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The musical works of Tobias Zeutschner (1621–75), as documented in occasional school prints. Working on a thematic catalogue of the Breslau [Wrocław]¹ Organist

ABSTRACT: Tobias Zeutschner (b. 1621, d. 1675), organist of St Mary Magdalene's in Breslau, was not a teacher at the Magdalenaeum gymnasium school affiliated to that church. However, occasional prints preserved in the Silesian-Lusatian Collection of Wrocław University Library confirm his active participation in the musical life of that school.

Until now, the scenarios of plays performed by the Magdalenaeum's pupils have never been the object of musicologists' interest. And yet they allow us to add several previously unknown, albeit not extant, items to Zeutschner's oeuvre. Consequently, the thematic catalogue of compositions by Tobias Zeutschner (prepared by the author) contains 83 items, as compared to the 47 listed by Reinhold Starke in 1900. At least ten of the new titles were noted in the school's occasional prints.

What is more, the Magdalenaeum pamphlets offer additional information about known compositions that is particularly helpful in establishing their chronology. For example, previously we had only an approximate date for the Christmas biblical history 'Halleluja, höret an die Geburt unsers Herren', a major work by Zeutschner, whereas now it is possible to propose 29 January 1660 as the date of its first rendition.

KEYWORDS: Breslau / Wrocław, Tobias Zeutschner, thematic catalogue, school theatre, occasional prints

1. Introduction

The object of this paper is to present new data collected during the preparation of a thematic catalogue of works by the Breslau organist and composer Tobias Zeutschner, as well as to explain the principles behind the compiling of the catalogue. First, this short introduction will set the topic in its geographic and temporal context.

¹ Breslau [also Bresslau, Bresslaw, Presslaw] was the city's name up to 1945. Current Polish place-names are given in this text in square brackets after the first appearance of a place.

For more than two hundred years, from 1526 to 1742, Protestant Breslau belonged to the Catholic Habsburg Empire. It was both a Catholic bishop's see and the most important Protestant enclave in the monarchy; one of only a few such enclaves after the Thirty Years' War, its economic wealth must have played a role in establishing the isolated Protestant community within the Catholic empire. The religious life of the city's Protestant community, which formed about three-quarters of its population during the seventeenth century, was organised around three main parish churches: St Elisabeth's, St Mary Magdalene's, and St Bernardino's. Those were the so-called *Hauptkirchen*, and they possessed their filial churches, St Barbara's and St Christopher's; there were also churches of lesser rank, called the *Nebenkirchen*. Here, I shall deal solely with St Mary Magdalene's, second only to St Elisabeth's in the local Protestant hierarchy of churches.

From 1267, St Mary Magdalene's possessed its own Latin school, elevated in 1643 to the rank of a gymnasium. The rich musical tradition of this church is documented by manuscripts from the former City Library of Breslau, at present kept in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin [D-B] as the so-called Emil Bohn collection.² From 1655, Tobias Zeutschner (b. 1621, d. 1675) was the organist of St Mary Magdalene's. Born in Neurode [Nowa Ruda] in the County of Glatz [Kłodzko], he had previously been organist of the castle church in Oels [Oleśnica] and of St Bernardino's in Breslau.³

The humanist model of education in Breslau's gymnasium schools included rhetorical exercises and contests, writing poems in German, Latin and classical Greek, and also public declamations and school drama. The scripts for the school theatre were prepared by the rector.⁴ Interest in biblical languages – Greek and also Hebrew – was typical of the post-Reformation education model. Practising music was also a specifically Lutheran element. It concerned both vocal and instrumental music and included the participation of pupils in the musical life of the church. The choir was recruited from among the pupils, and the most talented received grants from the City Council to pursue further education, even at university level (above all in Leipzig and Wittenberg).⁵ This may be described as

² Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau* (Breslau, 1890); Richard Charteris, *Newly Discovered Music Manuscripts from the Private Collection of Emil Bohn* [Musicological Studies & Documents, 53] (Hänsler, 1999).

³ Paulina Halamska, 'Działalność Tobiasa Zeutschnera (1621–1675) w kościele św. Marii Magdaleny. Kariera kompozytorska w protestanckim środowisku dawnego Wrocławia' [The work of Tobias Zeutschner (1621–1675) at St Mary Magdalene's: a career in composition in Protestant Breslau], *Muzyka*, 53 (2008/2), 69–90.

⁴ James Hardin, 'Authorship as Job Requirement. Seventeenth-Century School Drama and Christian Gryphius', in Matthew J. Bruccoli and Joel Myerson (eds.), *The professions of authorship: essays in honor of Matthew J. Bruccoli* (Columbia S.C., 1996), 94–105.

⁵ Tomasz Jeż, 'Stypendia wrocławskiej Rady Miejskiej jako instytucja kształcenia kadr muzycznych' [The grants awarded by Breslau City Council as an educational institution for musi-

a synergy of school, church and city. The rivalry with Jesuit schools, which were developing intensely at that time, must be taken into account as well. All these factors contributed to the well-deserved reputation of the Breslau school theatre and to the richness of the sources formerly preserved in the Breslau City Library (Stadtbibliothek Breslau), today kept in Wrocław University Library, primarily in its Silesian-Lusatian Collection.

These sources have never been studied in detail by musicologists. They are known, however, to historians of culture and theatre. Information on their subject is contained in monographs by Krystyn Matwijowski⁶ and Konrad Gajek,⁷ thanks to which I began looking through the sources preserved in the Silesian-Lusatian Collection. This is a large and rich collection; fascicles of occasional prints published during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Breslau schools (including the St Mary Magdalene Gymnasium) are preserved especially in the 'Y' part of the collection (library shelf-marks beginning with the letter Y).

2. Working on the Thematic Catalogue

When preparing the thematic catalogue, I tried to establish a complete list of works composed by Zeutschner. Besides data based on direct sources (musical manuscripts and prints) and indirect sources (documents from Breslau Protestant churches and inventories from libraries outside Breslau), my attention was drawn to the occasional prints from Breslau schools. The result of this source research was a significant amount of new data, which made it necessary to reorganise the available information. The classification scheme established in 1900 by Reinhold Starke, author of the first monographic paper on Tobias Zeutschner,⁸ has become insufficient.

The catalogue compiled by Starke contained 57 entries. As a matter of fact, there were 47 known works and ten supplementary entries reserved for the presumed collection *Decas Secunda*, the existence of which has never been confirmed. The listed works were those known to Starke from Breslau sources preserved in his times, and he subdivided them into prints (A) and manuscripts (B). In both sub-catalogues, the items were numbered with Roman numerals; each item had also a second number in Arabic numerals running through the entire catalogue. No musical incipits were provided.

cians], in Marek Hałub and Anna Mańko-Matysiak (eds.), *Śląska Republika Uczonych* [The Silesian Republic of Scholars], iii (Wrocław, 2008), 155–181.

⁶ Krystyn Matwijowski, *Uroczystości, obchody i widowiska w barokowym Wrocławiu* [Solemnities, celebrations and spectacles in Baroque Breslau] (Wrocław, 1969).

⁷ Konrad Gajek (ed.), *Das Breslauer Schultheater im 17. u. 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1994).

⁸ Reinhold Starke, 'Tobias Zeutschner', *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, 32 (1900), 195–207 and 213–219.

The thematic catalogue I have prepared contains data on all the currently known compositions by Tobias Zeutschner, both extant (intact or in part) and documented solely by indirect sources. The 83 items are subdivided into extant (1–61) and non-extant (62*–83*). Of the latter, 10 new titles are known only from occasional school prints, which have also provided new data on already familiar pieces.

The numeration runs through the entire catalogue, and the lost pieces are marked with an asterisk. Within these two groups, chronological order has been followed wherever possible. Undated or uncertainly dated compositions have been placed at the end of each group in alphabetical order according to their titles or textual incipits (items 56–61 and 73*–83* respectively). With regard to the four printed collections of sacred concerti and arias and the lost music for school theatre performances, the items are listed according to their position in the print. An additional collective entry has been given for each of these prints.

Entries for extant compositions include musical incipits. As a rule, two parts are given, viz. the basso continuo and the highest vocal or instrumental part. Works preserved only in part are presented as one-part incipits, according to their form in the source. Lastly, an alphabetical index of titles has been established.

3. The compositional output of Zeutschner in occasional school prints

The above-mentioned occasional prints from the Magdalenaeum school are the main subject of the present paper. Before dealing with prints newly found in the Silesian-Lusatian Collection, I shall dwell for a moment on two prints not belonging to that collection – the only ones known to Reinhold Starke. The first comes from the Early Prints Department of the University Library in Wrocław.

Tobias Zeutschner was an organist; consequently, he was not a teacher at the Magdalenaeum. Unlike the situation of St Bernardino's church and school (where he worked before), here formal links between teachers and church musicians were not so important.⁹ They tended to concern cantors, one exception being Michael Büttner, a contemporary of Zeutschner: after having resigned from his teaching post in 1639, he retained the position of church cantor until his death in 1662. Even if formally not employed by the Magdalenaeum, Zeutschner was known and appreciated by the school. Telling proof of this is given by an occasional print published in 1661 on the occasion of his name-day (and possibly also his fortieth

⁹ Martin Hanke, *Vratislavienses eruditionis propagatores: id est, Vratislaviensium scholarum praesides, inspectores, rectores, professores, praecipitores, tabulis chronologicis comprehensi, Ab Anno Christi M.D.XXV ad M.DCC. Cum annotationibus & tribus indicibus* (Leipzig, 1701).

birthday), entitled *Glückwünschende Namens-Erinnerung*.¹⁰ This contains three panegyric epigrams (one in Latin, two in German) by the school's pupils, celebrating Zeutschner both as a musician and as a poet.

The second print that was already known thanks to Starke's publication contains the parts of the concerto *Unser Wandel ist im Himmel*, dedicated to the Breslau librarian Georg Schoebel on the occasion of his joining the literary association called the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*.¹¹ This sacred concerto, listed also by Emil Bohn,¹² was held in Breslau City Library up to 1945. At present, however, it is known only from two copies to be found outside Wrocław: one in the Stockholm Stiftelsen Musikkulturens främjande [S-Smf], noted by the RISM, the other in the Dresden Sächsische Landesbibliothek [D-DI], though not in the music collection but among the documents of academies and literary societies. As such, it was published in facsimile and annotated by Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht in 1991.¹³

The two above-mentioned prints are an interesting contribution to the composer's biography (*Glückwünschende Namens-Erinnerung*) and a direct source for his compositions (the concerto *Unser Wandel ist im Himmel*). Both testify his relations with the Magdalenaeum school. They differ from the prints of that school preserved in the Silesian-Lusatian Collection of Wrocław University Library in that they are related to single events and not to the activities of the school theatre – a permanent institution that was active during the second half of the seventeenth century and at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

¹⁰ *Glückwünschende Namens-Erinnerung / Als Der Ehrenbeste / Wolgeachte / Kunsterfahne Herr Tobias Zeutschner / N. P. C. Weiterühmte Musicus Practicus, und wolverordnete / trew-fleißige Organist in der Pfarr- Kirchen zu St. Maria Magdalena / in der Kaiser- und Königlichen Stadt Breßlaw / Anno 1661. den 13. Junii, seinen führenden Tauff-Nahmen abermals erlebet / Trew-mennende Zu bezeuge ihrer innigen Bewogenheit / und willigsten Dienstfertigkeit / Von Dreyen derer in dem Breßlischen Gymnasio zu St. Mar. Magdal. studirenden abgelegt* (Breslau, 1661). PL-WRu, Early Prints Dept., shelf-mark 550122.

¹¹ *Dem Himmlisch-Gesinnten (Titul.) Herrn George Schöbeln J.U.C. Der Breslauischen Bibliothecen Wolverordnetem INSPECTORI, Seinem Lieb-werthen Gönner Wollte am Tage Da der Hochlöblichen Frucht-bringenden Gesellschaft Zu sonderbaren Ehren In dem Magdaleneischen Gymnasio ein Dramatischer Actus gehalten wurde Zu seiner würdigen Einnahm in Dieselbe Mit gegenwärtigem Musicalischen Stücke Von 5 Singe- und 5 Instrument-Stimmen Tausendsaches Glück wünschen TOBIAS Zeutschner, Not. Publ. Caesar. der Kirchen zu St. Maria Magdalena Organist* (Breslau, 1669). RISM ZZ 171b.

¹² Emil Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700 welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Academischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im XV., XVI. und XVII Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1883), 438.

¹³ Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Tobias Zeutschners kleines geistliches Konzert *Unser Wandel ist im Himmel*", in *Briefe der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft und Beilagen: die Zeit Herzog Augusts von Sachsen-Weissenfels, 1667–1680*, ed. Martin Bircher (Tübingen, 1991), 227–232.

The occasional school prints from the Silesian-Lusatian Collection are indeed characterised mainly by the recurrence of the situation they are related to, that is, the yearly performances in which students were given an opportunity to present their skills. The forms and themes of those performances varied, and so the musical forces could be larger or smaller in different years. Yet the established annual character of the shows and the aforementioned synergy between the school and the church of St Mary Magdalene explain why hitherto unexplored occasional school prints are so copious a source of knowledge on Tobias Zeutschner's work as a composer, especially concerning his lost compositions. However, the extant works will be discussed first.

The first example is a synopsis of the tragedy performed by pupils of the Magdalenaum in 1660, entitled *Artaxerxes Mnemon oder Unglückseliger Vater*.¹⁴ The print contains neither the texts of the choir's songs (*Reyen*) nor the name of the composer. However, the title itself directs our attention to the passion aria 'O Trauerstund und stock-dick-finstre Tag', documented in several manuscript copies from Wrocław and abroad. The sole copy of its first printed edition, held in the music collection of Wrocław University Library, is undated. The characteristic title of the aria in this print, 'Parodia über des Artaxerxes Sängler-Chor Dem allein unsterblichen Erlöser Jesu Christi zu Ehren', when compared to the title of the tragedy, allows us to hypothesise a probable *terminus post quem* for the creation of this work, or at least of its religious version, known also from some anthologies.¹⁵

The next school print contains more information. It is a scenario of the school play ('*Schulactus*') *Christi Cosmosoteris Cosmosoteria Nativitas*, first performed on 29 January 1660.¹⁶ The subject of the play is theological, centred on the Nativity. During this spectacle, three compositions by Zeutschner were performed. Two of them are preserved, including one very large work.

The Nativity story in the form of a large-scale sacred concerto, *Halleluja, höret an die Geburt*, is the only work by Zeutschner preserved in a signed manuscript,

¹⁴ *ARTAXERXES MNEMON Oder Unglückseliger Vater / Trauer-Spil / Durch di Studirende Jugend Bey dem Gymnasio zu St. Mar. Magdalen in Breslau / Auf öffentlichen Schauplatz vorgestellt / im Jahr 1660* (Breslau, 1660). PL-WRu, Silesian-Lusatian Collection, shelf-mark Yu 1055, 3 / 32.

¹⁵ The first anthology to include Zeutschner's aria was Martin Jahn's *Passionale Melicum* (Goerlitz, 1663).

¹⁶ *I.N.J. Festae Solennitatis Quâ CHRISTI COSMOSOTERIS Cosmosoteria Nativitas, in Concione Christianâ annuatim reolitur, Scholastica Coronis; Curriculum Vitae CHRISTI his in Terris; & Hujus ad Exemplum typicum, Christianorum omnium, post retentam costanter Fidem, & bonam Conscientiam, nunquam marcescentem Justitiae, Vitae, & Glorïae Coronam, indubie expectantium; tam Poetico, quam Musico Concertu, in Actu publico, eoque, Ordinario Gymnas, Mar. Magdal. qui, pro Anno elapso, Mensi Decembri debebatur, Ad. d. XXIX. Januar. MDCLX. Anni, Loco Auditorii Superioris consueto, Horis ab VIII antemeridianis, repraesentabit* (Breslau, 1660). PL-WRu, Silesian-Lusatian Collection, shelf-mark Yu 1055, 3 / 33.

which is also documented in two locations outside Wrocław: Berlin (preserved in the collection of Hermann Koch)¹⁷ and Braunschweig (mentioned in the library inventory of St Magnus's church)¹⁸. The original Breslau manuscript (D-B, Bohn Ms. Mus. 210a) is undated. The print of the scenario of the school play *Christi Cosmosoteris Cosmosoteria Nativitas* not only gives the exact date of its performance, but also provides information about the dedication of this work to the Prince of Oels, Silvius Württemberg.¹⁹ During the same spectacle, the aria 'Gott und Vater reich von Güte', dedicated to Breslau City Council,²⁰ was performed, as well as a second large-scale sacred concerto, unfortunately lost, which brought the spectacle to a close. Its probable text incipit, 'Ich hab einen guten Kampf gekämpft', has been reconstructed on the basis of the title and biblical reference ('Epiniacion Paulinum ex II Timoth. IV v. 7').

The Breslau occasional school prints mentioning compositions by Tobias Zeutschner differ in the degree of their detail. The scenario of *Christi Cosmosoteris Cosmosoteria Nativitas* gives a list of instruments for the works, whereas two other scenarios, also concerning the Nativity, give only the name of the composer and the title or text incipit. Both scenarios were written by the Breslau poet Fridericus Vicci. The first print, the sacred drama *Herodis M. Confusio* (first performed on 12 January 1662),²¹ contains only one mention of a work by Zeutschner having been performed, namely the chorus of the three Magi 'Ubi rex Judaeorum natus'. The other, the *actus virlingianus Simeon Justus* (28 February 1663),²² contains

¹⁷ Werner Braun, 'Berliner Kirchenmusik im letzten Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts. Zur Sammelhandschrift Koch aus der ehemaligen Sing-Akademie', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (1996), 166–193 and (1997), 391–405; Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, 'Die Weihnachtshistorie von Tobias Zeutschner (Breslau um 1660)', *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau*, 29 (1988), 111–120.

¹⁸ Werner Greve, *Braunschweiger Stadtmusikanten* (Braunschweig, 1991), 199 and 275.

¹⁹ *Designatio Harmonica Historiae Evangelicae de Nativitate CHRISTI, Illustriss. PRINCIPI, ac Domino, DOMINO SYLVIO, DUCI WURTEMBERGENSI, & TECCENSI, ut in Silesia OLSNENSI, hoc Anno, a Tob. Zeutschnero, Not. Caes. Publ., & ad D. Mar. Magdalen. Uratislaviae Organoedo, submississime consecrata, Phonoedi junctim, & Auloedi XXIV.*

²⁰ *New-Jahrs-Lied / auff das 166oste Jahr Christi / Dem allein unsterblichen Gott zu Ehren / und denn / Denen Wol-Edlen / Gestrengen / Ehrenvesten / Hoch- und Wolbenambten Herren N.N. PRÆSIDI und Rathmannen / Der Kaiserlichen und Königlichen Stadt Breslaw. Seinen insonders Hochgeehrten Herren / und Hochwerthen Patronen. Auß schuldigster Submission / übergeben von Tobias Zeutschnern / Not. Cæs. Publ. und Organisten zu St. Mar. Magdal. in Breßlaw* (Breslau, 1660). RISM Z 170.

²¹ *I.N.J. HERODIS M. ex Genethliis recens Nati Judaeorum Regis CONFUSIO, cum Synedrïo Hierosolymitano COLLUSIO, & de Infante Servatore jugulando CONCLUSIO, in Dramate Sacro eodemque Solemni adumbrandae, Autore M. FRIDERICO VICCIO, Gymnas. Magdal. Conrectore & Professore* (Breslau, 1662). PL-WRu, Silesian-Lusatian Collection, shelf-mark Yu 1055, 3 / 41.

²² *I.N.J. Simeon Justus, Species & Exemplar Christianae EYΘANAZIAS EX Luc. II. cap. in Actu Virlingiano describendus, Autore M. Friderico Viccio, Gymn. Magd. ConR. & Professor* (Breslau, 1663). Silesian-Lusatian Collection, shelf-mark Yu 1055, 3 / 46.

two such entries (the song of Joseph and Mary 'In domum Domini ibimus' and Simeon's canticle 'Nunc dimittis'). None of these musical works are extant or known from other sources.

Compared with *Christi Cosmosoteris Cosmosoteria Nativitas*, the printed synopsis of the school drama *Musica Metrica simul et Harmonica...* by Caspar Kretschmar, the then rector of the Magdalenaeum, is much more spectacular.²³ It is also the earliest of the occasional school prints to be discussed here. It was first performed on 14 September 1656 (the feast day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross), then on 21 November that year (the eve of St Cecilia's day),²⁴ and for the third time, under a slightly modified title, on 24 June 1659 (St John the Baptist's Day)²⁵. It presented the history of music, from the creation of the world, through biblical and classical antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Reformation, until the end of the Thirty Years' War and the post-war period. The printed scenario is very detailed. For 14 out of 22 musical episodes, we are given the names of the composers. Besides copious information on the musical works performed, the cantor Michael Büttner, the organist Tobias Zeutschner and the city trumpeter (*Stadtpeiffer*) Johannes Seifert are mentioned to have played an active role in the performance;²⁶ the names of pupils who participated in declamations are given as well. Moreover, a long poetic text by Kretschmar can be found in the same fascicle; this may be taken, with some approximation, as the libretto.²⁷

²³ *MUSICA METRICA simul & HARMONICA, VOCALIS & INSTRUMENTALIS, CHORALIS & FIGURALIS, quam vocant: Debitam DEO OPT. MAX. Laudem, A Diversis ab Orbe condito, magnificentissimisque Operibus, Diversis viginti & ultra Carminum Generibus, Sancto Scripturarum divinarum ductu, quantum in hac Imbecillitate datur, depraedicandi; ARTIS antiquissimae omnium, & suavissimae, Modulorum Genitricis, Ortum & Progressum, Incrementa & Decrementa; Usum & Abusum, Restaurationem & Conservationem, usque ad nostra Tempora, Gratum ad Animum revocandi; juventutisque in Spem futuri Aevi educandae, Amousian detestandam, Quae nec Musicam scire facit, nec Literas fideliter dissuadendi; Philomousian verò amabilem, & eumousian omnem commendandi gratiâ; ANN. MDCLVI Ad D. XIV SEPTEMBR. In Actu Gymnasii Vratislav. Magdalenaei Ordinario, Auditorioque Ejusdem spatiosiori, quod Inferius est, Fautorum, Amicorumque; quorundam Rogatu, publicè repraesentanda* (Breslau, 1656). PL-WRu, Silesian-Lusatian Collection, shelf-mark Yu 1055, 3 / 7.

²⁴ *MUSICA MUSIS Pergrata...* (Breslau, 1656), PL-WRu, Silesian-Lusatian Collection, shelf-mark Yu 1055, 3 / 10.

²⁵ *SCITIS MUSICA MUSICIS...* (Breslau, 1659), PL-WRu, Silesian-Lusatian Collection, shelf-mark Yu 1055, 3 / 28.

²⁶ *Voce viva, & Instrumentis Musicis, partim flatu, partim tactu, partim utroque, animandis, quotquot hoc aevo, & apud Nos haberi possunt, suis cum Synergis, ab Arte Musica instructis, 1. Michaël Büthnerus, Templi & Gymnasii ad D. Mar. Magd. Phonoedus, 2. Tobias Tscheutschnerus, Templi Ejusdem Organoedus, 3. Johannes Seifertus, Ordinarius Reipubl. Vratislaviensis Auloedus, Musica Metrica...*, PL-WRu, Yu 1055, 3 / 7.

²⁷ *I.N.J. Der Edlen SINGE-KUNST Ursprung und Forgang, Zu- und Abnehmen, Brauch und Mißbrauch, Erneuer- und Erhaltung, Biß auff gegenwertige Zeit; Nebst Schriftmäßiger Betrachtung der Ewigkeit; So In Gegenwart Durchlauchter Personen, und sonst Hochansehlicher Versammlung / Den 14 Herbst- und 21 Winter-Monats des Jahrs Cristi 1656. Nach fürgestellter*

Out of 22 musical episodes, seven contain compositions by Zeutschner with their titles and scoring (see Table 1); unfortunately, none of them is extant. Seven others contain pieces by notable composers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: two by Andreas Hammerschmidt and single works by Jacobus Handl, Orlando di Lasso, Johannes Eccard, Melchior Francke and Heinrich Schütz (see Table 2). The remaining compositions are anonymous (see Table 3). It may be speculated that at least some of them were written by the cantor and composer Michael Büttner, the highest-ranked musician among those mentioned in the cast.

The list of Zeutschner's works played during the show *Musica metrica simul et harmonica* has one point in common with the catalogue of the lost library of St Michael's School in Lüneburg.²⁸ This is the concerto entitled *Stehe auf, meine Freundin*. In the presumed libretto, it begins 'Meine Freundin, meine Wonne, steh doch auf'; it is a poetic paraphrase of a fragment from the Canticle of Canticles. It cannot be established how this work by Zeutschner, as well as his other compositions, were transferred from Breslau to Freyburg; arguably, pupils of the Magdalenaeum played a role in this transmission.²⁹

The lack of any musical manuscripts precludes any further conclusions. It is not certain whether the texts of the performed works corresponded strictly to the printed versified libretto, or rather if the latter was only a paraphrase and a description of content conveyed in a different musical form. Significant differences between the titles of works printed in the synopsis and their presumed incipits in the libretto leave scope for various interpretations.

Notwithstanding these doubts, the scenario of *Musica Metrica simul et Harmonica* might be considered as a source on a par with that of four published collections of sacred concerti and arias by Zeutschner. The chronology is important: this spectacle ended the first year of Zeutschner's work at St Mary Magdalene's and probably was his debut as a composer in a new place. The next five years would be the most intense period of his composing work, with the oratorio on Tobias,³⁰ the two large-scale biblical histories³¹ and the publication of his second collection of

Anleitung In dem Breslauerischen Gymnasio, zu St. Mar. Magdalen öffentlich abgesungen, Damals daselbst den Freyen- Künsten und Sprachen ergebener Caspar Kretschmar von Breslaw (Breslau, 1656). PL-WRu, Silesian-Lusatian Collection, shelf-mark Yu 1055, 3 / 8.

²⁸ Max Seiffert, 'Die Chorbibliothek der St. Michaelisschule in Lüneburg zu Seb. Bach's Zeit', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft*, 9 (1907–1908), 593–621.

²⁹ An anonymous sacred concerto under the same title, *Stehe auf, meine Freundin*, is preserved in a collection of manuscripts located in Luckau (Lusatia), which also includes a complete copy of Zeutschner's *Decas Prima* (Breslau, 1652). Unfortunately, only three instrumental parts (violin, fagotto and basso fig.) are preserved; this precludes any reconstruction, analysis or attribution of the piece.

³⁰ Halamska, 'Działalność Tobiasa Zeutschnera', 81.

³¹ Greta Konradt, 'Die Instrumentalbegleitung in Historien-Kompositionen der Schützzeit', *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, 19 (1997), 21–36.

concerti (*Musikalische Kirchen und Haus-Freude*), in Leipzig, in 1661. This period was closed in a symbolic way by the *Glückwünschende Nahmens-Erinnerung* – panegyrics to him written by pupils of the Magdalenaeum.

4. Conclusion

A discussion of two broader methodological points may serve as our conclusion. Firstly, why have the Breslau occasional school prints from the Silesian-Lusatian Collection never been studied by musicologists up to now, despite their rich content relating to the city's musical life? Secondly, what benefits for musicology can be expected from studies of these sources?

The first problem is related to the evolution of musicology as a discipline. For as long as it focussed mainly on the musical composition, indirect sources like the Breslau school prints could be solely of marginal significance. Only the recent shift to the history of musical culture and interdisciplinary research has allowed us to appreciate sources of this kind as well.

The answer to the second problem is twofold: benefits for our knowledge of the life and compositions of Tobias Zeutschner and of the context of his artistic work. Not only do the discussed sources provide new titles and new data for familiar pieces, but they are also an irreplaceable source of information on Zeutschner's compositional activity between successive editions of his concerti and arias. This activity extended far beyond the Church of St Mary Magdalene.

The context is equally important. The sources known up to now were almost exclusively of church provenance, and so the school itself could have been studied solely from a church perspective; that is to say, as the institution providing choristers. The discussed collection of Breslau school prints gives the reverse of that image: the school was an institution in the musical life of which church musicians played an active role as well.

Translated by Adam T. Halamski

Appendix 1. 'Musica Metrica simul et Harmonica' (1656) – descriptions of musical pieces by Tobias Zeutschner

III. Bey der Reise der Kinder Israel aus Egypten / wird das Lied Mose: Ich wil dem Herren singen / denn er hat eine hertzliche That gethan etc. à 6 ò 12 Tscheutschneri, gemacht werden.

VII. Die Music der Gottseligen Israeliten zu König Davids Zeiten / in etwas zuerweisen / soll nach vorher gegangenen Sonat mit Dulcianem à 5. der 117 Psalm à 6 ò 12 Tscheutschneri, so gemacht werden / daß eine Stimme / gleich als Praeceptor voran / die andern

zugleich nachsingen / nach damals gewöhnlicher Art / der so genannten Meister-Singers Kunst nicht ungleich.

VIII. Der zunehmenden Music / zu König Salomons Zeiten sich zu erinnern / wird auß dem Hohen Lied 2. v. 11. Stehe auff meine Freundin etc. à 16. Vier Vocal-Stimmen, zwey Cornet, zwey Violin, vier Posaunen und vier Capell-Stimmen, nach Tscheutschneri Composition gemacht werden.

X. Der Grichen Music / dadurch fürnemlich der Alexander, der Grosse / zu Helden-Thaten auffgemuntert worden / soll dargestellt werden / durch allerhand Martialische *Instrument*, als Trompeten, Heerpeucken, Trommel, Feld-Zwerch-Pfeiffen, und dergleichen, wie auch Musicalische, als Fagot, Quart Fagot, Posaunen, Pombarden und groß Quart-Pommard, in einem Stuck Tscheutschneri à 18. ò 26. darein gesungen werden wird zu erst κατὰβαλε αὐτὸς ρομφαία; darnach, Bringe sie umb mit dem Schwerdt, letztlich, Victoria, Victoria.

XVIII. Nach dieser wird fürgebildet / und dadurch zu Gemüte gezogen werden / wie die Todten zum Jüngsten Gericht / durch helle Posaunen sollen erwecket werden ; worzu man brauchen wird eine *Sonat* von 6. Posaunen, darunter eine Quart und groß Octav-Posaune, darauff den Text, Stehet auff die Todten etc. mit 6. Vocal-Stimmen und zwey Cornet, nach der Composition Tscheutschneri.

XVIII. Der Heiligen Engel / und Außerwehlten GOTTes / in der triumphirenden Kirche / Music / wird nach vorher gemachten *Sonat* mit einem Stimm-Werck von 5. schön weissen Elfenbeinern Corneten, so viel in dieser Sterblichkeit möglich ist / dargestellt werden / mit dem Text von Offenbarung Johan. 4 v. 8. Heilig, Heilig etc. und v. 11 dem Gesange der vier und zwanzig Eltisten Herr du bist würdig etc. à 24. darunter 8. Concert, 8 Instrumental, und 8 Capell-Stimmen seyn werden / Tscheutschneri.

XVII. Zum Beschluß dieses Acti Musici wird wiederumb Vocaliter, und mit allen Instrumenten, so man zu unser Zeit / und allhier auff der Eil / haben können / in einem Stück Tscheutschneri à 30. nemlich 8. Concert. 10. Capell. und 12 Instrumental-Stimmen / als zwey Clarin, zwey Cornet, zwey Violinen, und 6. Trombonen, musiciret werden folgender Vers: MUSICA NOSTRA, Vale, COELESTIS MUSICA, Salve!

Appendix 2. 'Musica Metrica simul et Harmonica' (1656) – descriptions of musical pieces by other composers

Jacob Handl:

IX. Der Juden Trauer-Music bey Begrabnüssen / auß Matth. 9 v. 23 wird durch allerhand alte / und ungewöhnliche düfterliche Instrument / so eingeführet werden / daß auß Esaia 57 v. 1 as Ecce, quomodo moritur justus, Handeli, Sihe / der Gerechte kömpt umb etc. zu Sinn steige.

Orlando di Lasso:

XIII. Bey welchem Chorales verblieben / und die Figural-Music undenckliche Zeit gantz vrtunckelt gewesen; biß / ohngefehr vor zwey hundert Jahren / dieselbe wieder auff die

Bahn kommen / und hernach von Orlando ziemlich verbessert worden: Auß welchem ohne Orgel / bey blasenden Instrumenten / die künstliche Motet à 5 unter dem Text Heu quantus dolor, etc. wird gesungen werden.

Johannes Eccard:

XIV. Weil aber vorbesagter Choral / fast allein / auff Lateinische Text gerichtet gewesen; hat zu zeiten und auff Anordnung deß S. Herren D. Luthers / die Christliche Kirche Deutsch zu singen angefangen. Wie denn Selig gedachter Herr Lutherus selbst die Melodey auff das / Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott / etc. und viel schöne / und künstliche andere Lieder gemacht. Dessen jetzt gedachtes Lied / auß dem 46. Psalm wechsels-weise so wol Figural à 5 nach der Composition Eckardi; als Choral / wie es in der Kirchen bräuchlich / wird gesungen werden.

Andreas Hammerschmidt:

XV. Music jetziger Zeit / da sie von den Deutschen / und Welschen viel höher gebracht worden / als sie bey den Alten gewesen / das gleichsam auff der beredten Redner Weise / die *affecten*, so viel möglich zu bewegen / allerhand Arten sind; wird dargestellt werden / durch den 133 Psalm / Sihe / wie fein und lieblich ist / etc. Hammerschmidt à 12 mit doppeltem *Echo*, so daß nach vorher gehenein Sonat mit Flöthen à 5. das erste Chor mit scharffen Instrumenten / das ander mit Violinen, darunter zwey Viol de Gamba und eine Theorba, auch Viol d'amor von sechs stählern Seiten; das dritte mit Flöthen wird bestellt seyn. Darzu auch kommen wird das new erfundene Instrument / so man Trompette Marin nennet.

Melchior Francke:

XVII. Der streitenden Kirchen jetziger Zeit Trauer-Music / wid auß Esa. 49. v. 14. Sion spricht / der Herr hat mich verlassen / etc. in Melch. Franckens Motet ab 8. dargestellt werden.

Andreas Hammerschmidt:

XX. Den Gott- und Ruchlosen / wird zum Abschew und Schrecken fürgestellt werden / die Trauer-Music / oder vielmehr erbärmliche Zeter-Geschrey der Verdampften / in ewiger Höllen-Pein; durch Hammerschmidt Motet à 9. Gehet hin ihr Verfluchten / etc. dafür uns alle GOTT durch Christum unsern Erlöser / genädig behüten wolle.

Heinrich Schütz:

XXI. Drauff wird allen seinen einverleibten Instrumenten nach / der 150. Psalm / Lobet den Herren in seinem Heiligthum / etc. auß Schützens Psalmen / à 22. deren 8. Concert, 8. Instrumental, 6. Capell-Stimmen seun sollen gemacht werden.

Appendix 3. 'Musica Metrica simul et Harmonica' (1656) – descriptions of anonymous musical pieces

I. Wie bey Erschaffung der Welt die H. Engel Gott gelobet / wird / so viel in dieser Menschlichen Schwachheit möglich / von dreyen Discantisten / als Engeln / in Tricinio Ebreisch / das / Heilig Heilig / Heilig &c. singend dargethan; das Ebreische aber / durch andere drey / Griechisch / Lateinisch / und Deutsch erklärt werden.

II. Wie nach Erschaffung der Welt / Gott selbst Adam / und Evam ehlich zusammen gegeben / wird gleichfalls durch drey Discantisten / Es ist nicht gut / daß der Mensch alleine sey / &c. welches abermal / andere drey Griechisch / Lateinisch / und Deutsch zu erklären / und als so unsern ersten Eltern / gleichsam die Braut-Messe zu bestellen / verordnet sind.

III. Nach deß Menschen Fall / wird der Jubal selbst auftreten / und melden / was er für eine Music erfunden; den auch zwey seiner Mitgesellen Ebreisch loben; andere drey Griechisch / Lateinisch / und Deutsch / solch Lob deuten / ein jeder für sich ein Stücklein auff Geigen und Pfeiffen machen sollen. Worauff die Musicanten zum ersten mal anheben / und eine rauhe Music / ohne Stimmen / mit Pfeiffen und Geigen fürstellen werden.

V. Die Music bey Verrichtung deß Jüdischen Gottesdienstes fürzustellen / wird nach vorher gemachten *Sonat* mit Krumbhörnern *a 5* gesungen werden durch 8. Stimmen der 111. Psalm auff Falsabordon Art / mit vorhergehender Intonation. Die Instrumenta werden seyn / an statt der Psalter / eine Theorba und Instrument, nebst Posaunen / Geigen und Cymbaln.

VI. Wie David durch die Music / deß Königs Sauls bösen Geist geseillet / soll andeuten ein einiger Knabe / in eine Harpffen singend den Text / auß dem Buch der Richter 5. v. 2. Lobet den Herren / daß Israel wieder frey ist worden.

XI. Music des Neuen Testaments / sängt abermals / wie im Alten Testament an / mit den Discantisten; deren drey / als Engel / Ebreisch singen sollen / Ehre sey Gott in der Höhe / in dreyen Stimmen; die übrigen drey / eben den Englischen Lob-Gesang / in Griechischen / Lateinischen / und Deutschen Reimen außsprechen.

XII. Zu Zeiten der alten Kirchen-Lehrer / ist die beste Music der Choral gewesen / welche unter dem Lateinischen Text; *Laudate Pueri Dominum*, &c. auß dem 113. Psalm / gesungen werden wird; allermassen selbige / biß auff diese Stunde / in unsern Kichen noch gebräuchlich ist.

XVI. Dem rechten Gebrauch / und zu Gottes Ehre angesehener Music / wird entgegen gesetzt / der schändliche Mißbrauch und Unwissenheit derselben. Deßwegen gehört werden sollen; erstlich / der Musicalische Kuckuck mit 4. Violin, darein der Kuckuck mit einstimmet; darnach Leyren / Sack-Pfeiffen / Bock-Pfeiffer / Citharen, Castanette, Flaschaleten, Flageolet, Poschette, Triangel / Kinder-Pfeiffen / Schalmeyen / Hackbrett / Hölzern Gelächter / Maul-Drummel / Octava-Geiger / Satyr-Pfeiffichen / &c. welche Bäurische Instrument fast nur mißbraucht werden.

