

ROUTLEDGE REVIVALS

German Secular Song-Books of the Mid-Seventeenth Century

An Examination of the Texts in Collections of
Songs Published in the German-Language
Area Between 1624 and 1660

Anthony J. Harper





Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

**GERMAN SECULAR SONG-BOOKS OF THE
MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

GERMAN SECULAR SONG-BOOKS OF THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The secular song of the seventeenth century represents a relatively neglected area of German culture. In this book Anthony J. Harper first studies the songs of the two great models of the time, Martin Opitz and Paul Fleming, following this by an analysis of the song-books and collections from three regions: the North-East, Central Germany, and the North. The procedure is thus both historical and geographical. The texts of these songs are examined in relation to structural principles, thematic range and stylistic treatment.

Harper establishes common features and regional variations of this genre, which involves love-poetry, songs of manners with colourful portrayals of everyday life, and comic songs in a lower stylistic register. Particular attention is paid to the work of Albert and Dach in Königsberg, Finckelthaus, Schirmer, Krieger and Schoch in Leipzig and Dresden, and Rist, Voigtländer, Zesen, Grefflinger and Stieler in the Hamburg region.

Where appropriate, the book assesses the role of musical settings, while not seeking to offer technical insights into musical matters. Of value to scholars of German literature, this study will also be of interest to musicologists working on the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

German Secular Song-Books of the Mid-Seventeenth Century

An examination of the texts in collections of songs
published in the German-language area
between 1624 and 1660

ANTHONY J. HARPER

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2003 by Ashgate Publishing

Reissued 2018 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

Copyright © Anthony J. Harper 2003

The author has asserted his moral right under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, to be identified as the author of this work.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

Publisher's Note

The publisher has gone to great lengths to ensure the quality of this reprint but points out that some imperfections in the original copies may be apparent.

Disclaimer

The publisher has made every effort to trace copyright holders and welcomes correspondence from those they have been unable to contact.

A Library of Congress record exists under LC control number: 2002074536

ISBN 13: 978-1-138-72608-6 (hbk)

ISBN 13: 978-1-138-72607-9 (pbk)

ISBN 13: 978-1-315-19157-7 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781003577010

Contents

<i>Preface and Acknowledgments</i>	vii
1 Introduction	1
2 Pan-German Models: Opitz and Fleming	35
3 The North-East	71
4 Central Germany	111
5 Hamburg and the North	223
6 Concluding Review	317
<i>Bibliography of Primary Sources</i>	321
<i>Bibliography of Reference Works and Secondary Literature</i>	328
<i>Index</i>	343



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Preface and Acknowledgments

The inspiration for this study stems from the stimulating 'Baroque seminar' of Professor August Closs in my final year at the University of Bristol (1958-59). For me it was fortunate that not only the medieval and modern periods, but also the early modern period between them, formed an essential part of the course. A number of years later, after a spell of time working on modern literature, I returned to the lyric poetry of the Baroque. A research project on the Saxon poet David Schirmer, begun in the year 1968, was continued as a dissertation later accepted for a doctorate of the University of Edinburgh, and then forming the basis for a monograph on Schirmer, published in 1977. Schirmer's poetry has a wide range but a substantial number of his most memorable poems are songs.

One of the aspects of Schirmer's work which came to interest me most was his relationship with the poetry of Leipzig, where he spent some of his formative years. This led me into the 'regional aspect' of German poetry of the time and ultimately to a collection of essays on Leipzig poetry which appeared in 1985. In turn this interest was reflected in another monograph, focusing on the song-books of the Leipzig poet Gottfried Finckelthaus, which appeared in 1988.

Discontented with my relative lack of attention to the musical aspect of the song, I was able in 1990 to organize, with music-historian Dr Gudrun Busch, a work-in-progress seminar at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel on the secular song in the 17th and 18th centuries; the papers were eventually published in 1992. In the meantime I was working on a series of editions of poets associated with Leipzig; the first of my facsimile editions, of the poetry of Christian Brehme, appeared in 1994, and the second, of the poetry of David Schirmer, is due to appear shortly.

Thus, over a period of more than two decades, not only in these major studies but also in shorter essays and articles, I had built up a body of work concentrating on lyric poetry, especially the song, and on specific regions of the German-language area. In the present study I have developed my findings and broadened the perspective to take in figures, areas and issues relating to the song in the central years of the seventeenth century.

In my previous work I had been much helped by a large number of colleagues, librarians and archivists in a variety of institutions in Great Britain, Germany (including, before 1990, both the old Federal Republic and

the German Democratic Republic) and North America. It is impossible to acknowledge them all again here by name although some have been duly thanked in my previously published work. My research work had been funded from a number of sources, notably the British Academy, London and the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel and I am happy to repeat my gratitude to these bodies here. Information, photocopied material and microfilm had come my way from many institutions - including the Interdisziplinäres Institut für Kulturgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit in Osnabrück and the Wolfenbütteler Arbeitskreis für Barockforschung - and from many individuals, and much material from previous research could be utilized in the present investigation.

For this study, initiated in 1999, I was fortunate and honoured to be the recipient of a Leverhulme Emeritus Fellowship, which from 1999 until 2001 provided me with funds for a part-time research assistant, the purchase of microfilm material, and travel to libraries in Britain and Germany. My warm thanks go to the Leverhulme Foundation and its appointing committee for their substantial support of my work. I would like to express my gratitude to Gudrun Busch for many invaluable comments on the text and to Sandra Harper for much careful gathering of material and scrutiny of the text. Finally, my thanks go to Rachel Lynch and her colleagues at Ashgate Publishing for their friendly assistance in the preparation of the volume.

Anthony J. Harper

Glasgow, January 2003

Chapter 1

Introduction

The secular song of the seventeenth century represents a relatively neglected area of German culture. The presence in it of subtle variations, occasional eroticism, sometimes boisterous humour, rhythmic sparkle and colourful variety of everyday pictures makes it difficult to understand why this should be so. But literary historians dealing with the lyric have tended to look to the agonized spirituality of a Gryphius or a Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg as representing the best that the century has to offer, also to longer ethical poetry in Alexandrines on burning topics of the time such as Martin Opitz's *Trostgedichte in Widerwertigkeit deß Krieges*. In the prose genre there is the genius of a Grimmelshausen with his novel *Simplicissimus* to admire. Music historians, it is clear from the secondary literature, have wished to examine the riches of German religious music, for example by Heinrich Schütz, the most famous composer of the century, and his successors down to Johann Sebastian Bach. Another recent focus has been on the Pietist song from the later seventeenth century onwards. In the secular song musical scholarship has tended to hold its fire for the huge explosion of talent in the art-song from the later eighteenth century onwards, with Schubert and his successors as the centre of attention. Of course there are exceptions to this generalized picture but in essence it has remained the situation until today. This is in no way to denigrate the impressive scholarship which the sacred music and the religious, didactic and ethical literature of the seventeenth century have generated. Those who admire the richness of German literature and culture, however, will point to a wider range of achievement than that which has hitherto been investigated to any notable extent. Richard Hinton Thomas has succinctly summarized the direction in which the secular song takes us:¹

Poetry, in fact, spoke with two voices. With its public voice it proclaimed exalted truths about existence, about the majesty of God and the death of Kings. With its private voice it sang of homelier themes, of everyday joys

1 Hinton Thomas, *Poetry and song ...*, pp.xi-xii. Full bibliographical details of secondary literature are given in the bibliography at the end of this study.

and sorrows, of love true and false ... and it was in poetry of this kind that the baroque continuo lied found its textual basis.

This is an indication of the nature of the secular song that we shall be pursuing here.

Nor should the artistry of the poets, composers and song-writers who created the secular songs of the century be underrated; Harold Jantz's words about the art of Kaspar Stieler can stand, *mutatis mutandis*, for the talents of many others during the period.²

Those earnest souls who feel that graceful sophistication is synonymous with light superficiality, prefer to turn to the more 'significant' poets, the problematic agonizers, the stormy ecstasies, the internalists of turgid depth and brooding portentousness ... It would be a pity, however, if obscurity were equated with depth, if an author who just simply is elegant without pretense were therefore neglected.

Music scholars have also written in the same spirit as Jantz, for example Wolfgang Suppan who has pointed to the rich variety in the song life of the period.³ Although the secular song did not represent the most prestigious form of its time, nor one of those in which the poet would be most likely to achieve *fama*, it was not one which excused casual or sloppy workmanship, as the main body of this study will, it is hoped, amply demonstrate.

Overview, structure and scope of this study

The title, and particularly the subtitle, of this study give a clear indication of its scope. The period over which German secular song-writing is to be examined runs from 1624, the year of publication of Martin Opitz's treatise *Das Buch von der deutschen Poeterey*, until 1660.⁴ The latter is a date of convenience; it so happens that two substantial works were published in that year, Kaspar Stieler's *Geharnschte Venus* and Johann Georg Schoch's *Lust=und Blumen=Garten*.⁵ The date can also, however, be taken as a convenient

2 Jantz, 'Helicon's Harmonious Springs ...', p.135.

3 Suppan, *Liedleben*, p.107.

4 The second edition of Adam Krieger's poetry, the *Neue Arien*, only appeared in 1667, a year after his death, but the posthumous edition adds to an already published collection, the *Arien* of 1657.

5 Full bibliographical details of primary sources are given in the Bibliography of Song-Books and primary texts at the end of this study.

watershed between the developments in the simple strophic song in the earlier years of the century and the increasing popularity later in the century of more complex song-forms such as the aria and the cantata. In other words the date highlights a move away from a strophic pattern with a repeated melody towards the principle of through-composition which ultimately was to find its fullest expression in the art-song of the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

After a clarification of methodology, a survey of problems in examining song-books from this period and an overview of critical literature, our analysis continues by taking three areas as case-studies for the secular song: first, Königsberg and the north-east, secondly, central Germany, and thirdly, Hamburg and the north. The texts of representative works of writers from these areas are studied in respect of structural principles, thematic range and stylistic treatment. The aim is to evaluate them historically, in the development of German poetry of the century, and geographically, through comparison and contrast. The book concludes with a description of what has been established in the course of the investigation, an enumeration of outstanding problems and desiderata and a reminder of the rich cultural heritage of this relatively neglected area of literature.

At the outset it should be emphasized that the qualifications of the author are in the analysis and history of literature, not music. The study does not therefore pretend to offer any new critique or technical insights into musical matters, although those already established by music historians are utilized and the role of the musical settings is evaluated.

Definitions and distinctions

The simplest definition of a song is that of a text with a melody, the whole thing intended to be sung. Like all such definitions it raises problems in practice. One of these, for seventeenth-century Germany, is the terminology. The modern term 'Lied' could be used, but seems sometimes to have been associated with the popular songs of the common people, something which was distasteful to the majority of the academically educated song-writers of the time.⁶ This already shows that social and cultural considerations are involved in the terminology. Other terms for the song are 'Gesang' and 'Ode', the latter on its own not usually possessing the connotations of a classical ode at that time, but nevertheless indicating some residue of dignity

6 See the preface to Rist's *Musa Teutonica* of 1634, f. A 6^r. See also Chapter Two below on Opitz.

which the term 'Lied' did not possess. One of the earliest of seventeenth-century collections, Weckherlin's 1618 collection, is entitled *Oden und Gesänge* and many later writers use one or both of these terms in their titles or subtitles.⁷ The word 'Arie' could also be used simply for a strophic song at this time in the century, as Heinrich Albert's title of 1638 shows; later it begins to acquire something more like its modern meaning of a through-composed, possibly operatic aria. In his *Poeterey* of 1624 Opitz uses none of these terms but simply refers to 'Lyrica oder getichte die man zur Music sonderlich gebrauchen kan', with an extended definition to which we shall return.⁸ This tells us that song-texts are especially suited to music but not necessarily that they always acquired a musical setting. The presence of a melody might seem to be a *sine qua non*, but in German poetry and song-books of the seventeenth century this is anything but the case. Many songs were published without any indication of a melody at all, many more with an indication that they should be sung to an earlier or preceding melody in the volume, and many more with a 'Tonangabe', an indication under the title of the text that it is to be sung to a certain (usually well-known) melody.⁹ So the idea that the song-text is always accompanied by musical notation is untrue, and the presence of such notation alongside the text is more the exception than the rule during the period concerned. This means that statements from a later period, such as Herder's famous 'Das Wesen des Liedes ist Gesang' or Stoljar's reminder of the different methodology needed for the song because of the indispensability of the aural mode for its realization, while they may be true for a later age, are not so directly applicable during our period.¹⁰

What kind of texts, what kind of poetic forms, can be sung? In theory the answer is: many different types of text, many poetic forms, many different lengths of verse-line. There are, for example, sonnets intended for singing, the Sapphic Ode on the classical model could be sung (and more rarely the formal Pindaric Ode), madrigals regularly were sung, poetry in

7 Georg Rudolph Weckherlin, *Oden und Gesänge* (Stuttgart: Johann Weyrich Rößlin the Elder, 1618); see bibliography for modern edition. Cf. Werner Braun, *Die Musik des 17. Jahrhunderts*, pp.167-168.

8 Opitz, *Poeterey*, p.22. See the entries for 'Lied' in the Merker-Stammeler *Reallexikon II* (1965), by Günther Müller, pp.42-56, especially pp.49-53, and Georg Reichert, pp.56-62, especially pp.58-59. From the word 'sonderlich' (cf. Grimm, *DWB* 10/1, 1580-1582) one might infer that song-texts, although suitable for music, may and can also be read; see Borinsky, *Poetik*, p.98.

9 Cf. Werner Braun, 'Lieder ohne Noten ...', *passim*.

10 Johann Gottfried Herder, *Volkslieder II Vorrede*, in *Werke in zehn Bänden* (Vol. 3 Frankfurt: DKV 1990, ed. Ulrich Gaier), p.246; Stoljar, *Poetry and Song*, p.8.

Alexandrines could be set to music.¹¹ But sung sonnets are rare, as are Sapphic Odes, and the formal poem in Alexandrines is usually a lengthy one in couplets reserved for extended pastoral poems, panegyrics and epicedia for the aristocratic and powerful. In practice the vast majority of the songs appearing in the song-books to be examined are simple strophic texts, overwhelmingly of four-, six- or eight-line stanzas, for which, therefore, a relatively brief melody would suffice. Into the bargain, a store of appropriate tunes for the most common stanza-forms was easily available at the time, something to which we shall return.¹² It has been claimed that from Opitz onwards poetry became increasingly confident of its own identity vis-à-vis its accompanying music.¹³

What constitutes a song-book, and should it be distinguished from collections of poetry containing substantial numbers of songs? Here too the simple answer is the exception to the rule. The easy example of a song-book is a volume in which there are a number of texts with musical notation for each one, and no further poetry of any type. An instance would be David Schirmer's 68 poetic texts in his *Singende Rosen* of 1654, each set to music with a melody by his friend, the theorbo-player and composer Philipp Stolle. This gives us a song-book with 68 songs. Heinrich Albert's *Arien*, appearing from 1638 to 1650, also contain the musical settings for the multipart and solo songs with texts by different poets; but he himself after all was a composer. Such clear-cut examples of songbooks are, however, rare. Many other works which one would readily describe, or which describe themselves, as song-books, contain a number of other poems, usually epigrams, sometimes also sonnets, at the conclusion of the work; one example among many would be Gottfried Finckelthaus's *Deutsche Gesänge* of 1640. In the first volume of Opitz's works organized by himself, the Breslau edition of 1625, the songs are grouped together in a separate book and named as such, although in the earliest appearance of his collected poetry, the *Teutsche Poemata* of 1624 assembled with poems by others and published by his friend Julius Wilhelm Zingref, a number of these songs had already appeared intermingled with other poetry. Opitz's formal separation of his

11 Cf. Joseph Leighton, 'Deutsche Sonett-Theorie im 17. Jahrhundert', in: Hoffmeister, *Europäische Tradition ...*, pp.24-37. On Sapphic Odes we should note that Opitz mentions these in Chapter 7 of the *Poeterey*, not in Chapter 5 with the genres and the mention of music, a point not commented on by Derks in his study of the Sapphic Ode (see Bibliography). Borinski, *Poetik*, p.98 and pp.110-111, suggests that Opitz is cursory on musical matters.

12 Cf. Frank, *Handbuch der deutschen Strophenformen ...*, pp.454-495; Van Ingen, 'Der Stand...', in: Lohmeier und Olssen, *Weltliches und Geistliches Lied...*, p.9.

13 de Capua, *German Baroque Poetry*, pp.59-63.

published poetry, in 1625, into carefully named books was, however, rare in the century. It was followed by Paul Fleming or the latter's editor Adam Olearius, in the editions of his collected works, significantly, because Fleming was conscious of his position as a Humanist scholar; it has been suggested that he, like Opitz, may have understood his songs primarily as book-lyric.¹⁴ This is something of a grey area in criticism; Grijp, writing about the Netherlands, mentions a statement by Camphuysen to the effect that songs could be either sung or read, and refers to an 'alternative reading practice or reading option'.¹⁵ Sometimes a collection of poetry begins with a significant grouping of songs, to be followed by groups of other poetic forms not usually intended for musical performance; this is the case with the large collection of poetry by Johann Georg Schoch, the *Blumen=Garten* of 1660, where 100 songs are followed by 400 epigrams and 200 sonnets. We are justified in treating the opening section as a collection of songs, while being aware that this can only represent a part of the *intentio auctoris*. The same applies to the *Schimpff= und Ernsthaffte Clio* of Ernst Christoph Homburg, which begins with a large sequence of songs, many endowed with a metrical sub-title, which are then followed by epigrams and sonnets. The first collection of 1638 was augmented in 1642 by Homburg on the same pattern. The extensive grouping of songs allows us to compare the volume with other works in which songs form the majority. Such closed sections in a longer collected volume could theoretically be more structured or 'finished' than a volume consisting exclusively of songs.

In these last-mentioned collections there is no musical notation. In others, such as Rudolf Wasserhun's *Kauff=Fenster* of 1644 or Johann Christoph Göring's *Liebes=Meyen=Blühmlein* of 1645, there are musical settings for some song-texts which are carried through to apply to the next one or to a sequence. The latter collection is an extreme example of this particular tendency, with a mere nine melodies serving as many as 44 songs. But Philipp von Zesen, in his earliest collection of 1642, the *FrühlingsLust*, exceeds this proportion in only providing his texts with three musical settings in a collection of 72 songs, something remedied in his *Jugend=Flammen* of 1651, where all texts have musical notation. Finally, there is at least one work, Christian Brehme's *Lustige...Gedichte* of 1637, which in its subtitle promises musical settings but in the event does not provide any. Music was more expensive to produce than the printed word and this may sometimes account for the lack of musical settings in the German secular collections.

14 Van Ingen, 'Der Stand...', in: Lohmeier und Olsson, *Weltliches und Geistliches Lied...*, p.6.

15 Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied*, p.322.

Even in the Netherlands, with their often beautiful song-book-production, only about a quarter of the songs are accompanied by musical notation.¹⁶

In all these different cases, then, substantial groupings or collections of songs exist, even where songs do not constitute the whole work and where the music is absent. From the point of view of this study, directed at the structure, content, style and technique of song-texts, this justifies treating them all under the global heading of song-books.

An associated problem is the question of the authorial control of a single figure in the creation of a song-book. In most cases mentioned above a single author produces a single work which abounds in songs. Anthologies are more difficult to assess and hence less important for our purposes in this study. Thus Albert's *Arien* represent song-books in which a number of Königsberg poets are represented, including Albert himself, the music being provided almost exclusively by Albert. Although it could be read as an anthology of the work of the Königsberg poets from the late 1630s onwards, the controlling hand in terms of what is included is that of composer and occasional text-provider Albert himself, and it is a controlling hand exercised more or less at the time of writing of the texts. Thus we regard these eight collections of 'arias' as Königsberg song-books and they feature as a major item in this study. The *Venusgärtlein* anthology published in Hamburg in 1656, by contrast, is an anthology of art-songs from different hands with a folkish bias, brought together presumably for commercial purposes; there is little sign of a controlling authorial hand whose structuring of the whole can be analysed. By contrast again, Dedekind's *Aelbianische Musen=Lust* of 1657 is an anthology of poems published over the previous three to four decades by different authors from different areas of Germany including Saxony, mostly set to music by Dedekind himself. It certainly reveals signs of his political-cultural agenda in bringing these poems together and setting them to music, despite the fact that they are from disparate sources.¹⁷ While we shall be giving it some consideration, therefore, it does not represent a song-book structured from a single author or region.

A distinction which on the face of it appears easier to establish and justify is that between secular and spiritual (religious) poetry. The best reason for this is that the poets of the century themselves overwhelmingly used this distinction in their titles and subtitles; Martin Opitz began this trend in 1625 although it was only the final collections of his life that were actually entitled 'Geistliche Poemata' and 'Weltliche Poemata'. The decision to limit ourselves in this study to secular poetry therefore seems amply justified. Yet

16 Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied*, p.322.

17 See Gary C Thomas in his introduction to Dedekind, *Musen=Lust*, pp.21*-31*.

even this historically appropriate distinction is not unproblematic; it is possible to find some poems in the Baroque collections which could have been situated in either category, especially if one does not limit religious poetry to the obviously devotional. One problem is that the important category of occasional poetry, which pervades the production of the seventeenth century poets, is thereby divided, with one of its two most important types, the epithalamium, going to the secular area, and the other, the epicedium, to the spiritual area. For this reason the wedding song inevitably features heavily in this study. It is also true that there are collections which include both spiritual and secular songs, such as Andreas Hammerschmidt's *Oden und Madrigalien* of 1649. Heinrich Albert goes further in referring to 'Andacht und Ergetzen' as his aims, which changes Horace's 'prodesse' (usefulness) to devotion and could be held to characterize the tone of all his collections.¹⁸ Finally, many secular songs of the time use melodies which are contrafacta of church hymns, as has been noticed, for example in the case of Zesen or Homburg, and they therefore cross the boundary concerned.¹⁹

A further distinction has constantly been postulated in critical literature, that between the folksong ('Volkslied') and the art-song ('Kunstlied'). The folksong tends to be associated with the culture of the sixteenth century, and primarily with an unscholarly culture, so that at first sight it appears to be relatively simple to assign the song of the seventeenth century to the latter category, the art-song, as the avowed intention of all authors from Opitz onwards is to write for an educated (and implicitly male) public and to eschew productions for the common herd ('pöfel/pöbel').²⁰ Sydow has formulated a distinction between the world of the folksong - 'Musik machen' - and that of the art-song - 'Musik hören'.²¹ But motifs and stereotypes from folk-literature pervade the secular song. Sydow has examples of folksong originals entering the art-song of the century, and von Waldberg commented on these at length.²² The difficulties of separating the Petrarchist and the anti-Petrarchist (hence often folksong-based) tradition have been discussed by Fechner; Suppan calls the distinction between the two modes a distortion; Braun points to an astonishing rapport between the courtly and the folkish world; and Grijp sums up the problem for the Low

18 Albert, in *Arien* (ed. Fischer), p.1.

19 Van Ingen, 'Der Stand ...', in: Lohmeier und Olssen, *Weltliches und Geistliches Lied...*, p.10.

20 Opitz, *Poeterey*, p.12.

21 Sydow, *Das Lied*, pp.24-25.

22 Sydow, *Das Lied*, p.49, p.130; Max von Waldberg, *Renaissance-Lyrik*, pp.48-67. Cf. also Platel. *Volkslied*, pp.51-133.

Countries: ‘In short, one cannot make a sharp distinction between elite and folk songs in this repertory’.²³ In this study we base ourselves on the avowed authorial intention to produce texts for art-song, while attempting maximum awareness of the intrusion into this world of folksong motifs and tendencies.

An overview of previous criticism and the intention of this study

As far as literary criticism and literary history is concerned, there are few substantial works primarily dedicated to the study of the song; far more often in histories of literature song-writers are discussed within the framework of lyric poetry generally.²⁴ (This is also reflected in the anthologies of Baroque poetry, where the song is usually represented to some extent, but not in a major way; exceptions are the extensive Cysarz anthology of 1937, Schöne’s compendium volume containing many songs under ‘volkstümliche und satirische Texte’, Szyrocki’s anthology and especially the more recent one by Haufe which shows a connoisseur’s acquaintance of lesser-known song-writers.²⁵) At a time when it was more fashionable than now to identify literary ‘schools’ or ‘circles’, some geographical groupings were particularly closely associated with the song, for example the Königsberg circle of poets, Heinrich Albert, Simon Dach and their friends.²⁶ General histories of literature from the nineteenth to the twentieth century offer relatively little analysis of secular songs and song-books. Sometimes, as is the case with Koberstein, Lemcke or Scherer, they emphasize the student background, sometimes the folksong quality or the drinking songs.²⁷ Thus it seems

23 Fechner, *Antipetrarkismus*, pp.40-44; Suppan, *Liedleben*, p.103; Braun, *Musik*, pp.20-25; Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied*, p.322.

24 Representative judgments occur in the works by Gervinus in the nineteenth century and Newald in the twentieth; see bibliography.

25 Herbert Cysarz, *Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen. Reihe Barock. Barocklyrik*, 3 vols (1937, 1964); Albrecht Schöne, *Barock* (Munich: Beck 1963), pp.868-893; Marian Szyrocki, *Lyrik des Barock*, 2 vols (Reinbek: Rowohlt 1972); Haufe, *Wir vergehn wie Rauch*....

26 Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte*, mentions various centres without much contextual material; in his *Geschichte*... there is some detailed analysis of the Königsberg poets, pp.190-192.

27 Examples are the histories by Koberstein, pp.201-202ff., Lemcke, pp.240-243, Scherer, pp.365-366, Vogt and Koch, pp.21-24, followed by analyses in the twentieth century such as those by Hankamer, pp.181-211, or Newald, pp.191-193, which offer global verdicts but also devote some space to an analysis of the variety of elements, in, for example, the poetry of Paul Fleming.

plausible that in this matter there is a value-judgement of the kind mentioned above, namely that the song is a less pretentious genre (probably to a certain extent true) and therefore less valuable and artistically admirable (we would argue, not true); something of this lies in the comment 'Dem Lied kommt in der deutschen "Barock" lyrik nicht das Gewicht der strengeren Gattungen, der Elegie, des umfangreichen betrachtenden Alexandriner-Gedichts, des Sonetts, zu'.²⁸ Some writers certainly give prominence to the songs of particular authors, for example Hans Pyritz in his famous study of Fleming, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik*; here Pyritz concentrated heavily on the songs of a particular period in Fleming's life in order to substantiate his thesis about Fleming's increasing independence from the Petrarchist tradition. The limitations of Pyritz's still valuable study have long since been recognized.²⁹ A series of histories of poetic forms was instigated in the 1920s and this produced one of the most valuable studies, Günther Müller's *Geschichte des deutschen Liedes*. Around one hundred pages of his work are devoted to the song, including the secular song, during our period, in which, while one may disagree with his sometimes idiosyncratic verdicts, all the main authors, areas and tendencies are covered.³⁰ The study is a literary-historical one but shows knowledge of the musical settings and a number of solo songs in modern notation, including examples from Albert and Krieger, are usefully appended. It can claim to represent a thorough history of the song from the literary point of view and will be referred to frequently here. Another work which appeared at this time was Karl Viëtor's *Geschichte der deutschen Ode*; this was intended as a history of the formal ode of classical origin. Viëtor does discuss the Pindaric Ode of our period, but he is also clear that during our time the ode was equated with the song for the vast majority of poets and he produces a brief discussion of this tendency.³¹ In 1963 appeared the study by the English Germanist Richard Hinton Thomas, *Poetry and Song in the German Baroque*. Thomas's work is the remarkable fruit of his knowledge as both literary and musical scholar. He makes no attempt to write a history of the continuo song but examines in close analysis some characteristic, and in his view outstanding, achievements in the secular song, from Nauwach's Opitz settings in the 1620s to Krieger's songs later in the century. The tendency is to concentrate on figures who are poet-composers, like Albert or

28 Müller, *Geschichte des deutschen Liedes*, p.51.

29 Pyritz, *Liebeslyrik*, especially pp.262-287; Alewyn's review in: Richard Alewyn (ed.), *Deutsche Barockforschung. Dokumentation einer Epoche* (Cologne/Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2nd ed. 1966), pp.438-443.

30 E.g. Müller, *Lied*, pp.87-89, where, writing about Zesen and Schirmer, he uses terms like 'Klangvirtuosentum' and 'Klangmystik'.

31 Viëtor, *Ode*, pp.59-67.

Krieger, or in the case of Rist to emphasize his musical collaborators or in that of Hammerschmidt to stress the poets whose work he sets to music. Thomas's work has had very few followers.

The intention in the present study is neither to replicate Müller's history of the song, even for our limited period, nor to analyse a small number of striking examples as does Thomas. Rather it is to examine a substantial - but not exhaustive - sample of song-books from various regions of Germany and to highlight their significance in themselves and in relation to others in their own and other regions.

In carrying out its intention the study avails itself of the critical insights already produced by music historians. The more general histories of German music tend, like their literary counterparts, to accord only a brief span of attention to the secular song of the period, perhaps inevitably, since quantitatively the number of religious compositions is vastly greater than that of secular songs.³² Any work, however, which purports to produce an overview of developments cannot ignore the secular song of the seventeenth century, and summaries of the situation of research today such as the long article in the recent *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1996) offer a fairly substantial survey of the period.³³ Many of the general entries in musical reference works give short shrift to the musical aspects of the song of the period.³⁴ Of the earlier musical-historical works, many were produced in the early years of this century, at a time of awakening of interest in Baroque literature. Von Jolizza, like others, inevitably spends much time and attention on the religious compositions of the 'grand old man' of German seventeenth-century music, Heinrich Schütz.³⁵ Kretzschmar's *Geschichte des neuen deutschen Liedes* of 1911 gives remarkably good insights into the important song-writers of the period, with good attention to the secular song, and this was followed in 1923 by Vetter's *Das frühdeutsche Lied*. It is interesting that these three works differ in their evaluation of the respective song-centres of the time; for von Jolizza Albert with his *Arien* is the great awakener of the German song in the seventeenth century, whereas he is more negative about the work of Rist in Hamburg; Kretzschmar contrasts the simplicity of the Königsberg and Hamburg song with the more sophisticated song-writing of Leipzig and central Germany, pointing out that Selle and Albert had both studied in Leipzig during Schein's time, and for him Krieger is the first

32 Braun, *Musik*, p.234.

33 Jost in: *MGG* Sachteil 5, pp.1277-1287.

34 Gerald Abraham, *Concert Music (1630-1780)* (Oxford: OUP 1986) pp.130-131. Abraham grants little significance to Albert and for him Krieger is the 'most distinguished' (p.132) of what he considers an undistinguished group.

35 Von Jolizza, *Das Lied...*, pp.175-193.

classic of the German secular song; for Vetter the Königsberg and Leipzig poets are less important and are dwarfed by the achievements of Hamburg with Rist and his composers and with Schwieger.³⁶ Moser also regards Albert as the main innovator; Moser's works are rather more specialized and he sees a 'baroque' element in the pleasure in play, quirks and oddities which obtained during the period.³⁷ Verdicts were being laid down at this time by musical critics which have only more recently been re-assessed and somewhat, but by no means totally, modified. Fortunately there have been more specific studies of individual composer-authors in recent times, which will figure in this investigation later. Of the more general recent works, Walter Wiora's *Das deutsche Lied* of 1971 seeks to illuminate aspects of the history of the song, regarding the lack of 'Baroque' elements as meaning that the song is not as significant as the other lyric poetry of its time; his opinion of the achievements of the song in our period is clearly low, with headings such as 'das kunstlose Kunstlied von Albert bis Reichardt' and overall the attention paid to our period is minimal. Siegfried Kross produced in 1989 his *Geschichte des deutschen Liedes* which offered in its early pages a brief overview of the song in the seventeenth century before proceeding to what for him is also the significant later period.³⁸ Most extensive have been the contributions of Werner Braun who, apart from his careful studies of individual works and composers, produced an overview with considerable detailed analysis in his 1981 study *Die Musik des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Here many of the questions which concern us here are already broached and substantially treated. Braun deals with the question of terminology, of melody and accompaniment, the relationship between poet and musician, and presents an overview of the historical and geographical context. He sees the main flourishing of the song as falling between 1642, with the publication of Rist's *Galathee* and Voigtländer's *Oden*, and about 1680 with the development into opera and aria.³⁹ Gary Thomas has underlined the competing trends in the development of the song, from the simple strophic song, often based on dance melodies, prevalent earlier in the century, towards the figured song, the more complex and more operatic developments which dominated later in the century.⁴⁰

It is appropriate to complete this review of some of the main contributions in secondary literature in the field of both literature and music

36 Von Jolizza, *Das Lied*, pp.175-193; Kretschmar, *Geschichte...*, p.17f., p.47f., pp.10-11, pp.81-89, p.94; Vetter, *Lied*, p.131ff.

37 Moser, *Corydon*, p.10, p.VII.

38 Wiora, *Das deutsche Lied*, pp.95-96, p.105; Kross, *Geschichte...*, pp.22-51.

39 Braun, *Die Musik...*, pp.171-172, pp.172-179.

40 Gary Thomas, 'Musical rhetoric...', pp.66-71.

with a mention of two important recent occasions when literary and music historians came together to produce interdisciplinary insights or to allow an interaction of the two disciplines. In 1978 a colloquium took place at the University of Lund in Sweden which transcended both disciplinary and national boundaries in that scholars from the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Finland came together to discuss problems in researching the secular and religious song of the Baroque in Germany and Scandinavia. The findings were published in the following year.⁴¹ Such was the situation of research that all the contributions represent considerable advances on previous knowledge and although the geographical area covered was different from that of the present volume and the religious song was also included as a subject for study, the contributions on basic matters like the state of research in the song, the forms of distribution, and individual figures from North Germany, contributions by scholars such as Van Ingen, Lohmeier, Schwab and Haensel, remain of great value. Unfortunately there was no short-term follow-up to this initiative until in 1990 a workshop-seminar was organized at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel which, while not replicating exactly the same areas of interest as its predecessor, sought to follow up the interdisciplinary thrust of more than a decade earlier. The findings were published in 1992 in the same series.⁴² This time the scope was broader, taking in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but narrower in kind, restricting itself to the secular song. Some continuity was provided by the presence of Arndal, Schwab and Van Ingen who had spoken at the previous Lund symposium. The interaction of author and composer, parody and contrafactum, and problems of influence and reception were all discussed, as was the question of the search for the missing melodies in the many German song-texts without musical notation. Again the value of the interaction between the disciplines was felt by those present and was reflected in the published contributions; and again there has been little immediate follow-up.

Musical-historical perspective

It is appropriate to handle first the historical developments in the musical world at the beginning of the seventeenth century which preceded, but also, not entirely by coincidence, accompanied the literary developments with which we are more concerned.

41 Lohmeier and Olsson (eds.), *Weltliches und Geistliches Lied des Barock*.

42 Busch and Harper, *Studien zum deutschen weltlichen Kunstlied...*

Songs of pretensions, art-songs, in the early years of the century were overwhelmingly multipart songs with up to five voices. The histories of the song have traced these collections of the early years of the century, naming this type of song the 'Gesellschaftslied', and there is no need to review the same ground again. They developed in various centres, often courtly centres, in Germany and Austria and are considered to have reached an apogee, but also an end-point, in the various collections of Johann Hermann Schein between 1609 and 1628, for example his *Musica boscareccia, Wald=Liederlein* which appeared in three parts at Leipzig between 1621 and 1628. Schein, whose death in 1630 forms a convenient watershed between the multipart song and the new trend towards solo (continuo) song, was cantor at the famous Thomaskirche in Leipzig (thus a predecessor of Johann Sebastian Bach), and as such a teacher of the boys who passed through that school, including Paul Fleming, who may have learnt some of his skills in the song from this much-loved figure of Leipzig society.⁴³ Brauer has analysed the extent of Schein's influence, in particular on the poetry of Fleming, but nevertheless sees a clear and unbridged gap between Schein's work and the consciously artistic poetry of the Baroque from Opitz onwards.⁴⁴ In the subtlety and complexity of Schein's songs one can appreciate the best of the old style about to make way for new developments. The multipart song did not disappear overnight, and some of the song-books to be examined here contain a number of multipart songs, notably some of Albert's *Arien* which appeared from 1638 until as late as 1650 and some of the songs in the collections of Andreas Hammerschmidt appearing a decade or so after Schein's death. But the new made inexorable progress; the trend towards monody, the solo song with an instrumental bass had been coming in from Italy from the early years of the century. So too was the growing influence of the English and French song set to a lute or theorbo accompaniment, which may have been a more significant factor for the literary life of the period, since the influence of the bourgeois culture of those countries, filtered through the important neighbouring Low Countries, is more evident in the life and work of the early Baroque poets than is that of Italy.⁴⁵ The solo song had been found commercially suitable for the songs contained on the broadsheets circulating early in the century, as Kretzschmar established,⁴⁶ it was also eminently suitable for domestic and bourgeois music-making. It was in the process of adoption over the years around 1624

43 See Paisey, 'Occasional aspects...', passim; Hörmickel, 'Johann Hermann Schein...', passim; Entner, *Paul Fleming*, pp.53-56.

44 Brauer, 'Jakob Regnart...', p.404.

45 Kross, *Geschichte*, pp.16-25, Braun, *Musik*, p.169.

46 Kretzschmar, *Geschichte...*, p.8.

when Opitz produced his *Poeterey* with its clarification of the metrical problem, and in the following decade it grew in popularity while in many cultural centres the use of German was slowly and gradually replacing Latin as the language of sophisticated as well as of popular culture.

One of the reasons for the increasing popularity of the solo song was its flexibility for performance, since it only needed one singer with an instrument such as a lute or theorbo. A repeated melody of limited length presented few problems to the performer and many melodies could be re-used from song to song. Most of the music historians refer to the simplicity of the song-texts and settings, whether in Königsberg (Albert), Hamburg (Rist), Saxony (Hammerschmidt, Stolle) or Leipzig (Krieger). The poet-composers themselves also referred to this artlessness, although we should read Albert's comment: 'Ich bitte aber, man wolle nicht dafür halten, daß ich mit meinen Melodeyen gedächte, grosse Kunst an den Tag zu geben' *cum grano salis* as a modesty topos of the time.⁴⁷ Despite this apparent simplicity, it is clear in performance, even on recordings, and the more so in live performance, that the degree of subtlety - irony for example - and variety which can be introduced by a performer in live situations is quite remarkable; an apparently pleasant but ultimately rather banal little song such as Fleming's 'Wie er wolle geküset seyn' reveals itself as possessing an unexpected charm and colour. Damann may be right in viewing rhetoric as the important mediator between music performance and written poetic language.⁴⁸

Literary-historical perspective

Any examination of developments in the song during the seventeenth century must take into account the history of German literature of the period, and more specifically, the development of a verse-line for German lyric poetry. The poets of the age were conscious that they needed to create a literature in German which would be the equal of the existing Renaissance literature of Italy, France and the Netherlands with which they were well acquainted. The way in which they tackled the problems of handling the German language appropriately, and creating a verse-line which would express their ideas and themes adequately, has been analysed extensively in critical literature and no more than a summary needs to be provided here.

47 Albert, *Arien*, p.3.

48 Damann, *Musikbegriff*, p.135.

A clear overview, with documentation, was published by Heinz Entner in 1984.⁴⁹ Here the author demonstrates the way in which German poetry worked its way through to the reform of Martin Opitz which was finally formulated in his *Poeterey* of 1624. He deals extensively with the central question, that of the creation of a satisfying metrical verse-line, while making it clear that the linguistic and cultural reform sought by Opitz and others was by no means confined to this admittedly crucial point and formed part of an overarching cultural agenda.

Looking back from our present-day perspective it is difficult to apprehend the problems which the poets of the time encountered, in particular the technical problem for poets writing in a Germanic language, the recognition that a basic coincidence of metrical accentuation and natural stress is necessary for a satisfying verse-line. It is clear, however, that these problems had existed in England and the Netherlands also, where they were only solved gradually over a period of time, but in both cases in advance of Germany.⁵⁰ It is significant that the most advanced neighbouring Germanic culture, namely that of the (Northern) Netherlands, the United Provinces, was one in which experiments had proceeded very early over a period of time. This culture eventually produced major poets such as Hooft, Bredero, Huygens and Vondel, and also, through the work and personality of the academically-oriented Daniel Heinsius, Professor of Poetry at the University of Leiden, exerted a major influence on the young Martin Opitz.⁵¹

In all of the above-named countries there may have been gifted individual poets who were on the way to solving the problem instinctively in their writings; alternatively there may have been poets who were composing according to other older-established principles and whose genius enabled them, sporadically at least, to overcome what to lesser poets were insuperable obstacles. (A correct syllabic count per verse-line, for instance, such as

49 Heinz Entner, 'Der Weg zum "Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey"', pp.11-144.

50 See Anthony J Harper, 'On the development of a poetic language in Northern Europe: Jan Van der Noot's apocalyptic sonnets and their English and German translations', in: *Strathclyde Modern Language Studies I* (1981) 41-59; Harper, 'Rebirth in poetry: Renaissance verse-reform and the German lyric of the seventeenth century', in: Harper, *Time and Change. Essays on German and European Literature* (Frankfurt/M.: Rita G Fischer 1982), pp.5-27 and as 'Renaissance verse-reform and the German poetry of the 17th century', in: *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen LXXIX* (1978) 426-437.

51 For the Netherlands see Theodor Weevers, *Poetry of the Netherlands...*, pp.64-80; Leonard Forster, *Die Niederlande und die Anfänge der deutschen Barocklyrik* (Groningen: Wolters 1967), pp.4-11; Forster, 'German Alexandrines on Dutch Broadsheets before Opitz', in: Schulz-Behrend, *The German Baroque*, p.20.

forms the basis of French versification, is only a starting point for a satisfying line in German.) Jan van der Noot in the Southern Netherlands is an instance of a talented Renaissance poet whose lines developed a rhythm close to (modern) iambic verse. Georg Rudolph Weckherlin is an instance in Germany of the most gifted poet of the early seventeenth century who clearly was not writing verse by later Opitzian principles, as is demonstrated by his own alterations to his poems of 1618 in the editions of 1641 and 1648, belatedly bringing his earlier verse into line with Opitz.⁵² For our purposes it does not matter by what principles these and other earlier poets were writing, it is clear that the majority of those writing verse in German in the first decades of the seventeenth century did not have a definite idea of any kind of regular accentuation and of the necessity for basic coincidence of natural and metrical stress.

Before turning to Opitz's reforms we need to recall the significance, for all educated scholar-poets, of the possibility of writing in Latin and of the long-standing tradition of Neo-Latin literature. As Fechner has pointed out in his study of Paul Fleming, it is wrong to think of all poets of the time as wishing to 'progress' from writing poetry in Latin to the 'more natural' task of composing in German.⁵³ Most were at home in Latin and their growing concern with the creation of a German national literature did not clash with this, as the appearance of the first poetics of the self-conscious new German literature, the *Aristarchus* produced by Opitz in 1617 and written in Latin, shows. One should, however, make the qualification that what applied for Opitz and Fleming with their awareness of writing in an unbroken Humanist tradition may not have applied in the same measure to younger song-writers with less scholarly ambitions. Nevertheless it is relevant to remind ourselves that even in France, as well as in the Netherlands and Germany, literature in Latin was flourishing and developing increasingly during the seventeenth

52 See Jan van der Noot, *Het Bosken en het Theatre* (ed. W A P Smit and W Vermeer, Amsterdam/Antwerpen 1953) especially pp.21-34; I am indebted to Prof. Vermeer for clarification of various points in correspondence. See also W Vermeer, 'De sonnetten van Lucas d'Heere', in: *Spiegel der Letteren* 21 (1979) 81-101, F de Schutter, *Het vers van Joncker Jan van der Noot* (Gent 1967) especially pp.11-16, and C A Zaalberg, *Das Buch Extasis von Jan van der Noot* (Assen 1954) especially p.260. For Weckherlin see Christian Wagenknecht, *Weckherlin und Opitz* (Munich: Beck 1971) especially pp.15-37.

53 Fechner, 'Paul Fleming', in: von Wiese, *Deutsche Dichter*, pp.372-375; Conrady has shown how Opitz constructs his longer poems in Alexandrines as elegies on Latin models (*Dichtungstradition*, p.195) but this may apply less to the more succinct poetry of the song.

century; poets in Northern Europe could still in the seventeenth century achieve international fame through writing and publishing in Latin.⁵⁴

Thus in most German centres of literary production the important occasional poetry of the day, above all epithalamia and epicedia but also panegyrics and congratulatory verse of all kinds, was still overwhelmingly being written in Latin in the opening decades of the century. It is only after the Opitzian reform, and then only haltingly at first, that this production begins to be established in German. This is true for the town of Leipzig, also Bremen and Breslau, and one can put varying dates between 1624 and 1640 on this development across the German-speaking world.⁵⁵

What is important for poetry in general is also important for the song; although the formal verse-line, the Alexandrine, was only rarely sung in the seventeenth century, the problems attending it were not in essence different from those of songs employing shorter lines, and thus Erich Trunz's clear representation of the development of the long line of Baroque poetry holds good essentially for the shorter lines usual in the song.⁵⁶ The presence of musical accompaniment in the song is something of a mixed blessing. On the one hand musical accompaniment may mean that metrical infelicities can be glossed over, as has been suggested for the 'Gesellschaftslieder' of the German courts around 1600, for example to the creations of Jacob Regnart, or in a sacred context to the psalm translations of Lobwasser and Paul Schede Melissus's adaptations of them. But the presence of musical accompaniment in a solemn context as in church services cannot totally overcome the discomfort of singing the 23rd Psalm in church, as is still done to this day, in a way which forces the congregation to sing 'Goodness and mercy all my days...'.⁵⁷ There are limits to the admittedly important influence of music.

We return to Opitz. One of the best ways of apprehending the difficulties faced by the budding poets of the time is to see what happened to

54 See Paul van Tieghem, *La Littérature Latine de la Renaissance* (Paris: Droz 1944) especially p.45, P Düsterich, 'Buchproduktion im 17. Jahrhundert', in *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* (1973) Sp.177,184, and J W Binns, *The Latin Poetry of English Poets* (London: RKP 1974) p.viii.

55 Cf. Harper (ed.), in Brehme, *Lustige...Gedichte*, p.12*, also Joseph Leighton, 'Die Gelegenheitsgedichte der Universitätsbibliothek Bremen', in: Dorette Frost and Gerhard Knoll (eds.), *Gelegenheitsdichtung* (Bremen: Univ. Bremen 1979), pp.8-19 and Leighton, 'On occasional Baroque poetry', pp.1-20. Rypson shows the equal production of Latin and German poetry in Danzig in the first half of the century ('Visual poetry', pp.273-274).

56 Trunz, 'Der deutsche Langvers...', pp.228-286.

57 I am indebted to Joseph Leighton for drawing my attention to the importance of music in this matter.

the most conscious of them, the Silesian master. Entner has demonstrated how even at the time of his first tract *Aristarchus* of 1617 Opitz was still capable of producing unsatisfactory lines possessing something of the ineptness common to lesser poets. A comparison of a wedding poem of February 1618, written in Opitz's home town of Bunzlau, with the later version of 1625, or between the 1624 and 1625 versions of a famous song like 'Ach Liebste laß uns eilen', shows how correctness in all ways, but especially metrical regularity, had become clear to him at some point in those intervening years.⁵⁸ Two crucial experiences involved the Netherlands: the acquaintance with the *Bloem-hof* anthology (published 1608/1610) and with Daniel Heinsius' *Nederduytse Poemata* at least by the time he met the author himself in the year 1620 in Leiden.⁵⁹ The poems which Zingref produced at Straßburg in 1624 still reveal some metrical infelicities but these have largely disappeared in the collection of 1625 which reflects the principles enunciated in the *Poeterey* of the previous year.

Opitz's demonstration of the need for coincidence of natural and metrical stress, allied with his prescription of regular alternating stress in the verse-line and his proscription of anything other than such regular alternation, is from a modern point of view unnecessarily restrictive. The two examples of a verse-line that he gives in the *Poeterey*, 'Erhalt uns Herr bey deinem wort' and 'Mitten wir im leben sind', both taken from Martin Luther, only offer the possibility of an iambic or a trochaic line, a restriction of German poetry which was obsolete more or less as soon as it was uttered and was superseded in practice within the next decade. Any strict adherence to this would have meant an incredible impoverishment of the possibilities of verse in German. Also, a totally strict coincidence of metrical pattern and natural stress will result in a parrot-like monotony or a meaningless jingle, as anyone who has heard schoolchildren reciting poetry mechanically will know. So regularity is a relative concept and departures from a fixed pattern can come over as attractive and even original. There are even some points in traditional verse-lines at which such departures are commonly experienced, such as the rhythmic effect when the opening iambic foot of an iambic line receives a trochaic counter-stress, as in 'Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?' No extensive studies have been made of such matters.

Despite these qualifications made from a modern point of view, it is clear that the authoritative clarification issued by Opitz in 1624 was necessary to allow German poetry to launch itself anew. Although Opitz was

58 Entner, *Paul Fleming*, p.120; Harper, 'Rebirth...' (as note 50), pp.22-23, Opitz, *Gesammelte Werke* I, pp.84-85.

59 *Den Bloem-hof van de Nederlandsche leught*, see Bibliography of Primary Sources.

an ambitious man and a good propagandist for himself, the fame which his contemporaries conferred on him, not only in his native Silesia but also all over the Protestant areas of Germany, is widespread and genuine. It can be no coincidence that during the next decade the writing of poetry, including the song, began to establish itself with growing confidence. It was the same kind of security which Professor Daniel Heinsius had provided in Holland for the 'rank and file' there, and the rank and file in Germany swallowed it up willingly, whilst the more adventurous and confident were able to supersede Opitz in a relatively short space of time.⁶⁰ The quiet acceptance of Opitz's theory and practice is best measured by the production of occasional poetry in German in a town or region, in Leipzig from around 1630 onwards, in Bremen, Braunschweig or Hamburg somewhat later.⁶¹ The superseding of Opitz can be seen not only in the introduction of the dactyl by Augustus Buchner in his lectures at Wittenberg during the 1630s and by his pupil Philipp von Zesen in his poetics *Deutscher Helicon* (editions from 1640 onwards), but also in the practice of such writers as the Danzig poet Johannes Plavius (collection published 1630) and the Thuringian Ernst Christoph Homburg in his first *Clio* collection (1638).⁶²

Geographical and confessional considerations

Until now the words 'German' and 'Germany' have been used without any further definition. 'German' can at this time only refer to those areas of central Europe where German was the language of the majority, and the concept 'Germany', which did not exist as a political reality at the time, reflects the same phenomenon. The German-language area, or German cultural area, of the time covered enormous territories of central Europe, and rather more than that. It not only included the Holy Roman Empire, but also many further German-speaking areas outside the boundaries of the Empire, such as West Prussia, including Danzig, and East Prussia, including Königsberg, which were nominally under the sovereignty of the King of Poland, or Siebenbürgen (Transylvania) in Hungary (now part of Romania) where Opitz spent a short period of his early life. And German culture was important in many cities in foreign countries like Copenhagen in Denmark and Stockholm in Sweden, and along the Baltic to the old Hanseatic towns like Riga in Livonia and Reval (Tallinn) in Estonia, even St Petersburg, the

60 Weevers, *Poetry of the Netherlands*, p.78.

61 See Harper, Nachwort to Brehme, *Lustige...Gedichte*, pp.12*-13* and notes 48-51.

62 See Buchner, Zesen, Plavius and Homburg in the Bibliography, also Borcherdt, *Augustus Buchner*, passim.

capital of the Czarist Empire.⁶³ Then there were lands like the neighbouring Northern Netherlands with its closely related language, which many German academics had visited, and with which many Germans were in close personal contact.

The contacts within this vast area of Europe, extending from the North Sea to Russia, and from northern Italy to the Baltic, were uneven. Not all areas communicated quickly and frequently with each other. Trade routes such as the shipping lanes from the North Sea to the Baltic were certainly one source of cultural transmission, as the career and poetry of Johannes Plavius in Danzig or Paul Fleming in Reval both indicate.⁶⁴ Two major disruptive factors were, however, in force: first, the Thirty Years' War which, although it fostered dissemination of cultural ideas through the travels of refugees, obviously disrupted lives and cultural connections. Secondly, the confessional divide between the areas remaining Catholic and those adopting the Lutheran, or, less commonly, the Reformed (Calvinist) creed, was a considerable obstacle to contact. It has to be admitted that transmission across the confessional divide was possible for scholars who formed a sort of supra-confessional guild - Andreas Gryphius's borrowings from the work of the Polish Jesuit Sarbievius (Sarbiewski) is a well-known instance, also crossing national boundaries - but in a genre like the secular song which exists in a definite social context, such crossing of thresholds may have been less easy. On the other hand again, music oversteps frontiers of all kinds more easily than does the spoken word.

Klaus Garber has reminded us how, in the writing of histories of literature in the course of the nineteenth century, the perspective of patriotic Prussian-Protestant nationalism overrode everything else and led to German political and literary history being written almost exclusively from that point of view.⁶⁵ This may well have led to an underrating of the significance of the

-
- 63 Gerhard Dünnhaupt, 'The Bewildering German Boundaries: A Challenge to the Baroque Bibliographer', in: Leonie Marx and Herbert Knust (eds.), *Grenzerfahrung - Grenzüberschreitung: Studien zu den Literaturen Skandinaviens und Deutschlands. Festschrift für P.M. Mitchell* (Heidelberg: Winter 1988), pp.33-39, also Drees, *Gelegenheitsdichtung*, passim.
- 64 See Bornemann, 'Der "Friesche Lusthof"...' passim and Harper, 'Plavius-Sonette in Riga', in: *WBN XXIII* (1997) 106-109.
- 65 Klaus Garber, 'Zentraleuropäischer Calvinismus und deutsche "Barock"-Literatur. Zu den konfessionspolitischen Ursprüngen der deutschen Nationalliteratur', in: Heinz Schilling (Ed.), *Die reformierte Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland. Das Problem der "Zweiten Reformation"* (Gütersloh: Gert Mohn 1985), pp.317-348; Garber, 'Der deutsche Sonderweg - Gedanken zu einer calvinistischen Alternative um 1600', in: *Kontroversen alte und neue IX* (1986) 165-172.

reformed states in Germany, such as the influential Hessen-Kassel, or of the Palatinate, although the importance of the latter declines dramatically with the sack of Heidelberg in 1622. The political links of these states with France and/or the Northern Netherlands were also a factor of cultural importance.

More significant, however, is the 'loss' of the Catholic German-language areas during the writing of national histories of literature in the nineteenth century. Only recently has a revision of this matter begun, as the works of Breuer, Marigold and others have investigated literary developments in Bavaria, Austria and other areas where the Reformation was not accepted.⁶⁶ They have shown, among other things, how much longer the tradition of writing in Latin continued there, and how the Opitzian poetic reform was only accepted in the Upper German areas (basically the South and South-West, which were mainly, but not exclusively Catholic) much later in the seventeenth century. This had enabled nineteenth-century historians of German national literature to ignore these areas as backward and to treat the work of the Jesuit poet Friedrich Spee, a contemporary of Opitz, as merely that of an isolated gifted individual.

Despite the revision of our attitude towards these whole areas of the German-speaking world, it so happens that the towns and regions where the secular song was most prominently fostered were all three in Lutheran areas. The dominant connections which all these areas had were with each other and with other Lutheran regions in central, north and north-east Germany, to put it in modern terms. Thus, since our study is not intended to be exhaustive and to mention every area or individual involved in song-writing, we are justified in maintaining our focus on these particular areas, without this in any way implying the narrowness of vision which used to obtain in the investigation of seventeenth-century literature.

Regions of the German-language area, and the Low Countries

In principle one may detect individual song-writers and song-books anywhere in the German cultural area during the period under review. It is impossible to examine here in its totality the discussion of the literature of the German-speaking territories during the period and the reader is referred to Garber's extensive survey and also to the brief but informative summary in van Stekelenburg's work on Danzig.⁶⁷ Early in the century one finds songs

66 The best survey of this problem is that by Dieter Breuer, *Oberdeutsche Literatur 1565-1650...* (Munich: Beck 1979).

67 Garber, 'Stadt und Literatur', pp.3-47; Van Stekelenburg, *Michael Albinus ...*, pp.9-14; Harper, 'Urbs Litteraria', pp.101-108.

by the Swabian Georg Rudolph Weckherlin whose work is of intrinsic interest but is not central to the poetic production of the century because of his marginal geographical position - he spent much of his life in England - and his pre-Opitzian poetics. We might have looked at the work of writers from the most productive single region of Germany, Silesia, writers such as Heinrich Held or Wencel Scherffer von Scherferstein whose work contains a number of songs. We have not examined here the work of the most experimental - also very well researched - circle of the century, the Nuremberg 'Pegnitz shepherds' Harsdörffer, Klaj, Birken and others, whose pastoral poetry offers some idiosyncratic song-writing. And we have excluded the spiritual or religious song completely, including the writings of those known mainly for such songs who may also have penned secular verse, such as Andreas Gryphius, or all mystical poetry containing songs with a strong sensuality in their spirituality, such as that by the Silesian Johannes Scheffler (Angelus Silesius) in his *Heilige Seelen=Lust* (1657), or by the Austrian Laurentius von Schnüffis in his *Mirantisches Flötlein* (1682). The list could be extended, but to no purpose. We need here to examine a range of substantial collections of songs as far as possible by authors in contact with each other or with a common literary centre. We therefore have selected carefully to produce this kind of cohesion: the north-eastern area, primarily Königsberg, but including other towns such as Danzig and Reval, is the most isolated and therefore the most homogeneous but even here there were links to the main German lands inside the Empire; Hamburg with its cosmopolitan city-life attracted many writers and inevitably became a focus for the bourgeois song; and Saxony and Thuringia represent a broad area which can productively be examined, with important university towns in Leipzig, Wittenberg and Jena, a major court at Dresden, and important schools in other places such as Halle, Zittau and Zwickau. It is no surprise that these three areas have featured prominently in previous overviews of the song, and Leipzig and Hamburg also represented major publication and printing centres. Many of the poets whose work is to be examined moved between more than one of these areas. Paul Fleming spent his early years in Leipzig before his travels took him to Reval, Russia and Persia. Philipp von Zesen came from Saxony but spent much of his later life in Amsterdam or Hamburg. Georg Greflinger, from Bavaria, spent some of his youth in Saxony and Frankfurt, more time in Danzig, and finally ended his long career in Hamburg. Kaspar Stieler, from Erfurt in Thuringia, moved from Saxony to Königsberg and visited Hamburg, Holland, France and Italy before returning to his native region. It is not only physical travel which makes for interesting contacts, however, but there seem to have been links of some sort, family relationships or correspondence, between Voigtländer in the north,

Finckelthaus in Leipzig and Bautzen and Hammerschmidt in Zittau, to mention just one such complex.⁶⁸ These links are more difficult to pin down but relate to the questions addressed here.

It is tempting to describe the relationship between German writers and the Low Countries - primarily the Northern Netherlands - and the influence of that area on Germany as the best kept secret of Baroque research. Actually it has not been a secret for a long time. Weevers, Trunz, Forster, Fechner and others have investigated the relationship between the young Martin Opitz and Daniel Heinsius in Leiden and the whole context. Schönle and others have pointed to the many German visitors to Leiden during the early part of the seventeenth century - Fleming, Gryphius, Hofmannswaldau and Scheffler among the most famous - and Bornemann's discoveries have shown us an even wider spectrum of influence, primarily emanating from the Netherlands to German-speaking areas.⁶⁹ Van Ingen has shown various examples of interaction, including how Philipp von Zesen, who lived for a considerable time in Amsterdam, was one of the link figures with Dutch culture.⁷⁰ Baron has shown how Hamburg was an important reception centre for Dutch culture, also that much of the important culture of Renaissance France was transmitted to Germany through the Netherlands.⁷¹ There are many ways, ranging from the everyday to serious cultural interchange, in which Germans came in touch with the culture of the Low Countries. Even Heinrich Albert, in far-off Königsberg, went on a mission with a party from the Netherlands which must have given him contact with the language; translation of Dutch works was common, e.g. the Thuringian Ernst Christoph Homburg and the Saxon Constantin Christian Dedekind both translated Jacob Cats, one of the most popular Dutch poets in Germany, perhaps because of his didactic and moralizing verse.

There are a number of reasons for this phenomenon. The German middle-class poets who visited the United Provinces formed an admiration for the bourgeois culture of the small but unified nation which had achieved political independence and was going through a glittering period known in Dutch as the 'Gouden Eeuw' (Golden Age). The language was not totally incomprehensible to Germans of the time, indeed some of the Dutch forms of that time which have since died out, such as the use of the Saxon genitive,

68 Jost, 'Lied', pp.1280-1284, points to the relationship between Rist and Saxony, for example.

69 See Weevers, *Poetry of the Netherlands*, pp.78-84, Trunz, 'Der barocke Langvers...', passim, Forster, *Die Niederlande...*, pp.4-11, Bornemann, *Anlehnung und Abgrenzung*, pp.156-169, pp.182-197.

70 Van Ingen, 'Do ut des...', 72-115, 'Philipp von Zesen', in *Deutsche Dichter*, pp.497-516.

71 Baron, 'Dutch influences', pp.51-54, p.44.

today replaced by 'van', made it closer to German than it would be now. And although the sound of the language may have made comprehension of, say, the speeches of Vondel's dramas difficult when encountered live in stage performance, and the guttural sounds which in later times were to be off-putting and a source of mockery for (High) German-speakers may have represented an obstacle, the appearance of the language on paper was by no means difficult to comprehend. A comparison of the 'Lentes Clagh=ghedicht' from the *Bloem-hof* anthology with Opitz's version in the 1624 collection, 'Frühlings Klag Gedichte', described as 'Einen großen Theil aus dem Niederländischen' is just one example demonstrating this point.⁷² On a more light-hearted note, the songs of Bredero may have fallen into the same category. It must not be forgotten that many of the poets treated here stemmed from areas of northern Germany where the language of the ordinary people was Low German, which was also used in the Lutheran Church, and many more had contact with these areas. Subtitles of the kind such as 'Aus dem Niederdeutschen ins Hochdeutsche übersetzt' suggest that the Dutch language was regarded by Germans as a form or dialect of Low German, no different in kind, for example, from the Low German of East Prussia which one finds in the famous 'Anke von Tharau' poem in Albert's *Arien* (V,21). A geographical and linguistic cultural continuum was therefore assumed by many Germans and it is significant that Opitz refers to the language 'shared' by Daniel Heinsius and himself as 'vnsre Muttersprach', and that a writer such as Paul Fleming can refer to 'Katz, Heins' und Opitz' (Cats, Heinsius, Opitz) in the same breath as 'unsere Deutschen'.⁷³ This relationship will be shown to be of importance for the development of the song in seventeenth-century Germany, but often since German nineteenth-century histories of literature the 'Dutch connection' has been underplayed for reasons of nationalistic historiography. The full significance of this connection would be easy to miss for anyone studying for the first time the secondary literature on this period.

In the bourgeois culture of the Netherlands the song, particularly the secular song, probably enjoyed a more honoured place than in Germany; this is reflected in the somewhat more generous production methods and ornamental presentation of their song-books. Grijp refers to the 'beauty of the song books..., often containing staff notation and fine engravings'.⁷⁴ The richness of the Dutch song-books is reflected in studies of their variety in text and music, and some investigation of their influence on German song-books

72 *Teutsche Poemata* 1624 (ed. Witkowski), pp.xxxi-xxxii, pp.38-39.

73 Opitz, in 'Vber des Hochgelhrten vnd weltberühmbten Danielis Heinsij Niederländische Poemata' (*Teutsche Poemata* Nr.5, p.25); Fleming, *Gedichte* I, 371.

74 Grijp, *Het Nederlandse lied...*, p.321.

has been made, for instance by Osthoff, Kretzschmar, Baron and Suppan.⁷⁵ Some of the more experimental touches in German songs and poetry of the seventeenth century will be seen to be anticipated, often without great theorizing, in the Netherlands in earlier decades of the century.

***Occasio* and the song-book**

Poetry written for particular occasions in life represents a major aspect of the poetry of the time, and the song, whether secular or spiritual, is no exception. Thanks to the work of Krummacher, Segebrecht, Leighton and others we know much more about the production of such poetry than we did a few decades ago. Various prejudices have been expressed against such poetry from an anachronistic point of view, for example that it does not reflect personal experience, a point not relevant to the attitude of the seventeenth-century poet, or that it was mainly written for financial reward, something which is not true as more was written out of friendship or other social obligation. These have dwindled in recent years.⁷⁶ The most common items of such poetry were wedding and funeral songs, the latter, as religious poetry, not examined in this study, but there were others like congratulatory poems for birthdays and name-days, also for academic occasions such as graduations or the publication of a book. There were also panegyrics for the aristocracy and poems for political and historical occasions. The sense of using ‘*occasio*’, the event of a particular moment, for more general, usually conventional reflections about life, is a pervasive one in the century, and an extension of the term occasional poetry can easily be made to include poems such as Gryphius’s sonnets on the Sundays and Holy Days of the year, the regularly recurring occasions in the Christian calendar.⁷⁷

Many contemporary poems, including songs, more than is at first apparent, are actually occasional poetry. A famous sonnet by Paul Fleming ‘*Bey einer Leichen*’, for instance, which had admittedly been presented in Lappenberg’s edition in the section of sonnets for funerals but without any reference to a specific occasion, has been revealed to be a ‘normal’ occasional funeral poem. There are examples of pastoral songs in collections

75 Osthoff, *Die Niederländer*, passim; Kretzschmar, *Geschichte...*, p.47; Suppan, *Liedleben*, p.90; Baron, ‘Dutch influences...’, passim. As an example see the Bloemhof anthology, p.39, where there is a list of 39 melodies, some identified from the ‘Tonangaben’ in the text.

76 Krummacher, ‘Das barocke Epicedion’, Segebrecht, *Das Gelegenheitsgedicht*, Leighton, ‘On occasional Baroque poetry’, all passim.

77 Cf. Forster, *The Temper...*, p.15.