Music with Dedications to Electors Palatine (Excluding Hymnbooks)

Title, Composer/editor	Dedicatee	Place and year of publication	RISM A/1
<i>Tabulaturbuch</i> , Sebastian Ochskenhun	Ottheinrich	Heidelberg, 1558	O 12
<i>Versus ex hymno de Passione Christi, germanice redditus</i> , David Aquinas	Friedrich III	Jena, 1561	A 1305
<i>Neue teutsche liedlein</i> , Johannes Knöfel	Ludwig VI	Nuremberg, 1581	K 992
<i>Fröliche neuwe Teutsche Gesäng</i> , Nikolaus Rosthius	Ludwig VI	Frankfurt (Main), 1583	R 2772
<i>Lustgarten Neuer Teutscher Gesäng</i> , Hans Leo Hassler	Friedrich IV	Nuremberg, 1601	H 2340
<i>Newen deutschen Tricinien</i> , Konrad Hagius	Friedrich IV	Nuremberg, 1604	H 1730
<i>Musae Sioniae IV</i> , Michael Praetorius	Friedrich IV	Helmstedt, 1607	P 5351
<i>Opusculum Neuwer Pavanen, Galliarden, Courtanten unnd Volten</i> , Thomas Simpson	Friedrich IV	Frankfurt (Main), 1610	S 3496
<i>Livre premier contenant trente madrigales</i> , Jean de Cupre	Friedrich IV	Frankfurt (Main), 1610	C 4600
<i>Parthenia or the Maydenhead of the first musicke that ever was printed for the Virginalls</i> , John Bull, William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons	Elizabeth Stuart and Friedrich V	London, 1612	B/1 [1613] ¹⁴
<i>Hortus Musicalis Novus</i> , Elias Mertel	Friedrich V	Strasbourg, 1615	M 2337

The dedications to Heidelberg's Lutheran electors were, without exception, made by composers already in their dedicatee's employ. Sebastian Ochskenhun, for instance, had been employed by Ottheinrich for fourteen years, since 1544, when he dedicated his

book of lute tablature to his patron. Similarly, Johannes Knöfel and Nikolaus Rosthius had been working in Heidelberg for several years already when they dedicated their books to Ludwig VI: Knöfel and Rosthius both arrived at some point in 1579. By contrast, the majority of music books dedicated to Calvinist electors were done so by composers with no formal connection to the Palatine court. *Parthenia* contained keyboard compositions by English composers whose personal links were with Elizabeth Stuart, not the Heidelberg court. Elias Mertel dedicated his book of lute tablature to Friedrich V only after leaving a position in court. Regarding the 1561 *Versus ex hymno de Passione Christi*, Gerhard Pietzsch writes that the dedication was a result of David Aquinas's desire for, rather than attainment of, employment in Heidelberg. Indeed, only Thomas Simpson and Jean de Cupre's 1610 collections were dedicated by composers already in court employment; however, their collections could be seen as attempts to retain employment as the regime changed that same year.

Moreover, dedications to Calvinist electors were made by composers from a variety of confessional backgrounds. Praetorius and Hassler worked in firmly Lutheran areas for Lutheran patrons. Konrad Hagius found employment across the confessional spectrum. While Hagius indicated his position as *Musicant* in Calvinist Heidelberg in *Newen deutschen Tricinien* (1604), he had recently come from a position as bass singer in the Lutheran court in Stuttgart (1600–1603); he again held this position between 1607 and 1609, whereupon he was dismissed for being a papist. Indeed, he dedicated a 1606 edition of the Ulenberg psalter to the Archbishop-Elector of Mainz¹²²; a second edition of Magnificat settings was subsequently published in Catholic Mainz.¹²³

Given the largely negative perception of Calvinists throughout the empire, what did Lutheran composers stand to gain from dedicating music to a Calvinist prince? As mentioned at the start of Chapter Two, Christoph Pelargus considered Lutherans and Calvinists to be as 'irreconcilable as fire and water'.¹²⁴ Similarly, Fynes Moryson documented the considerable violence that many Lutherans exerted on Calvinists and Calvinist sympathisers. In Saxony, the body of a Calvinist pastor 'lay fower dayes vnburied, no Lutheran being founde that would carry his dead body'. Rather than receiving timely and respectful burial in the city cemetery, he was instead 'drawne out of the Citty by fower horses all the boyes...cast durt and stones at the dead body, following it with scoffes and reproches, yea that the very magistrates beheld this sadd

¹²² DKL 1606⁰⁵.

¹²³ *Canticum virginis intemeratae Magnificat* (Dillingen and Mainz, 1606). RISM A/1 H 1731.

¹²⁴ Quoted in Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People and Confession*, 88.

spectacle with laughter'.¹²⁵ For composers dedicating printed books to Calvinist electors, there was some measure of risk involved—especially given that early modern musicians, as Arne Spohr has explored, were particularly mobile individuals and might pass through territories hostile to Calvinists.¹²⁶

One motivation was that Heidelberg's Calvinist electors could offer employment in an electoral court. For musicians around 1600, steady employment was often difficult to find, requiring composers to be always searching for new patrons. Because the pattern for many musicians was to move from one court to next in the hope of securing a permanent position, the prospect of employment, even by a Calvinist prince, was attractive. In the dedicatory preface of *Lustgarten Neuer Teutscher Gesäng* (1601), for instance, Hans Leo Hassler (1564–1612) referred to Friedrich IV as his patron (*patrocinio*). This indicates that the Elector possibly underwrote production costs for this composer who, according to Susan Lewis Hammond, 'played a pivotal role in the transmission of Italianate forms and styles in German-speaking lands'.¹²⁷ A previous collection of songs had apparently pleased Friedrich IV (*hiebevör ausgegangen Gesängen ein gnädigstes gefallen haben*), and Hassler hoped therefore that this collection, 'as meagre and humble as they might appear, would also not be disagreeable' (*wie schlecht und gering auch dieselben scheinen mögen/auch nicht unangemem sein würden*).

For the reader of the preface, Hassler gives the impression of an established relationship with Friedrich IV as patron and as a musical connoisseur who was familiar with his previous work. As Enekel has found, however, when early modern dedications praised the dedicatee extravagantly, the relationship between the individuals could in reality be weak; when authors or composers praised the dedicatee briefly, their actual relationship was strong or, in some way, already established.¹²⁸ A dedication that refers at length to the dedicatee was a means of building a relationship. Regarding Hassler, one possibility is that he was making an overture to Friedrich IV for employment. By mid-1601 he had left the service of Octavius Fugger in Augsburg after the latter's death; by the end of that year, Hassler had found new employment as director of town music in Nuremberg. Thus, it is worth acknowledging that Hassler's search for employment

¹²⁵ Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe*, 265.

¹²⁶ See, especially, Chapters 3 and 4 of Arne Spohr, 'How Chances It They Travel?', 48–142; for the movement of trumpeters across territorial and confessional lines, see Stephen Rose, 'Trumpeters and Diplomacy on the Eve of the Thirty Years' War: the *album amicorum* of Jonas Kröschel', *Early Music* 40/3 (2012): 379–392.

¹²⁷ Susan Lewis Hammond, *The Madrigal: A Research and Information Guide* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 202.

¹²⁸ Karl Enekel, 'Reciprocal Authorisation', 42.

probably included the Calvinist court in Heidelberg—a heretofore unconsidered possibility in Hassler’s biography.¹²⁹ Moreover, because potential employers would possibly be familiar with *Lustgarten Neuer Teutscher Gesäng*, Friedrich IV’s reputation as a Calvinist was apparently not detrimental to Hassler’s eventual appointment in the Lutheran city of Nuremberg, or in fundamental conflict with his Lutheran identity.

As John F. Sherry has written, gifts reveal more about the self-identity of the donor than the recipient.¹³⁰ For a Lutheran composer such as Michael Praetorius, dedicating music to Friedrich IV—as he did in 1607—presented a unique opportunity for furthering his own musical and confessional identity as a composer with broad appeal. Arne Spohr and Susanne Rode-Breymann have recently discussed Praetorius’s unusually high mobility through imperial social circles, as well as his activities as a cultural mediator in transmitting new compositional styles from Italy.¹³¹ Stephen Rose has investigated how Praetorius viewed his music in terms of Luther’s theology, believing it to be a gift of God. It was to be distributed freely and widely, and shared with one’s neighbours (*Nächsten*)—that is, with all those inhabiting a person’s social world.¹³² In 1612, only five years after he dedicated the fourth volume of *Musae Sioniae* to Friedrich IV, Praetorius wrote: ‘I am eager to help them, from the bottom of my heart, freely and without any payment, even at my own expense and disadvantage. I want to communicate to everyone all that I know, have learned and can do through God’s grace and blessing’.¹³³ Although he does not say as much, Praetorius envisioned his music moving as widely as he did personally—a possibility greatly increased by removing the barrier of money.

Dedications turned on the hope of reciprocity. Evidence suggests that the electors named as dedicatees of printed music acknowledged the gesture and reciprocated with gifts of their own. In a manuscript inventory of silver goods owned by Johann Casimir found in the Bibliotheca Palatina, three separate entries indicate that he sent goblets to the Genevan (and later Heidelberg) printer and publisher Jerome Commelin (1550?–1597) for the dedication of books to him.¹³⁴ An entry dated 5

¹²⁹ On the current state of Hassler’s biography, see Heinz Zirnbauer, *Hans Leo Hassler: Leben und Werk* (Nuremberg: Fränkische Verlagsanstalt und Buchdruckerei, 1964); Walter Blankenburg and Vincent J. Panetta, “Hassler”. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed April 22, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12525pg2>.

¹³⁰ John F. Sherry, Jr., ‘Gift-Giving in Anthropological Perspective’, 159.

¹³¹ Susanne Rode-Breymann and Arne Spohr, ‘Michael Praetorius als Agent von Kulturtransfer in der Frühen Neuzeit: eine Einleitung’, in *Michael Praetorius: Vermittler europäischer Musiktraditionen um 1600*, ed. Susanne Rode-Breymann and Arne Spohr (Hildesheim: Olms, 2011), 7–20.

¹³² Stephen Rose, ‘The Mechanisms of the Music Trade’, 31.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ *UAH Cod.Pal.Germ.837*.

September 1591 recorded that a goblet (*Becher*) was given to Commelin, ‘because he has dedicated a book to me’ (*dass er mir ein buch dedicirt hatte*).¹³⁵ Similarly, four years prior, Casimir gifted another goblet to Commelin after the dedication of a chronicle of English history, the *Rerum Britannicarum* (*Ein Becher...dem Buchdrucker Jeronymo Commelino pro dedicatione Britannicorum Scriptorum verehrt, den 2. Decembris Anno 1587*).¹³⁶ That same year, Casimir ‘honoured the Genevan book printer with one goblet...as instructed by my Gracious Lord, because of the dedication of the French-German psalter’ (*1 Becher...Aus Befehlich meines gnaedisten Herrn dem Genefischen Buchdrucker verehren wegen der Dedication des Gallico-Germanici Psalterii*).¹³⁷ Commelin’s bilingual psalter has unfortunately not survived, yet it appears that Louisa Juliane owned a copy (see Table 4.1). Such instances demonstrate that Casimir was not only aware of books dedicated to him, but rewarded the printer or publisher responsible for the book’s production with valuable objects.

With Praetorius, dedicating music to a Calvinist prince was not primarily about placing Friedrich IV in his debt, by requiring a reciprocal gift such as patronage or underwriting printing costs; after all, Praetorius’s patron in Wolfenbüttel covered the expenses incurred in producing his publications.¹³⁸ Instead, dedicating to a Calvinist prince could paradoxically have reinforced Praetorius’s own Lutheran identity. Following Luther’s own conviction, dedicating music to Friedrich IV allowed Praetorius to share his music with ‘everyone’ (as he wrote in 1612). The years around 1607 saw Friedrich IV not only uniting with Lutheran princes in the battle against Habsburg powers but even meeting Praetorius personally. In his dedicatory preface to Friedrich IV, Praetorius wrote of first-hand knowledge of Friedrich IV’s love of the ‘noble music and of German psalms’ (*der edlen Musica, und Deutschen Psalmen*): ‘as then I myself with special joy saw and heard, when Your Princely Grace visited my gracious prince and master, Heinrich Julius, here [in Wolfenbüttel]’.¹³⁹

As Praetorius’s own network of social relations widened through meeting Friedrich IV, it was consistent with his Lutheran belief that his printed music should circulate equally to a new individual and community of people, even if they were not Lutheran. Although the fourth volume of *Musae Sioniae* contained settings of Lobwasser’s psalms and other hymns and corresponded to a generally held norm of

¹³⁵ Wilhelm Port, *Hieronymus Commelinus, 1550–1597: Leben und Werk*, 121.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 122.

¹³⁸ Stephen Rose, ‘The Mechanisms of the Music Trade’, 30.

¹³⁹ ‘wie ich denn selber, als E. Churf. G. vor diesem/meinen gnedigen Fürsten und Herrn, Herrn Heinrichn Iulium...allhier besuchet/mit sonderbahren Freuden angesehen und gehöret’.

early modern Calvinism, viewing it through the lens of gift ritual reveals just as much of Praetorius's self-identity as it does of Friedrich IV's relationship to music. Praetorius probably believed that his dedication would further his relationship with Friedrich IV; and like Hassler, Friedrich IV's Calvinism appears neither to have been a deterrent to the composition, performance or the sale of polyphonic music, nor a liability to Praetorius's own professional career. Because German Calvinism was on the fringe of both law and culture in the empire, showing a regular presence among Calvinists perhaps served as evidence of a composer's mass appeal—an essential pre-requisite for creating greater demand.

V. Presentations: Manuscripts and the Private Presentation of Music

Compared to the public nature of printed dedications, the private presentation of musical manuscripts operated on a different paradigm. Although printed and manuscript music might serve the same end of currying favour with princely or civic patrons, Thomas Schmidt-Beste has argued that 'manuscripts were not sold on an open market—they were unique objects which were produced and changed hands (if they changed hands at all) within a small, controlled, closed environment'.¹⁴⁰ Presentation manuscripts commonly omitted standard features of printed music, such as a title page or dedication, as the recipient was already familiar with its textual contents.¹⁴¹ Usually only one manuscript was created for the recipient, from which further performing copies could be made. In Darnton's model, manuscripts bypassed the production circuit completely, moving directly from author (or scribe) to dedicatee (i.e. the foremost intended reader).

Presentation manuscripts of music helped composers to build relationships in private. Various motivations lay behind the presentation of music manuscripts. Financial reward was a common end for the presentation of manuscripts: records of the Leipzig town council, for instance, reveal that financial rewards were given for 54 presentation manuscripts and prints between 1590 and 1610.¹⁴² The securement of a permanent position in a highly uncertain world was another driving force, as mentioned above regarding Hassler. In his search for employment, Johannes Knöfel (the Silesian

¹⁴⁰ Thomas Schmidt-Beste, 'Dedicating Music Manuscripts: On Function and Form of Paratexts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Sources', in *'Cui dono lepidum novum libellum'? Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Ignace Bossuyt, et al. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 87.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Rudolf Wustmann, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, vol. 1, *Bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1909), 203–206.

composer and later Heidelberg Kapellmeister) presented a manuscript containing a mass on the German Credo to the town council of Kremnitz, while in 1579 he sent a manuscript parody mass to the Nuremberg town council.¹⁴³

A collection of 19 presentation manuscripts to Electors Palatine, containing compositions written between 1556 and 1600, is currently held in the Vatican Library.¹⁴⁴ Bound together after presentation to the court, Cod.Pal.Lat.1878 holds compositions by eight composers, the full list of which is found in Appendix G. To date, these manuscripts have received almost no scholarly treatment from musicologists; the only known study is Ole Kongsted's examination of the compositions of Danish composer Gregor Trehou.¹⁴⁵ My discussion here of Cod.Pal.Lat.1878 constitutes its first concentrated scholarly treatment. It presents new information about not just the musical culture of the Palatine court but also about sixteenth-century presentation practices.

The majority of the composers represented here presented their compositions to the Heidelberg court at times in which they experienced uncertain, or tension-ridden, employment. Bernhard Amenreich (c.1535–after 1575) presented his manuscript on the heels of trouble with his dual employers of Philipp the Younger of Hesse and the city of St Goar. By 1575, his employment under Philipp had ended, and Amenreich had also been imprisoned after a dispute with citizens of St Goar.¹⁴⁶ The Belgian-born Aegidius Bassengius (fl.1588–94) likely submitted his motet (*Dona deus capiunt*) to Johann Casimir or Friedrich IV at some point between 1588 and 1594, as Bassengius worked part-time in the imperial courts in Prague and Vienna and was in search of permanent employment.¹⁴⁷ The Danish composer Gregor Trehou (c.1540–before 1619) similarly presented to Johann Casimir eleven Genevan psalms—written in a variety of styles and featuring Latin, French and Italian psalm texts—as he migrated between working as a schoolmaster in Antwerp until 1584 and becoming Kapellmeister to Christian IV in Copenhagen in 1590.

¹⁴³ Both examples of Knöfel are mentioned in Christian Leitmeir, 'Lutheran Propers for Wrocław/Breslau: the Cantus Choralis (1575) of Johannes Knöfel', in *The Musical Culture of Silesia Before 1742: New Contexts—New Perspectives*, ed. Pawel Gancarczyk, et al. (New York: Peter Lang, 2013), 92.

¹⁴⁴ Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod.Pal.Lat.1878.

¹⁴⁵ Ole Kongsted, 'Nyopdukkede vaerker af Gregorius Trehou I Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', in *Musikkens Tjenere: Instrument, Forsker, Musiker* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 1998), 189–209.

¹⁴⁶ Friedhelm Brusniak, 'Bernhard Amenreich, Stiftsorganist zu Feuchtwangen 1560–1564', *Feuchtwanger Heimatgeschichte* 5 (1997): 46.

¹⁴⁷ John Clapham. "Bassengius, Aegidius". *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed April 22, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02249>.

Following Christopher Reynolds, Jessie Ann Owens writes that compositional planning ‘could encompass every aspect of music—from the use of pre-existent material to decisions about musical structure, from the choice of clefs to decisions about cadence points’.¹⁴⁸ However, one major factor in planning was whether the composition needed to align to a patron’s wishes—or, in the case of a presentation, what the composer believed a potential patron would want to receive. For some composers, writing to a patron’s wishes was unwelcome and disrupted the usual creative process. Claudio Monteverdi, for instance, was delayed in sending a ballet to his librettist, Alessandro Striggio, ‘in view of the fact that the new commission which the Prince has given me—that I send him the music for *Andromeda* as soon as possible—dictates my inability to attend to anything else’.¹⁴⁹ By contrast, Vladimir J. Konečni notes that the creative process sometimes finds ‘additional impetus and direction’ from external prompts.¹⁵⁰

Whereas dedications in printed music books did not require composers to cater to the preferences of their dedicatees, presentation manuscripts did exactly that—anticipating what a recipient might want, in order to convince the recipient that a musical composition was unique and created especially for him. The organist and Kapellmeister to Landgrave Philipp of Hesse, Bernhard Amenreich, presented Friedrich III with a musical manuscript, dated 29 January 1576, roughly one week before Friedrich’s sixty-first birthday.¹⁵¹ Entitled ‘Herr nach deinem Willen’, the manuscript (the tenor part of which is shown in Figure 4.10) is tidy, lacking the editorial marks typical of performance copies. The first page of each of the four parts includes: a neatly written dedication to Friedrich; the year 1576; Amenreich’s name; and the indication of voice type. On the back of three of the four voice parts is the date, 29 January. The first word in each of the four verses forms an acrostic on the composition’s title: verse two begins with the second word of the title, and so on.

¹⁴⁸ Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 69.

¹⁴⁹ Claudio Monteverdi, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*, trans. by Denis Stevens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 162–163.

¹⁵⁰ Vladimir J. Konečni, ‘Composers’ Creative Process: The Role of Life-Events, Emotion and Reason’, in *Musical Imaginations: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Creativity, Performance and Perception*, ed. David Hargreaves, Dorothy Miell and Raymond MacDonald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 143.

¹⁵¹ Cod.Pal.Lat.1878, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 178^r–177^v.

Figure 4.10: Bernhard Amenreich's 'Herr nach deinem Willen', presented to Friedrich III, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod.Pal.Lat.1878, 174^r

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

In this manuscript, we see Amenreich appealing to Friedrich III's public identity as a pious Calvinist prince, by using the hymn text ('Herr nach deinem Willen') written by the elector himself, which first appeared in Heidelberg hymnbooks between 1567 and 1575. This motto is also seen in Figure 4.4, in the hymnbook owned by Johann Casimir. Amenreich also retained the original musical setting found in Heidelberg's early hymnbooks: the Genevan tune to Psalm 36. The musical setting presented to Friedrich for his birthday was more elaborate than the version contained in hymnbooks. Firstly, the setting is for four voices, as opposed to the monophonic setting found in hymnbooks intended for liturgical or devotional performance. Amenreich's composition is a *Tenorlied*, a highly versatile style of composition which placed the melody in the tenor rather than highest voice. As Stephen Keyl describes, the *Tenorlied* was 'capable of giving voice to amorous sentiments (of both the tender and the ribald variety), high-spirited merriment, introspection and melancholy, and even religious devotion'.¹⁵² Keith Polk furthermore notes that *Tenorlieder* were often performed on instruments—in some cases accompanying the tenor voice, while in other cases performing all the voice parts.¹⁵³ Presenting a *Tenorlied*, then, maximised the gift's impact, as it could have been

¹⁵² Stephen Keyl, 'Tenorlied, Discantlied, Polyphonic Lied: Voices and Instruments in German Secular Polyphony of the Renaissance', *Early Music* 20/3 (1992): 434.

¹⁵³ Keith Polk, 'Voices and Instruments: Soloists and Ensembles in the 15th Century', *Early Music* 18 (1990): 179–98.

performed for Friedrich III in a variety of musical contexts. Amenreich's absence from court payment records from 1576 and 1577 suggests that he never gained employment in the court chapel. Nevertheless, his presentation reveals that the musical culture of the Heidelberg court—as well as the musical output of the elector—was known in some detail by a composer peripheral to, or completely uninvolved in, its operation.

If Amenreich's presentation can be classified as a gift from a composer active and known in the Elector's local context of southwest Germany, a five-voiced motet entitled *Sydere qui patrias* by Christian Hollander—Kapellmeister in Vienna to the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I from 1557 to 1564—demonstrates that Friedrich III also attracted the attention of composers throughout the empire. Thus far, *Sydere qui patrias* has received no scholarly investigation; in fact, it is a previously unknown part of Hollander's extant oeuvre that spanned from two 1553 collections of Antwerp publisher, Tielman Susato, to the fifth volume of *Novi thesauri musici* (Venice, 1568) printed by the Gardano firm.¹⁵⁴ Hollander's manuscript carries no presentation date, but he claimed himself to be a musician to the Holy Roman Emperor (*Sacrae Caesariae Maiest. Musicus*)—placing the presentation probably between Friedrich III's accession on 12 February 1559 and the death of the emperor Ferdinand I on 25 July 1564. Although not indicated, it is possible that the presentation was made upon Friedrich III's accession.

In its laudatory nature and overtly political connections, *Sydere qui patrias* resembles four motets composed by Hollander as homage to Ferdinand I and the Habsburg dynasty, contained in the Gardano edition of 1568. Yet *Sydere qui patrias* was more conservative than the motets composed for his own patron. Hollander firstly used fewer voices: for Friedrich III he used only five voices, as opposed to six to eight for Ferdinand I. Additionally, Hollander set the text of *Sydere qui patrias* in simple imitative polyphony (the opening bars are shown in Figure 4.11), as opposed to the paired imitation and *cori spezzati* he chose to utilise as an homage to Ferdinand I, as one finds in the eight-voice polychoral motet, *Austria virtutes*.¹⁵⁵

Table 4.5: Text and Translation of *Sydere qui patrias*¹⁵⁶

Sydere qui patrias	You who hold the reins of your father
--------------------	---------------------------------------

¹⁵⁴ RISM 1553⁸ and 1553¹⁰, RISM 1568⁶. It is not listed in Hollander's known compositions. See Lavern J. Wagner. "Hollander, Christian". *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed April 14, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13218>.

¹⁵⁵ Anthony F. Carver, *Cori Spezzati* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 66–67.

¹⁵⁶ I am thankful to Peter Sjökvist for his help in translating this text.

Fausto moderaris habenas electoris habens Dux Friderice decus Harmonico capias deducta[m] pollice musam Et foveas animi liberioris opes.	under a fortunate star, owning the honour of an Elector, Duke Frederick, may you receive the Muse brought down with a musical hand, and may you cherish the riches of an un-constricted soul.
---	---

Figure 4.11: Opening Motif of Christian Hollander's *Sydere qui patrias*¹⁵⁷

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

¹⁵⁷ This transcription is my own. No modern edition of this composition exists.

In the dedication as well as in the music, Hollander made it plain that Friedrich III was the unique motivation and recipient of *Sydere qui patrias*. Whereas 'Herr nach deinem Willen' celebrated Friedrich III's religious identity as a pious Calvinist, *Sydere qui*

patrias praised Friedrich III's political and dynastic identity. Indeed, Hollander's inscription, seen in Figure 4.12, mentioned only the elector's imperial position as both Count of the Palatinate and Duke of Bavaria (*Comitis Palatini, utriusque Bavariae Ducis*) and not his confessional affiliation. The text of the motet also expounds Friedrich III's position, not only incorporating Friedrich III's titles of Duke (*Dux*) and Elector (*electoris*), but also his name *Friderice*. Thus, either viewing the manuscript or hearing a performance of Hollander's motet affirmed Friedrich III's noble rank, as well as his status as both the recipient and the inspiration of this singular composition.

Figure 4.12: Dedication to Friedrich III by Christian Hollander, Cod.Pal.Lat.1878, 185^r–189^r

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

As a final example from Cod.Pal.Lat.1878, I turn to another motet. But instead of being presented by a composer active outside of Heidelberg, this motet entitled *Et ait Joab* was presented by Nikolas Rosthius, Heidelberg cantor and teacher at the Paedagogium during the Lutheran interim under Ludwig VI. While the start of Rosthius's employment can be dated with certainty to late 1579, his date of departure is unknown. It has been assumed that Rosthius was dismissed in 1583 as the Palatinate was re-converted to Calvinism under Johann Casimir.¹⁵⁸ Rosthius's next known position was in the service of the Count von Erbach im Odenwald around 1590.¹⁵⁹

As the dedication of *Et ait Joab* indicates (Figure 4.13), Rosthius presented this six-voiced, Latin-texted motet not to Ludwig VI but to Johann Casimir, Ludwig's Calvinist successor, possibly as an attempt to retain employment in Heidelberg despite the court's change of confession. Amenreich's presentation to Friedrich III was likely

¹⁵⁸ *ADB* 29, 280.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

submitted to gain employment in the court chapel; Rosthius's composition, by contrast, signified an attempt to remain in a ruler's good graces after a change of administration. And unlike Amenreich or Hollander, Rosthius was knowledgeable about the inner workings of the court chapel at the time he presented his manuscript to Johann Casimir, given his previous employment in Heidelberg.

Rosthius presented a relatively short composition to Casimir, comprising a total of eight systems on two folios. And in contrast to either of the two compositions discussed thus far, his Latin text comes specifically from scripture—2 Samuel 10:12 in the Vulgate. In this passage, Joab (nephew of King David and commander of an Army of Israelites) defeats the Syrians despite leading the smaller army. Before waging war Joab speaks the words chosen verbatim by Rosthius: 'Be of good courage, and let us fight bravely for our people and for the cities of our God: and the LORD do that which is good in his sight'.¹⁶⁰

Figure 4.13: Dedication Page of Nikolas Rosthius's *Et ait Joab*, Cod.Pal.Lat.1878, 190^r

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Battle imagery was particularly apt for this newly reformed Calvinist court. Casimir followed the advice of his counsellors who were strongly opposed to religious

¹⁶⁰ 'Esto vir fortis, et pugnemus pro populo nostro et civitate Dei nostri: Dominus autem faciet quod bonum est in conspectu suo'.

compromise and were willing to use military force for their cause.¹⁶¹ Sir Thomas Wilkes (1545?–1598), a clerk of Queen Elizabeth I’s council, noted that the Palatine military under Casimir was ‘one of the finest armies that for twenty years had issued from Germany’.¹⁶² And as Claus-Peter Clasen argues, Casimir ‘was neither a great statesman nor an outstanding strategist...but remained faithful to his Calvinist belief even in the face of danger’.¹⁶³

Rosthius fittingly used various compositional devices in order to highlight the militaristic overtones of the scriptural text. For the words ‘vir fortis’ (‘men of courage’), the texture shifts from sparse homophony on the text ‘Esto’ (‘Be’) to all voices singing a descending motif of a fifth (G to C) in imitation one minim apart (highlighted in red in Figure 4.14). The Altus voice, by contrast, sings in contrary motion, ascending a fourth before dropping a fifth from G to C (shown in green). Deploying, and then closely interlocking, all voice parts to support the text ‘men of courage’ perhaps mirrors the large-scale coordination of men in battle, as separate army units perform different duties while working towards a common goal.

Similarly, Rosthius tightly synchronised all voice parts on the subsequent portion of text, as each voice sings the word ‘pugnemus’ (‘let us fight’) not only five times consecutively (Figure 4.15) but in close rhythmic imitation of a quaver and two minims. Instead of imitating the same two-and-a-half-bar melodic line of a descending fifth as with ‘Esto’, the harmonic momentum stops as each voice sings ‘pugnemus’ with a different syncopated arpeggiation of a C major triad. While this treatment might establish a tonal centre on C, the syncopation destabilises the rhythmic pulse and the voices figuratively battle one another. A cadence on G major creates a sense of conditional resolution and establishes why this fighting is waged: for God’s people (‘pro populo’).

Figure 4.14: Text Setting of ‘Vir Fortis’ in Rosthius’s *Et ait Joab*¹⁶⁴

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

¹⁶¹ Claus-Peter Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History*, 20.

¹⁶² Martin Hume, *The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth: a History of the Various Negotiations for her Marriage* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), 183.

¹⁶³ Claus-Peter Clasen, *The Palatinate in European History*, 19–20.

¹⁶⁴ The following transcriptions are my own. No modern editions of these compositions exist.

Figure 4.15: Text Setting of ‘Pugnemus pro populo’ in Rosthius’s *Et ait Joab*

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

In sum, we see in the two presentations to Friedrich III the different strategies for honouring a princely figure. In the case of Amenreich, Friedrich III's confessional identity was the focus. With Hollander and Rosthius, they centred on the Elector Friedrich's princely identity. Perhaps not surprisingly, the former's composition features a vernacular text and strophic construction, while the latter is through-composed with a Latin text. Like the university students discussed in the previous chapter, princes had multiple and sometimes contradictory sides to their identities. Yet while authorities attempted to suppress rowdy musical activities of students, musical gifts illustrate that Electors Palatine fostered both the nonspiritual and religious aspects of their subjective self, and that composers accounted for this fact planning and composing their presentation manuscripts.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the many and varied types of musical gifts in Heidelberg in the late sixteenth century. Music libraries were shown to be creative rather than static entities. Because they symbolised an individual's social network as well as facilitated performance, private music libraries were inherently multifunctional. Through examining rare and heretofore unknown inscriptions, I have added a further layer to Nicholas Cook's idea that musical scores scripted social interaction, as music books were preferred sites for commemorating social interactions that occurred in real time. In

dedications in printed books, the Calvinist self-identity of Heidelberg electors did not deter Lutheran composers from dedicating music to them; moreover, I suggest that Michael Praetorius's Lutheran identity was reinforced (rather than destabilised) by presenting his printed music to Friedrich IV. As a type of gift, dedications bound Calvinist electors with individual composers across confessional lines. Finally, manuscript presentations revealed that composers were aware of—and actively catered to—different sides of a prince's identity. Composing for his confessional identity meant setting vernacular texts and psalm tunes, while appealing to his princely identity entailed Latin texts and imitative settings.

Gifts are powerfully illuminative for the reception of music. Reception history has centred primarily on the question of how individuals and societies have engaged over time with a particular piece, composer or repertory.¹⁶⁵ This chapter has shown, however, that music was a powerful medium through which individuals engaged with each other, even when the music was not performed. This is not to say that performance is not involved, however. Following Helmuth Berking, 'a social encounter defined through the exchange of gifts operates within the solid framework of a ceremonially controlled performance'.¹⁶⁶ Nor is it to say that music books facilitated engagement across the social strata. My examples have come almost exclusively from the court, and show social interaction largely between individuals of the same social station. In this way, the ritual of giving music away conforms to Susan Karant Nunn's conclusion regarding ritual—that through ritual, early modern people 'identified with, and lent their support to, those in their own stratum'.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ Mark Everist, 'Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses and Musical Value', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 378–402.

¹⁶⁶ Helmuth Berking, *The Sociology of Giving*, 8.

¹⁶⁷ Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual*, 195.

Chapter 5

COURT, CEREMONY AND CONFESSION

As this thesis has argued thus far, the musical cultures of Lutheranism and Calvinism in Heidelberg displayed many heretofore unacknowledged continuities. Chapter Two examined how Calvinist hymnbooks not only contained numerous Lutheran hymns but also instructions for their ritualised use in homes and churches by Calvinists, the motivation for which stemmed from considering Lutheranism a vital part of the confessional heritage of German Calvinism. Chapter Three explored how Calvinist provisions for musical education in schools, university and court differed little from their Lutheran counterparts. Chapter Four demonstrated how music books regularly crossed confessional lines, and that their circulation conformed to trans-confessional rituals of gift giving. Chapters Two to Four have therefore challenged Heinz Schilling's assertion that confessional groups were externally exclusive communities.

Chapter Five will further challenge Schilling's thesis, by exploring the substantial extent to which music at funerary and nuptial rites—ceremonies overseen by religious authorities and thus infused with confessional significance—was determined by social rather than strictly religious factors. Instead of showing an internally coherent society resulting from all Heidelbergers sharing confessional affiliation, marriage and funeral ceremonies reveal the extent to which this officially mono-confessional city was, under the surface, highly fragmented along lines of gender and social divisions.¹

The chapter begins with a discussion of the role of confession within the musical life of German courts around 1600, after which I turn to the 1613 Palatine wedding festivities marking the union of Elector Palatine Friedrich V (1596–1632) and Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662). Two case studies from the celebrations staged in Heidelberg illustrate how converting urban space into musical space was a privilege of the Elector Palatine's social station, as well as a means of cultivating splendour for the eyes of noble visitors and local residents alike. Moreover, music for such nuptial festivals articulated the social difference between prince and people, while court funeral processions reinforced a hierarchy that existed within the electoral family. Newly discovered manuscripts documenting the funeral processions of Ottheinrich (d.1559), Electress Dorothea (d.1580), Princess Katharina (d.1586), Johann Casimir (d.1592) and

¹ Heidelberg was mono-confessional in the sense that only one confession was ever officially allowed at one time. Contrasting examples are found in many Free Imperial Cities (such as bi-confessional Augsburg, where Lutheranism and Catholicism were officially permitted).

Friedrich IV (d.1610) outline not only the processions' participants and route, but also how the musical provisions for males differed from those for females and children. Thus stratification is shown within even the ostensibly unified social sphere of the electoral family. The chapter concludes by examining the private chapels that Elizabeth Stuart and Elizabeth of Saxony (1552–1590) maintained in the Heidelberg castle. Together with the discussion of funeral processions, private chapels not only reveal profound social fragmentation within the court, but underscore the importance of space to the performance of religious ritual.

I. Society, Confession and Court Music

As he neared his death in 1559, Elector Ottheinrich created a Last Will and Testament, in which he expressed a desire for a well-equipped court chapel to continue after his death:

It is our last will, that our employed chaplains and musicians are retained, especially in the court chapel in Heidelberg, and in all matters financial in good harmony and order, so to speak. The court should also see to it that, instead of untalented singers of diminishing skills, other well-voiced singers, cantors and musicians of all voice types should be employed. Likewise, famous and skilful organists, trombonists, harpists, lutenists, cornettists and trumpeters should be engaged.²

As mentioned in Chapter One, few sources from the court chapel survive. However, it appears that Ottheinrich's wishes were not honoured by his successor, Friedrich III. In 1559 the courtier Christof Mundt, reported in a letter to Sir William Cecil, and later Lord Bergleigh:

Otto Henry had begun at Heidelberg a magnificent and sumptuous building, for which he assembled from all parts the most renowned artists, builders, sculptors, and painters, but the Elector Palatine prosecutes the work leisurely and with less

² 'So ist unser etlicher und letzter will, das unsere angestellte Capell und Musica, in gleichnuss on allen abgang in gueter Harmonia und ordnung, Insonderheit in der schloßkirchen zu Haidelberg Conservirt und erhalten, Auch yederzeit die fursehung geschehe, das an stat der abgehenden oder untuglichen Singer, andere wolgestimbte singer, Cantores und Musici, nach art einer yden stimen, desgleichen berumbte und Kunstreiche Organisten, pusauner, Harpffenisten, Lautenisten, zinckenbleser und Trummeter, zur hand gebracht und angestellt werden sollen'. *QuF*, 74.

splendour and magnificence. He has dismissed all the musicians and above 200 retainers from the Court, being desirous to free the Palatinate from debt.³

In Mundt's account, the motivation behind the dismissal of musicians (not to mention 200 other court employees) is clear: to rid the Palatinate of debt. Full dismissals of musicians were a relatively common event in early modern courts with the arrival of a new prince. This allowed a ruler to shape his court uniquely, given that servants often worked for specific rulers rather than an institution. For instance, in a letter of 1526 to the Duke of Saxony, Martin Luther pleaded that the Duke 'will not permit the Kantorei [=Hofkapelle] to pass out of existence, especially since its current members have been trained for such work'. Luther further claimed that 'the art [of music] is worthy of being supported and maintained by princes and lords, much more so than many other endeavours and enterprises for which there is not nearly so much need'.⁴

Despite both the frequency with which court musicians were dismissed and Mundt's statement regarding Friedrich III's motivations, scholars of music in Heidelberg have nevertheless erroneously assumed that the 1559 dismissal was linked to Friedrich III's confessional belief. Klaus Winkler attributes the dismissal under Calvinists to 'severe teaching' that 'made a choir of trained singers in the court superfluous'.⁵ Stein concludes that Friedrich III was 'puritanical' and thus had 'little understanding of music'. In dissolving the court chapel, he disobeyed Ottheinrich's wishes and 'dishonoured the artistic traditions of his forefathers'.⁶ In these cases, understanding of court music is mistakenly predicated on the belief that Friedrich III's actions regarding music were regulated solely—or, at least, primarily—by religious confession.

As Magnus Rüdé observes, however, the policies of an early modern princely court cannot be reduced to one singular agenda. Instead, a combination of three factors—confession, dynasty, and reason of state (*Statsräson*)—impacted how courts governed their local subjects and engaged in imperial politics.⁷ Indeed, policies that maintained confessional concord with other princes often created local religious tension on a popular level.⁸ Electoral Brandenburg, a key ally of the Palatinate in the Protestant Union, is a prime example of this. Bodo Nischan has shown that Elector Johann

³ August Kluckhohn, ed., *Briefe Friedrichs des Frommen*, vol. 1 (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1868), 82.

⁴ Robin Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 38.

⁵ Klaus Winkler, 'Heidelberger Ballette: Musik und Tanz am kurpfälzischen Hof', 16.

⁶ *Stein I*, 55.

⁷ Magnus Rüdé, *England und Kurpfalz*, 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Sigismund's conversion to Calvinism, rather than simply being a matter of religious conviction, instead helped him to realise his long-term agenda of securing a firmly anti-Catholic position within the Empire. Sigismund's imperial programme was met with resistance within Brandenburg, however. On the popular level, mobs in Berlin and indeed throughout the territory condemned the decision, not only circulating inflammatory printed tracts targeting the Elector but also rioting and attacking Calvinist pastors.⁹ Conflict also came from landed estates in Brandenburg on which the court was financially dependent. In 1614 Sigismund was blackmailed by noble estate representatives into recognising the Lutheran church as legal and valid in the Mark. After an initial refusal in which the Elector stated that 'he would rather fight until the last drop of blood' than capitulate, he agreed to allow Lutheranism in the Mark in exchange for financial support for 230,000 thaler—150,000 to defray the cost of operating the court, and 80,000 as dues to the Protestant Union.¹⁰ In the end, Brandenburg's Calvinism was relegated to the court. A bi-confessional territory was thereby created along social lines, as Calvinism was embraced among the nobility and Lutheranism in popular culture.

The case of Brandenburg underlines how large-scale ambitions of princely courts could conflict with the practicalities of governing people locally. It also illustrates the cultural and social disparity that could exist between princely and popular spheres. Hugh Trevor-Roper has interpreted the 'crises' of the seventeenth century (such as the Thirty Years' War) as stemming, in part, from the manner in which princes in the sixteenth century onwards accrued power at the expense of cities, which were first 'overpowered, subdued, and then—if lucky—rewarded with the golden shower which fell not from trade, or at least not directly from trade, but from the court'.¹¹ In this way, sixteenth-century cities were conduits through which princely stature was channelled. In *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Jürgen Habermas argues similarly. In the late medieval and sixteenth-century public sphere, urban space was a 'status attribute', a platform for the powerful to display their power.¹²

Consequently, urban space and closed court space could both serve as powerful venues in which sixteenth-century princely society differentiated itself from non-noble subjects—especially, according to Roy Strong, through splendour. Renaissance splendour, an exclusive privilege for princes and nobility in sixteenth and early

⁹ Bodo Nischan, *Prince, People, Confession*, 185–203.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 207.

¹¹ Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The General Crisis of the 17th Century', *Past and Present* 16 (1959): 41.

¹² Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 7.

seventeenth-century Europe, was conveyed largely through court festivity, which ‘marked the great events of both [a prince’s] private and his public life, his marriage, the birth of his children, his victories and treaties of alliance, his coronation and accession day. Through them the prince was able to manifest himself at his most magnificent in the sight of his subjects’.¹³

Musical splendour in the Renaissance could be created in a number of ways. An essential first step was to engage a large number of musicians, a common strategy in Renaissance Ferrara.¹⁴ Newly commissioned compositions also enhanced courtly spectacle. Claudio Monteverdi’s second opera *L’Arianna* (1608), for instance, was composed for the wedding of his patron Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga in Mantua. Adding wind instruments—such as crumhorns, sackbuts and cornetts—to polyphonic vocal compositions was another strategy for splendour, as was common in Netherlandish courts.¹⁵ Furthermore, the nationality of court singers could also play a role of constructing a courtly image of magnificence. Mantuan foreign agents served especially as intermediaries in the search for potential musicians, reporting on the musical life of other courts.¹⁶ Around 1550, Flemish singers were recruited to the Dresden court via Saxon ambassadors to the Low Countries, while in late sixteenth-century Dresden the presence of Italian musicians bolstered the status of the court chapel.¹⁷

Following Roy Strong, spectacle was a nearly universal—and thus trans-confessional—trapping of nobility across early modern European courts, which consolidated the aristocracy as a social group.¹⁸ Yet the festivities staged by princely courts were significant events for local residents. Following sociologist Don Handelman’s belief that public ceremonies ‘may be likened to a mirror held up to reflect versions of the organization of society that are intended by the makers of the occasion’¹⁹, Tess Knighton and Geoffrey Baker have shown early modern cities to be powerful locations for showcasing status and authority, and for imposing social

¹³ Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and Illusion* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), 19 and 21.

¹⁴ Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 54.

¹⁵ Eugene Schreurs, ‘Musical Relations between the Court and Collegiate Chapels in the Netherlands, 1450–1560’, in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs*, 110.

¹⁶ Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 84.

¹⁷ Dane Heuchemer, ‘Italian Musicians in Dresden in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century’, 39; Mary Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, 3–5.

¹⁸ Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court*, 19.

¹⁹ Don Handelman, *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998), 8.

hierarchy.²⁰ Courtly ceremony was a visual representation of the social stratum, exerting power simultaneously over local non-noble and noble imperial audiences. In this way, courtly rituals generated at once multiple and diverse experiences, and ‘open[ed] up a labyrinth of difference’, as Edward Muir has summarised.²¹

Court spectacle could convey aspects of local identity. To reflect the local industry of mining iron ores, Saxon Electors in court processions dressed as miners, and their attendants carried miners’ lamps; accompanying both was a choir masquerading as miners.²² Moreover, floats displaying furnaces and other pyrotechnics displayed the power and wealth of the Elector in a way unique to Dresden. Iain Fenlon has also shown how public ceremonies mirrored local structures of power. In Venice, for instance, the ceremony honouring a deceased doge, and that celebrating the transfer of power to his successor, were treated as separate ritualised events. By contrast, Medicean Florence celebrated both the deceased and incumbent doge in the same ceremony.²³ Hence ceremonies could vary greatly from one place to another and be embedded with local rather than universal significance.

In addition to ceremonies themselves, the institutions providing music and musicians were themselves deeply connected to their local context. The chapel maintained by Lady Margaret Beaufort in her Northamptonshire household, for instance, ‘which rivalled that of the royal household in size and standard’, drew extensively on local foundations and urban institutions due to the unique musical needs arising from her position.²⁴ In identifying future directions for research, Andrew Wathey has written that, crucial to ‘the English chapel’s existence is the “varying sea of relationships” that it enjoyed with other bodies. Just as the chapel and its members interacted with the rest of the court, so the court and its chapel need to be examined against the background of the urban space they inhabited’.²⁵

Even though urban ceremonies could impose or reinforce social order, music made in the same city spaces by some social groups under non-ceremonial

²⁰ Tess Knighton, ‘Music and Ritual in Urban Spaces: The Case of Lima, c. 1600’, in *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Tess Knighton and Geoffrey Baker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 21–42; Geoffrey Baker, *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

²¹ Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, 4.

²² Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: from Renaissance to Baroque* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 122.

²³ Iain Fenlon, ‘Rites of Passage: Music, Ceremony and Dynasty in Renaissance Florence and Venice’, in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs*, 29–39.

²⁴ Fiona Kisby, ‘A Mirror of Monarchy: Music and Musicians in the Household Chapel of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Mother of Henry VII’, *Early Music History* 16 (1997): 203–234, esp. 204.

²⁵ Andrew Wathey, ‘The English Royal Chapel: Models and Perspectives’, in *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs*, 25.

circumstances could spark social disorder. Bans on street singing were instituted in cities across early modern Germany—including Nuremberg, Bavaria and, as noted in Chapter Three, Lutheran and Calvinist Heidelberg—in order to curb increased laziness and begging among the young, as well as to maintain civic harmony.²⁶ As Bruce Smith writes, singing ballads on the streets of early modern England was viewed as visceral, dirty and proletarian, belonging ‘not only to the pleased lower extremities of [the] body but to the pleased lower extremities of the social order’—the polar opposite aim and manner of the principled and stately music of princely processions.²⁷ Protecting urban space from unruly music corresponds to another of Handelman’s way of viewing public events. In addition to acting as a mirror of the social hierarchy as mentioned above, princely ceremonies also served as a model for proper conduct. They thus contained a didactic element, as they demonstrated to onlookers how to behave in public.²⁸

In the following two sections, I discuss public wedding and funeral ceremonies staged by the Palatine court in Heidelberg’s urban space. Sociologist Emil Durkheim has characterised all religious belief as having a fundamental binary of sacred and secular.²⁹ However, the following case studies from Heidelberg support the recent notion, articulated by Andrew Spicer and Will Coster, that early modern spaces usually contained elements of sacred and secular simultaneously.³⁰ Although Spicer and Coster see the natural environment as a primary example of space with mixed sacred and secular elements (the desert, for instance, as a site with sacred and secular connotations), I would like to extend their idea to court ceremony. Wedding and funeral ceremonies were indeed sacred rituals, yet those performed in celebration of a prince (or member of his family) were state functions as much as religious ritual. Funeral processions, as I will discuss, were not just occasions to mourn a deceased individual, but opportunities to display the social hierarchy, as the participants were arranged according to social status. Also, princely events brought political leaders from otherwise distant territories together. In the case of the 1613 Palatine wedding celebrations in

²⁶ Joel Harrington, ‘“Singing for his Supper”: The Reinvention of Juvenile Streetsinging in Early Modern Nuremberg’, *Social History* 22 (1997): 27–45; Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety and Propaganda*, esp. 213–223.

²⁷ Bruce Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 170.

²⁸ Don Handelman, *Models and Mirrors*, 27–28.

²⁹ Emil Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, 47; Kenneth Thompson, ‘Durkheim and Sacred Identity’, in *On Durkheim’s ‘Elementary Forms of Religious Life’*, ed. N.J. Allen, W.S.F. Pickering and W. Watts Miller (London: Routledge, 1998), 101–102.

³⁰ Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, ‘Introduction: the Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe’, in *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–16.

Heidelberg, the festivities acted as a veil for strategic planning of members of the Protestant Union against Habsburg powers; territorial leaders brought their armies and even organised covert military manoeuvres during the celebrations.³¹

This chapter breaks new scholarly ground in several ways. Firstly, manuscripts detailing Palatine funeral processions, some of which are newly discovered archival sources, are presented here for scholarly discussion for the first time. The 1613 Palatine wedding has recently received considerable treatment from scholars from numerous disciplines, including musicology, in a 2013 collective study.³² Given this recent volume and the focus of this thesis on Heidelberg rather than the Palatinate's activities outside its borders, I will not discuss at length the entirety of the celebrations staged in England and along the Rhine as the couple sailed home to Heidelberg; I will instead concentrate on the triumphal entry into Heidelberg and the subsequent festivities that took place in June and July 1613. My discussion centres on several important musical aspects of the celebrations left unaddressed in the 2013 collection of essays—namely, the particular strategies of the Calvinist court for the creation of musical splendour before the eyes of a trans-confessional audience of visiting nobility, and how those musical activities related to Heidelberg's local population.

II. Court Wedding Festivities and Urban Topography

From the reign of Ottheinrich onwards, the castle in Heidelberg became an ideal place to stage magnificent princely festivities. Located high above the city, the castle represented (literally and metaphorically) the pinnacle of Heidelberg society. The unparalleled visual panorama over the city and Neckar valley—a marvel for noble visitors in itself—mirrored the preeminent social position of the Elector Palatine over city residents. After a bolt of lightning ignited stores of gunpowder and destroyed an upper castle in 1537, the current castle location (Figure 5.1) underwent expansion significant, first with the *Ottheinrichsbau* in the centre of the castle (Figure 5.2), followed by Friedrich IV's *Friedrichsbau* (Figures 5.2 and 5.3) and Friedrich V's *Englischerbau* (Figure 5.4) built for Elizabeth Stuart. The latter two had elaborate façades visible from within the court and from the city.

³¹ Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, 'The Protestant Union: Festivals, Festival Books, War and Politics', in *'Europa Triumphans': Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed., J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewing, vol. 2 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 29–34.

³² *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, ed. Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013).

Figure 5.1: Copperplate by Matthäus Merian, *Große Stadtansicht von Heidelberg* (1620), Heidelberg castle (upper left of image) and Hauptstrasse (in red)

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Figure 5.2: Copperplate by Ulrich Kraus, *Heidelberger Schloss, Innenhof mit Springbrunnen* (1683). Ottheinrichsbau (right, in red) and Friedrichsbau (centre, in green), 1683

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Figure 5.3: Copperplate by Matthäus Merian, *Große Stadtansicht von Heidelberg* (1620), Friedrichsbau from city perspective

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Figure 5.4: Copperplate by Matthäus Merian, *Große Stadtansicht von Heidelberg* (1620), Englischerbau from city perspective

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

English traveller Thomas Coryat commented on the spectacle of the castle in Heidelberg during his visit in 1611, writing that ‘euery thing that I saw there [at the castle] did

yeeld matter of speciall marke and magnificence’. He concluded his account of the castle by claiming that he ‘attribute[d] more vnto it...then to the front of any Palace whatsoeuer I saw in France, Italy, or Germanie’.³³ Moreover, Coryat noted the beauty of the city itself, especially the quarters in which princely festivities were staged for city residents, as will be discussed below. He wrote that the *Hauptstraße* (then called the *Obere Strasse* and *Unteres Kaltental*, running through the centre of Heidelberg, over market square) was a ‘goodly streete...at the least an English mile long: and garnished with many beautifull houses, whereof some haue their fronts fairely painted, which do yeeld an excellent shew’ (see Figure 5.1).³⁴

The Heidelberg court hosted numerous nuptial fêtes between the beginning of Ottheinrich’s reign in 1556 and the start of the Thirty Years’ War in 1618. Unfortunately, the exact number is unknown, and few extant sources document any aspect—let alone the music—of the celebrations; Table 5.1 is a list of known wedding and baptismal celebrations staged in the Palatine court and their musical provisions, as noted by Gerhard Pietzsch.³⁵

Table 5.1: Known Wedding and Baptism Festivities Held in Heidelberg, 1556–1618

Date	Occasion	Pietzsch Inventory Number
4 June 1570	Wedding of Johann Casimir to Elisabeth of Saxony	C 45
11 May 1579	Wedding of Karl IX of Sweden to Maria, daughter of Ludwig VI	C 51
April 1583	Baptism of Gustav Ludwig, son of Karl IX of Sweden and Maria	C 53
7 June 1613	Entry of Friedrich V and Elizabeth Stuart into Heidelberg after wedding in London	C 69
16 July 1616	Wedding of Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg to Elisabeth, daughter of Friedrich IV	C 72

³³ Thomas Coryat, *Coryat’s Crudities*, 349.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 339.

³⁵ See *QuF*.

Despite limited archival or printed sources, it is nevertheless apparent that the Heidelberg court showed concern for musical splendour, regardless of the confession of the Elector Palatine. At the 1579 wedding of Maria, the daughter of Elector Ludwig VI, to a fellow Lutheran and political ally, Karl IX of Sweden, ‘the music of trombones and cornetts’ (*Die Musici Posaunen und Zinckenblaser*) sounded as she processed to the wedding; these wind instruments even processed with her into the hall for the ceremony itself (*die in den Saal mit hineingehen*).³⁶ The wedding feast, it was instructed by the master of ceremonies, ‘shall also be supplied with music, instrumental and sung’ (*soll auch die Music, mit Instrumenten Vnd gesenngen werden, verordnet*), and some dances were to be performed to ‘skilled trombones and cornetts’ (*Vorgehenden Posaunen und Zincken*) and others ‘drum and fife, or other instrumental music’ (*Tromel und Pfeiffen oder ander Instrumental Music*).³⁷ Calvinists like Friedrich III were also concerned with musical magnificence, recruiting additional musical forces from other courts in order to meet visitors’ expectations of splendour. Ahead of the wedding of Johann Casimir to Elisabeth of Saxony in 1570, Friedrich III wrote to Georg Friedrich, Elector of Brandenburg, requesting the use of his Kantorei. Friedrich III stated that the Palatine court would gladly have, ‘next to our instrumentalists, such music [made] with good voices’ (*neben Vnnsern Instrumentisten gern ein solche Music mit guten stimmen*).³⁸ Doubtless Friedrich III desired an impressive musical display with Elector August of Saxony and his Kapellmeister, Antonio Scandello, present for the occasion.

Of the wedding festivities held in Heidelberg, the best known to scholars (and also the most documented) is the 1613 celebrations following the marriage of Friedrich V and Elizabeth Stuart (1596–1662), daughter of King James I of England. As Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly has written, the wedding (and subsequent political alliance with England) represented ‘a major diplomatic coup’ for the German princes that formed the Protestant Union.³⁹ Initially, James had desired a double alliance—involving the marriage of his son Henry and daughter Elizabeth—with the Catholic French court, while James’s consort Anna preferred a marriage link with Spain. Henry believed such an alliance with a Catholic dynasty to be out of the question, a belief James soon embraced after the assassination of Henri IV (a fellow Protestant and King of France) by a Catholic zealot in 1610.

³⁶ *QuF*, 123.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *QuF*, 122.

³⁹ Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, ‘The Protestant Union: Festivals, Festival Books, War and Politics’, 15.

The 1613 wedding took place in London and was an international affair. Guests included numerous German princes, the full range of English nobility and foreign ambassadors from Venice, France and Stade (from the Prince-Archbishopric of Bremen) living in London. Notably absent, although invited, was the Spanish delegate who excused himself due to sickness and the Spanish Archduke, absent for other reasons (*wegen anderer Ursachen*).⁴⁰ The pomp and spectacle of the wedding befitted its political significance: at least twenty-seven plays were performed in the court and three masques, with stages designed by famed architect Inigo Jones. Crowds of up to 50,000 people lined the streets as the couple processed through London after the wedding. The wedding was also expensive, costing more than £93,000.⁴¹ News of the wedding was circulated in print in multiple languages: German, English, French and Latin, in addition to Italian, Russian, Greek, Hebrew and Turkish.⁴² Tobias Hübner (1578–1636) described the entirety of the nuptial events, from Friedrich V's departure from Heidelberg in 1612 to the couple's arrival in Heidelberg in early summer 1613, in the festival book *Beschreibung der Reiss* (Heidelberg, 1613).⁴³

As described above, a chief goal in princely events was to provide—within a framework of well-established norms—a singular experience that could not be replicated elsewhere and that surpassed previous fêtes. To be sure, music provided by the English court in London strived towards this aim. For the wedding ceremony in the chapel at the Palace of Whitehall, John Bull composed a new (now-lost) anthem entitled *God the Father, God the Son*.⁴⁴ *Parthenia*, 'the first musicke that ever was printed for the Virginalls' (containing music by William Byrd, John Bull and Orlando Gibbons dedicated to the couple) also marked the ground-breaking nature of the occasion.⁴⁵ Aside from music, Friedrich V also experienced the quintessentially English ceremony of the Order of the Garter, bestowed on him in a ceremony soon before the announcement of his engagement to Elizabeth Stuart in late 1612.

⁴⁰ *Beschreibung der Reiss*, 51. The Spanish Habsburgs were the target of this political union of German Protestantism and England, so their absence was perhaps more than coincidental.

⁴¹ James J. Marino, 'The Queen of Bohemia's Wedding', in *Renaissance Shakespeare: Shakespeare Renaissance: Proceedings of the Ninth World Shakespeare Congress*, ed. Martin Procházka et al. (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2014), 135.

⁴² George Gömöri, '"A Memorable Wedding": The Literary Reception of the Wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and Frederick of Pfalz', *Journal of European Studies* 34 (2004): 215–224.

⁴³ VD17 23:238748F.

⁴⁴ John Leland, *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii De rebvs Britannicis collectanea*, vol. 5 (London: Gul. & Jo. Richardson, 1770), 335.

⁴⁵ RISM B/1 [1613]¹⁴. See Janet Pollack, 'A Re-evaluation of *Parthenia* and Its Context' (PhD Diss., Duke University, 2001).

Like their English counterparts, the Palatine court also sought to create an original and memorable spectacle through music. In what follows are two vignettes from the Heidelberg celebrations. The first explores the construction of four ephemeral arches in central city space in which musicians performed; in this thesis, I will discuss for the first time the musical implications of the ensembles shown on these arches. The second vignette examines the performance of trumpet calls during a fireworks show staged on the River Neckar; as with the ephemeral gates, this thesis explores the trumpet calls for the first time.

a. Ceremonial Gates

As described and illustrated in *Beschreibung der Reiss*, four gates were constructed directly inside the city gate (*Stadthor*) to welcome Elizabeth Stuart and Friedrich V into Heidelberg on 7 June 1613. The gates were located in the *Steingasse*, on the road leading from the Neckar Bridge to market square, thus making them one of the first festive decorations encountered as the princely couple and the wedding guests entered the city. The gates were constructed by the university, and each represented one of its four faculties—respectively, the faculties of law, medicine, philosophy and theology.

Although it is unclear exactly how tall the gates stood, iconographic evidence is instructive (Figures 5.5–5.8). Their sumptuous nature is conveyed clearly in Hübner's description and the illustrations. They were decorated with a variety of exotic flora, and in addition to detailed coats of arms were laudatory banners with Latin inscriptions to Elizabeth Stuart and Friedrich V, as well as the Palatinate and its allies. Adding further extravagance to the gates was the presence of musicians performing on platforms atop each gate. The identity of the musicians is unknown; they may have been university students, musicians from the court, visiting musicians accompanying their noble patrons to Heidelberg, or perhaps a mixture of all three. Regardless, each gate conveyed a particular message to the princely couple, as well as onlookers, through its musical and non-musical characteristics.

The first gate through which the couple passed was that of the philosophy faculty (see Figure 5.5). On the left side of the gate hung the Coat of Arms of the city, along with the message 'Heidelberg opens her gates' (*Pandit Heidelbergra Portas*); and on the right, included with the university's Coat of Arms, was a similarly welcoming message: 'We open our hearts' (*Pandimus nos pectora*). According to Hübner, this gate was draped with tapestries (*mit tapazereyen behengt*) and 'was supplied with the sweet

music of trombones and cornetts' (*ist eine liebliche Music von posaunen und zincken gestelt gewesen*).⁴⁶

From the engraving, the wind consort consisted of at least three sackbuts and one cornett, although the image may simply be suggestive of the event rather than an accurate depiction. Nevertheless, as Stewart Carter writes, a cornett-sackbut band commonly performed dances, secular songs or motets when consisting of one cornett and three sackbuts; indeed, cornett-sackbut bands appeared most often in this four-member form.⁴⁷ Such a wind consort was similar to the *Stadtpfeifer* heard in other German cities, and contrasts with the refined instrumental sounds heard on some of the later gates.

Figure 5.5: Tobias Hübner, *Beschreibung der Reiss* (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), Ceremonial Gate of the Philosophy Faculty

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

⁴⁶ *Beschreibung der Reiss*, 140.

⁴⁷ Stewart Carter, 'Sackbut', in *A Performer's Guide to Renaissance Music*, ed. Jeffery Kite-Powell (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007), 137.

The second gate was that of the medical faculty, seen in Figure 5.6. According to Hübner, it was ‘decorated much more beautifully...with four flags—black, red, white, blue—representing the four basic elements from which all things are made’.⁴⁸ The medical faculty gate also boasted numerous rare plants and trees, Coats of Arms—this time those of the Palatinate and of England for Elizabeth Stuart—and the inscription: ‘In expectation of the arrival of noble Electress Elizabeth, only daughter of the great and fair King James I of Britain’.⁴⁹

Figure 5.6: Tobias Hübner, *Beschreibung der Reiss* (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), Ceremonial Gate of the Medical Faculty

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

⁴⁸ ‘viel schöner gerichtet...mit vier fahnen/ Schwarz/ Roht/ Weiß/ Blaw/ die vier Elementen dadurch zu bedeuten/ auß welchen alles erschaffen’. *Beschreibung der Reiss*, 141.

⁴⁹ ‘In Expectatissimum Adventum Dn Dn Elisabethae, Potentissimi Ac Serenissimi Iacobi I. Britanniarum Regis etc Filiae Unicae’. Ibid.

From this gate, ‘wonderful music of seven lutes, an “Instrument”⁵⁰ and two violins was supplied; they played together wonderfully and so accompanied the Princess’ as she passed through the gate.⁵¹ Michael Praetorius categorised this type of ensemble as an ‘English consort’, a ‘lute choir’ or ‘capella fidicina’.⁵² In *Syntagma Musicum III*, he writes that ‘[t]his type of choir...produces quite a beautiful effect and lovely sound, because of the plucking of so many strings’, further noting that he had heard such an ensemble perform a motet by the Franco-Flemish composer Giaches de Wert (1535–1596). Praetorius concluded that ‘[t]his grouping produced an absolutely magnificent sound, so that practically everything...fairly crackled, as a result of the sound of the many strings’.⁵³

If the Stadtpfeifer ensemble of the first gate carried connotations of civic music-making, the lute choir on the second gate corresponded to aspects of Elizabeth Stuart’s identity. Firstly, a so-called ‘English consort’ paid homage to Elizabeth Stuart’s English heritage, and resembled the broken or mixed consort music cultivated at her home court in London.⁵⁴ Supplying a mixed consort to greet the couple also constituted a gift of the most fashionable, refined and up-to-date music enjoyed by German princes. As Arne Spohr and Werner Braun have discussed, English consort music was particularly in vogue in German noble circles after 1600, chiefly in princely courts in northern and southwest Germany, as well as Denmark.⁵⁵ On a more abstract level, stringed instruments also carried associations of peace, femininity and diplomacy. As discussed in Chapter Four, *The Ambassadors* by Hans Holbein represented political discord through a broken lute string. Lutes, virginals and viols were furthermore primary means by which noblewomen were to make themselves most attractive to male suitors, giving such instruments decidedly feminine (and even erotic) connotations.⁵⁶

⁵⁰ This was likely some type of plucked keyboard instrument.

⁵¹ ‘war herrliche Music angestellt von sieben Lauten, einem Instrument und zwo Geigen, die gantz lieblich zusammen spielten und also die Churfl. Princessin einbeleiteten’. *Beschreibung der Reiss*, 144.

⁵² Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, trans. and ed. Jeffrey Kite-Powell (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 171.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 127 and 171.

⁵⁴ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Warwick Edwards. ‘Consort’. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. 3 Apr. 2014. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06322>>.

⁵⁵ Arne Spohr, ‘How chances it they travel?’, Spohr, ‘Michael Praetorius und das englische Consort’, in *Michael Praetorius: Vermittler europäischer Musiktraditionen um 1600*, ed. Susanne Rode-Breymann and Arne Spohr (Hildesheim: Olms, 2011), 167–181; Werner Braun, *Britannia Abundans: Deutsche-Englische Musikbeziehungen zur Shakespearezeit* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1977).

⁵⁶ Julia Craig McFeely, ‘The Signifying Serpent’, 299–317; and Carla Zecher, ‘The Gendering of the Lute in Sixteenth-Century French Love Poetry’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 769–91.

The third gate was the Law Faculty. Bearing the Coats of Arms for the Palatinate and England, the gate featured ‘music of a positive and stringed instruments’ (*music von einem posatiff und violen*), located in a covered area above the throughway.⁵⁷ In this image (Figure 5.7), the one visible example of the *violen* appears to be a viola da gamba: it is larger than the violins (*Geigen*) on the medical faculty’s arch (see Figure 5.6), and is played vertically rather than horizontally like violins.⁵⁸ The positive was a portable organ that found use commonly in large households as well as churches. Heinrich Schütz, for instance, suggested that the role of the Evangelist in his *Historia der Auferstehung der Jesu Christi* (Dresden, 1623) could be sung to an organ or a positive organ.⁵⁹ Michael Praetorius further indicates that positives were used within princely courts; he encountered one, he recalled in *Syntagma Musicum II*, at the Danish court of Christian IV.⁶⁰

Figure 5.7: Tobias Hübner, *Beschreibung der Reiss* (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), Ceremonial Gate of the Law Faculty

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

The pairing of keyboards and viols was not unusual. But the choice of a positive for the ceremonial gate could have stemmed from the organ’s capabilities to sustain pitches, and thus guarantee that it was heard. In an outdoor setting, the sounds of a percussive instrument like a harpsichord would possibly have gone unheard even by listeners standing in close proximity. If another gamba player was present—which is possible, given that *Violen/Geigen* indicates multiple performers, as opposed to *Viol/Geige*—it is possible that the music performed here was (or was similar to) that of the English composer John Coprario (c.1570 to 1580–1626), who accompanied Elizabeth Stuart to Heidelberg as part of her retinue. Around this time, Coprario (who is sometimes confused with the Heidelberg cantor, Jean de Cupre, as discussed in Chapter Four) composed twelve fantasias for two bass viols and organ. Described by Richard Charteris as displaying characteristics similar ‘to dance movements such as the stately pavane’,

⁵⁷ *Beschreibung der Reiss*, 148.

⁵⁸ It is also possibly an exaggerated perspective for the sake of clarity, making the instrument appear larger than normal to accentuate its features.

⁵⁹ Preface of *Historia der Auferstehung der Jesu Christi* (Dresden, 1623), translated in *A Heinrich Schütz Reader: Letters and Documents in Translation*, ed. Gregory Johnston (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 34.

⁶⁰ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II*, ed. and trans. David Z. Crookes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 78.

such dance settings in duple metre were frequently performed in weddings, especially ‘when musicians head a procession’, according to English composer Thomas Morley (1557 or 1558–1602).⁶¹ Hence, this third gate may suggest that Elizabeth Stuart’s English musicians (or at least their musical style) were incorporated into the Heidelberg celebrations. Moreover, it highlights the efforts expended in supplying music, as lifting and mounting an organ atop the gate was likely a task that involved numerous people and involved tremendous foresight—especially if the organ was transported into the city from the castle.

Before the couple and the procession moved onto market square, they passed under the gate of the theology faculty (Figure 5.8). Above the entrance of the gate was an excerpt of Psalm 45: ‘Forget your people and your father’s house. Instead of your fathers shall be your sons. [The Lord] will make them princes in all the earth’.⁶² Standing atop this final gate was a cadre of singers who provided ‘wonderful and very lovely vocal music’ (*eine herrliche und sehr liebliche Music Vocali*).⁶³

Figure 5.8: Tobias Hübner, *Beschreibung der Reiss* (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), Ceremonial Gate of the Theology Faculty

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Hübner does not identify the repertory sung from this arch. But to complement the psalm text found on the gate, it is plausible that they sang a polyphonic setting of Psalm 45 similar to Michael Praetorius’s ‘Mein herz will fürbringen ein schön gedichte’—his setting of Lobwasser’s Psalm 45 found in the collection, *Musae Sioniae IV*, dedicated to Friedrich V’s father, Friedrich IV, discussed in Chapter Four.

Perhaps more prominent to the princely couple than the exact repertory was the non-textual message communicated through the music and the gate’s decorations. That vocal music was the final (rather than the first) musical offering runs contrary to the view that Calvinists favoured sacred vocal music above all other types of music, a view

⁶¹ Richard Charteris, *Twelve Fantasias for Two Bass Viols and Organ; and, Eleven pieces for Three Lyra Viols* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1982), vii; for Morley, see Alan Brown. “Pavan”. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed April 1, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21120>.

⁶² ‘Obliviscere populi tui et domus patris tui. Pro patribus tuis erunt filii tui. Constitues eos Principes in universa terra’. *Beschreibung der Reiss*, 148.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 150.

stemming from Calvin himself, as discussed in Chapter One. Yet, as the image reveals, in front of the singers was a representation of the Ark of the Covenant, reminiscent of the entry of the Ark into Jerusalem described in 1 Chronicles 15. Carried by the Levites and accompanied by ‘singers, and Chenaniah the leader of the music of the singers’⁶⁴, its entry into Jerusalem caused all Israel to sing and dance around the Ark. The couple’s ceremonial entry is therefore infused with scriptural significance—just as Israelites sang at the entry of the Ark of the Covenant (i.e. a physical sign of God’s law and presence), so Heidelberg’s residents and Protestant allies rejoiced over the entry of the couple with song. Given the power of England as a political and confessional ally, the marriage was likewise interpreted as a sure sign that God was with them in their fight against the Habsburgs.

The gate furthermore featured portraits of religious figures of special significance to the theology faculty. In the centre was Theodor Bèze, Calvin’s colleague and successor in Geneva. And placed centrally above Bèze was not John Calvin but were Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon—key founders of the Lutheran church—as well as the patriarchs Ambrosius, Gregory, Jerome and Augustine. Vocal music is appropriate to the theology faculty, as the text can convey theological messages. Yet the Calvinist identity of the theology faculty (and by extension the city and Friedrich V) being conveyed to Elizabeth Stuart through music was clearly not that either of Calvin or of Heidelberg’s parish churches, but one that embraced fellow Protestants like Elizabeth as well as the full span of Western Christianity.

Ultimately, it is difficult to say how precisely music communicated meaning to the couple and to onlookers. To be sure, ephemeral gates were typical of Protestant Union festivals as well as other celebrations of weddings. The Palatine cities of Oppenheim and Frankenthal constructed gates on top of which cornetts and trombones performed.⁶⁵ And major festivals of the Protestant Union in Stuttgart, namely in 1609, 1616 and 1618, (and smaller festivals in Jägerndorf, Dessau and Halle) not only used floats and gates in their processions, but those staged after 1613 also modelled their festivals in the Palatine celebrations.⁶⁶ Yet as Tim Carter writes, ‘the (f)act of performance can signify more than what is actually performed, and the musician may have greater value than the music’.⁶⁷ Viewing the gates as a performative act initiated by the university, the ephemeral archways would have been meaningful to Friedrich V

⁶⁴ 1 Chronicles 15:27.

⁶⁵ *Beschreibung der Reiss*, 99.

⁶⁶ Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, ‘The Protestant Union: Festivals, Festival Books, War and Politics’, 27.

⁶⁷ Tim Carter, ‘The Sound of Silence’, 14.

and Elizabeth Stuart on a number of levels. Following Lauro Magnani, temporary structures built to honour individuals (or couples) not only underscored for onlookers and dedicatee alike the special nature of an event, but were public acknowledgements of a dedicatee's high social position.⁶⁸

As mentioned above, Iain Fenlon has shown how princely festivals in Venice and Florence differed in 'outline and detail from one place to another', as public funerary and accession ceremonies reflected the local structures of power.⁶⁹ In the same way, ephemeral gates in Heidelberg exposed local power structures involving university and court. The gates, therefore, were a means of balancing power between the two institutions. Since the fourteenth century, the Elector Palatine was the patron of the university, who oversaw its running and choice of rector. The Elector also supported the university financially, supplementing the salaries of professors, aiding the *Rektorat* in procuring suitable buildings and living space for students, as well as providing scholarships for students from the Latin schools of the Palatinate. In return for his patronage, the university presented the gates as a visible homage to the Elector.

The identity of the musicians on the gates is unknown. It is likely that the cornettists and sackbutists were professional musicians rather than students, as such instruments were learned largely through apprenticeship and were rarely instruments played for recreation.⁷⁰ Regardless, if the musicians were employed by the court, we catch a glimpse of the liminality of early modern musicians: despite (as I discussed in Chapter One) their residing with day-labourers and others at the bottom of Heidelberg's social spectrum, court musicians were nevertheless some of the first Heidelbergers to greet the couple once they were within the city walls. On the other hand, if some of the musicians were students, the couple was greeted by some of the rowdiest and anti-social of Heidelberg's population (as I argued in Chapter Three).

To an extent, the subjective identities of the musicians (whether students or court employees) were masked by the pageantry of the event. As the princely couple processed through the gates into the city, the spectacle presented a picture of a united Heidelberg welcoming home its ruler and his bride with excitement and unanimity. And whereas the music performed from the ceremonial gates affirmed different sides of Friedrich V and Elizabeth Stuart's identities, it overshadowed the social heterogeneity

⁶⁸ Lauro Magnani, 'Temporary Architecture and Public Decoration: the Development of Images', in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 1, ed. J. R. Mulryne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 250–260.

⁶⁹ Iain Fenlon, 'Rites of Passage', 29–39.

⁷⁰ Trevor Herbert, *The Trombone* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), esp. 74–80.

that existed in Heidelberg on a daily basis between town and gown, lay and learned, German and foreign.

b. Fireworks

On 9 June 1613, two days after the couple's triumphal entry into the city, the court staged a fireworks presentation as part of the wedding celebration. Like the ceremonial gates, fireworks were essential to constructing an atmosphere of splendour through ephemeral objects. Fireworks presentations were so closely tied to notions of splendour and grandeur that frequent accidents, occurring as a result of pursuing ever-greater spectacle, never deterred their presence in court festivities; indeed, fireworks only became more popular as the early modern period progressed. However, as Kevin Salatino has written, 'the fireworks that constituted the culminating moment or finale of a fête were usually embedded in a much larger structure, and their meaning can only be ascertained within that greater context'.⁷¹ In this vein, I now examine the Palatine fireworks display alongside music and their complementary roles in creating unique princely spectacle.

Firing from three platforms built in the River Neckar (Figure 5.9), the presentation of fireworks, Hübner reported, was varied and pleasing in their arrangement (*mit menniglichs gutem content...und in guter ordnung*) and 'fired unceasingly for over two hours long' (*über zwei stund lang unauffhörlich gewehret*).⁷² However, the aural and visual splendour of the fireworks alone was apparently deemed insufficient either for properly honouring Friedrich V and Elizabeth Stuart, or for impressing the visiting nobility invited to the festivities, or both, as the entire two-hour presentation was accompanied by trumpet calls played by Palatine court trumpeters. The trumpeters, according to Hübner, performed from 'the heights above the river bank on the middle of the vineyard hill...and blew and drummed without ceasing during the fireworks'.⁷³

Hübner specified Palatine trumpeters and kettledrummers (*Churfürstl. Pfaltz Trummer vnd HeerPaucker*⁷⁴)—meaning almost certainly the twelve trumpeters employed by the court at this time (see Appendix B). That said, given the length of the fireworks, it is possible that the twelve trumpeters (possibly in two groups consisting of

⁷¹ Kevin Salatino, *Incendiary Art: the Representation of Art in Early Modern Europe* (Ann Arbor: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1998), 1.

⁷² *Beschreibung der Reiss*, 165.

⁷³ 'In der höhe dess vffers/ an den Weinbergen/ mitten gegen dem Fewrwerck vber...die ohn vnderlass in das Fewrwerck lärmten bliesen vnd schlugen'. *Beschreibung der Reiss*, 166.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

five trumpeters and one kettledrummer) alternated playing over the course of the two hours.⁷⁵ Hübner was specific regarding their location high on the hillside, on the opposite bank of the Neckar from the castle and city—roughly the same perspective used by Matthäus Merian in depicting Heidelberg in copperplates (Figure 5.1). From this position above the river, the trumpeters stood at the same elevation as the castle and performed their calls directly to the nobility viewing the show from the castle gardens—essentially over the heads of the audience gathered in the city below. So many people watched from both sides of the river bank that guards had to keep the city gate open for such ‘a large crowd of both residents and foreigners’ (*eine grosse Menge, beide Inwohner und Fremde*).⁷⁶ The combination of fireworks, trumpet calls and musket fire, Hübner noted, was ‘very entertaining to see and hear, especially from the electoral castle, as if from on high’.⁷⁷

Figure 5.9: Tobias Hübner, *Beschreibung der Reiss* (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), Fireworks Display in the Neckar Valley

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

In this courtly event, the Palatine court sought musical splendour through unique and unconventional means. By utilising Heidelberg’s unique urban geography, the entire valley was transformed into one large sound space—the sound of fireworks and trumpet calls resonating throughout the city. Although those in princely circles were accustomed to hearing trumpets calls as a trapping of their social sphere, the sound of trumpets during fireworks was not a regular occurrence.⁷⁸ The whole spectacle was, by all accounts, ultimately made unrepeatable through the use of Heidelberg’s topography. Even if competing courts mimicked the combination of fireworks and trumpet calls, the unique characteristics of the Neckar Valley that enabled the trumpets to fill such a large physical space were non-replicable.

⁷⁵ Peter Downey, ‘The Trumpet and its Role in Music of the Renaissance and early Baroque’, 79–84.

⁷⁶ *Beschreibung der Reiss*, 165–166.

⁷⁷ ‘sonderlich von dem Churfürstl. Schloss/ als von der höhe/ sehr lustig zu sehen vnd anzuhören gewesen’. Ibid.

⁷⁸ No equivalent of this is visible in other festival books of the Protestant Union. See Ludwig Krapf and Christian Wagenknecht, ed., *Stuttgarter Hoffeste: Texte und Materialien zur höfischen Repräsentation im frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979); for a discussion and transcription of primary sources pertaining to festivals of the Protestant Union, see also *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 2, ed. J. R. Mulryne et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 3–114.

This also had important ramifications for the local Heidelberg population. To Habermas, the public sphere in the later Middle Ages and early sixteenth century was in the first instance a platform for the ruling class to display their power before their watching subjects.⁷⁹ When the electoral family claimed the entire valley as a musical space for their courtly festivity, they were thus asserting this established noble right that would diminish over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as the aristocracy fought increasingly to maintain their privileged position while the public sphere became a marketplace for the exchange of goods and ideas, as well as a sphere of social action. In this way, the two musical events discussed in this chapter continued aspects of the medieval understanding of social space, as the court claimed two different urban areas of Heidelberg to display the splendour of the Elector.

That Heidelberg's aristocracy saw urban space as their own is further suggested by laws prohibiting music at weddings from being performed in the streets. In the polemical tract, *Calvinismus Heidelbergensis*, Simon Stenius related an account of a Calvinist wedding in Heidelberg. Unusually, he recalled, the wedding party processed from the church to the inn, to enjoy the wedding feast, 'without drums and pipes, without lute and lyre, but in silence, as if they went to church and not to feasting'.⁸⁰ The abnormality of this is seen when compared to Fynes Moryson's account of a Saxon wedding procession that included trumpets, singing and stringed instruments.⁸¹ It is likely that silent processions resulted from policies instituted and enforced from above, rather than from popular consensus. Indeed, Heidelberg civic and court authorities placed restrictions on using open spaces for wedding feasts and dancing. A *Polizeiordnung*, released in 1583 and in force until the 1620s, stated: 'wedding dances should also not be staged in public places (*offenen Orten*): in the alleys, in front of inns, on or below the town hall, the guildhall'.⁸²

As Andrew Spicer and Will Coster have concluded, early modern space 'was often sub-divided in ways that reflected and reinforced the nature of social order'.⁸³ Whereas residents were permitted only indoor spaces for the performance of music at wedding celebrations, Heidelberg's princes saw fit to claim the entire urban space for

⁷⁹ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, 27–30.

⁸⁰ 'sine tibiis & tympanis, sine padura & testudine, tato silentio quasi ad sacra, non ad epulas itarent'. Simon Stenius, *Calvinismus Heidelbergensis*, 5–6.

⁸¹ Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe*, 329.

⁸² 'Darumb sollen auch solch hochzeitsdäntze nit an offnen orten, uf den gassen, vor den würtsheusern, uf oder under den ratsheusern, zunftstuben...da jederman darzu laufen und kommen khan, angestellt, gehalten oder verstattet'. *Sehling XIV*, 270.

⁸³ Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, 'Introduction: the Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe', 9.

their wedding celebrations. As the following section will address, funeral processions display this same counterpoint of aristocratic display and commoner restraint, not only with processions which snaked their way through Heidelberg's main thoroughfares but also with bells resounding at every corner of the city to mark the start of the procession. Most clearly, funeral music reveals the intra-court hierarchies among members of the electoral family, formed along lines of age and gender.

III. Confession and Princely Funeral Processions

Six extant manuscripts from court papers contain descriptions of funeral processions held in Heidelberg between 1556 and 1610: four for Electors and two for female members of the electoral family, and all of which mention music (Table 5.2). These descriptions have not been transcribed in full by previous scholars, and the following discussion is based on my close reading of these un-foliated, loose-leaf sources.⁸⁴

Filed after the event with other official documents concerned with logistical matters of the running of the court, the funeral descriptions were most likely created by court officials—possibly by members of the Electors' privy council (*Geheime Rat*)—and served as blueprints for the processions. Thus, they were written before the events actually occurred, reflecting the desired ideal of the court rather than actual observation. This conclusion is supported by the dating found in some accounts. For instance, the description of the funeral procession for Friedrich IV in 1610 is dated 14 October, whereas the procession took place three days later on 17 October.

Table 5.2: Extant Archival Sources of Princely Funeral Processions in Heidelberg

Name of the deceased	Date of death	Date of procession	GHA Shelfmark
Ottheinrich	2 February 1559	15 February 1559	KA977
Electress Dorothea, wife of Elector Friedrich II	21 May 1580	19 June 1580	KA995
Katharina, daughter of Ludwig VI	6 October 1586	16 October 1586	KA1002
Johann Casimir	6 January 1592	26 January 1592	KA1003
Friedrich IV	9 September 1610	17 October 1610	KA1011

⁸⁴ As such, I cannot provide exact citations within these sources, and will refer therefore to the document shelfmark.

Whereas Heidelberg weddings displayed the disparity between noble and non-noble classes, funerals illustrate how discrete social stations could themselves be highly stratified. As these primary sources reveal, the provision of music in electoral funeral processions was not equivalent for all members of the electoral family, nor did it vary considerably between funerals staged by Lutheran and Calvinist regimes. Instead, I will demonstrate that funeral music varied according to the gender and age of the deceased individual rather than their confession.

This conclusion is perhaps unsurprising, given that this thesis has thus far discussed numerous points of overlap between the musical cultures of Lutheranism and German Calvinism. Funerals and processions fulfilled first and foremost a religious function, as Luther made clear in his *Christliche Geseng Lateinisch vnd Deudsch zum Begrebnis* (Wittenberg, 1542).

St Paul exhorts the Thessalonians not to sorrow over the dead as others who have no hope, but to comfort each other with God's Word [i.e., Scripture] as having a certain hope of life and of the resurrection of the dead...Accordingly we have removed from our churches and completely abolished the popish abominations, such as vigils, masses for the dead...Nor do we sing dirges or doleful songs over our dead and at the grave, but comforting hymns of the forgiveness of sins, of rest, sleep, life, and the resurrection of departed Christians so that our faith may be strengthened and the people moved to true devotion.⁸⁵

Although Luther underlined the religious nature of funeral ceremonies, the chief aim of princely funeral processions in early modern German lands, according to Norbert Bolin, was to display clearly the social hierarchy (in a way similar to Handelman's concept of ritual as mirror), as well as to celebrate the ostensibly harmonious society created under the prince's leadership.⁸⁶ Craig Koslofsky summarises similarly that early modern German noble society viewed 'death as an opportunity to represent or reconstruct the

⁸⁵ *Christliche Geseng Lateinisch vnd Deudsch zum Begrebnis* (Wittenberg, 1542); *Luther's Works: American Edition*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut Lehman (St. Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia and Fortress, 1955), 53: 325–26.

⁸⁶ Norbert Bolin, "Sterben ist mein Gewinn" (*Phil 1, 21*): ein Beitrag zur evangelischen Funeralkomposition der deutschen Sepulkralkultur des Barock, 1550–1750 (Kassel: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedhof und Denkmal, Stiftung Zentralinstitut und Museum für Sepulkralkultur, 1989), 27.

social order through ritual'.⁸⁷ Therefore, princely processions, on the one hand, projected an image of social unity, as all united in mourning the death of their sovereign or a member of their family. On the other hand, Heidelberg's processions were changeable rituals that illustrated for the non-noble urban audience (as well as for the noble participants) a proper and Godly hierarchy within the family—with the Elector as father at the head, and his wife and female children positioned at gradually lower levels.

The processions for Electors began with the ringing of bells. The first bells to ring were those of the Heiliggeistkirche, the destination of the procession from the court and the location of the funeral service. They began to ring one hour before the procession set off, followed thirty minutes later by the ringing of bells in the four other belfries stretching across the city: from the Barfüßerkirche in the east section of Heidelberg to the Spitalkirche in the west, as well as at the Peterskirche in the centre and the bells of the court chapel (Figure 5.10). Bells continued to ring until the procession arrived in the Heiliggeistkirche. As with the trumpet calls discussed above, bell-ringing dominated the entire urban soundscape. According to Bruce Smith, bells were the most obvious 'soundmarks' in the soundscape of the early modern city. But in contrast to the diffuse soundscape of early modern London where parish boundaries were too large to be marked effectively by bells, the surrounding hills and Heidelberg's compact geography provided the bells then, as today, with a sounding chamber that made their ringing more pronounced.

Figure 5.10: Bell Towers of Heidelberg (shown in blue) and Funeral Procession Route (shown in red; chancery house circled in green)

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

The processions for males and females all began at the court gate, where noblemen, officials from the court and city, as well as the electoral family, descended the steep hill to the chancery house. However, the archival outlines for males indicate that the descent from the court was accompanied by the singing of court singers and schoolboys, singing German hymns. The procession for Ottheinrich in 1559 was to include 'the *Cantores*

⁸⁷ Craig Koslofsky, 'Honour and Violence in German Lutheran Funerals in the Confessional Age', *Social History* 20 (1995): 317.

[i.e. court chapel singers], dressed in black', who sang the archetypally Lutheran 'German hymns "Mitten wir im Leben sind", "Mit Fried und Freud", "Aus tiefer Not", and other suchlike hymns'.⁸⁸ Similarly, for the procession at the death of Johann Casimir in 1592, 'the choristers (*die Singerknaben*) with their teacher [were to sing] German psalms and sacred songs' (*Teuetscher Psalmen vnd geystliche lieder*); the choristers, possibly schoolboys or special choristers active as singers in the court chapel, were then followed by the court singers (*die Sengerey*).⁸⁹

Regarding the number of singers, the procession for Friedrich IV included 'court singers and 50 schoolboys' (*Senger auss der Musica, vnd 50 Schüler*) from the court to the chancery house, at which point an additional 100 pupils joined the procession.⁹⁰ As the Neckarschule and Paedagogium educated roughly 40 pupils each, Friedrich IV's procession probably included pupils from the city's German schools (associated with the Peterskirche and the Spitalkirche), as well as possibly pupils from other schools in the Palatinate. Creating a further sense of spectacle was the addition of trumpeters. At the death of Friedrich IV, twelve drummers and twelve trumpeters, dressed in black, each processed in a three-by-four formation, behind the singers and city officials but in front of the coffin.⁹¹ Engaging such a large number of musicians created a unique spectacle in Heidelberg. In fact, no extant sources indicate so many singers performing together at one time, not even in celebration of the 1613 wedding.

The participants in the procession represented a full cross-section of Heidelberg's ruling and educated strata. The processions for Ottheinrich and Friedrich IV organised the mourners in a similar manner to that seen in the funeral procession for Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel in 1623 (Figure 5.11). Leading the procession were the singing schoolboys, followed by court singers, court preacher and trumpets. Behind the coffin came members of the Electors' family and privy council, the rector and professors of the university, members of the church council and state secretaries and chancery and the city government (including the sheriff, *Schultheiss*). Court servants, students, ordinary citizens (*gemeine Bürger*) and their wives joined the end of the procession at the chancery. Moreover, sometimes processing with the Elector's immediate family were attendant nobility of cadet branches of the Palatinate—Pfalz-

⁸⁸ 'die Cantores, schwarz gekleidet vnd singen deutsche gesang, Mitten wir im leben sint, vnd Mitt frid vnd freud, auss tieffer nodt, vnd dergleichen'. *GHA KA977*.

⁸⁹ *GHA KA1003*.

⁹⁰ *GHA KA1011*.

⁹¹ '12. Heerpauker u. Zwolff trommeter in drey vnd drey ihr trommeten, vnnd heerpauken mit schwarz uberzogen'. *GHA KA1011*.

Neuburg, Lautern, Simmern, and Zweibrücken—and the nearby Protestant territories of Baden-Durlach and the Duchy of Württemberg.⁹²

Figure 5.11: Funeral Procession of Landgraf Moritz of Hesse-Kassel of 1632, as depicted in *Monumentum sepulcrale* (Frankfurt am Main, 1638)

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

Once the additional schoolboys, court servants, students and common citizenry joined at the chancery, the procession moved through the northern city gate towards the market square and into the Heiliggeistkirche. Instructions for Ottheinrich's procession in 1559 specified that the singers continued to sing the German hymns 'until everyone [had] situated themselves in the church' (*biss Jedermann, inn der kirchen...sich gestellt hat*).⁹³ Once in the church, the 'schoolboys, sexton and ecclesiastical trainees should move into the choir' (*schuller, kirchendiener, Stiffts Personen sollen auff den lettner ghen*); the cantor was to join them if there was room (*Auch der Cantores so ferr sy alle kunden hinuff khommen*).⁹⁴ As mentioned in Chapter One, a choir screen (*Lettner*) remained in the Heiliggeistkirche throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—meaning that the boy singers remained unseen by other attendees seated in the nave of the church.

After the funeral sermon for the Lutheran Ottheinrich, the court singers and schoolboys sang again German songs and psalms, and as the coffin was entombed in the church, they sang the funeral hymn 'Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben'.⁹⁵ Similarly, the funeral blueprint in 1610 specifies that the Calvinist 'chapel master and chapel singers agreed that the burial song "Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben" [should be sung] not

⁹² However, absence from the events did not prevent making contact with surviving family members, as princes from both Protestant and Catholic territories of central and northern Germany sent letters of condolence addressed to both the electoral successor and the widows. Such letters around found in *GHA* 1010.

⁹³ *GHA* KA977.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ 'Nach der Predig widervmb etliche teutsche gesang vnd Psalmen zu singen durch die Cantores vnnd schuler'. *Ibid.*

before but after the sermon, and should be sung slowly', as the body was laid to rest.⁹⁶ At this point, it is unclear what happened next. The 1610 arrangement instructs that the procession should continue out of the church (*wieder auss der Kirchen*), presumably returning to the castle.

Manuscripts held in Munich also provide blueprints for processions of other members of the electoral family, including widows of Electors and noble children. Two processions are described in extant archival sources, but approximately twenty funeral processions for children and adults of the electoral family theoretically would have occurred between 1556 and 1618. The funeral ceremonies of Princess Dorothea (1520–1580), widow of Elector Friedrich II, and Princess Katharina (1572–1586), daughter of Ludwig VI, offer a window into the relationship of gender and confession, and how they were represented through music.

Princess Dorothea was the daughter of Christian II of Denmark and Isabella of Burgundy and was a claimant to the thrones of Denmark and Norway. She married the Elector Palatine Friedrich II in 1535 and resided in Heidelberg until her husband's death in 1556. After Friedrich II's death she travelled extensively and lived only occasionally in the Heidelberg castle; instead, her primary residence was the electoral palace in Neumarkt (Upper Palatinate), where she died on 21 May 1580. Dorothea was taken back to Heidelberg in a horse-drawn wagon decorated in black drapery (Figure 5.12), and her death was mourned in Lutheran Heidelberg (it being during the Lutheran reign of Ludwig VI). She was then buried in the Heiliggeistkirche on 19 June 1580. Although Dorothea's husband, Friedrich II, prevented the full implementation of Lutheranism in Heidelberg, she herself maintained Lutheran sympathies throughout her life. She was also a well-known lover and patron of music: Magdalena Heymair dedicated her versification of the book of Acts (*Liederzyklus über die Apostelgeschichte*, 1573) to Dorothea, as did Melchior Neusidler his 1574 *Teutsch Lautenbuch*.

Figure 5.12: Markus zum Lamm, *Thesaurus Pictuarum* (1564–1606), Dorothea's Funeral Carriage Arriving in Heidelberg in 1580, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek Darmstadt, Hs. 1971

[Figure removed for copyright reasons]

⁹⁶ 'den Capelmeister vnd Cantorey zusag dass der begraebnuss gesangs Nun lasst vns den leib begraben nit...vor, sondern nach der predigs vnd langsamb solle gesungen werden'. *GHA* KA1011.

The Heidelberg procession for Dorothea resembled those of Electors in important visual and aural ways. The route was the same: from the castle gate to the chancery house, where school pupils, city officials and university professors joined the procession to the Heiliggeistkirche. The German hymn and psalm repertory was the same. And the procession also displayed the social and political elite of the court for the eyes of the city public. Dorothea's procession was different, however, in the musical forces supplied for the occasion—court singers (*Singer zu Hoff*) and schoolboys (*Schüler*) were provided by the court. Lacking were choristers (*Singerknaben*, as specified in Johann Casimir's 1592 funeral), trumpeters and drummers.

It is possible that choristers were nevertheless present. As trained musicians, choristers could have simply come under the rubric of court singers—thereby accounting for their omission in the sources. That said, other fundamental alterations to Dorothea's procession compared to processions for men suggest how the court's provision of music not only was less grandiose, but also aimed at showcasing Dorothea's female identity above all else. The absence of trumpets and drums is unsurprising, given her lack of involvement with court and territorial militaristic campaigns. Her procession, however, was marked in the city only with the ringing of bells at the Heiliggeistkirche, Peterskirche and in the castle. Missing were the bells on the outer edges of Heidelberg, from the Spitalkirche and the Barfüßerkirche. Also different was the position of singers in the procession from the court to the Heiliggeistkirche. Whereas schoolboys, choristers and court singers led the processions for men, Dorothea's procession saw them in the middle, nearer to the coffin. For onlookers, the singing would have been most audible only after half of the procession had already passed.

If the aural experience of Dorothea's procession was different from that for men, its visual component differed further still. In processions for Electors Palatine the participants gathered behind the coffin in descending order of their social and political importance. But at Dorothea's funeral, the procession was led (ahead of the singers and Dorothea's coffin) by the prominent women of the court and city: the Ladies Chamber (*Frauenzimmer*), the wives of university and civic leaders, and ordinary female citizens (*der Gemeinen Burgerschafft weiber*). Instead of a descending social order being the organising principle of public events (following Don Handelman or Tess Knighton's

findings discussed above), gender became the foremost regulatory principle, ostensibly uniting women of both noble and non-noble standing who walked together through the streets of Heidelberg. There is no indication how many women participated or whether they sang funeral hymns or not while they processed. But if they did, the aural dimension would have differed even further still from male processions by the sound of nearly exclusively female voices.

If Dorothea's funeral procession displays the disparity between male and female members of the court, the musical provisions for the funeral of Katharina (d. 1586), daughter of Ludwig VI, shows further that the grandeur of processions reflected the age of the deceased. Katharina's musical education, along with that of her siblings, was discussed in Chapter Three. As with Dorothea, Katharina's procession was led by a mixture of women from court and city, from noble and non-noble backgrounds. But whereas Dorothea was supplied with court musicians for her funerary procession, the teenage daughter of the former Elector was given even simpler musical provisions: schoolboys (*Schüler*) singing German hymns. Absent were court singers, choir boys and instrumentalists. The simplicity of the procession is also suggested by the relative speed with which the events occurred: Katharina was buried only ten days after her death, in contrast to the month that elapsed between Dorothea's death and funeral procession.

As with Dorothea's procession, the ordering of participants drew attention to Katharina's gender. And just as Dorothea had been granted reduced musical forces compared to her husband, reduced musical forces signalled Katharina's lack of power within the court as compared to an Elector's spouse like Dorothea. Also accounting for the musical provisions given to Katharina, in addition to gender and power status, was her juvenile age.⁹⁷ How to mourn the death of children was a question answered in a multitude of ways in early modern Europe. Vanessa Harding has found that children in some places were given full funeral rites and in other places not, since 'the living being had barely developed any individuality, though it might inherit a social persona from its parents'.⁹⁸ The difference between adult and child funerals should not be exaggerated. The research of Clare Gittings has shown that funerals for children in early modern England were sometimes exceptionally elaborate events that expressed the deep grief

⁹⁷ Although Katharina was a teenager, until she married and gained her husband's status she was still considered a child.

⁹⁸ Vanessa Harding, 'Whose Body? A Study of Attitudes Towards the Dead Body in Early Modern Paris', in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Marshall, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 175.

felt by parents.⁹⁹ As Stephen Rose has shown, Johann Hermann Schein wrote songs on the death of six of his children, seemingly as open expressions of grief rather than as a display of his social position.¹⁰⁰ Mourning for deceased children, then, was shaped by the combination of social standing, wealth and relationship to the deceased or intensity of grief, as much as a matter of adhering to established religious ritual.

Because non-noble Heidelbergers were not permitted funeral processions, the act of processing reflected Katharina's high social standing. However, the act of processing notwithstanding, the musical provisions for Katharina appear to have been the same as those granted to all Heidelbergers. As Chapter Three discussed, pupils from the Neckarschule and Paedagogium sang for common funerals in Heidelberg. After 'the body is carried for interment' (*die leich zur begrebnuß getragen ist*), schoolboys sang the funeral hymns 'Mitten wir im Leben sind' and 'Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben'. Such schoolboy participation in funerary ceremony was a common feature of both Lutheran and Calvinist culture.¹⁰¹

Placing Katharina's procession in the context of other processions for Electoral family members as well as popular ritual, we see that Heidelberg funeral processions were shaped less by confession than by the characteristics of the deceased. The variables of gender, age and power status, however, were articulated through musical provisions and used as tools for displaying the social order and the range of hierarchical positions within the court. In many ways, the hierarchy of the ideal Protestant family is shown through funeral music. As Lyndal Roper concludes in her study of gender in the Reformation, 'the institutionalised Reformation was most successful when it most insisted on a vision of women's incorporation within the household under the leadership of their husbands'.¹⁰² Funeral processions thus acted as a 'model', to use Handelman's term, not only for proper decorum in public but for how men and women were to relate to one another in private domestic life as well.

IV. Music, Gender and Intra-Court Politics

As funeral processions have demonstrated, the number and type of musicians engaged for the event represented an intra-court social hierarchy based on the gender, age and

⁹⁹ Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1988), 80.

¹⁰⁰ Stephen Rose, 'Schein's Occasional Music and the Social Order in 1620s Leipzig', *Early Music History* 23 (2004): esp. 273–274.

¹⁰¹ *Sehling XIV*, 160 and 408.

¹⁰² Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals, in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 2.

power status of the deceased. But, at this point, one is left to question: how might music have reflected (or indeed shaped) intra-court hierarchies based on gender within the castle, when the eyes of Heidelbergers were not watching? Was the provision of musicians, as well as spaces for performance within the court, different for electoral women compared to provisions for men?

The final section of this chapter further explores the intersection of music and gender relationships through an examination of the court chapels of two women—Elizabeth of Saxony, wife of Johann Casimir, and Elizabeth Stuart, consort of Friedrich V. Because both marriages were inter-confessional (Elizabeth of Saxony was devoutly Lutheran while her husband was Calvinist, and Elizabeth Stuart was an Anglican married to a Calvinist), these case studies also elucidate the role of music in bridging (or reinforcing, as the case may be) religious difference.

In a letter written to Elector Friedrich V dated 11 May, 1613 (written after the wedding ceremony, as the couple was in the Netherlands on their journey back to Heidelberg), court preacher Abraham Scultetus described his visit to England, undertaken in order to observe the differences between Anglican and Palatine church practices. In this letter heretofore unexamined by musicologists, Scultetus included numerous observations about music. Scultetus began by writing:

In the public city churches [in London] the congregation sings along, intelligibly and pleasantly. But in the cathedrals as well as the Chapel Royal, song is led by the musicians procured for the occasion, young and old, and dressed in white linen choir robes. One also hears both vocal and instrumental figural music one amongst the other.¹⁰³

As Scultetus makes plain later in his letter, the purpose of his observations was to devise a plan on behalf of Friedrich V for how Elizabeth Stuart's Anglican services might be accommodated once she had arrived in the Heidelberg court. Scultetus suggested to Friedrich V that:

¹⁰³ 'Undt zwar in den gemeinen Stadtkirchen singet die gantze gemeine mit, verstandtlich undt lieblich: aber in den ecclesiis cathedralibus, wie auch in sacello regio wirdt der gesang nur von den hierzu bestellten undt mit weißen leinen Chorröcken angethanen Musicanten, jungen undt alten, geführet: da man dann oft musicam figuratam vocalem und instrumentalem lest ineinander gehen'. Ed. Gustav-Adolph Benrath, *Die Selbstbiographie des Heidelberger Theologen und Hofpredigers Abraham Scultetus (1566–1624)* (Karlsruhe: Evangelischer Presseverband, 1966), 113.

the Princess's church service will be most suited for the small mirrored hall (*gläsernen Saal*) as it will not be at all advisable to introduce even the slightest innovation into the court chapel. And one will give the Princess the freedom to choose whether she would sing psalms according to the English manner, have two chapters from the Bible read aloud or use the normal prayers (this practice is in itself praiseworthy and beneficial), or whether she would not adopt Palatine church orders (after some time, after she had learned German) since she doubtlessly will be without a precentor and also a reader, and this is too much for one man to do himself. Since the Princess is bringing no musicians with her and since there is no organ in the mirrored hall, she will be content to leave it at song (i.e. metrical psalms in English) as sung in London's parish churches, which complements our own song quite nicely.¹⁰⁴

Scultetus's letter revealed a tension between prescribing specific liturgical and musical models for Elizabeth and granting her the freedom to choose for herself how her services be constructed. Put another way, how local to Heidelberg should Elizabeth's services be, or will her services mark a straying from established liturgy in the court chapel and retain her own tradition in a foreign (confessional) land? Scultetus appeared to offer Elizabeth a choice: she would be permitted her own English service in the mirrored hall, or she might join the Elector in his services after she had learned enough German. One reason for holding separate services was theological. Anglicanism and Calvinism adhered to different structures of church government, and held different views of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist.¹⁰⁵ Scultetus also suggested that the English delegates should hold their own services for the sake of intelligibility—a key tenet of Protestantism in Heidelberg, as my discussion of university students demonstrated in Chapter Three.

¹⁰⁴ 'Meines erachtens wirt der Princessin kirchwesen am allerbequemsten auf dem gläsernen Saal verrichtet...es gar nicht ratsam sein wil, daß in die hoffcapell auch die geringste newerung eingeführt werde. Undt wirdt man allhie der Princessin billig freystellen, ob sie nach Englischem brauch etzliche psalmen singen, zwey capitel aus der Bibel lesen undt ihre gewöhnliche gebet wolle thun lassen (welche ordnung an sich selbst löblich undt heilsam) oder aber, weil sie zweifelß ohn keinen praecentorem, auch keinen Lectorem haben wirt undt es einem manne zu schwer fallen möchte, alles zugleich zu verrichten, ob sie nicht baldt anfangs sich Pfaltz ordnung bequemen wolle, welcher sie doch nach der zeit, da sie deutsch gelernet, nachleben würde...Der Music halben darff man sich nicht befahren. Dann weil die Princessin keine Musicanten mit sich bringt undt auf dem gläsernen Saal keine orgel, wirdt sie es billig bey dem in den Stattkirchen zu London gewöhnlichen gesang verbleiben lassen, welcher mit dem unsrigen gar fein überein kompt'. Ibid., 114.

¹⁰⁵ Patrick Collinson, 'England and International Calvinism 1558–1640', in *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 197–223, esp. 216–217.

Scultetus's primary motivation for separate services, however, appears to have been a desire to maintain good order within the court after the arrival of Elizabeth's English contingency. Holding separate services, Scultetus concluded, would ensure 'that Englishmen do not mix with Germans at court, Germans among the Englishmen, and all sorts of disorder will be avoided'.¹⁰⁶ Given the musical, liturgical and theological differences between Anglican and Palatine Calvinist services, not to mention a limited number of spaces which contained an organ, Elizabeth was thus presented with two scenarios, both of which were far from commensurate to her noble stature by London standards or her confessional tradition. On the one hand, choosing to attend Friedrich V's German services held in the court chapel meant worshipping in a foreign language. And although Friedrich V's German services featured trained court singers, Elizabeth Stuart would have been without such High Anglican musical practices as anthems. On the other hand, if Elizabeth Stuart chose to hold her own English services, she would have retained the language of the Chapel Royal at the expense of forgoing trained singers, proper religious space and musical repertory, as she brought no musicians with her to sing the anthems. Because the mirrored hall contained no organ, English services would possibly have been entirely unaccompanied. Either choice was woefully inadequate if Elizabeth Stuart wished to retain music as a marker of her nobility according to London standards.

Unfortunately, archival records do not reveal what final arrangements were made—that is, whether Friedrich V accepted Scultetus's suggestions. To be sure, the denial of musicians was not a result of the court's lacking appropriate personnel. As Appendix B shows, the Palatine court around 1613 employed singers, a Kapellmeister and an organist, some (or all) of whom could have been deployed in the service of Elizabeth Stuart, if Friedrich V or Scultetus had so desired. The court also had access to choristers from local schools who could have sung for English services. The denial of appropriate sacred space might also have been strategic. Holding Anglican services at a time when the court chapel was not in use was a possibility, in theory. Alternatively, a separate chapel might have been constructed for Elizabeth Stuart's services. To take an example from later in the seventeenth century, Henrietta Maria (1609–1669), wife of Charles I, had her own Catholic chapel built at Somerset House in 1636.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ 'damit nicht under der deutschen die Engellender, under der Engelländischen die deutschen im hoff herumblaffen undt sonst allerhandt unordnung vermietten bleibe'. Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 186. Examples of private Catholic

Furthermore, since the 1560s the Electorship supported French- and Dutch-language services in dissolved monastic spaces. Finally, Elizabeth Stuart and Friedrich V were known for having a happy and affectionate marriage, making an intentional denial of chapel space and musicians inconsistent with an otherwise peaceful relationship.¹⁰⁸

What, then, prevented Scultetus from allowing Elizabeth Stuart the use of an appropriate sacred space? And why does Scultetus unilaterally decide that Elizabeth Stuart would be content with the resultant (lack of) musical provisions? Firstly, even though the marriage was by all accounts a happy one, Elizabeth Stuart was unpopular with some in the Heidelberg court. She refused to become ‘all Dutch’ (i.e. German) and envisioned living an extravagant lifestyle in the cash-strapped Palatine court.¹⁰⁹ In fact, it was believed by many in the London court that Elizabeth Stuart would even return to England soon after her arrival in Heidelberg in 1613.¹¹⁰ Scultetus might have been aware of such beliefs when he made suggestions to Friedrich V about her chapel arrangements. If she was not to stay in Heidelberg long, and should she refuse to adapt to German ways, the Palatine court possibly felt no need to make permanent arrangements for her and her English retinue.

In suggesting limited musical and religious provisions for Elizabeth Stuart, Scultetus was also basing his recommendations on previous arrangements for electoral spouses. For instance, Scultetus justified his suggestion that Elizabeth Stuart would be most comfortable in the mirrored hall on this basis: ‘since in the past Duke [Johann] Casimir...previously permitted his wife [to use] the mirrored hall for this same purpose’.¹¹¹ Here Scultetus reveals a second-hand knowledge that Elizabeth of Saxony had desired her own Lutheran services in the Heidelberg court between 1583 and 1590, and was granted use of the mirrored hall rather than the chapel.

As discussed in Chapter Four regarding a 1567 copy of the Heidelberg hymnbook owned by Casimir, confessional tensions plagued Casimir and Elizabeth of Saxony’s time at the Heidelberg court. Despite Casimir’s fervent Calvinist belief and rule as regent, Elizabeth of Saxony refused to renounce her Lutheran confession.

chapels around 1700 include Friedrich August I of Saxony and Karl Alexander of Württemberg, both of whom converted to Catholicism despite the Lutheranism practiced in their respective territories.

¹⁰⁸ Ronald G. Asch, ‘Elizabeth, Princess (1596–1662)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8638>, accessed 25 April 2014].

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Nadine Akkermann, ‘*Semper Eadem*: Elizabeth Stuart and the Legacy of Queen Elizabeth I’, in *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, ed. Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 153.

¹¹¹ ‘weilln auch Hertzog Casimir...denselben vor diser zeit seiner Gemahlin zu disem end eingeraumet’. Gustav-Adolph Benrath, ed., *Die Selbstbiographie*, 114.

Tensions came to a head in 1589, when Elizabeth was arrested and charged with adultery and the attempted murder of her husband, a crime of which her brother Christian I was convinced she was guilty.¹¹² Shortly before her death in 1590, she converted to Calvinism while in prison. Just as Casimir's accusation of adultery should be questioned given his ability to sway offices of authority, so too we must question Elizabeth's subsequent conversion to a confession she spent her married life fighting.

Given such tensions, granting Elizabeth of Saxony use of the mirrored hall might appear generous on Casimir's part, insofar that she could participate in her own private Lutheran services, conducted by her own Lutheran court preacher.¹¹³ Musically, however, his provision undermined Elizabeth's confession as much as it pacified her. We do not know whether Casimir granted Elizabeth use of court singers. As mentioned above, however, the mirrored hall lacked an organ, which undoubtedly stood in stark contrast to her upbringing and musical experience in the Saxon court in Dresden. Under the rule of her father, August of Saxony, the Saxon court boasted such Kapellmeisters as Johann Walter, Antonio Scandello and Matthaeus le Maistre and often employed multiple organists at one time.¹¹⁴ Holding Lutheran services without an organ would, moreover, have undermined her noble identity. Although organs accompanied congregational singing with great regularity only starting in the eighteenth century, Joseph Herl has argued that, in the sixteenth century, it was often only the poorest and most rural of congregations that lacked organs completely—as would have been the provision for Elizabeth of Saxony.¹¹⁵ A portable organ could possibly have been brought into the mirrored hall for Elizabeth of Saxony as well as Elizabeth Stuart, such as the positive placed on the gate of the law faculty (Figure 5.7). Scultetus, however, makes no mention of this possibility.

Without projecting Scultetus's exact motivations for Elizabeth Stuart in 1613 onto Elizabeth of Saxony in the 1580s, his mention of Elizabeth of Saxony nevertheless creates a parallel between these women. In both cases, Palatine musical accommodations fell short of foreign (Saxon and English) norms that underpinned both women's noble stature and confessional identity. In Saxony, the re-appropriation of Catholic forms of music and visual art was a means of distancing Lutherans from Calvinists.¹¹⁶ As Peter le Huray has shown, this tack was a well-known one in the

¹¹² ADB 6, 7–8.

¹¹³ Bartholomeus Hoffmann (c.1544–1589); no entry for Hoffmann is found in ADB.

¹¹⁴ Dane Heuchemer, 'Italian Musicians in Dresden in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', 35.

¹¹⁵ Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars*, 130–134.

¹¹⁶ Bridget Heal, "'Better Papist than Calvinist'", 584–609.

English court as well, where traces of Catholic liturgy in chapel services aided continental diplomacy.¹¹⁷

These examples also move the issue of place firmly in view—that is, how local, or how international, were musical provisions allowed to be? Elizabeth Stuart's wedding service in Whitehall chapel featured multiple anthems by John Bull, as well as organ music before and throughout the service. By contrast, once she arrived in Heidelberg she lost the musical provisions of the English court: no organ, no professional singers and no anthems, just unaccompanied psalm singing as in a London parish church. Elizabeth's experience of English music, one might conclude, ceased the moment she left England. The musical innovation and extravagance that marked the 1613 wedding and Elizabeth Stuart's arrival in Heidelberg, with its inimitable conversion of urban space into musical space, was both unique and short lived. It presented an image of the Palatinate's fleeting hopes for gaining a political upper-hand in the empire, rather than the intra-court reality that Elizabeth Stuart was denied music for liturgy.

Conclusion

This chapter has broken new scholarly ground in a number of ways. Firstly, it has examined heretofore unexplored—or indeed unknown—archival sources documenting Palatine funeral processions. They revealed, for the first time, how music articulated the hierarchy that existed within the electoral family along the lines of gender and age. Regarding the 1613 Palatine wedding, a re-examination of a well-known festival book, the *Beschreibung der Reiss*, has generated fresh conclusions concerning how princely splendour was sought and created by musicians employed by the Calvinist court. Rather than creating splendour through the usual means of commissioning new compositions or engaging large numbers of musicians, the Palatine court musicians performed from strategic locations throughout the city that were rarely sites of musical performance. Ceremonial gates constructed in a main thoroughfare within the city gate presented a wide range of music, ranging from a Stadtpfeifer ensemble to a mixed consort and vocal ensemble performing on top of the archways. Likewise, trumpeters performed calls from the surrounding hills during a fireworks presentation, turning the entire valley into one large musical space as a means of creating a unique and non-replicable experience.

¹¹⁷ Peter le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 34.

At their core, wedding and funeral ceremonies demonstrate how fractured the society of Heidelberg was. The use of ritual space, and musical provisions for those spaces, were a means of building one's identity, as shown by wedding and funeral ceremonies for Electors. Conversely, denying individuals the use of certain ceremonial spaces powerfully shaped identity as well. In the case of non-noble city residents, prohibitions against using open spaces as musical space for wedding ceremonies reaffirmed their low place in the social stratum. In the cases of Elizabeth Stuart and Elisabeth of Saxony, the denial of chapel space and appropriate provisions for music were reminders of their foreignness and their primary identity as submissive wives to their husbands.

CONCLUSION

*Things that change force themselves on our attention far more than those that remain the same.*¹

At its core, this thesis has challenged Heinz Schilling's assertion that the three main confessional churches were distinct from one another through their internal coherence and external exclusivity. Musicologists and historians with an interest in music such as Alexander Fisher, David Crook and Christopher Boyd Brown, for instance—whether intentionally or not—have adopted, and even verified, Schilling's thesis. However, because Heidelberg was unique in oscillating four times between Lutheranism and Calvinism, it has provided a new vantage point to see the extent to which different confessional groups within Protestantism shared musical repertoires, educational strategies, music books and the desire among the ruling class for musical splendour. Instead of rupturing with each confessional change, the ritualistic patterns and social structures undergirding musical life in Heidelberg remained relatively intact.

This study has sought to examine music across the social spectrum. It has uncovered some unusual and extremely informative sources. Census records from 1588 and 1600, discussed in Chapter One, showed how court musicians might reside alongside day-labourers, while Chapter Three examined visitation reports to residential colleges of the university, documenting student rowdiness that often involved music. However, many musical aspects of Heidelberg's popular culture are lost in the mists of time; indeed, sources that in other locations shed light on popular culture (such as broadsheets) simply do not survive.² However, as Peter Burke has written, popular culture is elusive even when sources documenting it are plenteous; furthermore, all historical sources involve some measure of mediation, either because events were documented through the eyes of an early modern literate élite who themselves were outsiders to popular culture, or because of our own historical distance from past events.³

Because historical distance from past events and people should motivate new approaches rather than deter enquiry, as Burke suggests, I have therefore examined sources more thoroughly than previous scholars of Heidelberg, for instance by adopting methodologies of book history in Chapters Two and Four. Jean-François Gilmont writes

¹ Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (London: Continuum, 2004), xxii.

² Little from Heidelberg survives in large collections of German broadsheets such as those at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin or the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.

³ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 103.

that research into the book in the Reformation is dominated by two approaches, the literary and the bibliographic. The former concentrates on the contents, while the latter concentrates on the external factors of the book such as printing and distribution. ‘In a nutshell,’ he says, ‘some [scholars] look at books without reading them while others read them without looking at them’.⁴ In its examination of music books, this study has heeded Gilmont’s warning by addressing internal aspects (such as the style of manuscript compositions dedicated to the Elector, the choice of tunes in hymnals or the Latin versification of the Heidelberg catechism) as well as external factors such as the presentation and collection of books. Music books have furthermore been examined for their properties as blueprints for socio-musical events. Following Nicholas Cook’s notion of musical notation as a script for social interaction, Chapter Two showed how hymnbooks were developed by religious authorities as guides for public worship and for Heidelbergers’ ritualised private use. At the same time, the circulation and uses of music books were also investigated, building upon James Davies’ view of musical scores as receipts, documenting how individuals engaged with their music books after initial purchase. Chapter Four presented numerous heretofore unknown archival and printed sources that bear clear marks of the books’ embeddedness in their owners’ social world.

One source has been deliberately excluded from this study—an organ tablature manuscript, purportedly originating from around the time of Friedrich IV or V and containing intabulations of dance movements and Protestant hymns.⁵ Klaus Winkler considers it a record of the musical repertory performed at festivities of the Protestant Union, possibly the 1613 Palatine wedding, despite the lack of direct evidence for this interpretation.⁶ Its omission from this thesis stems from the similarity of its contents, layout and the palaeography to tablature manuscripts from later in the seventeenth century that have more verifiable provenance—such as a tablature manuscript held in Darmstadt containing the music of Italian composer Carlo Farina (c.1600–1639) with references to Kurfürst Johann Georg II of Saxony (1613–1680) and Sophia Eleonore of Saxony (1609–1671).⁷

This thesis has altered our understanding of how music was made, circulated and valued in the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Palatine court. Instead of being regulated by the ‘severe Calvinist belief’ of its electors as Winkler has suggested,

⁴ Jean-François Gilmont, ‘Introduction,’ in *The Reformation and the Book*, 7.

⁵ Held in the Bibliotheca Bipontina in Zweibrücken, HS 42.

⁶ Klaus Winkler, ‘Heidelberger Ballette: Musik und Tanz am kurpfälzischen Hof’, 11–23.

⁷ Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Darmstadt, Mus.ms 1196.

Chapter Five demonstrated that music was more integral to, and ubiquitous in, court life than heretofore believed. The court's employment of relatively few musicians, none of them of great stature, was a product of its financial instability rather than confessional affiliation. Nevertheless, its political position as an Electorate of the Holy Roman Empire attracted the attention of well-known composers such as Christian Hollander, as shown in my discussion of presentation manuscripts in Chapter Four.

This study has also challenged stereotyped views of Calvinist music-making, such as those of Oskar Söhngen discussed in Chapter One.⁸ Chapter Three presented how music was valued within Heidelberg's schools to the extent that pupils were examined in it as part of the admission process. Heidelberg hymnbooks contained an eclectic repertory of German hymns and psalms rather than the Genevan repertory as found in Lobwasser's German translation. Through the use of new archival evidence, I have also shown a city teeming with permitted, as well as illicit, music-making at all hours of the day and night. Like university students in the Collegium Sapientiae, school pupils at the Paedagogium and Neckarschule sang psalms and motets (in German and Latin) before and after meals; moreover, pupils received instruction in singing during the school day after lunch. University students then continued their musical activities into the night, moving out of approved university buildings into urban spaces where their singing and playing undergirded their youthful identities and expressed their unique legal status as students.

The case of Heidelberg, moreover, weakens Wolfgang Reinhard's claim that rituals were necessarily 'distinguishing marks of a confession' (*konfessionelle Unterscheidungsmerkmale*).⁹ As shown in Chapter Five, court ceremonies staged by Lutheran and Calvinist administrations displayed a desire for creating princely splendour; and, in the case of funeral cortèges, they shared the same hymn repertory, procession route and musical forces. Lutheran and Calvinist university students participated in the same rites of passage from childhood to adulthood that involved rebellious and bawdy music-making, discussed in Chapter Three. Although the Lutheran and Calvinist liturgies indeed differed in Heidelberg, Chapter Two displayed how the shared musical contents (i.e. hymns and psalms) provided a sonic continuity within religious ritual, even when the liturgical blueprint might have changed.

As argued in Chapter One, the construction of confessional identity resembles Judith Butler's notion of gender identity as being rooted in performance ('doing' rather

⁸ Oskar Söhngen, *Theologie der Musik*, 30–31.

⁹ Wolfgang Reinhard, 'Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung?', 266.

than ‘being’) and rituals (what she calls ‘repeated acts’). Just as she argues there is no gendered ‘core’ against which all variations of a gender can be measured, so do I argue that it can be dangerous to measure confessions against a benchmark of a supposed ‘core’. Throughout this study, elements of performance, ritual and identity are shown repeatedly as closely intertwined. As Chapter Two showed, Johann Posthius in his *Newe Gesänge* directed the reader to sing in clear imitation of liturgical ritual, using a mixed repertory of Genevan and Lutheran hymns; this reinforced the belief that Lutheranism was part of Palatine Calvinism’s confessional heritage and identity. Conversely, as Chapter Five showed, the confessional identities of Elisabeth of Saxony and Elizabeth Stuart (as a Lutheran and an Anglican, respectively) were undermined in Calvinist Heidelberg through the denial of appropriate musical provisions for their religious services. The absence of chapel space, trained musicians and an organ would thus have required these two women to alter the ingrained liturgical practices to which they were accustomed in Dresden and London respectively. Chapter Four argued that music books were given in ritualistic acts, tied to the identities of giver and recipient; gift-giving can therefore be viewed as performative, even if the giver and receiver never performed (or heard) the music contained therein.

Although the degree of confessional overlap elaborated in this thesis might be counterintuitive to some historians and musicologists, it highlights music’s ability to cross confessional boundaries, owing in part to music’s unique aural and non-textual qualities which were not found in other communicatory or devotional media such as Bibles, catechisms and visual art. More fundamentally, however, my findings are consistent with the fault line that emerged in the Holy Roman Empire around 1600 between the Catholic Habsburgs and the numerous Protestant Princes (both Lutheran and Calvinist) who allied themselves in an effort to defend their confession and to gain the Throne of Bohemia. In this way, music could point to wider commonalities between Protestant denominations than previously acknowledged. Historian Bridget Heal has recently shown in the visual arts how overlap could occur when two confessional groups united in rejecting a third denomination. She has discussed how, over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Electoral Saxony, Lutheran visual culture came to resemble that of Catholicism as a result of their mutual disdain for Calvinism.¹⁰ It can be said that a similar trend appeared in Heidelberg, as Calvinist electors united with Lutheran princes in adopting a similar anti-Catholic—and thus anti-Habsburg—outlook.

¹⁰ Bridget Heal, ‘Better Papist than Calvinist’, 584–609.

Given such fluidity between Calvinism and Lutheranism, the musical culture of Heidelberg in many ways is better viewed as an anti-Habsburg culture rather than an exclusively Calvinist one. A future line of research could therefore examine sixteenth-century musical cultures in relation to large-scale political alliances rather than (or alongside) how strictly they might have adhered to the theological views of Martin Luther, John Calvin or the Council of Trent, or to the musical culture of a leading confessional city or territory. In such an approach, confession would be rightly viewed as one of several factors shaping how early modern people engaged with music.

Bibliography

Primary Sources and Editions

(for Heidelberg psalters and hymnbooks, see Appendix D)

Adamus, Melchior. *Apographum monumentorum Heidelbergensium* (Heidelberg, 1612), VD17 3:316076K.

Alting, Johann Heinrich. 'Historia Ecclesiae Palatinae'. In *Monumenta Pietatis et Literaria Virorum in Re Publica et Literaria Illustrum Selecta*, edited by Ludwig Christian Mieg. Frankfurt am Main: Johannem Maximilianum a Sande, 1701.

Ameln, Konrad, ed. *Das Babstsche Gesangbuch von 1545: Faksimiledruck mit einem Geleitwort*. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988.

Arend, Sabine, ed. *Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Volume 16, *Herzogtum Württemberg*. Tübingen: Mohr, 2004.

Becker, Cornelius. *Der Psalter Davids Gesangweis* (Leipzig, 1602), VD17 1:658789E.

Beller, Elmer A. trans. and ed. *Caricatures of the 'Winter King' of Bohemia*. London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1928.

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana - Cod.Pal.Lat.1738 [Latin Catechism]

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana - Cod.Pal.Lat.1878 [Presentation manuscripts]

Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana - Cod.Pal.Lat.1938 [Bibliotheca Palatina inventory, 1581]

Bümlein, Klaus, ed. *Zweibrücker Gesangbuch 1557*. Heidelberg: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2007.

Coprario, John. *Twelve Fantasias for Two Bass Viols and Organ; and, Eleven pieces for Three Lyra Viols*. Edited by Richard Charteris. Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1982.

Coryate, Thomas. *Coryat's Crudities*, 2 Vols. (London, 1776).

Dathenus, Petrus. *De Psalmen Davids. Met Catechismus, Formulieren, en Gebeden*. Edited by J. N. Ijkel and W. van't Spijker. Houten: Den Hertog, 1992.

Dyer, George. *Privileges of the University of Cambridge*, Vol. 1. London: Printed for Longman and Co., 1824.

Erasmus, Desiderius. *The Correspondence of Erasmus: Letters 1122–1251 (1520–1521)*, Vol. 8. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Estienne, Henri. *The Frankfort book fair; the Francofordiense emporium of Henri Estienne*, edited by James Westfall Thompson. Chicago, Caxton Club, 1911.

Friedrich III, Elector Palatine. *Catechesis Religionis Christianae* (Heidelberg, 1563), VD16 P 2183.

Friedrich III, Elector Palatine. *Briefe Friedrichs des Frommen*, Vol. 1. Edited by August Kluckhohn. Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1868.

Geheimes Hausarchiv Munich - KA977 [Description of funeral procession for Ottheinrich]

Geheimes Hausarchiv Munich - KA995 [Description of funeral procession for Dorothea]

Geheimes Hausarchiv Munich – KA1002 [Description of funeral procession for Katharina]

Geheimes Hausarchiv Munich – KA1003 [Description of funeral procession for Johann Casimir]

Geheimes Hausarchiv Munich – KA1011 [Description of funeral procession for Friedrich IV]

Geheimes Hausarchiv Munich - MS 10, Palat. Misc. [1610 contrafactum]

General-Landesarchiv Karlsruhe - 205/74 [Library of Collegium Sapientiae, 1621]

Glarean, Heinrich. *Dodechachordon*. Translated by Clement A. Miller, 2 Vols. [Rome], American Institute of Musicology, 1965.

Hafenreffer, Matthias. *Examen vnd Gegenbericht, Uber das jüngsten zu Heidelberg getruckt Calvinische Büchlin, nachfolgenden Tituls: Außführlicher Bericht, Was die Reformirte Kirchen in Teutschland, gleuben oder nicht gleuben* (Tübingen, 1608), VD17 12:108404W.

Hagen, Hermann, ed. *Briefe von Heidelberger Professoren und Studenten verfasst vor dreihundert Jahren*. Bern: Collin, 1886.

Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek - Cod.Pal.Germ.318 [1544 Heidelberg Kapellinventar]

- Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek - Cod.Pal.Germ.381 [Magdalena Heymair, *Liederzyklus über die Apostelgeschichte*]
- Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek - Cod.Pal.Germ.458 [Prayerbook of Elizabeth of Saxony]
- Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek - Cod.Pal.Germ.734 [Autograph of Anna von Solms-Lich]
- Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek - Cod.Pal.Germ.784 [Friedrich IV's private payment log]
- Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek - Cod.Pal.Germ.809 [Inventory of music books belonging to Friedrich IV]
- Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek - Cod.Pal.Germ.837 [Inventory of silver goods owned by Johann Casimir]
- Henderson, Ernest F. *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1896.
- Herman, Nicolaus. *Die Sonntags-Evangelia von Nicolaus Herman (1561)*. Edited by Rudolf Wolkan. Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1895.
- Hofmeister, Adolph, ed. *Die Matrikel der Universität Rostock*, Vol. 2. Rostock: Stillerschen Hof- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1891.
- Hübner, Tobias. *Beschreibung der Reiß: Empfahunng deß Ritterlichen Ordens: Vollbringung des Heyraths: vnd glücklicher Heimführung* (Heidelberg: Vögelin, 1613), VD17 23:236285Y.
- Leland, John. *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii De rebvs Britannicis collectanea*, Vol. 5. London: Gul. & Jo. Richardson, 1770.
- Leyser, Polykarp. *Eine wichtige und in diesen gefährlichen Zeiten sehr nützliche Frage* (Leipzig, 1620), VD17 23:671524T.
- Luther, Martin. *Christliche Geseng Lateinisch vnd Deudsch zum Begrebnis* (Wittenberg, 1542), DKL 1542¹⁵.
- Luther, Martin. *Luther's Works: American Edition*. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut Lehman. St. Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia and Fortress, 1955.

- Luther, Martin. *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Ausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe)*, Vol. 19. Weimar: Böhlau, 1897.
- Monteverdi, Claudio. *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi*. Translated by Denis Stevens. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Mays, A., and K. Christ. 'Einwohnerverzeichnis der Stadt Heidelberg vom Jahr 1588'. *Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der rheinischen Pfalz* I (1890): 5–320.
- Mays, A., and K. Christ. 'Einwohnerverzeichnis des 4. Quartiers der Stadt vom 1600'. *Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der rheinischen Pfalz* II (1893): 5–259.
- Merian, Wilhelm. *Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturbüchern*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927.
- Merkel, Gerhard, ed. *Protocollum Contubernii: Visitation und Rechnungsprüfung von 1568 bis 1615*. Heidelberg: Springer, 2001.
- Moryson, Fynes. *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, Being a Survey of the Condition of Europe at the End of the 16th Century*, edited by Charles Hughes. London: Sherratt and Hughes, 1903.
- Moser, Hans Joachim, ed. *Gassenhawerlin und Reutterliedlin*. Hildesheim: Olms, 1970.
- Ottheinrich, Elector Palatine. *Schulordnung, wie dieselbige in des durchleuchtigsten, hochgebornen fürsten und herrn, herrn Ottheinrichs, pfaltzgraven bey Rhein, des heiligen römischen reichs ertzdruchsessen und churfürsten, hertzogen in Nidern- und Oberbayrn etc., chur- und fürstenthumben gehalten werden soll* (Neuburg, 1556), VD16 ZV 22219.
- Pitiscus, Bartholomeus. *Ausführlicher Bericht, was die Reformierte Kirchen in Teutschland Gleuben oder nicht Gleuben* (Heidelberg, 1607), VD17 12:626557R.
- Praetorius, Michael. *Syntagma Musicum II*. Translated and edited by David Z. Crookes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
- Praetorius, Michael. *Syntagma Musicum III*. Translated and edited by Jeffrey Kite-Powell. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Posthous, Johann. *Neue Gesäng Auff die Sontags Euangelia* (Heidelberg, 1596), VD17 23:625124X.

- Reifferscheid, Alexander, ed. *Briefe G.M. Lingelsheim, M. Bernegggers und ihrer Freunde*. Heilbronn: Henninger, 1889.
- Reymann, Matthias. *Noctes musicae* (Heidelberg and Leipzig, 1598), RISM A/1 R 1230.
- Rude, Johann. *Flores musicae* (Heidelberg, 1600), RISM B/I 1600^{5a}.
- Schein, Johann Hermann. *Cantional oder Gesangbuch Augspurgischer Confession* (Leipzig, 1627), VD17 39:148641Y.
- Schmidt, Friedrich, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, Vol. 19, *Geschichte der Erziehung der pfälzischen Wittelsbacher*. Berlin: A. Hofmann, 1899.
- Schulze, Hans-Joachim, ed. *Die Thomasschule Leipzig zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs: Ordnung und Gesetze, 1634, 1723, 1733*. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat, 1987.
- Schütz, Heinrich. *A Heinrich Schütz Reader: Letters and Documents in Translation*. Edited by Gregory Johnston. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Scultetus, Abraham. *Evangelische Jubeljahrs Predigt: Zu Heidelberg den 2. Novembris anno 1617 in der kirchen zum H. Geist gehalten, durch Abraham Scultetum* (Heidelberg, 1617), VD17 23:325630U.
- Scultetus, Abraham. *Neue Jahrs Predigt: Das ist Historischer Bericht/ wie wunderbarlich Gott der Herr die verschiene hundert Jahr seine Kirche reformiert, regiert/und biß daher erhalten* (Heidelberg, 1617), VD17 12:127383N.
- Scultetus, Abraham. *Die Selbstbiographie des Heidelberger Theologen und Hofpredigers Abraham Scultetus (1566–1624)*. Edited by Gustav-Adolph Benrath. Karlsruhe: Evangelischer Presseverband, 1966.
- Sehling, Emil, ed. *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. XIV, *Kurpfalz* (Mohr: Tübingen, 1969).
- Sehling, Emil, ed. *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Vol. I/1, *Sachsen und Thüringen nebst angrenzenden Gebieten*. Leipzig: O.R. Reisland, 1902.
- Stenius, Simon. *Calvinismus Heidelbergensis. Dialogus, Nemesius et Agatho* (Heidelberg, 1593), VD16 S 8859.

Thorbecke, August, ed. *Statuten und Reformationen der Universität Heidelberg vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1891.

Toepke, Gustav, ed. *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, vol. 2, 1554–1662. Heidelberg: Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg, 1886.

Tremellius, Immanuel, and Franciscus Junius, *Psalmi Davidis ex Hebraeo in Latinum Conversi, Scholiisque pernecessariis illustrati* (London, 1580), STC 2359.4.

von den Velden, A., ed. *Das Kirchenbuch der französischen reformierten Gemeinde zu Heidelberg 1569–1577 und Frankenthal in der Pfalz 1577–1596*. Weimar: Druck der Hof-Buchdruckerei, 1908.

Winkelmann, Eduard, ed. *Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg*, Vol. 1 and 2. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1886.

Secondary Sources

Akkermann, Nadine. ‘*Semper Eadem*: Elizabeth Stuart and the Legacy of Queen Elizabeth I’. In *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, edited by Sara Smart and Mara R. Wade, 145–168. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013.

Asch, Ronald G. ‘Elizabeth, Princess (1596–1662)’. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, Jan 2008, accessed 25 April 2014, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8638>.

Atlas, Allan. *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600*. New York and London: Norton, 1998.

Austin, Kenneth. “‘Epitome of the Old Testament, Mirror of God’s Grace, and Complete Anatomy of Man’: Immanuel Tremellius and the Psalms”. In *Shaping the Bible in the Reformation: Books, Scholars and Their Readers in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Bruce Gordon and Matthew McLean, 217–234. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Austin, Kenneth. *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Backus, Irena. *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation, 1378–1615*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Badiou, Alain. *The Rebirth of History: Times of Riots and Uprisings*. London: Verso Books, 2012.

- Baker, Geoffrey. *Imposing Harmony: Music and Society in Colonial Cuzco*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Bell, Catherine. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Bell, Catherine. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Benedict, Philip. *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Benedict, Philip. 'Confessionalization in France? Critical Reflections and New Evidence'. In *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685*, edited by Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer, 44–61. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Benrath, Gustav Adolf. 'Das kirchliche Leben Heidelbergs in den Jahren 1593 bis 1595'. *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* x (1966): 49–82.
- Berking, Helmuth. *The Sociology of Giving*. Translated by Patrick Camiller. London: Sage, 1999.
- von Bezold, Friedrich. *Die letzten Jahre der Pfalzgräfin Elisabeth*. Munich: Verlag der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie, 1879.
- Bianconi, Lorenzo. *Music in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Biundo, Georg. 'Bericht und Bedenken über die erste kurpfälzische Kirchenvisitation im Jahre 1556'. *Jahrbuch der Hessischen Kirchengeschichtlichen Vereinigung* 10 (1959): 1–41.
- Blankenburg, Walter, and Norbert Dubowy. 'Riccio, Teodore'. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 30 April, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23369>.
- Blankenburg, Walter, and Vincent J. Panetta. 'Hassler'. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 22 April, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12525pg2>.
- Blume, Friedrich. *Protestant Church Music: A History*. London: Gollancz, 1975.

- Bolin, Norbert. *“Sterben ist mein Gewinn” (Phil 1, 21): ein Beitrag zur evangelischen Funeralkomposition der deutschen Sepulkralkultur des Barock, 1550–1750*. Kassel: Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedhof und Denkmal, Stiftung Zentralinstitut und Museum für Sepulkralkultur, 1989.
- Boorman, Stanley. *Ottaviano Petrucci: A Catalogue Raisonne*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Stanley Boorman, et al. ‘Sources, MS’. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 7 March, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50158pg30>.
- Bork, Gerhard. *Die Melodien des Bonner Gesangbuches in seinen Ausgaben zwischen 1550 und 1630: eine Untersuchung über ihre Herkunft und Verbreitung*. Köln: Stauffen-Verlag, 1955.
- Bossert, Gustav. ‘Die Hofkantorei unter Herzog Ludwig’. *Württembergische Vierteljahrsschrift für Landesgeschichte, Neue Folge* 7 (1898): 253–291.
- Bowles, Edmund. ‘A Brief Overview of Musical Ensembles with Brass Instruments in European Festivals of State’. *Historical Brass Society Journal* 2 (1990): 78–96.
- Boynton, Susan. *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006.
- Braudel, Fernand. *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century: The Perspective of the World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Braun, Werner. *Britannia Abundans: Deutsche-Englische Musikbeziehungen zur Shakespearezeit*. Schneider: Tutzing, 1977.
- Bremer, Francis J. *Puritanism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Brown, Alan. ‘Pavan’. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 1 April, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/21120>.
- Brown, Christopher Boyd. ‘Devotional Life in Hymns, Liturgy, Music, and Prayer’. In *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Life, 1550–1675*, edited by Robert Kolb, 205–258. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Brown, Christopher Boyd. *Singing the Reformation: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.

- Brown, Katherine Butler. 'The Social Liminality of Musicians: Case Studies from Mughal India and Beyond'. *Twentieth-Century Music* 3 (2007): 13–49.
- Brusniak, Friedhelm. 'Bernhard Amenreich, Stiftsorganist zu Feuchtwangen 1560–1564'. *Feuchtwanger Heimatgeschichte* v (1997): 36–54.
- Buelow, George J. *A History of Baroque Music*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Bunnett, Fanny Elizabeth. *Louise Juliane, Electress Palatine, and Her Times*. London: J. Nisbet, 1862.
- Burke, Peter. *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Burke, Peter. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3rd ed. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009.
- Burn, David. 'Analysing Sixteenth-Century Chant-Based Polyphony: Some Methodological Observations, and a Case-Study from Leonhard Paminger'. *Musiktheorie* 27 (2012): 144–161.
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Butler, Judith. 'Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory'. *Theatre Journal* 40/4 (1988): 519–531.
- Butler, Katherine. 'Image and Influence: The Political Uses of Music at the Court of Elizabeth I'. PhD Diss., Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011.
- Butt, John. *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Buzás, Ladislaus. *German Library History, 800–1945*. Translated by William D. Boyd. Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland and Co., 1986.
- Carreras, Juan José. 'The Court Chapel: a Musical Profile and the Historiographical Context of an Institution'. In *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, edited by Juan José Carreras and Bernardo García García, 8–20. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

- Carter, Stewart. 'Sackbut'. In *A Performer's Guide to Renaissance Music*, edited by Jeffery Kite-Powell, 126–138. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2007.
- Carter, Tim. 'The Sound of Silence: Models for Urban Musicology'. *Urban History* 29 (2002): 8–18.
- Carver, Anthony F. *Cori Spezzati*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Chartier, Roger. *Inscription and Erasure: Literature and Written Culture from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
- Chartier, Roger. 'The Practical Impact of Writing'. In *A History of Private Life, Vol. 3, Passions of the Renaissance*, edited by Roger Chartier, translated by Arthur Goldhammer, 111–159. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1989.
- Chrisman, Miriam Usher. *Lay Culture, Learned Culture: Books and Social Change in Strasbourg, 1480–1599*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Clapham, John. 'Bassengius, Aegidius'. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 22 April, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/02249>.
- Clasen, Claus-Peter. *The Palatinate in European History, 1555–1618*. Oxford: Blackwells, 1966.
- Clive, H. P. 'The Calvinist Attitude to Music, and its Literary Aspects and Sources'. *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 19/1 (1957): 80–102.
- Cohn, Henry J. *The Government of the Rhine Palatinate in the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Cohn, Henry J. 'The Territorial Princes in Germany's Second Reformation, 1559–1622'. In *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*, edited by Menna Prestwich, 135–165. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Collinson, Patrick. 'England and International Calvinism 1558–1640'. In *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*, edited by Menna Prestwich, 197–223. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Cook, Nicholas. *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Coster, Will, and Andrew Spicer. 'Introduction: the Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe'. In *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Will

- Coster and Andrew Spicer, 1–16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle. 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color'. *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1991): 1241–1299.
- Crew, Phyllis Mack. *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544–1569*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Cser, Andreas. *Kleine Geschichte der Stadt und Universität Heidelberg*. Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 2007.
- Czapla, Ralf Georg. 'Transformationen des Psalters im Spannungsfeld von gemeinschaftlicher Adhortation und individueller Meditation. Paul Schedes Psalmen Davids und Psalmi aliquot'. In *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden*, edited by Eckard Grunewald et al., 195–215. Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag, 2004.
- Czok, Karl. 'Der "Calvinistensturm" 1592/93 in Leipzig—seine Hintergründe und bildliche Darstellung'. *Jahrbuch der Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig* (1977): 123–144.
- Darnton, Robert. *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1990.
- Davies, James. 'Julia's Gift: the Social Life of Scores, ca. 1830'. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131/2 (2006): 287–309.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. 'Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France: The Prothero Lecture'. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series*, 33 (1983): 69–88.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975.
- Daybell, James. *The Material Letter in Early Modern England: Manuscript Letters and the Culture and Practices of Letter-Writing, 1512–1635*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Dickins, Bruce. 'The Making of the Parker Library'. *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6 (1972): 19–34.
- Dixon, C. Scott. *Contesting the Reformation*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2012.

- Downey, Peter. 'The Trumpet and its Role in Music of the Renaissance and Early Baroque'. PhD diss., Queen's University Belfast, 1983.
- Duhr, Bernhard. *Geschichte der Jesuiten in den Ländern deutscher Zunge im XVI. Jahrhundert*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder Verlag, 1907.
- Durkheim, Emil. *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Translated by Joseph Ward Swain. London: Allen and Unwin, 1915.
- Edwards, Mark U. *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2005.
- Edwards, Warwick. 'Consort'. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 30 April, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06322>.
- Eibach, Joachim. 'Burghers or Town Council: Who Was Responsible for Urban Stability in Early Modern German towns?'. *Urban History* 34/1 (2007): 14–26.
- Eisenstein, Elizabeth. *Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Enekel, Karl. 'Reciprocal Authorisation: the Function of Dedications and Dedicatory Prefaces in the 15th- and 16th-Century "artes antiquitatis"'. In *'Cui dono lepidum novum libellum'? Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Ignace Bossuyt et al., 35–47. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008.
- Engelsing, Rolf. *Analphabetentum und Lektüre; zur Sozialgeschichte des Lesens in Deutschland zwischen feudaler und industrieller Gesellschaft*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1973.
- Eulenburg, Franz. *Die Frequenz der deutschen Universitäten: von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1904.
- Everist, Mark. 'Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses and Musical Value'. In *Rethinking Music*, edited by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, 378–402. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Fenlon, Iain. *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Fenlon, Iain. 'Rites of Passage: Music, Ceremony and Dynasty in Renaissance Florence and Venice'. In *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and*

- Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, edited by Juan José Carreras and Bernardo García García, 29–39. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005.
- Fenlon, Iain, and Inga Mai Groote, ed. *Heinrich Glarean's Books: The Intellectual World of a Sixteenth-Century Musical Humanist*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Fisher, Alexander J. *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.
- Fisher, Alexander J. *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscape of Counter-Reformation Bavaria*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Flanigan, Clifford, Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn. 'Liturgy as Social Performance: Expanding the Definition'. In *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, edited by Thomas Heffernan and E. Ann Matter, 695–714. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001.
- Flinn, Michael W. *The European Demographic System, 1500–1820*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981.
- Forde, Gerhard O. *On Being a Theologian of the Cross: Reflections on Luther's Heidelberg Disputation, 1518*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- Forney, Kristine. 'The Netherlands, 1520–1640'. In *European Music: 1520–1640*, edited by James Haar, 246–279. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006.
- Forster, Marc. *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- François, Étienne. 'The German Urban Network between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Cultural and Demographic Indicators'. In *Urbanization in History: A Process of Dynamic Interactions*, edited by Ad van der Woude, Akira Hayami and Jan De Vries, 84–100. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Frandsen, Mary. *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Freedman, Joseph S. 'The Career and Writings of Bartholomew Keckermann (d.1609)'. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 141/3 (1997): 305–364.
- Freedman, Richard. *The Chansons of Orlando Di Lasso and their Protestant Listeners: Music, Piety and Print in Sixteenth-Century France*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2001.

- Friedman, John Block. *Orpheus in the Middle Ages*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000.
- Garside, Charles. 'The Origins of Calvin's Theology of Music: 1536–1543'. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 69/4 (1979), 1–36.
- Genette, Gerard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Translated by Jane E. Lewin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Gensicke, Hellmuth. 'Westerburg'. *Nassauische Annalen* 99 (1988): 191–214.
- Getz, Christine. *Music in the Collective Experience in Sixteenth-Century Milan*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Gilmont, Jean-François. 'Protestant Reformations and Reading'. In *A History of Reading in the West*, edited by Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier. Translated by Lydia Cochrane, 213–237. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999.
- Gittings, Clare. *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*. London: Routledge, 1988.
- Göhler, Albert. *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien*. Hilversum: F.A.M. Knuf, 1965.
- Gömöri, George. "'A Memorable Wedding': The Literary Reception of the Wedding of the Princess Elizabeth and Frederick of Pfalz". *Journal of European Studies* 34 (2004): 215–224.
- Göpfert, Herbert Georg, ed. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buchwesens im konfessionellen Zeitalter*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985.
- Goodman, Dena. 'Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime'. *History and Theory* 31 (1992): 1–20.
- Gordon, Bruce. *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, Vol. 1. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996.
- Gregory, Brad S. *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2012.
- Greschat, Martin. *Martin Bucer: A Reformer and His Times*. Translated by Stephen E. Buckwalter. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004.

- von Greyerz, Kaspar, et al., ed. *Transkonfessionalität—Interkonfessionalität—binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität—Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003.
- Grimes, Ronald. *Beginnings in Ritual Studies*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995.
- Gunnoe, Charles. *Thomas Erastus and the Palatinate: A Renaissance Physician in the Second Reformation*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Translated by Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989.
- Hackenberg, Michael. 'Books in Artisan Homes of Sixteenth-Century Germany'. *The Journal of Library History* 21 (1986): 72–91.
- Häusser, Ludwig. *Die Geschichte der rheinischen Pfalz nach ihren politischen, kirchlichen und litterarischen Verhältnissen*, Vol. 2. Heidelberg: Mohr, 1845.
- Hammond, Susan Lewis. *Editing Music in Early Modern Germany*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- Hammond, Susan Lewis. *The Madrigal: A Research and Information Guide*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
- Handelman, Don. *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1998.
- Harding, Vanessa. 'Introduction: Music and Urban History'. *Urban History* 29 (2002): 5–7.
- Harding, Vanessa. 'Whose Body? A Study of Attitudes Towards the Dead Body in Early Modern Paris'. In *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Marshall and Bruce Gordon, 170–187. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Harrington, Joel. "'Singing for his Supper": The Reinvention of Juvenile Streetsinging in Early Modern Nuremberg'. *Social History* 22 (1997): 27–45.
- Hartfelder, Karl. 'Kirchenvisitation der Stadt Heidelberg 1582'. *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 34 (1882): 239–256.
- Hauer, Wolfram. *Lokale Schulentwicklung und städtische Lebenswelt: das Schulwesen in Tübingen von seinen Anfängen im Spätmittelalter bis 1806*. Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003.

- Hautz, Johann Friedrich. *Die erste Gelehrtschule Reformirten Glaubensbekenntnisses in Deutschland oder Geschichte des Pädagogiums zu Heidelberg unter dem Kurfürsten Friedrich III. von der Pfalz in den Jahren 1565–1577*. Heidelberg: Groos, 1855.
- Hautz, Johann Friedrich. *Geschichte der Neckarschule: von ihrem Ursprunge im 12. Jahrhunderte bis zu ihrer Aufhebung im Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Heidelberg: Reichard, 1849.
- Hautz, Johann Friedrich. *Lycei Heidelbergensis origines et progressus*. Heidelberg: Reichard, 1846.
- Heal, Bridget. ““Better Papist than Calvinist”: Art and Identity in Later Lutheran Germany”. *German History* 29 (2011): 584–609.
- Heal, Bridget. *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany: Protestant and Catholic Piety, 1500–1648*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Herbert, Trevor. *The Trombone*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Herl, Joseph. *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Heuchemer, Dane. ‘Italian Musicians in Dresden in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century’. PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 1997.
- Higgins, Paula. ‘Musical “Parents” and Their “Progeny”: the Discourse of Creative Patriarchy in Early Modern Europe’. In *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts: Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, edited by Jessie Ann Owens and Anthony M. Cummings, 169–86. Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1997.
- Hoffman, Lawrence A. *Beyond the Text: A Holistic Approach to Liturgy*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Holborn, Hajo. *A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Holman, Peter. *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: Violin at the English Court, 1540–1690*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Hoppe, Stephan. ‘Die Architektur des Heidelberger Schlosses in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Neue Datierungen und Interpretationen’. In *Mittelalter. Schloss Heidelberg und die Pfalzgrafschaft bei Rhein bis zur Reformationszeit*, edited by Volker Rödel, 183–190 and 205–210. Regensburg: Schell & Steiner, 2002.

- Hoppin, Richard. *Medieval Music*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1974.
- Hori, Hidehiko. 'Der gantz Psalter Davids' (1569) von Sigmund Hemmel: Süddeutsche Psalmengesänge nach der Reformation. Aachen: Shaker, 1997.
- Hotson, Howard. 'Irenicism in the Confessional Age: the Holy Roman Empire, 1563–1648'. In *Conciliation and Confession: the Struggle for Unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648*, edited by Howard Louthan and Randall C. Zachman, 228–285. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004.
- Hübsch-Pfleger, Lini. 'Knöfel, Johann'. *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 1 April, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15204>.
- Hsia, Ronnie Po-Chi. *Social Discipline in the Reformation, Central Europe, 1550–1750*. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Hume, Martin. *The Courtships of Queen Elizabeth: a History of the Various Negotiations for her Marriage*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1898.
- le Huray, Peter. *Music and the Reformation in England, 1549–1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Jadatz, Heiko. *Wittenberger Reformation im Leipziger Land: Dorfgemeinden im Spiegel der evangelischen Kirchenvisitationen des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2007.
- Jenny, Markus. 'Ein frühes Zeugnis für die kirchenverbindende Bedeutung des evangelischen Kirchenliedes'. *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 8 (1963): 123–128.
- Jensen, Kristian. 'The Humanist Reform of Latin and Latin Teaching'. In *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*, edited by Jill Kraye, 63–81. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Jordak, Karl. *Die Universität Wien, 1365–1965*. Vienna: Bergland, 1965.
- Kaller, Gerhard. 'Wallonische und Niederlandische Exultantensiedlungen in der Pfalz im 16. Jahrhundert. Entstehung und Stadthebung'. *Oberrheinische Studien* 3 (1975): 327–352.
- Kaller, Gerhard. 'Die Anfänge der kurpfälzischen Exultantengemeinden Frankenthal, Schönau, Heidelberg und Otterberg (1562–1590)'. *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 147 (1999): 393–403.

- Kaplan, Benjamin. *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Karant-Nunn, Susan. *The Reformation of Ritual: an Interpretation of Early Modern Germany*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Kaufmann, Thomas. 'Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche und Gesellschaft: Sammelbericht über eine Forschungsdebatte'. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 121 (1996): 1008–25; 1112–21.
- Kehr, Wolfgang, ed. *Handbuch der historischen Buchbestände in Deutschland, Vol. 9, Baden-Württemberg und Saarland, T–Z*. Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1994.
- Kendrick, Robert. *The Sound of Milan*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Kerman, Joseph. *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.
- Kertzer, David. *Ritual, Politics and Power*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Keyl, Stephen. 'Tenorlied, Discantlied, Polyphonic Lied: Voices and Instruments in German Secular Polyphony of the Renaissance'. *Early Music* 20/3 (1992): 434–445.
- Kisby, Fiona. 'A Mirror of Monarchy: Music and Musicians in the Household Chapel of the Lady Margaret Beaufort, Mother of Henry VII'. *Early Music History* 16 (1997): 203–234.
- Knighton, Tess. 'Music and Ritual in Urban Spaces: The Case of Lima, c. 1600'. In *Music and Urban Society in Colonial Latin America*, edited by Tess Knighton and Geoffrey Baker, 21–42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Koch, Julius, and Fritz Seitz, ed. *Das Heidelberger Schloß. Mit Genehmigung des Großherzoglich Badischen Ministeriums der Finanzen*. 2 Vols. Darmstadt: Bergsträsser, 1887 and 1891.
- Kohnle, Armin. *Kleine Geschichte der Kurpfalz*. Karlsruhe: G. Braun Buchverlag, 2008.
- Koldau, Linda Maria. *Frauen—Musik—Kultur: ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2005.
- Konečni, Vladimír J. 'Composers' Creative Process: The Role of Life-Events, Emotion and Reason'. In *Musical Imaginations: Multidisciplinary Perspectives on*

- Creativity, Performance and Perception*, edited by David Hargreaves, Dorothy Miell and Raymond MacDonald, 141–155. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Kongsted, Ole. ‘Nyopdukkede vaerker af Gregorius Trehou I Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana’. In *Musikkens Tjenere: Instrument, Forsker, Musiker*, 189–209. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanums Forlag, 1998.
- Koppitz, Hans-Joachim. *Die kaiserlichen Druckprivilegien im Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien: Verzeichnis der Akten vom Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ende des Deutschen Reichs*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008.
- Koslofsky, Craig. ‘Honour and Violence in German Lutheran Funerals in the Confessional Age’. *Social History* 20 (1995): 315–337.
- Kulischer, Josef. *Allgemeine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Vol. 2/1. München: Oldenbourg, 1988.
- Kusukawa, Sachiko. *A Wittenberg University Library Catalogue of 1536*. Cambridge: LP Publications, 1995.
- Lambrecht, Jutta. *Das Heidelberger Kapellinventar von 1544 (Codex Pal. Germ. 318)*. 2 Vols. Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 1987.
- Lane, Jeremy F. *Pierre Bourdieu: A Critical Introduction*. London: Pluto Press, 2000.
- Lauter, Gottfried Christian. *Neuer Versuch einer Geschichte des Reformirten Gymnasiums zu Heidelberg*. Heidelberg: Wiesen, 1800.
- Layton, Robert. *An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Leaver, Robin A. *A Communion Sunday in Scotland ca. 1780: Liturgies and Sermons*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2009.
- Leaver, Robin A. ‘Genevan Psalm Tunes in the Lutheran Chorale Tradition’. In *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden*, edited by Eckard Grunewald, et al., 145–166. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004.
- Leaver, Robin A. *Luther’s Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007.
- Leaver, Robin A. ‘The Reformation and Music’. In *European Music: 1520–1640*, edited by James Haar, 371–400. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006.

- Leichtentritt, Hugo. *Geschichte der Motette*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908.
- Leitmeir, Christian. 'Lutheran Propers for Wrocław/Breslau: the Cantus Choralis (1575) of Johannes Knöfel'. In *The Musical Culture of Silesia Before 1742: New Contexts—New Perspectives*, edited by Pawel Gancarczyk, et al., 89–113. New York: Peter Lang, 2013.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Translated by James Harle Bell and John Richard von Sturmer. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.
- Lewis, Mary S. 'Introduction'. In *'Cui dono lepidum novum libellum'? Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Ignace Bossuyt et al., 1–11. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008.
- Lewycky, Nadine, and Adam Morton, ed. *Getting Along? Religious Identities and Confessional Relations in Early Modern England—Essays in Honour of Professor W.J. Sheils*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012.
- Lockwood, Lewis. *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400–1505: The Creation of a Musical Center in the Fifteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Lotz-Heumann, Ute. 'Confessionalization'. In *Reformation and Early Modern Europe: a Guide to Research*, edited by David Whitford, 136–157. Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2008.
- Maag, Karin. 'Education and Literacy'. In *The Reformation World*, edited by Andrew Pettegree, 535–544. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Maag, Karin. *Seminary or University?: the Genevan Academy and Reformed Higher Education, 1560–1620*. Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995.
- Maclean, Ian. *Learning and the Market Place: Essays in the History of the Early Modern Book*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Maclean, Ian. *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion: The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Mährle, Wolfgang. *Academia Norica: Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf, 1575–1623*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000.
- Magnani, Lauro. 'Temporary Architecture and Public Decoration: the Development of Images'. In *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, Vol. 1, ed. J. R. Mulryne, 250–260. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

- Manetsch, Scott M. *Calvin's Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Reformed Church, 1536–1609*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Marino, James J. 'The Queen of Bohemia's Wedding'. In *Renaissance Shakespeare: Shakespeare Renaissances: Proceedings of the Ninth World Shakespeare Congress*, edited by Martin Procházka et al., 135–142. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2014.
- Marsh, Christopher. *Music and Society in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Mauss, Marcel. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Translated by Ian Cunnison. London: Cohen & West, 1969.
- McFeely, Julia Craig. 'The Signifying Serpent: Seduction by Cultural Stereotype in 17th-Century England'. In *Music, Sensation and Sensuality*, edited by Linda Austern, 299–317. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- McKee, Elsie Anne. *Reforming Popular Piety in Sixteenth-Century Strasbourg: Katharina Schütz Zell and her Hymnbook*. Princeton: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1994.
- McKenzie, Donald F. *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts*, 2nd Edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- McLaren, Peter. *Schooling as a Ritual Performance: Towards a Political Economy of Educational Symbols and Gestures*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- Merz, Ludwig. 'Alt-Heidelberg in Kupfer gestochen'. *Badische Heimat* 43 (1963): 112–124.
- Meuthen, Erich. *Kölner Universitätsgeschichte, Vol. 1, Die alte Universität*. Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1988.
- Miller, Ross J. 'John Calvin and the Reformation of Church Music in the 16th Century'. PhD diss., Claremont Graduate School, 1971.
- Mittler, Elmar, ed., *Bibliotheca Palatina: Katalog zur Ausstellung vom 8. Juli bis 2. November 1986, Heiliggeistkirche Heidelberg*. Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1986.
- Moe, Bjarke. 'Musikkulturel trafik i København og Rostock: Musikerrekruttering og repertoirefornyelse i første halvdel af 1600-tallet'. PhD diss., København Universitet, 2010.

- Moeller, Bernd. 'Stadt und Buch: Bemerkungen zur Struktur der Reformatorischen Bewegung in Deutschland'. In *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Reformation in England und Deutschland*, edited by W.J. Mommsen, 25–39. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979.
- von Moers-Messmer, Wolfgang. *Heidelberg und seine Kurfürsten: die grosse Zeit der Geschichte Heidelbergs als Haupt- und Residenzstadt der Kurpfalz*. Ubstadt-Weiher: Verlag Regionalkultur, 2001.
- Moore, Cornelia Niekus. *The Maiden's Mirror: Reading Material for German Girls in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1987.
- Murdock, Graeme. 'The Importance of Being Josiah: An Image of Calvinist Identity'. *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 29 (1998): 1043–1059.
- Neumeier, Marco. 'The Epitome of a *Residenzstadt*: Heidelberg at the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century'. In *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, edited by Sara Smart and Mara E. Wade, 427–462. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013.
- Niemöller, Klaus. *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600*. Regensburg: Bosse, 1969.
- Nischan, Bodo. *Prince, People, Confession: the Second Reformation in Brandenburg*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.
- Nischan, Bodo. 'Ritual and Protestant Identity in Late Reformation Germany'. In *Protestant History and Identity in Sixteenth-Century Europe*, Vol. 2, *The Later Reformation*, 142–158. edited by Bruce Gordon, Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996.
- Oberman, Heiko. *Luther: Man between God and the Devil*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.
- Oettinger, Rebecca. *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Otnes, Cele, and Tina M. Lowrey, ed. *Contemporary Consumption Rituals: A Research Anthology*. Mahwah, N.J. and London: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004.
- Owens, Jessie Ann. *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450–1600*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

- Ozment, Steven. *The Age of Reform 1250–1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Pettegree, Andrew. *The Book in the Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Pettegree, Andrew. *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Pfaff, Karl. *Geschichte der Stadt Stuttgart nach Archival-Urkunden und andern bewährten Quellen*. Vol. 1. Stuttgart, Sonnewald, 1845.
- Pietzsch, Gerhard. 'Die Beschreibungen deutscher Fürstenhochzeiten von der Mitte des 15. bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts als musikgeschichtliche Quellen'. *Anuario musical*, 15 (1960): 21–62.
- Pietzsch, Gerhard. 'Heidelberger Häuser und Bewohnerliste von 1579'. *Pfälzer Heimat* 14 (1963): 12–14.
- Pietzsch, Gerhard. *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Musik am Kurpfälzischen Hof zu Heidelberg bis 1622*. Mainz: F. Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1963.
- Pohlig, Matthias. *Zwischen Gelehrsamkeit und konfessioneller Identitätsstiftung: Lutherische Kirchen- und Universalgeschichtsschreibung, 1546–1617*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- Polk, Keith. 'Voices and Instruments: Soloists and Ensembles in the 15th Century'. *Early Music* 18 (1990): 179–98.
- Pollack, Janet. 'Princess Elizabeth Stuart as Musician and Muse'. In *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women: Many-Headed Melodies*, edited by Thomasin K. LaMay, 399–424. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Pollack, Janet. 'A Re-evaluation of *Parthenia* and Its Context'. PhD Diss., Duke University, 2001.
- Pontius, Josef. 'Eine anonyme Kurpfälzische Orgeltabulatur'. PhD diss., Universität Saarlandes, 1960.
- Poppen, Hermann. *Das erste Kurpfälzer Gesangbuch und seine Singweisen*. Lahr: Karlsruhe, 1938.

- Port, Wilhelm. *Hieronymus Commelinus, 1550–1597: Leben und Werk eines Heidelberger Druck-Verlegers*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1938.
- Porter, Cecelia Hopkins. *Five Lives in Music: Women Performers, Composers, and Impresarios from the Baroque to the Present*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2012.
- Press, Volker. ‘Bayerns wittelsbachische Gegenspieler-Die Heidelberger Kurfürsten, 1505–1685’. In *Um Glauben und Reich: Kurfürst Maximilian I.*, edited by Hubert Glaser, 24–39. Munich: Hirmer, 1980.
- Press, Volker. *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat: Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz 1559–1619*. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1970.
- Rauschnig, Hermann. *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig*. Danzig: Kommissionsverlag der Danziger Verlags-Gesellschaft m.b.h., Paul Rosenberg, 1931.
- Reinhard, Wolfgang. ‘Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: a Reassessment’. *The Catholic Historical Review*, 75/3 (1989): 383–404.
- Reinhard, Wolfgang. ‘Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters’. *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 10 (1983): 257–76.
- Reske, Christoph. *Die Buchdrucker des 16. Und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet: Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007.
- Richter, Julius, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogia*, Vol. 52, *Das erziehungswesen am hofe der Wettiner Albertinischer (haupt-)linie*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1913.
- Ridder-Symeons, Hilde de. ‘Mobility’. In *A History of the University in Europe*, Vol. 2, *Universities in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)*, edited by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 416–448. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Ritoók-Szalay, Ágnes. ‘Warum Melanchthon? Über die Wirkung Melanchthons im ehemaligen Ungarn’. In *Melanchthon und Europa*, Vol.1, edited by Günter Frank and Martin Treu, 273–284. Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2001.
- Rode-Breymann, Susanne, and Arne Spohr. ‘Michael Praetorius als Agent von Kulturtransfer in der Frühen Neuzeit: eine Einleitung’. In *Michael Praetorius: Vermittler europäischer Musiktraditionen um 1600*, edited by Susanne Rode-Breymann and Arne Spohr, 7–20. Hildesheim: Olms, 2011.

- Roper, Lyndal. *The Holy Household: Women and Morals, in Reformation Augsburg*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Roper, Lyndal. *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Rose, Stephen. “‘Haus Kirchen Cantorei’: Lutheran Domestic Devotional Music in the Age of Confessionalisation’. In *Musik in neuzeitlichen Konfessionskulturen (16.–19. Jahrhundert): Räume—Medien—Funktionen*, edited by Norbert Haag, Michael Fischer and Gabriele Haug-Moritz, 103–22. Ostfilden: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2014.
- Rose, Stephen. ‘The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600–40’. *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130/1 (2005): 1–37.
- Rose, Stephen. ‘Schein's Occasional Music and the Social Order in 1620s Leipzig’. *Early Music History* 23 (2004): 253–284.
- Rose, Stephen. ‘Trumpeters and Diplomacy on the Eve of the Thirty Years’ War: the *album amicorum* of Jonas Kröschel’. *Early Music* 40/3 (2012): 379–392.
- Rüde, Magnus. *England und Kurpfalz im werdenden Mächteeuropa (1608–1632): Konfession, Dynastie, kulturelle Ausdrucksformen*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007.
- Ruhnke, Martin. ‘Mancinus, Thomas’. *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 24 April, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/17599>.
- Ruth, Julie A. ‘It’s the Feeling that Counts: Toward an Understanding of Emotion and Its Influence on Gift-Exchange Processes’. In *Gift Giving: A Research Anthology*, edited by Cele Otnes and Richard F. Beltramini, 195–216. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1996.
- Salatino, Kevin. *Incendiary Art: the Representation of Art in Early Modern Europe*. Ann Arbor: Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1998.
- Salmen, Walter. *Musikleben im 16. Jahrhundert*. Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1976.
- Schreurs, Eugene. ‘Musical Relations between the Court and Collegiate Chapels in the Netherlands, 1450–1560’. In *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, edited by Juan José

- Carreras and Bernardo García García, 103–120. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005.
- Schilling, Heinz. ‘Confessional Europe’. In *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600*, Vol. 2, *Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Thomas A. Brady et al., 641–681. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Schilling, Heinz, and István György Tóth. ‘From Empires to Family Circles: Religious and Cultural Borderlines in the Age of Confessionalisation’. In *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, Vol. 1, *Religion and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, edited by Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth, 25–48. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Schindler, Norbert. *Rebellion, Community and Custom in Early Modern Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Schmidt-Beste, Thomas. ‘Dedicating Music Manuscripts: On Function and Form of Paratexts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Sources’. In ‘*Cui dono lepidum novum libellum*’? *Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century*, edited by Ignace Bossuyt et al., 81–108. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008.
- Schneider, M.J. ‘Aspects of Mandan/Hidatsa Giveaways’. *Plains Anthropologist* 26/91 (1981): 43–50.
- Schönstadt, Hans-Jörg. *Antichrist, Weltheilgeschehen und Gottes Werkzeug: Römische Kirche, Reformation und Luther im Spiegel des Reformationsjubiläums 1617*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978.
- Scholes, Percy. *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: a Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations*. London: Oxford University Press, 1934; reprinted London: Russell & Russell, 1962.
- Schuhmacher, Gerhard. ‘Der beliebte, kritisierte und verbesserte Lobwasser-Psalter’. *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 12 (1967): 70–88.
- Schünemann, Georg. *Geschichte der deutschen Schulmusik*. Leipzig: Kistner & Siegel, 1928.
- Schwab, Heinrich. ‘Ratsmusik und Hausmusik—Offizielles und privates Musizieren aus der Zeit zwischen 1600 und 1800’. In *800 Jahre Musik in Lübeck. Teil II: Dokumentation zum Lübecker Musikfest 1982*, edited by Arnfried Edler, Werner Neugebauer and Heinrich Schwab, 31–42. Lübeck: Senat der Hansestadt Lübeck, Amt für Kultur, Veröffentlichung XXI, 1983.

- Schwinges, Rainer Christoph. 'Admission'. In *A History of the University in Europe*, Vol. 1, *Universities in the Middle Ages*, edited by Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 171–194. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Scribner, Robert. *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Scribner, Robert. 'How Many Could Read? Comments on Bernd Moeller's "Stadt und Buch"'. In *Stadtbürgertum und Adel in der Reformation: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte der Reformation in England und Deutschland*, edited by W.J. Mommsen, 44–45. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1979.
- Scribner, Robert. *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London: Hambledon, 1987).
- Scribner, Robert. 'Reformation, *Carnival* and the World turned Upside-down'. *Social History* (1978): 303–29.
- Seebaß, Gottfried, et al, ed. *Die Heiliggeistkirche zu Heidelberg 1398–1998*. Neustadt an der Weinstraße: Umschau Buchverlag 2001.
- Seidenspinner, Wolfgang, and Manfred Benner, ed. *Archäologischer Stadtkataster Baden-Württemberg*, Vol. 32, Heidelberg. Stuttgart: Baden-Württemberg Denkmalpflege, 2007.
- Selderhuis, Herman J. 'Luther totus noster est: the Reception of Luther's Thought at the Heidelberg Theological Faculty, 1583–1622'. *Mid-America Journal of Theology* 17 (2006): 101–119.
- Sherry, Jr., John F. 'Gift Giving in Anthropological Perspective'. *The Journal of Consumer Research* 10 (1983): 157–168.
- Siefert, Herbert. 'The Institution of the Imperial Court Chapel from Maximilian I to Charles VI'. In *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, edited by Juan José Carreras and Bernardo García García, 40–47. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005.
- Smart, Sara, and Mara R. Wade, ed. *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013.
- Smith, Bruce. *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-factor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

- Smith, Philip, and Jeffrey C. Alexander. 'Introduction: the New Durkheim'. In *Cambridge Companion to Durkheim*, edited by Jeffrey C. Alexander et al., 1–37. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Söhngen, Oskar. *Theologie der Musik*. Johannes Stauda Verlag: Kassel, 1967.
- Spohr, Arne. 'Michael Praetorius und das englische *Consort*'. In *Michael Praetorius: Vermittler europäischer Musiktraditionen um 1600*, edited by Susanne Rode-Breymann and Arne Spohr, 167–181. Hildesheim: Olms, 2011.
- Spohr, Arne. 'How chances it they travel?' *Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland 1579–1630*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009.
- Stachelin, Martin. 'Sixt Dietrich, ein deutscher Musiker der Reformationszeit'. In *Kirche und Gesellschaft im Heiligen Römischen Reich des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Harmut Boockmann, 165–185. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994.
- Stein, Fritz. *Geschichte des Musikwesens in Heidelberg bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 2 Vols. Heidelberg: Koester, 1921.
- Strauss, Gerald. *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Strohm, Reinhard. *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.
- Struck, Wolf-Heino. ed. *Germania Sacra*, Vol. 5, *Das Erzbistum Trier*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988.
- Summit, Jennifer. *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.
- Sykes, Karen Margaret. *Arguing with Anthropology: An Introduction to Critical Theories of the Gift*. London, New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Tambiah, Stanley J. 'A Performative Approach to Ritual'. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 65 (1979): 133–169.
- Taruskin, Richard. *The Oxford History of Western Music*, Vol. 1, *Music from the Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Thomas, Andrew L. *A House Divided: Wittelsbach Confessional Court Cultures in the Holy Roman Empire, c. 1550–1650*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

- Thompson, Bard. *Liturgies of the Western Church*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1980.
- Thompson, Bard. 'The Palatinate Church Order of 1563'. *Church History* 23 (1954): 339–354.
- Thompson, Bard. 'The Palatinate Liturgy, Heidelberg, 1563'. *Theology and Life* 6 (1968): 59–66.
- Thompson, Kenneth. 'Durkheim and Sacred Identity'. In *On Durkheim's 'Elementary Forms of Religious Life'*, edited by N.J. Allen, W.S.F. Pickering and W. Watts Miller, 92–104. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Trocme-Latter, Daniel. 'The Psalms as a Mark of Protestantism: The Introduction of Liturgical Psalm-Singing in Geneva'. *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 20 (2011): 149–167.
- Varwig, Bettina. *The Histories of Heinrich Schütz*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Veit, Patrice. 'Private Frömmigkeit, Lektüre und Gesang im protestantischen Deutschland der frühen Neuzeit: Das Modell der Leichenpredigten'. In *Frühe Neuzeit—Frühe Moderne: Forschungen zu Vielschichtigkeit von Übergangsprozessen*, edited by Rudolf Vierhaus et al., 271–295. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992.
- Wackernagel, Philipp, ed. *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 5 Vols. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1864–1877.
- Wagner, Lavern J. 'Hollander, Christian'. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed 14 April, 2014, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13218>.
- Wallner, Bertha Antonia. *Musikalische Denkmäler der Steinätzkunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Lentner, 1912.
- Watanabe-O'Kelly, Helen. *Court Culture in Dresden: from Renaissance to Baroque*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Watanabe-O'Kelly, Helen. 'The Protestant Union: Festivals, Festival Books, War and Politics'. In *'Europa Triumphans': Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, ed., J.R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewing, Vol. 2, 15–34. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

- Wathey, Andrew B. 'The English Royal Chapel: Models and Perspectives'. In *The Royal Chapel in the Time of the Habsburgs: Music and Ceremony in the Early Modern European Court*, edited by Juan José Carreras and Bernardo García García, 23–28. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005.
- Wathey, Andrew B. 'Musicology, Archives and Historiography'. In *Musicology and Archival Research*, edited by Barbara Haggh et al., 3–26. Brussels: Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique, 1994.
- Wegman, Rob. 'Musical Offerings in the Renaissance'. *Early Music* 33/3 (2005): 425–437.
- Werner, Arno. 'Musik und Musiker in der Landesschule Pforta'. *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 8/4 (1907): 535–550.
- Whaley, Joachim. *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire*, Vol. 1, *Maximilian I to the Peace of Westphalia, 1493–1648*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Widmann, Benedikt. 'Die Kompositionen der Psalmen von Statius Olthof'. *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* v (1889): 290–321.
- Winkler, Klaus. 'Heidelberger Ballette: Musik und Tanz am kurpfälzischen Hof von Elizabeth Stuart und Friedrich V.'. *Musik in Baden-Württemberg* 7 (2000): 11–23.
- Winkler, Klaus. "...der Princessin zu Heydelberg Dantzmeister hatts componirt": Heidelberg Court Music between Tradition and *avant-garde*'. In *The Palatine Wedding of 1613: Protestant Alliance and Court Festival*, edited by Sara Smart and Mara E. Wade, 515–544. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013.
- Wolgast, Eike. 'Das Collegium Sapientiae in Heidelberg im 16. Jahrhundert'. *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 147 (1999): 303–318.
- Wolgast, Eike. *Die Universität Heidelberg, 1386–1986*. Berlin: Springer, 1986.
- Wolgast, Eike. *Reformierte Konfession und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert*. Heidelberg: C. Winter Verlag, 1998.
- Wundt, Friedrich Peter. *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Stadt Heidelberg*, Vol.1. Mannheim: Burgerspitals-Buchdrucker, 1805.
- Wustmann, Rudolf. *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, Vol. 1, *Bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1909.

- Zahn, Eberhard. *Die Heiliggeistkirche zu Heidelberg*. Karlsruhe: Verlag Evangelischer Presseverband, 1960.
- Zahn, Johannes, ed. *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*, 6 Vols. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1889–93; reprinted Hildesheim: Olms, 1963.
- Zecher, Carla. ‘The Gendering of the Lute in Sixteenth-Century French Love Poetry’. *Renaissance Quarterly* 53 (2000): 769–91.
- Zirnbauer, Heinz. *Hans Leo Hassler: Leben und Werk*. Nuremberg: Fränkische Verlagsanstalt und Buchdruckerei, 1964.
- Ziwes, Franz-Josef. ‘Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Heidelberg’. In *Geschichte der Juden in Heidelberg*, edited by Peter Blum, 36–41. Heidelberg: Guderjahn, 1996.
- Zulauf, Ernst. ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landgräfllich-Hessischen Hofkapelle zu Cassel bis auf die Zeit Moritz der Gelehrten’. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte und Landeskunde*. Neue Folge. 26 (1901): 99–119.

Appendix A

Transcription of 1610 Contrafactum Text, GHA, MS 10, Palat. Misc.

Ein ander Lied

Vom unzeitigem Abschied Friedrich des IV.

An den Herren Administrator

Vnd zu singen im Thon des 39. Psalms im Lobwasser.

1.

Churfürst Friedrich, Pfaltzgraf bey Rhein, ist tod,
dass freuet sich die Pöpstisch Rott,
verstehet ihr nicht ihr Teutschen blinden landt,
Was der hell stadt der Christenheit
So wardts darauss dass die Papsten dran
So gross freud vnd frolocken han.

2.

O Teutschland hetten wir diesen fürsten noch,
du lidst nicht mehr dass spanisch Joch,
dan aufs ihr practicirn hett er gut acht
Vnd sie weisslich zu schanen macht.
Nein, durch seinen unzeitgen Abschied
Gleich alles gantz darnider leid.

3.

Wer ist der Mensch so gar Vergänglich doch,
Ob er schon in der Welt ist hoch,
Wie gar ist nicht sich auff fürsten Verlahn,
Weil sie so schnall zu boden gahn,
dan[n] wan man Ihrer am meisten bedürfst,
der Tod sie in die Gruben wirfst.

4.

Nun hertzog Hannss der Churfaltz Vormundt treu
Greift In die Sach an Recht und frey,
Vnd nimb uff dich die Last so Heck und schwer
dir wird beystehen Gott der Herr,
dein pflegsohn sey ein rechten Casimir,
darauss wird gross Lob erwachsen dir.

5.

Sieh zu, dass fat bestehn der geschlossnen Bund,
Vnd nicht schnell etwan geh zu grund
durch der Papsten List Vnd Trueg geschwind,

Vnd ander Unrichtig gesind,
die unter vns zu umsern Zeit vnd streit
seind sehr gefleissen alletseit.

6.

Durch den bund kan, nechst Gott, Teutschland bestehen,
Es muss, dan sonst zu grund gar gehen,
Weil es aus lauter Mutserillen so sehr
Tobt Herr Christ, wider deiner Lehr,
Ach Herr Verschon deins Wolckes, Vnd beiwahr
für alln Ungluck Vnd Ewigbyefahr.

Appendix B

Heidelberg Court Musicians, 1556–1618

This appendix was compiled in large part from Gerhard Pietzsch, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Musik am Kurpfälzischen Hof zu Heidelberg bis 1622* (Mainz: F. Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1963). Additional sources newly explored (or re-examined) in this thesis that yielded new findings include: Gustav Toepke, ed., *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg*, vol. 2, 1554–1662 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1886); A. Mays and K. Christ, ‘Einwohnerverzeichnis der Stadt Heidelberg vom Jahr 1588’, *Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der rheinischen Pfalz I* (1890); Mays and Christ, ‘Einwohnerverzeichnis des 4. Quartiers der Stadt vom 1600’, *Neues Archiv für die Geschichte der Stadt Heidelberg und der rheinischen Pfalz II* (1893).

Due to the nature of the sources, the dates below are those in which musicians are known to have been active in Heidelberg. It is possible, therefore, that individual musicians were active in Heidelberg earlier or later than they appear in extant sources. As the categories of musician found in the sources are inconsistent or unclear, the original designations have been preserved and included here.

Kapellmeister		
Johannes Knöfel	1579–1590?	
Johannes Dröttlein	1598–1599?	
Tobias Hoffkuntz	1599–1611	
Andreas Raselius	1600–1602	
Unknown ¹	1609	
Hofcantors		
Johannes Hagenberger	1540–1580/2	Sengermeister
Peter Hackh	1577–?	Sengermeister
Lorentz Schöpffel	1579–?	Sengermeister
Bartholomaeus Lupulus	1591–1600	Hofkantor

¹ A *Gratulation* composition was presented to Herzog Johann Friedrich of Württemberg from an unnamed *kurpfälzische Kapellmeister* in November 1609. See Gustav Bossert, ‘Die Hofkapelle unter Johann Friedrich, 1608–1628’, *Württembergische Vierteljahreshefte für Landesgeschichte*, Neue Folge, 20 (1911): 200.

Georg Coler	1593–1597	Hofkantor
Nicolaus Trencker	? –1597	Hofkantor
Caspar Wolf (mat 1576)	1597–?	Hofkantor
Jakob Oberkampf	1599–1602	Hofkantor
Johann Seck	1602?–1606	Hofkantor
Johann Schnabel	1606?–1608	Hofkantor
Organists		
Sebastian Ringler	1577–before 1593	
Johannes Dröttlein	1599–1602	
Georg Hintermayr	1598–1603/04	
Johann Lautensack	1608–1623	
Lutenists		
Sebastian Ochsenkhun	1546–1574	
Georg Hoffstetter	? –1584	
Hans Georg Scheu	after 1592–1601	
Elias Mertel	1592–1595 (engaged on one-off occasions in 1600, 1601, 1605 and 1606)	
Carl Bocquet	1599–1602	
Martin Dauscher	1607–1608	
Abraham Aymé	1613–1616	
Harpists		
Peter Franckh	1594–1607	
Johannes Dröttlein	1559?, 1582–1587, 1598–1603/04	
Singers		
Valentin Stauff	1552–1560?	Tenorist
Leonhard Rehtaler	1546–1566?	Tenorist
Martin Hilarius	1582?–May 1584	Altist
Christoph Bauer	? –1584	Tenorist
Samuel Kneuttel	? –1584	Altist
Singers and <i>Muscanten</i>		
Kilian Obrigk	1546–1577	Baucher (Pauker)

Georg Griesendick	1589–1592?	Instrumentist, Scribent
Christoph Dorer	1594–1608	Trompeter, 1597 Musicant, 1602
Hans Georg Obrigk	1594–1602?	Heerpaucker zu Hof
Joachim Pletternick	1597–1608	Mitglied der Hofkapelle
Christoph Eder	1601	Musicant zu Hof
Nicolaus Falck	1601	Musicant zu Hof
Hans Georg Gerner	1601	Mitglied der Kapelle
Christoph Piscator	1601–before 1608	Mitglied der Hofkapelle
Jakob Nuzius	1602–1603	Musicant
Georg Rüdel	1602	Musicant, cantor
Stephan Knaut	1602	Mitglied der Hofkapelle
Johann Muck	1602	Musicant
Christoph Schapf	1602	Musicant
Georg Schultheiss	1602	Musicant
Lucas Rorer	1602, 1611	Musicant
Christoph Balthasar	1602	Musicant zu Hof
Lorentz Hausleuben	1602	Musicant
Georg Cronenberger	1602–03	Musicant zu Hof
Hans Groe	1602–1606?	Trombter
Chiliam Teutsch	1602–1608	Trombter, 1602
Zacharias Pistorius	1602–1608	Mitglied der Hofkapelle, Cantor
Georg Friedrich Hoyeul	1603–1611	Hofmusiker, Musicant
Konrad Hagius	1604	Churf. Pfalz Musicus
Christian Engelmann	1604–1611	Musicant
Johann Eigenbach	1608	Musicant
Georg Deml	1608	Musicant
Thomas Simpson	1608–1610	Hofmusicant
Michael Ursinus	1607/08-1610	Musicant
Leonhard Kress	1610–1615	Hofpaucker
Trumpeters, trombonists, cornettists, drummers		
Matheus Mauwolt	1546–1577	
Hans Zeyss	1546–before 1588	
Jost Schirmer	after 1546–before 1577	Trompeter
Joseph Fleisunger	1561–?	Feldtrompeter
Michael Kaiser	1563–?	Hoftrompeter

Kilian Obrigk d. J.	1568–1598	Hoftrompeter
Ambrosius Kolb(a)	17 October 1572–1574	Trommler
Leonhart Müller	11 Oct 1573–April 1575	Turmbläser
Corwein Kole	1573–1602	Trompeter
Georg Volck	1574–1576?	Turmbläser
Hans Meurer	1574–1597	Hoftrompeter
Veit Wenig	1574–before 1600	Hoftrompeter
Jeremias Mayer	1574–1611	Posauner
Georg Kremer	April 1575	Türmer
Burckhard Ruckhardt	1576–1608?	Hoftrompeter
Hans Biner	before 1577–?	Trompeter
Heinrich Modler	before 1577–?	Trompeter
Hans Stadan	before 1577–?	Trompeter
Barthel Dham	1577–before 1600	Trompeter
Heinrich Neuhöfer	1577–1613	Trommter
Nicolaus Groe d.J.	1579	Trommeter
Lucas Luttauert	1581	Trommeter
Hans Hoffman	1582	Trompeter
Hanss Conrad	1588	Zinkenbläser zu hof
Paul ?	1588	Trompeter, Zinkenbläser
? Fritz	1588	Zinkenbläser zu hof
Mathias Grywaldt	1588–1592	Trompeter
Hieronymus Müller	1588–1608	Hoftrompeter
Hans Igen	1590–before 1600	Trompeter
Friedrich Pfitzner	1592–1616/17	Instrumentist und Trompeter
Johann Casimir Dhan	1594–1602	Hoftrompeter
Hans Schwartz	1594–1604	Trompeter
Balthasar Koch	1594–1616	Hoftrompeter
Hans Gorret	1594–1616	Hoftrompeter
Sebastian Groe	1594–1616	Hoftrompeter
Elias Lebenius	1595	Hofthürmer
Georg Schmidt	1597	Hofthürmer
Wolff Ernst Kolba	1597–1620	Hoftrompeter und instrumentist
Hans ?	1599	Trompeter
Johann a Fossa	1599–before 1608	Zinkenbläser/Musicant
Abraham ?	1600	Apprentice trompeter
Barthel ?	1600	Hoftrompeter
Casimir Barthel	1600	Hoftrompeter

Steffan Sigmund Kolba	1600	Hoftrompeter
Hieronymus Schmidt	1600	Trompeter
Hans Frantz Waldthorn	1600	Hoftrompeter
Uriel Mayer	1600–1602	Trompeter
Dietrich Mohr	1600–1616	Trompeter, Pauker
Friedrich Neuhöfer	1600–1616	Hoftrompeter
Hans Sturm	1600	Trommeten und Feldtblasen lernen lassen
Conrat Eckart	1602–1604	Trompeter und Instrumentist
Wilhelm Friedel	1608	Trompeter
Wilhelm ?	1608	Trompeterlehrjunge
Johann Bienmann	1608–1616	Hoftrompeter
Christoph Fincke	1611	Hoftrompeter
Hanss Clement	1611–1613?	Trompeter
Hieronymus Schmidt II	1611–1621	Hoftrompeter
Grundel Schmidt	1613	Hoftrompeter
Carl Heller (Keller?)	1613	Hoftrompeter
Hans Friedrich Pfitzner	1613–1616?	Hoftrompeter
Hartmann Clemens	1616–1619?	Trompeter

Appendix C

Table of Heidelberg Lutheran and Calvinist Liturgies, 1546–1618

Constructed using: Emil Sehling, ed., *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, vol. XIV, *Kurpfalz* (Mohr: Tübingen, 1969); Bard Thompson, ‘The Palatinate Church Order of 1563’, *Church History* 23 (1954): 339–354; Thompson, ‘The Palatinate Liturgy, Heidelberg, 1563’, *Theology and Life* 6 (1968): 59–66; Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1980); Robin A. Leaver, *A Communion Sunday in Scotland ca. 1780: Liturgies and Sermons* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 151–157; Richard Hoppin, *Medieval Music* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), 119, 122.

Roman Rite pre-Tridentine	Lutheran <i>Deutsche Messe</i> 1526	Heidelberg Quasi-Lutheran Liturgy 1546–1556	Heidelberg Lutheran Liturgy 1556–1563 1577–1583	Genevan Liturgy 1542	Heidelberg Calvinist Liturgy 1563–1577 1583–1623
Fore-Mass	Liturgy of the Word		Liturgy of the Word	Entrance by means of Sacrifice	
Introduction		Versicle and Collect in Latin or German sung by priest			Greeting
Introit	Entrance Hymn or Introit	Introit sung by choir	Latin Introit (pupils only) or German hymn (with congregation)	Reading from Scripture	Reading from Scripture
					German Psalm sung
Kyrie	Kyrie	Kyrie (Latin)	Kyrie (Latin or German)	Confession of Sin	Prayer of Confession and Lord’s Prayer
Gloria	(Gloria)	Et in terra pax (Latin)	Et in terra pax (Latin or German)	Pardon of Sin	Pardon of Sin

				Absolution	
				Ten Commandments (sung)	
				Proclamation of Word	
Collect	Collect read facing the altar	Collect sung by priest	Collect	Prayer for Illumination	
Epistle	Epistle read or sung facing the people	Epistle sung by priest	Epistle	Scripture Reading	
Gradual Alleluia Sequence (optional)	German hymn	Alleluia and Sequence sung by choir			
Gospel	Gospel read or sung facing the people	Gospel in German sung by priest			
Sermon (optional)	German Credo	Latin credo sung by choir, German credo sung by congregation (chorus aber das latheinisch simbolum Nicenum und das volck: Wir glauben all an einem Gott etc.)	German Credo		
Credo	Sermon	Sermon	Sermon	Sermon	Sermon
Oremus (dismissal of non-communicants)					Prayer and Lord's Prayer
Sacrifice-Mass	Liturgy of the Upper Room— Communion	Liturgy of the Upper Room— Communion	Liturgy of the Upper Room— Communion	Response of Covenant Community	Communion (monthly)

	(weekly)	(monthly)	(monthly)	(quarterly)	
				Collection of Alms	
Offertory rites <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offertory • Prayers and Psalm 25 • Little Canon (optional) • Secret (<i>Sursum Corda</i>) 		Admonition from Ottheinrich's Neuburg order of 1546	Confession and Prayer	Prayer of Intercession	
Eucharistic prayers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preface • Sanctus • Canon 		The entire Preface sung by priest on Feast Days, and Sanctus sung by choir			
Pater noster	Lord's Prayer read or sung from pulpit or altar	Lord's Prayer in German sung by priest		Lord's Prayer	
				Apostles' Creed (sung)	
				Partaking of the Covenant Meal	
	Admonition		Admonition	Words of Institution	Exhortation
			Lord's Prayer	Exhortation	Words of Institution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-Examination • Fencing the table • Comfort of the

					Fainthearted <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meditation of Christ's Atonement • Participation in the Lord's Supper • Communion with Christ and Each Other
				Consecration Prayer	Consecration Prayer <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lord's Prayer • Creed • Short Exhortation
Agnus Dei					
Communion	Consecration, Elevation and distribution of the Bread	Priest sings consecration (<i>verba consecrationes</i>)		Bread	Bread and Wine Distributed
	Sanctus sung after bread is administered				
	Consecration and distribution of the Wine			Wine	
		'Jesus Christus unser Heiland', 'Gott sei gelobet' or another Christian German psalm to be sung by			German psalms sung or read while bread and wine is administered

		congregation during communion, or the Responsory 'Discubuit Jesus cum discipulis suis' or the German 'Pange lingua' sung by the choir			
Prayers					Prayer of Thanksgiving
End of Communion	End of Communion	End of Communion	End of Communion	End of Communion	End of Communion
Postcommunion	Agnus Dei sung	Choir sings 'Agnus Dei'	German psalm or hymn	Psalm (sung)	German psalm (sung)
	Hus's hymn				
	Prayer of Thanksgiving	Collect sung by priest		Prayer of Thanksgiving	
Ite, missa est or Benedicamus Domino	Aaronic Blessing	Aaronic blessing sung by priest	Aaronic Blessing	Aaronic Blessing	Aaronic Blessing

Appendix D

Table of Hymnbooks Printed in Heidelberg and Neustadt, 1567–1620

For a key of library sigla, see <http://www.rism.info/en/sigla.html>

City	Printer	Publication title	Year and DKL Number	Copies viewed
Heidelberg	Johann Mayer	[1.] Psalmen vnd Geistliche Lieder sampt dem Christlichen Catechismo, Kirchenceremonien vnd Gebeten. DM. Gedruckt in der Churfürstlichen Statt Heidelberg durch Johannem Meyer. 1567. [2.] Geistliche Gesenge auß dem Catechismo Doc. Mart. Luther	1567 ⁰⁴	I Rvat
Heidelberg	M. Schirat	Psalmen, Hundert vn Fünffig sampt andern Composition, Geistlichen Liedern, vnnd Kirchen ordnung. Auffs new gemehrt vnd gebessert. B. Anno M.D.LXIX. Psalmen vnd Geistliche Lieder sampt dem Christlichen Catechismo, Kirchenceremonien vnd Gebeten. DM. Gedruckt in der Churfürstlichen Statt Heidelberg durch Michael Schirat	1569 ¹¹	S Uu
Heidelberg	M. Schirat	DI PSALMEN Davids Jn Teutische gesangrey- men, nach Französischer melodi- en unt sylben art, mit sönder- lichem fleise gebracht von Melisso Samt dem Biblischen texte: auch ig- licher psalmen kürzem inhalte unt gebätlin.	1572 ⁰⁴	I Rvat (2); GB Lbm; D HEu
Heidelberg	J. Mayer, with Matthäus Harnisch	Psalmen Davids/vnd andere Geistliche Lieder/sampt dem Christlichen Catechismo, Kirchenceremonien vnd Gebeten. Jetzt widerumb auffs new Corrigiert/ vnd mit etlichen Psalmen vnd Gesängen gemehrt. B. Gedruckt in der Churfürstlichen Statt Heidelberg durch Joannem Meier/ in verlegung Matthej Harnisch.	1573 ⁰¹	D HEth
Heidelberg	J. Mayer, with M. Harnisch	Psalmen, des Königlichen Propheten Davids/ Jn Teutsche reimen verstendtlich vnnd deutlich gebracht nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd reimen art/ mit vorgehender anzeig eines jeden Psalmes Inhalt/vnnd vogendem darauff andächtigem Gebett. Durch den Ehrneuesten Hochgelehrten Herrn Ambrosium Lobwasser/ der Rechten Doctorn/	1574 ⁰³	D B-MG

		vnd Fürstlicher Durchleuchtigkeit in Preussen Rathe. Auch seindt etliche schone gebett wider die feindt der Christenheit von newem hinzugethan. Heidelberg. M.D.LXXIII. Gedruckt in der Churfürstlichen Statt Heidelberg durch Joannem Meier/ in verlegung Mattej Harnisch.		
Heidelberg	J. Mayer, with M. Harnisch	Psalmen Dauids/vnd andere Geistliche Lieder/sampt dem Christlichen Catechismo, Kirchenceremonien vnd Gebeten. Jetzt widerumb auffs new Corrigiert/ vnd mit etlichen Psalmen vnd Gesängen gemehrt. B. Gedruckt in der Churfürstlichen Statt Heidelberg durch Joannem Meier/ in verlegung Mattej Harnisch.	1575 ⁰⁷	I Rvat
Heidelberg	J. Mayer or M. Schirat	Psalmen, des Königlichen Propheten Dauids/ Jn Teutsche reimen verstendtlich vnnd deutlich gebracht nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd reimen art/ mit vorgehender anzeig eines jeden Psalmes Jnhalt/vnnd vogendem darauff andächtigem Gebett. B. Durch den Ehrneuesten Hochgelehrten Herrn Ambrosium Lobwasser/ der Rechten Doctorn/ vnd Fürstlicher Durchleuchtigkeit in Preussen Rathe. Anno 1577. W. Jetzt widerumb auffs new getruckt vnd mit allem fleiß corrigiert. M.D.LXXVJJ	1577 ⁰³	D B-MG
Heidelberg	Jacob Müller	Psalmen, Geistliche Lieder vnd Lobgesänge. D. Mart. Luth. auch Anderer Gottseliger Lehrer vnnd Männer, auffs fleißigest von newem zugericht, vnd in eine richtige Ordnung gebracht. Getruckt zu Heydelberg durch Jacob Müller. Gedruckt in der Churfürstlichen Statt Heidelberg durch Jacob Müller.	1578 ⁰²	Not extant
Heidelberg	J. Müller, with M. Harnisch	Psalmen, des Königlichen Propheten Dauids/ Jn Teutsche reimen verstendtlich vnnd deutlich gebracht nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd reimen art/ mit vorgehender anzeig eines jeden Psalmes Jnhalt/vnnd vogendem darauff andächtigem Gebett. Durch den Ehrneuesten Hochgelehrten Herrn Ambrosium Lobwasser/ der Rechten Doctorn/ vnd Fürstlicher Durchleuchtigkeit in Preussen Rathe. Alles nach dem Exemplar so der Autor corrigirt/ vnd in Anno 76. Zu Leipzig mit vier stimmen wider außgehen lassen vbersehen vnd verbessert. Heidelberg. MDLXXVIII. Gedruckt in der Churfürstlichen Statt Heidelberg durch Jacob Müller.	1578 ⁰³	GB Gu
Neustadt	M. Harnisch	Psalmen, des Königlichen Propheten Dauids/ Jn Teutsche reimen verstendtlich vnnd deutlich gebracht nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd reimen art/ mit vorgehender anzeig eines jeden Psalmes Jnhalt/vnnd vogendem darauff andächtigem Gebett. Durch den Ehrneuesten Hochgelehrten Herrn Ambrosium Lobwasser/ der Rechten Doctorn/	1582 ⁰⁶	

		vnd Fürstlicher Durchleuchtigkeit in Preussen Rathe. Alles nach dem Exemplar so der Autor corrigirt/ vnd in Anno 76. Zu Leipzig mit vier stimmen wider außgehen lassen vbersehen vnd verbessert. Gedruckt zu Newstatt an der Hardt, in der Fürstlichen Pfaltz durch Matthaeum Harnisch.		
Neustadt	M. Harnisch	Psalmen Dauids, mit vorgehender anzeig eines jeden Psalmes Inhalt, vnd darauff folgenden andechtigen Gebeten vnd anderen Geistlichen Liedern so in der Christlichen Kirchen vnd Gemein zu singen gebreuchlich, Samt dem christlichen Catechismo, Kirchen Ceremonien, vnd Gebeten, wie die in Kirchen vnd Schulen weiland der Churfürstlichen jetzt Fürstlichen Pfaltz getrieben werden. DM. Gedruckt in der Fürstlichen Pfaltz zu Newstadt an der Hart durch Matthaeum Harnisch, 1583.	1583 ⁰³	
Neustadt	M. Harnisch	Psalmen, des Königlichen Propheten Dauids/ In Teutsche reimen verstendtlch vnnd deutlich gebracht nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd reimen art/ mit vorgehender anzeig eines jeden Psalmes Inhalt/vnnd vgendem darauff andächtigem Gebett. Durch den Ehrneuesten Hochgelehrten Herrn Ambrosium Lobwasser/ der Rechten Doctorn/ vnd Fürstlicher Durchleuchtigkeit in Preussen Rathe. Auch seynd etliche Psalmen vnd andere Geistliche Lieder so von Christlichen Gottseligen Leuten gestellt vnd in der Christlichen Kirchen vnd Gemein bißanhero zu singen gebräuchlich zu endt mit angehenckt. Gedruckt zu Newstatt an der Hardt, in der Fürstlichen Pfaltz durch Matthaeum Harnisch. Gedruckt in der Fürstlichen Pfaltz zu Newstadt an der Hart durch Matthaeum Harnisch.	1585 ⁰⁵	
Neustadt	M. Harnisch	Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reimen Art mit vorgehender Anzeig eines Jeden Psalmen Innhalts vnd darauff folgenden andächtigen Gebeten. Durch Ambrosium Lobwasser der Rechten Doctorn/ vnd Fürstlicher Durchleuchtigkeit in Preussen Rathe. Gedruckt zu Newstatt an der Hardt durch Matthaeum Harnisch.	1585 ⁰⁶	
Neustadt	M. Harnisch	Psalmen Davids in Teutsche reimen...durch...Ambros Lobwasser...Auch seind etliche Psalmen vnnd andere Geistliche Lieder...angehenckt. Neustadt an der Hardt durch Matthaeum Hornisch, 1586.	1586 ⁰⁴	Not extant
Neustadt	M. Harnisch	Biblia, Das ist: Die ganze heilige schrifft deß Alten vnd Newen Testaments, verteutscht durch D. Martinum Lutherum...auch dem Christlichen Gottliebendem Leser zu mehrer bequemlichkeit nachvolgende stuck zu endt mit angehengt. I. Alle Psalmen Dauids	1591 ⁰³	D HEu

		nach Frantzösischer Melodey vnd reymen art in teutsche reymen verstendlich znd deutlich gebracht durch Ambrosium Lobwasser D. II. Erliche Psalmen Dauids vnd geistliche Lieder so von Herren D. Martino Luthero vnd andern Gottseligen Leuten gestalt. III. Catechismus, Oder kurtzer vnderriecht Christlicher lehr, wie der in kirchen vnd schulen der Chur vnd fürstlichen Pfaltz getrieben wirdt Sampt den Kirchen Ceremonien vnd Gebeten. Z. Gedruckt in der Fürstlichen Pfaltz zu Newstadt an der Hart durch Matthaeum Harnisch.		
Neustadt	M. Harnisch	Biblia, Das ist: Die ganze heilige schrifft deß Alten vnd Newen Testaments, verteutscht durch D. Martin Luther. Jetzo aber nicht allein der text mit Fleiß vberlesen vnd die ordentliche Abtheilung der Versicul vnd darauff gerichtete Summarien vn Lehren jedes Capitels, Concordantzen, Chronicken, Landtaffeln, vnd Figuren verbessert vnd gemehret: Sondern auch neben den Psalmen Dauids vnd geistlichen Liedern wie sie von D. Luther, Lobwasser, vnd andern Gottseligen Leuthen gestellet, vnd hiebevorsampt der Churfürstlichen Pfaltz Catechismo, Kirchen ceremonien vnd Gebetten unquarto gedruckt, etliche andere nützliche vnd beqveme Stück wie Zurück vermeldet wirdt mit angehengt. Durch Pareum der Heiligen Schrifft doctorn Gedruckt zu Newstadt an der Hardt. II. Psalmen Dauids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reimen Art Durch Amb. Lobwasser. Auch seynd etliche Psalmen vnd Geistliche Lieder so von Gottseligen vnd Gelehrten Männern gestellt neben dem christlichen Catechismo, Kirchen ceremonien vnd Gebetten wie die in Chur. Pfaltz gebräuchlich mit angehenckt. Z. Gedruckt in der Fürstlichen Pfaltz zu Newstadt an der Hart durch Matthaeum Harnisch.	1594 ⁰⁶	I Rvat
Neustadt	M. Harnisch	[Haupt-tbl. Fehlt, wahrscheinlich wie 1594] II. Die Prohpeten alle verteutscht. Durch D. Mart. Luther. Gedruckt in der Fürstlichen Pfaltz zu Newstadt an der Hart durch Matthaeum Harnisch.	1595 ⁰⁷	
Neustadt	M. Harnisch	Psalmen Dauids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reimen Art durch Amrosium Lobwasser. Auch seynd etliche Psalmen vnd Geistliche Lieder so von Gottseligen vnd Gelehrten Männern gestellt neben dem christlichen Catechismo, Kirchen ceremonien vnd Gebetten wie die in Chur. Pfaltz gebräuchlich mit angehenckt. Z. Gedruckt in der Fürstlichen Pfaltz zu Newstadt an der Hart durch Matthaeum Harnisch.	1596 ⁰⁵	

Neustadt	M. Harnisch	<p>Biblia, Das ist: Die ganze heilige schrift deß Alten vnd Newen Testaments, verteutscht durch D. Martin Luther. Jetzo aber nicht allein der text mit Fleiß vberlesen vnd die ordentliche Abtheilung der Versicul vnd darauff gerichtete Summarien vn Lehren jedes Capitels, Concordantzen, Chronicken, Landtaffeln, vnd Figuren verbessert vnd gemehret: Sondern auch neben den Psalmen Davids vnd geistlichen Liedern wie sie von D. Luther, Lobwasser, vnd andern Gottseligen Leuthen gestellet, vnd hiebevorsampt der Churfürstlichen Pfaltz Catechismo, Kirchen ceremonien vnd Gebetten unquarto gedruckt, etliche andere nützliche vnd beqveme Stück wie Zurück vermeldet wirdt mit angehengt. Durch Pareum der Heiligen Schrift doctorn Gedruckt zu Newstadt an der Hardt.</p> <p>II. Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reimen Art Durch Amb. Lobwasser. Auch seynd etliche Psalmen vnd Geistliche Lieder so von Gottseligen vnd Gelehrten Männern gestellt neben dem christlichen Catechismo, Kirchen ceremonien vnd Gebetten wie die in Chur. Pfaltz gebräuchlich mit angehenckt. Z. Gedruckt in der Fürstlichen Pfaltz zu Newstadt an der Hart durch Matthaeum Harnisch.</p>	1596 ⁰⁶	D S
Neustadt	Niclas Schramm	<p>Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reimen Art durch Amrosium Lobwasser. Auch seynd etliche Psalmen vnd Geistliche Lieder so von Gottseligen vnd Gelehrten Männern gestellt neben dem christlichen Catechismo, Kirchen ceremonien vnd Gebetten wie die in Chur. Pfaltz gebräuchlich. Z. Gedruckt zur Newstadt 1604.</p>	1604 ⁰⁶	
Neustadt	N. Schramm	<p>Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reimen Art durch Amrosium Lobwasser. Auch seynd etliche Psalmen vnd Geistliche Lieder so von Gottseligen vnd Gelehrten Männern gestellt neben dem christlichen Catechismo, Kirchen ceremonien vnd Gebetten wie die in Chur. Pfaltz gebräuchlich. Z. Gedruckt zur Newstadt bey N. Schramen.</p>	1605 ⁰¹	
Neustadt	N. Schramm	<p>Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reimen Art durch Amrosium Lobwasser. Auch seynd etliche Psalmen vnd Geistliche Lieder so von Gottseligen vnd Gelehrten Männern gestellt neben dem christlichen Catechismo, Kirchen ceremonien vnd Gebetten wie die in Chur. Pfaltz gebräuchlich mit angehengt. Z. Gedruckt zur Newstadt an der Hardt bey Niclas Schrammen.</p>	1606 ⁰⁸	D S
Neustadt	N. Schramm	<p>Das neue Testament vnsers HERREN Jesu Christi. Verteutscht durch D. Martin</p>	1607 ⁰⁶	D S

		Luther. Mit kurtzen vber ein jedes Captiel Summarien auffs new vbersehen von D. David Pareo. Sampt den Psalmen nach Frantzösischer Melodey Ambrosij Lobwassers D. Auch Catechismo vnd Kirchen ordnung wie dieselbigen in Churf. Pfaltz vnd anderstwo getrieben werden. Gedruckt in der Churfürstlichen Pfaltz zur Newstadt an der Hardt bey Niclas Schrammen.		
Neustadt	N. Schramm	Drey vnd Sechtzig Psalmen Davids In neue Gesang weyse vnd teutsche Reymen gebracht vndnach dem text richtog vnd verstendlich gemacht Sampt noch zehen trostreiche geistliche Lieder mit vier Stimmen lustig vnd lieblich zi singen vnd auff allerley Instrumenten heylsamlich zu gebrauchen hievor niemals also publicirt vnd an Tag geben Compnirt vnd gestalt Durch Cornelium Sigefridum...gedruckt zu Newstadt an der Hardt durch Nicolaum Schrammen.	1607 ¹¹	D S
Neustadt	N. Schramm	I.Title page missing, but supposedly like 1606 version. II. Catechismus, oder kurzter Vnterricht Christlicher Lehr wie der inn Kirchen vnd Schulen der Churfürstlichen Pfaltz getrieben wird: Sampt dem XX. Fragen Kirchencermonien vnd Gebeten. DM. Gedruckt zur Newstadt an der Hardt bey Niclas Schram.	1608 ⁰⁹	
Heidelberg	Johann Lancelot	Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reymen Art in Teutsche Reymen artig gebracht. Durch Ambrosium Lobwasser D. Sampt etlichen andern Psalmen vnd geistlichen Liedern. Gedruckt zu Heydelberg. 1612.	1612 ⁰⁸	D HN
Heidelberg	J. Lancelot	Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reymen Art in Teutsche Reymen artig gebracht. Durch Ambrosium Lobwasser D. Sampt etlichen andern Psalmen vnd geistlichen Liedern. Gedruckt zu Heydelberg , bey Johann Lancelott, in verlegung Jonas Rosen. MDCXIV	1614 ⁰⁴	Not extant
Neustadt	N. Schramm	I. Das neue Testament vnsers HERREN Jesu Christi. Verteutscht durch D. Martin Luther. Mit kurtzen vber ein jedes Captiel Summarien auffs new vbersehen von D. David Pareo. Sampt den Psalmen nach Frantzösischer Melodey Ambrosij Lobwassers D. Auch Catechismo vnd Kirchen ordnung wie dieselbigen in Churf. Pfaltz vnd anderstwo getrieben werden. Gedruckt in der Churfürstlichen Pfaltz zur Newstadt an der Hardt bey Niclas Schrammen. II. Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reymen Art in Teutsche	1614 ⁰⁵	D S

		Reymen artig gebracht. Durch Ambrosium Lobwasser D. Sampt etlichen andern Psalmen vnd geistlichen Lieder so von gottseligen vnd gelehrten Männern gestellt neben dem christlichen Catechismo, Kirchen ceremonien vnd Gebetten wie die in Chur. Pfaltz gebräuchlich mit angehengt. Gedruckt zur Newstadt an der Hardt bey Niclas Schrammen, Wittib In Verlegung Michael Fabers.		
Neustadt	Heinrich Starck	Psalter vnd Psalmen Davids nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reymen Art in Teutsche Reymen verstendlich vnd deutlich gebracht auch eines jeden Psalmens inhalt vnd Kurtz Gebettlin darauff. Durch Ambros. Lobwasser D. Sampt vielen Geistlichen Liedern Churfürstlicher Pfaltz Catechismo vnd besondern Haußgebettlin auff alle tag in der Wochen Morgens vnd Abends zu sprechen. Z. Gedruckt in Churfürstlicher Pfaltz zur Newstadt an der Hardt durch Heinrich Starck. In verlegung Johann Carl Vnckels zu Franckfurt am Mayn.	1616 ⁰⁵	D S
Neustadt	Heinrich Starck	Psalter und Psalmen Davids: Nach Frantzösischer Melodey in Teutsche Reymen artig gebracht: Auch eines jedes Psalmen inhalt/ und kurtz Gebetlein darauff / Durch Ambrosium Lobwasser/ D. Sampt D. Martin Luthers/ und anderer Gottseligen/ Geistlichen Kirchengesängen. Deßgleichen: Die Sontags Evangelia Reymen und Gesangsweiß componirt / Von Johan. Posthio Med. Doct.: Alles mit vier Stimmen/ doch jeder absonderlich. TENOR. Gedruckt zur Newstadt an der Hard/ durch Heinrich Starck/ In verlegung Johan Carl Unckels/ Buchhändlers zu Franckfurt am Mayn. Anno M.DC.XIX.	1619 ⁰⁴	D GOI
Heidelberg	Jonae Rosen, widow of Jonas Rosen	Psalmen Davids, nach Frantzösischer Melodey/ vnd Reymen Art in Teutsche Reymen artig gebracht. Durch Ambrosium Lobwasser D. Sampt etlichen andern Psalmen, Festgesängen, vnnd geistlichen Liedern, so in der Kirchen zu singen gebräuchlich. Auch mit einem schönen newen angehengtem Bettbüchlein. Gedruckt zu Heydelberg in verlegung Jonae Rosen/ Wittib. MDCXX	1620 ⁰⁷	D MGr

Appendix E

Table of Hymns Contained in Heidelberg Hymnbooks (Including a comparison with hymn contents of Bapst, Bonn and Hemmel hymnbooks)

Abbreviations: Pf-Zw (Pfalz-Zweibrücken); Hd (Heidelberg); Hm (Hemmel); Neu (Neustadt an der Hardt/Weinstrasse)

	1545 Bapst	1557 Pf-Zw	1561 Bonn	1567 Hd	1569 Hd	1569 Hm	1573 Hd	1575 Hd	1591 Neu.	1594 Neu.	1611 Hd	1619 Neu	1620 Hd
PSALMS (PSALMEN)													
Wol dem Menschen der wandelt nit			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hilff Gott wie geht es immer	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X			
Ach Herr wie seind meiner feind so vil			X	X	X	X	X	X					
Erhör mich wenn ich ruff zu dir			X		X	X	X	X					
Erhör mein Wort mein Red vernim			X		X	X	X	X					
Ach Herr straff mich nit in deinem Zorn			X		X	X	X	X					
Auff dich Herr ist mein trawen steiff	X		X		X	X	X	X					
Herr unser Herr wie herrlich ist			X		X	X	X	X					
Ich will dem Herren sagen danck			X		X	X	X	X					
Dein armer hauff Herr thut klagen							X	X					
Psalm 10			X		X	X	X	X					
Herr warumb trittestu so ferr													
Ich traw auf Gott den Herren mein			X		X	X	X	X					
Ach Gott von himel sih darein	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ach Gott/wie lang vergisest mein		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Herr wie lang wilt vergessen mein		X	X	X	X		X	X					
Es spricht der unweisen mund wol	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
O Herr wer wirt sein wonung han		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Bewar mich Gott ich traw auff dich			X		X	X	X	X					

[illegible]

Christ													
Herr straff mich nicht in deinem zorn			X		X	X	X	X					
Ich dencke stets inn meinem gundt				X	X		X	X					
Psalm 40 Ich harret des herren der sich			X		X	X	X	X					
Wol dem der das armen acht hat			X		X		X	X					
Gleich wie der hirtz lauffet nach der bach			X		X	X	X	X					
Richt mich Herr und fähr mir mein sach			X		X	X	X	X					
O Gott wir habens wol gehört			X		X	X	X	X					
Mein hertz ein schöne red ausgoss			X		X	X	X	X					
Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
All voelcker iauchzet Gott mit schall			X		X	X	X	X					
Gross ist der Herr			X	X	X	X	X	X					
Hört zu all völcker merckt eben			X		X	X	X	X					
Psalm 50 Der Herr und starck Gott reden wirdt			X		X	X	X	X					
O Herre Gott begnade mich	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Erbarm dich mein O Herr Gott	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Was rühmest du dich der bossheit			X		X	X	X	X					
Der Tor echt spricht es ist kein Gott		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hilff mir Gott in dein namen baldt			X		X	X	X	X					
Hoer mein gebett			X		X	X	X	X					
O Gott mein herr biss mir gnedig			X		X	X	X	X					
Biss mir gnedig Gott mit deiner gab	X		X		X	X	X	X					
Wolt ir dann nit reden ein mal			X		X	X	X	X					

Erloess mich Gott von den Bösheit			X		X	X	X	X					
Psalm 60			X		X	X	X	X					
Gott du hast uns zerissen fast													
O Gott erhöhr mein bitt und klag			X		X	X	X	X					
Ich wart auf gott von im kompt heil			X		X	X	X	X					
O Gott mein gott früh kom zu mir			X		X	X	X	X					
O gott erhöhr in meiner klag			X		X	X	X	X					
In Zion lobt man dich O Gott			X		X		X	X					
Jauchzet dem Herren alle land			X		X	X	X	X					
Es woll uns Gott genedig sein	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gott stande auff zerstrew die feind			X		X	X	X	X					
Gott hilff mir dann wasser der heil			X		X	X	X	X					
Psalm 70			X		X	X	X	X					
Gott eil zuretten Herr hilff mir													
Herr Gott ich traw allein auff dich		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dem König und Regenten dein			X		X	X	X	X					
Gott ist so gut dem Israel			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gott warumb verstost uns in leid			X		X	X	X	X					
Herr Gott wir dancken deiner Güt			X	X	X	X	X	X					
Gott ist bekandt der Juda bei			X		X	X	X	X					
Ich schrey zu Gott mit meiner stimme			X		X	X	X	X					
Mein Volck mein gesetz mit fleiss sol hören			X		X	X	X	X					
Herr es seind Heiden in dein erb			X	X	X	X	X	X					
Psalm 80			X		X	X	X	X					
O hirdt Israel merckt auff													
Gott ist die sterck dem singt zu lob			X		X	X	X	X					
Gott steht in seiner gmeinde Recht			X			X	X	X					
Gott in der gmeine Gottes stat			X		X		X	X					
O Gott schweig nit und biss nit still			X		X	X	X	X					
Wie lieblich seind die wonung dein			X		X	X	X	X					

Herr du hast lust an deinem Land			X	X	X	X	X	X					
Herr neig dein Ohren erhöre mich			X		X	X	X	X					
Der herr liebet die thor Zion			X		X	X	X	X					
Hor mich heiland Gott und herr mein			X		X		X	X					
Ich wird singen in ewigkeit			X		X	X	X	X					
Psalm 90 Herr du bist unser zuflucht worn			X		X		X	X					
Wer in dem schutz des höchsten ist			X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dem Herren danken billig ist			X		X	X	X	X					
Der Herr ist König worden mit macht			X		X	X	X	X					
Jetzund erschein zu dieser frist			X		X	X	X	X					
Kompt doch herzu Seit alle fro			X		X		X	X					
Singet dem Herrn ein newes Lied			X		X	X	X	X					
Der Herr ist König worden schon			X		X	X	X	X					
Ein new lied hebt dem Herren an			X		X	X	X	X					
Der Herr ein Koenig worden ist			X		X	X	X	X					
Psalm 100 Jauchzet dem Herrn alle Land			X		X	X	X	X					
Von deiner Gnad gericht und güt			X		X	X	X	X					
Herr erhöre mein gebet von mir			X		X	X	X	X					
Lob den Herren du Seele mein							X	X					
Nu lob mein Seel den Herren			X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Lob Gott den Herren O mein Seel			X		X		X	X					
O mein seel Gott den Herren lob			X		X		X	X					
Dem Herren danckt und rufft in an			X		X	X	X	X					
Dancket dem Herrn voller gnad baldt			X		X	X	X	X					
Danckt dem Herren der freundlich ist			X		X	X	X	X					
Gott mein Herz ist bereit fürwar			X		X	X	X	X					

O Gott meins lobs schweige nit still			X		X	X	X	X					
Psalm 110 Der Herr Sprach in seinem höchsten Thron			X	X	X		X	X					
Herr ich will dancken dir allein			X		X	X	X	X					
Wol dem der den Herren fürcht fein			X		X	X	X	X					
All ihr knecht lobet den Herren			X		X		X	X					
Da Israel aus Egypten zoh	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nicht uns nicht uns O ewiger Herr		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ich hab geliebt drumb wird der Herr			X		X		X	X					
Ich glaub und drumb rede ich			X		X	X	X	X					
Ich hab geglaubt O Herre Gott			X		X		X	X					
Frölich wollen wir Alleluia singen	X		X	X	X	X	X	X					
Lobt den Herren ir heiden all			X		X		X	X					
Danckt dem Herren in ewigkeit			X		X		X	X				X?	
Wer Gottes wort hat und bleibt dabey							X	X					
Es seind doch selig alle die		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hilff Herre gott dem deinen Knecht			X			X	X	X					
Psalm 120 Ich ruff zu Gott dem Herren mein			X		X	X	X	X					
Wann ich inn angst und nöten bin			X	X	X		X	X		X			
Mich frewt dass mir ist gelangt an			X		X	X	X	X					
Ich heb mein augen auff zu dir			X		X	X	X	X					
Wer Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wo Gott der Herr nit bey uns helt	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Nun welche hie ihr hoffnung gar		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wenn Gott der Herr wird wenden sein			X		X	X	X	X					

Wo Gott zum Haus nicht gibt sein gunst	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X
Wo Gott nicht selbst das Haus auffricht			X	X									
Vergebens ist all müh und kost	X						X	X					
Wo das Haus nit bawt der Herr		X					X	X					
Wol dem der in Gottes fürchten steht	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sie haben oft gedrenget mich			X		X	X	X	X					
Psalm 130 Aus tieffer not	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Herr wan mein Herz recht überdenckt			X	X	X		X	X					
O Herr gedenck an David behend			X		X	X	X	X					
Nun sich wie fein und lieblich ist			X	X	X	X	X	X					
Sehend und lobt den Herren recht			X		X	X	X	X					
Ir knecht des Herren dienen wol			X		X	X	X	X					
Dancket dem Herrn der freundlich ist			X		X	X	X	X					
An wasserflüssen Babylon	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Von ganzen herten danck ich dir			X		X	X	X	X					
Herr Gott der du erforschest mich		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Psalm 140 Von bösen Menschen erloess mich			X		X	X	X	X					
Ach herr ich ruff zu dir			X		X	X	X	X					
Ich schrey zu Gott mit meiner stim			X		X	X	X	X					
Erhör mein gbet O Herre Gott			X		X	X	X	X					
Ich danck dem Herrn meinem hort			X		X	X	X	X					
Mein Gott ich will erhöhen dich			X		X	X	X	X					
Mein Seel lobt den Herren rein			X		X	X	X	X					
Lobend den Herren wol und rein			X		X	X	X	X					
Ir engel von des himmels thron			X		X	X	X	X					

Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied			X		X	X	X	X					
Psalm 150			X		X	X	X	X					
Den Herren zu loben seid bereit													
CANTICLES (LOBGESÄNGE)													
Gebenedeiet sey Gott der Herr			X	X	X		X	X	X	?	X	X	X
Gelobet sey der Herr	X	X	X		X		X	X					
Mein seel erhebt den Herren mein		X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mein seel erhebt zu dieser Zeit			X	X	X		X	X					
Maria das Junckfrewlin zart			X	X	X		X	X					
Mit fried und freud ich fahr dahin	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Der Lobgesang Augustini: Herr Gott dich loben wir	X		X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Im friden dein O Herre		X					X	X					
Gelobet sey der Herre Gott							X	X					
SACRED SONGS (GEISTLICHE GESÄNGE)													
Die seind die heiligen Zehen Gebott	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mensch wiltu leben seliglich	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Wir glauben all an einen Gott	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Inn Gott glaub ich dass er hatt				X			X	X					
Unser Vater in dem Himmel Luther				X	X		X	X		X		X	
Vater Unser inn Himmelreich	X?	X		X			X	X	X		X	X	X
Unser Vater in dem Himmel Alberus				X	X		X	X					
Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gott sey gelobet und gebenedeiet	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nun komm der Heiden heiland	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Aus dem Vatter herz ist geborn				X			X	X					
Ein Engel schon aus Gottes thron							X	X	X	X			
Von Adam her so lange Zeit	X			X	X		X	X					
Christum wir sollen loben schon	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Gelobet seistu Jesu Christ	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Danck sagen wir alle		X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Der Tag ist so freudenreich	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ein Kindlein so loeblich		X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Uns ist geboren ein Kindlein				X			X	X				X	
Weil Maria schwanger gieng				X			X	X					
Lob Gott du Christenheit				X			X	X					
Vom himel hoch da kom ich her	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Vom Himmel kam der Engel schar	X	X		X	X		X	X					
Was fuerchtestu feind Herodes sehr	X						X	X					
Nun wolle Gott dass unser Gsang							X	X					
O mensch beweine dein Suende gross		X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Christ ist erstanden	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Christ lag in Todesbanden	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Jesus Christ unser Heiland	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Christ fuhr gen himel	X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Auf diesen Tag gedennen wir		X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ich glaub in Gott den Vater mein				X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Jauchtz Erd und Himmel dich ergell							X	X	X	X		X	
Kom Gott schoeppfer heiliger Geist	X			X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Kom heiliger Geist Herr Gott	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Kom heiliger Geist O Gottes salb				X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gott der vater wohn uns bey	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dich vor des liechtes undergang				X									
Nun frewt euch ihr lieben Christen gmein	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Es ist das Heil uns kommen her	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Kompt her zu mir Spricht gottes	X			X	X		X	X	X	X		X	

sohn													
Ich seufftz und klag				X	X		X	X	X	X			
Freud euch freud euch in dieser zeit				X	X		X	X					
O Gott verley mir dein gnad	X			X	X		X	X					
Mitten wir im Leben sind	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Gib fried zu unser Zeit		X		X	X		X	X	X	X		X	
Erhalt uns herr bey deinem Wort	X	X		X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X
Ir anschleg Herr zu nichte mach				X	X			X					
Allein zu dir Herr Jesu Christ	X			X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Herr Christ der einig Gottes sohn	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ich ruff zu dir Herr Jesu Christ	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hilff Herre Gott dem Voecklin dein							X	X					
Herr Gott dein trew mit gnaden leist							X	X					
Jetzund so bitten wir dich Herr							X	X					
O Herr Gott erbarme dich							X	X					
Verley uns frieden gnädiglich	X						X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ich dancke dir lieber Herr	X			X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ich danck dir fast Gott Vatter gut				X	X		X	X					
Der Tag bricht an und zeigt sich							X	X					
Herr Christ dir lob ich sage							X	X					
Christ der du bist tag und liecht	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Christ der du bist der helle Tag					X		X	X				X	X
Dich vor des Liechtes undergang					X		X	X					
Vatter im hoechsten thron							X	X					
Allmechtiger gütiger Herr				X	X		X	X					
Dich bitten wir deine Kinder				X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Dancket dem Herren denn er ist sehr freundlich	X			X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Herr Gott nu sey gepreiset				X	X		X	X	X	X		X	X
O Herr Gott hilff zu dir ich gilff							X	X					

[illegible]

[illegible]

Es ist gewisslich an der Zeit												X	
Frieden und recht beger ich Herr											X	X	
Herr Jesu Christ du hoechstes Gut												X	
Bestendigkeit im Herren												X	
Was Gotts wot uns thut verkuendten												X	
Wenn wir in hoechsten Noethen sein												X	
Wir dancken dir Herr Jesu Christ												X	
Lass deinen Knecht									X				

Appendix F

Inventory of Books Purchased at Frankfurt Book Fair for the Bibliotheca Palatina, 1568–1580

Books are listed in chronological order according to their appearance at the Frankfurt book fair. Sources used: Albert Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien* (Hilversum: F.A.M. Knuf, 1965); Appendix 5.2 of Jutta Lambrecht, *Das Heidelberger Kapellinventar von 1544 (Codex Pal. Germ. 318)*, vol. 2 (Heidelberg: Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 1987), 621–639.

Abbreviations: S (spring fair); A (autumn fair).

Print Year	Place of Printing	Title and Composer, as stated in Cod.Pal.Lat.1938	RISM A/1	Appearance at Frankfurt Fair, according to Göhler
1568	Nuremberg	Antonio Scandello, <i>Teutsche liedlein</i> mit 4 und 5 stim	S 1149	S 1568
1569	Munich	Juonis (Ivo) de Vento <i>motetae</i> , quator vocum	V 1114	A 1569
1569	Munich	Orlando di Lasso, <i>Motetae</i> 5 vocum	L 280	S 1569
1569	Munich	Orlando di Lasso <i>Teutsche Liedlein</i> mit 5 stim	L 830	Not in Göhler
1571	Nuremberg	Jacob de Kerle <i>cantiones selectae</i> 5. & 6. vocum	K 447	S&A 1571
1571	Nuremberg	Johann Knoefel <i>Cantiones</i> 32. 5.6.7. vocu	K 989	A 1571
1571	Nuremberg	Matthias Gastritz, <i>Symbola ettlicher fürsten und herren</i> , sampt andern liedern mitt 4 und 5 stim	G 566	A 1571
1572	Nuremberg	Philipp Anerarii (Avenarius) <i>cantiones sacrae</i> 5 vocu	A 2903	S 1572
1571	Munich	Juonio (Ivo) de Vento <i>Teutsche lied</i> mit 5 stim	V 1120	S 1572
1572	Munich	Orlando di Lasso <i>Fasciculus cantionum sacrarum</i> 5 vocum	L 851	S 1572
1572	Nuremberg	Jacob Meiland <i>selectae cantiones</i> 5 & 6 vocum	M 2178	A 1572
1572	Munich	Jacob de Kerle, <i>liber sacrorum modulorum</i> 5 & 6 vocib. item <i>cantion</i> : turcas 8 vocu:	K 449	A 1572
1572	Erfurt	Ludwig Helmboldi, <i>20 odu sacrae harmoniis ornatae studio Joachimi a Burck</i> 4 theilen	B 4961	A 1572

1572	Erfurt	Heinrici Cumpenu (Heinrich Cumpenius), <i>Christliche harmonie mit 5 stim componiert</i>	Not recorded in RISM	A 1572
1573	Nuremberg	Stephan Rosetae (Rosetti) <i>Motetae sacrae</i> 5 & 6 vocu	R 2730	S 1573
1573	Nuremberg	Leonhard Paminger, <i>tom: 1 & 2. Ecclesiasticarum cantionu:</i>	P 828	S 1573
1572	Munich	Johann Rasch, <i>Missa paschalis</i> 4 voc (2 vols)	R 259	S 1573
1572	Munich	Johann Rasch, <i>Quator vocum cantica :dam ecclesiastica</i>	R 258	S 1573
1573	Munich	Orlando di Lasso 6. <i>cantiones latini 4 adjuncto dialogo</i> 8 voc.	L 860	S 1573
1573	Nuremberg	Orlando di Lasso <i>Magnificat</i> 8 <i>tonorum</i> 6. 5. 4. vocum	L 861	S 1573
1572	Nuremberg	Alexander Utenthal, <i>sacrae motetae</i> 6 & pluriu: liber 2.	U 121	A 1573
1573	Nuremberg	Joachim a Burck <i>Sacrae cantiones novae</i> in 4.6. thail beschrieben	B 4965	A 1573
1573	Munich	Juonio (Ivo) de Vento <i>Teutsche Lied</i> mit 5 stim sampt ein <i>Dialogo</i> mit 8 stimmen	V 1130	A 1573
1573	Nuremberg	Alexander Utenthal, <i>Tres Missae</i> 5 et 6 vocu.	U 122	A 1573
1573	Nuremberg	Michael Tonsorii, <i>sacrae cantiones</i> , 4.5.&pluriu vocu	T 965	A 1573
1573	Munich	Jacob de Kerle <i>Moteta</i> 4 & 5 vocum cum <i>te deum lauda</i> , mg 6 vocum	K 451	S 1574
1574	Nuremberg	Alexander Utenthal <i>teutsche und französische lied</i> mit 4. 5 und mehr stimmen	U 123	A 1574
1574	Munich	Orlando di Lasso, <i>patrocinium musices, opus novu moteta</i> 4.5.6 vocu	L 872	Not in Göhler
1574	Nuremberg	Christian Hollander <i>Teutsche Lieder</i> , mit 4.5.und mehr stimmen	H 6323	Not in Göhler
1574	Erfurt	Joachim a Burck, <i>Passio chri mitt 22 psalm davids</i> 4 vocu.	B 4967	Not in Göhler
1575	Erfurt	Ludovici Helmboldt <i>reymen</i> in 4 stimmen durch Joachim von Burk	B 4969	S 1575
1575	Frankfurt	Jacob Meiland <i>sacrae aliquot cantiones</i> , lati & germanicae 5 & 4 vocum	M 2179	A 1575
1575	Frankurt	Jacob Meiland <i>Neue auserlesene teutsche gesang</i> mit 4 & 5 stimmen	M 2180	A 1575
1575	Nuremberg	Gallus Dressler <i>Ausserlesene Teutsche Lied</i>	D 3526	A 1575
1575	Erfurt	Ludovici Helmboldt, <i>21 Geistliche</i>	S 6030	A 1575

		<i>Lieder</i> , mit 4 stim componiert durch Johann Steurlein		
1575	Erfurt	Johann Steuerlein, <i>24 weltliche geseng</i> 4 u 5 stim	Not recorded in RISM	A 1575
1575	Munich	Orlando di Lasso, <i>liber motetae</i>	L 877?	A 1575
1576	Nuremberg	Leonhard Lechner <i>Neue Teutsche lieder</i> , drei stimmen	L 1288	S&A 1576
1576	Erfurt	?, <i>Cantionum</i> 4 vocum tom: 1, mangelt der alt	1576 ²	S 1577
1574	Erfurt	Georgii Ottonis <i>melodiae in introitus...</i>	O 274	S 1577
1577	Nuremberg	Theodor Ricci <i>cantiones Italicae</i>	R 1295	S 1577
1577	Erfurt	Joachim von Burck, <i>Die Passion secundum Johanne</i> : in figural gesang gebracht	B 4958	S&A 1577
1577	Nuremberg	Leonhard Lechner <i>Neue Teutsche lieder</i> , ander theil, drei stimmen	L 1290	A 1577
1577	Nuremberg	Alexander Utenthal, <i>motetarum liber</i> 3. 5.6. vocu	U 125	A 1577
1577	Strasbourg	[Psalmen] mitt 4. stimmen zu sing. in der kirch und schulen zu strassburg	1577 ⁰⁵	A 1577
1577	Erfurt	Johann Steuerlein, <i>Das alte jahr vergangen ist</i> , mit 5 stimen	S 6032	Not in Göhler
1577	Unknown?	Johann Steurlein, <i>Ein christlich gebettlein...</i>	S 6029?	Not in Göhler
1578	Mulhousen (Mulhusii)	Ludovici Helmboldi, <i>odorum sacrarum</i> liber 2	B 4977	S 1578
1578	Strasbourg	[Psalmen] mitt 4. stimmen zu sing. in der kirch und schulen zu strassburg vermehrt	1578 ¹⁰	A1578
1580	Nuremberg	Jacob Regnart, <i>cantiones italicae</i>	R 739	A 1580

Appendix G

List of all Presentation Manuscripts in Cod.Pal.Lat.1878, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Folio	Composer	Title
1 ^r –60 ^r		Various medieval manuscripts
71 ^r –117 ^v	Ludwig Daser?	<i>In missam susanne</i> (parody mass on Lassus' <i>Missa Susanne</i>)
		71 ^r –78 ^v : Tenor
		81 ^r –88 ^v : Altus
		90 ^r –98 ^r : Discantus
		101 ^r –108 ^r : Bassus
		111 ^r –117 ^v : Quinta vox
119 ^r –166 ^r	Gregor Trehou (c. 1540–1619)	<p>French-, Italian- and Latin-texted polyphonic settings of Genevan psalm tunes.</p> <p>Psalm 96: 5 voice, 7 parts 'Cantate il neo uo canto' Psalm 117: 5 voice 'Laudate il gran Signore' Il cantico di Simeone: 5 voice 'Horne man di Signore' Psalm 34: 5 voice 'Jamais ne cesseray' Psalm 34: 5 voice 'Dieu nous soit doux favorable' Psalm 96: 5 voice 'Chantez a Deu chanson nouvelle' Psalm 23: 5 voice, 2 part (4 voices) 3 part (5 voices) 'Mon dieu me paist sous sa' Psalm 25: 'A toy mon Dieu' Psalm 84: 'O Dieu des armees, combien le sacre tabernacle tien' Psalm 89: 'Du signeur les bontez' Psalm 118: 'Rendez a Dieu louange et gloire' Motet: <i>Musarum dulces modulos</i></p>
		120 ^r –128 ^r : Alto
		129 ^r –137 ^v : Canto
		139 ^r –147 ^r : Tenore
		148 ^r –155 ^v : Basso
		157 ^r –166 ^r : Quinto
167 ^r –173 ^v	Joannes a Ruete (?)	<p><i>Dirigatir Domine oratio mea</i> (motet)</p> <p>Dedication: 'Ad Illustrissimum Inuictissimum ac principem Ducem Casimir, Com. Palat. Rhen. Symphonia auctore Joanne a Ruete Metens (Metz) 1586'.</p>
		167 ^r –168 ^r : Discantus
		169 ^r –169 ^v : Secundus Discantus

		170 ^r –170 ^v : Altus
		171 ^r –171 ^v : Tenor
		172 ^r –172 ^v : Bassus
		173 ^r –173 ^v : Sexta Pars
174^r–177^v	Bernhard Amenreich (c.1535–after 1575)	‘Herr nach deinem Willen’ Inscription: ‘Pfaltzgraß Friedrichs Churfürsten a reim in Gesang stelt und mit 4 stimmen componirt. B. Amenreich 1576’.
		174 ^r –174 ^v : Tenor
		175 ^r –175 ^v : Contratenor
		176 ^r –176 ^v : Cantus
		177 ^r –177 ^v : Basis [<i>sic</i>]
178^r–180^r	Aegidius Bassengius Leodiensis (b. Liège; fl. 1588– 94)	<i>Domina deus capiundt (motet)</i>
		178 ^r : Superius
		179 ^r : Tenor
		180 ^r : Bassus
181^r	?	<i>O dieu selon (motet, Altus part only)</i>
182^r–184^r	Aegidius Bassengius Leodiensis (b. Liège; fl. 1588– 94)	<i>Domina deus capiundt (motet)</i>
		182 ^r : Quinta Pars
		184 ^r : Altus?
185^r–189^r	Christian Hollander (c.1510– 1568/69)	<i>Sydere qui patrias (motet)</i> Dedication: ‘Cantio harmonica in gratia[m] ac honore[m] Illustrissimi Principis & Domini, Du[c]I Friderici Electoris; Comitis Palatini, vtriusq[ue] Bauariae Ducis, ac[d] composita per Christianu[m] Hollandu[m], Sacrae Caesaræ Maiest: Musicu[s]’.
		185 ^r –185 ^v : Tenor
		186 ^r : Bassus
		187 ^r : Quinta Pars
		188 ^r : Discantus
		189 ^r : Altus
190^r–196^v	Nicolas Rosthius (c.1542–1622)	<i>Et ait Joab (motet)</i> Dedication: ‘Fortissimi & veri belligeri exhortatio ex

		10. Cap: 2 Regum desumpta & in Gratiam// Illustrissimi et Generosissimi principis ac Domini, Domini Joannis Casimiri Palatini Rheni, Ducis Bauariae & tutoris & Electoralis Palatinatus Administratoris & Domini sui elementissimi, In harmoniam sex vocum retasta et cantata a Nicolao Rosthio Vinariensi'.
		191 ^r –191 ^v : Tenor Primus
		192 ^r –192 ^v : Tenor Secundus
		193 ^r –193 ^v : Altus
		194 ^r –194 ^v : Basis
		195 ^r –195 ^v : Cantus Secundus
		196 ^r –196 ^v : Cantus Primus
197^r–257^r		Fifteenth-Century Missal