

Theology, Trauerspiel, and the Conceptual Foundations of Early German Opera

by

Anthony Alms

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2007

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Abstract

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This dissertation traces the roles of theology and the Trauerspiel (literally, “mourning play”) in the development of German opera in the seventeenth century. Despite a variety of dramaturgical approaches, the earliest German music dramas of the seventeenth century are nonetheless products of a common conceptual background based on a foundational ideology that was truly German: Lutheranism. The Trauerspiel, which typically incorporates a Protestant moral message into a realistic, dramatically convincing tragedy, provided an important paradigm for the future of German opera. This paradigm offered a middle way between opera that simply adopted the conventions of secular Italian models, and the “spiritual pastoral,” which tended to emphasize the allegorical and the abstract at the expense of an engaging realism.

The dissertation examines a number of works within their theological contexts and considers questions of dramaturgy in relation to Greek theory and contemporary Italian practice. The primary works studied are *Dafne* (Torgau, 1627), with text by Martin Opitz (adapted from the libretto by Ottavio Rinuccini) and music (now lost) by Heinrich Schütz; *Seelewig* (Nuremberg, 1644), with text by Georg Philipp Harsdörffer

and music by Sigmund Theophilus Staden; *Leo Armenius* (Breslau, 1646), by Andreas Gryphius; *Dafne* (Dresden, 1672), by Giovanni Andrea Bontempi and Marco Gioseppe Peranda; *Die triumphirende Treu* (Ansbach, 1679), with text by Christian Heuchelin and music by Johann Löhner; and *Die beständige Argenia* (Reval, 1680), by Johann Meder. Specialized terminology, genres, concepts, and institutions discussed include: geistliches Waldgedicht, Heilsgeschichte, Blumenorden an der Pegnitz, Pietism, Klangmalerei, Gesamtkunstwerk, Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele, and Reyen. The project offers a cross-disciplinary perspective on the early formation of a national style.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the many people who helped make this dissertation possible. My advisor, Professor Richard Kramer, and my two principal readers, Professors Bruce MacIntyre and Barbara Hanning, have been untiring in their support and guidance. I owe them all a great deal. The other members of the defense committee, Professors Raymond Erickson, Stephen Blum, and Janette Tilley, have also made invaluable contributions to the improvement of this dissertation. I hope to be able to continue pursuing the standards set by all of the above-named professors in the future.

I am grateful to the staff of European American Music Distributors LLC, the U.S. and Canadian agent for Schott Music, for their kind permission to reproduce some excerpts from their publication of Johann Meder's *Die beständige Argenia*. I have made good-faith efforts to obtain permissions as well from modern publishers of the other works examined in this dissertation. My apologies to for failing to procure all permissions in time to be mentioned here.

I would also like to thank my family for their constant support—my parents and grandmother for their lifelong encouragement, and my brothers, sisters-in-law, niece, and nephew for their interest and thought-provoking questions. My brother Dan has been particularly helpful with all computer-related questions. My two young children, Annemarie and Nat, have been an inspiration in joy and have kept me grounded in reality in ways that only young children can. Above all, I would like to thank my wife Ina, for her boundless love and patience, her critical eye (and ear), and all manner of assistance with things German. I have learned, among much else, just how much a project like this is a collaborative effort.

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INTRODUCTION

The development of German opera in the seventeenth century is typically viewed as a series of fits and starts, an inconstant enterprise in which a handful of German composers and librettists struggled, with varied success, for independence from Italian opera. Indeed, the period's few German music dramas that have survived, in whole or in part, display a variety of approaches that hardly seems characteristic of a unified movement. This disparity is captured in the generic designations of these works. *Dafne* (Torgau, 1627), with text by Martin Opitz (1597-1639) (adapted from Rinuccini's libretto) and music (now lost) by Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), is called a "pastoral tragicomedy" ("Pastoral-Tragicomödie"). *Seelewig* (Nuremberg, 1644), with text by Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607-1658) and music by Sigmund Theophilus Staden (1607-1655), is labeled a "spiritual pastoral" ("geistliches Waldgedicht"). Giovanni Andrea Bontempi (1624-1705) and Marco Gioseppe Peranda (c. 1625-1675) call their later *Dafne* (Dresden, 1672) a "drama or musical play" ("Drama oder Musicalisches Schauspiel"). Johann Löhner (1645-1705) and his librettist Christian Heuchelin refer to their *Die triumphirende Treu* (Ansbach, 1679) as a "Sing-Spiel," and Johann Meder (1649-1719) designates his *Die beständige Argenia* (Reval, 1680) as simply "Singspiel."

Clearly the variety of dramaturgical conceptions indicated by these designations owes much to the occasions for which the works were written. What is often overlooked, though, is that despite the variety of approaches, these works are nonetheless products of a common ideological background, inasmuch as their creators participated in a broader humanistic movement to "legitimize" German language and theater. This movement

could not help but adopt many of the features of its foreign precedents. Martin Opitz, the chief reformer of German literature in the seventeenth century, credits many of his ideas to the Italian humanists. Similarly, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer makes no secret of the fact that his Nuremberg literary society *Blumenorden an der Pegnitz*, the intellectual crucible that produced *Seelewig* and other “geistliche Waldgedichte,” was modeled on entities like the *Accademia Platonica* and *Accademia della Crusca* of Florence as well as the *Accademia degli Intronati* of Siena.

Yet there was one foundational ideology that the leaders of this movement could, and did, adopt in their desire to produce something uniquely German: Lutheranism. This was an ideology, moreover, that coincided with their view of poetry as a vehicle for moral instruction. Thus the key elements that both link the earliest German “operas” together and define their independence from Italian opera are theological in nature. This is not to assert that these German music dramas were generically independent. Their creators of course took their dramaturgical—and, to an extent, musical—cues from Italian opera. But on the level of meaning (theorized and idealized as inner content) these composers and librettists were left to their own devices. Their main artistic challenge was to express their Lutheran-steeped *Weltanschauung* through viable musico-dramatic works.

This challenge was addressed according to the demands of the occasion. Martin Opitz, engaged to produce a German version of *Dafne*, necessarily hewed closely to the Italian original. The Protestant outlook subtly informs his adaptation, which is scarcely more theologically didactic than is its model, at least outwardly. Harsdörffer and Staden, guided not by the desires of a particular patron, but by the linguistic and spiritual ideals

of the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz, had a freer hand. Consequently, their *Seelewig*—a new work, not a direct adaptation¹—is overtly Protestant, even Pietistic, in conception, and didactic by design.

These two early attempts, as it turns out, manifested two important paradigms—the adaptation and the spiritual pastoral—for the further development of German opera in the seventeenth century. Later adaptations of Italian models, including the *Dafne* by Bontempi and Peranda, tend to adopt many of the traits of the Opitz-Schütz *Dafne*: they incorporate the conventions of pastoral poetry; they are secular, though their use of allegory is suggestive of a spiritual dimension; their treatment of mythology tends to emphasize moral virtues. Later manifestations of the spiritual pastoral, including *Die triumphirende Treu* by Heuchelin and Löhner, follow the more didactic *Seelewig* mold: they adopt the conceptual framework of the pastoral, though their characters are moralized abstractions, not realistic beings; their heavy symbolism erodes the tension between the literal and the allegorical; their drama of the inner life manifests a “pre-Pietistic” inwardness or anti-rational distrust of the sensory world.

With respect to the model of Italian opera, these paradigms in a sense represent two extremes. The direct adaptation obviously follows the conventions of Italian opera closely, while the spiritual pastoral openly prides itself, so to speak, on its ideological distance from the Italians. This is particularly evident in the music. The adaptations

¹ *Seelewig* does in a sense continue a tradition of sung spiritual pastorals that extends back to Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo* (Rome, 1600; libretto by Padre Agostino Manni). As Mara R. Wade demonstrates, *Seelewig* bears very close connections, at least outwardly, to an anonymous work entitled *Ein gar Schön Geistliches Waldgetichte / genant Die glückselige Seele* (1637), which is an adaptation of an earlier Italian drama in the mold of Cavalieri's work. See Mara R. Wade, *The German Baroque Pastoral 'Singspiel'* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1990), 126-27. Yet, as Wade notes, “Staden's *Seelewig* was the first pastoral *Singspiel* in German which was not directly translated from an Italian opera” (173). As we shall see in Chapter 4, the genre of the “spiritual pastoral” provided a framework for the overt exposition of a decidedly Germanic ideology.

make wide use of recitative, aria, and arioso.² The spiritual pastorals, on the other hand, either eschew the flexibility of Italian forms in favor of strophic regularity and a certain folk quality, or they tend to identify the Italianate with vices and the Germanic with virtues.

From the point of view of German humanists such as Andreas Gryphius (1616-1664) and Johann Meder, the increasing popularity of secular Italian opera in the north rendered both paradigms increasingly problematic. The adaptation became a largely Italianate product, as the use of the moralizing chorus, the folk-like strophic tune and so forth tended to be minimized over time to the point of practical irrelevance. The spiritual pastoral, though more receptive to Germanic interests and tastes, simply could not compete with the engaging drama of Italian opera. Its preoccupations with the internal and the abstract were not conducive to realism, dramatically or musically. What was needed was a middle path, a genre that could incorporate a moral message into a convincing musical drama without overwhelming the audience with theology.

In fact, just such a genre did develop in seventeenth-century Germany: the Trauerspiel. Though described as early as 1624,³ the genre reached its first peak in the mid-century works of Andreas Gryphius, who is often described as the seventeenth century's greatest German dramatist.⁴ Gryphius and followers like Daniel Casper von Lohenstein (1635-1683) were, like Opitz, didactic poets who believed that Lutheranism could form the conceptual basis for a distinctively German musico-theatrical product.

² This of course cannot take into account Schütz's lost setting of *Dafne*. Later adaptations, like the *Dafne* by Bontempi and Peranda, tend to incorporate Germanic and Italianate styles, though the latter tend to predominate. More on this in Chapter 6.

³ See Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624), ed. Richard Alewyn (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1966), 20.

⁴ See Blake Lee Spahr, *Andreas Gryphius: A Modern Perspective* (Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House, 1993), ix.

Their concern for dramatic realism contributed to a predilection for historical plots, typically involving the murders of kings and emperors. The representation of actual events in turn enabled a joining together of secular and sacred themes: the historical narrative was at once a history play and a dramatization of God's plan for humanity (the "Heilsgeschichte"), reflecting the marriage of temporal events and eternal design in the story of Christ's passion. Thus, for example, Gryphius's Trauerspiel *Carolus Stuardus* (pub. Leipzig, 1657) portrays the 1649 execution of King Charles I of England as an allegory for the crucifixion of Christ. The Trauerspiel, then, was an ostensibly secular drama with an internal, sacred message.⁵ As such, it pointed the way to a future for German opera, for it compromised neither effective drama nor theology.

The Trauerspiel, although only partially set to music, was crucial for the ultimate development of German opera, one might say, in something of the same way that Greek drama was important to Italian opera. The German humanists were of course as fanatical in their devotion to the Greeks as the Italian humanists were. In fact, the Germans typically believed that they possessed the truer understanding of essential Greek practices.⁶ Accordingly, they wrested from the ancient tragedians their own dramatic vision, one that could accommodate their particularly theological outlook. This was possible because they found in Greek tragedy an essential spirituality that could be "translated" into Protestant terms. To be sure, the idea of interpreting Greek myths in Christian terms was nothing new. The practice extends at least as far back as the

⁵ The internal message is explicated mainly in the "Reyen," the choruses that close each act. The Reyen also appear, at times, in the middle of an act, breaking the forward momentum of the dramatic exposition. The Reyen were typically sung; the rest of the drama was largely spoken, though characters would sing when dramatically appropriate. Instrumental music was also used to accompany scenes on occasion. See Chapter 5 for more on this.

⁶ Thus Martin Opitz apologizes, in the preface to his adaptation of *Dafne*, for having to deviate from ancient precepts. The implication is that he is not in complete agreement with the Italian version of the Greek story. More on this in Chapter 3.

thirteenth century, to the anonymous manuscript entitled *Ovide moralisé*.⁷ Indeed, much of the Scholastic enterprise throughout the Middle Ages involved a sort of alchemical transformation of Greek thought en bloc into Christian theology. Nor was this “Christianization” rejected by the Italian humanists, who according to Paul Oskar Kristeller “wanted to adapt classical ideals to a previously accepted Christian view of the world.”⁸ What was truly distinctive about the Trauerspiel, then, was its incorporation of Protestant, as opposed to Catholic, theology. This was no small matter to humanists like Opitz and Gryphius, who not only sought an irrefutably Germanic basis for their work, but also openly professed their adherence to Protestantism.

Thus, a proper understanding of the Trauerspiel and its relevance to German opera—its ability to convincingly unite Lutheran ideology with effective drama—demands, above all, two things. First, it requires an investigation of the Trauerspiel’s unique relationship to ancient tragedy, for the German humanists, like their Italian counterparts, were directly engaged with Greek ideas. Second, it necessitates a precise examination of where Lutheranism departs significantly from Catholicism, for theological dissension was, as it were, the “meta-paradigm” guiding the early development of an entire national style. These two areas of investigation thus occupy the first two chapters of this study. From there we examine the theological frameworks and paradigmatic implications of a series of works, proceeding in largely chronological order. The Opitz-Schütz adaptation of *Dafne* is studied in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4 we engage the spiritual pastoral *Seelewig*, particularly with regard to the aims of the Nuremberg poetic school. “Meaning” and the use of poetic music in Gryphius’ Trauerspiel *Leo*

⁷ See *Ovide moralisé*, ed. Cornelius de Boer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishers, 1954).

⁸ See “The Moral Thought of Renaissance Humanism,” in *Renaissance Thought and the Arts: Collected Essays by Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 40.

Armenius are the focus of Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, finally, we examine three later operatic manifestations of the three paradigms—the adaptation, the spiritual pastoral, and the Trauerspiel—and seek to describe the significance of the Trauerspiel to German opera at its beginnings.

CHAPTER 1

Trauerspiel and Greek Tragedy: The Essence of a Distinction

In any study of tragic drama, it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to ignore the looming presence of Aristotle. The extent of the philosopher's influence on later generations of dramatists can scarcely be overestimated. Indeed, Aristotle's *Poetics*, which contains, among other things, some cogent observations on and prescriptions for tragedy, has been called "a literary Bible for Renaissance classicism."¹ It might seem odd, then, that some modern critics make a point to set the Baroque Trauerspiel—a tragic genre with clear connections to Renaissance humanism—apart from ancient practices. Judith Aikin, for instance, writes that "German plays of the period [the seventeenth century] fit neither the Aristotelian definitions nor the practice of classical Greek and Roman drama."²

Such pronouncements might appear questionable in light of Aristotle's own definition of tragedy:

Tragedy, then, is a process of imitating an action which has serious implications, is complete, and possesses magnitude; by means of language which has been made sensuously attractive, with each of its varieties found separately in the parts; enacted by the persons themselves and not presented through narrative; through a course of pity and fear completing the purification of tragic acts which have those emotional characteristics. By "language made sensuously attractive" I mean language that has rhythm and melody, and by "its varieties found separately" I mean the fact

¹ See *Aristotle: Poetics*, trans. Gerald F. Else (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), 7.

² Judith Popovich Aikin, *German Baroque Drama* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 6. Regarding the connections to Renaissance humanism, Aikin writes that "the drama and dramatic theory of seventeenth-century Germany are not isolated phenomena, but have interconnections with other European literatures," among them "late Renaissance and early seventeenth-century tragedy and comedy from Spain, Italy, and France" (6).

that certain parts of the play are carried on through spoken verses alone and others the other way round, through song (*Poetics* 38 / 49b1).³

The Baroque Trauerspiel, as we shall see, typically has all of these characteristics.

It imitates, or represents, serious actions; it possesses completeness; its authors take special care to use “sensuously attractive” language (and they include music); its plots unfold largely through realistic action, as opposed to narration; its authors seek to evince cathartic release through pity and fear.

Yet the Trauerspiel does possess a unique feature vis-à-vis ancient tragedy, at least as the latter is manifested in the surviving works of the Attic masters Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides: the historical—as opposed to mythological—plot. In the *Poetics*, Aristotle in fact allows historical characters and events in tragedy and comedy, but he does not display a particular regard for history as a subject of tragedy, as the creators of the Trauerspiel later did.⁴ The German Baroque fascination with history is an important theme in Walter Benjamin’s *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels* (1928, translated by John Osborne as *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, 1977), which sparked a modern reassessment of a genre that had long been overlooked.⁵ This chapter will seek to

³ Trans. Else, 25-26.

⁴ There is some evidence that Aristotle regarded the mythological plots of the Attic masters as essentially historical. Yet Aristotle ultimately seemed more concerned with the process of imitating actions than with the idea that these actions had to be based in history. More on this below.

⁵ Benjamin’s reassessment is largely responsible for the modern views on the Trauerspiel noted above. Martin Esslin, in his Foreword to *German Theater before 1750*, ed. Gerald Gillespie (New York: Continuum, 1992), ix, remarks that “Benjamin’s generation was in revolt against the oppressive prominence of the ‘classics’ of German drama (Goethe, Schiller, Heinrich von Kleist, Friedrich Hebbel, Franz Grillparzer). . . . [Benjamin et al. wanted] to go back to the wild and perhaps crude forms of theater the Enlightenment reformers had suppressed and discredited.” In other words, German Baroque drama, long neglected, was ripe for the taking (so to speak) by a rebellious generation of young intellectuals in the 1920s and 1930s. Martin Esslin implies that Benjamin, Brecht, and others found historical inspiration for a movement “pointing towards surrealism in the early twentieth century and towards poststructuralist stylistic doctrines of our own time” (ix). If there was a reformist agenda behind Benjamin’s interest in Baroque Trauerspiel, then, Benjamin might well have seen fit to focus on the Trauerspiel’s differences from (rather

show that Benjamin's observations on the historical plot are more consequential than perhaps even he imagined. The appropriation of history as a dramatic subject, it will be argued, reflected a desire to "translate" an essentially religious outlook in the plot of ancient tragedy into a seventeenth-century German Protestant context.⁶ This process of "translation" had important ramifications for the development of German theater, and more specifically, German opera. We begin, then, with a look at some of Benjamin's musings on the Trauerspiel and proceed from there to the elucidation of the Trauerspiel's theological essence.

Walter Benjamin and the Subject of History

Discussing German Baroque drama in his *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels*, Walter Benjamin writes that "the history of modern German drama has known no period in which the themes of the ancient tragedians have been less influential. This alone testifies against the dominance of Aristotle."⁷ Indeed, Benjamin finds in the Trauerspiel but a single characteristic—namely, unity of action—traceable to the ancient philosopher. Moreover, its "indifference" to the theories of tragic effect, or catharsis, set forth in the *Poetics* provides all the more solid ground for considering the Baroque Trauerspiel a genre distinct from classical tragedy.⁸ To those who would argue, on the contrary, that since both genres tend to arouse pity and fear, the Trauerspiel is in fact a form of tragedy,

than similarities with) classical tragedy. As an insightful critic who "rediscovered," or at least seriously reexamined German Baroque tragic drama, Benjamin is nonetheless worth studying carefully.

⁶ Ancient tragedy was "essentially religious" (it will be argued) insofar as the events of its plots unfolded against the backdrop of divine decree.

⁷ Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: NLB, 1977), 60. Osborne retains the German "Trauerspiel" (literally, "mourning play") in his translation, reflecting Benjamin's use of the term "to refer to modern, baroque tragedy as distinct from classical tragedy (*Tragödie*)." See translator's note, 5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

Benjamin responds by quoting Goethe: “That a work of art should be perfect and complete in itself [without regard to the effect on the audience] is the eternal and essential requirement! Aristotle, who had before him the height of perfection, was thinking of the effect [the arousal of pity and fear among the spectators]? How absurd!” “An artistic form,” summarizes Benjamin, “can never be determined by its effect.”⁹

Yet if an artistic genre must be defined without recourse to its “effect”—be the genre ancient tragedy or Baroque Trauerspiel—why does Benjamin insist upon the Trauerspiel’s “indifference” to Aristotle’s theories of tragic effect? Is ancient tragedy itself—at least as Aristotle views it—somewhat more concerned with its own cathartic efficacy than Goethe would have it? If so, to what extent can the Trauerspiel be defined as generically distinct by its comparative disregard for emotional catharsis?

In the *Poetics* Aristotle in fact describes tragic effect as an essential aspect of tragedy. Though he says that “what happens—that is, the plot—is the end for which a tragedy exists, and the end or purpose is the most important thing of all” (1450a), he also states that “since the pleasure the poet is to provide is that which comes from pity and fear through an imitation, clearly this effect must be embodied in the events of the plot” (1453b).¹⁰ Thus catharsis, if not exactly providing the reason for the genre, nonetheless participates integrally in its most important feature; it is an inevitable result of a well-made plot.

The plot, incidentally, might be regarded as much the essence of Trauerspiel as it is of tragedy. Martin Opitz’s definitive list (1624) of “what happens” in a typical

⁹ Ibid., 51-52. The quotation from Goethe is found in the *Werke*, part 4, Briefe, XLII (Jan.-Jul. 1827) (Weimar, 1907), 104.

¹⁰ *Aristotle’s Poetics*, trans. James Hutton (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 51 and 58-59, respectively. Hereafter all excerpts from the *Poetics* will be cited by translator.

Trauerspiel—“it deals only with the commands of kings, killings, despair, infanticide and patricide, conflagrations, incest, war and commotion, lamentation, weeping, sighing, and suchlike”—Benjamin views as “not so much the subject-matter as the artistic core of the *Trauerspiel*.”¹¹ Without indicating whether this aspect of the genre might owe something to a Greek model, Benjamin proceeds thus to distinguish the plot “cores” of the two genres: while the subject (“Gegenstand”) of tragedy (as it comes down to us from Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides) is myth, that of the *Trauerspiel* is history.¹²

The tragic effect so integral to the plots of tragedy, moreover, is confined in the *Trauerspiel* to what ultimately befalls only key players: “Fear and pity are not seen as participation in the integral whole of the action, but as participation in the fate of the most outstanding characters. Fear is aroused by the death of the villain, pity by that of the pious hero.”¹³ For Benjamin, then, the *Trauerspiel* portrays the events of history as “tragic” (fearsome or pitiful) only insofar as they impact a protagonist (usually a monarch), while the mythic fabric of tragedy is, as it were, cathartic—inspiring a more general fear and pity—by nature.

It seems a subtle difference. It suggests, for example, that Sophocles could include in his *Electra* the episode of Electra rejecting her sister Chrysothemis because of (in part, at least) its capacity to evoke pity, while Andreas Gryphius included in the

¹¹ Referring to Martin Opitz’s seminal *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (Breslau, 1624), Judith Aikin, 30, writes: “It is not an exaggeration to say that this book, supported by Opitz’s continuing output of models for the new verbal art form, changed the course of German literature.” The quotation from Opitz cited above is from this work. The commentary on this passage is from Benjamin, 62: “weil sie nur von königlichem willen / todschlägen / verzweiffelungen / kinder- und vätermörden / brande / blutschanden / kriege und auffruhr / klagen / heulen / seuffzten und dergleichen handelt.” (Translation by John Osborne.)

¹² Benjamin, 62. Aristotle gives no indication that tragic plots *should be* drawn from mythology. He simply notes that “the poets, when they discovered how to produce [an emotional] effect in their plots, were conducting their search on the basis of chance, not art; hence they have been forced to focus upon those families which happen to have suffered tragic happenings” (39 / 54a1) (Else, 42). Benjamin is simply observing a difference in the actual practices of ancient tragedians and German Baroque dramatists.

¹³ Benjamin, 61.

opening of his Trauerspiel *Leo Armenius, Oder Fürsten-Mord* (c.1646) a potentially fear-inspiring depiction of Armenius as a bloodthirsty tyrant, merely in order to offset his ultimately tragic end as a Christian martyr.¹⁴ Obviously, the respective scene in each of these dramas both affects the understanding of the work's outcome and incites a particular emotional response as the play proceeds (i.e., before the outcome).

The distinction Benjamin wishes to make, though, seems to rest on that between the mythological and historical subjects of the two genres: while the tragic stature of the characters of ancient tragedy derives “from the pre-historic epoch of their existence—the past age of heroes,” that of the Baroque *dramatis personae* depends upon “rank—the absolute monarchy.”¹⁵ In other words, the characters of ancient tragedy, by virtue of the fact that they are all conceived as larger-than-life, contribute with an equality unknown in Baroque Trauerspiel to a given work's overall cathartic force.

The effect (pity and fear) aroused in the spectators of Greek tragedy presumably attends, or even depends upon, the spectators' understanding their own insurmountable vulnerability to fate. If even the fabled heroes depicted in the drama cannot escape the edicts of the gods, the spectators—ordinary humans—certainly stand no chance of doing so. Moreover, the audience's understanding that the drama unfolding before them is mythical in nature produces the pleasure in tragedy that Aristotle discusses. The viewers can participate in, or appreciate, the events depicted, safe in the knowledge that they do so only vicariously. Yet, outside of the theater spectators might have been accustomed as well to viewing themselves as little more than spectators of life. The inevitability of fate

¹⁴ Aikin discusses *Leo Armenius* on pages 53 to 58.

¹⁵ Benjamin, 62.

was no mere theatrical device in ancient Greece; the theater both mirrored and schooled its citizens.¹⁶

German Baroque drama no doubt played something of the same instructive role in its societal context. Andreas Gryphius, for example, once referred to his Trauerspiel *Cardenio und Celinde, Oder Unglücklich Verliebete* (c.1649) as a “Trauer-Spiegel” (“mirror of mourning”).¹⁷ Judith Aikin writes of the appropriateness of such a pun:

In seventeenth-century Germany, the popular image of the mirror signified the concept of learning vicariously from history, literature, and theater. The virtues and vices of the protagonists were mirrors in which the readers or audiences would look, see themselves reflected, and change their ways before it was too late.¹⁸

Obviously, the means by which readers or audiences could identify with these protagonists would conform as well to the method employed by the ancients: without the arousal and consequent cathartic release of emotions like pity and fear, what spectator would have cause to empathize with characters merely enacting roles? Indeed, what drama that offered no emotional interest would even attract an audience? It seems unlikely, then, that the Trauerspiel could distinguish itself generically from tragedy through a comparative disregard for catharsis. Rather, its plot, like that of tragedy, must to some extent aim for tragic effect on the audience, even if, as Benjamin argues, the Trauerspiel’s effect is confined primarily to “participation in the fate of the most outstanding characters.”

¹⁶ For instance, Cynthia A. Freeland, “Plot Imitates Action: Aesthetic Evaluation and Moral Realism in Aristotle’s *Poetics*,” in *Essays on Aristotle’s Poetics*, ed. Amélie Oksenberg Rorty (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 112, believes that Aristotle considers the plot to be the essence of tragedy because it (the plot) “directly mirrors reality.” Regarding theater as a kind of “school,” Freeland, paraphrasing Nelson Goodman, writes that “artworks achieve the effect of realism because they actually help us construct our world, by showing us how to experience or ‘see’ it.” Applying this thought to Aristotle’s views on poetry versus history, she continues: “He [Aristotle] thinks poetry is superior because it better captures how reality ought to be” (114).

¹⁷ This occurs in the author’s prologue to the work, as Aikin, 62, points out.

¹⁸ Aikin, 62-63.

The mythology-versus-history basis for Benjamin's distinction between tragedy and Trauerspiel seems an insufficient deterrent to such an embodiment of tragic effect. Might one not view the historically based "outstanding characters" (usually monarchs), to whose fates German Baroque dramatists tend to restrict tragic effect, as seventeenth-century counterparts of the larger-than-life, mythical figures of ancient tragedy? If so, Benjamin's distinction—at least as far as it concerns tragic effect—would be merely quantitative and one of degree. Both tragedy and Trauerspiel traffic in a catharsis that enables spectators to see their own lives mirrored in the fates of heroic figures. The only real difference here is that in tragedy, according to Benjamin, all the characters have cathartic importance, while in the Trauerspiel only some of them do.

That the Trauerspiel includes characters without high social rank whose fates are somehow irrelevant raises an important question: Why would an ordinary (i.e., non-royal) Baroque spectator of Trauerspiel empathize more with a depicted monarch than with a character of his own social standing? Before addressing that question, it would be well to remember, first of all, that for Benjamin (and Goethe) tragic effect cannot be considered so important as to generically define either tragedy or Trauerspiel. Indeed, catharsis, as we have seen, provides no solid grounds for viewing tragedy and Trauerspiel as generically distinct. (Perhaps this is why Benjamin insists upon the Trauerspiel's "indifference" to Aristotle's theories of tragic effect.) In order to follow the implications of Benjamin's distinction, then, and to plausibly answer the above question, the essential differences between mythical and historical plots must be sought without recourse to catharsis.

A good place to begin is in the *Poetics* itself. Here Aristotle, in distinguishing poetry and history, posits the following:

Poetry tends rather to express the universal, history rather the particular fact. A universal is: The sort of thing that (in the circumstances) a certain kind of person will say or do either probably or necessarily, which in fact is the universal that poetry aims for (with the addition of names for the persons); a particular, on the other hand, is: What Alcibiades did or had done to him (1451b).¹⁹

Poetry, or drama (both tragic and comic), is obliged to seek the universal, as James Hutton puts it, “in order to be intelligible and win assent.” That is, the events of a plot must be made to appear possible by seeming probable or even necessary. A plot constructed of improbable or unnecessary events would presumably lack the aura of possibility, or realism, that enables spectators to empathize, via catharsis, with its characters. “History is under no such constraint,” continues Hutton; “it does not usually have to convince us that the events it describes are possible—what has happened must have been possible.”²⁰

Thus, Aristotle seems to advocate mimicking reality (or imitating nature) in tragedy by appealing to logic, by providing a reason why the events of a plot should follow as they do.²¹ Myths might be regarded appropriate subjects of tragedy because they allow a certain amount of invention, even while they essentially represent, or

¹⁹ Hutton, 54. “Poetry” can be understood here to mean tragedy or comedy, rather than the simple fact of versification. As Aristotle puts it: “The difference between the historian and the poet is not that the historian employs prose and the poet verse—the work of Herodotus could be put into verse, and it would be no less a history with verses than without them” (1451a-1451b) (Hutton, 54).

²⁰ Both quotes by Hutton are from his introduction to his translation of the *Poetics*, 14.

²¹ Aristotle, in the *Poetics*, Hutton 61, says, for instance, that “within the events of the plot itself . . . there should be nothing unreasonable” (1454a). This, on the surface, would seem to contrast markedly with the idea that, in Hutton’s words, “many of the events of history come about by chance or fortune” (14). The apparent irony of creating an illusion of reality by means of an inevitability that does not always appear (in an obvious way) to drive the events of history in fact points to no contradiction: to the ancients art was clearly artifice. More on this below.

imitate, human actions.²² That is, through mythology the poet is able to project a sense of inevitability (in a given sequence of events) that is not necessarily evident in history.

This is not to say, however, that to the ancients the events of “real life” occurred purely by chance. On the contrary, the ancients generally believed that gods could, and sometimes did, influence the course of history through actions and decrees that could not be contravened. Indeed, the events in a particular history were often comprehensible—seen to be logically coherent—only with reference to some divine “background.”

Tragedy seems to reflect this need to situate human actions within some godly rule, or power structure. The plays of Sophocles, for instance, “are filled,” as Moses Hadas puts it, “with the power of gods and the unfailing fulfillment of their oracles.”²³ Aeschylus and Euripides were no less concerned with understanding how the ways of gods affect humans.²⁴

Though Aristotle writes, in the *Poetics*, that “the dénouements of plots [of tragedies] should come out of the character itself” and that there should be “no illogicality in the web of events” (37 / 54b1),²⁵ he nevertheless admits a role for a sort of superhuman perspective on the unfolding of events. The *deus ex machina* was sometimes needed to “unravel a tangled plot,” as Gerald Else puts it.²⁶ Aristotle makes clear that the “machine”—the means by which characters could appear above (both literally and

²² Aristotle writes that “one should be artistic both in inventing stories and in managing the ones that have been handed down” (*Poetics* 38 / 53b1) (Else, 41). In his note on this passage, Gerald Else writes that “the artistic ‘beauty’ of a tragedy consists not in some prettiness or decoration applied to it from outside, but in the cogency and elegance . . . with which the plot structure is shaped to combine *logical sequence* with *shattering emotional impact*.” See Else, 97 n. 98.

²³ See Sophocles, *The Complete Plays*, trans. Richard Claverhouse Jebb, ed. Moses Hadas (New York: Bantam Books, 1988), xiv.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Else, 44.

²⁶ Else, 99 n. 109. Regarding the interpretation of the theatrical “machine,” James Hutton, 97 n. 6, writes: “‘From the machine’ means ‘by divine intervention’ (cf. Horace’s *deus ex machina*), since in the Greek theater gods were suspended over the scene by means of the *méchané* or crane.”

figuratively) mere mortals—was to be used “for things that lie outside the drama proper, either previous events that a human being cannot know, or subsequent events which require advance prophecy and exposition” (37 / 54b1).²⁷ Things that humans cannot know—whether in the past or in the future—of course stand outside the purview of history. Mythology, which accommodates such “divine” invention, affords an interpretative perspective on reality. What distinguishes the theater from real life, as regards fate, is that in the theater the inevitability of events is brought into high relief, making comprehensible what can often appear in real life as incomprehensible, at least from a non-theistic point of view.

Perhaps there is something here that can help explain why the Attic masters tended to avoid historical plots.²⁸ Lacking the artifice of mythology, historical tragedy—if conceived as a mere record of some event or events—would lack an interpretation of life. Spectators would be left to make their own connections—or to make no connections—between events, as they are in real life. In this sense the *Trauerspiel* cannot be considered a Baroque version of Greek tragedy, for, again, the subject of *Trauerspiel* is history. Yet the *Trauerspiel*, as has been shown, functioned in its societal context in something of the same way that tragedy did in ancient Greece. It, too, is artifice, capable of controlling the causes and timing of its spectators’ cathartic release by explicating connections between events that might be, at best, obscure in real life. It is, in brief, an interpretation, as opposed to a mere record, of life.

²⁷ Else, 44.

²⁸ As noted above, Aristotle believed that the great tragic poets drew upon mythology by chance. Cf. n. 12. Still, there is something uncannily suggestive about the poets’ almost exclusive appropriation of stories that could not be shown to be historically accurate or inaccurate. (More on this below.) Again, it is the plethora of historically based German Baroque tragedies in contrast to a dearth of historically based ancient tragedies that interests Benjamin in his efforts to define the *Trauerspiel* as generically distinct. Benjamin takes his cue from the ancient works themselves, rather than from Aristotle’s prescriptions.

The obvious question raised by this—namely, why German Baroque dramatists would be eager to treat history as a dramatic subject when the ancients generally did not—raises a couple of points that need to be addressed before proceeding. First, did ancient tragedians in fact avoid historical plots altogether, and if so, was it for the reasons suggested above? And secondly, did the creators of the Trauerspiel limit themselves so exclusively to history as Benjamin seems to suggest?

Greek Tragedy, Mythology, and Contemporary Historicism

Ancient tragedians did not in fact avoid historical plots altogether. Aeschylus, for example, left us one work—*The Persians*—that has been called an “out-and-out history play.”²⁹ Phrynichus, an older contemporary of Aeschylus, is known to have written two historical dramas, *The Capture of Miletus* and *Phoenician Women* (also called *The Persians*), neither of which has survived.³⁰ Later, Theodectes (c. 375-334 B.C.E.) wrote one, entitled *Mausolus*, and later still Roman poets completed numerous works with historical subjects.³¹ However, in what is usually considered the heyday of Greek tragedy—Athens of the fifth century B.C.E., with its giants Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides—there indeed appears to be a dearth of history plays: Aeschylus’ *The Persians*, in fact, is the only surviving example.

To be sure, it is perhaps not unreasonable to read even in the mythological plots of some of the works of the Attic masters tangential references to “real”—historical or current—events. Victor Castellani, for example, contends that “works such as

²⁹ Tom F. Driver, *The Sense of History in Greek and Shakespearean Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 3-4.

³⁰ Victor Castellani, “Clio vs. Melpomene; or, why so little historical drama from classical Athens?” in *Themes in Drama*, 8: Historical Drama, ed. James Redmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 1.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

Sophocles' *Ajax* and *Oedipus at Colonus* or Euripides' *Medea* and *Trojan Women* must have sounded provocative resonances with recent or current issues at Athens and in the larger Hellenic world to the minds of their more thoughtful hearers."³² Still, these "resonances" were just that, and the question as to what was behind this seeming avoidance of obviously historical themes remains.

Essentially, there have been two approaches to this question. The first emphasizes the notion that to the Greeks mythology was a form of history; the average theatergoer believed, presumably, that the events of the great myths had actually taken place at some indeterminate time in the past. It has been noted, for instance, that "as Aristotle points out, the old legends were believed to be true, at least in outline of what actions they related and whom they characterized" and that, therefore, "every play about prehistoric heroes whom the Greeks believed actually to have lived and breathed can, in fact, be considered a species of quasi-historical drama."³³ The other approach focuses on the development in the fifth century B.C.E., mainly in the work of Herodotus and Thucydides, of a new concept of history as science.³⁴ Here there is a clear distinction between, on the one hand, history as a matter of research, and, on the other, legend, or mythology, as a matter of belief. The new history is, in Collingwood's words, "not theocratic, it is humanistic. . . . The events inquired into are not events in a dateless past,

³² Ibid., 7.

³³ Ibid., 7. See also Thomas F. Scanlon, "*Historia quasi fabula*: the Catiline theme in Sallust and Jonson," in *ibid.*, 17, who writes of "the Greeks of Aristotle's day who often believed in the factual basis of myths and legends which provided material for both history and drama." Gerald Else notes this as well: "Aristotle, as a classical Greek, takes it for granted that Greek mythology reflects history, i.e., that its heroes actually existed" (93 n. 74).

³⁴ R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 18-19, notes that "history is a Greek word, meaning simply an investigation or inquiry. Herodotus, who uses it in the title of his work, thereby 'marks a literary revolution.'"

at the beginning of things: they are events in a dated past, a certain number of years ago.”³⁵

What the two approaches share is an implied agreement on the importance to Greek thought of the “universal” that, as Aristotle believes, distinguishes poetry from history. In the first case, even if the majority of Greeks did believe that the events detailed in their myths had actually taken place, it is difficult to imagine that the poets chose to dramatize these myths *because* they were historically accurate. (It is perhaps even more difficult to imagine that the modern world is interested in Greek drama primarily for its depiction of some ancient society.) There can be no question that the representational significance of mythology (for both ancients and moderns) inheres not in its historicity, but in its timelessness. As Jan Kott puts it: “Myths have their historic time and their meta-historic time; the time in which they came into being *and their universal validity outside of time.*”³⁶

In the second case, the very newness of “scientific” history in the fifth century B.C.E. speaks volumes about the prevailing tendency of Greek thought, which has been labeled “unhistorical.”³⁷ Indeed, Collingwood points out “how remarkable a thing is this creation of scientific history by Herodotus, for he was an ancient Greek, and ancient Greek thought as a whole has a very definite prevailing tendency not only uncongenial to the growth of historical thought but actually based, one might say, on a rigorously anti-historical metaphysics.”³⁸ Metaphysics, of course, deals with essences, or fundamental natures. It seeks to deduce principles underlying particular “facts,” while historical

³⁵ Ibid., 18.

³⁶ Jan Kott, *The Eating of the Gods: An Interpretation of Greek Tragedy*, trans. Boleslaw Taborski and Edward J. Czerwinski (New York: Random House, 1973), 241. Emphasis added.

³⁷ See Driver, 19.

³⁸ Collingwood, 20.

“science,” as Herodotus conceived it, concerns itself with merely discovering particulars as discrete facts.³⁹ Metaphysics and mythology, in supplying logical connections between otherwise inexplicable events, *interpret* the phenomena of reality.

It does appear, then, that insofar as history was conceived merely as a means of recording events, it was inappropriate as a subject of drama.⁴⁰ Mythology was appropriate, on the other hand, because, by linking events into some kind of logical sequence, it imbued them with a sense of inevitability. Again, Aristotle: “It will be evident that the poet’s function is not to report things that have happened, but rather to tell of such things as might happen, things that are possibilities by virtue of being in themselves inevitable or probable” (1451a).⁴¹ If Aristotle allowed history as a subject for tragedy, then, he must have had in mind something other than history as science.

The Trauerspiel: History as Tragedy?

The extent to which the creators of Trauerspiele limited themselves to historical plots is a question for which there is no simple answer. While it is true that the principal dramatists after 1640—Andreas Gryphius (1616-1664), Daniel Casper von Lohenstein

³⁹ A. J. Ayer, “Demonstration of the Impossibility of Metaphysics,” in *A Modern Introduction to Philosophy: Readings from Classical and Contemporary Sources*, ed. Paul Edwards and Arthur Pap (New York: The Free Press, 1973), 761, defines metaphysics as “an enquiry into the nature of the reality underlying or transcending the phenomena which the special sciences are content to study.” On the duality between metaphysics and scientific historicism in the ancient world, Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 21, writes: “There were, in fact, two tendencies in Greece, one passionate, religious, mystical, other-worldly, the other cheerful, empirical, rationalistic, and interested in acquiring knowledge of a diversity of facts. Herodotus represents this latter tendency.” Regarding the tendency of the Greeks to deduce principles, Russell, *ibid.*, 199, states: “The Greeks in general attached more importance to deduction as a source of knowledge than modern philosophers do. . . . [Aristotle], like other Greeks, gave undue prominence to deduction in his theory of knowledge.”

⁴⁰ Ironically, Aristotle seems to have taken such a view of the new history of Herodotus and Thucydides. See, again, Hutton, 54: “Poetry tends rather to express the universal, history rather the particular fact. . . . A particular . . . is: What Alcibiades did or had done to him” (1451b). James Hutton, in a note on this passage, states that “history tends more to the particular . . . because essentially it records what has happened” (*ibid.*, 92, n. 1).

⁴¹ Hutton, 54.

(1635-1683), Johann Christian Hallmann (c.1640-1704), and August Adolf von Haugwitz (1645-1706)—seemed to prefer historical themes, the pioneering work of Martin Opitz (1597-1639), who seemed rather to prefer mythological themes, can hardly be overlooked. Opitz provided as models for the “Tragedie” (or Trauerspiel) defined in his *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624) not works based on history, but translations of works based on mythology and biblical legend, namely Sophocles’ *Antigone*, Seneca’s *Trojan Women*, and the Italian opera libretti *Dafne* and *Judith* by, respectively, Ottavio Rinuccini (1562-1621) and Andrea Salvadori (1591-1634).⁴²

Do these translations, as mere models, stand outside the mature tradition of the Trauerspiel, and are they therefore irrelevant to the question of whether German Baroque dramatists limited themselves to historical plots? Or might they be considered not just models, but bona fide examples of early baroque Trauerspiele, and thus relevant to the question? No less a figure than Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766), for one, praised Opitz’s translation of Seneca’s *Trojan Women* as “the first attempt at a soundly established Tragödie.”⁴³ More important, though, is why Opitz, whose writings clearly influenced Gryphius, Lohenstein, et al.,⁴⁴ would choose works based on mythology to serve either as models for or finished examples of a genre Benjamin insists is, by virtue of its historical plots, essentially different from Greek tragedy.

There are a number of possible answers to this question. First, perhaps Opitz had at his disposal no other dramatic works than those of Sophocles and Seneca, and the opera libretti mentioned. This possibility seems unlikely, for if, as Aikin claims, Opitz

⁴² Aikin, 30.

⁴³ Quoted in Robert J. Alexander, *Das deutsche Barockdrama* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1984), 20: “den ersten Versuch einer ordentlich eingerichteten Tragödie.” Translation mine, as are all translations from the German, unless otherwise noted.

⁴⁴ Aikin, 30, believes that “it is not an exaggeration to say that . . . [Opitz’s work] changed the course of German literature.”

was concerned with creating “a new German literature worthy of respect as a national literature, equal to those of contemporary Italy, Spain, France, or England,” he must have been familiar with at least some of the dramatic works of those countries.⁴⁵ More likely, perhaps, is the possibility that Opitz, under the influence of the Italian humanists, consciously sought to use ancient sources as models for the new German drama. Indeed, his *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* contains numerous references to examples by such humanists as Angiolo Ambrogini (1454-1494), Jacopo Sannazaro (1456-1530), Janus Secundus (1511-1536), and Petrus Lotichius Secundus (1528-1560).⁴⁶

Second, then, perhaps Opitz in fact wanted to encourage the development of a German tragic drama that would, like ancient tragedy, be based on mythology. If so, the extent of his influence on the generations succeeding him would have to be qualified. Indeed, the species of Trauerspiel known as the martyr play, which has been referred to as “the most respected [dramatic type] in the eyes of all the theorists,” first appears in German (its roots being in Jesuit theater) some time after the publication of Opitz’s works.⁴⁷ Do mature Trauerspiele such as Gryphius’s *Carolus Stuardus* and *Leo Armenius* and Hallmann’s *Catharina*—all martyr plays with historical plots—owe something more to the Jesuits than to Opitz? On the other hand, there is at least one

⁴⁵ Ibid., 29-30. Cornelius Sommer, in his “Nachwort” to Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1983), 104, states that Opitz must have been familiar as well with German literature of the centuries preceding him: “It is unimaginable that this literature was completely unknown to him” (“Es ist kaum vorstellbar, daß ihm diese Literatur völlig unbekannt gewesen sei”). Regarding Opitz’s knowledge of contemporary literature of other European countries, Sommer believes, for example, that the title of the third chapter of *Poeterey*—“Von etlichen sachen die den Poeten vorgeworffen werden; vnd derselben entschuldigung”—was inspired by an English work: “The wording of the title is certainly suggested by Sir Philip Sidney’s *Apologie for Poetrie* (1580, pub. 1595)” (“Der Wortlaut der Überschrift ist sicher angeregt durch Sir Philip Sidneys Apologie for Poetrie (1580, veröff. 1595)”). (The Chapter 3 title is found in *Poeterey*, 14. Sommer’s comment is in *ibid.*, 76, n. 28.)

⁴⁶ For Ambrogini, see, for instance, *Poeterey*, 16 and 78, n. 52; for the other humanists mentioned, see *ibid.*, 29 and 81, n. 103. There are also passing references to Petrarch, Vida, Scaliger, and others scattered throughout Opitz’s book.

⁴⁷ See Aikin, 47 (for the quotation) and 43.

example of a martyr play whose protagonist is more closely associated with legend than historical fact: Gryphius's translation of Caussin's *Felicitas*.⁴⁸ Because it has a mythological (or "legendary") plot and because it is a translation, is this work more strongly influenced by Opitz's models than by Jesuit theater? Is there some mythological basis for the historical Trauerspiel after all?

It has in fact been posited that there is something more essentially significant about the martyr play than whether its various protagonists actually existed or not. G. J. A. Burgess, for instance, contends that the character of Carolus Stuardus in Gryphius's play of the same name (pub. 1657) is meant "to be a representational, rather than a dramatically individual, figure. So what does Carolus represent? Albrecht Schöne has convincingly demonstrated that Carolus's progress towards the scaffold may be viewed in terms of an emblematic imitation of Christ's passion." Burgess does go on to note, though, that "Carolus embodies [as well] the qualities of steadfastness and stoicism in the face of adversity and death which Gryphius shared with his contemporaries . . . but [that] it is, above all, the political and social consequences of Carolus's execution which are most often stressed in the play."⁴⁹

Aikin would seem to disagree only with Burgess's emphasis on the importance of political and social themes for the historical martyr play in general, which, in her view, "may have political overtones, but . . . remains essentially religious."⁵⁰ Robert Alexander, following Heinz Burger, takes a more expansive view of the notion of a "representative," as opposed to "dramatically individual," characterization, believing that

⁴⁸ Ibid., 47.

⁴⁹ G. J. A. Burgess, "Differing treatments of history: Gryphius's *Carolus Stuardus* and Schiller's *Maria Stuart*," in *Themes in Drama*, 8: Historical Drama, 117.

⁵⁰ Aikin, 47. Aikin, at this point in her discussion, does not happen to include in her list of examples of historical martyr plays Gryphius's *Carolus Stuardus*, but later does refer to it as a "tragedy based on contemporary events" and "a straightforward martyr drama" (50).

it applies not just to the martyr play, but to the Baroque Trauerspiel in general. The “main figures” (“Hauptgestalten”), he writes, “are not individuals in the modern psychological sense, but, rather, typed (“typenhafte”) ‘representatives of human existence.’”⁵¹

This general agreement on the emblematic significance of characters to German Baroque dramatists might seem to suggest that Opitz indeed wanted to encourage the development of a German tragic drama based on mythology, and that he did have a marked effect on his successors.⁵² Perhaps it was deemed immaterial whether a story was legendary or historical in origin, as long as the poet conceived of his characters as representational. Yet the fact that in most cases Opitz’s successors chose specifically historical plots demands that we seek a third possible answer to the question of why Opitz used works based on mythology as models (if his status as a major influence on seventeenth-century German drama is to suffer no compromise, at any rate).⁵³

Thus, perhaps there is something at the core of the works Opitz translated that not only transcends questions of historical authenticity but also engages something that would, ironically, find its best Baroque expression in the historical drama. That “something,” as suggested above, could well be religion.⁵⁴ Greek mythology, obviously (and biblical legend, certainly no less obviously) involves relationships between gods (or

⁵¹ Robert Alexander, 91-92: “Sie sind keine Individuen im modernen psychologischen Sinne, sondern typenhafte ‘Repräsentanten menschlichen Daseins.’” Alexander cites Burger but does not give the exact source.

⁵² The characters of myth, not being tied to history, are nothing if not emblematic, or allegorical.

⁵³ Aikin, 32, amplifies both the notion of Opitz’s influence on later writers in general, and the idea that this influence manifested itself specifically (at least in part) at the “inner” level of imagery and psychology: “[Opitz’s translations] constituted a model for the dramas of the High Baroque to which Gryphius and Lohenstein only needed to add a *density* of imagery, an *augmented* psychology of the passions—and the creative spark” (emphasis added).

⁵⁴ Opitz believed that “poetry was at first nothing other than a hidden theology / and instruction in divine things” (“Die Poeterey ist anfanges nichts anders gewesen als eine verborgene Theologie / vnd vnterricht von Göttlichen sachen”). The quotation is from *Poeterey*, 12. Translation mine.

God) and humans. What attracted Opitz to the works he translated might be what Aikin calls their “moral and ethical lessons,”⁵⁵ or questions of right behavior referred to divine law.

For example, Antigone, in burying her brother Polyneices, places sacred duty above human law (the civil decree forbidding the burial), though the consequence is death. The *Trojan Women* and *Judith* both portray, and seek to instill in their audiences, a stoic forbearance (based on faith in unseen values) in the face of worldly adversity. And—though touching rather more obliquely on questions of moral behavior—*Dafne*, the story of a nymph whose transformation into a laurel tree saves her from her pursuer Apollo, is reinterpreted, following the *Ovide moralisé*, to symbolize the human soul who receives immortality (represented by the laurel wreath) only at the touch of her pursuer Christ.⁵⁶

If Opitz was interested in these works primarily for their “spiritual” content, it is obvious that the contemporary manifestation of this content (in a newly created work more than in a translation of a preexisting one) might appear as distinct from, say, Sophocles as the religion of seventeenth-century Germany was from that of fifth-century (B.C.E.) Greece. In other words, it might be claimed that the “translation” of this religious content could account for the concentration, in the Trauerspiel, on the historical, rather than mythological, plot.

⁵⁵ Aikin, 32.

⁵⁶ The themes of these four translations by Opitz are discussed in Aikin, 30-33. Aikin, 31, also points out that Opitz, in his preface to *Die Trojanerinnen*, says that “his purpose in selecting this play for translation [was] . . . to inure the reader / audience to life’s misfortunes . . . to instill a stoic attitude in the audience.” It does appear, then, that Opitz consciously selected works (for translation) that suggested to him certain religious stances. As we shall see in Chapter 3, Opitz projected in his adaptation of *Dafne* a moral vision significantly different from the one received through the *Ovide moralisé*, as well as through Ovid himself and through Rinuccini.

The Christian perception of the relationship between faith and the events of history (as well as contemporary events) is distinctly different from that of pre-Christian “pagans.” The ancient Greeks, who consigned their gods to some “pre-historic epoch,” a “past age of heroes,” can thoroughly explore their understanding of divinity in the abstract, as it were, without direct recourse to the “real world.”⁵⁷ On the contrary, Christians, who believe that God became thoroughly human and that this human—the historical Jesus—changed the course of “real” history, cannot conceive of divinity as *completely* outside of time.⁵⁸ This provides the basis for the so-called “Heilsgeschichte,” which interprets events of history in light of God’s ultimate plan for the world, and might seem, at first blush, to fully account for the fact that, again, the Christian dramatists of seventeenth-century Germany preferred historical plots.⁵⁹ It also seems to provide a plausible answer to the question raised earlier concerning the apparent incongruity of an ordinary (non-royal) Baroque spectator of Trauerspiel empathizing more with a depicted monarch than with a character of his own social standing: the “outstanding character” in many Trauerspiele—among them Gryphius’s *Carolus Stuardus* and *Leo Armenius*,

⁵⁷ While the Greeks believed in fate, they nonetheless tended to view their gods as remote, idealized beings whose past actions might be referenced to help explain otherwise inexplicable events. The theater, again, mirrored a world in which the ordinary citizen was in a sense a spectator of life, participating vicariously through “mythologized” heroes.

⁵⁸ Perhaps it is for this reason that Opitz, in *Poeterey*, 26-27, recommends that poets, in their storytelling, do not wander too far from reality: “The poem, concerning specifically the story itself, does not describe things so precisely as do histories, which must necessarily be bound to time and all manner of facts. . . . Nevertheless, one should take care, in this poetic license, to be mindful of the times, and not err in their truth” (“Das getichte vnd die erzehlung selber belangend / nimpt sie es nicht so genawe wie die Historien / die sich an die zeit vnd alle vmstende nothwendig binden mußen” (26) . . . “Gleichwol aber soll man sich in dieser freyheit zue tichten vorsehen / das man nicht der zeiten vergeße / vnd in jhrer warheit irre” (27)). Opitz, 27, goes on to criticize Virgil for changing historical facts (he claims that Dido actually lived a hundred years before Aeneas) in order to provide a “logical”—though mythological, or invented—explanation of the origins of the conflict between Carthage and Rome.

⁵⁹ Collingwood construes the idea of human history under the ultimate direction of God thus: “Each human agent knows what he wants and pursues it, but he does not know why he wants it: the reason why he wants it is that God has caused him to want it in order to advance the process of realizing His purpose” (48). The Christian, he concludes, “demands a history of the world, a universal history whose theme shall be the general development of God’s purposes for human life” (49). For the Trauerspiel as Heilsgeschichte, see Aikin’s analyses of Gryphius’s *Leo Armenius*, 53-58, and Lohenstein’s *Ibrahim Bassa*, 65-68.

Lohenstein's *Ibrahim Bassa* and *Cleopatra*, and Hallmann's *Mariamne*—clearly represents Christ.⁶⁰

The actual theological distinctions between Christian and Greek thought, however, are nowhere near so clean. Though Christ was historical, the Trinity is nonetheless conceived of as outside of time. On the other hand, the Greek gods, possessing many human (i.e., not utterly abstract) qualities, do assume human, and even animal, form from time to time. Indeed, Edith Hamilton believes St. Paul's idea that "the invisible must be understood by the visible" is in fact a Greek idea.⁶¹ Thus the larger problem will be to explore the relationship between Christian and Greek thought, both where they coincide and where they diverge.

An important aspect of the Trauerspiel, as we have seen, is its representation of "real"—whether distantly or more recently past—events. This representational quality, while certainly not incompatible with or unaccommodating of a Christian worldview, cannot, nonetheless, be shown to result only from the religious outlook of Baroque Germany. The Greek satyric drama, for instance, also tends to present, as it were, the world (with all its incongruities) as a stage. It would be too facile, to say the least, to

⁶⁰ Discussions of these works (including the *imitatio Christi*) can be found in Aikin: *Carolus Stuardus*, 50-52; *Leo Armenius*, 53-58; *Ibrahim Bassa*, 65-68; *Cleopatra*, 72-77; and *Mariamne*, 83-86. In *Cleopatra* the Christ figure is Augustus; in the other works it is the title character. The representational nature of the Trauerspiel, incidentally, also characterizes Elizabethan drama, of which, as H. D. F. Kitto, *Form and Meaning in Drama* (London: Methuen, 1968) argues, the "background of ordinary life is an essential part." Kitto continues: "Since life does contain the comic as well as the tragic, the judicious introduction of the comic and the low—Eastcheap, grave-diggers, jesters—helps us to feel that the play is 'true to life,' for here is the tragic action, surrounded by life." The late Renaissance representational is contrasted with Greek constructivism, to whose method of "constructing drama to embody [a] conception . . . it is quite irrelevant that life comprises the comic as well as the tragic" (all quotations from Kitto, 229). The mix of the comic and the tragic does occur in Greek drama, however, though in the satyric play rather than in tragedy. If, as Kitto claims, "the satyric drama was religious in origin [and] Greek religion was indeed co-terminous with life" (230), then perhaps it is going too far, after all, to claim that the tendency of later dramatists to emphasize the real world around them (historical or contemporary) can be attributed to their Christianity. More on this below.

⁶¹ Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* (New York: Penguin Books, 1969), 16.

claim that since both the satyric play and the Trauerspiel have strongly religious roots, the inclination toward realism in the theater is the product of some general spiritual impulse.⁶²

For one thing, if Greek religion truly is “co-terminous with life,” then tragedy—clearly a product of Greek life, though, as we have seen, not inclined toward realism (insofar as realism involves a non-interpretative representation of “facts”)—is no less contextualized by religion than is the satyric play.⁶³ For another, that later master of the “staged world,” Shakespeare, whose works—and not only the history plays—teem with “real life,” seems to stand above, or at least apart from, questions of religious influence.

Harold Bloom writes:

By reading Shakespeare, I can gather that he did not like lawyers, preferred drinking to eating, and evidently lusted after both genders. But I certainly do not have a clue as to whether he favored Protestantism or Catholicism or neither, and I do not know whether he believed or disbelieved in God or in resurrection.⁶⁴

If Shakespeare’s inclination toward realism was due to any kind of spiritual impulse, he was clearly unwilling to acknowledge it.⁶⁵

⁶² For the religious roots of the satyric play, see, again, Kitto, 230: “The satyric drama was religious in origin.” Regarding religion and the Trauerspiel, Benjamin, 130, writes: “The German baroque *Trauerspiel* . . . is characterized by an extreme paucity of non-Christian notions.”

⁶³ See, again, Kitto, 230: “Greek religion was indeed co-terminous with life.” Kitto also concludes that “of the means which the tragic poets used, the most important was the religious framework of their plays” (244), and, further emphasizing how thoroughly Greek culture was saturated in religion, quotes Aristotle: “We assume that the gods can see everything” (233).

⁶⁴ Harold Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (New York: Riverhead Books, 1998), 8.

⁶⁵ This would seem to marginalize Kitto’s reading of that most real of dramas, *Hamlet*, whose protagonist possesses anything but faith—at least insofar as “faith” implies strong conviction—as essentially religious: “Hamlet must be read as religious drama” (231). For the essential “realness” of *Hamlet*, see Harold Bloom: “Wittgenstein wants to believe that Shakespeare, as a creator of language, made a heterocosm, a dream. But the truth is that Shakespeare’s cosmos became Wittgenstein’s and ours, and we cannot say of Hamlet’s Elsinore or Falstaff’s Eastcheap that things aren’t like that. They *are* like that” (426). Bloom, though, believes not that Shakespeare was true to life, but the reverse: “Life must be true to Shakespeare” (427).

Nevertheless, the dramatic types mentioned above all represent something, divine or mundane. And since religion permeated, even dominated, much ancient Greek as well as Baroque German thought, it is certainly appropriate to assume that the creators of tragedy and the Trauerspiel sought, consciously or not, to represent in their work certain aspects of religious thought, whether it took the guise of mythology or historical realism. If the Trauerspiel can be considered a kind of German Baroque heir to the essential religiosity of Greek tragedy, at once dependent upon and independent of it, then the essential uniqueness of the Trauerspiel vis-à-vis tragedy can only be grasped through an understanding of precisely where Christian thought diverges from Greek religious thought. Further, since “the great German dramatists of the baroque were Lutherans,”⁶⁶ it will also be necessary to give a detailed account of how Lutheranism breaks with traditional Roman Catholic thought.⁶⁷ This discussion will offer a nuanced view into the conceptual environment from which German Baroque theater arose. More specifically, it

⁶⁶ Benjamin, 138.

⁶⁷ Though there were of course specifically dramatic (as opposed to theological) influences on the development of the Trauerspiel, the early “theorists” of the genre, most notably Martin Opitz, clearly emphasized the genre’s moral function as its appropriate end. Opitz’s project involved the “reconfiguration” of Aristotle’s theories of tragedy. In this, he followed primarily Roman and Dutch models, as Aikin notes: “Martin Opitz, following his Dutch model, Daniel Heinsius, and the practice of the Roman tragedian Seneca, provides a new interpretation of Aristotle’s catharsis in his preface to the *Trojanerinnen* translation of 1625. He couples pity (*Erbarmen*) with fearlessness or constancy (*Beständigkeit*) in the face of suffering. He explains this effect of tragedy upon the audience: ‘Solche Beständigkeit aber wird uns durch Beschawung der Mißligkeit deß Menschlichen Lebens in den Tragödien zu föderst eingepflantzet: dann in dem wir grosser Leute / gantzer Stätte und Länder eussersten Untergang zum offtern schawen und betrachten / tragen wir zwar / wie es sich gebüret / erbarmen mit ihnen / können auch nochmals auß Wehmuth die Thränen kaum zurück halten; wir lernen aber darneben auch durch stetige Besichtigung so vielen Creutzes und Ubels das andern begegnet ist / das unserige / welches uns begegnen möchte / weniger fürchten unnd besser erdulden.’ (Such steadfastness is implanted in us through perceiving the vulnerability of human life in tragedies, for, when we often see and contemplate the most extreme falls of great people, and of whole cities and nations, we appropriately feel pity and can hardly hold back tears, but we also learn through viewing so much suffering and evil which befalls others how to better endure and to fear less that which befalls us.)” (42-43). (Translation by Aikin.) The lengthy passage from Opitz is from *Die Trojanerinnen*, “An den Leser,” in Martin Opitz, *Weltliche Poemata, 1644*, ed. Erich Trunz (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967), 315.

will set the stage for our later examination of the Trauerspiel's paradigmatic significance for early German opera.

CHAPTER 2

Allegory and the Matter of Free Will in Greek, Scholastic, and Lutheran Thought

Before embarking on a discussion of the complex relationship between Christian (Catholic and Protestant) theology and Greek philosophy, it will be beneficial to identify a specific area of focus that may elucidate elements shared with the Trauerspiel. That an examination of religion can illuminate meaning in an ostensibly secular genre suggests a pertinent locus of association: the progression from mundane foreground to spiritual interpretative background, characteristic of so many readings of Trauerspiele (e.g., Gryphius's *Carolus Stuardus* as an emblem of Christ), is effected by means of allegory.

Allegorical representation, as Benjamin is careful to point out, is not synonymous with symbolic representation. Citing Friedrich Creuzer, he writes that allegory “signifies merely a general concept or an idea which is different from itself [, whereas symbolism] is the very incarnation and embodiment of the idea.”¹ Developing this dichotomy, Benjamin is able to claim that allegory “was sown by Christianity. For it was absolutely

¹ Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: NLB, 1977), 164. It should be noted that not everyone would agree with Benjamin's (and Creuzer's) distinction between allegory and symbol. Angus Fletcher, *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964), 13, for instance, considers the “unhappy controversy [over the difference between ‘allegory’ and ‘symbol’], which begins with Goethe's distinction between the two terms” to be “a primarily historical matter, since it concerns romantic conceptions of the mind, and of ‘imagination’ in particular.” And indeed, Athanasius Kircher, writing in the seventeenth century (i.e., well before the onslaught of Romanticism), defines “symbol” as “the significant sign of a hidden mystery [whose nature is] to lead our minds through meditation on certain similarities to the comprehension of something much different from the thing presented to the external senses, the nature of which can be said to be transcendent or hidden as obscured by a veil.” (Kircher's definition, from his *Obeliscus Aegyptiacus*, is quoted in Don Cameron Allen, *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Pres, 1970), 128. This sounds very much like Benjamin's take on Creuzer's definition of allegory, which, *pace* Fletcher, will be discussed below.

decisive for the development of this mode of thought that not only transitoriness, but also guilt should seem evidently to have its home in the province of idols and of the flesh.”²

The line of reasoning behind this claim might be something like this: Ancient Greek religion was humanistic in orientation. The gods of the pantheon resembled humankind, rather than the other way around.³ They were venerated not as creators standing above creation, but as beings who, though “incomparably lovelier and more powerful” than mortals, and “of course immortal,” were nonetheless very much like humans.⁴ As such, their existence might be viewed as symbolic, for they merely embodied certain ideas of their creators (i.e., humans), rather than referring to something other and incomprehensible. Here the “transitoriness” of the flesh simply does not require allegory; even the gods’ immortality—probably the characteristic that most sets them apart from mortals—is a projection, or incarnation, of an eternal “humanness,” in the Platonic sense.⁵

Christianity, on the other hand, is theistic in orientation. Its God, an uncreated Creator, must, logically, stand outside of creation. His existence, therefore, cannot be described as symbolic, since he is not merely the embodiment of certain ideas, or even the sum total of all created things (including ideas). Rather, descriptions of this God

² Benjamin, 224.

³ “The Greeks made their gods in their own image,” as Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* (London: Penguin Books, 1969), 16, puts it.

⁴ See *ibid.*, 18, for the quotations. For the Greek gods as created beings, see *ibid.*, 24: “The Greeks did not believe that the gods created the universe. It was the other way about: the universe created the gods.”

⁵ Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), 121, interprets the “logical” part of Plato’s theory of ideas thus: “There are many individual animals of whom we can truly say ‘this is a cat.’ What do we mean by the word ‘cat’? Obviously something different from each particular cat. An animal is a cat, it would seem, because it participates in a general nature common to all cats. Language cannot get on without general words such as ‘cat,’ and such words are evidently not meaningless. But if the word ‘cat’ means anything, it means something which is not this or that cat, but some kind of universal cattyness. This is not born when a particular cat is born, and does not die when it dies. In fact, it has no position in space or time; it is ‘eternal’.”

require allegory, as they necessarily refer to something other than what they are or can be.⁶

Yet this was perhaps not always the case, for if, as this tradition submits, humankind was created in God's image, then there must be (or there must have been) a sense in which an essential sameness would abrogate the need for humans to describe God allegorically, as different from themselves. What is the source of this difference, then? The answer is sin. It is through sin that humankind is separated from God; indeed, sin is the mother, so to speak, of death.⁷ Thus the "transitoriness" of human life is the direct result of sin, the "guilt" of which, having "its home in the province of idols and of the flesh," is "absolutely decisive for the development of this mode of thought" (i.e., allegory). In other words, since we are ultimately responsible for our own mortality (via original sin, the fruit of which was our expulsion from a heaven-like Eden⁸), as well as our future immortality (gained by choosing obedience to Christ), the tendency toward allegorical thought is intimately wrapped up with human choice.⁹ The following

⁶ Allegory, of course, is by no means an invention of Christianity. "Allegory is a protean device, omnipresent in Western literature from the earliest times to the modern era," writes Fletcher (1). Still, even Fletcher admits some connection between the use of allegory and the religious—even specifically Christian—outlook: "The terms of my description may suggest that allegory is closely identified with religious ritual and symbolism. This is not an accident. As C. S. Lewis has remarked, 'it would appear that all allegories whatever are likely to seem Catholic to the general reader'" (20). Fletcher concludes: "even without taking a psychoanalytic view, one can show the truth of Lewis' assertion" (21).

⁷ John Milton, for one, speaks so in *Paradise Lost*, where he "allegorizes" sin as the daughter of Satan, by whom Satan begets his "Son and Grandchild" death: "'Fair Daughter, and thou Son and Grandchild both, / High proof ye now have giv'n to be the Race / Of Satan...'" (X.384-86). See as well: "'Sin opening, who thus now to Death began. / 'O Son, why sit we here each other viewing / Idly, while Satan our great Author thrives / In other Worlds, and happier Seat provides / For us his offspring dear?...'" (Book X, lines 234-38). The quotes are taken from John Milton, *Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained*, ed. Christopher Ricks (New York: Signet, 1982), 278 and 274, respectively.

⁸ The use of "fruit" to mean "consequence" borrows from Christopher Ricks's interpretation of "Fruit" in the opening of Milton's *Paradise Lost*: "'Of Man's First disobedience, and the Fruit / Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal taste / Brought Death into the World, and all our woe, / With loss of Eden...'" (I.1-4). See Milton, ed. Ricks, 47.

⁹ This is not to imply that the tendency toward symbolic representation cannot also have something to do with human choice. For example, Porphyry's famous interpretation of Homer's Cave of the Nymphs (from the *Odyssey*, Book XIII) as a symbol of both the material and spiritual worlds might suggest that

discussion, then, will attempt to shed some background light on the concept of free will that seems to be at the heart of the allegorical “mode of thought” so characteristic of the Trauerspiel. This brief summary of ancient and medieval views of humanity’s relationship to divinity will serve to contextualize the peculiarly Renaissance ideas—Luther’s theological reforms¹⁰—that became so crucial in the movement to legitimize German language and theater (including opera).

The Divine Conception: Connections and Distinctions between Scholasticism and Greek Philosophy

It is probably safe to say that in the entire history of Catholic thought no theologians have been more influential, in terms of establishing church doctrine, than Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. “During the first millennium,” writes Josef Pieper, “the Christian idea [was] represented above all by Augustine,” while later Thomas Aquinas came to be “regarded as the ‘universal teacher’ of the Church.”¹¹ It is also no obscure fact that both men based much of their thought on antiquity: St. Augustine drew heavily

Homer chose the picture of the cave precisely because it could serve as such a symbol. (Jon Whitman, *Allegory: The Dynamics of an Ancient and Medieval Technique* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987), 64, discusses Porphyry’s treatise.) Still, there is an overriding sense, in Benjamin’s view, that the very life (so to speak) of allegory in Christian thought is dependent upon human will, for, again, it is our choosing (or having chosen) sin that causes our separation from God, which, in turn, necessitates allegory. It is a matter of choice engendering, ironically, the necessity of an allegorical world, as opposed to choice simply creating more choices, or an indeterminate world. Allegory is, after all, sometimes considered “mechanical,” or determinate, while symbolism is sometimes regarded as “organic,” yielding a variety of hermeneutical fruits. The indeterminate nature of Homer’s cave symbol exemplifies the latter. The description of allegory and symbolism as, respectively, “mechanical” and “organic,” is from Carolyn van Dyke, *The Fiction of Truth: Structures of Meaning in Narrative and Dramatic Allegory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 16.

¹⁰ Luther’s reforms might properly be regarded as a “renaissance” because of their transformative effects on Western culture as a whole. H. G. Koenigsberger, in his Introduction to *Luther: A Profile*, ed. H. G. Koenigsberger (New York: Hill and Wang, 1973), xii, describes the Reformation as “a profound change in religious sensibilities, a change which has affected not only the religious beliefs but the whole intellectual, artistic, and, perhaps even economic and social life of almost half of Europe and most of North America up to the present time. These changes cannot be thought of without Luther.”

¹¹ See Josef Pieper, *Scholasticism: Personalities and Problems of Medieval Philosophy*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 102, for the quote about Augustine, and 128 for the one on Aquinas.

upon Plato, Aquinas upon Aristotle.¹² What is perhaps less clearly understood, though, is precisely how the Platonic and Aristotelian worldviews (as Augustine and Aquinas, respectively, interpret them) differ from one another, and why the latter came to supersede the former, more or less, in Catholic theology.

Speaking generally, much of Plato's philosophy per se—leaving aside Augustine for the moment—can be said to depend upon a distinction between appearance and essence.¹³ It is this distinction that leads, via a discussion of the difference between knowledge and opinion, to the theory of ideas. Plato traces this path in Book V of *The Republic*: If “knowledge is related to what *is*, and ignorance, necessarily, to what *is not*” (477a), then information on entities occupying an intermediate position (between being and non-being) might properly be labeled “opinion” (478d).¹⁴ Since objects presented to the senses can always be described in varying ways—particular things may seem “in a way both beautiful and ugly” (479b), that is, capable of both *being* and *not being* beautiful and ugly—they are matters of opinion, somewhere in between being and non-being.¹⁵ True knowledge can only be had of things that *are* in the fullest sense. These things exist only in a realm of “essence” beyond the sensory world.

Thus according to what Bertrand Russell calls the “metaphysical part of the doctrine” (for the “logical part,” see n. 5, above), “the word ‘cat,’” for example, “means a certain ideal cat, ‘*the cat*’. . . . Particular cats partake of the nature of *the cat*, but more or less imperfectly; it is only owing to this imperfection that there can be many of them.

¹² Etienne Gilson, *The Spirit of Medieval Philosophy*, trans. A. H. C. Downes (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 403-04, in defending the notion of a truly medieval philosophy, writes: “On the supposition that St. Augustine added something to Plato, and that St. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus added something to Aristotle, the history of medieval philosophy will have a proper object.”

¹³ Plato's philosophy,” notes Russell, 119, “rests on the distinction between reality and appearance, which was first set forth by Parmenides.”

¹⁴ Plato, *The Republic*, trans. Desmond Lee (London: Penguin Books, 2003), 199 and 202.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 202-03.

*The cat is real; particular cats are only apparent.*¹⁶ Taking particular objects of the sensory world as real, without being aware of the essential natures of which they merely partake, Plato likens to living in a dream-like state:

Then what about the man who recognizes the existence of beautiful things, but does not believe in beauty itself, and is incapable of following anyone who wants to lead him to a knowledge of it? Is he awake, or merely dreaming? Look; isn't dreaming simply the confusion between a resemblance and the reality which it resembles, whether the dreamer be asleep or awake? (476c)¹⁷

What enlightens minds to reality, moreover, what enables us to perceive the ideas, or forms, behind appearances, must be like the sun, which allows us to see material objects. This source of light is characterized as a “third element” (507d) independent of both perceiver and perceived.¹⁸ Plato conceives of this third element as “the good,” probably because the knowledge of reality requires intelligence, which (in comparison to ignorance) is clearly a good. “The good therefore may be said to be the source not only of the intelligibility of the objects of knowledge, but also of their being and reality; yet it is not itself that reality, but is beyond it, and superior to it in dignity and power” (509b).¹⁹

Clearly Augustine’s conception of God (which is that of much of Christianity) owes something to Plato’s “good.”²⁰ The Christian God, who is good, is the source of all being. His eternal reality—*the* reality—furthermore, is, like Plato’s ideas, behind the transience of the phenomenal world. Where Augustine departs most radically from Plato is in his monotheism. Plato, like other Greeks (including Aristotle), never abandoned

¹⁶ Russell, 121-22.

¹⁷ Plato, trans. D. Lee, 198.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 232.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 234.

²⁰ Gilson, 44, writes: “Plato’s doctrine unquestionably provided Christian speculation with many important elements—notably the Idea of the Good as developed in the Republic—which helped later on to elucidate the philosophical notion of the Christian God.” Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 123, himself writes: “By the Platonic books I was admonished to return into myself.”

polytheism, probably because, as Gilson remarks, he “lacked that clear idea of God which makes it impossible to admit more than one.”²¹ Even if Plato’s pantheon is ruled by a “supreme god” who subordinates “the gods of fable,” Plato nonetheless fails “to reserve a proper and exclusive divinity to this supreme god.”²² Accordingly, such a universe is populated by beings—divine, human, and animal—that all possess, in varying degrees, some divinity.

Augustine, on the other hand, does not fail to claim an “exclusive divinity” for his God, who alone is “supreme” because, again, as creator he stands above all creation.²³ This God, furthermore, is necessarily one, for anything that is not God was created by him, and the created cannot be equal to its creator.²⁴ Nonetheless, there is a sense here in which creatures partake of God’s essence (much as Plato’s material objects partake of natures), to the extent that the “distance” between God and humans can seem almost surmountable. Augustine writes, for example, that “the further away from you [i.e., God] things are, the more unlike you they become,” implying that, in Plotinus’s formulation, “we exist more as we turn to him, less as we turn away.”²⁵

²¹ Gilson, 47. The clear idea to which Gilson refers is probably the idea of God as Creator, creating everything *ex nihilo*, an idea that, at least in its Christian conception, logically allows room for only one God (more on this below). “Plato’s God,” notes Russell, 144, “unlike the Jewish and Christian God, did not create the world out of nothing, but rearranged pre-existing material.”

²² Gilson, 47.

²³ This conception cannot be confused with the idea held by strict Platonists that God “gathers up in Himself ‘the fullness and totality of being’” (see Gilson, 48). Again, God, standing outside of creation, cannot be the mere sum of all that is.

²⁴ It follows that God created out of nothing; the only alternative would be that God created out of himself, which would put creation on more equal footing with him. Thus Augustine, 249, writes: “For you made heaven and earth not out of your own self, or it would be equal to your only-begotten Son and therefore to yourself. It cannot possibly be right for anything which is not of you to be equal to you. Moreover, there was nothing apart from you out of which you could make them, God one in three and three in one. That is why you made heaven and earth out of nothing.”

²⁵ Augustine, 249. For Plotinus, see *ibid.*, 249, n. 7.

That we can become like God is only possible because Augustine (following Plato) conceives of God's essence as good; his Creator "*is pure goodness.*"²⁶ By doing good, we partake of God's essence. Ultimately, then, the good at the source of Plato's reality appears to compromise, to an extent, the "exclusive divinity," and therefore the "oneness," of Augustine's God. The real problem of Plato's (and therefore Augustine's) "good" is that although Plato claims it is "not itself that reality, but is beyond it, and superior to it," goodness, like all other ideas, in fact cannot in this system be understood apart from particulars. It is for this reason that Plato's cosmos contains many ideas, but few real universals. "There are not only beauty, truth, and goodness," writes Russell, but "there is the heavenly bed, . . . a heavenly man, a heavenly dog, a heavenly cat, and so on."²⁷ While all of these ideas—inasmuch as they represent reality—are good, it is not clear that goodness itself would exist without them. Plato's ideas, concludes Russell, "are really just other particulars, ethically and aesthetically superior to the ordinary kind."²⁸

It is precisely Plato's understanding of universals—in particular of "a universal good"—that Aristotle attacks in his *Ethics* (I.vi). "Things are called good in as many senses as they are said to exist," he writes. "Clearly, then, there cannot be a single universal common to all cases, because it would be predicated not in all the categories but

²⁶ Ibid., 114. Emphasis added.

²⁷ Russell, 129-30.

²⁸ Ibid., 127.

in one only” (1096a19-b6).²⁹ The cases, or categories, to which Aristotle refers include the following:³⁰

- (1) a Substance, i.e. a member of a species, e.g. a horse or a man.
- (2) a Quality, e.g. white or cold.
- (3) a Quantity, e.g. three-foot or ten-litre.
- (4) a Relation, e.g. dear (to) or bigger (than).

A universal common to all of these categories would need to be based on or “predicated,” presumably, only in the first one, for, as Aristotle notes, “what exists in its own right, viz. substance, is by nature prior to what is relative (for this is a sort of offshoot or attribute of that which exists)” (1096a19-b6).³¹ That is, since “Relation” (like “Quality” and “Quantity”) is contingent upon “Substance,” the good, if it is universal, should not have to be predicated in all categories. Thus what Aristotle is really criticizing here, again, is Plato’s conception of universal good (or any universal, for that matter) as a particular, or substance; in short, he rejects Plato’s theory of ideas.³²

What Aristotle offers in its place might be viewed as an attempt to divorce “universals”³³ more thoroughly from matter than Plato had. “It seems impossible,” writes Aristotle, “that any universal term should be the name of a substance. For . . . the substance of each thing is that which is peculiar to it, which does not belong to anything else; but the universal is common, since that is called universal which is such as to belong

²⁹ Aristotle, *The Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. J.A.K. Thomson, rev. Hugh Tredennick (London: Penguin Books, 1976), 70. Section vi of Book I bears the heading: “There cannot be a universal good such as Plato held to be the culmination of his Theory of Forms” (1096a3-19) (see *Ethics*, 69).

³⁰ The list, “which must have had its origin in the Academy,” is copied from Hugh Tredennick’s appendix to *Ethics*, 353. Though Tredennick lists 10 categories, he also notes that “the last six are often passed over, since they are all reducible to (2), (3) or (4).”

³¹ *Ethics*, 70.

³² Hugh Tredennick believes that Aristotle misreads Plato on this subject: see *Ethics*, 352.

³³ The term “universal” itself is a refinement of Plato’s “ideas” or “forms.”

to more than one thing.”³⁴ Aristotle’s universals, then, must subsist in the realm of reason, or thought. Being apart from matter, they are “neither sensible nor perishable”—qualities which define as well “the rational soul in man, and also God.”³⁵ Aristotle is thus able to place God, his greatest universal good, in a position of exclusivity relative to matter (including humankind).³⁶ Consequently, “we cannot say of [Aristotle], as we can of Plato, that he regards all that exists as divine.”³⁷

It is this point that Thomas Aquinas takes up to repair, as it were, any erosion of God’s “exclusive divinity” (and therefore “oneness”) suggested by Augustine’s adherence to Plato’s theory of ideas. The problem, though, is that Aristotle’s God, conceived as “the pure act of thought thinking itself,” lacks, inasmuch as “pure being is reduced to pure thought,” the creative efficacy required to author all being.³⁸ This is so because only a God whose essence is pure being could lack nothing: “It would be contradictory to say that what is being by definition could receive anything whatever from outside, for it could receive only what was lacking to its actuality.”³⁹ In other words, if God is not pure actuality—if being is only an aspect of God—then he is capable of receiving something (including being) from outside. If there is anything outside that could add to God, it cannot have been created by him, and he is therefore not the author

³⁴ From *On Interpretation*, 17a, as quoted in Russell, 163.

³⁵ Russell, 167-68.

³⁶ On God as the “greatest universal good,” see *Ethics*, 86, where Aristotle speaks of God as the standard “to which all other goods are referred” (1101b10-31). He also writes that “God possesses the good” (1166a16-b4), to which Hugh Tredennick adds: “and *only* God possesses the supreme good” (294). Regarding God’s “position of exclusivity,” see *ibid.*, 270: “But where there is a great gulf, as between God and man, friendship becomes impossible” (1158b17-1159a9).

³⁷ Gilson, 50.

³⁸ The quotes are from Gilson, 50.

³⁹ Gilson, 53-54.

of all being.⁴⁰ For this reason Aquinas grafts onto Aristotle's exclusive God the concept of essential Being, as opposed to essential thought.⁴¹

It seems clear why the Church would come to prefer "Thomism" over the Augustinian/Platonic view of things: a God who is pure Being is far more securely established as exclusive and one than is a God whose essence is Goodness, for the reason that while humans may choose to do good (and thus increase their share of divinity in the Platonic world), no amount of choosing or striving on our part will appreciably augment our being; death is an inescapable fact of our lives.⁴² Yet why is it so important for the Church to insist upon one exclusive Creator God? There is of course no real answer to that question.⁴³ Monotheism is an article of faith central to the tradition in question. We might just as well ask why there is Judaism, or why there is Christianity. Still, there can be no denying that an altered perception of God means (or perhaps betrays) an altered perception of humankind. In particular, the change from a world in which humans can, to an extent, choose their degree of divinity to a world in which they cannot, must have far-reaching consequences for the notion of (human) free will, to which subject we now turn.

⁴⁰ To argue that God *could* receive something from outside, but that there happens to be nothing there that would add to him (in attempt to suggest that God, as exclusive Creator, need not be pure Being), would be fallacious: if there *happens to be* nothing outside of God that would add to him then there *is* nothing outside not created by him.

⁴¹ According to Gilson, 51, the concept of God as Being comes first from Moses, who, upon asking God his name in *Exodus* iii.13, receives (in *Exodus* iii.14) the answer: *Ego sum qui sum*. Aquinas, moreover, was by no means the first Catholic theologian to make use of this concept. St. Anselm in fact seems to have been the first to put it into "definite shape," at least in the service of a proof of God's existence (see Gilson, 59). Pieper, 68, writes: "The force of [Anselm's] argument rests upon God's in fact representing a unique and incomparable case of Being itself." Gilson, 57-60, also discusses St. Bonaventure and Duns Scotus in connection with the concept; yet it seems to be Aquinas's development of the idea that has had the greatest effect on Catholicism: "The infinity of the *Thomist* God is precisely that outside of which there is nothing," writes Gilson. "It is because God is Form, that He is Infinite Being" (58, emphasis added).

⁴² God as Being, by the way, is still considered good. Thomism simply subordinates good to being: "Goodness is nothing but an aspect of being" (Gilson, 56).

⁴³ A recent, compelling discussion of the evolution of monotheism is found in: Charles Freeman, *The Closing of the Western Mind: The Rise of Faith and the Fall of Reason* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 2003), 69ff.

Scholasticism and Free Will

On the surface, it may appear that the idea of free will would figure more prominently in ancient thought (in Platonism, at any rate) than it would in Scholasticism, since, again, in the former becoming more god-like seems to have been a matter of choosing to do good. Yet, while admitting that the “law” of human freedom is “coeval with the human race,” Gilson nonetheless insists that “what first claims our attention [regarding the matter] is the emphatic way in which the Fathers of the Church insisted on the importance of the concept of freedom.”⁴⁴ Why might this be so?

First of all, the understanding of free will as a kind of eternal law suggests that the medieval belief in the idea was not, in essence, new. For Aquinas, whose views perhaps most clearly represent the Church’s position, human beings possess wills no more or less free than they do for Aristotle, who might most equitably stand in for the ancient Greek point of view. Probably the strongest point of congruence underlying both positions is their common belief in natures, which can be described as “internal principles of operation in beings, [meaning] that every natural being has a true spontaneity, at least in the sense that the principles of their acts are within themselves.”⁴⁵ Will, in other words, is ultimately and irreducibly a matter of individual choice. (Opposed to this is the more modern view in which the innumerable factors that unavoidably impinge upon the “self”—if there is one—play a far more deterministic role in its process of decision making.⁴⁶)

⁴⁴ Gilson, 304.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 305.

⁴⁶ In the introduction to his translation of Augustine, *On Free Choice of the Will* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1993), xi, Thomas Williams refers to the ancient and medieval idea of “metaphysical freedom”—in which individuals choose “in a way that is not determined by anything outside [their] control”—as “libertarianism.” The more modern view that would disallow this metaphysical freedom can

More precisely, it is a matter of individual human choice, for only humans possess reason. Gilson, discussing Aristotle on desire, continues:

Determined to one mode of action only in beings not gifted with knowledge, the nature acquires a certain indetermination in the animals who are offered a plurality of possible objects by sensation; and then it gives birth to what we call appetite or desire. The field of this indetermination is considerably extended in man owing to the fact that he is gifted with an intellect. Capable, in a way, of becoming all things by knowledge, he has a vast multiplicity of things at his disposal, and by means of his will he has to make a choice.⁴⁷

The question thus arises whether free will is in fact contingent upon reason. If so, the notion of will as self-contained and spontaneous suffers compromise, as the irresolute Hamlet, for instance, most vividly shows. If not, free choice might rightfully be imputed to animals as well as to humans.⁴⁸

Aristotle himself seems to leave the matter of reason's role in choice undecided. In the *Ethics* he defines choice as "a deliberate appetite of things that lie in our power" (1112b26-1113a12). Deliberation of course requires reason. Aristotle's "appetition," though, sounds rather more instinctual. Historically this ambiguity led, in Scholasticism, to two lines of thought. On the one hand, will, as Boethius most notably had it, might be considered indeterminate, or free, *because of* reason. Choices are choices only insofar as reason views them as choices. On the other hand, if will is essentially appetite, as Duns Scotus argues, its indeterminacy must be independent even of reason. According to Gilson, it was left to Thomas Aquinas to fuse, or at least to seek a middle way between, these views. In Aquinas's view, writes Gilson, "freedom *resides* in the will as in its root,

nonetheless still allow what Williams calls "physical freedom," defined as the freedom to act merely without any physical restraints.

⁴⁷ Gilson, 305.

⁴⁸ The role of reason in relation to free will is an important theme in Opitz's adaptation of *Dafne*, as we shall see the next chapter.

but it is none the less true that its *cause* lies in the reason.”⁴⁹ The will, in other words, is by nature free, meaning that even upon rational deliberation it remains essentially undetermined; yet paradoxically this freedom would not exist, apparently, were it not for reason.

It is easy to see that this “middle way,” whatever the merits of its intended purpose, is heavily weighted in favor of Boethius’s conception.⁵⁰ The attribution of causes bears far greater implications than does the mere description of a nature. Indeed, the Christian insistence upon God as “causer” of all itself explains why the “Fathers of the Church insisted”—more vehemently than did the Greek philosophers, in Gilson’s view—“on the importance of the concept of freedom.”⁵¹

This becomes particularly evident in considering that, for both the Greeks and the Christians, will is regarded as a means to the end that human nature *naturally* desires, namely happiness.⁵² Because neither Aristotle nor Aquinas doubts that the individual *can* and *does* choose how to achieve happiness, whatever differences may exist in the

⁴⁹ Gilson, 320. Emphases added. For a discussion of Boethius and Duns Scotus on free will, see *ibid.*, 310-13. Gilson cites the following sources: Duns Scotus, *Opus Oxoniense*, II, 25, I, 22-24; Scotus, *In lib. Metaphysicam*, lx, 15; Boethius, *In lib. de Interpretatione*: editio secunda.

⁵⁰ Though Aquinas himself may not have admitted this, it is difficult to interpret his position otherwise: “Wherever there is intelligence there is free-will, and the more intelligence there is by so much is there the more liberty.” (The quotation is Gilson’s reading of a passage from Thomas’s *Summa Theologiae*. See Gilson, 321 and 472, n. 20.)

⁵¹ The implication here is that Aquinas, and thus the medieval Church, ultimately chose to emphasize reason as the *cause* of the will’s freedom (rather than superordinating the idea of freedom *residing* in the will) because of the Church’s overall interest in attributing everything to a first Cause. Reason itself—which Augustine considers the highest part of human nature (see *On Free Choice of the Will*, 40)—is granted supreme control over a nature possessing “the efficacy of second causes as issue of the creative fecundity” (Gilson, 322). Additionally, an interest in human reason per se is crucial to medieval theology in general. Thus Boethius, “one of the founders of scholasticism” (Pieper, 38), advises Pope John I: “As far as you are able, join faith to reason” (Pieper, 37).

⁵² Thus Aristotle, *Ethics*, 116, writes: “Wish is more concerned with the end, and choice with the means. . . . We actually say ‘we wish to be happy,’ but to say ‘we choose to be happy’ is incongruous” (1111b5-31). And paraphrasing Aquinas, Gilson, 319, has this to say: “Nor is there any difficulty when we consider the will as choosing the means to the end; the choice is free beyond all doubt. Man, indeed, does not choose his end; necessarily he wants to be happy merely on account of his nature as man; but various routes to happiness lie open, and he is free to choose what seems to him the best for the purpose.”

valuation of choosing must be due to different understandings of “happiness.” For the Greeks, to be happy was to be good, or god-like. Aristotle writes that “we call the gods ‘happy’ or ‘blessed’, a term which we apply also to such men as most closely resemble the gods[,] . . . God and the Good [being] the standards to which all other goods are referred” (1101b10-31).⁵³ Happiness, moreover, was considered a final end, in the sense that “we always choose it for itself, and never for any other reason” (1097a15-b2).⁵⁴ That is, because happiness was understood as participation in the highest thing imaginable—i.e., goodness, the very essence of the gods—being good (*willing* good) was its own reward, so to speak.

In medieval Christianity happiness was also perceived as a kind of participation in the highest thing imaginable. But here, again, the essence of God (the highest thing imaginable) was not Goodness; it was Being. Consequently willing to do good, though essential to happiness, was not in itself sufficient for happiness. Rather than being its own final end, goodness *was* to be chosen for another reason: to acquire more being, or eternal life. Thus the only true happiness for the Christian consisted in understanding something of the essence of his Creator;⁵⁵ one’s proper end could only be found by examining one’s metaphysical origins.

It should be obvious, then, why free will would figure more prominently in Christianity than in Greek thought. By choosing to live as well as possible (by following God) the Christian would be rewarded with eternal bliss. This incentive was missing for the Greeks because their gods, not being conceived as creators of the universe, were

⁵³ *Ethics*, trans. J.A.K. Thomson, 86.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵⁵ It of course would not be possible to acquire completely the essence of God, for true eternity means no beginning—which would require no creation—as well as no end to life.

incapable of bestowing a fuller, more eternal Being upon their followers. Yet there was an apparent weakness in the Christian conception of free will. Although we can freely choose to do good rather than evil, no amount of good-deed-doing, of itself, will increase our participation in Being. Eternal life, then, must be given by God, quite independently of our actions, which is to say, essentially, that there is no efficacy of human will vis-à-vis salvation. It is precisely this point that Luther, as well as other reformers, seized upon in denying free will.

Luther and Free Will

To be fair, the Catholic position on free will never actually included the claim that the mere performance of good deeds alone could result in salvation. Will, again, was regarded as a means to a desired end (happiness) that was, as it were, predetermined. This clearly follows the position of Aristotle, who writes: “To say ‘we choose to be happy’ is incongruous, because in general choice seems to be concerned with acts that lie in our own power” (1111b5-31).⁵⁶ Though we do freely choose our acts, then, the *result* of our choices—which in Christianity could be either salvation or damnation—is ultimately not in our control. In a sense, the Church’s stance was (and is) that we are in perpetual servitude to either righteousness or sinfulness; what we choose is our servitude. Paul states this most clearly in his letter to the Romans (VI.20-23):

When you were slaves of sin, you were free in regard to righteousness. But then what return did you get from the things of which you are now ashamed? The end of those things is death. But now that you have been set free from sin and have become slaves of God, the return you get is sanctification and its end, eternal life. For the wages of sin is death, but the free gift of God is eternal life in Christ Jesus our Lord.

⁵⁶ *Ethics*, 116. Cf. n. 52, above.

Medieval theologians were of course no less familiar than Luther was with this last sentence, which understands eternal life not as something achieved, but as something received via what had become known as the grace of God. What the Catholic church had adopted regarding the relationship between free will and eternal life was a doctrine of “efficacy of second causes,” which makes humans “coadjutors and co-operators” with God in their own salvation.⁵⁷ This doctrine affirms at once the importance and the insufficiency of human actions.⁵⁸ It implies that while God *could* simply bestow eternal life without regard to our actions, he nonetheless requires us to *choose* to accept it, and choosing salvation demands certain actions (as does choosing damnation).

The only alternatives to this doctrine would be to assert either that we have complete efficacy, which would lead to the absurdity that we can grant ourselves eternal life, or that we have no efficacy, in which case all actions—good, bad, or indifferent—would be equally futile. Luther clearly espoused the latter view, because he believed the former to be its only, albeit absurd, alternative. The idea of humans as efficacious second causes represented to him an unacceptable compromise of God’s omnipotence:

What can be anywhere below, above, within or without the Word and work of God, except God himself? But what is here left to grace and the Holy Ghost? This is plainly to ascribe divinity to ‘free will!’⁵⁹

Nor was Luther the first to object to the idea of God’s grace being, as it were, controlled, or summoned, by human choice. St. Augustine, in “reconsidering” his own tract *On Free Choice of the Will*, wrote:

⁵⁷ See Gilson, 322.

⁵⁸ Procreation might perhaps provide a good analogy: A man and a woman are said to *beget* a child because, properly speaking, they cannot *create* one. Yet were it not for the actions of the couple, the child would not come into existence.

⁵⁹ From *The Bondage of the Will* (1525), quoted in Lennart Pinomaa, “The Doctrine of Predestination,” in *Luther: A Profile*, ed. H.G. Koenigsberger (New York: Hill and Wang, 1973), 189. Luther’s tract was a response to attacks by Erasmus of Rotterdam.

Unless the divine grace by which the will is freed preceded the act of the will, it would not be grace at all. It would be given in accordance with the will's merits, whereas grace is given freely.⁶⁰

Luther did, however, reject free will more absolutely than had many before him.

Augustine, for example, certainly did not intend to replace human choice with God's grace in his "Retractationes"; he sought, rather, to include both in his theology. If his grace "given freely" seems incompatible with his earlier cogent arguments in favor of free will (in *On Free Choice of the Will*), it must be remembered that what prompted Augustine's *retractatio*, as Thomas Williams notes, was his desire "to distance himself from the Pelagians, a heretical group that had claimed to find support for their views in Augustine's writings on free choice."⁶¹ In his desire to distance himself, that is, Augustine may well have overstated the case for God's grace.

Luther's writings on grace were of course prompted as well by a perceived threat parading under the banner of free will, or good works: the Church's sale of indulgences, which was clearly an abuse of a Catholic doctrine that had, at least since Augustine, included provisos for God's grace.⁶² Whether or not Luther initially overstated *his* case for grace, he ultimately did reject the idea of free choice as a means to salvation.⁶³ This,

⁶⁰ *On Free Choice of the Will*, 127. Thomas Williams translates *Retractationes* as "Reconsiderations" rather than "Retractions." He writes, "often Augustine is perfectly satisfied with what he finds in his earlier writings" (124). This is certainly true of *On Free Choice of the Will*, for in the *Retractationes* Augustine cites numerous passages in which he had given ample place to the notion of God's grace, alongside that of human free will (see 124-29). More on this below.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁶² Luther was certainly aware of this. It is well known that he had no intention, at least in the beginning, to break from the Church; he simply wished to do something about correcting such abuses.

⁶³ One wonders to what extent Luther's work on grace was inspired by Augustine. Bernhard Lohse, *Martin Luther: An Introduction to His Life and Work*, trans. Robert C. Schultz (Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1986), 145, identifies the influence of Augustine on the young Luther as an area of particular interest to current research. In this connection, Lohse et al. "are concerned not only with the extent of such influence but also with the independent way in which Luther received this influence, including the possibility of a 'productive misunderstanding'" (145).

apparently, was the inescapable consequence of a view that held God's omnipotence to be uncompromisingly deterministic:

For if we believe it to be true that God foreknows and predestines all things, that he can neither be mistaken in his foreknowledge nor hindered in his predestination, and that nothing takes place but as he wills it (as reason itself is forced to admit), then on the testimony of reason itself there cannot be any free choice in man or angel or any creature.⁶⁴

It should be noted, though, that Luther did not go so far as to deny the efficacy of human decisions in "temporal affairs," where, as Luther put it, one "needs no other light than reason's. . . . God does not teach us in the Scriptures how to build houses, make clothing, marry, wage war, navigate, and the like. For here the light of nature is sufficient." Rather, Luther confined his disbelief in free will to the realm that mattered to him the most: that of the spirit and its relation to God. Thus he insists that this "light of nature" is "in godly affairs . . . where man must do what is acceptable with God and be saved thereby . . . absolutely stone-blind."⁶⁵ Hence we find in Luther a "fundamental dualism of an earthly and a heavenly kingdom," a chasm between humans and God more profound than even Aquinas had imagined.⁶⁶

Confined to the earthly realm, human activity—because it, of its own power, has no access to the heavenly realm—possesses, with regard to salvation, a certain futility. Yet Luther clearly does not consider the quality of this activity (good, bad, or indifferent) inconsequential with regard to its own realm. His severe rebuke of the peasants in their revolt betrays a high regard for a temporal authority against which actions should be

⁶⁴ From *The Bondage of the Will*, quoted in Lohse, 68. Here, too, one wonders whether Luther's stance perhaps resulted from a willful "misunderstanding" of Augustine: In *On Free Choice of the Will* Augustine addresses—among much else, of course—precisely the apparent incompatibility of God's foreknowledge of all with human free will, both of which he believes in. Augustine concludes that God's foreknowledge of our acts in no way makes our acts less free; rather than predetermining our actions, God simply foreknows what choices we will make. (See, especially, 74-77.)

⁶⁵ B.A. Gerrish, "Luther's Belief in Reason," in *Luther: A Profile*, 198.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 198.

judged.⁶⁷ This high regard is based on a firm belief that temporal powers receive their authority from God. Common people, too, occupy social positions “ordained of God: it is here that man finds his calling—be it even in milking the cows and plowing the fields—not in the monasteries.” Thus to be “dutifully engaged in what the papists superciliously call ‘lay works’,” that is, to be obedient to secular institutions—and the entire earthly realm might, in Luther’s cosmos, be properly labeled “secular”—is to be pious, albeit indirectly.⁶⁸ Insofar as life in this world is “about” conducting oneself properly with respect to a higher power, then, the earthly realm can be “read” as an allegory for the heavenly realm; life in the former is a kind of trial run for life in the latter.⁶⁹

Walter Benjamin summarizes:

By denying [good works] any special miraculous spiritual effect, making the soul dependent on grace through faith, and making the secular-political sphere a testing ground for a life which was only indirectly religious, [Lutheranism instilled] into the people a strict sense of obedience to duty, but in its great men it produced melancholy.⁷⁰

This obedience to duty, a “purely formal sense of moral obligation,” could grant a certain comfort or meaning in life to those not in power, for unless they looked beyond their duty, they found in themselves, ironically, a certain power of choice.⁷¹ But those in power, obliged to obey only a divine will unaffected by their own power, were, because of this constant reminder of their impotence, prone to melancholy. Thus it is no coincidence that “the great German dramatists of the baroque were Lutherans” and that

⁶⁷ Lohse, 55-56.

⁶⁸ The two preceding quoted passages are from Gerrish, 201.

⁶⁹ Thus Gordon Rupp, “Luther and Government,” in *Luther: A Profile*, 131, writes that the “earthly government is a kind of parable of the spiritual kingdom.”

⁷⁰ Benjamin, 138.

⁷¹ The quote is from Gerrish, 199.

“the laws which govern the *Trauerspiel* [i.e., a genre full of suffering and death,] are to be found . . . at the heart of mourning.”⁷²

Lutheranism and the Trauerspiel

In fact, many of the characteristics of the *Trauerspiel* correspond to the Lutheran worldview. The preference for historical plots, for example, makes sense: what God ultimately has planned for humanity—salvation through grace (“Heil”)—can be grasped only insofar as it is revealed to the world of human comprehension, manifesting itself in the events of history (“Geschichte”).⁷³ The empathy of an ordinary Baroque spectator for a depicted monarch, though perhaps odd for modern sensibilities, is in fact perfectly congruous with the Lutheran sense of obedience to temporal powers. The penchant for depicting the pomp surrounding these monarchies represents, at least for Benjamin, “an escape from the restrictions of [this] pious domesticity,” as well as “a response to the natural affinity of pensiveness [characteristic of mournfulness] for gravity.”⁷⁴

Above all, though, it is the allegorical mode of thought in the *Trauerspiel* that accords with Lutheranism. A world in which a king’s authority represents divine will is a world in which Andreas Gryphius can “model” the trial and execution of a tyrant like Charles I on “the passion and crucifixion of Christ.”⁷⁵ Obviously, this type of allegory is

⁷² Benjamin, 138 and 139.

⁷³ It is probably for this reason that Luther considers natural reason, despite its limits, “the greatest, the inestimable, gift of God” to this world. (The quoted words are Gerrish’s: see 201.)

⁷⁴ Benjamin, 140. Benjamin’s understanding here relies on Luther’s firm division of earthly and heavenly realms: ostentation is at once a display of the highest that the material realm—and the earthly kingdom is essentially material—has to offer, in the eyes of the peasant, and for the king, an escape from the accustomed mournfulness into some semblance (even if it is illusory) of power.

⁷⁵ Judith Popovich Aikin, *German Baroque Drama* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 51. Aikin argues that Gryphius’s literary exculpation of Charles Stuart (*Carolus Stuardus*) was prompted by his (Gryphius’s) horror at the “blasphemous” popular uprising against the king (see 50-52). Luther of course had reason to emphasize the divine right of kings far more than Catholics did: by rejecting the authority of the pope, Luther accepted secular powers as the highest earthly servants of God. (Luther regarded bishops

not based on a belief in free will; the Trauerspiel is essentially “mournful” because its sense of determinism nullifies human causality (as it pertains to questions of eternity, or “salvation”). Its protagonists (kings and other temporal powers) suffer, for instance, not on account of their sins, but, as in the case of Christ, because God wills it. By contrast, the protagonists of Greek tragedy, though they certainly have fate to contend with, do nevertheless *contend* with it, achieving a modicum of control over their lot not possible for their Baroque “heirs.” “A hero, in the Greek sense,” writes Moses Hadas, “is a man who by his extraordinary career has pushed back the horizons of what is possible for humanity and is therefore deemed worthy of commemoration after his death.”⁷⁶

If the Christian tendency toward allegorical thought, then, is, as posited earlier, intimately wrapped up with human choice, the Trauerspiel must represent (in its approach to allegory) something of an anomaly. Lutheranism’s firm separation of heaven and earth (heaven being inaccessible via human effort) can in fact undermine the representative quality of the action. Allegory can be outweighed by the sheer realism of the spectacle, in other words.⁷⁷ Perhaps this is why the genre did not survive the seventeenth century intact: the unrelenting bleakness of its worldview must eventually have proven

as responsible only for the “ministry of the gospel,” at a time when “it was customary for the bishops to exercise both spiritual and secular authority” (Lohse, 179-80).) Thus Paul Althaus’s contention that—in Bernhard Lohse’s phrasing—“Luther’s viewpoint left no room for the Christian congregation to engage in social criticism as part of its activity and therefore also did not permit it to engage in activities that would help to shape and form society” (Lohse, 190). See also John Neville Figgis, *The Divine Right of Kings* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 15: “That to the Reformation was in some sort due the prevalence of the notion of the Divine Right of Kings is generally admitted.” Figgis couches the Divine Right theory in terms of a political struggle: “It is as an anti-clerical weapon of independence that the theory had its greatest value and fulfilled its most noteworthy function. In opposition to the claims of the Pope to sovereignty by Divine Right, men formulated the claims of the King to sovereignty by a right that is not inferior” (257).

⁷⁶ See the introduction to Sophocles, *The Complete Plays*, trans. Richard Claverhouse Jebb, ed. Moses Hadas (New York: Bantam Books, 1988), xi.

⁷⁷ As we shall see in Chapter 5, Andreas Gryphius balanced this realism through the regular appearance of choruses (the “Reyen”) that explicate the allegory in the preceding action. One could in fact argue that the stark realism of the plot exposition necessitated the appearance of the explicatory chorus (if the allegory was to be grasped). Cf. Introduction.

intolerable to all but the most confirmed Lutherans. This bleakness is embodied, literally, in one of the genre's most prevalent images, the corpse, which for Benjamin is "in the Trauerspiel of the seventeenth century . . . quite simply the pre-eminent emblematic property."⁷⁸ A dead body will of course represent to the pious spectator an individual's entry into eternity, whether it be an eternity of bliss or torment. But to the less-than-fervent believer a stage strewn with corpses must eventually serve more as a reminder of human inefficacy in the face of mortality.

Understood thus, death would pertain to the Trauerspiel itself—i.e., as a genre—no less than to the reality it depicts. One could hardly expect a literary mode of representation to survive when what it chiefly represents (through the corpse, its "pre-eminent emblematic property") is the literal end of life.⁷⁹ Yet even the most confirmed literalist cannot hold that whatever new entity comes to occupy the void following in the wake of a death bears no relationship to its predecessor.⁸⁰ It is perhaps for this reason that Benjamin speaks not so much of the demise as of the "*dissolution* of the Trauerspiel into opera."⁸¹

Trauerspiel, Opera, and the Development of German Theater

If opera can in any way be said to have replaced the Trauerspiel, then one might expect to find in opera some "leftovers" from the Trauerspiel and, conversely, in the

⁷⁸ Benjamin, 218.

⁷⁹ This brings up the topic of humankind's seemingly timeless fascination with graphic violence and the question of whether the representation of death might have been the genre's chief draw, rather than its doom, so to speak. While it cannot be known what was in spectators' minds, it is clear that devout playwrights like Andreas Gryphius calculated dramatic effect in spiritual terms. Spectators likely could not help but perceive the inner message of the drama, which in light of the realistic plot exposition must have been sobering indeed. More on the theology of Gryphius's Trauerspiele in Chapter 5.

⁸⁰ If there were no relationship, no sense that the new entity possessed some element of its predecessor, one would not perceive the new as "occupying the void," or replacing, the old.

⁸¹ Benjamin, 212. Emphasis added.

Trauerspiel some prefiguring of German opera. Of course, the Trauerspiel cannot be said to have preceded German opera, exactly. For instance, *Dafne* (1627)—considered by many the first opera in German—has a libretto by Martin Opitz, who himself preceded the full flowering of the Trauerspiel. To be sure, there is some dispute whether this *Dafne* is truly *German* opera. Opitz’s text is an adaptation of the libretto by Rinuccini, for one thing. For another, Schütz may well have taken some of his musical cues from his only available model, an Italian one.⁸² Unfortunately, we shall never know how German Schütz’s setting was. His score is lost, apparently irretrievably. Still, this version of *Dafne* may be thought to represent at least the *desire* for viable German opera, given the choice of Opitz as translator/librettist. Having recently published his *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* (1624), Opitz was very much at the forefront of a movement claiming German “as a normal literary language.”⁸³

This movement was to produce in 1644—around the time Gryphius was writing his first original Trauerspiele—what Aikin has called “the first original German libretto,” Harsdörffer’s *Seelewig*, set to music by Sigmund Staden.⁸⁴ *Seelewig* exemplifies not only Harsdörffer’s belief in “opera as the quintessential theatrical form,” as Gloria Flaherty puts it, but also, and perhaps more significantly, his desire for “genuinely

⁸² See John Warrack, *German Opera: From the Beginnings to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 19. Warrack believes that Schütz’s score may have been little more than an arrangement of Peri’s 1598 setting. This seems unlikely, however, given the extent to which Opitz adapted (as opposed to merely translating) the libretto. Warrack mentions as well that “the text is laid out in the familiar form of a token narrative with strophic songs, dances and choruses, and, as opera, does not appear to represent a quantitative advance on previous German example” (18-19). Presumably, the “previous German example” to which Warrack refers is Jesuit drama of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, which often included choruses, dance, and even recitatives with short arias (see, especially, 8-9). If this *Dafne* is to be considered opera at all—whether truly German or merely “Germanized” Italian—depends largely on whether Jesuit drama can be regarded a kind of early opera. (If it *can be*, this *Dafne* obviously cannot be considered the first German opera.) This is a matter of some dispute: “There is disagreement as to whether the Jesuit tradition at its peak should be denied the status of music drama . . . or is the true ancestor of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*” (10). More on *Dafne* in the next chapter.

⁸³ Warrack, 20.

⁸⁴ Aikin, 133.

German operas” that would present “heroic deeds and Christian virtues.”⁸⁵ Harsdörffer’s aims, maintains Warrack, constitute a firm “rejection of Italian opera as being affected, artificial and (worst of all) foreign.”⁸⁶ Much less than following the Trauerspiel, then, German opera—or at least the desire for it—seems rather to have appeared more or less concurrently with it, or, perhaps, even to have preceded it. Still, German opera as represented by Harsdörffer and Staden can hardly be thought to have matured fully, whereas the Trauerspiel is generally considered to have reached its high point in the mid-century works of Gryphius and Lohenstein. Any talk of the Trauerspiel “dissolving” into opera must therefore be understood as one “flowering” giving way to another. Yet how, precisely, are these two “flowerings” related?

In the two “operas” from the first half of the century, we find some of the tendencies that would become associated with the mature Trauerspiel. The allegory-weakening realism that results from Lutheranism’s stark separation of heaven and earth, for example, is found already in Opitz’s *Dafne*. The use of poetic music (and actual music) to convey a particular spiritual message—a technique prominent in Gryphius—is one of the striking features of *Seelewig*. Obviously, in their early development German opera and the Trauerspiel were closely related, conceptually speaking. There is perhaps little point in trying to determine which genre had the stronger influence (so to speak) on the other in this early stage; both were part of a larger effort to establish, on Protestant grounds, a theater that was uniquely German.

In the latter part of the century, however, the picture begins to change. The increasing popularity of Italian opera produced a demand for a kind of music that went

⁸⁵ Gloria Flaherty, *Opera in the Development of German Critical Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 14.

⁸⁶ Warrack, 21.

beyond the scope of the Trauerspiel. In Walter Benjamin's view this demand inflated the Trauerspiel's own incipient "operatic impulses" (musical overtures, choruses, choreographic interludes) to the point of generic erosion. Indeed, the operatic germ, in Benjamin's estimation, helped bring about the downfall of the Trauerspiel: mourning, the "soul" of the Trauerspiel, disappears as the "self-indulgent delight in sheer sound" weakens "the obstacle of meaning"; moreover, "allegory, where it is not omitted, [becomes] a hollow façade."⁸⁷

In this view, music is clearly effective and appropriate in the Trauerspiel only insofar as it serves the drama and underscores the theological "message." The degree to which music is chiefly about itself, in other words, is the degree to which opera and the Trauerspiel are at cross purposes. Of course, music had already, by the seventeenth century, long been used in the service of specifically Germanic pursuits. As John Warrack points out, Martin Luther's opposition to "the use of Latin melodies setting German words" manifested his precept "that everything in [a chorale] melody should grow from the inflections of the German language."⁸⁸ And the use of these melodies in Protestant school dramas no doubt broadened the appeal of the new theology. Indeed, the rise of the correspondingly propagandistic Jesuit drama, which in many respects (including musically) outdid the theatricality of the Protestant drama, has been viewed as

⁸⁷ See Benjamin, 211-13.

⁸⁸ Warrack, 5, excerpts a letter from Luther to Nikolaus Hausmann: "mihi prorsus non placet, notas Latinas super verba germanica seruari" (Luther, 1883, *Briefwechsel*, 26 Mar. 1525) ('I am absolutely opposed to the use of Latin melodies setting German words'). Actually, Luther was in fact not always opposed to using Latin melodies, but he did recommend altering them to better suit the German language. Paul Nettl, *Luther and Music*, trans. Frida Best and Ralph Wood (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), 78, writes, for example: "Proof of [Luther's] linguistic, musical, and psychological insight is the fact that, in using the German language, he dispensed with the melisms [*sic*] and ligatures of the Gregorian chorale, so that only one note fell on each syllable."

a reaction to the “missionary” effectiveness of the latter.⁸⁹ It is in no way odd, then, that later secular (albeit intrinsically Lutheran) German drama would continue to incorporate music.

Nor is it odd that conservative Protestant clergy—mainly Pietists—would later campaign so vociferously against the successful combination of music and secular drama witnessed at the Hamburg opera, for here music participated in an “extravagance” that was clearly “destructive to the Christian way of life.”⁹⁰ In fact, these denunciations by the Pietists, claims Flaherty, effectively liberated opera from “religious jurisdiction” and made it “all the rage.”⁹¹ Musico-dramatic works, in other words, were acceptable to strongly religious Protestants only insofar as such works promulgated a Christian worldview. And there is every indication that German opera, before its “liberation” in Hamburg, sought to do just that. Harsdörffer, for example, clearly believed that this “quintessential theatrical form” should, if it was to be truly German, present “Christian virtues.”⁹² So long as its music and drama served this aim, then, early German opera seems to have been compatibly wed with the Trauerspiel. The “self-indulgent delight in sheer sound” that Benjamin considers (as it were) grounds for the separation of the genres was undoubtedly more characteristic of later German opera (i.e., in Hamburg).

To be sure, the Hamburg “enterprise,” as John Warrack calls early opera in the Hanseatic city, was not entirely secular and international. The Gänsemarkt opera house opened, for example, with *Der erschaffene, gefallene und auffgerichtete Mensch*, or *Adam und Eva* (on 2 January 1678). Later the house staged *Die Geburt Christi* (1681)

⁸⁹ See *ibid.*, 6-7.

⁹⁰ Flaherty, 20.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 14. The words quoted here are Flaherty’s.

and *Cain und Abel* (1689), with texts by Christian Heinrich Postel, who, as Warrack notes, was heavily invested in “the debate concerning the nature and practice of the emergent German opera.”⁹³ Still, interest in such biblical works—which were “to a considerable extent shaped by the German school drama”⁹⁴—seems to have been less than constant in Hamburg, where operas like Johann Franck’s *Cara Mustapha* (1686), “really the story of the disordered passions of the Turkish commander” (despite “a religious element”), and Conradi’s *Die schöne und getreue Ariadne* (1691), a “cosmopolitan mixture of Venetian, German and French musical styles,” seem to have been more successful.⁹⁵

One could say, then, that beginning in Hamburg Lutheranism no longer served as a *primary* ideological guide in the development of German opera. However, the Protestant worldview—the means by which pre-Hamburg composers and dramatists sought to establish a uniquely German theater—nonetheless had some degree of influence on later German opera. The Lutheran “germ” took root, and occasionally flourished, in some unexpected places. As we shall see, the dramatic model of the Trauerspiel did much to enable this later influence. Before examining the Trauerspiel as an operatic paradigm, however, we will explore the influence of Lutheranism on German opera’s earliest surviving exemplars, *Dafne* (in Chapter 3) and *Seelewig* (in Chapter 4).

⁹³ Warrack, 37.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁹⁵ The quotes on the latter two works are from Warrack, 38 and 52, respectively.

CHAPTER 3

Dafne and the Beginnings of German Opera

Marriage as a means of strengthening political alliances is an act driven by a kind of necessity: its two primary participants are moved less by their own volition than by some will, or need, imposed from without. It seems appropriate, then, that in 1627, at Torgau, the Saxon Elector Johann Georg I would desire a performance of *Dafne*—the story of a powerful god (Apollo) compelled by passion (by Cupid) to pursue union with a nymph (Daphne)—for the wedding of his daughter Sophie Eleonore to the Landgrave Georg II of Hessen-Darmstadt. Indeed, this was to be a marriage of particular importance, or even necessity. The unlikely political union of Saxony—the most powerful Lutheran principality of the time—with the comparatively obscure Lutheran Landgraviate of Hessen could only have been forged under the pressures of the Thirty Years War, during which no principality could long avoid displaying either its Catholic pro-Habsburg or Protestant anti-Habsburg stripes.¹

The participants in this coupling, though, wished to maintain their respective positions without directly confronting either the Habsburgs or Catholicism, a stance that for a time directed the Holy Roman Empire's offensive toward those who were openly contentious (especially the Bohemians), allowing more moderate Protestants to consolidate. Johann Georg thereby managed to create a precarious balance between control over northern German Protestants and a loose subjection to the Empire, but his

¹ For a concise overview of the Thirty Years War, see Ronald G. Asch, *The Thirty Years War: The Holy Roman Empire and Europe, 1618-48* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

legacy was ultimately the establishment of Lutheranism as a permanent presence in the political life of Germany. Interestingly, the chosen entertainment for his daughter's wedding was to have something of a parallel effect in the cultural life of Germany: German opera, which had its "Vorbild" or model in *Dafne*, developed a lasting presence not by unequivocally rejecting its great Italian antecedent, but, rather, by adapting that genre's means to its own ends.

Though Johann Georg's motives for ordering a translation of *Dafne* are not known, his desire for a musical, as well as textual, adaptation suggests that he wanted a thoroughly German version of the original. And who better to produce this musical adaptation than Johann Georg's court composer Heinrich Schütz, who, as a great admirer and student of Italian music, was certain to treat the original with a great deal of respect. Just how "German" Schütz made his version, though, is a mystery that remains buried with the score.² It can be surmised, however, that Schütz's artistic outlook, which Basil Smallman describes as "essentially Teutonic," would have made the composer amenable to whatever Germanic project his employer may have had in mind.³

² Rinuccini's libretto was set by Peri in 1598 and again by Gagliano in 1608. As some writers point out, it is not even known whether Schütz composed new music or merely arranged one of the earlier Italian settings. John Warrack, *German Opera: From the Beginnings to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 18-20, argues that Schütz's setting was probably little more than an arrangement, while Basil Smallman, *Schütz* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 33, simply acknowledges that "it is not known whether Schütz's contribution was wholly original or in part an adaptation of Peri's (or even Gagliano's) music to the new German text." However, considering Opitz's advocacy of German poetry, and the extent to which Opitz altered the libretto (more on this below), it is difficult to imagine that Schütz could have merely adapted one of the earlier settings, without extensively rewriting. Regarding Schütz's (and Opitz's) connection to the Torgau festivities, Hans Joachim Moser, *Heinrich Schütz: His Life and Work*, trans. Carl F. Pfatteicher (St. Louis: Concordia, 1959), 125, notes that the premiere is "almost lost sight of in the court accounts," yet does cite an account of the event. The later publication of the text, in Opitz's *Weltliche Poemata* of 1644, also names Schütz as the composer and mentions the performance in 1627. There is a modern reprint: Opitz, Martin. *Weltliche Poemata, 1644*, ed. Erich Trunz (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967). "Schütz's score," according to Moser, "was doubtless completely destroyed in the Dresden fire of 1760" (125).

³ Smallman, 6. Smallman finds evidence of Schütz's artistic aims in Schütz's adherence to modal writing, "an integral part of his Protestant cultural inheritance from the time of Luther," and in the criticism Schütz levels, in the preface to his *Symphoniae sacrae* of 1629, against Italian composers who abandoned

The esteemed Silesian poet Martin Opitz, who, like Schütz, both admired Italian culture and desired to develop German culture further, was an apt choice to collaborate on the adaptation of *Dafne*: his translation of Rinuccini's libretto served to introduce pastoral poetry and madrigalian verse into German literature,⁴ yet it did so in thoroughly "German" terms. These terms, regarding language, had been laid out in the *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624), where Opitz recommended replacing the common "neo-Latin-style" manner of versification with "a pattern of alternating stressed and unstressed syllables which coincided with the natural stress patterns of German words."⁵

Opitz also had something to say in his treatise about the inner content of poetry. His second chapter (on the origins and purpose of poetry) begins: "Poetry was originally nothing other than hidden theology and instruction in divine things."⁶ Opitz then argues for the continuing validity of the idea of poetry as moral instruction, as propagated (as he

modes "in favour of 'new delights' (recenti titillatione) with which they sought to 'charm modern ears'" (6).

⁴ Judith P. Aikin, *German Baroque Drama* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 30. Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey (1624)*, ed. Richard Alewyn (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1966), 37-38, writes that "[German poets] cannot pay heed to the length of syllables, as in the manner of the Greeks and Latins" ("nicht zwar das wir auff art der griechen unnd lateiner eine gewisse grösse der sylben können inn acht nemen"). He recommends, rather, that poets "recognize from the accents and the tone, which syllables should be set high and which low" ("das wir aus den accenten unnd dem thone erkennen / welche sylbe hoch unnd welche niedrig gesetzt soll werden"). Opitz follows this with a pair of examples with regularly alternating accents: iambic = "Erhalt uns Herr bey deinem wort"; trochaic = "Mitten wir im leben sind." (Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the German are mine.) Numerous authors point out, as Aikin, 30, does, that Opitz's alexandrine lines—which, unlike French alexandrines, aimed at a fairly regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables—"were to be the chosen verse for German tragedy until the mid-eighteenth century." Yet despite Aikin's further comment here that Opitz's "songlike free-verse choruses likewise influenced all later usage," she argues, in a later article, that Opitz's transformation of the irregular patterns typical of Italian madrigal poetry into lines with predictably regular numbers of beats stifled the development of German recitative (and therefore opera). Thus her claim that "Schütz did not find Opitz's versification in *Dafne* charming or potentially musical." See Judith P. Aikin, "Creating a Language for German Opera: The Struggle to Adapt Madrigal Versification in Seventeenth-Century Germany," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 62 (1988): 266-89, esp. 267-71. (The quote is found on 269.)

⁶ Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*, ed. Cornelius Sommer (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1983), 12: "Die Poeterey ist anfanges nichts anders gewesen als eine verborgene Theologie / vnd vnterricht von Göttlichen sachen." The second chapter bears the heading "Worzue die Poeterey / vnd wann sie erfunden worden."

sees it) by such “fathers of wisdom” (“Väter der Weisheit”) as Homer and Hesiod.⁷ Nor does he believe that this didactic quality is limited to verse, for figures like Homer and Hesiod were for him “fathers” not just of poetry, but of all wisdom, including that contained in works written in a more “common manner” (“gemeine art”), i.e. prose.⁸ Thus Opitz’s view that “the older a writer is, the closer he seems to come to the poets,”⁹ regardless of whether the writer writes verse or prose: “Thus Casaubonus says that whenever he reads the histories of Herodotus, it seems as if it were Homer himself.”¹⁰

This contrasts markedly with Aristotle, who, as mentioned in Chapter 1, wrote that “the work of Herodotus could be put into verse, and it would be no less a history with verses than without them” (1451a-1451b).¹¹ Aristotle seems to suggest here that history may be written using either prose or poetry. But he also implies that history would remain history (in Herodotus’ scientific sense), even if expressed in verse; he clearly viewed the content of history as essentially different from the content of poetry. Opitz’s view of history and poetry as *essentially* the same goes a long way toward explaining why later German Baroque dramatists like Andreas Gryphius and Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, who were influenced by Opitz, would view history as a proper dramatic subject.¹²

⁷ Ibid., 13. Opitz sets himself apart here from contemporary opinion, noting “wie viel vnwissende leute heutiges tages . . . / gemeinet / es begehre kein Poete durch vnterrichtung / sondern alle bloß durch ergetzung sich angenehme zue machen.”

⁸ Ibid., 13.

⁹ Ibid., 14: “Je älter ein Scribent ist / je näher er den Poeten zue kommen scheint.”

¹⁰ Ibid., 14: “Wie denn Casaubonus saget / das so offte er des Herodotus seine Historien lese / es jhn bedüncke / als wehre es Homerus selber.”

¹¹ *Aristotle’s Poetics*, trans. James Hutton (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 54.

¹² As argued earlier, history, as practiced by Herodotus, could be perceived as an expression of an essential religiosity only by those for whom the actual world was the creation (or manifestation) of a supernatural divinity. The use of the historical plot was, again, a prominent feature of the Trauerspiel.

Yet Opitz's *Dafne* is obviously not historical. What seems to be most important for Opitz and other "first-generation" German Baroque dramatists, though, is not external particulars like plot origin, but internal content. As Bernhard Ulmer puts it, "Opitz' age still made the outer form subservient and glorified [the] content, . . . which evidenced a *religious* belief."¹³ And what is German about the inner religious content of Opitz's poetry (and other writings) is of course Lutheranism. Opitz, the chief crusader for *echte deutsche Literatur*, was also numbered among the "superior and learned teachers of the Protestant faith."¹⁴ His translation of *Dafne*, then, did much more than simply introduce "Germanized" madrigalian verse; it also employed the conventions of pastoral poetry, so important to the development of Italian opera, in the promotion of a decidedly German Weltanschauung. This is not to suggest that Opitz was the first to read Christianity into the content of Greek mythology. Indeed, the tradition of interpreting Daphne (the myth) as a Christian allegory—with the human soul (Daphne) being pursued by Christ (Apollo)—began, as Aikin notes, with the "dozens of 'moralized Ovids' from the late Middle Ages."¹⁵ But Opitz's adaptation does represent a specifically Protestant approach to Daphne. Opitz was perhaps the first to use this Germanic theological outlook as the conceptual basis for a specifically German opera.

¹³ Bernhard Ulmer, *Martin Opitz* (New York: Twayne, 1971), 33.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁵ Aikin, *German Baroque Drama*, 33. The term "moralized Ovids" originates with an anonymous thirteenth-century French manuscript entitled *Ovide moralisé*. Peter L. Allen, *The Art of Love: Amatory Fiction from Ovid to the Romance of the Rose* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 43, identifies this work as an example of the "conservative position that secular literature was to be valued only for its moral *sententia*, and not for its literal meaning." Allen also cites, among those with this "conservative" view, William of Conches (1090-1160) and Peter Abelard (1079-1142), who "believed that fables could embody truth, and that the human craftsman could be analogous to the creator" (42). Boccaccio belongs in this group too, in Allen's view: "In expounding his own literary theory in the *Genealogie deorum gentilium* [Boccaccio] held to the orthodox position that *fabula* was valuable only for its moral meaning" (43).

Italian Opera and the Pastoral

In order to grasp the quality and extent of the conceptual difference in Opitz's approach to opera, it will be necessary first to spend some effort outlining what might be considered an Italian point of view, at least as represented by Rinuccini in *Dafne*. We might begin with the topic of pastoral poetry and its influence on the development of Italian opera. It is particularly useful to know the extent to which Rinuccini and other early librettists accepted the pastoral conventions and mythological content on their own ancient terms, and the degree to which the progenitors of early opera imbued the ancient material with their own late-sixteenth-century religious (or secular) views. Coming to some conclusions—however tentative—regarding these questions will then allow us to address this one: Was the German approach, as represented by Opitz, different from the Italian in the same way that Lutheranism is different from Catholicism, or was it different in its very use of religion in this ostensibly secular genre?

The pastoral, to begin with, is the literary genre with which the earliest operas are most obviously aligned. “In choosing the subjects of the first libretti,” writes Barbara Hanning, “Rinuccini could not have acknowledged his debt to the pastoral tradition more clearly, for both the Daphne and Orpheus legends had long been associated with pastoral drama.”¹⁶ That Rinuccini would summon the muse of tragedy in the prologue to *Euridice* has been dismissed by some as “mere pretence,” understood by others as referring to Euridice's fate, and, in Hanning's case, interpreted as an acknowledgement of the power of music, with which Rinuccini intended to simulate “the manner of

¹⁶ Barbara R. Hanning, *Of Poetry and Music's Power: Humanism and the Creation of Opera* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 46.

performance [i.e., sung throughout] of the ancient model” in an attempt to “appropriate its effectiveness.”¹⁷

Obviously there seems to be some problem, at least for modern observers, with the idea of tragedy being linked with the “elegant and artificial sphere of the pastoral,” whose “absence of strong sentiments, bold passions, and dramatic activity” suggest a “world set apart from tragedy or comedy.”¹⁸ In fact all three of the above “explanations” of Rinuccini’s prologue to *Euridice* appear to view tragedy and the pastoral as worlds apart. Yet, what is the relationship between these two literary traditions? Must Rinuccini’s evocation of the tragic muse be read as 1) a mere pretension, 2) an acknowledgement of a death that—in this version of the Orpheus myth—does not even preclude a happy ending, or 3) a reference to music as a powerful means of producing some dramatic effect, cathartic or otherwise? Are tragedy and the pastoral strictly antithetical?

There are numerous theories about the origins of both tragedy and pastoral poetry. Regarding the former, most point to an ancient cult of Dionysus, the god of the vine, and his “most prominent” worshippers, the satyrs.¹⁹ Presumably the word “tragedy” (τραγωδία)—connected with τραγωδός, properly, “goat singer”—refers to the half-goat nature of the satyrs. Theorists focusing on what Albin Lesky terms “ethnological methodology” posit a derivation of tragedy (etymologically and generically) from “rural festivals at which the participants sang and danced around a prize goat.” Lesky continues: “This theory was connected with another, according to which such peasant

¹⁷ Ibid., 5. For the dismissal of Rinuccini’s evocation of tragedy, see *ibid.*, 46, and for the understanding of it in relation to Euridice’s fate, see *ibid.*, 1.

¹⁸ Ibid., 46.

¹⁹ Albin Lesky, *Greek Tragedy*, trans. H. A. Frankfort (London: Ernest Benn, 1967), 29.

customs were the common roots for all drama: tragedy, comedy, and satyr play.”²⁰

Another group of theorists focusing on the primacy of Aristotle’s authority—which the ethnologists reject—looks more to the literary roots of tragedy. In the *Poetics*, Aristotle suggests its two sources: the dithyramb, a song “inseparable from the cult of Dionysos,” and the satyricon, viewed as “a preliminary stage for the development of tragedy.”²¹ He also aligns tragedy with epic poetry, making Homer a kind of de facto founder.²²

There is a similar split between folk customs and literature in the numerous musings over the prehistory of the pastoral. Though “Theocritus is generally regarded as the inventor of pastoral poetry,”²³ some scholars view him as merely the first formal scribe of a much older “folk tradition,”²⁴ while others, focusing on literature, find—as in the case of tragedy—Homer to be the prime mover, so to speak.²⁵ This tension between literature and folk customs is of course irresolvable, first because the roots of the latter descend into unrecorded history, and second, because even so profoundly influential a literary figure as Homer, about whom we know so little, may in fact represent the “triumphant culmination” of a “rich tradition of oral poetry,” rather than the heroic genius creating *ex nihilo*.²⁶

²⁰ See Albin Lesky, *Greek Tragic Poetry*, trans. Matthew Dillon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 2 and 9. Perhaps with the emphasis on the bucolic, the pastoral might be added to this list.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

²² James Hutton, in his notes to the *Poetics*, writes: “Aristotle apparently thinks of tragedy as a basic, pre-existent form that epic poetry ‘followed’ even though realized epic poems are earlier in time than realized tragedies.” See *Aristotle’s Poetics*, trans. James Hutton (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 88 n. 5.

²³ David M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 2.

²⁴ *Greek Pastoral Poetry*, trans. Anthony Holden (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1974), 10.

²⁵ Anthony Holden, *ibid.*, 9, points particularly to Book 18 of the *Iliad*, wherein Hephaistus hammers out on Achilles’ shield “a vineyard at grape-gathering time,” as an example of the “pastoral ethic . . . at work, though [it is] not yet codified.” More on the “pastoral ethic” below.

²⁶ The quotations are from Martin Hammond’s introduction to Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Martin Hammond (London: Penguin Books, 1988), 7. Interestingly, Homer’s status is that of a kind of god, but in the Greek sense: he is viewed as the product of his world, not as a creator standing outside of creation, like the Christian God. Among the vast amount of literature on Homer and oral tradition, the scholarship of

Yet it is nonetheless the transcribed Homer that we study, and it is as literary traditions that tragedy and the pastoral are known to us. That both genres could be thought to have had their genesis in the same figure, then, seems noteworthy, for it suggests some kind of link between them. Andrew Ettin provides some clues as to this link. Referring to a pastoral scene on Achilles' shield (in the *Iliad*, Book 8), he writes: "In other sections of the shield, and in most of the poem's pastoral similes . . . the poet seems impelled by his theme to show the shepherds' vulnerability in the face of greater and terrifying forces."²⁷ The idyllic place is not a haven secure against the world's torrents; it is a "middle passage" from which both the vulnerable human and the "horror of battle" are viewed: "We comprehend each within the context established by the other. . . . Neither point of view exclusively commands our own."²⁸ The pastoral, in other words, is not an escape from, but a contemplation of, life's realities. As such, it is essentially a philosophical (or religious) stance, a response, as it were, to the tragedy of life. Thus Anthony Holden refers to a "pastoral ethic" in Homer: "Homer's pastoral scene(s)," he writes, are "already making instinctive use of that way of life to moral ends: its spiritual qualities, he implies, are worthy of depiction by an immortal on a hero's armour."²⁹

The "spiritual qualities" of the pastoral that Homer used "instinctively" were to find their fullest realization, it might be argued, in the Renaissance. Though Virgil is often considered the "elevator of the pastoral to true philosophical status," the poets of

Albert Lord is a particularly important. See, for example, "The Merging of Two Worlds: Oral and Written Poetry as Carriers of Ancient Values," in *Oral Tradition in Literature: Interpretation in Context*, ed. John Foley (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 19-64. See also: Albert Lord, *The Singer Resumes the Tale*, ed. Mary Lord (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

²⁷ Andrew V. Ettin, *Literature and the Pastoral* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 9.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

²⁹ *Greek Pastoral Poetry*, 9.

the Renaissance who—through sheer production—first raised the pastoral to the condition of literary genre had as models not only Virgil’s *Eclogues*, “a kind of pre-Christian gospel,” but also the numerous pastoral images scattered throughout the Bible.³⁰ Among these images—which include the Garden of Eden, God as shepherd, and Christ as both the Lamb of God and the pastor of his flock—Andrew Ettin finds “particularly suggestive” the “opposition between Abel and Cain, shepherd and farmer, faithful man of peace and grasping man of violence.” Ettin explains:

The shepherd gratefully accepts what he receives and, like a good pastoral literary character, gives a properly bountiful offering to the deity in thanks, while the tiller of the soil struggles against man and God as much as he struggles against nature.³¹

Here Abel allegorically represents Homer’s instinctual place of contemplation, with its ethic of pious resignation in the face of life’s inescapable horrors. This contemplative attitude would develop, in pre-Christian times, into philosophic schools like Stoicism, which emphasized virtuous living as an end in itself.

To Christians, though, the kind of life exemplified by Abel had its end elsewhere, namely in the negation of life’s prime horror—death—as a “reward” for good behavior.³² Such optimism, while it increased the appeal of the contemplative life, thereby spurring the establishment of the pastoral as an independent literary genre, also imbued pastoral poetry with a newly allegorical character.³³ allegorical because Christians, unlike Greeks, found the meaning (or “end”) of the pastoral elsewhere than in the mundane details

³⁰ For the quotes on Virgil and his *Eclogues*, see *Greek Pastoral Poetry*, 27. Regarding the pastoral as a genre in the Renaissance, see Halperin, 31 and 30.

³¹ See Ettin, 10-11.

³² Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972), 255, comments on Stoicism: “To a modern mind, it is difficult to feel enthusiastic about a virtuous life if nothing is going to be achieved by it.”

³³ On the “allegorization” of the pastoral in the Renaissance, see Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 10-11, and *Greek Pastoral Poetry*, 30ff.

depicted. For Renaissance poets, then, the bucolic setting *was*, in a sense, secure from the world's torrents—because it represented, allegorically, heaven—while for the ancients it was not.³⁴ Hanning is correct to say that the pastoral suggests a “world set apart from tragedy or comedy,” but only insofar as she is referring to the pastoral in the Christian era.

Yet even in the Christian era, the pastoral is best understood as a response to the tragic (and comic) in life. Of course, the Renaissance response is, partly on account of Christianity, different from that of the ancients. Neither would be necessary, though, without a preexisting question, and for this reason tragedy—of the human condition, if not as a literary genre—might be regarded the true source of the pastoral. Maybe this is why Rinuccini evokes the tragic muse in the prologue to his *Euridice*. Early Italian opera, with its literary roots in the pastoral, would be inconceivable without the existence of tragedy. Perhaps later German humanists like Andreas Gryphius, cognizant of tragedy's foundational quality, sought to develop Germanic theatrical genres (particularly the Trauerspiel) more after the manner of Greek tragedy than the pastoral in a conscious

³⁴ Of course, it would be an overstatement to suggest that the pastoral is always allegorical, that Renaissance artists invariably meant to implicate heaven in their depictions of Arcadia. Indeed, as Erwin Panofsky argues, what painters of the Italian Renaissance (Titian, for example) prized above their medieval predecessors was the realistic portrayal of objects found in the “outer world,” as opposed to the earlier era's focus on the “inner world of the artists' imagination.” See Erwin Panofsky, *Idea* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), 50. Yet the new objects of interest to painters were located not just outside of the self, but, on a larger scale, outside of their accustomed domicile (the city), in the comparatively simple, natural world of the countryside. J. Carter Brown and Laughlin Phillips, in the foreword to *Places of Delight: The Pastoral Landscape*, 13, write that “pastoral dreams have long been a part of the psychic life of those who live in crowded cities.” See also Max J. Friedländer, *Landscape, Portrait, Still-Life* (New York: Schocken, 1965), 209, who writes that “all through the centuries of poetry, from Virgil to Rousseau, we can trace how society, surfeited with culture . . . sought refuge in the bucolic idyll as though going on holiday in the country.” The pastoral, in other words, typically represents the idea of humankind's origins in nature. For many (if not most) Renaissance (as opposed to Ancient) artists, the idea of natural origins evoked images of the biblical Eden, an earthly, allegorical, heaven. Ellen T. Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 8, elaborates on the strong ties between the pastoral, allegory, and Christianity: “It was the pastoral images in Christian symbolism that were strong enough to make . . . a transformation of the pagan world into the Christian not only possible, but at least as plausible as that which changed Daphne into a tree.”

effort to “transcend” Italian precedents. Be that as it may, the pastoral conventions of Italian opera reflect the Christian beliefs and humanistic tastes of its Renaissance gestation: the bucolic setting is an allegorical safe haven, though the specifically Christian meanings remain hidden.³⁵ In our look at *Dafne*, then, we will seek to reveal some of the hidden meanings that manifest contemporary aspects of the pastoral tradition.³⁶

Rinuccini’s Treatment of Ovid’s Daphne

The main source for Rinuccini’s *Dafne* is Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*.³⁷ Briefly, the story, as it appears in Ovid, Book I, lines 434-c.570, is as follows:³⁸ Apollo slays the monstrous python that has been terrorizing the world. He then memorializes his feat by establishing the Pythian games, crowning the best athletes with wreaths of oak leaves, because the laurel tree has not yet come into existence. Apollo falls in love—for the first time—with Daphne, daughter of the river god Peneus. This happens not by chance, but because of “Cupid’s cruel wrath”: Apollo, filled with pride at killing the python, has sneered at Cupid’s seemingly inferior powers, whereupon Cupid first pierces Daphne with a blunt arrow, which causes her to reject love, and then pierces Apollo with a sharp arrow, which causes him to desire Daphne.

³⁵ The latter trait corresponds to the humanistic desire to emulate the “true classical style,” which viewed as “alien” any “heavy-handedness” in the explication or implication of meaning. See *Greek Pastoral Poetry*, 30-31.

³⁶ We will return to tragedy in the discussion of the Trauerspiel, in Chapter 5. Though the preceding discussion of pastoral and tragedy was spurred by the prologue to *Euridice*, the issues are certainly no less relevant to *Dafne*, whose story had also “long been associated with pastoral drama” (Hanning, 46).

³⁷ Barbara R. Hanning, “Glorious Apollo: Poetic and Political Themes in the First Opera,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 32/4 (Winter 1979): 485-513. See esp. 487.

³⁸ My summary is drawn from *The Metamorphoses of Ovid*, trans. Allen Mandelbaum (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993), 20-25.

Peneus, desiring a son-in-law and grandsons by Daphne, receives instead a plea from his daughter to allow her to enjoy “perpetual virginity” as a follower of Diana, Apollo’s virgin sister. To this, Peneus would have agreed, yet Daphne’s beauty prevents her from “getting that dear gift.” Inflamed with passion, Apollo pursues Daphne, who flees him. Apollo assures her that he means no harm, and attempts to attract her by citing his virtues:

I’m . . . no scraggly guardian of flocks and herds. . . . I am the lord of Delphi’s land. . . . Jove is my father. Through me, all is revealed. . . . The harmony of song and lyre is achieved through me . . . my shaft is sure in flight. . . . I am the one who has invented medicine.

Apollo concedes that “now there is no herb to cure [his] passion.” Unmoved, Daphne continues her flight. Apollo continues his pursuit, and, being faster, is about to capture his prey when Daphne, spying Peneus’ river nearby, pleads to her father to “dissolve [her] gracious shape, the form that pleased too well.”

Thus Daphne is transformed into the laurel, to which Apollo is still emotionally attached: “But since you cannot be my wife, you’ll be my tree.” Apollo then vows to wear a wreath of her leaves in his hair always, and to bestow her garlands on victorious Roman chieftains. “And even as my head is ever young,” he concludes, “may you, unshorn, wear your leaves, too, forever: never lose that loveliness, o laurel, which is yours!” The tree then shakes her crown, “as if her head had meant to show consent.”

From this story Rinuccini selected the following elements, which appear in a sequence of six scenes in the libretto:³⁹

Scene 1 – Apollo slays the python.

Scene 2 – Apollo humiliates Cupid, who consequently vows to inflict the sting of his arrow upon Apollo.

³⁹ This overview paraphrases Hanning’s summary of the libretto, found in “Glorious Apollo,” 487.

Scene 3 – Apollo encounters Daphne in the forest. He declares his desire for her, and she begins to flee.

Scene 4 – Cupid relates to Venus the success of his project.

Scene 5 – Daphne, pursued by Apollo, is transformed into a laurel tree.

Scene 6 – Apollo mourns the loss of Daphne and consecrates the laurel.

As might be expected, the librettist not only subtracts from the totality of Ovid's recounting,⁴⁰ but he also adds to what he does use in order to fit the story to his project. We will examine the alterations scene by scene.

The first scene takes place from the point of view of ordinary humans. While Ovid devotes but two lines to the effect of the python on mankind—"a horrid serpent, new to all men's eyes— / a sight that terrified the reborn tribes"—Rinuccini spends considerable effort showing how the serpent has spoiled the inner peace of the rustics: "Will we nevermore / lead our flocks and our sheep / through our fair fields / without fear / without terror?", asks the chorus.⁴¹ Apollo's actions are portrayed here (as they are not by Ovid) as a response to the prayers of the people. In a very real sense, the "tranquility" and "serenity" that return at the end of the scene are a direct result of the exercise of the will on the part of the people, both in believing in a divinity that can restore peace and in taking the action of imploring that divinity to intervene. This sense of an efficacious will is underscored by Rinuccini's clever introduction of Apollo as an echo of the shepherds' complaints, which links the desired end directly with the "desirers":

⁴⁰ What has been deleted can be determined by comparing the above outline with the preceding summary of Ovid's tale.

⁴¹ The translation I use is that by Charles Rose and Helen Baker, which accompanies the recording of Gagliano's setting by New York Pro Musica Antiqua, George Houle, conductor (Musical Heritage Society, 1953/54). Gagliano's setting includes a number of revisions over the 1598 version of the libretto. See Hanning, *Of Poetry and Music's Power*, 245, 261-267. It is not known for certain which version Martin Opitz worked from, though it was most likely the earlier one. The 1598 libretto was printed, and thus circulated, presumably. The 1608 version that appears with this recording (and elsewhere) is a redaction from the score. It was not published independently. I therefore confine my references, here and in the discussion of Opitz's adaptation, largely to those portions of Rinuccini's libretto that appeared in the 1598 publication.

Ebra di sangue in quest'oscuro bosco
 Giacea pur dianzi la terribil fera (era) . . .
 Ohimè chi n'assicura
 S'hoggi tornar pur deve il mostro rio? (Io)⁴²

The deletion of the Pythian games reference further suggests that Apollo has acted not vaingloriously, but out of concern for the welfare of the world.

Yet Apollo is certainly proud—perhaps too proud—of his accomplishment, which accounts for his attitude of condescension in the second scene, as it does in Ovid. Here, though, Rinuccini uses the theme of pride to teach a kind of lesson on the power of love. By placing much greater emphasis on the youth and blindness of Cupid (Ovid just once refers to Cupid as a “boy,” and never mentions a blindfold), the librettist reads the story in light of the Christian paradox that grants innocence, vulnerability, and impartiality (attributes of Christ) power over the “King of the Waves, . . . Jove, the King of Heaven,” and even over Pluto and his “horrible kingdom of darkness,” i.e., death. Apollo’s pride betrays some impurity of motives, despite the appearance—to humans, anyway—of altruistic love. Thus “Cupid’s cruel wrath,” which in Ovid seems to be about revenge, is sparked by Apollo’s attempt to claim for himself some of what is in fact due to the all-powerful god of love.

Rinuccini brings this message home to his audience in the same way that Bach’s librettists would later do in the passions, by having the chorus reflect on the story’s relevance: “If you are inflamed and burning / with resentment toward a god, / then what will be your disdain toward us?” Rinuccini’s theme, then, centers around the foolishness of resisting love. As the motivating force behind creation, an aspect of God, love exists.

⁴² “Even now the fearful beast, drunk with blood, is lurking in this dark wood (he was). . . . Alas! Who can be sure that the wicked monster will not return today? (I can).”

Humans merely choose to accept it or reject it, but it is always there. For this reason, perhaps, Rinuccini says nothing about Cupid actually piercing either Apollo or Daphne with arrows. Rather, the emphasis is on the acceptance or rejection of love. Apollo accepts, but must learn of its power the hard way. Daphne rejects, and consequently becomes something non-human.⁴³

That the capability, and necessity, of making this choice is part of the human condition Rinuccini makes clear in his third scene, where there is no reference to Daphne's divine parentage, as there is in Ovid, and no imploring, on Daphne's part, her father's permission to enjoy "perpetual virginity." As the Catholic understanding of humanity places the burden of morality on the individual, who chooses his servitude to either goodness or sin, so Daphne's submission to "the eternal gods of heaven" is solely up to her, a mere "mortal woman, not a heavenly goddess." Nor does Rinuccini bother (as Ovid does) with Apollo's extended attempt to woo Daphne with a recital of his own virtues, for the will to accept love here (on the part of Apollo) is a tacit acknowledgement of its supreme power, in comparison with which all other accomplishments seem mere trifles. Thus Cupid proclaims:

The eternal Gods are looking / down from heaven / over my glories and
victories / and you down here, o mortals, / celebrate the strength of / my
golden arrows.

The conversation in the fourth scene, in which Cupid relates this triumph to Venus, has no counterpart in Ovid, where there is no exchange between the two.

Rinuccini's purpose here seems to be threefold: to show that even the gods—including

⁴³ Of course, it could be argued that Apollo and Daphne, god and nymph, are, before their respective metamorphoses, already non-human. Yet their very human appearance and behavior certainly makes their stories relevant to human life (and, after all, the Greek gods *were* created in man's image, as was mentioned in an earlier chapter). Thus Daphne's transformation into a tree is her real metamorphosis into something non-human. For that matter, Apollo's transformation into an emotionally vulnerable being is his "real" metamorphosis into something human.

Venus—have no power over love, to connect love with suffering, and to suggest that the prospect of pain is what causes mortals to reject love. First—taking these points in order—Cupid’s satisfaction with Apollo’s submission to passion is shrugged off by Venus: “Which one of the heavenly gods / has not felt within his heart / a sharp arrow from your invincible bow?” Second, Venus links her own experience of love directly with grief: “I have wept and cried / on heaven and earth.” This connection between love and suffering, together with the connections between heaven and earth and mother and son—Rinuccini repeatedly reminds us of the familial relationship between Venus and Cupid—is more than mildly suggestive of a *pietà*. The immense suffering of the Virgin over the death of Christ, finally, provides the starkest representation of the pain humans experience in connection to love. Yet while “only simple mortals⁴⁴ . . . harden their hearts against love,” the chorus declares that there is in fact “no heart in human breast / that does not feel love.” Ultimately, then, love is as inescapable as death. No matter how much humans may try to flee both, neither can be avoided.

Thus Apollo’s love-induced pursuit in the fifth scene inevitably ends in grief. Indeed, Rinuccini strongly emphasizes the sorrow wrought by the loss of Daphne—as if she had died—while Ovid makes no mention of such emotion. This loss is felt, moreover, not only by Apollo, who “uttered such sad sounds” that a “heart would break in pity,” but by all concerned, from the “nunzio” who narrates the scene with “tears of sorrow from the heart,” to the chorus, which bewails the “dreadful event,” Daphne’s “wicked fate.”

The sixth scene provides further evidence that Rinuccini interprets Daphne’s transformation as a human death. Whereas Ovid’s Apollo addresses the laurel as a living

⁴⁴ The choice of “mortali” over “umani” here is telling.

(though transformed) Daphne who “still . . . shrinks / from his embrace” and is able to accept a more abstract proposal of love by nodding, “as if her head had meant to show consent,” Rinuccini’s Apollo refers to Daphne as though she were dead:

Stars, you that see / the highest beauty, / force yourself to weep / Shine
down / on those branches: / There rests and hides / My good, my heart /
my treasure.

The laurel here can no more respond to Apollo than any other tree can: “Oh! If in those branches you would / hear my plaint!” Rinuccini’s laurel of course represents Daphne—who ultimately cannot escape Apollo’s love in either version of the story—but in a different way than Ovid’s laurel does. To recall Walter Benjamin’s distinction (discussed in Chapter 2), we could say that Ovid’s laurel, as the “very incarnation and embodiment of the idea,” is symbolic, while Rinuccini’s laurel, signifying “an idea which is different from itself,” is allegorical. In the former case, Daphne’s eternity resides in the plant itself; in the latter, it resides elsewhere. Accordingly, Ovid’s laurel represents honor in this world, crowning the heads of victorious Roman chieftains and faithfully guarding “the portals of Augustus’ house.” Rinuccini’s laurel, on the other hand, pertains to “eternal virtues” that “are not troubled by clouds and thunder . . . [and are] affected by neither cold nor heat”; it represents a realm apart from the pain of this world, a heaven for which the peace restored to the idyllic setting of Scene 1 via the slaying of the serpent—i.e., death—is but an allegory.

Integral to this allegorical representation of heaven (in the first scene), as we have seen, is the element of human choice—the prayers of the people—without which, presumably, the peace would not have been restored. The theme of free will is writ large by Rinuccini in the figure of Apollo, whose pride amplifies the picture of a willful

humanity desiring to acquire something of God's power. Apollo's self-will, though, does not spell his complete doom. In fact, he later directs this same will toward his salvation: by humbling himself before Cupid he plays a part in his ultimate restoration to fully divine stature, as we shall see. Rinuccini's picture of the transformative power of penitence is close to the Catholic position on free will, wherein humans, insofar as they choose to submit to divine will, co-operate in their own salvation. Moreover, our having chosen sin is what separated us from paradise in the first place, and so the concept of choice is at the very heart of the Renaissance (and Medieval) concept of the pastoral as an allegory in which what is represented—i.e., heaven—is necessarily apart from what is literally portrayed. This is not to suggest that Rinuccini purposely, or even consciously, sought to imbue his *Dafne* with Christian meaning, but, again, that this *Dafne* simply adopts the Christian beliefs intrinsic to the time and place (Renaissance Italy) from which the pastoral emerged as an independent literary genre.

In summary, the pastoral is the poetic type to which the earliest operas are most clearly linked. Specifically, the Renaissance version—the first pastoral with clear generic distinctions—provided the immediate model for Rinuccini et al. This model, combining biblical motifs with Virgil, often presented the serenity of the bucolic life as an allegory for the Christian paradise, from which, according to Catholicism, we have been exiled through the improper use of free will, and to which we may return through the proper use of the will. Rinuccini's *Dafne* naturally bears the stamp of this particular worldview.

With that, we are ready to examine the conceptual difference in the German approach to opera, as it is evidenced in Martin Opitz's adaptation of Rinuccini's *Dafne*.

Opitz's Treatment of Rinuccini's *Dafne*

Early German opera was certainly no less a product of its environment—in which Lutheranism figured prominently—than Italian opera was: a basis for the conceptual distinctions between the two types might well be sought, it would seem, in the differences between Lutheranism and Catholicism. Yet even a search limited to theological aspects must engage another question, namely that slippery one of intention, for while it seems improbable that Rinuccini, with his humanistic tastes, would consciously and willfully infuse Church dogma into his libretto, especially for didactic purposes, there is some evidence that Opitz, despite his own humanistic inclinations, *was* willing to do something of this sort. As we have seen, Opitz adapted *Dafne* at the behest of a powerful Lutheran Elector who appears to have had some kind of Germanic project in mind. Conditions were favorable for Opitz, who believed in the idea of poetry as moral instruction, to consciously infuse opera, though an ostensibly secular genre, with an unmistakably Teutonic/religious didacticism, much as Gryphius and Lohenstein would later create, via the same means, a distinctly German “Tragödie” (or Trauerspiel).

To be sure, conclusive evidence that Opitz had a didactic purpose for *Dafne* is not to be found in the preface to this work, where one might expect the translator to have been most forthright about his intentions. By contrast, the respective prefaces to Opitz's other translations—*Antigone*, *Die Trojanerinnen*, and *Judith*—do strongly suggest, to Judith Aikin at any rate, that Opitz viewed the works to which they are appended as plays demonstrating certain “moral and ethical lessons,”⁴⁵ which Opitz would presumably have wanted to propagate in a “Germanicized” guise. The decisive difference in the case of *Dafne*, perhaps, is its having been commissioned for a specific occasion. Aikin writes:

⁴⁵ Aikin, *German Baroque Drama*, 32-33.

While Opitz's other plays, not "engaged" or attached to any particular event or personage, merely stress moral and ethical lessons demonstrated by the actions of the characters, *Dafne* can be seen to represent a tendency of seventeenth-century "occasional" literature (that is, literature written to honor, or dedicated to, a contemporary personage or an auspicious occasion) to use traditional allegorization of myth, legend, or history to connect the present occasion with the content of the literary work.⁴⁶

Such occasional literature, continues Aikin, "attains a kind of universality through its relation to a metaphysical or religious truth."⁴⁷ It is the translation of the play itself, then, that provides the primary evidence of Opitz's intentions in *Dafne*; the preface and dedication merely direct that purpose, through subordination, to the needs of the moment.

There are, nonetheless, some important hints here that should not be overlooked. The **preface** "to the reader" ("An den Leser"), though cursory and a bit vague in its references, suggests, for example, that Opitz is not entirely in agreement with the Italian version of the Greek story:

Noble reader, as this drama is for the most part taken from the Italian, it is therefore likewise adapted to the same manner, and contemporary use, although also written quickly. This with apology is set by the author, who normally is not unaware of what the ancients take pains to recommend regarding tragedies and comedies.⁴⁸

Opitz's "apology" that he "normally is not unaware" of ancient precepts "regarding tragedies and comedies"—implying that Rinuccini is unaware of these precepts, or has consciously deviated from them for some reason—betrays a view that his own approach

⁴⁶ Ibid., 33-34. The "traditional allegorization" of *Dafne* to which Aikin refers is that of the "moralized Ovids" from the late Middle Ages to the seventeenth century" (see *ibid.*, 33, as well as above).

⁴⁷ Ibid., 34.

⁴⁸ Martin Opitz, *Weltliche Poemata, 1644*, ed. Erich Trunz (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967) preserves the *Dafne* libretto. My translation of the entire libretto appears in Appendix A. In the translation of the poetry (everything following the preface) I have replaced the slashes that appear in Opitz's text with commas, and inserted slashes to indicate line breaks. In the reproduction of the original text, I retain Opitz's use of initial capital letters to indicate line breaks.

to drama is somehow more authentic than the Italian operatic approach is.⁴⁹ Of course, the apology also implies that the translation does not manifest Opitz's full potential as a dramatist: he is well aware of ancient prescriptions and would presumably have followed them more thoroughly, had he not had to conform to the Italian "manner" and "contemporary use" (and "quickly," no less). Still, the translation is no mere copy. Opitz's description of the story (at the end of the preface) as a "fable" ("Fabel") that is "familiar" ("bekandt") serves to remind the reader that modern Italians cannot claim any privileged possession of this common currency.

Thus the **dedicatory poem** that follows the preface begins by taking a stance vis-à-vis the story that receives no play in Rinuccini's version:

The strong love-poison, that can vanquish, with its power, our high
thoughts / That are from heaven, and when reason lays defeated can tear
one to the ground / Witness, O you noble pair, upon this stage.

The Daphne myth, Opitz seems to be saying, places love in opposition to reason. The "higher thoughts that are from heaven" are abandoned, in the face of love, at one's peril: reason must be retained to rein in passion's potentially destructive power. The poem's dedicatees, the prince and his bride Sophie, Opitz honors, respectively, as "free hero" ("freyer Heldt") and "light of youth" ("Liecht der Jugendt") precisely because they embrace reason, which renders them "forever freed and secure" ("für und für Befreyt und sicher") from the "power of love" ("der Liebe Macht"). Reason instructs them, moreover, in the primary (Christian) virtue of obedience. The prince, a "picture of all

⁴⁹ Warrack, 20, interprets this passage from Opitz thus: "In the *Dafne* Preface he makes excuse and aligns himself with other German dramatic writers claiming to derive their standards from antiquity, which sets him apart from the camerata's belief that they were recreating the actual practices of ancient drama." The latter claim regarding the camerata seems questionable, however. The purpose of Giovanni Bardi's "Discourse on how Tragedy should be Performed" was, according to Claude Palisca, "to guide producers of modern tragedies to *model* their performances, particularly with respect to the chorus, on ancient practices" (emphasis added). See Claude V. Palisca, *The Florentine Camerata: Documentary Studies and Translations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 132.

virtue” (“Bildnuß aller Tugendt”), and, especially, Sophie, are held up as models of dutiful submission to authority, which is viewed as a subordination of passion to reason.

Thus of the bride, “Delight of your father, ornament of your worthy mother” (“Deß Vatters grosse Lust / der werthen Mutter Zier”), Opitz sings:

Whoever loves like you / With unsullied duty, who bestows grace / With
judiciousness and understanding, is wiser than the god / Who daily brings
us the glorious dawn.

Sophie as counterpoise to Apollo finds her mythical counterpart in Daphne. This is the most obvious difference in Opitz’s version of the story, over those by Ovid and Rinuccini, and, for that matter, other “christianized Ovids” from the Middle Ages. In Ovid (and Rinuccini) Daphne is portrayed as the cold-hearted huntress who unreasonably refuses the gift of love. Ovid’s Daphne consents to love’s power only after her transformation, while Rinuccini, interpreting Daphne’s change allegorically, leaves the question of her post-transformation will (as an individual) out of the picture.

Ovid’s Apollo is the persistent, though not out-and-out foolish, pursuer whose pride cannot be undermined by Daphne’s change: “But since you cannot be my wife, you’ll be my tree.” By sheer force of will he gets, in a sense, what he is after. His power, moreover, bestows eternal youth upon Daphne. Rinuccini’s Apollo is the god temporarily made foolish by his pride who learns humility in his grief at the “death” of Daphne. The “moralized Ovids” to which Aikin refers naturally portray Apollo more along the lines of Ovid. Their impassioned god is Christ, certainly no fool, who relentlessly pursues the stubborn, even foolish, human soul (Daphne) in order to bestow upon it (her) his love, in the form of eternal life.

None of these versions of the story treats Daphne—or her relationship to Apollo—in the same way that Opitz seems inclined to do (based on what appears in the dedicatory poem). Daphne, like Sophie, is, on account of her obedience to reason, “wiser than the god who daily brings us the glorious dawn.” Here it is Daphne who bestows eternity on Apollo, not vice versa: “For him Daphne herself makes, out of her fresh branches, the wreath that does not fade.” “Accept then gracefully,” Opitz advises the royal couple, “what Daphne can give: the ever-green wreath; [remember:] . . . what Daphne gives, that remains.” Daphne’s flight, in Opitz’s reading, is not from love, but, wisely, from unreasonable passion. Such is the implication of the dedicatory poem, at any rate.

The **prologue** that follows offers some further alterations of Rinuccini’s meaning. The first two stanzas are essentially the same in the two versions. They identify the narrator as Ovid, who, as Opitz puts it, is “the man who so laudably sang / With [his] harp and its renowned strings / How Cupid’s power and strict force / Changed the forms of divine beings long ago”—thus identifying the *Metamorphoses* as the story’s source—and who now comes to “you mortal folk . . . from the Elysian fields.” Opitz’s third stanza, though, departs suggestively from that of his model. To Rinuccini, Ovid’s “art instructs / how one may awaken / the flame of love / in a frigid breast, / And how a heart / which is bitter and hostile / to love’s flame / may return to freedom.” Clearly the “frigid breast” so “bitter and hostile” to love belongs to Daphne. To Opitz, Ovid’s art is not so much about how to melt a frigid heart. Rather, Ovid takes it upon himself “to teach the difficult art of love” (“die schwere Liebes-kunst . . . zu lehren”), showing “how from such passion a heart can restore itself again” (“wie solcher Brunst Ein Herze wider ab soll

kommen”). Clearly this heart belongs to Apollo, who has to learn what Daphne already knows, that passion must be tempered by reason. Ovid teaches by example, as it were, portraying two types of love (reasonless versus reasonable) and allowing his audience to see the wisdom in choosing the one type over the other. This is Opitz embracing the idea of poetry as moral instruction: “How to love in the right way comes through me [i.e., Ovid] / How not to love does as well” (“Daß man recht liebt kömpt durch mich / Daß man nicht liebt thue auch ich”).

Rinuccini’s next two stanzas are a flattering paean to his patrons, whose splendor is likened to that of Ovid’s emperor Augustus. Opitz also confines his “Schmeichelei” to two stanzas, making the necessary changes appropriate to his circumstances—like referencing the river Elbe—yet leaving his patrons, or dedicatees, unnamed (probably because they have already been specified in the dedication). He also hints at his own purposes by altering the trait that renders his patrons worthy of praise by “all people” (“Alle Menschen”): while Rinuccini’s dedicatees are honored as “happy and illustrious” through their exalted “splendor,” Opitz’s prince is commended for his “luster of virtue” (“Glanz der Tugend”).

In his penultimate stanza, Opitz warns against abandoning virtue, noting the “misery [into which] a gentleman / And a lady can fall / Who ask not for love / And do only what suits them.”⁵⁰ Opitz is reminding the royal couple that their privileged social position offers no protection against love’s misery, if virtue—i.e., obedience to reason’s dictates—is forgotten. The stanza also suggests that Apollo unreasonably does only what

⁵⁰ “In was für Noth ein Cavallier Und eine Dame sich kan bringen Die nicht nach der Liebe fragt / Und nur thut was ihr behagt.” Curiously, Opitz’s verb forms—“kan,” “fragt,” “thut,” and “behagt,” all third-person singulars—do not agree grammatically with the plural “Cavallier Und eine Dame.” Yet semantically the verbs must include both the gentleman and the lady.

suits him. “Ask[ing] not for love” (as the prince and his bride understand love), it is Apollo who is vulnerable to, and suffers, the pangs of passion. Rinuccini’s penultimate stanza also clearly treats of Apollo’s experience: “I will undertake to show you / by a clear example / how great may be the peril / of despising the / power of love.”

(Remember Apollo’s attitude of condescension toward the “powerful archer” Cupid, and the consequences thereof.) For Opitz, to despise love’s power means to reject love, to “ask not for love.” In his view, then, what Apollo experiences is mere passion, something other than true love.

How dearly he pays for this passion Opitz shows in his last stanza: “You will see for heavy pain of love / The same god with tearful sighs lament.” Rinuccini also mentions, in his final stanza, that Apollo will “weep,” but without pausing continues: “and adore / the splendor of / the beloved Nymph / within a transformed tree.” He directs Apollo’s pain (so to speak) toward its object, cold-hearted Daphne. Opitz, on the other hand, makes no mention of Daphne here, treating Apollo’s pain rather more subjectively. The god “Who for us leads the beautiful daylight / Around upon the golden chariot / Who alone gives us light,” suffers, Opitz implies, because he is “not looking for love himself.”⁵¹ This confirms that the storyline referent of the preceding stanza “who ask[s] not for love” is indeed Apollo, and interprets Apollo’s suffering as self-inflicted. Thus the end of Opitz’s prologue explicates the end of his dedication: the wisdom of Daphne described there is underscored by the consequences of Apollo’s foolishness detailed here.

In terms of length and plot exposition, Opitz’s **first act** follows Rinuccini’s first scene closely. Externally, there are only minor changes. Rinuccini’s “chori” are sung, in

⁵¹ “Sieht für Liebe selber nicht.” The phrase also shows how Apollo’s passion removes him from his true self: He “sees for love himself not.”

Opitz, by a first, a second, and a third shepherd. Opitz's echo scene is slightly shorter than Rinuccini's. In terms of inner content, however, Opitz departs from his model (as in the prologue) with the third stanza. Opitz's third shepherd prays to Jupiter, not, as in Rinuccini, to frighten away the beast with "thunderbolts and sheets of rain," but, rather, to "guide us pitiable ones against this monster." Opitz's shepherds, in other words, seek assistance in their fight against the python, while Rinuccini's rustics (represented by the "chori"), more passive, desire the king of gods to remove the danger from them.

This might at first appear exactly the reverse of what one would expect, regarding free will: Catholic belief in an efficacious will should engender an active, confident attitude in its adherents (Rinuccini's rustics), while Lutheran doubt should result in passivity.⁵² However, Lutheranism, it will be remembered, promotes the idea of effective choice in worldly matters. The python, then, is viewed as a threat merely to mortal life, which humans are duty-bound to preserve, as far as is possible. We see here the first inkling of a tendency that would come to characterize German theater in the seventeenth century. Opitz commits himself to a mundane interpretation of an image rife with eternal significance to Christians, namely that of the serpent as the seducer of souls to the path of everlasting damnation. Rinuccini, by admitting that the serpent is a force too powerful for mortals to contend with, leaves open the possibility of viewing the beast as an allegory for Satan. Opitz, by suggesting that mortals can (or believe that they can) contend with the serpent, closes off that possibility, in a sense erasing the beast's

⁵² As discussed in Chapter 2, the topic of human will was a particularly sensitive point of departure (from Catholicism) on the part of Luther. Briefly, Luther believed that human will has no efficacy in matters of spirit, or salvation, while Catholicism held that humans can co-operate (through good works) in their own salvation. In worldly matters, however, Luther found the idea of human will unproblematic. Indeed, the acknowledgement of worldly effectiveness and the belief that reason was humanity's highest earthly attribute engendered a kind of confidence in humanity (within the confines of mortal life) on the part of Luther's adherents.

metaphysical significance. (To be sure, this is only a suggestion on Opitz's part. In the end, the python is destroyed by Apollo alone, as it is in Rinuccini's version.)

The characteristic that we glimpse here is the tendency to offer a literal reading of a theme that, if allowed greater ambiguity, would better support its allegorical context. With the theme of human will, Opitz is chipping away at what might be considered the very lifeblood of allegory. That is, the emphasis on the literal value of human will—a will that is restricted to the actual world—diminishes the human interest in the idyllic Other to a degree: an Eden removed from human desire (and unattainable through human will) becomes a hopelessly remote abstraction. What is gained (though it hardly compensates for losing the hope at the root of the Christian allegory) is the worldly confidence embodied in the shepherds' attitude toward the python. Both tendencies—a flattened allegory and a down-to-earth practicality, or realism—will come to characterize early German opera and other related genres, as we shall see. What all of this means for Apollo and Daphne, whose actions and dispositions are prefigured in the dedication and prologue, becomes clear in the second and third acts.

Opitz presents in his **second act**, as Rinuccini does in his second scene, an Apollo overly proud of his own accomplishments. Before Apollo appears, though, Cupid and Venus engage in a short dialogue. In Rinuccini this dialogue serves to shift the point of view from a human one to a divine one. The earthly setting is graced here by gods, and Venus, for one, seems to disapprove of divinity tarrying in the realm of mortals: "How sad. Here is the Lord of Delos. / The heavenly Gods are going about the / woods today." Both mother and son bear themselves as gods, looking down upon the world. Cupid's suggestion, or jest, that Venus might desire a lowly mortal—"You are looking for

Adonis, or something / better, a handsome little Shepherd”—is met by Venus’s comment about the impropriety of gods involving themselves with mortals.

In Opitz’s version of the dialogue, which is both more expansive and more emphatic than Rinuccini’s, Cupid and Venus behave more like humans. Venus perceives Cupid’s jest as a taunt, to which she responds: “You little villain” (“Du kleiner Bösewicht”). Cupid addresses his mother not as a heavenly goddess, but in more mortal terms: “What do you seek / O queen of beautiful women?” (“Was suchet ihr / O Königin der schönen Frawen?”). And Venus’s disapproval (in Rinuccini) of divinity mixing with humanity is expressed here in terms of an irrecoverable corruption, or mortification, of divine power, anticipating Wagner’s *Götterdämmerung*: “What will become of heaven henceforth? Almost all the gods now walk about the earth” (“Was wird hernach doch auß dem Himmel werden? Gehn jetzt doch fast die Götter ganz uff Erde”). In general, then, Opitz downplays the differences between gods and humans. From a Lutheran perspective, such a tendency makes perfect sense: Luther held that human reason, of itself, has no access to divinity. As such, humans can only conceive of gods (or God) in human terms. The hard and fast separation of heaven and earth in the Lutheran Weltanschauung leads, ironically, to a one-sided representation of gods and humans alike as earthbound beings comprehensible without reference to some ideal world, or heaven. Again, the mechanism of allegory, which here could foster a divine interpretation of human-like behavior (as in Rinuccini), is largely undermined through realism.

With this literal approach, the entrance of the boastful Apollo after this dialogue has a different effect in Opitz’s version than in Rinuccini’s (even though Opitz begins to follow Rinuccini more closely at this point). Essentially this is a difference between

Rinuccini's god who, though prone to a human-like vice, remains a god, and Opitz's god who, for his failure to remain above human pettiness, might just as well be mortal. Thus Opitz's Apollo, after putting Cupid on the defensive (Cupid: "it is well known / What kind of deeds I accomplish") with his query, "of what use to you are bow and arrow?," does not then seek to couch his provocation as a jest, as Rinuccini's Apollo does ("I am joking"). Rather, Opitz's Apollo continues on the offensive, and his next question—"but when you draw your bow / Do you wound others by sight // Or do you also hit your mark blindfolded?"—is as much a taunt (rather than jest) as is Cupid's accusing Venus of looking for love in all the wrong places.

Here Venus interjects, in both versions, with a reminder to Apollo that even the greatest gods—Neptune, Jupiter, and Pluto—have been wounded by her son, the "blind archer." Apollo's response, in Rinuccini, mocks the idea that Cupid's art, love, could triumph over his own strength. If love were that powerful, "where," he asks, "where [would] I hide, who [would] / show me a new heaven and a new world?" Rinuccini's Apollo, proud and sure in his vision of the cosmos, is still unaware of the new world of love that will open to him when he learns humility. That this new world is an *other* world—love being from heaven—will translate (as we shall see) into a desire, on the part of Apollo, for communion with a higher power. The belief that such communion is achievable, in part, by one's own actions⁵³ encourages an understanding of Apollo as an allegory for the earthly journey of the human soul: in Catholicism, the soul, divine in origin, is besmirched by pride and consigned to an earthly existence in which it must find

⁵³ Blundering and fitful though it may be, Apollo's pursuit is a series of actions driven by a desire—albeit blind—that ultimately results in his enlightenment.

its way back to its source by pursuing its desire for the higher, though this same desire can mislead one to the lower.⁵⁴

In Opitz, Apollo also mocks the idea that Cupid's art could overwhelm his own power. But his response to Venus's interjection is suggestive of a somewhat different view of the cosmos. "Because there is nothing contrary to you [i.e., Cupid]," he sings, "show me another heaven / Another earthly sphere, in which I can be free." Rinuccini's Apollo would know (mockingly) of a "new" realm—one to replace his old realm—in which he can "hide" from a greater power. He betrays, unwittingly, the reality of his present world, wherein his supremacy is based upon the fallacy that his is the stronger power. His passionate pursuit amounts to being educated in truth. Opitz's Apollo, however, cannot be said to have a need for such an education, because his supremacy is not based on a fallacy. His power inheres in his freedom to choose, which in his wonted plane of existence—the worldly realm—is unmitigated. The reality of his world is that all things—even great things, by this world's standards—can be accomplished by the exercise of one's own will and power, without reference to, or even belief in, another realm or a higher power.

Thus, Opitz's Apollo desires (mockingly) to be shown another realm in which he can retain his power of choice, should it prove true that all in this world must submit to love's rule. This means that his pursuit will translate (as we shall see) not, as in Rinuccini, into a desire for communion with a higher power, but into a desire to preserve the power that he possesses. Apollo might be understood here as an allegory for the

⁵⁴ Rinuccini's version of the story, then, departs from the "moralized Ovids" of the Middle Ages, which, as noted earlier, tend to view Apollo as Christ and Daphne as the human soul.

human soul, stubborn and proud. Yet insofar as Opitz does not point to any great Otherness, his work lacks the allegorical depth and richness of Rinuccini's work.

The ensuing exchange between Cupid, Apollo, and Venus (still in Act 2) is similar in both versions. Cupid warns Apollo that he is playing with fire, so to speak. Apollo jeeringly asks Cupid to spare his heart. Venus and Cupid then agree that Cupid should spare no effort in wreaking vengeance upon Apollo. The only essential difference between the two versions of this exchange is that Opitz, as might be expected, couches Cupid's threatened "violence" in terms that appeal to human anxieties. His Cupid promises to reward Apollo's "proud heart" ("dem stolzen Herzen") with "fear and death's agony" ("Angst und Todtes-Pein"), while Rinuccini's Cupid vows simply to "give that proud heart a / deadly wound."

The chorus that follows this exchange and ends Act 2 shows a similar focus on Opitz's part. Both versions begin with the chorus reflecting upon the relevance of the story to contemporary audiences.

Opitz: You little naked archer / When the bow that you draw / Gives such love-passion / That you can fell gods: / What then might you, O child / Do to us, who are mere mortals?

Rinuccini: Naked archer who bends the bow / with both eyes veiled, / Admirable marvel, / you can wound hearts mortally. / If you are inflamed and burning with resentment toward a god, / then what will be your disdain toward us?

In the chorus's ensuing evocation of the story of Narcissus, though, Opitz maintains his focus on his audience (while Rinuccini does not):

Our heart must become ill / *Our* minds are grieved / When *we* think on the youth / Who fell in love with himself.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Emphasis added in the translation.

This story of Narcissus and the nymph, Echo, who perishes for the love she bore to the youth now transformed into a flower, is used by both Rinuccini and Opitz to reinforce certain themes in the Apollo / Daphne story. Accordingly, the focus of each poet is different. Rinuccini, like Ovid, makes Echo (Daphne) the “culprit”:

One, weeping her lament in abandonment, / departed from this life. / The
sound was then heard / echoing through the caves / Still, she was not
forgiven. / So little does angry Cupid tolerate / the impiety of an
ungrateful heart.

Narcissus (Apollo) is described simply as “burn[ing] with love, / and weeping.” Opitz, on the other hand, makes Narcissus / Apollo the “culprit.” Already at the beginning of his evocation of the story, as we have seen, Opitz refers to Narcissus as “the youth / Who fell in love with himself.” In the next stanza Opitz expands upon this fault: “To be sure his beauty was great / Yet his arrogance was greater” (“Zwar sehr groß war seine Zier / Doch der Hochmuth gieng ihr für”). Echo (Daphne), meanwhile, is described merely as a nymph who “died . . . Far too deeply wounded by him” (“starb . . . Gar zu tieff durch ihn versehrt”). Unlike Rinuccini, Opitz places the blame for the nymph’s death on Narcissus, rather than on the victim herself. The object of Cupid’s wrath is therefore not so clear as it is in Rinuccini. The phrase “Cupid’s wrathful power / Punished such rigid splendor” (“Amors grimme Macht Straffte solche strenge Pracht”) *could* refer to Echo (since the passage appears in the stanza about her), but actually seems more appropriate to Narcissus, of whom Opitz writes in the following stanza: “So was he now bewitched by his own beauty / Until he came to an end” (“Also ward er jetzt bethöret Durch sein’ eygne Zierlichkeit / Biß er noch sein Ende nahm”).

This reading is confirmed in the chorus’s final stanza, which concludes the second act. Here Opitz gives overt voice to his idea of poetry as spiritual instruction. Where

Rinuccini depicts Cupid weeping over the loss of such a lover as Narcissus (Apollo),

Opitz summarizes the moral of the story:

Let us not adore ourselves / Let no one think too much of himself / And he
will not be deceived / And in fear without hope live: / Let no woman or
man wish him / To experience what Cupid can do.

Clearly, the model whose behavior Opitz warns against emulating here is Narcissus / Apollo.

To sum up, then, Opitz presents in his second act an Apollo whose pride is rooted in a will that is, in the worldly realm, all-powerful. This pride represents the mortification, so to speak, of divine power. In celebrating worldly freedom, Apollo forgets its limits. The theme of a divinity choosing self-determination over submission to a higher power of course parallels the story of Satan and his fall. Thus Narcissus—explicating Apollo, as it were—truly is a culprit: his kind of arrogance, which brings about the demise of Echo, also spells death for Man, who “think[s] too much of himself.” Apollo represents both the deceiver and the deceived, Satan and fallen mankind, neither of whom can do anything to regain his divine part. This Lutheran-steeped pessimism means that Apollo will seek only to preserve his power, because he cannot know about anything higher. By contrast, Rinuccini’s Apollo will learn to long for something higher, and will in the end achieve a kind of enlightenment through humility. The confinement to the visible, “literal” realities of earthly existence, finally, produces in Opitz an allegory that, for its failure to evoke an entire unseen realm, lacks the representational richness of Rinuccini’s work.

This richness is also lacking in the **third act**. In both versions, Daphne is first introduced here. The bulk of the action centers around her exchange with Apollo, whose

inflamed desire is met with cold indifference. Opitz follows Rinuccini in his portrayal of a god brought down to earth by passion:

Rinuccini [Apollo]: If mortal beauty / sparkles with such light, / I no longer care for heaven.

Opitz [Apollo]: If in beauteous mortality shines / The same light, I have no need to ask of heaven.

However, Opitz humanizes his Apollo to a much greater degree. Rinuccini's Apollo, though smitten by a mortal, never loses sight of his own divinity:

Ah, you [Daphne] are the huntress / not only of beasts / but of high gods as well, / you hunt with haughty glances.

This Apollo clearly numbers himself among the "high gods" vulnerable to this "huntress." Opitz, though, renders this passage thus:

You fell not just wild prey; / For the light of your proud eyes / Can also wound the gods themselves; / Their heart is certainly not for you.

Opitz's Apollo no longer associates himself with "the gods." "Their heart" is not for Daphne; his own heart, presumably invulnerable to such a "wound," certainly is. He possesses a self-confidence that could exist only within the worldly realm. That is, his belief in his own invulnerability is tenable as long as he perceives no evidence of a higher power. Insofar as Daphne is human, and Apollo's passion for her is earthly in origin, this Apollo has no reason to suppose that he will fail in his pursuit. Thus, in Opitz's translation Apollo's final words to the fleeing nymph (in Act 3) betray no sense of defeat:

Wherever you will [flee], so will I be able to follow. Nothing can escape from one who ardently loves.

By contrast, Apollo's final words in Rinuccini's third scene are a helpless "Wait Nymph, wait!" Immediately following this plea Rinuccini shifts away from earthly action. Cupid enters, commenting on the scene from his own divine perspective:

There let him catch her at the brook / O learn what it is to despise / My
 age and bow. / The eternal gods are looking / down from heaven / over my
 glories and victories / And you down here, o mortals, / celebrate the
 strength of / my golden arrows.

By offering a gods'-eye view here, Rinuccini makes clear that what inflames Apollo's desire is divine in origin. Though he himself may not yet be aware of it, Apollo longs for heaven, his place of origin. His earlier declaration that "if mortal beauty [i.e., Daphne] / sparkles with such light, / I no longer care for heaven" displays his degree of self-deception, but it also shows that his longing, though temporarily misplaced, is in fact always for the same thing. He "no longer care[s] for heaven" only because he mistakenly believes to have found here (on earth) what he knows he needs from there. His plea to the fleeing Daphne really is helpless, for what he is actually pursuing—divine love—is not within his reach. He is beginning to learn the limits of his power.

In his adaptation, Opitz deletes Cupid's entry and replaces it with a chorus of shepherds, who provide a decidedly earthly commentary on the action. Without Rinuccini's pointed explication of Apollo's passion as divine in origin, the exchange between Apollo and Daphne is to be understood (albeit in retrospect) in literal terms. Opitz sacrifices allegorical signification for mundane realism. The dialogue therefore highlights the human characteristics of Apollo and Daphne. Both characters are presented as thoroughly earth-bound and self-contained beings who choose to follow their respective passions. The key difference between them is that Daphne's passion (for the hunt) is regulated by reason, while Apollo's passion (for Daphne) is not. This difference is evident throughout their dialogue. Daphne's lines are characterized by calculated thought:

It is the track of the deer. . . . I think [my bow] will still bend properly. . . . I only have to see whether the arrow will fly / And be sharp as it should. . . . The animal is gaining distance; / I have to continue my pursuit.

Apollo's lines are characterized by anything but reason:

Who might this be / Who from the eyes lets shine / Such a brilliant heavenly light / That I feel sink into my heart? . . . The arrows of your eyes are sharp enough: I feel them well; they wound me from afar. . . . O flee not! That breaks my heart.

Daphne is portrayed here (as in the dedicatory poem) as both wiser and stronger, or at least more active, than Apollo.

In all, then, Daphne's passion, tempered by reason, is quite at odds with Apollo's impulsive passion. Yet her chase, which is also a flight from Apollo, is not directed toward some other world; she makes but scant reference to the gods as she pursues her worldly quarry. Thus Daphne is the allegorical complement to her pursuer: if Apollo represents passion divorced from reason, Daphne represents passion wed to reason. Both are earthbound, but Daphne more nearly embodies the Lutheran ideal, wherein the highest use of will is in service of human reason. Opitz's adaptation, then, is more a morality play on the virtues proper to mortal life than a picture of humanity's relationship to the divine.

Opitz reinforces this worldly view in his closing shepherds chorus, which, as noted above, replaces Rinuccini's exchange (which offers a divine perspective).⁵⁶ Here Opitz, again the poet-didact, models the earthly life lived as well as possible. "Whoever wants to devote his good life / To unattached peace[.]" he sings, will seek (like Daphne) only

Fields, wilderness, bush and heath. He does not like laziness, / Which only watches over evil / Which makes the indolent weaker / And breaks

⁵⁶ The 1598 libretto has this exchange at the beginning of Scene 4.

the power of the strong [i.e., Apollo]; / Which creates a spirit on the earth
that makes men into children.

Mindless “desire” or passion (which rules Apollo) is to be avoided as undependable, insubstantial, too evocative of humankind’s greatest weakness, death: it “stands like a mere shadow / That now comes and now goes.” This third act, then, presents in its directed, reasonable, “fleissige” Daphne the best that humans can do.

Opitz’s **fourth act** follows Rinuccini’s fourth scene closely. All of Rinuccini’s main themes (as outlined above) are there: the gods themselves have no power over love, love is connected to suffering, the prospect of pain causes humans to turn away from love, and love is ultimately as inescapable as death. Even Rinuccini’s reference to heaven (Venus to Cupid: “It is now time / to return to heaven”) is kept by Opitz (Venus: “It is time / To go home / Into the house of eternity”). The overall “purpose” of this fourth act/scene in both versions, it seems, is to remind its respective Christian audiences that love comes from heaven, and that as an attribute of God, love is indomitable.⁵⁷ This message, largely the same in Catholicism and in Protestantism, yields similar results in the two dramas.

Likewise, the one main theological difference yields the one key difference in the two dramas. This difference involves free will, which (as discussed in Chapter 2) Catholicism accepts and Lutheranism rejects, with respect to matters of the spirit. Thus Rinuccini’s final chorus, which describes love as infusing all of creation, nonetheless includes the proviso that “only simple mortals arm hearts” against love. The last two lines of the scene, though admitting that “there is no heart in human breast / that does not feel love,” do not contradict this proviso: humans can still choose whether or not to act on

⁵⁷ It will be remembered that the material of act / scene 4 is not found in Ovid.

this feeling.⁵⁸ Opitz's final chorus also suggests that humans have some power of choice, but, as might be expected, it avoids concluding that we can in fact reject this gift from heaven. Rather than stating that mortals can "arm [their] hearts," Opitz merely acknowledges that "it is only man who . . . *wants* to have a heart / That does not give in to love" (emphasis added) ("Der Mensch ist's der . . . will ein Herze haben Das nicht der Liebe weicht"). That humans in the end cannot actually choose to abjure love is made clear in Opitz's last two lines: "There is nothing on the earth / That does not give in to love" ("kein Ding sey auff Erden Das nicht der Liebe weicht"). In the Lutheran world, there is no free will with respect to heaven.

Opitz's **fifth and final act** differs significantly from that of his model. Most obvious, perhaps, is that he fashions Rinuccini's fifth and sixth scenes into a single act. This is no mere compression, though; Opitz clearly follows his own intentions here. To begin with, rather than following Rinuccini, in which a "nunzio" narrates Daphne's transformation as a past event, Opitz picks up the action where he left it before the final chorus of Act 3, and proceeds to narrate the culmination of Daphne's flight from Apollo as it happens. The importance of this change can be seen in a comparison of the two poets' opening lines.

Opitz [Apollo]: Stay, Nymph, stay; I am not your enemy / You need not run, my light, / As when a poor sheep is driven away by the wolf.

Rinuccini [Nunzio]: What new miracle / Have my eyes seen? / O eternal Gods, / . . . in heaven. . . . Was it punishment or pity / to change the beauteous soul?

⁵⁸ These lines also do not contradict—as they may at first seem to—Rinuccini's ideas that the gods themselves have no power over love, and that love is ultimately inescapable. The individual's choice merely governs the individual's behavior, which has no effect, presumably, on God's choosing to love all individuals.

Rinuccini begins by invoking the gods and then narrates the main event of the story from a temporal/spatial remove. Rinuccini takes the opportunity (so to speak) offered by the references to divinity in the fourth scene and chooses to remain largely in this “other” place in the final scenes. Opitz, though, apparently views the references of the fourth act as a mere reminder, and returns directly to the earthly realm of his first three acts.

Opitz’s portrayal of this world in the fifth act, however, is not the same as in the first three acts. Earlier, Apollo had seemed to prefer the earthly life, for it offered what appeared to be complete autonomy of will.⁵⁹ But in Act 5 he begins to learn the limits of free will. In the first stanza he sings, regarding his pain (at being rejected by Daphne): “Of what use to me now is my art / Through which normally / All can be healed.” As Daphne’s transformation begins, he cries out to the “coarse bark” of the developing laurel tree: “Shall then the unspoiled beauty / That could bind my heart and mind / Be covered by you forever?” And the metamorphosis, once complete, is “read” as Daphne’s death, an event that causes a level of anguish so extreme as to make Apollo feel mortal: “Although I am otherwise immortal / Yet I die away on account of her.” Because this Apollo is so thoroughly ensconced in the earthly realm, there is a sense of futility in his lines that can only be described as human. Though Opitz has returned to the realm of the first three acts here, the intervening fourth act has had its effect: the “reminder” of heaven and the unlimited power of its (Christian) God underscores, by way of contrast, humanity’s ultimate powerlessness.

Futility is not a theme in Rinuccini, for as noted above, his closing scenes largely remain in the other realm of the fourth scene. His focus is on divine power, rather than

⁵⁹ The focus is on Apollo, because only he (as a god) both *had* the choice of realms *and* chose the earthly one.

on human weakness. Thus when Apollo does appear on earth, in the sixth scene, his lament over Daphne's "death" is more a moment of transformation than one of despair. His awareness of his pain—"although immortal / I languish and die"—is a tacit acknowledgement of his defeat at the hands of Cupid. What dies here is his arrogant human side. Once reawakened to the truth that he is not omnipotent, Apollo is restored, ironically, to his godly stature. His references to himself, in this closing scene, as "immortal" and "a heavenly god" underscore this change. His grief signifies the humility that (in a Catholic sense) can effect a return to grace. The transformed Daphne has become an eternal reminder to him that his might is subordinate to love's power.

The corresponding passage in Opitz's version has nothing of this transformation. Opitz's Apollo despairs of ever being restored to his status as master of the sun. Not being able to see beyond his own grief, he sings to his changed beloved: "Here is my sunlight / This the bright day-candle / That drives away the night."⁶⁰ Daphne has been the whole object of his desire, and now she is gone. Her metamorphosis, or death, has become a reminder to him of his own limitations, yet he does not assume his divine stature as emphatically as Rinuccini's Apollo does. His pursuit has been about exercising his own power, rather than looking for something higher, so he is now doomed to contemplate his loss in literal, earthly terms. His willfulness, affording him no access to his former status, has rendered him effectively human.

The transformed Daphne is also meant to be regarded in earthly terms by Opitz's audience. In the closing chorus of the work, the nymphs and shepherds sing:

⁶⁰ Interestingly, in the libretto for Gagliano's 1608 setting Apollo is restored to his role as master of the sun, but with the appropriate humility: "I will never drive / my flaming chariot / at the sky's summit / without turning my eyes, / wretched and sorrowful, / down on your leafy hair, / crying out your beautiful name / a thousand times."

Increase and grow evermore / O diamond-laurel bush, gem of the fields /
 Before whom the serpents flee / Who quells evil pleasure and pain /
 Against whose might no poison can contend / Nor us pervade.

Daphne is to be remembered as a model by which to live in this world. Her unswerving adherence to reason exemplifies the highest power humans possess, the only earthly power that can “quell” the “pleasure and pain” associated with passion. Thus Opitz’s version of the story ends, as might be expected—considering Opitz viewed poetry as a vehicle for moral instruction—with an explication, as it were, of the moral of the story, its “practical” relevance to its audience.

The Music of *Dafne*

It is indeed a pity that Schütz’s score is lost. It would be particularly interesting to know whether the composer sought to underscore Opitz’s advocacy of Protestant virtues with appropriate music. It is too tempting not to consider here some music that Hans Joachim Moser included in his discussion of *Dafne* in his 1936 book *Heinrich Schütz: His Life and Work* (see Ex. 3.1).⁶¹ This music, according to the manuscript’s compiler—one Rector Funcke—was “printed by H. Opitz in his *Dafne*.” Moser surmises that if the music “did not originate with a Görlitz musician,” it must have been written by “a composer who had been associated with Opitz. Such a one could doubtless only have been Schütz.”⁶²

⁶¹ Music copied from Hans Joachim Moser, *Heinrich Schütz: His Life and Work*, trans. Carl F. Pfatteicher (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 398.

⁶² Moser, 396-397. Moser includes five excerpts potentially by Schütz, one from each act of *Dafne*. Though he does not give the precise date of the manuscript, Moser does mention that these excerpts are given in connection with a “*Hymenäisches Freudenspiel*” from the year 1667, a work intended “for Funcke’s own second wedding.” It is not clear what relationship these excerpts had with this “*Freudenspiel*.”

Ex. 3.1 Closing Shepherds Chorus from Act 3 of Opitz's *Dafne* (composer unknown), Görlitz manuscript (Milich fol. 129)



Liebe, wer sich selber haßt, aber wer sein gutes Leben
 will der freyen Ruh ergeben, reißt sich von der argen Lust,
 suchet für das süße Leyden Selber, Wild, Gepüsch und Heyden.

I.
 Liebe, wer sich selber haßt,
 Aber wer sein gutes Leben
 Will der freyen Ruh ergeben
 Reißt sich von der argen Lust,
 Suchet für das süße Leyden
 Felder, Wild, Gepüsch und Heyden.

Love whoever hates himself,
 But whoever wants to devote
 His good life to unattached peace
 Tears himself from evil desire,
 And seeks for the sweet suffering
 Fields, game, thicket and heath.

II.
 Ihm gefällt die Faulheit nicht
 Die nicht als zum bösen wachet /
 Die den trägen schwächer macht /
 Und der starcken Krafft zerbricht;
 Die den Geist zeucht auff die Erden /
 Und heißt Männer Kinder werden.

He does not like laziness
 Which only watches over evil,
 Which makes the indolent weaker,
 And breaks the power of the strong;
 Creating a spirit on the earth,
 That makes men into children.

Moser, however, is disinclined to conclude that this music—at least as it appears in this admittedly error-laden manuscript—is in fact by Schütz.⁶³ But if it is in any way representative of Schütz's setting, one might well assume that the composer's intentions matched those of the librettist. The syllabic, hymn-like song set for shepherds—the dramatic counterparts of the common people championed by Protestantism—certainly fits the means and ends of Luther's prescriptions for music, not least in its metric

⁶³ Moser, 400, finds too many "false progressions in the middle voices . . . which certainly cannot be charged to Schütz." He concludes that these excerpts are probably the work of "someone like Rector Funcke or one of the Görlitz cantors from the circle of his friends" (400).

conformity to the stress patterns of the German text. The piece's note-against-note style, sustained cadences, and simple, direct appeal also bring to mind the chorale settings Bach would later use in his cantatas and passions to maximize the accessibility of various moral "lessons." Indeed, this setting seems to serve such a function. Its text exemplifies Opitz's poetic didacticism.

The advice given in the first stanza to abandon unreasonable passion for something more down-to-earth is complemented in the second stanza (included on Ex. 3.1) by another Protestant virtue, namely industry. (Presumably this second stanza, along with the four that follow it, would have been sung to the same music.) The uncluttered directness of this setting surely would have gratified Opitz's passion for propagating poetry's inner religious content. The composer's sensitivity to the metric and strophic regularity of the verses would have pleased the poet no less in his crusade for prosodic uniformity.⁶⁴

Opitz in fact regularized much of Rinuccini's comparatively flexible poetic approach, which had been designed for Peri's emerging recitative style. Rinuccini's flexibility is seen, for example, in Apollo's Act 1 entrance (where Apollo announces his slaying of the python):

Pur giacque estinto al fine	a
In sul terren sanguigno	b

⁶⁴ Again, Opitz prescribed the regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, in iambic or trochaic feet. Aikin elaborates: "The alexandrine verse, as used and promoted by Opitz, is a line composed of six stressed syllables, each paired with unstressed syllables in iambic or trochaic feet, broken in the center with a caesura (pause), and ending with either masculine or feminine rhyme" (161, n. 2). Opitz did not restrict himself to the hexameter, though. The prevailing tastes seem to have encouraged some variety in line length. Thus Mikhail Leonovich Gasparov writes that "the dominant measures in German poetry of the baroque period . . . remained the old but newly syllabo-tonicized [stress-based] iambic tetrameter as short line, and as long line the newly introduced alexandrine iambic hexameter with a caesura after the third foot." See Gasparov, *A History of European Versification*, trans. G. S. Smith and Marina Tarlinskaja, ed. G. S. Smith with Leofranc Holford-Strevens (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 196. And indeed the verses in the above example (Ex. 3.1) are in tetrameter (albeit with trochaic feet). Trimeter was also one of Opitz's choices for shorter lines, as we shall see.

Dall' invitt'arco mio l'Angue maligno.	B
Securi itene al bosco	c
Ninfe e Pastori ite securi al prato . . .	D

The librettist imbues his recitative verse with a semblance of speech by avoiding predictability, both in the alternation of seven- and eleven-syllable lines (typical of sixteenth-century madrigal verse) and in the use of rhyme.⁶⁵

In Opitz's adaptation, these lines of Apollo are cast into a consistent iambic trimeter with a predictable rhyme scheme:

So ist dann nun dem Drachen	a
Durch meines Bogens Macht	b
Gestillt der wilde Rachen?	a
Umbringt jhn nun die Nacht	b
Der vor die Pest der Erden /	c
Die Schew der Menschen war?	d
Ihr Hirten bringt die Herden;	c
Ihr seydt nun auß Gefahr.	d

The squareness of this general poetic approach would certainly be better served, musically, by a form like the syllabic, strophic Lied or the chorale-like chorus than by the stile recitativo, in which Peri attempted to simulate the patterns of ordinary speech.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ And there is no attempt to regularize the contrast between stressed and unstressed syllables through the use of iambs or trochees. According to Mikhail Gasparov (in *A History of European Versification*) the *endecasillabo* (eleven-syllable line), which “played the role of long line in Italian poetic tradition” (124), had “obligatory stress” (123) in two places: either the fourth or sixth syllable, plus the tenth syllable. The second hemistich (part of the line) did become “firmly iambic,” but the first “retained its rhythmical freedom” (124). The *settenario* (seven-syllable line) was in actuality “a broken-off fragment of the *endecasillabo*; in fact its second hemistich” (124). The seven-syllable line was typically iambic, in other words. Yet with the unpredictable alternation of seven- and eleven-syllable lines, together with the flexibility of the first part of the eleven-syllable line, Italian poetry avoided the thoroughly syllabo-tonic patternization that German poets like Opitz sought. Gasparov concludes: “A more regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables seemed monotonous to the Italian ear” (124). See Gasparov, 122-125, for a full discussion of the *endecasillabo*. Seven- and eleven-syllable lines were characteristic of Italian Renaissance poetry, perhaps most famously Tasso's *Aminta* and Guarini's *Pastor Fido*. On Rinuccini's poetic debt to Tasso and Guarini, see Hanning, 78-81. In the analysis of this and other poetic excerpts, I have indicated rhymes with repeating letters. Upper and lower case correspond to longer and shorter lines, respectively.

⁶⁶ For Peri's style, see Hanning, *Of Poetry and Music's Power*, 74-75. It might be noted, again, that Opitz did not restrict himself to any one formula regarding line length; like Rinuccini, he effectively contrasted long and short lines. Yet there is nonetheless a certain rigidity, or pervasive sonic regularity, in Opitz's prosody. As Gasparov notes, Opitz rejected the “principle of constructing the German alexandrine

Thus, while it cannot be known whether Schütz sought to highlight Opitz's theological slant—or indeed whether the example from the Görlitz manuscript in any way resembles Schütz's setting—it does seem clear that Schütz must have relied heavily on conservative, Germanic musical forms in his treatment of Opitz's text.⁶⁷

Opitz and the Demands of Drama

As a “learned teacher of the Protestant faith,”⁶⁸ Opitz no doubt wished to underscore the theological framework underlying his reading of the Daphne myth, to make a bit more explicit what is at times only implicit in his adaptation. Yet, the translation, if it was to be presented as a German version of Italian drama per musica, had to appear to be a primarily dramatic, as opposed to didactic, work. This same tension between the secular dramatic and the sacred didactic would come to characterize the Trauerspiel, which Opitz defined, or described, in the *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*.⁶⁹ The moral matter at the core of that genre would likewise depend on the allegorical mode as its vehicle for expression. And there, too, the literalness of the Lutheran worldview, one in which the heavenly can only be understood insofar as it is represented in the mundane, would problematize its own referential mechanism: the firm

according to the free rhythm of the French alexandrine” (a system espoused by his contemporary Georg Rudolf Weckherlin) in favor of the “iambic syllabo-tonism of the Dutch alexandrine” (194). The insistence on a fairly strict alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables lends a regularity or “squareness” to the adapted verse that is not found in Rinuccini, despite the fact that both poets contrasted line lengths.

⁶⁷ Ellen T. Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition*, 70, surmises that Schütz's setting might have possessed some of the same musical characteristics as the later German spiritual pastoral *Seelewig* (1644), composed by Johann Theophilus Staden. Harris believes that “Staden's use of evenly barred measures, strong rhythms, strophic song forms, and general musical organization” imbued the “art of the ‘seconda prattica’, the supremacy of words over music,” with a greater lyricism. “Presumably Schütz's opera, *Daphne*,” she continues, “was also more lyrical than its Italian original. Lyricism, an early feature of German opera, and the regular use of chorus and dance, remained conspicuous features of the German pastoral.” We will examine *Seelewig* in detail in Chapter 4.

⁶⁸ Cf. n. 14, above.

⁶⁹ Cf. n. 6, above. Opitz's description of the Trauerspiel is found on p. 27.

separation of heaven and earth resulting from Lutheranism's belief that humans have no access to the divine puts the emphasis on the literal realities being portrayed. As we shall see, Andreas Gryphius resolved this tension in the Trauerspiel by "locating" the allegorical referencing largely in the explicatory chorus, apart from the drama per se.

In his adaptation of *Dafne*, though, Opitz had a unique political context to contend with, one that prohibited the explicit underscoring of any potentially subversive theology. Opitz's *Dafne* was the product of Johann Georg's attempt to effect a political balance wherein an ostensible subjection to the Empire would guarantee (as far as possible) his independence. Just as Johann Georg's political survival required him to work within the "system," so Opitz's "message" could not dominate its "host" genre. As the Thirty Years War drew to a close in 1648, the external pressures influencing the development of German opera became more artistic in nature. Italian opera, increasingly popular in the north, was no vehicle for German theological didacticism. Adaptations of Italian models naturally became largely Italian products. As a model for German opera, then, the direct adaptation would ultimately have little lasting influence.

Even before mid-century, though, other German composers and librettists, working primarily in Nuremberg, were experimenting with an altogether different approach to German opera. The spiritual pastoral, conceived as overtly theological and didactic, provided an alternative solution to the dramatic problem inherent in the adaptation. Among the earliest of the sung German spiritual pastorals is *Seelewig* (1644), with music by Johann Theophilus Staden and text by Georg Philipp Harsdörffer. We will turn our attention to this work, the first German "opera" to survive with music, in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

Selewig: A German Exemplar

The early history of opera in Italy is marked by a striking conceptual heterogeneity. While the genre seems to be rooted in a single literary genre, this genre—the pastoral—was itself flexible enough to give rise, more or less concurrently, to such disparate conceptions as Rinuccini's *Dafne* (Florence, 1598) and *La Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo* (Rome, 1600; music by Emilio de' Cavalieri, libretto by Padre Agostino Manni). These particular works embody two distinct trends in the Renaissance approach to the pastoral. On the one hand, humanistic poets enraptured by things Greek tended to adopt an essentially secular approach. *Dafne* represents this type, which seems to have been particularly well suited for dramatic treatment.¹ On the other hand, poets of a more religious-didactic bent (and professional obligation, of course) tended to emphasize the moral-allegorical and religious possibilities inherent in the pastoral. *La Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo* represents this approach.

The latter “pastoral morality,” as Ellen Harris calls it, inspired a number of similar works, including *Eumelio: Dramma pastorale* (Rome, 1606) by Agostino Agazzari and *La Catena d'Adone: Favola boschereccia* (Rome, 1626) by Domenico Mazzocchi.² Clearly the pastoral morality had dramatic possibilities. It cannot be denied, though, that operas

¹ Ellen T. Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), 9, refers to the “lascivious, mythological [type of] pastoral performed at Florence.” As we have seen, even the fundamentally secular, non-didactic *Dafne* bears suggestive religious elements. In her detailed discussion of the pastoral, Harris does not emphasize the secular / religious divide—probably because the “divide” is rarely so clean—though she does discuss a “religious pastoral” and a “pastoral morality” (9). Rather, she concludes that there were essentially four types of pastorals, two on each side of an “idealized”-versus-“realistic” axis (see 13). For the purposes of the present discussion, however, it seems logical to discuss pastoral types on the basis of how overtly they incorporate religious allegory.

² See *ibid.*, 9.

incorporating a more secular approach to the pastoral (beginning with *Dafne*) would ultimately have a greater influence on the development of Italian opera as public entertainment. The overtly didactic means of the pastoral morality were not particularly responsive to the demands of the *stile rappresentativo*, with its emphasis on dramatic realism and expression.³ The primary strength of the pastoral morality was precisely that it could serve as a vehicle for religious didacticism. It was only natural, then, that Georg Philipp Harsdörffer and Johann Theophilus Staden would turn to the model established by Cavalieri in the creation of their own “spiritual pastoral” *Seelewig* (Nuremberg, 1644).

Harsdörffer was influenced by Italian thinkers and artists in a number of important ways, as we shall see. In the case of *Seelewig*, the Italian influence was filtered through a German work, the anonymous *Ein gar Schön Geistliches Waldgetichte genant die Glückseelige Seele* (n.p., 1637). As Mara Wade notes, this work, a “specifically Catholic drama,” was essentially a translation of an Italian original.⁴ Externally, Harsdörffer’s *Seelewig* corresponds with the 1637 work in some rather obvious ways, nowhere more so than in the character names.⁵

1637
Seele (nympha)

1644
Seelewig (Nymfe)

³ The musical expression of this realism demanded a new poetic flexibility. Thus Barbara R. Hanning, *Of Poetry and Music’s Power: Humanism and the Creation of Opera* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), 107, writes: “In order to realize the degree of Rinuccini’s musical sensitivity in creating a poetry suitable to convey a truly expressive style, one need only compare the settings by Peri and Caccini to the dialogue between Anima and Corpo by Cavalieri . . . , wherein little variation is admitted in matters such as phrase structure, cadential goals, and rhythmic motion.”

⁴ See Mara R. Wade, *The German Baroque Pastoral ‘Singspiel’* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1990), 133 and 47. Wade points out that in the second volume of his *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (1642), Harsdörffer includes the 1637 play “in his index of works used as his sources” (120). (Cf. n. 15, below, for more on the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*.) Wade gives no further information about this anonymous source, beyond noting that it is a “religious pastoral drama from Silesia” (181 n. 19). Klaus Winkler, however, claims that the 1637 drama, a product of the Jesuit theater, was printed in Breslau in 1637, and that it was a translation of Nicolò Negri’s *Anima felice, favola boscareccia et spirituale* (1609). See Winkler’s liner notes to the only recording of *Seelewig*, by I Ciarlatani, Klaus Winkler, director (CPO/Südwestrundfunk, compact disk 999 905-2).

⁵ The following comparative list of characters is reproduced from Wade, 127. Wade observes that the Catholic work (1637) lists the “dramatic persons” in both German and Latin, while Harsdörffer uses German exclusively (127).

Sinn (pastor)	Sinnigunda (Nymfe)
Gewissen (matrona)	Gwissulda (Matron)
Vornunft (regina)	Herzigild (Verstand, Vernunft; Nymfpe)
Sathan (satyrus)	Trügewalt (Satyro, Waldgeist)
Widerhahl (echo)	Echo (Widerhall)
Welt (pastor sumtuosus)	Ehrelob (Schäfer)
Lust (pastor)	Reichimut (Schäfer)
Lache (pastor)	Künsteling (Schäfer)

In terms of plot, Harsdörffer's work resembles both the 1637 drama and the Italian works that preceded it, including the *Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo*. The story tropes one of Christianity's traditional teachings: the soul, divine in origin ("Seelewig," "die Glückseelige Seele," "Anima"), must learn to resist the temptations of the flesh.

Harsdörffer departs from his models in his use of specifically Protestant theology. As Wade notes, "in Harsdörffer's *Seelewig*, a literary contrafacture occurs in which a specifically Catholic drama is revised in such a fashion to make it acceptable to Protestant Central German audiences."⁶ Wade cites in particular Harsdörffer's deletion of the idea of "the mystical marriage of Christ to the soul . . . , a theme well known to the church Fathers." The "marriage topos" is traditionally associated with "ascent and descent, and the geographical location of Paradise and Hell. The soul must toil up a long and difficult path to reach the rewards at the peak."⁷ The deletion, or minimization, of this geographical imagery of course conforms to the Protestant outlook, according to which the soul cannot attain paradise through its own efforts.

Wade also notes Harsdörffer's curious reconfiguration of the shepherd figures, from the "bridegroom of the Soul" in the 1637 work to instruments of evil, beings who represent "earthly vices" and provide aid in the "temptation and attempted seduction of Seelewig."⁸

⁶ Wade, 133.

⁷ See Wade, 133-35. As we shall see, the suggestion of high and low places is not altogether deleted by Harsdörffer, though it is minimized and placed within a specific theological context unique to Harsdörffer's particular religious outlook.

⁸ Wade, 140.

Wade interprets: “The carefree, often frivolous shepherds’ ways of classical Arcadian literature were incongruent with the Christian ethos, particularly that of Protestant northern and central German-speaking lands.”⁹ Much of traditional Catholicism regarded the allegorization of pastoral figures as unproblematic. As we saw in Chapter 3, the pastoral in the Renaissance typically incorporated “Arcadian” imagery scattered throughout the Bible. Thus the 1637 drama presents “the image of the good shepherd who brings his sheep to verdant pastures.”¹⁰ Opitz’s *Dafne*, too, presents shepherds as good, or at least morally neutral, characters. What was different for Harsdörffer’s Protestant circle, as we shall see, was a kind of “pre-Pietistic” distrust of the sensory world; the traditional rustic figures of the pastoral were apparently too “earthy” to be imbued with divine qualities.¹¹

Wade’s observations, though interesting and consequential, are limited to literary topoi. Yet *Seelewig* is also the product of a great deal of theorizing, on the part of Harsdörffer and his literary circle, about the nature of language and music on a purely sonic level. *Seelewig* is much more than just a literary contrafacture. It uses sound itself to represent, on a deeply conceptual level, something of humanity’s relationship to the divine. The connection between sound and spirit also has its origins in earlier Italian ideas. Marsilio Ficino, who clearly influenced Harsdörffer, developed a “‘music-spirit’ theory,” notes Barbara Hanning, “as early as 1489.” Hanning continues:

According to Ficino (and later, Girolamo Mei), the peculiar power of music (and poetry) resides in the fact that, unlike other sensual stimuli, it is carried by air, which is also the medium of the *spiritus*. It follows that hearing is superior to the other senses because the ear, containing air and thus capable of receiving the movements of music, transmits these movements to the *spiritus*, which, being itself movement, can impart them in turn to the soul.¹²

⁹ Ibid., 140.

¹⁰ Ibid., 138.

¹¹ More on this below.

¹² Hanning, 27. More on Ficino below.

However, Harsdörffer employed this idea in the service of particularly Protestant ideology. In order for this to be successful, music, specifically pre-verbal sound, had to be regarded as an equal player (or perhaps even as a superior player) in the drama and in the conveyance of the message. Music was certainly not subordinate to other arts.

Thus Harsdörffer uses the common Renaissance theme of the sister arts to promote a vision of artistic unity and equality. The result is that *Seelewig* possesses a musical emphasis¹³ that goes well beyond mere effect. This is another trait that distinguishes the work from its Italian precedents, particularly the *Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo*. The verses of the latter work, as Hanning points out, are “bound by a stylized expression through which the poetry is made to serve the ‘beauty of the music’ rather than the music being called upon to enhance the affections of the poetry.”¹⁴ In *Seelewig*, music is employed as neither the mistress nor the servant of the text. Rather, it articulates the drama of the soul as only sound can do.

The theorizing that led to the creation of *Seelewig* of course did not occur in the solitude of Harsdörffer’s study. The ideas were developed within the context of one of Germany’s important literary societies, Nuremberg’s Blumenorden an der Pegnitz, which was modeled on the humanistic societies of Italy. Fortunately, much of the theorizing is recorded in the multi-volume work within which *Seelewig* is embedded: the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*.¹⁵ A proper understanding of *Seelewig*’s importance to the history of German opera necessitates an investigation of the conceptual and historical ground from which it emerged. Before studying the work itself, then, we will outline some of Harsdörffer’s key theories, look at his relationship to the “pre-Pietistic” environment of the

¹³ The emphasis is on poetic “music” as well as actual music, as we shall see.

¹⁴ Hanning, 107.

¹⁵ The *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* is an eight-volume work (Nuremberg, 1641-1649) that also promulgates the kind of literary reforms espoused earlier by Opitz and generally furthers the cause of legitimatizing German literature. *Seelewig* appears in Volume 4 (1644).

Nuremberg poetic school, and investigate *Seelewig's* place within the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*.

Harsdörffer and Klangmalerei

In his *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer expresses the following view: “Poetry [is] nothing other than a natural picture that is painted with properly artistic word colors; painting, however, [is] a silent poem, and proper to the planning stages of poetry.”¹⁶ Implicit in this view is a performative conception of poetry reminiscent of Greek practice, wherein expression is dependent upon sound. Much has been made of the notion of “tone painting” in Harsdörffer. Literary critic Wolfgang Kayser, for example, seeks to comprehend Harsdörffer’s preoccupation with sound within a greater history of “europäischen Klangmalerei in Theorie und Praxis.”¹⁷ This history, according to Kayser, begins with a distinction between tone painting as principle of word formation (“Wortbildungsprinzip”) and as rhetorical figure (“rhetorische Figur”), i.e., between “Klangmalerei” as the imitation of sounds and as sound symbolism (“Lautsymbolik”).

Proponents of symbolism view the word not as the bearer of the “will of tones” (“Träger des Klangwillens”), but as the representation (as opposed to imitation) of natural occurrences (“Naturvorgänge”). Proponents of imitation, on the other hand, view the word as a succession of sounds derived from nature and effective as an expression of mood (“Stimmungsausdruck”). Here the tone (“der Klang”) is understood as a purely musical principle (“musikalisches Prinzip”). Presumably Kayser would connect Harsdörffer with this

¹⁶ “Die Poeterey [ist] nichts anderes, als ein natürliches Gemäld, welches mit kunstschicklichen Wortfarben ausgestrichen wird; die Mahlerey aber ein stummes Gedicht, und zu vorgedachter Dichtkunst gehörig” (IV, CL VI, 99). Quoted in Herbert Cysarz, *Deutsche Barockdichtung* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1979), 106. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are mine.

¹⁷ The following overview of Kayser’s history of “tone painting” paraphrases Hans Pyritz’s reading of Kayser. See “Wolfgang Kayser: Die Klangmalerei bei Harsdörffer. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Literatur, Poetik und Sprachtheorie der Barockzeit (1932),” in *Deutsche Barockforschung: Dokumentation einer Epoche*, ed. Richard Alewyn (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1968): 431-436 (esp. 432).

latter view. The poet's delight in tones that have no semantic basis indicates (to Kayser) a "Klangmalerei" that is merely decorative.¹⁸

Obviously such "Klangmalerei" can be problematic, for inevitably the poet who delights in sound per se will have to make choices, at least occasionally, between clarity of meaning and beauty of sound. As Herbert Cysarz points out, the sonorities of the Nuremberg school—which included, besides Harsdörffer, Johann Klaj (1616-1656) and Sigmund von Birken (1626-1681)—“were indeed ridiculed often enough by contemporaries.”¹⁹ And Cysarz himself finds that “the poetic and the musical [in this poetry] often do not complement and support each other.”²⁰ They both do give rise, however, to the essential strengths—in Cysarz's description, the “leisurely theatrical” (“trabend Theatralische”) and the “delicately musical” (“zierlich Musikalische”)—of the Nuremberg poetic style.²¹ Perhaps it is the challenge to harmonize these “Aristotelean” and “Jesuit” strengths that gives rise, in turn, to the desire for a “Gesamtkunstwerk” on the part of the Nuremberg poets.²² If so, the first thoroughly German “opera,” *Seelewig*, might be found to embody an essential tension, resolved more or less successfully, between poetry and music.

¹⁸ See *ibid.*, 433ff: “Freude am Klang als bloßem Schmuck.” Tones, and music, must ultimately be “decorative” if sounds are not essentially representative.

¹⁹ Cysarz, 113: “Nürnberger Wortgeläut ist schon von Zeitgenossen oft genug verspottet worden.”

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 113: “Das Dichterische und das Musikalische ergänzen und stützen sich oft nicht.”

²¹ *Ibid.*, 114.

²² *Ibid.*, 114. Cysarz makes reference to Aristotle and the Jesuits, associating the former with the theatrical and the latter with the musical. Aristotle's *Poetics* of course had its continuing effects on dramaturgical Ausbildung. Jesuit drama, known for its use of music, was also an important influence on the development of German Baroque theater. See Judith Aikin, *German Baroque Drama* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 16ff. The use of the term “Gesamtkunstwerk” in connection with the Nuremberg school seems to stem from Cysarz, writing in the 1920s. It has since become an accepted descriptor. Robert Browning, *German Baroque Poetry, 1618-1723* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971), 125, writes: “Cysarz was not wrong in speaking of a ‘Gesamtkunstwerk’. Elements of lyric, epic, and dramatic poetry, music, painting and oratory are . . . combined to form a unique linguistic product.” Hellmuth Christian Wolff, *Die Barockoper in Hamburg (1678-1738)* (Wolfenbüttel: Mösel Verlag, 1957), 20, makes the point that the Baroque “Gesamtkunstwerk” should be distinguished from that of Wagner. “In the Baroque opera,” he writes, “each art keeps to its assigned circle in an independent and stylistically pure manner” (behält in der barocken Oper jede Kunst ihren Aufgabenkreis in selbstständiger und stilreiner Weise”).

Much of the criticism that has been leveled against *Seelewig* would in fact suggest a less-than-successful marriage of “strengths.” To John Warrack, for instance, the work “exemplifie[s] the degree to which intelligent theorizing lay far ahead of musical achievement in these years.”²³ Hans Joachim Moser is less subtle and directs his criticism at the music, calling *Seelewig* “a clumsily cadencing, stickily moving affair” and expressing the belief that “Schütz’s genius and far higher culture must surely have produced something better than this [in *Dafne*].”²⁴ Donald Grout, too, finds something lacking in the music, at least as compared to Italian precedents: “There is evidence of some effort to write in the recitative style, but Staden has not acquired the knack; consequently, most of the songs are short melodies, and nearly all are in strophic form [, which] . . . is far from ideal for dramatic purposes.”²⁵

Ellen Harris, though, defends Staden’s score. To her, the typical criticisms result from an “invalid” comparison of *Seelewig* with the “stile rappresentativo” or “theatre style” of Peri and Caccini.²⁶ Harris perceives the “evenly barred measures, strong rhythms, [and] strophic song forms” not as failures to emulate the freedom of the “theatre style,” but as evidence of an adherence to the “‘seconda prattica’, the supremacy of words over music.”²⁷ Indeed, for Harris, Staden’s tight musical organization brings to the principles of the second practice the possibility of greater “lyricism,” a quality that Harris considers “an early feature of German opera.”²⁸ Interestingly, even this positive view suggests that *Seelewig* does not embody an entirely successful marriage of poetry and music as components of a “Gesamtkunstwerk,” if the latter term is understood as a work to whose artistic end each of

²³ John Warrack, *German Opera: From the Beginnings to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 24.

²⁴ Hans Joachim Moser, *Heinrich Schütz: His Life and Work*, trans. Carl F. Pfatteicher (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 396.

²⁵ Donald Jay Grout, *A Short History of Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), 152.

²⁶ Harris, 69.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 69-70. The translation of *stile rappresentativo* as “theatre style” is Grout’s. See Grout, 46.

its constituent means contributes integrally.²⁹ Music that merely serves words is ultimately decorative, inasmuch as it surrenders pride of place, regarding dramatic expression, to the text.³⁰

There is some evidence that Harsdörffer held this understanding of “Gesamtkunstwerk.” He writes in the third volume of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (1643), for example, that “all the arts hang together as in a chain, so to speak, in which one link is joined to the other” and that the strength of each link is due to its uniqueness. “Poetry is a painting,” he continues, “painting is harmonious music, and music is, as it were, soulful poetry.”³¹ The fourth volume of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* contains a similar passage: “No one knowledgeable will deny that painting is a sister to poetry and music. All three contain balanced creative powers and unique inventions that are presented to the mind through hearing and sight . . . but because the actions of performing characters are so to speak a live painting, the art of painting will complain here, as if her sisters of this place had forgotten her.”³² Clearly Harsdörffer believes that each member of his “trinity”—painting, poetry, and music—has an indispensable role to play in his vision of a complete theater work, even if the effects of one art can be mimicked by the others.

²⁹ Donald Grout cites the principle behind Gesamtkunstwerk as the “idea . . . that every single detail of a work must be directly connected with the fundamental dramatic purpose and must serve to further that purpose” (405). As to the idea that the artistic integrity of each component must remain intact, he paraphrases Wagner: “[The Gesamtkunstwerk] is not . . . a limitation of any of the arts; on the contrary, only in such a union can the full possibilities of each be realized” (387).

³⁰ The critiques of the music of *Seelewig* (both negative and positive) parallel the criticisms of “decorative Klangmalerei” in Harsdörffer’s poetry.

³¹ The entire passage is quoted in Grout, 359 n. 3: “Hieraus erhellet wie alle Künste gleichsam als in einer Ketten aneinander hangen / deren ein Glied in das andere geschlossen / und absonderlich zwar ihre vollkommene Rundungen / jedoch ohne so dienstliche Stärkleistung / haben. Die Reimkunst ist ein Gemälde / das Gemälde eine ebenstimmige Music / und diese gleichsam eine beseelte Reimkunst.”

³² Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, IV. Teil, ed. Irmgrad Böttcher (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1968), 201: “Daß die Mählerey mit der Reim- und Singkunst verschwestert seye / wird niemand abredig seyn der selber wissend ist. Sie bestehen alle drey in ebenmässiger Bildungskräfte / und sonderlichen Erfindungen, die dem Verstand durch das Gehöre und das Gesichte vorgestellt werden. . . . Weil aber die Handlungen der aufgeführten Personen gleichsam ein lebendiges Gemähld / wil sich die Mählkunst hier beklagen / als ob ihre Schwesternen dieses Ortes ihrer vergessen hätten.”

This belief rests on an understanding of “Gesamtkunstwerk” as an analogue of the world, with painting, poetry, and music each capable of representing humanity’s relationship to the cosmos in a unique way. Harsdörffer conceived of these arts not as discrete human accomplishments vying for aesthetic supremacy, but as different ways of expressing some inner essential quality. For him, as for Opitz, what was most important was internal content, as opposed to external means. Thus Harsdörffer reserves his highest praise not for any particular one of these arts, but for what he terms “Sinnbildkunst.” It is only this “art of symbols” that can express “the inconceivable thoughts of the almost divine intellect of man” (“die unbegreifliche Gedanken des fast Göttlichen Verstandes des Menschen”).³³ Sinnbildkunst is supreme because it gives form, a kind of comprehensibility, to humanity’s otherwise incomprehensible higher nature.

Harsdörffer illustrates this with the example of language: speech, the “ability through which we are distinguished from unintelligent beasts,” articulates something that has already been formed in the mind.³⁴ Words are symbols, in the sense that Benjamin uses the term, and these verbal “pictures” are understood here to *embody* specific ideas, rather than *signifying* general concepts different from themselves, as with allegory.³⁵ But Harsdörffer writes of language here only by way of illustration. Verbal comprehensibility depends upon “Bildung,” as Harsdörffer notes, both in the sense of education and in the sense of something being formed. Words give utterance to things already in the mind; both these things and their appropriate utterances must be learned. So, while speech exemplifies the expressive quality of “Sinnbildkunst” (the relationship of intentional aural / visual “objects” to a “subject”) it (speech) is ultimately limited, as an illustration, to the conditions of thought.

³³ Ibid., 220.

³⁴ Ibid., 220: “Die . . . Gabe / durch welche wir von den dummen Viehe unterschieden werden. . . . Kein Wort kan aus unserem Munde hervorbrechen / welches nicht in dem Sinn zuvor gebildet worden were.”

³⁵ See Chapter 2.

True “Sinnbildkunst” attempts to express something incomprehensible, which, strictly speaking, is verbally inexpressible. Hence Harsdörffer delights in purely “musical” tones: his “Klangmalerei,” again, is viewed as “Wortbildungsprinzip,” not “rhetorische Figur.” He favors pre-verbal sound originally effective only as an expression of “Stimmung” (“mood”). What pre-verbal sound and mood have in common, of course, is their “naturalness.” Though they both serve as material for constructs—language and emotional “states,” respectively—neither is, in its “raw” state, the product of human intellect. Thus, music is viewed as the external counterpart, or expression, of humanity’s internal essence, described as “unbegreiflich” and “fast Göttlich.” Pure sound, in other words, is linked with spirit, the part of the human that is most nearly divine. “Music,” writes Harsdörffer, “is here on earth the echo or resounding of heavenly joys.”³⁶ By “music” Harsdörffer means here—as he makes clear—the sort without words. God’s “word” (“Wort”), not to be understood as human language, was perceived, at least in biblical times, as the “call of trumpets alone flowing through the air, and without the blow of swords conquering many places.”³⁷ Harsdörffer gives the example of the “sound of trumpets” (“der Posaunen Schall”) bringing down the “walls of Jericho” (“die Mauren zu Jericho”).³⁸ Another example of the powers of (instrumental) music he draws upon is the “wondrous sound of harps protecting one from the evil spirit, and [being] a great comfort in danger and need.”³⁹

Yet the human is only partly spirit, so “Sinnbildkunst” cannot be the property, so to speak, of music alone. The intellectual and the sensory must also be represented, if “Gesamtkunstwerk,” the logical offspring of “Sinnbildkunst,” is to have any claim as an

³⁶ *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (henceforth “F.G.”) IV, 91: “Die Music ist hier auf Erden der Echo oder Wiederhall der himmlischen Freuden.”

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 86: “Der Posaunen Ruf nur durch die Luft wallet / und ohne Schwertesstreich obsieget manchem Ort.” I retain the traditional translation of biblical Posaunen as “trumpets,” rather than modern “trombones.”

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 86.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 86: “Der Harfen Wunderklang dem bösen Geiste wehret / und ware Trostes voll in Fährlichkeit und Noht.”

analogue of humanity's relationship to the cosmos. As Harsdörffer puts it: "Man has two essential parts, the soul and the body, [He] cannot consist of one without the other in this mortal life."⁴⁰ If music represents man's "higher part," then, painting and poetry are connected with the more strictly human aspects of his being, namely the sensory and the intellectual. To put it another way, music signifies the supernatural, while painting and poetry signify the natural realm. Thus Harsdörffer's assertion that "each symbol should consist of figures and several explanatory words" is followed by a discussion of Egyptian hieroglyphs as a form of writing that captures the "secrets of nature" ("der Natur Geheimnisse").⁴¹

The relationship of painting to the natural world is obvious. "Painting," writes Harsdörffer, "places before the eyes various figures"; it can simulate, in a way that the other arts cannot, "mountains, rocky hills, valleys, forests, rivers, seas . . . banks, meadows, fields" and so forth.⁴² Significantly, he focuses on the ability of painting to depict non-human nature. His list of objects of painterly interest might have been drawn up by an early Romantic artist, except that there is no sense of the personal experience here. It is as if Harsdörffer, by assigning "die Mahlkunst" to the representation of the external, wished to identify it with pure sense perception, as free as possible from the subjectivity of the internal.

Poetry, not surprisingly, is very much connected by Harsdörffer to humanity's inner world. As the "richest in thought among all the arts" ("die Sinnreichste unter allen Künsten") poetry is conceived literally as the voice of man's intellect.⁴³ It is, in a sense, the expression of what makes humans human. As such, poetry, like the intellect itself, can be put to both

⁴⁰ Ibid., 215: "Der Mensch zwey wesentliche Theil hat / die Seele und den Leib / deren eines ohne das andere in dieser Sterblichkeit nicht bestehen kan." This idea echoes the distinction between essence and appearance that lies behind Plato's dualities of the soul and the body, ideas and the senses, form and matter. See Chapter 2.

⁴¹ Ibid., 222: "Jedes Sinnbild soll bestehen in Figuren und etlichen beygeschriebenen Worten."

⁴² Ibid., 203-204: "Also stellet die Mahlkunst vor Augen die unterschiedliche Gestalten . . . [sie] kan . . . gleichen / Berge / felsichte Hügel / Thäler / Wälder / Flüsse / Meeresfurt' / Ufer' / Auen / Felder."

⁴³ The quotation is from F.G. IV, 92.

good and bad purposes. So while Harsdörffer generally praises the joining together of music and poetry, through which the “most beautiful thoughts” (“die schönsten Gedanken”) of the latter are brought to a “place of honor” (“Ehrenstelle”), he also admits here of the possibility of “misuse” (“Mißbrauch”), which would be to the “disadvantage of music” (“zu Nachtheil der Music”).⁴⁴ His example is of the sirens, “who have an almost divine voice, but lead a devilish life.”⁴⁵ Music itself is blameless, he seems to be saying; intention, which has its seat in the intellect and directs poetry, can be detrimental to music. The reverse is not true. Music, whose “center is in heaven,” is the “queen of the noble arts, a ruler of our minds.”⁴⁶ As an “echo . . . of heavenly joys” it is as far superior to language as God is to man. Being only good, it cannot corrupt poetry. Poetry, language, thought, all products of man’s intellect, can, on the other hand, obscure music’s good; the intent and actions of the sirens can make music appear to be an evil.

If poetry is associated with humanity’s inner world, then, music is clearly “located” in a deeper, more fundamental, internal region. To Harsdörffer, music (again, of the non-verbal sort) is a kind of pre-verbal language of the soul, man’s divine aspect, his innermost being. As the “queen of the noble arts,” it holds the highest position among the constituents of “Gesamtkunstwerk.” Painting, representing the world perceived through the senses, and poetry, representing the world interpreted through the intellect, are necessary parts of an art form that, as a whole, represents humanity’s relationship to the cosmos. Yet these are

⁴⁴ Ibid., 92.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 93: “Dieses ist zu verstehen von denen Syrenen . . . die eine fast Göttliche Stimme haben / aber ein Teufflisches Leben führen.” Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* (New York: Mentor, 1969), 214, makes clear, in her telling of Odysseus’s encounter, that it was the words of the sirens that were particularly dangerous: “He heard [their song] and the words were even more enticing than the melody, at least to a Greek.” Interestingly, the promise embodied in these words resembles the seductive tactics of the serpent in the Garden of Eden. Hamilton continues: “They would give knowledge to each man who came to them, they said, ripe wisdom and a quickening of the spirit. ‘We know all things which shall be hereafter upon the earth.’ So rang their song in lovely cadences, and Odysseus’ heart ached with longing.”

⁴⁶ F.G. IV, 92: “Der Music Mittelpunkt ist in dem Himmel. . . . Sie ist die Königin edler Künste, eine Herrscherin unserer Sinne.”

necessarily subordinate to the art (music) that represents humanity's relationship to the divine. For Harsdörffer and the other Nuremberg poets, the Christian—specifically, Protestant—understanding of God was the light guiding all art. And as it was for Opitz, Lutheranism was for the Nuremberg circle the guide in the desire for a specifically German art. Klaus Garber, in his afterword to the 1966 edition of *Pegnesisches Schäfergedicht* (1644-1645), writes of Harsdörffer, Birken, and Klaj: “As the didacticism was led by Christian ideals, so was the national idea of the Nurembergers . . . subordinated and not held superior to the Christian ideal.”⁴⁷

Harsdörffer and “Pre-Pietism”

Harsdörffer's belief about music also seems related to (or prefigures) what Holly Watkins calls the “Pietist preoccupation with inward or deep feelings,” which for later (Romantic) German composers at least, was “nourished by the wordless genre of instrumental music.”⁴⁸ The idea of music as the voice of the divine is of course metaphoric. Sound itself is a physical phenomenon, something of this world; composers are only human.⁴⁹ Logically, then, one can argue that music, with all its potential profundity, is ultimately “only human.” Thus according to Watkins, “depth was projected back onto music” by the Romantics. Even so, at least some—and perhaps more than just some—of these “Romantics” found at the source of music a kind of ineffability suggestive of the divine. Watkins continues: “[Literary critic Wilhelm Heinrich] Wackenroder [1773-1798]

⁴⁷ Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, Sigmund von Birken, Johann Klaj, *Pegnesisches Schäfergedicht 1644-1645*, ed. Klaus Garber (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1966), Nachwort des Herausgebers, 25: “Wie die Gelehrsamkeit geleitet wurde von christlichen Vorstellungen, so war auch der nationale Gedanke bei den Nürnbergern . . . dem christlichen unter- und nicht übergeordnet.”

⁴⁸ Holly Watkins, “From the Mine to the Shrine: The Critical Origins of Musical Depth,” *19th Century Music* 27 (Spring 2004): 179-207. The quotation is from 191.

⁴⁹ Harsdörffer considers music, again, merely the *echo* of “heavenly joys.”

suspected that, like the subject, music harbored a concealed ‘center’ or ‘soul’ within, though he was at a loss when it came to defining it.”⁵⁰

This is reminiscent of Harsdörffer’s remark that the “center of music is in heaven.” It also connects with the sort of emotional anti-intellectualism that numerous writers, besides Watkins, have tied to the Pietistic movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁵¹ Koppel Pinson, for instance, argues that the “Sturm und Drang” and Romantic movements in Germany are in fact distinctly German phenomena, later manifestations of the emotionalism that characterized Pietism, rather than the results of Rousseau’s influence alone.⁵² David Crowner and Gerald Christianson point out as well the non-intellectual basis of Pietism, finding that the “fruits of faith rather than disputes about dogma” characterize the movement.⁵³ The possibility of Harsdörffer’s connection with Pietism, though, can readily be dismissed, it seems, since the purported founder of Pietism, Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), published his *Pia Desideria*—Pietism’s earliest “doctrine”—in 1676 (eighteen years after Harsdörffer’s death).⁵⁴

Yet, as Peter Erb points out, Spener’s work actually appeared a year earlier, in 1675, as an introduction to the “postills” of Johann Arndt (1555-1621), a “devotional author” who

⁵⁰ Watkins, 191, for both quotations.

⁵¹ “Pietism” may connote a monolith that in actuality did not obtain. As William Petig, *Literary Antipietism in Germany during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 11, notes, there was indeed a “wide variation in the leaders and the form” of the movement. “Neue Frömmigkeit” is thus regarded by some as a more appropriate descriptor of this general movement, which began in the late seventeenth century. Nonetheless, argues Petig, there were “four basic characteristics common to all” segments of the movement: it was “more inward and emotional,” it emphasized practicality, it placed the Bible at the center of its practices, and it possessed an “inherent opposition to the religious establishment and its concepts of faith and practice” (11-13). These commonalities, as well as the sheer magnitude of literature that uses the term “Pietism,” lead me to continue using the term here, rather than adopting “neue Frömmigkeit.” The use of “pre-Pietism” by Blake Lee Spahr, an eminent scholar of German Baroque literature, is also adopted, despite the seeming anachronism. The term aptly describes the essence of a movement that was in fact perceptibly present before its generally agreed-upon “christening” in 1676. See below.

⁵² Koppel S. Pinson, *Pietism as a Factor in the Rise of German Nationalism* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), 35-36.

⁵³ *The Spirituality of the German Awakening*, ed. and trans. David Crowner and Gerald Christianson (New York: Paulist Press, 2003), 10.

⁵⁴ Peter C. Erb, in his introduction to *Pietists: Selected Writings*, ed. Erb (New York: Paulist Press, 1983), 4-5.

“established the direction of a movement that would shape Lutheran thought throughout the seventeenth century.”⁵⁵ The reform-minded Arndt espoused “personal renewal, individual growth in holiness,” and “practical piety”—all essential practices of Pietism.⁵⁶ He was clearly important to Spener’s development. While Harsdörffer predated Pietism “proper,” then, the basic principles of the movement were certainly not unknown in his time. In fact Harsdörffer seemed to subscribe to just such a brand of Protestantism. The Nuremberg literary society (or academy) *Blumenorden an der Pegnitz* that he and Johann Klaj founded in 1644—the year in which *Seelewig* appeared—was known not only for its promotion of the German language, but also for its advocacy of a “pre-Pietistic, ‘practical Christianity’.”⁵⁷

This was a Christianity made practical, it may well be argued, by the political circumstances in Nuremberg at the time. The *Blumenorden* was founded toward the end of the Thirty Years War, during which Harsdörffer “had experienced the loss of property and life” and Birken and Klaj, among others, “either themselves came from refugee families . . . or had connections to the large refugee community in Nuremberg.”⁵⁸ The “inward gaze” that would come to characterize Pietism reflected the need to find a modicum of peace in a city torn by conflict; the view to an inner life was the only practicable means to such an end. Throughout the Thirty Years War Nuremberg attempted to balance the claims of its “largely Protestant population” with those of the Empire, to which it was officially subject.⁵⁹ The city sought the kind of equilibrium between these forces that Johann Georg I was able, as we saw in Chapter 3, to maintain, for a time, in Saxony. Despite the “politics of ‘defensive neutrality’,” though, whereby the “imperial city of Nuremberg tried to protect itself

⁵⁵ The quotations are from *ibid.*, 5 and 4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 3-4.

⁵⁷ Jane O. Newman, *Pastoral Conventions: Poetry, Language, and Thought in Seventeenth-Century Nuremberg* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 61. Newman quotes here Blake Lee Spahr (see 271 n. 94).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 59-60.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

diplomatically by forbidding its citizens to speak out for one or the other side,” Nuremberg in fact joined both sides at different times during the period.⁶⁰

Thus, as Jane Newman reports, the city became a member of the Protestant Union in 1609 and returned to the “imperial fold” in 1621. It then rejoined the Union in 1630, in league with Johann Georg of Saxony, only to return to the Empire in 1635.⁶¹ One result of this inconstancy of allegiance was that “every military engagement meant a potential siege, if not the sacking of the city, by one or the other side.”⁶² Nuremberg’s purported neutrality, in other words, made the city particularly vulnerable. Perhaps this military vulnerability was part of the reason why the pastoral, a genre focused on the idyllic transcendence of temporal strife, became the “governing metaphor” of the *Blumenorden an der Pegnitz*.⁶³

Or perhaps the interest in the pastoral went deeper. Newman notes, for instance, that the goals of the *Blumenorden*—to identify German “as a principal tongue” with “foundational authority”—were connected to “the more familiar Judeo-Christian discourse about the origin, corruption, and restoration to perfection of the language of humanity.”⁶⁴ In this view the advocacy of the German language itself acquires a metaphysical cast: contemporary linguistic perfection was possible because of divine origins. The vernacular was itself a kind of linguistic pastoral, in the sense that it re-created, for the Nuremberg poets, an aspect of a lost paradise. The promotion of German was “a ‘historical’ effort, in other words, to both make and transcend ‘history’ by making the sacred present in a new and authoritative textual form.”⁶⁵ This was done by finding in the beauty of nature—the worldly representative of paradise—the roots of the language. Thus Irmgard Böttcher, in her

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 62.

⁶³ The quoted words are from *ibid.*, 59.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 73-74.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.

discussion of Klaj's poem "Vorzug deß Frühlings," writes: "As evidence that even the 'animals and elements . . . speak German' Birken (with the shepherd's name Floridan) and Klaj sing in turn:

Flor.
 Es finken / und flinken / und blinken Buntblümichte Auen /
 Kl.
 Es schimmert / und wimmert und glimmert Frü-perlenes Tauen"⁶⁶

Presumably Birken and Klaj (as well as Harsdörffer and the rest of the Nuremberg school) are referring here to the language's onomatopoeitic imitation of the sensory impressions of the meadows and dews.⁶⁷ Yet how can sound imitate non-aural phenomena, such as the glimmer of dewdrops? Obviously it can do so only metaphorically. Perhaps the "dancing metres" and internal rhymes of lines like "Es schimmert / und wimmert und glimmert" are meant to convey aurally something of the striking visual impact of the described "Frü-perlenes Tauen." Such devices might be thought to bedeck ordinary language, not to mention ordinary sound, with the same kind of beauty that the "early-pearled dewing" bestows on the meadow. This is a beauty dependent upon design. The intention that orders raw natural sound into meter and rhyme is evocative of the apparent will that invisibly transforms an ordinary meadow into a place of extraordinary beauty. The particular quality of organized sound renders verse uniquely capable of representing the visual beauty of dew on the meadow, inasmuch as this beauty exemplifies divine intent. Harsdörffer's interest in "Klangmalerei," again, had spiritual roots, which nourished the claims of the Nuremberg poets for the primacy of the German language.

⁶⁶ Irmgard Böttcher, "Der Nürnberger Georg Philipp Harsdörffer," in *Deutsche Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts: Ihr Leben und Werk*, ed. Harald Steinhagen and Benno von Wiese (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1984): 289-346. The quotation is from 291: "Zum Beweis, das auch die 'Tiere und Elemente . . . reden teutsch', singen Birken (mit dem Schäfernamen Floridan) und Klaj wechselnd: . . ."

⁶⁷ Richard Hinton Thomas, *Poetry and Song in the German Baroque: A Study of the Continuo Lied* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 75, discusses the tendency of the "Nuremberg writers" toward "dancing metres and onomatopoeia."

These claims were laid out perhaps most forthrightly in Justus Georg Schottelius's *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haupt Sprache*.⁶⁸ Summarizing these ideas, Richard Hinton Thomas writes that Schottelius "defined the characteristics of the German language in terms of sound," and that (for Schottelius) German "has it within its power to express divine reality."⁶⁹ Harsdörffer was heavily invested in these ideas. Gerald Gillespie adds that "much of Harsdörffer's poetic practice can be explained as an attempt to assert the theoretical primacy of German, as proposed by the great humanist scholar . . . Schottelius."⁷⁰ If Harsdörffer was himself something of a humanist, though, he was certainly no less influenced by religion. Nuremberg had "early gone along with the Reformation movement," notes Irmgard Böttcher; "the secular liberality of the citizens corresponded to a 'Melanchthonian Lutheranism'."⁷¹ Böttcher indeed finds that one of the motivating forces behind Harsdörffer's literary "Bildungswerk" is the desire to spread further the "Protestant-humanistic tradition."⁷²

And this was a tradition that placed particular concerns of the humanists—literature and theater—in service of Protestantism. Harsdörffer, Birken, and Klaj were strongly influenced not only by humanists like Schottelius, but also, and perhaps more significantly, by Lutheran theologians like Johann Saubert (1592-1646) and Johann Michael Dilherr (1604-1669).⁷³ The latter in particular is thought to have had much to do with what Böttcher calls the "spiritual tendencies" of the Blumenorden. Dilherr's artistic and financial support of Harsdörffer, Birken, and Klaj, along with the very notion of nurturing German and German

⁶⁸ Schottelius (1612-1676) was an important theoretician of the German language. See Jörg Jochen Berns, "Justus Georg Schottelius," in *Deutsche Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 415-34. Berns calls Schottelius "the most important grammarian of the German language before Jacob Grimm" ("der bedeutendste Grammatiker der deutschen Sprache vor Jacob Grimm") (415).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁷⁰ Gerald Gillespie, *German Baroque Poetry* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971), 100.

⁷¹ Böttcher, 293: "Nürnberg hatte sich früh der reformatorischen Bewegung angeschlossen. Der weltoffenen Liberalität der Bürger entsprach ein 'melanchthonisch geprägtes Luthertum'."

⁷² *Ibid.*, 295-296: "Weiterführung der protestantisch-humanistischen Tradition."

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 293.

literature, “serve[d] his [Dilherr’s] plans,” claims Böttcher, “to renew religious life for the good of the people.”⁷⁴

There are numerous parallels here to the circumstances and work of Martin Opitz. Harsdörffer found himself caught, as Opitz had, between two worlds, politically and artistically. Both poets were subjects in principalities that did not contend openly with the Empire but did oppose it inwardly, on religious grounds. Both created musico-dramatic works in the Italian fashion but suited opera’s means to their own particularly Germanic ends.⁷⁵ In each case this artistic act seems to have paralleled the political stance—outwardly in agreement, inwardly independent—of the respective territory toward the Empire. Both poets sought to raise the status of German as a literary language. Both were interested in the inner, religious content of poetry. And both treated their own poetry as a means of propagating a certain moral vision, one informed by Lutheranism. In short, it seems that Harsdörffer, like Opitz, wished to build a Germanic art on the foundation of a uniquely Germanic religious view.

It is clear that Harsdörffer was influenced by Opitz’s writings, and that he even viewed his own work, to some extent, as a continuation and further development of Opitz’s ideas. The *Pegnesisches Schäfergedicht* (1644), for example, which Harsdörffer wrote in collaboration with Klaj, was modeled on Opitz’s *Hercinie*.⁷⁶ And the didactic *Poetischer Trichter* (1648-1653), perhaps Harsdörffer’s best-known work (by name, at least⁷⁷), spends most of its first part outlining the teaching of German verse, which Harsdörffer understands

⁷⁴ Ibid., 293: “Seinem Vorhaben dienen, das kirchliche Leben zum Heile der Menschen zu erneuern.” The preceding remark regarding the “geistliche Tendenzen” of the order is also from 293.

⁷⁵ Harsdörffer indicates on the title page of *Seelewig* that the work has been “set” (“gesetzt”) “Gesangsweis auf Italianische Art.”

⁷⁶ Gillespie, 102.

⁷⁷ Böttcher, 313, calls it “sein vom Titel her bekanntestes Werk.”

to have been renewed by Opitz and handed down to him (Harsdörffer) via August Buchner (1591-1661), Philipp von Zesen (1619-1689), and Schottelius.⁷⁸

One aspect of language that Harsdörffer took more pains to promote than his predecessor did, though, was music. For Harsdörffer, as we have seen, music was very much an aspect of language. Indeed, it has even been said that Harsdörffer and the other Nuremberg writers treated poetry as “an instrument on which to play music.”⁷⁹ For Opitz, on the other hand, music seems to have been regarded as an addendum to poetry, suitable only for texts that were, in Thomas’s phrase, “entertaining rather than profound.”⁸⁰ There is much irony in the fact that Opitz “was set to music more often and in more different ways than probably any other [German] poet of the time”: his “conscious aim” was “to raise poetry to a level at which it would be self-justified by its quality and dignity.”⁸¹ It is no less ironic that the Nuremberg poets held similar aims, despite their essentially musical outlook.

Harsdörffer, Birken, and, especially, Klaj may have treated poetry as a kind of musical “instrument,” but in so doing, they came close to “abrogating the functions of a musical genre,” at least in Thomas’s opinion.⁸² Poetry that was essentially musical was in no need of being set to music. Indeed, Klaj may be most famous for his so-called “Redeatorien,” which Robert Browning describes as “oratorios without music but suggesting a musical composition by linguistic means.”⁸³

Yet Harsdörffer did spend considerable effort composing at least one poetic work that was intended for marriage with music, as Opitz had done before him: the opera *Seelewig*. Literary purists might excuse Opitz on the grounds that he was merely adapting Rinuccini’s

⁷⁸ Ibid., 314.

⁷⁹ Thomas, 76, quotes here from *Deutsche Dichtung des Barock*, ed. E. Hederer (Munich, n.d.), 494.

⁸⁰ Thomas, 43.

⁸¹ The quotes are from *ibid.*, 34 and 35, respectively.

⁸² Thomas, 77.

⁸³ Robert M. Browning, *German Baroque Poetry, 1618-1723*, 124.

libretto. Perhaps the tone of the preface to *Dafne* is apologetic because Opitz had little taste for poetry that was willing (so to speak) to forego any claim to complete self-sufficiency regarding expression. Harsdörffer had no such excuse, though. Nor does he apologize for *Seelewig*. It is the critics of this work who apologize; they seem to have little taste for Harsdörffer's relinquishment of poetic self-sufficiency. Or more precisely, they have little taste for what results in this particular case.⁸⁴ The criticisms discussed above, again, all target the music. They differ only in their estimations of how well the text is supported by the music.

Yet Harsdörffer and Staden clearly did not regard the music as subservient to the text. Though Klaj's "Redeatorien" have been honored with the label "Gesamtkunstwerk," Harsdörffer (and Staden) practiced a truer conception of the complete artwork, one that actually did incorporate music.⁸⁵ Harsdörffer thought, again, that "all the arts hang together as in a chain . . . and that the strength of each link is due to its uniqueness." In what Gillespie calls the "operatic impulses" of the Pegnitz "Shepherds" of Nuremberg (members of the Blumenorden), "one feels a striving toward some sort of total art work, rather than a neat separation of forms."⁸⁶ Though Gillespie here refers to the Nuremberg poets as a group, his comment is most appropriate to Harsdörffer and Staden, who, in their creation of *Seelewig*, display the strongest impulse toward opera. Far from "abrogating the functions of a musical genre," then, the text for *Seelewig* in fact depends upon music (and other arts) for its proper and complete expression. Were this not so, Harsdörffer would surely not have developed, in the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, his notions of the equality of the arts (discussed above) to

⁸⁴ Ellen Harris may be an exception here, though she clearly views the music as subservient to the text. More on this below.

⁸⁵ Herbert Cysarz and Robert Browning are two critics who regard Klaj's *Redeatorien* as "Gesamtkunstwerke." See Browning, 124-125.

⁸⁶ Gillespie, 99.

the degree that he did. He clearly did not want to follow the example of Klaj's purely linguistic "Redeatorien."

To be fair, then, an evaluation of *Seelewig* must take into account not only how well the music supports the text. It must also consider the text as adjunct to the music. This is especially important in light of Harsdörffer's view of pure sound representing humanity's spiritual core, the essence underlying rational thought (and hence poetry). Although the music of *Seelewig* seems to have been composed after the poetry—the title page calls the work a "Geistliche Waldgedicht" ("spiritual sylvan poem," or "spiritual pastoral") that has been "set" to music ("gesangsweis auf Italianische Art")—it must be remembered that for Harsdörffer words themselves have their basis in pre-semantic tones. Harsdörffer's poem, independent of Staden's setting, has its existential source in a kind of proto-linguistic music. Thus a proper analysis of *Seelewig* will seek to understand Staden's music as it relates to the inherent musicality of Harsdörffer's text. Further, such an analysis will seek to understand this poetic musicality as it relates to spirituality. That is, it will attempt to discern what makes this "Waldgedicht" "geistlich."

This latter attempt, in turn, must be undertaken with a view to the spiritual context surrounding the creation of the work. There seems to be another parallel here to Opitz, whose *Dafne*, as we have seen, bore a distinctly contemporary spiritual stamp. Harsdörffer's *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, as James Haar notes, retell a number of classical myths, but "often with a moralizing Christian interpretation added."⁸⁷ *Seelewig*, then, is a tangible musico-poetic exemplar of the moralistic, pro-German language theorizing that occupies much of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, as well as the *Poetischer Trichter*. And these works set down in writing much of what the literary society Blumenorden an der Pegnitz

⁸⁷ James Haar, *The Tugendsterne of Harsdörffer and Staden*, Musicological Studies and Documents 14 (American Institute of Musicology, 1965), 7.

sought to advance. For these reasons, the analysis of *Seelewig* must begin with a look at the theoretical work of this society.

The Blumenorden an der Pegnitz

It has already been noted that the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz had certain “spiritual tendencies,” by which the particularly humanistic concerns of literature and theater seem to have been placed in the service of Protestantism. The origins of this society can be traced to the great academies of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, which of course were steeped in humanistic concerns. If it seems odd that, in the case of the Blumenorden, the secular was mixed with, and even subordinated to, the sacred, it might be pointed out that for the Italian societies contemporary religion was by no means a foreign subject. Indeed, as Paul Oskar Kristeller notes, “the teaching of moral philosophy was an essential part of [the humanists’] program.” Their interest in moral thought was not confined to the study of the ancients. Kristeller continues: “The humanists wanted to adapt classical ideas to a previously accepted Christian view of the world.”⁸⁸

This was certainly true of the so-called Platonic Academy of Florence (founded c. 1462), which is regarded as perhaps the earliest direct ancestor of the Blumenorden. According to Arthur Field, the humanists important to the early development of this “Accademia”—among them Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) and Cristoforo Landino (1424-1492)—“felt quite at home in the lay confraternal or other religious setting.” Some Florentine humanists “aimed toward molding character around the imitation of saints’ lives,”

⁸⁸ “The Moral Thought of Renaissance Humanism,” in *Renaissance Thought and the Arts: Collected Essays by Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980): 20-68. The above two quotes are found on 25 and 40, respectively.

and Ficino is even supposed to have “turned Christian theology into a philosophy.”⁸⁹ That a “humanistic” society like the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz would be concerned with religion, then, was nothing new, though the degree to which religion influenced their work may well set them apart ideologically.

The focus on advancing the vernacular tongue was likewise nothing new on the part of the Nurembergers, though the zeal with which they did so is another question. In 1540 the Accademia platonica was transformed into the Accademia fiorentina. The new name represented a desire to “localize” ancient learning, largely by using the vernacular. This was no isolated desire. By the 1530s, according to Jane Newman, “a greater demand had begun to be felt by a larger *Volgare*-reading public to be included in the humanistic culture that had previously been the domain of a learned, Latin-speaking, and Latin-writing elite.” There even seems to have been at this time an “overt concern with the purification of vernacular languages.”⁹⁰ Such concerns led to a kind of “pedantry” that was to prove unnervingly serious to a number of members, who consequently broke away from the Accademia fiorentina in 1582 to found the so-called Accademia della Crusca.⁹¹ This new society, writes Newman, was to become the “direct model” for the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft of Anhalt-Köthen (Upper Saxony), Germany’s first language society and the model for the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz.⁹²

⁸⁹ See Arthur Field, *The Origins of the Platonic Academy of Florence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988). The first quotation is found on 135, the second on 134-135, and the third on 46. Field also notes that the “founder and first patron of the Academy,” Cosimo de’ Medici (1389-1464), was—though clearly no great scholar—likewise steeped in Christian letters, having read “all ‘thirty-seven’ books of Gregory the Great’s *Moralia* in ‘only’ six months” and possessing, in his library, much other “devotional literature” (11).

⁹⁰ Newman, 40.

⁹¹ “Crusca,” the “chaff” of language rejected by the Accademia fiorentina, was to “form the essence of a purified Florentine tongue.” Thus the society possessed, in its early days, “quasi-folkloristic interests.” See Newman, 41.

⁹² See Newman, 41, 52, and 35. Haar, 15, notes that Harsdörffer (one of the founders of the Blumenorden) had been a member of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft.

In fact there was a direct connection between these Italian and German societies: Prince Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen (1579-1650), who founded the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft in 1617, had been an active member of the Accademia della Crusca. The founding of the German academy was an attempt to re-create in Saxony what the prince had experienced in Italy.⁹³ Thus it would seem that the interest in Protestantism and the advancement of the German language were but local versions of two concerns—religion and the vernacular—cultivated in Florence. Yet, as suggested above, the members of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft and those of its descendants had a greater stake in both religion and language. It was “the goal of the Fruit-bearing society,” writes Ferdinand van Ingen, “to pursue not just a linguistic, but equally as importantly, an ethical ideal.”⁹⁴ Newman adds that “the same seems true for the Nuremberg order as well.”⁹⁵

This ethical ideal had its foundations in the “pre-Pietistic, practical Christianity” espoused by the Blumenorden and other German societies. The humanistic academies of Italy, though not unconcerned with religion, surely did not place it at the forefront of their activities. And while some of them—particularly the Accademia della Crusca—did put special emphasis on fortifying and unifying (if not purifying) the vernacular, the German societies seem to have had more of an existential interest in propagating their language as a viable literary vehicle. No doubt this was because of the adherence to Lutheranism, a brand of spirituality whose distinctiveness was intimately wrapped up with the German language. The “purpose” of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, writes Newman, was to “renew”

⁹³ Ibid., 33-34.

⁹⁴ Ferdinand van Ingen, “Die Sprachgesellschaften des 17. Jahrhunderts: Versuch einer Korrektur.” *Daphnis* 1 (1972): 14-32, esp. 17, as cited in Newman, 54.

⁹⁵ Newman, 54.

Luther's blessing of the vernacular and to "extend the authority of his language into other spheres by institutionalizing it in their texts."⁹⁶

At the root of the various humanistic interests, then, was an understanding that directly addressed what Roy Pascal calls the "largest problem" facing German Baroque poets in general, a problem, incidentally, "with which their foreign models were far less engrossingly concerned: how can poetry be reconciled with Christian belief?"⁹⁷ Their answer comes from Luther, who "blessed" the use of the vernacular precisely because he believed that the ordinary, the mundane, contained the highest to which humans could aspire. The Word (even in German) was a gift from God that found its profoundest expression in verse and song. This gift was *to* humanity; its manifestation was in the natural world of ordinary human existence. For Luther there was no cause to seek the Word in anything other than the vernacular. German poetry and music were human expressions of the divine embodied in nature. This Lutheran matrix of God, nature, and the vernacular was to have a strong influence on German language societies. Harsdörffer believed, for instance, that "the poet must 'das natürliche Wesenbild vorstellen'."⁹⁸

This idea of poetry expressing the divine in nature was of course nothing new. The genre of the pastoral already engaged this topos in its ancient incarnations. As Newman points out, "Hesiod's description of 'rude shepherds' inspired by the Muses (*Theogony* 11.26ff.) opens the first account of how 'true' knowledge of the origins and ends of the universe was made accessible to humanity in verse."⁹⁹ Here Hesiod expresses the ideal of poetry as spiritual instruction, a view that Opitz (among others, of course) would echo centuries later. This "narrative of origins" in poetic form would come, via Opitz and others,

⁹⁶ Ibid., 35-36.

⁹⁷ Roy Pascal, *German Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968), 81.

⁹⁸ Pascal, 84: "The poet must 'present the natural picture of being'."

⁹⁹ Newman, 138-139.

to define much of Harsdörffer's project. "On a symbolic level," writes Newman, "the Nuremberg 'Order of Shepherds' [a.k.a. the Blumenorden] sought to re-create within their own Christian time" Hesiod's "true" knowledge and authority.¹⁰⁰ In other words, Harsdörffer and his society "translated" the inner religious content and aim of ancient poetry into contemporary Protestant form, much as Opitz had done in his adaptation of *Dafne*.

Again, though, this use of the vernacular was more than a matter of local exigency. As noted above, the "project" of German was closely connected with the ideology of Lutheranism. In the world of German language societies, the "translation" of spiritual content was not unique to the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz. As already mentioned, this Nuremberg society was modeled on the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft of Anhalt-Köthen. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the areas of language and religion, wherein the Nurembergers adopted the earlier society's functions as a "place of honor for German virtue" and a "knightly arena for the German tongue."¹⁰¹

Yet there was another important influence on the Blumenorden. Harsdörffer himself says that the Accademia degli Intronati, with which he had become familiar in Siena in 1623, was a model for the Blumenorden.¹⁰² The influence of this Italian academy is readily apparent in the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*. Indeed, "accounts of the games played by the *Intronati*," writes Haar, "were often simply translated in the *Gesprächspiele*."¹⁰³ Thus Harsdörffer's "chief" work (the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*), which Pascal describes as "an idealized model of the Society's gatherings," owes much, at least in terms of its main emphasis (i.e., verbal game playing), to the Sieneese academy.¹⁰⁴ The type of "giuoco"

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 139. The preceding reference to a "narrative of origins" is from the same source and page.

¹⁰¹ The description of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft is by Gustav von Hille, who discussed the founding of the organization in his *Der deutsche Palmbaum* (1647). See Newman, 56 and 33.

¹⁰² Newman, 53.

¹⁰³ Haar, 15.

¹⁰⁴ Pascal, 73. Haar calls the *Gesprächspiele* Harsdörffer's "chief" work (5).

(“game”) that served as model for Harsdörffer’s “Spiele” was described by Girolamo Bargagli of Siena (1537-1587), “the foremost exponent of Renaissance giuochi” (and a member of the Accademia degli Intronati) as:

A festive activity of a light-hearted, amorous company, in which, upon a playful or clever proposal made by one person acting as author or guide of the game, the others all do or say something each different from the other; and this is done for the purpose of pleasure and entertainment.¹⁰⁵

Harsdörffer seems to have been quite taken with the idea of game playing. His name in the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft was “der Spielende.”¹⁰⁶ There is even something “spielerisch” in his arrangement of the games throughout the *Gesprächspiele*. One cannot easily see “the order in Harsdörffer’s succession of *spiele*,” writes Haar, who notes how “one writer has in fact described the *Gesprächspiele* as a series of topics arranged like ‘Kraut und Früchte’ on a stand.”¹⁰⁷

As playfully as Harsdörffer’s “amorous company” may engage these topics, though, they surely do not do so for mere “pleasure and entertainment.” Rather, the conversants in the *Gesprächspiele* typically explore their subjects with a view to understanding them as Christian phenomena. Thus *Die Tugendsterne*, which appears in the fifth volume (again with music by Staden), is a “little musical pageant” replete with singing planets. It is more than just a humanistic trope on the “music of the spheres”; it is a “translation” of ancient astrological associations between heavenly and human bodies into contemporary spirituality. Here, notes Haar, the planets are “Virtues” with “strongly pietistic Christian coloring.”¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ From the *Dialogo de’ Giuochi che nelle vegghie sanesi si usono di fare* (Siena, 1572), quoted in James Haar, “On Musical Games in the 16th Century,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 15.1 (Spring 1962): 22-34, on p. 22.

¹⁰⁶ Haar, *The Tugendsterne*, 15.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰⁸ Haar, *The Tugendsterne*, 4. The preceding description of *Die Tugendsterne* as a “pageant” is from the same source and page.

Haar points out similar themes in other parts of the *Gesprächspiele*. In the second volume, for instance, another game on the planets leads to a “disquisition on the virtues of the number seven,” with the “planets”—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, the sun, and the moon—symbolizing, among other things, the “days of Creation.”¹⁰⁹ The third and fifth volumes contain engravings similar to a set of woodcuts done in Nuremberg in the sixteenth century by Hans Sebald Beham (1500-1550).¹¹⁰ Both sets depict the planets being driven in chariots, but while Beham’s chariot wheels are “filled with signs of the constellations,” Harsdörffer’s are marked with “moral qualities, in every case two extremes between which the Virtues ride as means.” In this, Harsdörffer seems to have been influenced by *Solomon’s Divine Arts*, a treatise by the English theologian Joseph Hall (1574-1656), whom Harsdörffer admired.¹¹¹

In the *Tugendsterne* itself (Volume 5), finally, there are numerous instances of classical ideals giving way, so to speak, to Christian moralizing. Pythagorean notions of music arising from “starry motions” yield a discourse of another bent on the origins of music, in which not only the sources, but also the purposes, are identified:

Reymund: Indeed it [music] is from God Himself—proper and almost necessary for warfare, for driving out evil spirits and thoughts, for celebrating Holy communion, and for every kind of blameless pastime.¹¹²

The “voluptuous” love associated with Venus becomes the “modest, good-hearted” sort proper to the “love of God.”¹¹³ And the warlike strength exemplified by Mars becomes the “Christlike valor” fortifying the “Christian knight.”¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 16-17.

¹¹⁰ Harsdörffer’s engraver is anonymous.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 18-19.

¹¹² Translation as it appears in Haar, *The Tugendsterne*. See pp. 30-32. Harsdörffer seems to make quite a point, here and in many other places in the *Gesprächspiele* (particularly in Volume 4), of tying music directly to God. More on this below.

¹¹³ Ibid., 38.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 40.

In summary, there are a number of tendencies throughout the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* that, taken together, mark the theoretical work of the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz as unique. Besides the predilection for “Christianizing” pagan ideas, these include game playing in the Sienese fashion; the propagation of the German tongue and Lutheranism; the unification, or identification, of God, nature, and the vernacular; and the belief that music is particularly close to the divine.

The *Gesprächspiele* has also been singled out, by A. G. de Capua, as “the one work dedicated to the idea that women have a role to play in intellectual and cultural life.”¹¹⁵ The work’s title certainly does not shy away from this idea. In fact, intellectually active women in seventeenth-century Germany were generally connected to courts in Protestant regions. De Capua finds it significant that the *Gesprächspiele* “appeared in Protestant Nuremberg,” a city that had become “an important refuge for Protestants fleeing the harassment of the Counter-Reformation in Austria.”¹¹⁶ The implication is that Harsdörffer’s work declares its theological / political alignment in its overt preferment of “Frauenzimmer” (“women”).¹¹⁷

One figure who embodied the type of woman idealized in Harsdörffer’s work was Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg (1633-1694). Here was a female poet who, as a Protestant living in Seysenegg, lower Austria, was compelled to look northward for like-minded literati. The Blumenorden an der Pegnitz was an important influence from the beginning of her career, and she actually lived in Nuremberg for a time. She was of such strong Protestant persuasion, according to de Capua, that she became “obsessed with the wild notion that she was destined to be God’s instrument to effect the greatest religious

¹¹⁵ A. G. de Capua, *German Baroque Poetry: Interpretive Readings* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1973), 109.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 109, 108.

¹¹⁷ In modern German, “Frauenzimmer” is often used to indicate a pretentious, vain woman. In the seventeenth century, the term bore no negative connotations, and may have suggested a salon or academy of women that met regularly to engage in timely, intellectual discussions.

reformation of all times: the conversion of the Holy Roman Emperor, then Leopold I, to Protestantism.”¹¹⁸ The kind of poetic expression resulting from this degree of fervor, at once religious and intensely personal, “heralds the advent,” in de Capua’s view, of the spiritual lyricism “characteristic of Pietism.”¹¹⁹

Indeed the Protestantism practiced (or at least preached) by the members of the Blumenorden has been connected with a kind of practical, “pre-Pietistic” individualism, as noted above. The poetic works of Harsdörffer et al. tend to exhibit the same fusion of spirituality and lyric convention that characterizes Catharina von Greiffenberg’s *Geistliche Sonnette, Lieder und Gedichte* (Bayreuth, 1662). This is true of Harsdörffer’s secular works—including the verses in the *Gesprächspiele*—as well as his more overtly sacred works. Harsdörffer’s basic outlook is similar to Opitz’s, but the difference is that no one would characterize Opitz’s work as being “pre-Pietistic.” Opitz tended to emphasize the effectiveness of human reason in a world that he regarded as not altogether evil. Pietism, however, is marked by a distrust of both human intellect and the sensory world. The non-intellectually based “inward gaze” of Pietism is thus another tendency marking the theoretical work of Harsdörffer and the Blumenorden. This tendency, again, seems to be related to the interest in music, which, in the case of Harsdörffer at least, was linked to the idea of pure sound representing humanity’s spiritual core, the essence underlying rational thought.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 108-109.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 108.

Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele, Vol. 4, and Seelewig's Place in It

Nowhere in the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* is this “pre-Pietism” more evident than in the fourth volume.¹²⁰ In the introduction to *Seelewig*, for instance, the “Discant oder Tenor” representing Music (“oder Singkunst”) sings of her being restored to her proper place as a kind of medium between God and humanity:

The heavy chain has now fallen away from me.
Your freedom leads me to God's praise and teaching,
And to love for one's neighbor. I let here resound
A spiritual poem without idle fame and honor.¹²¹

In the commentary on these lines, Harsdörffer provides the following interpretation:¹²²

The gentleman sings here what was mentioned before, that secular comedies should be turned into spiritual poems: and because he complains in the name of music, of the servitude into which it has gotten, so he presents it here as if placed on free feet again, to make heard something edifying to God's honor and useful to one's neighbor.¹²³

The implication is that the “spirituality” of a poem depends on the freedom of its underlying music.¹²⁴ This can be true only if pure (non-verbal) sound represents spirit, or at least provides some important connection to it: it is the release of music from its servitude (to words, presumably) that renders the poem honorable to God (above the secular plane) and profitable to others. Harsdörffer also expresses here his conception of “Gesamtkunstwerk,” wherein music is on equal footing with the other arts. It might even be argued, on the basis

¹²⁰ Of course there is much to be mined from all eight volumes. The following outline will focus exclusively on the fourth volume, though, as it contains the work at hand, *Seelewig*. For a detailed look at the whole of Harsdörffer's work, see G. A. Narciss, *Studien zu den Frauenzimmergesprächspielen Georg Philipp Harsdörffers (1607-1658)* (Leipzig, 1928).

¹²¹ “Das schwere Fesselband' ist mir jetzt abgefallen. Dein Freiheit leitet mich zu Gottes Lob und Lehr' / Und zu des Nechsten Lieb'. Ich lasse hier erschallen Ein Geistliches Gedicht ohn eitlen Ruhm und Ehr.” F. G. IV, 88.

¹²² The commentary comes through the voice of one of the “Gesprächspieler,” Angelica von Keuschewitz, a “young noblewoman.” See below for a list of the “players” of Volume 4.

¹²³ “Der Herr singet hier / was vor erwähnt worden / daß die Weltliche Freuden Spiele in Geistliche Gedichte sollen verwechselt werden: und weil er in der Music Name beklaget die Dienstbarkeit / in welche sie gerahten ist / so führet er sie hier an / als ob sie wieder auf freyen Fuß gestellet / etwas erbauliches zu Gottes Ehren und des Nechsten Nutzen hören lassen werde.” F. G. IV, 88.

¹²⁴ “Underlying music” is meant in the sense of Harsdörffer's “Klangmalerei,” as discussed earlier.

of this passage, that Harsdörffer considers music, because it is so close to spirit, to be more important than words.

To the extent that Harsdörffer, like Opitz, is interested in poetry as a means to spiritual edification, this may be true. Harsdörffer's own words, though, tend to focus more on the work per se than on the work as vehicle. His concern with the development of a complete work of art (discussed above) implies, again, an elevation of music from a place of servitude to a place of equality, not to a place of superiority. In fact the very idea of equality, or balance, is a theme in *Seelewig*. Not only are there equal numbers of male and female respondents or players in the conversation "games," but the range of ideas discussed is—within appropriate limits, of course—inclusive. That is, the conversants approach a given subject from a complementary variety of angles, reflecting the range of their characters. The ideal of balance seems to govern the large-scale structure of this fourth volume as well, though here Harsdörffer's inclusiveness often seems to be a by-product of his game playing.

Just as an actual conversation among "amorous company" can unfold like an improvisation, so Harsdörffer's conversants bounce from topic to topic, yielding an arrangement of "Kraut und Früchte" that might be described as aimless or discursive. Thus we find, after the close of the presentation of the text for *Seelewig*, a discussion on "the invention of the art of symbols" ("Die Erfindung der Sinnbildkunst"). This is perhaps not unrelated to some of the themes in *Seelewig*, but the conversants then engage a series of topics that includes such puzzling items as "The Fish" ("Die Fische"), "Crying or Singing" ("Weinen oder Singen"), and "The Game of Letters" ("Das Buchstabenspiel"). Within *Seelewig* itself, though, this tendency toward improvisatory freedom is tempered by a tendency toward monothematic unity. In fact, *Seelewig* is the most obviously coherent entity

in Volume 4. It therefore serves as the centerpiece of the book, although it occupies only 265 of its 748 pages.

In reality, the complete text and music of *Seelewig* occupy only 133 pages near the end of *Gesprächspiele*'s Volume 4 (pp. 533-666). Earlier in the same volume (pp. 77-209) the text appears one verse at a time, interspersed with interpretations (of each verse) by the various conversants of Volume 4.¹²⁵ Before this first presentation of the text there is a series of dedications and epistles lasting 36 pages (pp. 7-43), after which the “players” of Volume 4 are introduced (p. 44). These are:

Angelica von Keuschewitz, a young noblewoman
 Reymund Discretin, a well-traveled and well-read student
 Julia von Freudenstein, a wise matron
 Vespasian von Lustgau, an old courtier
 Cassandra Schönlebin, a young noblewoman
 Degenwert von Ruhmeck, a sensible and learned soldier

Volume 4 proper then begins with a discussion headed “Die Poeterey.” Significantly, this “discussion” starts with a “Liedlein” (pp. 45-49) complete with melody and bass line, sung by “a shepherdess watching over her sheep on the bank of the river.”¹²⁶ The music is by Sigmund Staden.¹²⁷ The text of this song is “almost [literally] translated” (“fast übersetzt”) from the “fünften lehrreichen Mären (novela exemplare)” by “M. Cervantes Saavedra [1547-1616],” the esteemed author of *Don Quixote*.¹²⁸

Harsdörffer seems to have been interested in the poem as a means of teaching something, though what it taught, as far as Harsdörffer was concerned, was not the same thing as Cervantes may have intended. The poem is a kind of paean to love. The

¹²⁵ The text and commentary thus occupy the other 132 pages of the 263 mentioned above. My translation of the text and commentary appears in Appendix B.

¹²⁶ F. G. IV, 45: “Eine Schäferin an dem Ufer des Flusses ihrer Schaafte hütend.”

¹²⁷ The “Erinnerung” in the introduction to the volume credits all the music in this and the preceding volumes to Herrn Johann Gottlieb Staden (43). In his edition Robert Eitner calls “Johann” a misprint. See *Seelewig*, ed. Robert Eitner, in *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 13/4 (1881), im Verlage von Annemarie Schnase – Reprint Department (Scarsdale, NY, 1960), 60.

¹²⁸ F. G. IV, 49.

shepherdess, warned by her mother of the perils of passion, responds that marriage and love are not blind: “It [marriage] is also a wise child” (“Es ist auch ein kluges Kind”), who, if forbidden, will only long for love all the more. “Before the years increase, before winter comes on, before love can become cold, we should honor the condition of marriage,” she sings.¹²⁹ Each verse ends with the couplet: “In vain is your guard and watch, I do not wish to be careful myself.”¹³⁰ Cervantes opposes youth and passion to age and reserve, producing a sentiment similar to the counsel that his younger contemporary Robert Herrick (1591-1674) gave “To the Virgins, to Make Much of Time”:

Gather ye rosebuds while ye may,
Old Time is still a-flying;
And this same flower that smiles to-day
To-morrow will be dying . . .

Then be not coy, but use your time,
And while ye may, go marry;
For, having lost but once your prime,
You may forever tarry.

This theme of how one should best spend his prime years is the implicit subject of the debate that follows the song (p. 50). While the young noblewoman Angelica von Keuschewitz praises the “beautiful morning blessing” (“einen schönen Morgensegen”) of the shepherdess, the well-read student Reymund Descretin finds it a disgraceful misuse of the “noble art of verse.”¹³¹ “Instead of a morning prayer pleasing to God,” he complains, “this [maiden] offers a juicy love song.”¹³² Angelica responds that she has perceived “nothing unbecoming in the song of this shepherdess” and “that she [the shepherdess] says and sings

¹²⁹ “Eh die Jahre sich vermehren / eh der Winter ruckt heran / eh die Lieb’ erkalten kan / sollen wir den Ehestand ehren.”

¹³⁰ “Umsonst ist eu’r Huht und Wacht / nem ich mich nicht selbst in Acht.”

¹³¹ “Wie schändlich wird die edle Reimkunst mißbraucht.”

¹³² “An stat eines Gottgefälligen Morgengebets / läst diese Dirne ein üppiges Buhlliedlein hören.”

the truth.”¹³³ Where Angelica finds pleasant, earthly honesty, Reymund finds dissolute nobility. Angelica then admits that she can be no judge of poetry and that “if the gentleman [Reymund] does not like [the song], he should begin our journey with more spiritual thoughts.”¹³⁴

Reymund complies with another Lied (pp. 51-55), a “Morgensegen” that begins: “Lord my true God, you who have mercifully led me out of much misery! My happiness and unhappiness, indeed all moments has your might governed.”¹³⁵ After this sacred song, the wise matron Julia von Freudenstein interprets: “The gentleman wanted to pray for us all, and to contrast this spiritual song with that secular one, in order to throw more light on the difference.”¹³⁶ (The conversants discuss, on pp. 55-59, the issues raised by the two “Liedlein.”) This difference has to do not just with the “proper” use of poetry in general, but—following the tradition exemplified by Opitz—with the “Christianization” of pastoral poetry. The idyllic conceit of earthly love in the first song is thus transformed, in the second, into the “goodness” (“Güte”) of the “Lord” (“Herr”), which “the pious flock” (“der Frommen Schaar”), as well as “the wicked pack” (“die böse Rotte”) “enjoy in abundance” (“mit Überfluß geniesset”).

Poetry is held as something pure—and, as with Opitz, moral—in its origins. The secular love idealized in the pagan pastoral represents a corruption of the art (just as secular love represents to the faithful an inferior, self-aggrandizing version of God’s prime attribute). “Certainly it is to be mourned,” opines the old courtier Vespasian von Lustgau, “that the noble art of poetry is made so contemptuous. It is a chaste virgin that hates all impurity, and

¹³³ “Ich hab nichts unrechts vernommen in dieser Schäferin Gesange . . . daß sie die Wahrheit saget / und singt.”

¹³⁴ “Gefällt er aber dem Herrn nicht / so fänge er unser Spazierreiss mit Geistreicheren Gedanken an.”

¹³⁵ “Herr mein getreuer Gott / der du aus mancher Noht / mich gnädiglich geführt! Mein Glück und Unglück / ja gar all’ Augenblick’ hat deine Macht regiret.” Like the first “Liedlein,” the song is complete, with melody and bass line

¹³⁶ “Der Herr hat für uns alle beten wollen / und dieses Geistliche jenem Weltlichen entgegen setzen / damit der Unterschied desto mehr erhelle.”

was at first especially dedicated to the service of God.”¹³⁷ What Cervantes’ poem had to teach, then, was what poetry should not be: a vehicle for the secular. And “secular” was understood as anything not primarily “dedicated to the service of God.”

Even earlier and contemporary German poetry and song were not immune to criticism. The Meistersingers, says the learned soldier Degenwert von Ruhmeck, concerned themselves only with “the number of syllables and the rhyme.”¹³⁸ The value of a poem, for them, was generally determined more by these outer criteria than by inner content, to say nothing of the poem’s conformity (or lack of conformity) to Christian morals. By the end of this discussion, Angelica has learned what Reymund and the others have to teach: that it is the inner moral content—specifically, for them, inner Christian content—that matters most in poetry. “The heathen poets,” she comments, “are also supposed to have hidden either natural, worldly wisdom or moral teachings of virtue, to whose cancellation, so to speak, the echo and counterpart is the Christian fear of God, and to have never troubled with useless propping up by syllable manipulation (as is common today).”¹³⁹

This moral conception of poetry distinguished itself at once from much contemporary practice and from ancient tradition. First, the Nurembergers were not enamored of fashionable poetic technique, and secondly, while they did see themselves as heirs to morally didactic ancient poets, they did not underplay the differences inherent in their specifically Christian moral views. Indeed, they were very much aware of both their spiritual debt to and ideological separateness from the “pagans,” as was typically the case with Christian

¹³⁷ “Gewießlich es ist zu betrauren / daß die edle Poeterey so verächtlich gehalten wird. Sie ist eine keusche Jungfrau / welche alle Unreinigkeit hasset / und Anfangs sonderlich zu dem Gottesdienst gewidmet gewesen.”

¹³⁸ “Sie beobachteten allein die Anzahl der Sylben und den Reimen.”

¹³⁹ “Es sollen auch die Poeten unter den Heyden / entweder natürliche / Weltkluge oder sittliche Tugendlehren verborgen haben / welcher Kündigung gleichsam der Widerhall und Gegenstimme ist Christlicher Gottesfurchte; und niemals mit müßiger Sylbensteltzerey (wie heut zu Tage üblich) bemühet gewesen seyn.”

theologians from the Middle Ages onward. This awareness is evident in the discussion among the “Gesprächspieler” that follows.

This discussion (pp. 59-73) is in three parts, headed “Pan,” “Perseus,” and “Bacchus.” The general purpose of this section of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (Volume 4) is to establish the connection with ancient practice, by “reading” these figures (Pan, Perseus, and Bacchus) as contemporary allegories. Pan, the half-human, half-goat, pipe-playing offspring of the god Mercury, is interpreted thus: His form connotes “the heavenly and earthly things, of which the world consists,” says Reymund. “It is also not without cause,” he continues, that the figure of the goat is used, “because the nature of this animal is to climb up onto boulders and mountains, and to ascend like earthly vapors, fire, clouds and such.”¹⁴⁰ Pan represents humanity, rooted in matter yet reaching for something higher. “That he is also the next in line after Mercury,” adds Degenwert later, “is to be understood that the world is, next to the word of God, our best preacher, as the spiritual poet and prophet sings: The heavens tell the glory of God, and the constellations show his handiwork.”¹⁴¹

For Reymund, this connection to Mercury means that Pan—also to be understood as the “entire created world”—has arisen from the “divine word.”¹⁴² The seven tubes of Pan’s pipe suggest to Angelica “the effect, power and virtues of the seven planets.”¹⁴³ Julia asserts, further, that there are two kinds of music: one “of divine wisdom” and one “of human

¹⁴⁰ “Die himmlischen und irdischen Dinge / in welchen die Welt bestehet. . . . Es ist auch nicht ohne Ursach . . . diewel dieses Thiers Natur ist auf hohe Felsen und Berge zu steigen / und zu klettern / wie die Erdendämpf / das Feuer / Gewölk and dergleichen.”

¹⁴¹ “Daß er auch der nechste nach dem Mercurio seye / ist dahin zu verstehen / daß die Welt nechst dem Wort Gottes unser bester Prediger / wie dann der Geistliche Poet und Profet singt: Die Himmel erzehlen die Ehre Gottes / und seiner Hände Werke weisen das Gestirne.” Degenwert seems to be quoting Psalm 19, verse 1: “The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handiwork.”

¹⁴² “Dieser ganze Weltbau / welcher entstanden . . . von Mercurio / das ist dem Göttlichen Wort.”

¹⁴³ “Der sieben Planeten Wirkung / Kraft und Tugenden.”

reason,” and that “Pan has the former,” while “Apollo the latter.”¹⁴⁴ Pan’s pipes produce not merely the music of the spheres, but the reflection, as it were, of God’s voice. Degenwert at once affirms Angelica’s assertion with an encapsulation of Harsdörffer’s conception of music: “Pan loves the echo because nothing is more like him than the repetition of his voice, and this is the best knowledge, which the natural speech of the world most truthfully investigates, repeats and clearly lets be heard.”¹⁴⁵ Pure (wordless) sound is, as the echo of God, something higher than the language that is derived from it.

The next part of the discussion begins with a brief synopsis, by Degenwert, of Perseus’ encounter with Medusa. Degenwert, a soldier, gives the telling a distinctly militaristic hue. Perseus is sent by warlike Pallas Athena “to challenge” Medusa, “an abominable sea creature (whose countenance change[s] people into stone) harmful to the country.”¹⁴⁶ The eye and tooth necessary to his success he acquires from the Graiae not by stealth, as in Apollodorus. Rather, the old “Gray Women” (Graiae) here loan them to Perseus, as if to an ally about to engage a common enemy.¹⁴⁷ The slaying of Medusa is not actually described, but what subsequently happens with the body—the prerogative of the victor—receives much play. After mentioning the means (a mirror) by which Perseus is able to kill Medusa without being changed into stone, Degenwert details the remainder of the myth: Perseus severing the head of Medusa, Pegasus rising from the blood that falls on the

¹⁴⁴ The passage reads thus: “Der Music ist zweyerley: Göttlicher Weissheit / und Menschlicher Vernunft; Diese hat Pan; jene Apollo” (65). In Harsdörffer’s construction, “Diese” means “former”; “jene” means “latter.” Cf. n. 158, below.

¹⁴⁵ “Pan liebet den Echo / weil nichts ist das ihm ähnlicher / als die Wiederholung seiner Stimme / und ist dieses die beste Wissenschaft / welche der Welt natürliche Rede getreulichst erforschet / widerholet und vernemlich hören läst.”

¹⁴⁶ “Zu bestreiten . . . ein dem Land schädliches abscheuliches Meerwunder / (dessen Anschauen die Menschen in Steine verwandelte).” Not all tellings of the myth attribute Perseus’ undertaking to a prompting by Athena. In Apollodorus, for instance, Perseus’ vow to obtain Medusa’s head is an act of saving face after having neglected to bring a gift to Polydectes’ marriage-announcement celebration. See Edith Hamilton, *Mythology*, 141-144.

¹⁴⁷ Also, in Apollodorus there is no tooth, only an eye.

ground, and Perseus fastening the head onto the shield of Pallas Athena, “so that all who see it become frozen and fearful of it.”¹⁴⁸

Degenwert then summarizes the meaning of the myth: “The lesson of this fable deals with the characteristics of war, which is supposed to have come from Pallas, that is, from the goddess of reason.”¹⁴⁹ Reason should certainly guide one’s conduct in war. Indeed, the manner in which Medusa is taken shows, to Degenwert, “that one should proceed safely and carefully.”¹⁵⁰ But that war itself is a reasonable undertaking, as Degenwert implies (Degenwert claims that war comes from the goddess of reason), makes sense only if the enemy is unequivocally viewed as evil. For the devout believer, there can be no other logical reason for killing.¹⁵¹ One senses in this discussion that the moral certitude with which earthly wars (like the then-current Thirty Years War) were fought corresponded to the spiritual confidence with which Christians were to oppose the Evil One. The faithful had constantly to guard against the wickedness permeating the world. Thus the eye and tooth borrowed from the old gray women represent, for the young noblewoman Cassandra Schönlebin, a way to “make everything hateful, and in a biting manner to bring everything into evil suspicion.”¹⁵²

The eye and tooth together serve as a kind of *memento mori* once removed, a reminder that death is the consequence of sin. As the “evil one,” Medusa takes the life from those who regard her. The mirror, then, is “the recognition of committed atrocities,” as the wise Julia puts it. The ability to recognize evil in oneself (a mirror is usually used to view oneself) is also an ability to recognize it in others. To the old courtier Vespasian, Pegasus

¹⁴⁸ “Daß alle so es anschauen / darvor erstarren und erschrecken.”

¹⁴⁹ “Die Lehre dieser Fabel handelt von des Krieges Bewantnüssen / der von der Pallade / das ist / der Göttin des Verstands herkommen soll.”

¹⁵⁰ “Daß man sicher / und behutsam verfahren soll.”

¹⁵¹ Wars prompted by greed, hatred, ambition, and so forth are not logically necessary. The common tendency to demonize the enemy betrays a need to provide a rational basis for war.

¹⁵² “Alles verhasst zu machen / und beissiger Weise in bösen Verdacht zu bringen.”

arising from Medusa's spilled blood symbolizes the "winged speed" of "rumor" ("Flügelschnelle Gerücht") that naturally proceeds from victory over such a foe. And there is a suggestion of Christian symbolism in Angelica's characterization of the use to which Medusa's head is put. "The portrait of Medusa, or conquered Tyranny," she says, "lends the weapon a respect, and terrifies all who observe such a symbol on the shields of their enemies."¹⁵³ In like manner Christianity adopted a symbol of death—the cross—as a symbol of victory (over death's tyranny), terrifying to the enemies against whom militant Christians crusaded.

The following part of the discussion, a discourse on Bacchus, seems calculated to say something about the nature of the evil that is in the self. Reymund begins with origins. Bacchus is born from Jove's leg, he says, after his mother, Semele, who had ambitions to be recognized as equal to Jove's legitimate wife Juno, was burned by Jove's rays. He is then "nourished and brought up by Proserpine [queen of the underworld]."¹⁵⁴ As he gets older, it becomes difficult to distinguish "whether he is of the male or female gender."¹⁵⁵ He also dies for a time and then comes back to life. Most famously, he invents winemaking, achieving great power by which "he conquer[s] many peoples and the whole of India."¹⁵⁶ His attributes include ivy, and he has the "power to drive people mad."¹⁵⁷

Reymund closes his sketch with an interpretation: "Bacchus is desire, which comes from a true or apparent goodness: this [desire] is to be understood, through Jove, as the zealous, evil wife, that [goodness] the correct, true wife of the soul."¹⁵⁸ Reymund's

¹⁵³ "Das Bildniß Medusa / oder die zu Grund gerichtete Tyranny macht den Waffen ein Ansehen / und erschreckt alle / die solches Simbild auf ihrer Feinde Schilde betrachten."

¹⁵⁴ "Von Proserpina ernehret und auferzogen worden."

¹⁵⁵ "Ob er männliches oder weibliches Geschlechtes sey."

¹⁵⁶ "Daß er viel Völker und ganz Indien bezwungen hat."

¹⁵⁷ "Macht die Leute rasend zu machen."

¹⁵⁸ "Bacchus ist die Begierde / welche erzeuget wird von einer wahren oder scheinbarlichen Güte: Dieses ist das eiferige Rebsweib / jene das rechte Eheweib des Gemütes / durch Jovem zu verstehen." To the modern reader, Harsdörffer's construction here might prove confusing at first. Grammatically, it is not clear whether

characterization of desire as the “Rebsweib” of the soul recalls original sin and puts a Christian cast on his interpretation. “Reb” is connected not only to “Rebe,” or vine, but also to “Rippe,” or rib. Thus the desire that drove Eve (the rib of Adam) to disobedience is the root of the evil that grows in all her descendants, whose actions, no matter how well intentioned, even good, are yet prone to impurity. Reymund concludes: “However, after the corrupt reputation, as it were, burns, desire becomes secretly protected, so that almost all actions and omissions are hurt and handicapped by it.”¹⁵⁹

Angelica thereupon adds that the “burial” of seemingly dead desire serves in fact to strengthen it for its eventual rebirth. It must be “nourished and hidden in the darkness,” she says, and “brought up by Proserpine.”¹⁶⁰ Its “masculine boldness” and “feminine timidity” help Vespasian to comprehend its tendency to sometimes lay “as dead” and at other times to become “active and lively again.”¹⁶¹ Desire also defines Bacchus’s attributes. Julia finds the invention of winemaking appropriate to desire, “because wine arouses and preserves anger, love, ambition” and other species of madness.”¹⁶² And just as ivy “creeps up on walls and trees,”¹⁶³ concludes Vespasian, so “desire strives after the forbidden, and winds around or hangs around people’s thoughts and deeds.”¹⁶⁴

Volume 4 proper up to this point (pp. 45-73) seems designed to advocate poetry that both reflects and inspires a properly moral way of life. Reymund castigates the first song for

“Dieses” refers to “Begierde” or to “Güte.” “Jene” could likewise refer to either. Semantically, however, there is no confusion. “Desire” could only be connected to “zealous wife”; “goodness” (as opposed to desire) must be the “correct wife of the soul.” In Harsdörffer’s construction, then, “Dieses” means “former,” while “jene” means “latter.” Cf. n. 144, above.

¹⁵⁹ “Nachdem aber das falsche Ansehen gleichsam verbrennet / wird die Begierd verborgener Weise gehegt / daß fast alles Thun und Lassen darvon gekränkert und hinkend wird.”

¹⁶⁰ “Mus sie [die Begierde] noch in dem Finstern ernehret und verborgen / von Proserpina auferzogen werden.”

¹⁶¹ “Männliche Grimmigkeit . . . weibliche Zagheit . . . als todt . . . wieder reg und lebendig.”

¹⁶² “Weil der Wein Zorn / Lieb / Ehrgeiz und dergleichen erreget und heget.”

¹⁶³ “Kreucht an den Mauren und Bäumen hinauf.”

¹⁶⁴ “Die Begierde strebet nach den verbotenen / und umwindet / oder schwingt sich um der Menschen Gedanken und Verrichtungen.”

the secular love that it represents and sanctions, and follows it with one that both corresponds to his personal beliefs and embodies the ideals of a sacred society. The excursions into pagan mythology, more than just establishing the connection to ancient practice, serve to amplify some of the key tenets of this morality.¹⁶⁵ Bacchus shows that desire is the root of evil. The story of Perseus charges the faithful to oppose the evil that is found everywhere. And Pan serves as a reminder that the created world contains aspects of the divine. Also, Pan, as piper, makes this divinity accessible (through wordless music). The conversants probably begin with the “Waldgott” Pan not just because he is the archetypal god of forests and shepherds,¹⁶⁶ but also because Harsdörffer clearly wishes to introduce right away the key philosophical idea behind his poetry, namely that wordless music is in some sense the voice of God.

Music and Language: From the “Liedlein” to *Seelewig*

It is not insignificant that Harsdörffer begins this discussion of poetry that opens Volume 4 proper with a pair of “Liedlein,” complete with music, clearly intended to represent the two kinds of music to which Julia refers in the discussion of the pastoral god Pan: one of “human reason,” the other of “divine wisdom.” The point, again, is that Harsdörffer regarded music as the divine source of language and human reason. He was a poet, so of course his songs have words. For him the important difference between these types of music lay in how accurately the tones “captured” the inherent musicality of the text. This was not a constructed musicality; it was, for Harsdörffer, the nature from which the construct of language derives. In other words, music of “divine wisdom” did not merely

¹⁶⁵ Again, this follows the tradition of Scholasticism, which built large portions of its theological systems on pagan foundations.

¹⁶⁶ The pastoral, again, was the genre of choice for Italian opera and for *Seelewig*, and hence for the poetry at the opening of this volume of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*.

follow the meaning or meter of the text. Rather, it reflected something of the manner by which meaning and meter are derived from sound.

The second “Liedlein” is considered superior to the first not only because its text overtly praises God, but also because its music—both the internal “music” of the poetry and the poetry’s literal musical setting—“paints” an “image” of God that belongs, as it were, to what Harsdörffer called the “planning stages of poetry.” If the tones produced by Pan’s pipe echo divine wisdom, then sustained pitches are the kinds of sound most fundamental to language. Accordingly, the “Klangmalerei” of this sacred song inheres mostly in its vowels. Staden’s music is a successful vehicle for “divine wisdom” (according to Harsdörffer’s criteria) insofar as it reflects what Harsdörffer was attempting to “paint” with vowel sounds.¹⁶⁷ The “image” of God projected semantically by the first stanza of this second song is one of truth and omnipotence.¹⁶⁸ Reymund sings of a “true God” who—presumably because he has led him (the singer) out of much need—is regarded as all-powerful: “my happiness and unhappiness, indeed all moments has your might governed.” That is, God is true and omnipotent because he has provided something essential that the individual could not provide for himself. This God is not “I”; he is a greater “Other.” Yet faith in this Other hinges on the self and its needs, or, more generally, the self and its relationship to the world.

The “image” is further clarified in the succeeding stanzas (there are seven altogether), where God is compared, for example, to the sun that “lights up everywhere what is found on earth” and drives “away the dark night.”¹⁶⁹ Of course, this is really a description, or at best an allegory, rather than a true image. To obtain a picture of God, were that possible, would require something akin to looking directly into the sun. We “see” God only in what he

¹⁶⁷ There is some evidence that Sigmund Staden shared these philosophical ideas with Harsdörffer. Richard Hinton Thomas, for instance, believes that Staden was a fellow member of the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz (77). More on Staden’s religious outlook below.

¹⁶⁸ See above at n. 135 for the text and translation of the first stanza.

¹⁶⁹ “Umleuchtet überal / Was auf der Welt sich findet [und treibt] hinweg die finstre Nacht.”

“lights up”: the world, as “sensed,” i.e., perceived by the self. Hence what Harsdörffer was “painting” with vowel sounds is, strictly speaking, incomprehensible. Vowels represent not the world—the domain of human reason, or comprehension—but something that is essentially outside the world. They make sense only when brought down to earth, i.e., when tied to sounds that are derived from the natural world.

The “Klangmalerei” that Harsdörffer associated with the earth makes heavy use of consonants. Wolfgang Kayser counts among the words that “paint” water, for example, the following: “lispeln,” “wispeln,” “klitschen,” “prasseln,” “schlürfen,” “sauseln.”¹⁷⁰ Harsdörffer himself believed the German language to be particularly close to nature¹⁷¹ and listed the following verbs—also displaying prominent consonants—as being derived from the animal sounds:¹⁷²

Lion – “brüllet”
 Ox – “plerret”
 Bear – “brummt”
 Deer – “beeket”
 Sheep – “blecket”
 Pig – “gruntzet”
 Dog – “muffet”
 Horse – “rintschet”
 Snake – “zischet”
 Goose – “schnattert”
 Duck – “quacket”
 Bumble Bee – “summet”
 Chicken – “kacket”
 Stork – “klappert”

Harsdörffer also listed words connected to wind and storms: “our language . . . ‘donnert’ [thunders] with the heavens . . . it ‘blitzet’ [flashes] with the quick clouds, ‘strahlet’ [beams] with hail, ‘sausset’ [howls] with the winds, ‘brauset’ [roars] with the waves . . . ‘schallet’

¹⁷⁰ Wolfgang Kayser, *Die Klangmalerei bei Harsdörffer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1962), 55.

¹⁷¹ In the first volume of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, Harsdörffer writes: “It [the German language] speaks with the tongues of nature.” See Kayser, 47.

¹⁷² Quoted in Kayser, 47, from Volume 1 of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*.

[rings forth] with the air,” and so forth.¹⁷³ These are words, continues Harsdörffer, that “nature as it were speaks herself: when it thunders [‘es donnert’], it seems to me that I hear the clouds forming this word.”¹⁷⁴

One gets a sense in words like “wispeln,” “gruntzet,” “zischet,” and “blitzet” that vowels function merely to separate different consonant sounds. In fact, their imitation of natural sounds seems more successful when these words are pronounced, as far as is possible, without vowels. The essence of words like “Gott” and “getreu,” on the other hand, is unarticulated sound. It makes no sense to pronounce them without vowels because these words are not built on the principle of imitation. Nor does it make sense to pronounce them without consonants, though, again, these words seem to be more “about” their vowels, if only in the amount of time spent on “o,” “e,” and “eu” (relative to the amount of time spent on “g” and “t”) in pronouncing them. The vowels that give these words “life,” in conjunction with the consonants that help make them comprehensible, are essentially representative, or suggestive, rather than imitative. The “things” that they represent are not essentially of this world, or at least not directly perceptible through the senses. Presumably these things are only suggested because they cannot be imitated.

The implication in all of this is that Harsdörffer associates consonant sounds with the created (sensory) world and vowel sounds—again, like the tones of Pan’s pipe—with the divine. Language becomes a kind of allegory for human life: consonants are matter, vowels are the spirit (of divine origin) that animates matter. The more one favors consonants over vowels, the further one is from God. Animals and inanimate objects are effectively without soul. Completely spiritual beings—pure, unarticulated vowels—are incomprehensible to

¹⁷³ From F. G. III, quoted in Kayser, 60: “Unsere Sprache donnert mit dem Himmel, sie blitzet mit den schnellen Wolken, strahlet mit dem Hagel, sauset mit den Winden, brauset mit den Wellen . . . schallet mit dem Luft.”

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 60: “die Natur gleichsam selbst ausspricht: als es donnert, mich bedunkelt, ich höre gleichsam die Wolken dieses Wort formen.”

humans, whose being *qua* human depends upon both spirit and matter. The perfectly formed word, “echoing” the perfectly formed human, will favor vowels over consonants. The most essential part of both (human and word) is spirit. For Jakob Böhme, this “essence” (“die Essenz”) is, as Kayser paraphrases, “nothing other than the effective word of God in the thing, its inner form.”¹⁷⁵ The “sounds” (“die Laute”) of verbal essence originate in “the spirit” (“dem Geist”) and are thereby “in touch with the transcendental.”¹⁷⁶

Kayser finds that “all this has nothing to do with tone painting[,] for never does it concern connections between word sounds and sensory perceptions.”¹⁷⁷ Strictly speaking, Kayser is right, because, as mentioned above, it is not really possible to “paint” the divine. Images belong to the realm of the senses. Yet Harsdörffer was clearly interested in representing more than just the natural world. Kayser’s desire to connect Harsdörffer’s “Klangmalerei” with the “Wortbildungsprinzip” of imitation (discussed at the beginning of this chapter) ignores what appears to have been Harsdörffer’s greater project, which of necessity embraced the complementary principle of “Lautsymbolik.” Whether the latter can be connected with “Klangmalerei” may have less to do with the derivation of sounds than with the question of whether abstractions cannot be conveyed as well as objects (sound or visual) can be depicted.

Surely language does both. What Harsdörffer did was to organize the sounds of language into the two broad categories discussed above—“Wortbildungsprinzip” and “Lautsymbolik”—using them both as tools (or “colors”) with which to portray the relationship between humanity and divinity. Music was, to Harsdörffer, not only the “echo” of “heavenly joys” that, “translated” into language, became vowels, but also, in a practical

¹⁷⁵ Kayser, 145: “Nichts anderes als das wirksame Wort Gottes in dem Dinge, seine innere Form.”

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 145: “In Verbindung mit dem Transzendenten stehen.”

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 145: “Das alles hat nichts mit Klangmalerei zu tun. Denn nie handelt es sich um Zusammenhänge zwischen Wortklang und sinnlichen Wahrnehmungen.”

sense, an indispensable means by which to highlight vowel sounds, the divine aspect of language. Herein lies the significance of Harsdörffer's decision to begin a discussion of poetry (at the beginning of Volume 4 proper of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*) with a pair of songs. Julia's two kinds of music are distinguished by how strongly they emphasize vowels. Of course, the type of music used will correspond to what the text is about, if the song is to be successful. That is, a song can be at once aesthetically pleasing and morally displeasing, if, for example, its text praises earthly love and its music is of the "human reason" type, strongly emphasizing consonant sounds.

This is precisely the case with the first song offered. Angelica's positive reception of the shepherdess's "beautiful morning blessing" can be attributed, at least partially, to a confusion between moral and aesthetic goodness. Fig. 4.1 shows the music and first stanza of this "Liedlein."¹⁷⁸ As can be seen, the musical setting "gives place" infrequently to vowel sounds, and then only on words that already have relatively long vowels: "an," "Mann," "Wacht," "Acht." The quick tempo and generally short note values tend, rather, to stress consonant sounds, even in words that could be spoken with longer vowels, like "wolt" and the second syllable of "Umsonst." That is, the speed at which "wolt" and "sonst" must be sung means that a greater percentage of time will be spent—during the course of the quarter and eighth notes, respectively—on consonant sounds than on vowel sounds. With its reiterated rhythms, this is dance-like music of the worldly type, well suited to the secular nature of its text.

¹⁷⁸ Copied from F. G. IV, 46-47.

2

Die Poeterey.

Mütterlein was wolts ihr sagen? Mich trifft es am meisten an:

Ich weiß ich nicht/was heist ein Mann/ dessen Herrschaft man mus tragen?

Dmsonst ist eu'r Huhr usi Wacht/ nem ich mich nicht selbst in Acht.

Fig. 4.1 *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele IV, Liedlein 1*

Mother, what do you want to say? It concerns me the most:
do I not know what a man is, whose power must be borne?
In vain is your guard and watch, I do not wish to be careful myself.

Fig. 4.2 shows the music and first stanza of the second song, Reymund's sacred response to the first.¹⁷⁹ The differences are readily apparent. The longer note values ensure that the vowel sounds dominate the consonant sounds in practically every word. Even words with a predominance of consonant sounds, like "gnädiglich," are treated in such a way as to bring out their respective vowel sounds, or "inner essences."

¹⁷⁹ Copied from F. G. IV, 51-52.

4. R. ✱ Die Poeterey. ✱

CLI.
Morgens
gen.

E R R mein getreuer Gott/ der du aus mancher Noht/
I. mich gnädiglich ge füh ret! Mein Glück und Ungelück/
ja gar D hij ja gar
I. ja gar all' Augenblick' hat deine Macht regiret.

Fig. 4.2 *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele IV, Liedlein 2*

Lord my true God, you who have mercifully led me out of much misery!
My happiness and unhappiness, indeed all moments has your might governed.

There are other techniques used to highlight the text's semantic "image" of God. The first two "measures"¹⁸⁰ contain the song's clearest musical "rhyme": the pitches of the second measure repeat those of the first measure, but a third higher (with the second E of the second measure substituting for the expected C). Nowhere else in the song is there such an obvious connection between musical phrases. More than simply echoing the rhyme between "Gott" and "Noht," this parallelism highlights the primary message of the text: that faith in

¹⁸⁰ I use the term "measure" out of convenience. The vertical lines that separate textual phrases of course do not indicate measures in the modern sense.

God hinges on the self and its needs. Also, the triple “meter” adheres to the traditional prolation of choice for sacred music.¹⁸¹

The techniques displayed in the two “Liedlein” foreshadow the ends and means of *Seelewig*. After the “Gesprächspieler” analyze the pair of songs (pp. 55-59) and then expand on moral ends in their discussion of Pan, Perseus, and Bacchus (pp. 59-73), Julia raises an important question regarding interpretation that leads the conversants to a discussion of particularly German means (pp. 73-76).¹⁸² Julia wonders whether she and her companions are “not attributing other meanings”¹⁸³ to the “inventions” (“Erfindungen”) of the ancients than they themselves intended. Degenwert responds that although such meanings may not be clearly expressed in the old texts, the interpretations are nonetheless “proper, and give occasion to excellent theoretical ideas.”¹⁸⁴ The noblewoman Cassandra then expresses the desire to know how one could “imitate such poems in German verse,”¹⁸⁵ doubting that the language is in fact capable of doing justice to “a pastoral, a tragic, or a comic poem like those on Pan, Perseus, and Bacchus.”¹⁸⁶

¹⁸¹ The music is clearly conceived in triple “meter,” despite the C in the uppermost staff. As Geoffrey Chew and Richard Rastall note, composers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries occasionally notated pieces in duple meter (in this case quadruple), “even though their musical sense is triple.” See Geoffrey Chew and Richard Rastall, “Notation,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 18, 153. Peter Keller, *Die Oper Seelewig von Sigmund Theophil Staden und Georg Philipp Harsdörffer* (Bern: Paul Haupt, 1977), 69, implies that the triple meter underscores the essentially sacred nature of the second song. He also believes that the longer note values, predominantly “white,” are employed to create a visual contrast with the first song, with its shorter (“black”) notes: “The sacred and the secular are thus set into opposition in [the] two songs. If we observe the discant, we can determine that the first, secular, song has continuous dotted rhythms in alla breve and with few exceptions everything is written in black notes. The second, spiritual, song has exactly the reverse rhythm and moves in triple meter. It is written entirely in white, half and whole, notes. (“Geistlich und weltlich werden also in zwei Liedern in Opposition gesetzt. Betrachten wir den Diskant, so stellen wir fest, dass das erste, weltliche, Lied den durchgehend punktierten Rhythmus im Allabrevetakt hat und mit wenigen Ausnahmen alles in schwarzen Noten geschrieben ist. Das zweite, geistliche, Lied hat genau den umgekehrten Rhythmus und bewegt sich im 3er Takt. Es ist ganz mit weissen, also halben und ganzen Noten geschrieben.”)

¹⁸² This discussion begins, oddly, under the heading “Bacchus” (continuing the heading from the conversants’ preceding discussion) but elides into “Teutsche Namen” on p. 76.

¹⁸³ “Nicht andere Meinungen andichten.”

¹⁸⁴ “Schicklich / und geben zu feinen Lehrgedanken Anlaß.”

¹⁸⁵ “Wie man aber solchen Gedichten nach der Teutschen Reimkunst nachahmen kan.”

¹⁸⁶ “Ein Wald- Trauer- oder Freuden-Gedicht / wie des Pans / Persei und Bacchi.”

Reymund answers that it would be no great honor to merely repeat what had been done, “as if similar inventions were not possible today,”¹⁸⁷ and attributes the absence of German examples to a lack of “diligence” (“Fleisse”), rather than to some weakness in the language itself. He thereupon offers as an exemplar a “Geistliches Waldgedicht” (spiritual sylvan poem) that he has recently written. *Seelewig*, then, is intended to dispel the common belief that, as Vespasian puts it, “our language is better at stressing bold heroes’ deeds”¹⁸⁸ than more delicate matters, “because we Germans are not so gentle as they [the Italians] are.”¹⁸⁹ Even before giving the name of his work, Reymund states what he means to present in it: “how the evil enemy pursues pious souls in all sorts of ways, and how they on the other hand are kept from eternal disaster by conscience and reason, through God’s word.”¹⁹⁰

The title of Reymund’s “spiritual pastoral” is then given, and the characters (or roles) of *Seelewig* are introduced, along with explanations of their names.¹⁹¹ These are as follows:

- Seelewig – “the eternal soul” (comment by Reymund: “die ewige Seele”)
- Herzigild – “the heart,” from which goodness and evil spring, “should count the most” (Cassandra: “das Herz . . . am meisten gelten sol”)
- Sinnigunda – “sensuality or senses” (Reymund: “die Sinnlichkeit oder die Sinne”)

These three roles are labeled as nymphs and shepherdesses, the voices as “Discant oder Oberstimmen.”¹⁹² The next two roles, a matron and a shepherd, respectively, are sung by “Alt oder hohe Stimme”:

- Gwissulda – “the honor or favor of conscience” (Julia: “die Huld oder Gunst des Gewissens”)
- Künsteling – “presumed art should succeed” (Vespasian: “vermeinte Kunst gelingen sol”)

¹⁸⁷ “Als ob dergleichen Erfindungen heut zu Tage unmöglich fallen wolten.”

¹⁸⁸ “Ist unsere Sprache geschickter tapfere Helden-Thaten herauszustreichen.”

¹⁸⁹ “Weil wir Teutsche nicht so zärtlich / wie jene.”

¹⁹⁰ “Wie der böse Feind den frommen Seelen / auf vielerley Wege nachtrachtet / und wie selbe hinwiderumb von dem Gewissen und den Verstande / durch Gottes Wort / vom ewigen Unheil abgehalten werden.”

¹⁹¹ The characters are introduced on 77-83. Above, I have summarized the lengthier explanations of the names found on those pages.

¹⁹² The designation of roles, voices, and instrumentation occurs only before the presentation of *Seelewig* with music. See F. G. IV, 534, and Fig. 4.3 below.

The following, both shepherds, are tenor roles:

Reichimut – “possessions produce courage . . . he will perhaps praise wealth with great courage” (Angelica: “Das Gut macht Muht . . . der wird vielleicht den Reichtum mit grossem Muht rühmen.”)

Ehrelob – “honor and worth are never lacking to the praiser” (Cassandra: “die Ehre und Würde niemals der Lobsprecher ermangelen”)

These three shepherds (Künsteling, Reichimut, and Ehrelob), says Reymund, “are employed by the satyr or forest spirit,” who is sung by a bass:

Trügewalt – “through deceit [he] causes Seelewig to fall” (“Seelewig betrüglicher Weise zu Fall zu bringen”).

In addition to these roles, there is a chorus of shepherds, nymphs, and angels that sings at the conclusion of each act. Three violins play behind the curtain. Other instruments specified are three flutes, three Schalmeyen (shawms), and one “großes [or ‘grobes’] Horn.”¹⁹³ A theorbo accompanies from a figured bass line throughout. Finally, just before the presentation of the text, Reymund assigns specific commentator roles. Angelica, who has had to be educated after her admiration of the earlier secular song, is supposed to “mark” (“merken”) something in each act.¹⁹⁴ Old Vespasian must come up with the appropriate symbol, wise Julia has to remark on the work’s teachings, the learned Degenwert should mention something about the verse, and young Cassandra is supposed to give her judgment on the music.

¹⁹³ Three “Pomparten oder Fagoten” (large shawms or bassoons) are also specified to play the “Symphonia” preceding the third act. These instruments are not listed in the register of performers preceding the drama. There has been some dispute whether Staden calls for a “rough,” “crude” (“grobes”) horn, or a large (“großes”) horn. The list of instruments before the drama specifies “grobes Horn”; in the score itself Staden calls for a “grob Horn.” Elsewhere in Volume 4, however, Harsdörffer’s printer clearly indicates the “scharf s” (“ß”), as opposed to the “b”—“großes,” rather than “grobes,” horn. Adding to the confusion between “grob” and “groß” is the composer’s association of the horn with the earthy, “crude” forest spirit Trügewalt. It is not clear precisely what type of horn was to be used. The instrumental passage preceding Trügewalt’s monologue in Act I Scene 6 calls for a “Trom oder grob Horn.” The recorded performance (cf. n. 4, above) employs a trombone in this passage.

¹⁹⁴ This again reinforces the “purpose” of having begun the volume with the two contrasting songs. *Seelewig* itself is, in a sense, an expansion of the sacred second “Liedlein,” an expansion of Angelica’s—and the audience’s—“education.”

Harsdörffer's Choice of Composer

Considering his stake in developing a particularly German music drama, Harsdörffer could not have chosen a more appropriate Nuremberg composer to set his text. Sigmund Theophilus Staden, probably the most influential musician in Nuremberg in the 1630s and 1640s,¹⁹⁵ was no partisan to the new Italian style that so many of his compatriots were experimenting with. Indeed, as Harold Samuel observes, Staden seems to have been rather entrenched in German practices: “There is no record of his having had any pupils: it is known that in Nuremberg young musicians studied with Kindermann, who in contrast to Staden’s conservatism could offer his pupils thorough, devoted training in the new Italian style.”¹⁹⁶ Staden also seems to have been an apt choice regarding Harsdörffer’s passion to propagate a moral vision, though here the evidence is less conclusive. While Richard Hinton Thomas claims (as noted above) that Staden was a member of the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz and thus supportive of its moral “mission,” James Haar believes that Staden was not “admitted to the academy Harsdörffer helped to found. [T]he musician’s place seems to have been that of hired help rather than of friend and equal.”¹⁹⁷

Despite this uncertainty as to Staden’s academic affiliation (or non-affiliation), however, the majority of his surviving compositions¹⁹⁸ do indicate that the composer took an active interest in one type of music that was indelibly linked to Protestantism: the chorale. Harold Samuel remarks that “of the nineteen compositions [Staden wrote] for funerals, thirteen are in *simplicirtir* style, that is, four-part chorales, note against note, without a

¹⁹⁵ Harold E. Samuel, *The Cantata in Nuremberg during the 17th Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 62-63, notes that “Staden was Nuremberg’s highest paid musician.”

¹⁹⁶ Harold E. Samuel, “Staden, Sigmund Theophil,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 20 June 2007), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>

¹⁹⁷ Haar, *The Tugendsterne*, 6, n. 20. Haar does go on to note, though, that Harsdörffer “praised Staden highly,” believing that Staden “seem[ed] born to compose.”

¹⁹⁸ Samuel, *The Cantata in Nuremberg*, 64, notes the peculiarity that “of the large amount of instrumental music that would be expected from one of Nuremberg’s leading instrumentalists, only one dance movement by Staden has been preserved.”

figured bass.” “No other Nuremberg composer,” he continues, “wrote so often in this form.”¹⁹⁹ This apparent adherence to the Germanic in music and in theological orientation also manifested itself in nineteen four-part strophic songs that Staden added to his 1637 edition of Hans Leo Hassler’s (1564-1612) *Kirchengesänge, Psalmen und geistliche Lieder*.²⁰⁰ And in general, Staden seems to have been fond of composing in what Samuel calls “the German traditions of a syllabic treatment of the text, an unadventurous harmony and counterpoint, and the dominating evangelical songs with their restricted melodic flow and limited forms.”²⁰¹

The preponderance of simple strophic songs in *Seelewig* certainly illustrates the influence of the German style. Indeed, even the work’s recitatives, which “lack the freedom of their Italian counterparts,” indicate “not a stubborn evasion of the new style,” but a “conservative interpolation of it” with “German traditions.”²⁰² It is clear, then, why Harsdörffer would solicit Staden, fellow Blumenorden member or not, to compose *Seelewig*: Staden’s preferred musical means—uncluttered, strophic, chorale-like melodies—served well Harsdörffer’s verses, both theologically (by invoking the folk traditions so important to Lutheranism) and practically (by enhancing clarity of the text projection).

The Moral World of *Seelewig*

It is a relatively easy matter to discern the Lutheran elements in the theology of *Seelewig*. This is so, first, because Harsdörffer made no mystery of the essentially didactic purposes of his project and, second, because the spiritual die of the work reflects, naturally,

¹⁹⁹ Samuel, *The Cantata in Nuremberg*, 64.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 65.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 63 and 65.

the social setting wherein it was cast.²⁰³ As discussed above, a prominent characteristic of the work's immediate "setting"—the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz—was a "pre-Pietistic" kind of Lutheranism, which favored the personal, emotional experience (over intellectual, text-based dogmatism) and eschewed the temptations of the sensual world. Harsdörffer sets the theological stage in the prologue, where Music connects God's "Word" with non-texted music and bemoans her "misuse for dancing, entertainment and mere decoration." This stands in direct opposition to the lavish entertainments of the Jesuit drama, which used sound to draw attention to texts and their meanings, rather than using music to represent the essence of the Word itself.

Act 1 Scene 1 contains a similar message. Here the shepherd Künsteling's reflected image, both staying and going with the flow of the river, represents the dangers of resting in the transitoriness of the world. Julia's commentary also displays a Pietistic tendency. Quoting St. Paul (1 Corinthians 8:1), she characterizes knowledge as narcissistic and betrays an essential distrust of the intellect, which is considered vain, or even evil, because it (the intellect) confines man to his own (mortal) image, rather than leading him to something higher: "Apostle Paul remarked on this weakness of the learned with these words: much knowledge puffs one up." This contrasts markedly with the more orthodox Lutheranism displayed in Opitz's *Dafne*, where reasoning is honored as the highest use of human will. The forest spirit Trügewalt's decision, in the second scene, to attack Seelewig through the nymph Sinnigunda broadens the distrust. Because the senses are not to be trusted, virtually all aspects of the physical world come under suspicion, including higher things like art, which merely "trades in surface appearances."

²⁰³ Despite Nuremberg's purported neutrality (discussed above) during the Thirty Years War, the city in fact formally joined the Reformation in 1524, the first imperial city to do so, as Samuel, *The Cantata in Nuremberg*, 5, notes. The specifically Protestant views of the members of the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz have been discussed above.

The third scene makes vivid the fundamental bleakness of such a worldview. Here the observers of shadows (Ehrelob and Reichimut) regard the sun as a source of darkness. That these observers (and purveyors) of darkness are shepherds gives further evidence of *Seelewig's* ideological distance from Opitz's *Dafne*, where shepherds represent not forces of evil, but the common people championed by Protestantism. Scenes 4 and 5 continue with the theme of sensory deception, giving an example, as it were, of how an image (an anchored ship) can be interpreted in opposing ways. Sinnigunda and Gwissulda agree that one should not be too firmly anchored in the earth, but disagree as to what one should follow. Both views are Lutheran, in the sense that the only rational response to a state of existential powerlessness (that is, an inefficacious will vis-à-vis fate, or Providence) is to abandon oneself to forces that cannot be opposed.²⁰⁴ However, Gwissulda's caution against allowing one's "ship" to be guided by worldly "winds" displays a kind of "world-wariness" that would later characterize Pietism. That movement's mistrust of cleverness then receives a final airing in Act 1, as the closing chorus of shepherds sings of deception and how it can "bend the skill of happiness."

Act 2 begins with an idea common to Lutheranism in general, namely that humans are powerless in matters of spirit. In Scene 1 the sun (as Vespasian points out) is likened to "the all merciful God": goodness emanates from both, independent of human will.²⁰⁵ The second and third scenes return to more specifically pre-Pietistic territory, displaying, respectively, a distrust of nature's beauties (the flowers of the meadow and Seelewig) and a suspicious attitude toward human intellect and industry (the telescope, fishing tackle, and hunting gear). Angelica's comments make clear that love for God is incompatible with

²⁰⁴ One might object here that this decision (even if it is a reasoned decision) is a decision in favor of a life given to faith, as opposed to reason. It must be remembered, though, that this abandonment applied only to things clearly beyond human control: death and eternity. Luther prescribed full, rational engagement with all matters within human control.

²⁰⁵ Catholicism, again, makes God's bestowal of mercy dependent, to an extent, on human actions.

inordinate love for God's material creations: "Seelewig allows herself to like this worldly substance, she hangs her heart on it and does not observe that trust in God is diminished therewith, if not nullified."²⁰⁶ Scene 5 introduces another direct contrast to *Dafne*, strengthening the pre-Pietistic stance. The wreath that Sinnigunda bestows upon Seelewig connotes nothing of the eternal virtues of Opitz's wreath, or even the worldly glories of Ovid's. Rather, Sinnigunda's "soon-to-wilt flowers" suggest (to Vespasian) "the transitoriness of sensual pleasure." Mistrust of sensuality is also a theme in Scene 6, where the chorus of nymphs lists some of the spiritual pitfalls of the world's fleeting vanities: "What can grieve our mind? Love. What might disturb our peace? Honor", and so forth. Rationality plays a role here too. As in Opitz's *Dafne*, it functions as a counterbalance to passion, for reason is the force that prevents lovers from binding themselves together too closely (which, as shown in the symbol of the intertwined trees, can cause the destruction of both). The difference here with *Dafne* is, again, that *Seelewig* views (so to speak) the material world with suspicion.

The first two scenes of the third act describe the same sense of guilt that the Pietists associated with the abandonment of oneself to the senses. In the first scene Sinnigunda takes flight with shame. The second scene refers to Künsteling's earlier embrace of the world's transitoriness (Act 1 Scene 1) and "replaces" it with Seelewig's remorse for having also succumbed to the world (the torrent of the world is symbolized, in both places, by the running river). Scene 3 continues the theme of transitoriness. The changeability of the nightingale's song, praised by Sinnigunda, underscores the vanity of all manner of investment in the world, from the attitude of sorrow to one of joy: "Yet hear how artificially colorful she turns her masterful voice, almost every type of sound is in her tone when she

²⁰⁶ The danger of "hanging one's heart" on worldly things is a common theme in Lutheran music. See, for example, the bass aria from Bach's cantata BWV 26: "To hang one's heart on earthly treasures is a seduction of the foolish world." Cf. n. 209 below.

cuts through the air with a light wing! We must learn that happiness can bring us to tears, and then in a moment laugh at us again, when we do not hang a long bridle on the monstrous spirit.” This message is then illustrated in the work’s closing scenes. The sorrow that Seelewig expresses in Scene 4 causes her to follow blindly the shepherds in Scene 5 (in an attempt to escape the sorrow),²⁰⁷ only to be enlightened to the truth, finally and permanently, in Scene 6. Part of the ultimate lesson is that, as in Opitz’s *Dafne*, reason must be retained as a safeguard against blind passion. The other part, which separates *Seelewig* ideologically from *Dafne*, is that the entire world—including, ironically, human reason itself—can be a source of blind passion. Pious resignation, as the chorus of angels concludes, is the path to true joy.

As noted above, the moral position outlined in *Seelewig* is fairly easy to discern. The text is Lutheran, “pre-Pietistic,” and didactic by design. Less readily apparent is the careful and precise manner by which Staden enhances *Seelewig*’s theology musically. It is the lack of insight into the relationship between music, theology, and Harsdörffer’s conception of “Klangmalerei” as both “Wortbildungsprinzip” and “Lautsymbolik” that has resulted in the generally negative reception of *Seelewig* as a musical work. A close examination of the score reveals that Staden sought—as he had in the two “Liedlein”—to highlight Harsdörffer’s association of consonant sounds with the created world, and vowel sounds with the divine. He also assigned vocal ranges according to the degree to which “divinity” (soul or spirit) defines character. Thus Seelewig’s tessitura, generally the highest, or furthest from earth, directly opposes that of Trügewalt, the lowest, or most worldly. The rest of the

²⁰⁷ According to Wade, the game of “blind man’s bluff” that Künsteling coaxes Seelewig into playing in this scene is a “motif” that was “popular in Italian pastoral literature, most notably Guarini’s *Pastor Fido*” (146). Guarini’s work was well known in Germany. Wade points out that “the first German translation of Guarini’s *Pastor Fido* (1590) by Eilgers Mannlich appeared in 1619 . . . , [and] Statius Ackermann translated the Italian work into prose just a year before the *Geistliches Waldgetichte* appeared, i.e., in 1636” (183 n. 26).

characters are arranged hierarchically between these extremes. This arrangement is shown in Fig. 4.3, as it is laid out in the score.²⁰⁸

Die Stimmen der Personen.

3. Discant oder Oberstimme.	{ SEELEWIG. Sinnigunda. Herzigild.	} Nymfen und Schäferinne.
2. Alt oder hohe Stimme.	{ Gwissilda eine Matron. Künsteling	
2. Tenor oder mittel Stimme.	{ Ehrelob Reichimut	} Schäfer.
1. Bass oder Grundstimme.	Trügewalt/ der Satyrus oder Waldgeist.	
Instrument	{ 3. Geigen. 3. Flöten. 3. Schalmeyen. 1. großes Horn.	

Den Grund dieser Music führet eine Theorba durch und durch,

Fig. 4.3 Seelewig, designation and hierarchical arrangement of voice parts

Staden underscores this registral hierarchy instrumentally. Violins are specified to play before the divine “Singkunst” (in the prologue), before Seelewig’s entrance in Act 1 Scene 4 (prior to her “fall”), and before the “Chor der Engel” that closes the work. Flutes are called for to introduce Sinnigunda in the opening of the second act. Shawms introduce the shepherds Ehrelob and Reichimut in Act 1 Scene 3 and again in Act 2 Scene 2 (this second time with the addition of the shepherd Künsteling).²⁰⁹ The three “Pomparten oder Fagoten”

²⁰⁸ Copied from F. G. IV, 534.

²⁰⁹ Staden seems to identify the double-reed sound with worldly corruption. (The shepherds, again, are under the command of Trügewalt. They represent earthly vices, aiding in the attempted seduction of Seelewig.) There is an interesting “echo” of this timbral association in the bass aria “An irdische Schätze” from Bach’s cantata “Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig,” BWV 26. After the bass sings “An irdische Schätze das Herze zu hängen, ist eine Verführung der törichtten Welt” (“To hang one’s heart on earthly treasures is a seduction of the foolish world”) for the first time, he immediately repeats “ist eine Verführung.” “Der törichtten Welt” (which, as one now knows, completes the phrase) is not sung this time, but played by three oboes, which mimic exactly the rhythm and accentuation of these words (i.e., “der törichtten Welt”). This pattern, alternating between the singer and the oboes, repeats numerous times throughout the aria, as if to ensure that this connection is not lost on anyone. Eric Chafe, *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley: University of California Press,

play before the entrance of Trügewalt, Ehrelob, Reichimut and Künsteling at the opening of Act 3,²¹⁰ and, finally, Trügewalt's "soliloquy" in Act 1 Scene 6 is preceded by the lowest instrument, the "großes Horn" (or trombone).²¹¹ Additional techniques used to underscore moral messages include word painting, melodic contouring, recitatives, and chorale-like ensembles.

Some of these techniques are foreshadowed in the prologue (Ex. 4.1).²¹² Most obvious here, perhaps, are the examples of word painting—the ascent on the word "hoher" in the first measure to the second-highest sung pitch in the entire work (F2), and the octave jump upward to the word "Himmel" in the second-to-last measure.²¹³ More subtle are the means by which Staden highlights the third line of the first stanza,²¹⁴ the only line that refers to the "lower" world ("May I not take pleasure in the outrageousness of the mob"). To begin with, the third line is the only one set to three measures of music rather than four, even though each poetic line is an alexandrine with either 12 or 13 syllables. This musical compression results from two things. First, Staden does not respond musically to the poetic caesura (the pause between the third and fourth iambic feet) in the third line, as he does in the first two, where the arrival on the final (accented) syllable of the third foot is underscored, in each case, by a cadence on F—suggestive of a relative major—and a comparatively long note value (two beats) for the singer.

1991), 211, interprets the "three strutting oboes" in this aria as representing "the foolishness of resting hopes in the world in a setting so pompous that it borders on the comic."

²¹⁰ The double-reed sound is "lowered" here (through the use of large shawms or bassoons rather than oboes), mirroring the presence of the lowest, most corrupt, of the earthly creatures, Trügewalt.

²¹¹ Cf. n. 193 above.

²¹² For ease of reading, all musical excerpts from *Seelewig* are drawn from Robert Eitner's 1881 transcription: *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 4, 5, 6 (1881) (Berlin: T. Trautwein, 1881) (Reprint: Scarsdale, NY: Annemarie Schnase, 1960).

²¹³ These examples of word painting strongly suggest that Staden worked primarily from the first stanza of the poem in the creation of this (admittedly) strophic setting. In the second stanza, for instance, "hoher" is replaced (so to speak) by "hat vor" and "Himmel" by "manchem." See Appendix B.

²¹⁴ In the case of this number, there is one poetic line per system of music.

In the fourth line, there is neither a cadence on F nor a particularly long note value (relative to what precedes it) to mark the caesura. A kind of musical division between the two halves of this poetic line might nonetheless be perceived. The final syllable of the third foot (“doch”) here coincides with the end of a series of 7-6 suspensions. Moreover, the harmony supporting “doch”—a diminished seventh, or implied dominant—is particularly weighty with regard to the overall tonality.²¹⁵ It is true that the cadence (on D minor) occurs only after the poetic caesura, but this may be because the second half of the line (“reach heaven”) speaks of a goal to be attained. In this case, one could say that the first half of the line is characterized by harmonic motion, or tension, the second by stasis, or resolution.

In any event, the caesura of the third line is glossed over musically, as it is not in the other lines. This is made particularly striking by the fact that the first six syllables of the line occur at the same positions in the measures as the first six syllables of the preceding line do. Yet instead of landing on a longer note (on “-witz”), the third line continues without pause.²¹⁶ Nor is there any sense of musical cadence. In contrast to the first two lines, there is essentially no harmonic movement during the first three feet; the harmony changes only on the eighth syllable of the line.

Second, the musical compression of the third line into three measures results as well from its generally shorter note values. While the other three lines contain numerous quarter notes, dotted quarter notes and half notes, the third consists mainly of eighth notes, with only one quarter note, one dotted quarter, and of course the more sustained note marking the end of the line. This concentration on shorter values minimizes vowel sounds and, appropriately, maximizes the consonants that Harsdörffer associates with the “lower” world. The glossed-

²¹⁵ At the risk of an anachronism, I speak here in terms of “common-practice” harmony because, although the piece may have been conceived in Dorian mode, its cadential passages seem to evidence, in their use of leading tones and implied roots, some regard for verticality, in a later “functional” sense.

²¹⁶ This is not simply a case of enjambment. The end of the semantic unit—“Pöbels”—is also glossed over musically.

over caesura and the shorter note values work together to highlight the poetic line's "otherness" (with respect to the content of lines one, two, and four) and its function as a kind of moralistic warning. Another subtlety that sets this third musical phrase apart is that it contains the only moment in the song where a stressed syllable is not coordinated with a musical stress, namely on the second syllable of "genügen." All other stressed syllables in the song are placed in strong metric positions, or they receive agogic accents, or both. "Genügen," unlike the word it rhymes with, "verliegen," gets it wrong, so to speak, with the unaccented "-gen" falling on a downbeat, on the longest note value in the piece.²¹⁷ With this awkward, uncomfortable fit, Staden underscores the idea that one should "not take pleasure" ("nicht genießen") in the frivolity of this world.

Finally, the general pitch contour of the three-bar musical phrase for line three is also different. Lines one, two, and four each trace a generally downward path, notwithstanding the flourish to the top pitch in measure one, the quick leap upward to the first stressed syllable ("muss") in measure five, and the octave jump in the penultimate measure. Line three, contrarily, suggests a slight but gradual ascent. Perhaps Staden wished to connect humility (via a descent) with the true nobility expressed in lines one, two, and four; and puffed-up arrogance (via an ascent) with the worldliness expressed in line three.²¹⁸

²¹⁷ It might be argued that the stressed syllable, "-nü-", does receive an agogic accent relative to the unaccented "ge-". Yet this stress is surely overshadowed by the strong metric position and length of "-gen".

²¹⁸ The theme of humility and nobility is most prominent in line four, where heaven ("Himmel") is "attained" only after the song's most pronounced and consistent descent, from C2 to D1. This sudden arrival at "Himmel" is suggestive of Lutheranism: heaven has not been gained; the voice has not worked its way toward it. Rather, heaven has been granted, so to speak, to the humble, the penitent. More on the relationship between vocal tessitura and theology below.

Ex. 4.1 *Seelewig*, Prologue

(Prolog.)
Die Musik oder die Singkunst.
Ein Discant oder Tenor führt die Vorrede.

Mein ho - her A - delStand lässt mich nicht gar ver - lie - gen,
 Ich muss, ich muss her - für und wel - sen was ich kann.
 Mag ich die Fre - vel - witz des Pö - bels nicht ge - nü - gen,
 so wird mein' Eh - re doch ge - lan - gen Him - mel an.
 (Strophe 2-7 siehe am Ende 1.)

(Prologue.)

Music or the Art of Singing

A discant [soprano] or tenor leads the introduction.

My high noble standing does not let me be at all untruthful,
 I must, I must come forth and show what I can do!
 May I not take pleasure in the outrageousness of the mob:
 so will my honor surely reach heaven.

These techniques, again, are merely foreshadowed here. They serve the purposes of an introduction, hinting at themes that will be important, rather than presenting them in fully developed form. Their use over the course of the drama itself becomes more explicit as Harsdörffer's themes develop. This is particularly evident in the music for Seelewig, the character that undergoes the most changes, and with whom the audience is expected to most closely identify. In her entrance, in Act 1 Scene 4, Seelewig sings in alternation with Sinnigunda the melody seen in Ex. 4.2. The dance-like quality of this tune suits well the text's focus on the purely mundane. The song's straightforward presentation also expresses something of the naiveté of Seelewig, who suspects no evil lurking in the beauty of the world that she admires. In the "pre-Pietistic" view, the "evil" lurking in the world of course works to possess human souls. The inflated ego is a manifestation of its success.

That sensuous Sinnigunda is already under the control of this force is subtly indicated here, as is Seelewig's freedom from it. Seelewig's opening strophe expresses the unselfconscious innocence of childlike ignorance (in the best sense of the word). The article "die" ("der" on the repeat), which certainly would not be stressed in speech, receives particular emphasis, both metrically and agogically. Seelewig makes clear what is important to her: the one-and-only sun, a symbol of God's love, as Julia points out. "Die" also points outward, drawing attention away from the self. The generally descending line that follows (to "Meer") achieves at least three things. It underscores Seelewig's essential humility; it "paints" the scene, placing the sea physically lower than the sun; and it leads from a symbol of the divine to a symbol of the created world, wherein danger lies. The latter foreshadows Seelewig's descent and suggests the fallibility of even the humble.

Ex. 4.2 Seelewig, Act 1 Scene 4

SEELEWIG.

Die gül-de-ne
der sil-ber-ne

Son-ne schwebt ü-ber dem Meer, der leuch-ten-den
Mond... be-gin-net das Heer

5#G

SINNIGUNDA (2. Discant.)

Ster-ne her-fü-ro zu führen. Mein schö-ne Ge-fähr-tin wir

6 # # 5#G 5 G

wol-enspatzie-ren an de-me so san-dl-gen U-fer da-

G G

her, da ge-het und ste-het das e-be-ne Meer.

(Strophe 2-4 siehe am Ende 4.)

Seelewig. The golden sun hovers over the sea,
the silver moon begins to lead forth
the flock of glowing stars.

Sinnigunda. My beautiful companion we want to stroll
along the sandy beach,
there goes and stays the level sea.

Sinnigunda's entrance in this scene announces something of her own moral condition. Seelewig's selfless "die" is replaced (so to speak) with Sinnigunda's possessive "mein." Claiming for herself what actually belongs to God (Seelewig, the soul), Sinnigunda is possessed of the same pride that led to Satan's—and later, mankind's—fall from grace.²¹⁹ The contrasting, generally ascending line that follows (from "mein" to "an") underscores Sinnigunda's essential arrogance and foreshadows her rising status in the eyes of Seelewig. The inevitable consequence of pride—a descent into the lower realms—is outlined in the following passage (from "an" to "Meer"). Significantly, the "Meer" (again, symbolic of the created world) to which Sinnigunda "leads" Seelewig here is set to a lower pitch than the "Meer" at the end of Seelewig's first phrase.

The differences between Seelewig and Sinnigunda become more explicit, musically speaking, in the opening scene of Act 2 (see Ex. 4.3). In her commentary on the scene, the young noblewoman Cassandra ensures that these differences do not go unnoticed:

"Sinnigunda's song leaps and is joyful, Seelewig's song is more moderate." Indeed, Sinnigunda sings some wider intervals here, while Seelewig proceeds in largely stepwise fashion. Sinnigunda's song is also dance-like, presumably faster, and contains syncopated passages. Seelewig's song is as careful rhythmically as it is intervallically: she replies to

²¹⁹ There are some differences between the text that appears with the music and the libretto that is presented earlier in Volume 4 of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (the version of the text that is interspersed with commentary, translated in Appendix B). Here, with music, "Mein schöne Gefährtin" replaces the earlier "O schöne Gefährtin." Perhaps this particular change reflects Staden's desire to paint the stark moral contrast between Sinnigunda and Seelewig.

Sinnigunda's lilting dactyls in triple meter with "serious" alexandrines in quadruple meter.²²⁰

Seelewig seems to distance herself from the secular abandon of Sinnigunda's song, and from her own earlier innocent flirtation with the dance in Act 1 Scene 4 (Ex. 4.2).

Ex. 4.3 *Seelewig*, Act 2 Scene 1

SINNIGUNDA.

Mel - ne Ge - fähr.tin, wir wollen beschauen die lieb - li - chen

Blü - me - lein, wel - che die Nacht { wa - ren ge - schlossen in un - se -
de - nen an - jet - zo das perlen -

ren Au - en, } ihr zart - li - che Schö - ne hat wie - der ge - bracht.
de Tau - en }

²²⁰ There are two alexandrine lines here: line one, "Die Erd'" through "Luft"; and line three, "Ein jede" through "Dürren." Lines two and four provide contrast, with six and five syllables, respectively.

Ex. 4.3 continued

SEELEWIG.

Die Erd' ent.gels-tert sich und füh-ret durch die
Luft denWeyrauch und Myrr-.hen. Ein je.de Blum'und Krautent.
nom-men sel-nen Dür-ren, mit Rauchwerk er-tufft.
(Strophe 2 siehe am Ende 7.)

langsam

Sinnigunda. My companion, let us go see
the lovely little flowers, which tonight
were closed in our meadows,
whose delicate beauty the pearly dew
has brought back.

Seelewig. The earth releases its spirit and sends through the air
incense and myrrh.
Each flower and plant, relieved of its barrenness,
is with misty spirit filled.

In fact, there is a growing reflection of propriety here, evidenced not only in the turn toward intervalllic modesty and rhythmic sobriety (smaller intervals and “un-dancelike” rhythms), but also in the privileging of spiritual references. The latter is achieved through

the use of longer note values, which favor Harsdörffer's "divine" vowels. Thus Seelewig's first two-and-a-half bars (Ex. 4.3, "Die Erd'" through "Luft"), appropriately "describing" earth through consonant-heavy (shorter-valued) descending notes, are followed by three bars whose ascending longer-valued notes "paint" both the spirit traditionally symbolized by incense and myrrh, and, more literally, the upward path that smoke naturally takes. The focus on spirit then receives further emphasis at the end of the song, where a slower tempo (Ex. 4.3, marked "langsam") and longer note values stretch out the vowel core of this image even further. Seelewig's sense of propriety in this scene makes her eventual downfall all the more poignant, and obvious.

The "hook" that secures this downfall is "set" two scenes later. At the beginning of Act 2 Scene 3, Sinnigunda asks Seelewig if she hears what the shepherds are singing. Seelewig responds with a question: "Do they have something to bring me?" (see Ex. 4.4).

Ex. 4.4 *Seelewig*, Act 2 Scene 3, beginning

SINNIGUNDA. **SEELEWIG.**

Hörst du was die Schäfer sin - gen? Ha - ben sie was an -

*) # P #

SINNIGUNDA.

- zu brin - gen? Dein Ruhm und Lob liegt ih - nen ob.

6 7 6 5

Sinnigunda. Do you hear what the shepherds are singing?
 Seelewig. Do they have something to bring me?
 Sinnigunda. Your fame and praise lie above them.

The setting of this latter line, with its “questioning” ascent, seems appropriate enough, yet its longer note values suggest a lingering innocence on the part of Seelewig regarding the nature of the shepherds’ gifts. Over the course of this scene—one of the longest, and therefore weightiest, in the drama—Seelewig is disabused of this innocence. In the end the allure of the shepherds’ gifts proves too tempting to resist. Thus Seelewig’s line at the close of the scene displays a preponderance of agitated “worldly” shorter-valued notes (Ex. 4.5).

Ex. 4.5 *Seelewig*, Act 2 Scene 3, end

SEELEWIG.

Ich küsse die Ge .

+) schenk und werde mich befließen hingegen

Lieb' und Gunst euch sämtlich zu beweisen. (Gehen ab.)

I kiss the gifts and will endeavor to show love and favor to all of you. (*Exeunt.*)

A comparison of this passage with her song in Act 2 Scene 1 (Ex. 4.3) reveals precisely what Seelewig has “lost” by accepting the shepherds. The pitch contour of Seelewig’s first two-and-a-half bars in the earlier example—the part that “describes” the earth (“Die Erd” through “Luft”)—is replicated precisely (though a fourth higher) at the beginning of this later example (Ex. 4.5: “Ich küsse” through “befleissen”). While the earlier example then ascends into longer note values, though, the later example continues, for the rest of the scene, to emphasize the rhythmically active, consonant-heavy descending pattern associated with the earth. Gone here is Seelewig’s spirit, at least temporarily. Staden underscores the idea that to embrace the material (descending contours) is to reject the spiritual (rising contours).

In her next appearance, in Act 2 Scene 5, Seelewig “shares” a dance-like melody with Sinnigunda (see Ex. 4.6). The two characters display much greater musical uniformity here than in their earlier dance, in Act 1 Scene 4 (Ex. 4.2). Seelewig no longer sets herself apart from Sinnigunda with a humble descent and a metric privileging of a sacred “other.” Indeed, her confident ascent—more pronounced than Sinnigunda’s—emphasizes the arrogant belief that her new-found love is immune to death. Seelewig’s metric stress is no longer on divine love, but on her guide into worldly love, the senses (Sinnigunda)—and on their own desires.

Ex. 4.6 *Seelewig*, Act 2 Scene 5

SINNIGUNDA.

Ha - ben dich un - se - re Hir - ten be - schenkt?
 Sie - he, weifs - röt - li - che Blü - me - lein hier,

wie du be - gie - rig hast um dich ge - hängt, so
 bla - ssen vor Scha - me für See - le - wigs Zier. So

will ich er - kün - te nicht fer - ners be - den - ken dir
 nied - lich das Krän - ze - lein schei - net ge - wun - den, doch

die - ses mein Krän - ze - lein jet - zo zu schen - ken.
 blei - bet dir Sin - ni - gund stär - ker ver - bun - den.

Ex. 4.6 continued

SEELEWIG.

Lieb - ste Ge - sple - lin, der bit - te - re - Tod

lö - set nicht un - se - rer Lie - be Ge - bot.

c c #

Sinnigunda. Have our shepherds given gifts to you?
 how eagerly you have hung them around you,
 so will I no longer merely think about
 giving you now this my wreath.
 See how reddish white flowers here
 pale for shame before Seelewig's beauty.
 So cutely does the wreath seem wound,
 yet Seelewig remains the more firmly bound.

Seelewig. Dearest playmate, bitter death
 does not dissolve the command of our love.

The fallacy of this position is demonstrated in the next scene, where Seelewig cowers before the storm, unable to do anything against its threatening power (see Ex. 4.7).

Ex. 4.7 *Seelewig*, Act 2 Scene 6: the storm

SEELEWIG.

Dü . ste . re Wol . ken, dü . ste . re Wol . ken,

starkbrau . sende Winde, brummende Donner,brummende

G #5 (sic?)

b

Gloomy clouds, gloomy clouds, strong whistling winds, grumbling thunder . . .

Her earlier confident ascending line (in Scene 5, Ex. 4.6) has given way to uncomfortable descending diminished fourths, sung in broken phrases.²²¹ Her general tessitura over the course of the number is also lower than in any of her previous songs. The tessitura is also low in Seelewig's next appearance, in Act 3 Scene 2, where she quietly laments her predicament (Ex. 4.8).

²²¹ To Keller, this leap from B-flat to F-sharp evokes the "tu sei morta" from the second act of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*. "Tu sei morta" begins with the same B-flat to F-sharp descent. Keller also mentions striking resemblances to diminished-fourth passages in Agazzari's *Eumelio* and in Schütz, who used the interval "in connection with the expression of fear" ("im Zusammenhang mit dem Ausdruck des Fürchtens") (75). There is also an affective use of chromaticism later in the scene, at Seelewig's words, "Ach Ach Weh Ach Weh!," as well as earlier in the drama, in Act 2 Scene 3, where Künsteling sings of being "freed from mourning and weeping" ("befreyet von Trauern und Weinen").

Ex. 4.8 *Seelewig*, Act 3 Scene 2

SEELEWIG.

Schnell - ei - len - de Wel - len, hell - lau - fen - der

Fluss, har - re nun in die - sen Au - en,

Quick hurrying waves, brightly running river, wait now in these banks . . .

The subdued character of this music dramatically sets off the next scene, in which Sinnigunda attempts to cheer up Seelewig with her song about the nightingale (see Ex. 4.10). The rapid coloratura passages, generally high tessitura, and ascent to the highest sung note in the opera (G2 on “starkem”) indicate that Sinnigunda has conquered Seelewig, at least for the time being. Embedded within Sinnigunda’s “flight,” however, is a direct reference to the only “flight” (or escape from woe) available to Seelewig: death. As Peter Keller points out, at the words “und gleich eim Totenlied ihr Ach” Staden quotes the melody of the first two lines of the Protestant chorale “Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist,” which also appears in Staden’s 1637 edition of Hassler’s *Kirchengesänge*²²² (see Ex. 4.9; the first two lines are 1 = “Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist”; and 2 = “und soll hinfahrn mein Straße”).

²²² Keller, 71-72. Actually, Keller says that Staden quotes the first line of the chorale and the minor-third leap at the beginning of the second line, but then discontinues the quotation: “Staden bringt ein exaktes Zitat der ersten Zeile des Kirchenliedes, den Terzsprung der zweiten Zeile ahmt er noch nach, geht dann aber anders weiter” (71-72). However, an examination of the chorale melody (see Ex. 4.10) shows that Staden in fact

Staden highlights the quotation in a number of ways, as if to ensure that the listeners do not miss the reference. First, at the quotation the bass (Ex. 4.10, “und gleich eim”) begins what Keller calls a “chorale-like accompaniment,” which contrasts with the “otherwise simple and held-back continuo work.”²²³ Second, the passage is “book-ended” by a pair of tetrachord descents in the bass (A-E at the words “an, ihr lang verlangtes Klagen” and E-B at “Seufzen, Angst und Zagen”), each of which “paints” its respective textual Affekt: “lament” and “sighing, fear, and apprehensiveness.” Finally, the “moment” of death—the passage containing the chorale—is marked by a change in modality, from A minor to A major. Staden reminds his listeners of the one hope that remains for mortals lost to the ways of the world.

Ex. 4.9 Chorale, “Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist”

Wenn mein Stündlein vor - han - den ist und
soll hinfahrn mein Stra - ße, so gleit du mich, Herr
Je - su Christ, mit Hilf mich nicht ver - las - se.
Mein Seel an mei-nem letz-ten End be-fehl ich dir in
dei-ne Händ; du wollst sie mir be-wah-ren.

When my hour is at hand and I must travel my way, accompany me, Lord Jesus Christ, do not leave me without help. In my final hours I commend my soul into your hands that you might protect me.

quoted the first two lines in their entirety. The main variant—the “change” of the repeated note (“hin” in the chorale, “und” in *Seelewig*) to a passing tone—in fact follows a version of the melody printed in Johannes Zahn’s exhaustive compilation of chorale melodies. This suggests that Staden had access to a version different from the one Keller presumes he was using. The chorale excerpt (Ex. 4.10) is copied from the *Evangelisches Kirchen Gesangbuch* (Stuttgart: Verlag des Evangelischen Gesangbuchs, 1975), number 313. For all the variants of the melody, see Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*, vol. 3 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963), 89-90 and 106.

²²³ Ibid., 71: “Die choralmäßige Begleitung . . . gegenüber der sonst einfachen und zurückhaltenden Continuoarbeit.”

Ex. 4.10 continued

wie der Trom - pe - ten Schall mit Pracht und Macht erklingt,

so pfle - get ihr Ge - tön mit star - kem Ruf zu schla - gen,

bald wie das Wäs - ser lein den schroffen Kies durch.

dringt, so säu - selt, so säu - selt ihr.

Ge - sang voll Freu - den und Be - ha - gen.

The slender nightingale, so fleeting-fast it soars, circling around to the clouds, singing her long-desired lament, and like a dirge her lamentation and sorrow, now savoring, screaming her sighs, fear, and apprehensiveness. As the sound of the trumpet, as the sound of the trumpet resounds with splendor and might, so does she manage to sound her tones with the strong call, just as the stream of water penetrates the rough gravel, so whistles, so whistles her song full of joy and comfort.

Seelewig's downfall is further emphasized, even exaggerated, in the fourth scene's trio (see Ex. 4.11). Here Trügewalt, the lowest-pitched, most worldly character, echoes (mostly using just two pitches: d-a) Seelewig's pitches, in the same octave. Seelewig has sunk as far as she can. This, in turn, makes the restoration of her soul in the final scene, Act 3 Scene 6, all the more striking (see Ex. 4.12). Seelewig's final song announces her return (musically) through its higher tessitura, which is more appropriate to Seelewig's true nature. Over the course of the drama, the soul has traversed a path of descent and ascent. Seelewig's progress, though, is strikingly different from the Catholic topos of the soul working its way upward, toward heaven.²²⁴ For one thing, Seelewig is not in a higher place at the end. Her final song is in essentially the same range (E1-E2) as her first song (in Act 1 Scene 4: E1-F2). For another, her restoration to her former "place" results not from her own efforts, but, true to Lutheran ideology, through the grace of God alone. Thus Gwissulda ("conscience"), after tearing the ribbon from Seelewig's eyes (after the game of blind man's bluff in Act 3

Ex. 4.11 *Seelewig*, Act 3 Scene 4: echo scene

SEELEWIG.
Wer kann denn trös - ten mich? Wer hö - ret

SINNIGUNDA.

TRÜGEWALD *in Wiederhall verstellt (scilic. fistulirt.)*
ich

²²⁴ Cf. n. 7 above.

Ex. 4.11 continued

was ich klag?

Sie-he, dort aus je-nem Ort

sag

Mein Freud ist

giebt das E-cho Ge-gen-wort.

nun da-hin! Wer macht sie mir be-wusst?

hin? Lust

4#3 # G G (sic?)

G

4#3 #

Detailed description: The image shows a musical score for a scene. It consists of three systems of music. Each system has a vocal line (soprano and alto parts) and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in German. The first system shows the vocalists asking 'was ich klag?' and the alto replying 'Sie-he, dort aus je-nem Ort'. The piano accompaniment has chords marked '4#3 #', 'G', and 'G (sic?)'. The second system shows the vocalists saying 'Mein Freud ist' and 'giebt das E-cho Ge-gen-wort.'. The piano accompaniment has a chord marked 'G'. The third system shows the vocalists saying 'nun da-hin! Wer macht sie mir be-wusst?' and 'hin? Lust'. The piano accompaniment has chords marked '4#3 #'.

Seelewig. Who can comfort me?
 Trügewald *in echo*. Me.
 Seelewig. Who hears what I lament?
 Trügewald. Do tell.
 Sinnigunda. See, there from out of that place the echo gives answer.
 Seelewig. My friend is now gone.

Trügewald. Gone?
 Seelewig. Who will make her known to me?
 Trügewald. Desire . . .

Ex. 4.12 *Seelewig*, Act 3 Scene 6, excerpt

SEELEWIG *fället auf ihre Knie.*

Ach, star-ker Wun-der-gott, der
 du durch man-che Not mich gnä-dig-lich
 ge-füh-ret! Es ist kein Un-ge-lück

Oh, strong God of miracles, you who have mercifully guided me through much misery! It is no
 misfortune . . .²²⁵

²²⁵ The text of this song is strikingly similar to the text of the second “Liedlein” of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*’s fourth volume: “Herr mein getreuer Gott / der du aus mancher Noht / mich gnädiglich geführet! Mein Glück und Ungelück . . .” Cf. Fig. 4.2 above. As indicated above, Harsdörffer clearly intended *Seelewig* to be a kind of expansion on the message of the second Liedlein.

Scene 5), charges Seelewig (just before Seelewig's final song):

Thank, praise, and sing to God, that he has not left you
 In such danger, many times has he sought you
 Who rules this forest and world beyond measure,
 And tempts and endangers you through love and desire.²²⁶

Herzigild ("the heart") thereupon adds:

After vain doings disappear from your eyes,
 The eternal word of the soul shall illuminate reason
 Which inclines God's hand of mercy to you from heaven,
 Therefore praise his goodness from now on, continually.²²⁷

Mara Wade notes another important feature of Seelewig's final song:

Whereas 'Seele' in the *Waldgetichte* of 1637 spurns all aspects of earthly existence including clothing, Harsdörffer's Seelewig sings her last solo with Sinnigunda lying at her feet. The Soul has not rejected her humanity completely, but has mastered those aspects which could prove to be hazardous for her spiritual well-being.²²⁸

Indeed, Herzigild commands Sinnigunda ("the senses"), just prior to Seelewig's final song, to fall half alive and half dead, so to speak, at Seelewig's feet. The "pre-Pietistic" outlook, despite its mistrust of the sensory world, did not prescribe the kind of thoroughgoing asceticism practiced in Catholicism. Pietism was still a kind of Lutheranism. As such, it was circumscribed by the peculiarly Lutheran vision that emphasizes worldly practicality.

This "pre-Pietistic" Lutheranism is reflected, again, in Harsdörffer's view of language, wherein "divine" vowels can be comprehensible only insofar as they are combined with "worldly" consonants. Divinity is reflected in language by the degree to which vowels dominate consonants. Seelewig's final number (Ex. 4.12) also shows, in its consistent

²²⁶ "Dank / Lob / und singe Gott / daß er dich nicht verlassen In solcher Fährlichkeit / vielmals hat dein begehrt der diesen Wald und Welt beherrschet ohne Massen und dich durch Lieb' und Lust versucht und gefährt."

²²⁷ "Nachdem das eitle Thun auß deinen Augen weicht / beleuchte die Vernunft das Ewig Seelen Wort das Gottes Gnaden Hand zu dir vom Himmel neiget / drumb lobe seine Güt vonietztan fort und fort."

²²⁸ Wade, 172.

emphasis (through sustained tones) of Harsdörffer's "divine" vowels, Staden's understanding of his librettist's intentions.

The opposition between such sustained rhythms and shorter-valued notes, which emphasize "worldly" consonants, is manifested as well in Staden's chorale-like homophonic choruses and recitative-like passages, respectively. That is, Staden contrasts the chorale-like setting, with its consistently sustained vowels, to the recitative, with its emphasis on consonant sounds. Moreover, the latter, in imitating actual speech patterns, symbolizes the worldly, while the "hymn," in ignoring speech patterns and "unnaturally" prolonging vowels, symbolizes the supernatural, or divine. There is also an implicit opposition between the Italian (recitative) and German (chorale setting) musical styles here, and thereby a connection, perhaps, between moral goodness and the Germanic. Thus the most overtly recitative-like passages are all sung by the forest spirit Trügewalt. Ex. 4.13 (Act 1 Scene 6) shows one such "recitative." With its parallel phrases and fairly active bass line, this example is admittedly an approximation of Italian recitative, at best.²²⁹ More significant here, though, is that the shorter note values favor consonant sounds. Even the longer notes—dotted quarters and a half note—tend to be set to words that end with prominent consonant sounds, the enunciation of which shortens the time available for vowel sounds: "mich," "recht," and "Pracht," for example.²³⁰

²²⁹ The four phrases (or almost four phrases) shown display a perfectly consistent trochaic tetrameter, with abba rhyme scheme. True recitative is characterized, again, by unpredictability in line length and in the use of rhyme. The figured bass will typically avoid the rhythmic patterning seen in this example, too. Yet the absence of barlines suggests that Staden was in fact attempting to emulate the rhythmic freedom of recitative, i.e., the way in which Italian recitative freely follows speech patterns.

²³⁰ Keller, 69, remarks that the predominant use of black notes in Trügewalt's monologue corresponds to the use of black notes in the first, secular, "Liedlein" (from the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, Vol. 4, before the presentation of *Seelewig*). Trügewalt's secular "blackness," he continues, is opposed by the white notes in the chorus of nymphs at the end of the second act. Cf. n. 181 above.

Ex. 4.13 *Seelewig*, Act 1 Scene 6: recitative-like passage

TRÜGEWALD allein.

Soll das mich nicht recht betrüben, dass mein Herrlich-

(Auch der Generalbass ist hier ohne Taktstriche notirt.)

keit und Pracht wird verlacht und veracht? Ich will List und Macht ver-

Should it not grieve me that my glory and splendor are laughed at and scorned? I will resort to cunning and power . . .

(The figured bass is also notated here without barlines.)

The chorale-like passages, on the other hand, are reserved mainly for the moral message at the end of each act. Ex. 4.14 shows the chorus of angels that closes the opera.

Ex. 4.14 *Seelewig*, Act 3 Scene 6: closing chorus

CHOR der ENGEL.

Nun jauchzet ihr Heiligen, tönet und

Ex. 4.14 continued

sin - get, nun lo - bet den Höch - sten, Dank -

op - fer ihm brin - get, wel - cher bufs - thrä - nen - de

See - len er - löst und her - zlg - lich tröst.

(Strophe 2-3 am Ende 15.)

Now rejoice, you saints, make glad sound and sing,
 now praise the highest one, bring him offerings of thanks,
 who redeems and heartily comforts souls moist with repentant tears.

Staden leaves listeners with a plenitude of sustained vowels, musically reinforcing Harsdörffer's final message of rejoicing at promised salvation.

Conclusion

In the reception of *Seelewig*, Staden's music has been consistently misunderstood. It has been described as inferior to Harsdörffer's "intelligent theorizing," condemned as clumsy and amateurish, and defended for its adherence to the principles of the "seconda prattica."²³¹ Yet Staden surely contributed to the creation of *Seelewig* with a "strength" equal to that of Harsdörffer. His music articulates—in a way that language alone, ironically enough, cannot—Harsdörffer's conception of the sounds of language corresponding to different realms of reality, i.e., sacred vs. secular. He uses word painting, vocal tessitura, melodic contour, recitative (or a simulation of recitative), and the chorale-like chorus to support the work's theological stance. And he succeeds, through the masterful manipulation of these techniques, in propagating a particular moral vision aligned with the "pre-Pietistic" Lutheranism practiced by the poets of the Nuremberg school. Staden established a means by which German composers could plausibly negotiate a central problem facing German humanists in the seventeenth century, namely how to create a dramatic work on the foundation of a uniquely German ideology. Clearly Staden's place in the early history of German opera needs to be re-evaluated.

What Staden was not able to do in the way of dramatic representation has more to do with the generic confines of the spiritual pastoral than with his abilities (or shortcomings) as a dramatist. With its emphasis on the moralistic-didactic qualities of the pastoral, *Seelewig* necessarily sacrifices the dramatic realism that contributed so much to the success of secular

²³¹ See above at n. 23.

Italian opera. A more promising approach to the problem of how to combine theology with engaging, realistic drama was to be found in the Trauerspiel. We shall examine the combinative possibilities of this genre in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Language as Sound: The Trauerspiel of Andreas Gryphius as Operatic Prototype

If Martin Opitz and Georg Philipp Harsdörffer were important early theorists and developers of German language and theater in the seventeenth century, Andreas Gryphius (1616-1664) was, in the estimation of many, an early master of German Baroque letters. Indeed, Blake Lee Spahr considers Gryphius “the greatest poet as well as the greatest dramatist of the seventeenth century in Germany.”¹ Gryphius’s success as a dramatist no doubt owes something to the work of his older contemporaries. In his desire to create German theatrical works incorporating Protestant theology, Gryphius had the benefit of earlier example. Both the effective drama of Opitz and the unabashed theology of Harsdörffer find their way into Gryphius’s works, but in a newly integrative way.

This integration is seen most clearly in the Trauerspiele, where Gryphius creates a counterpoint of discrete “voices,” namely the expository and the reflective. The expository voice dominates in the unfolding of the historically based plot. The reflective voice is confined primarily to the “Reyen”—a “kind of chorus,” in Spahr’s words, that “Gryphius places at the end of each act of his tragedies,” in emulation of the Greek chorus, though “more immediately inspired by the Dutch playwrights with whom he was familiar.”² Gryphius integrates drama and theology, in other words, by focusing on each

¹ Blake Lee Spahr, *Andreas Gryphius: a Modern Perspective* (Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House, 1993), ix.

² Spahr, 74. Spahr notes that “der Reyen” is “masc. sing. (from Dutch ‘de rij’) and not a plural of modern German ‘die Reihe’” (74 n. 105). It should be noted that in some of the Trauerspiele, including *Leo Armenius*, there is no Reyen at the close of the final act. Also, a Reyen might appear in the middle of an act, as in the third act of *Leo Armenius*. The function of the Reyen is to provide moralistic commentary on

in turn, producing an alternating pattern of realistic plot exposition and allegorical explication. The Reyen, moreover, typically voices an inner spirituality reminiscent of the “pre-Pietistic” Nuremberg school. Like Harsdörffer, Gryphius ties notions of spiritual essence to pre-verbal sound. This conception strongly influences his use of poetic (and actual) music.

Thus, this chapter will proceed from an initial investigation of the theology and philosophy of Gryphius’s language to the metaphysics and manipulation of sound in the Reyen. We will then examine Gryphius’s relationship to music more generally, and, finally, look at his vision of drama, theology, and sound as a paradigm for German opera. Since the chapter deals mainly with the Trauerspiel *Leo Armenius* (1646),³ it will be helpful to first give a précis of that drama’s plot. Here Gryphius speaks for himself:⁴

Michael Balbus, Emperor Leo Armenius’s supreme commander, after having been charged on several occasions for his disloyalty and libel, takes an oath against the Emperor, who often warned him through Exabolius, his privy counselor, to desist from his irresponsibility. However, because Michael persists with his intention, he is unexpectedly taken prisoner and condemned to death by fire at the court in which the Emperor serves as plaintiff and judge. However, as Michael is being led to the stake, the Emperor postpones his punishment until after the Christmas celebration due to the fervent insistence of his wife, Theodosia. Meanwhile, Michael seeks every possible means to save himself. Because the Emperor is upset by fear and (Michael’s) audacity, he personally visits the prison at night and finds Michael asleep, dressed in purple. Michael, in utter despair after being informed of this by a guard who had recognized the Emperor because of his embroidered shoes, threatens the conspirators that he will expose them if he is not aided immediately. The

the action of the preceding (or “surrounding”) act (74). The question of whether the Reyen might manifest some influence from Italian opera, with its typically moralistic choruses, is largely unexplored.

³ Spahr, 71, notes that “the first ‘official’ edition” of this work appeared in 1657, though there was an earlier (1650) unauthorized version in print, and the “dedication of the drama [in fact] bears the date ‘November 1646’.”

⁴ The following is Janifer G. Stackhouse’s translation of Gryphius’s “Inhalt des trauer-spiels,” which is appended to the original play. Stackhouse’s translation appears with other excerpts of *Leo Armenius* that she translated for *German Theater before 1750*, ed. Gerald Gillespie (New York: Continuum, 1992): 99-137. The “content of the tragedy” is found on p. 100.

conspirators, however, successfully enter the palace by means of a special ruse and they mercilessly murder the Emperor before the altar.

This takes place in the year 820 after the birth of our Lord, in the seventh year and fifth month of his rule, as the ghost of Tarasius had prophesied in a vision shortly before the event. Cedrenus and Zonarus relate the history in greater detail in their *Leo Armenius and Michael Balbus*. The tragedy begins at noon before Christmas; it continues through the night and ends before sunrise. The setting is Constantinople, primarily in the Imperial Palace.

Reason and Revelation in the Language of *Leo Armenius*

In the first Reyen of his first Trauerspiel *Leo Armenius*, Andreas Gryphius offers (through a “Chorus of Courtiers”) the following advice: “Learn, you living, to keep a tight rein on your lips, in which salvation and doom reside.”⁵ This chorus contains other metaphysically charged pronouncements on the power of language:

Das Wunder der natur, das überweise thier, / Hat nichts, das seiner zungen sey zu gleichen.	The miracle of nature, the wise and then some creature, has nothing comparable to his tongue.
...	...
Des menschen leben selbst beruht auf seiner zungen. . . .	A person’s life itself depends upon his tongue. . . .
Des menschen tod beruht auf iedes menschen zungen. . . .	A person’s death depends upon each person’s tongue. . . .
Ein strom, der träncket und ertränckt, / Die artzney, welch erquickt und kränkt.	[It is] a stream, which refreshes and drowns; the medicine, which restores and destroys. ⁶

The idea developed here—that one’s words can affect one’s fate—responds perhaps most obviously to the principal event of the first act, where Michael Balbus, Emperor Leo

⁵ Translation by Janifer G. Stackhouse. Cf. n. 4. The quotation is from 118. Gryphius wrote five original Trauerspiele: *Leo Armenius*, *Catharina von Georgien*, *Cardenio und Celinde*, *Carolus Stuardus*, and *Papinianus*.

⁶ *German Theater before 1750*, 117-118. The original German is found in Andreas Gryphius, *Trauerspiele*, ed. Hermann Palm (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961), 40-42.

Armenius's supreme commander, is imprisoned for inciting rebellion against the emperor.⁷

Indeed, on one level the work as a whole seems to display an intent, on the part of Gryphius, to dramatize the power of language. Michael's imprisonment results not only from his words of fomentation, but also from his braggadocio about his avowed military exploits, accomplishments for which Leo himself claims credit. There thus ensues a virtual war of words in the second act, where the opponents "defend themselves and attack their counterparts," in Spahr's words, "using even the same turns of speech."⁸ Faced with the prospect of a death sentence, Michael attempts to save himself by denying the literal meaning of his earlier rebellious words, "interpreting" them as a mere outburst of anger, rather than an actual desire to usurp the throne. This Act 2 speech does not prevent condemnation, but it does have a crucial effect on the audience, with respect to Michael: it alienates the viewers, who have been privy to Michael's true intentions.⁹ It directs the audience's sympathies to Leo, in accord with Gryphius's belief in the divine right of kings.¹⁰

This redirection of sympathies makes the work's chief event—Michael's eventual success in murdering Leo (or having Leo murdered) and ascending the throne—all the more "tragic." "Regicide – of even a guilty ruler," writes Gerhard Kaiser, is for the "strict Lutheran Gryphius a crime against God and nature."¹¹ The sheer horror of such an

⁷ As implied in Gryphius's "Inhalt des trauer-spiels," Leo Armenius is the historical 9th-century Byzantine ruler. The importance of history to the creators of the baroque Trauerspiel has been discussed in Chapter 1.

⁸ Spahr, 72.

⁹ Ibid., 74.

¹⁰ Spahr, 141, writes of Gryphius's desire to "conceptualize [in his works] man's institutions as reflective of God's will – the divine right of Kings, the societal order, the Protestant (read Lutheran) ethos."

¹¹ Gerhard Kaiser, "Leo Armenius, Oder Fürsten-Mord," in *Die Dramen des Andreas Gryphius: Eine Sammlung von Einzelinterpretationen*, ed. Gerhard Kaiser (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1968), 8: "Fürstenmord –

act surely played a role in Gryphius's decision to dramatize this event, as it would later in his decision to bring to the stage (as it were) the execution, in 1649, of King Charles I of England.¹² The representation of a victim of a gross injustice of course afforded rich opportunities for cathartic identification and theatrical success. Yet for a staunch Lutheran like Gryphius there must have been something fundamentally contradictory in the idea of human will (as manifested in the avaricious machinations of a usurper) having the capacity to alter divine will (by replacing God's highest earthly servant). Thus the apparent theological incongruity in the murder of Leo Armenius must have attracted Gryphius the "Christian philosopher"¹³ at least as strongly as the "Fürsten-Mord" per se attracted Gryphius the dramatist.

In actuality there seems to have been little distinction in the mind of Gryphius between his roles as Christian philosopher and dramatist. Like Opitz, he viewed poetry as "verborgene Theologie." His verses combine "Christian-faith content and rhetorical intensity," as Eberhard Mannack puts it, "into an artistic unity."¹⁴ Indeed, Gryphius was even more committed to his religious beliefs than Opitz was, sometimes leveling blows against the Counter-Reformation in poetic statements that, in Spahr's estimation, "Opitz

auch Mord am schuldigen Fürsten – ist für den...strengen Lutheraner Gryphius ein Verbrechen gegen Gott und Natur." Unless otherwise noted, all translations from the German are mine.

¹² Spahr, 99, notes that *Ermordete Majestät. Oder Carolus Stuardus König von Groß Britannien*, "undoubtedly finished by 1650," was created by a playwright "deeply shaken by the regicide."

¹³ See Peter Rusterholz, *Theatrum Vitae Humanae: Funktion und Bedeutungswandel eines poetischen Bildes* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1970), 67, for a discussion of "Gryphs Christiana Philosophia."

¹⁴ Eberhard Mannack, *Andreas Gryphius* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1968), 29: "Der christliche Glaubensgehalt und die rhetorische Intensität sich zur künstlerischen Einheit zusammenschließen." There can be little doubt that Gryphius was strongly influenced by Opitz. Spahr, 10, writes: "In Danzig [Gryphius] undoubtedly found himself as a poet. Under the influence of such teachers as Peter Crüger, mathematician, astronomer as well as professor of poetry, and Johann Mochinger, professor of rhetoric, both of whom were in close contact with Martin Opitz, Gryphius most probably began writing a series of German poems. . . . Martin Opitz also visited the city during Gryphius's stay there, and, although there is no evidence that the two met, it is difficult to imagine that the young poet would not have sought out the Dean of German Letters."

would never have made, for Opitz could roll with the punch,”¹⁵ subordinating, when necessary, his personal beliefs to the political winds of the moment. Opitz’s comparative flexibility vis-à-vis Christian dogmatism may have been rooted in a stronger adherence to, or greater tolerance for, some of the pagan sources—Stoicism, for instance—of what Gryphius viewed as exclusively “Christiana Philosophia.” Richard Alewyn remarks, for instance, that “the stoic rejection of suffering in Opitz is now supplanted by a deeply Christian interpretation in Gryphius.”¹⁶ At any rate, Gryphius clearly had a stake both in understanding (in terms of his beliefs) the meaning of Leo Armenius’s fate and in projecting this interpretation through his work, in words perhaps more forthright than Opitz would have employed.

Interestingly, Gryphius’s method of inquiry and manner of “instructing” are both characterized by a kind of rationality that may show the influence of Descartes.¹⁷

Gryphius “observes,” writes Peter Rusterholz, “and considers historical and contemporary theaters *sub specie mortis* as *theatrum vanitatis*, and comes thereby to self-knowledge and to an understanding of human nature.”¹⁸ This process probably grants a little more power to reason than Luther would have allowed. For Gryphius “self-knowledge is the fruit of rational observation,” as Rusterholz observes, while for Luther

¹⁵ Spahr, 34.

¹⁶ The German is quoted in Spahr, 3 n. 5: “Die stoizistische Ablehnung des Leidens bei Opitz wird nun verdrängt durch eine tiefchristliche Ausschöpfung bei Gryphius.”

¹⁷ Rusterholz, 47, discusses the possibility of this influence, though he admits, in n. 83, that the extent of the influence is a “debatable question” (“umstrittene Frage”). Clearly Gryphius had this in common with Descartes, though: he was both a staunch Christian believer and a supporter of the latest scientific developments. Eberhard Mannack, 11, notes “that Gryphius showed an unusual interest in the modern natural sciences and celebrated the revolutionary ideas of Copernicus as refutation of ‘the old dreams and conceits’” (“daß Gryphius für die modernen Naturwissenschaften ungewöhnliches Interesse bekundete und die revolutionären Vorstellungen des Copernicus als Widerlegung ‘der alten Träume und Dünkel’ feierte.” For an overview of Descartes’ philosophy, see Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1972): 557-568.

¹⁸ Rusterholz, 46: “Gryphius . . . betrachtet und bedenkt die historischen und zeitgenössischen Schauplätze *sub specie mortis* [from the point of view of mortality] als *theatrum vanitatis* [theater of emptiness] und kommt dadurch zur Selbst- und Wesenserkenntnis des Menschen.”

it is the “fruit of revelation, mercifully granted by God.”¹⁹ Such a difference is ultimately moot, however, for Gryphius’s rational observation naturally “leads back to faith.”²⁰

This position resembles that of Descartes, who had what Bertrand Russell calls “an unresolved dualism” between science and religion, which produced a certain “difficulty about free will,” a difficulty stemming from the notion that “mental events must be . . . determinate.”²¹ For Gryphius, as for Descartes, the rational method of inquiry was essentially teleological. The rationality that characterizes Gryphius’s manner of instructing, then, has a specific function: it is intended to lead the viewer, ironically, to something essentially irrational, namely faith.

The “voice” of both rationality and irrationality (what is beyond human reason) was, for Gryphius, language itself. In the great controversy of the eighteenth century over the origins of speech—whether it is a human invention or a divine gift—Gryphius would probably have taken a middle path.²² The rational, human part of language—its structure—was for him indissoluble from its irrational, meaning-associative sound content. Both were part of an organic whole that ultimately had its origins in a creator God.²³ As such, both the rational and irrational sides of language gave voice to Gryphius’s didactic aims; each could be used to point the way to God. This was an idea that perhaps owed something to Francis Bacon, whose advocacy of “double truth”—“that

¹⁹ Ibid., 46.

²⁰ Ibid., 46.

²¹ Russell, 568.

²² For an overview of this controversy, see Isaiah Berlin, *The Magus of the North: J. G. Hamann and the Origins of Modern Irrationalism* (London: John Murry, 1993), 72ff.

²³ Thus Herbert Cysarz, *Deutsche Barockdichtung* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1979), 168, speaks of Gryphius’s style as a “container . . . for metaphysical-religious visions” (“Gefäß . . . für metaphysisch-religiöse Visionen”). The “material” of language, or, for that matter, physical Gegenstände, which Cysarz characterizes as “particular” and “momentary,” have value for Gryphius only insofar as they “enter into a relationship with the divine” (“Wohl hat alles Besondere und Augenblickliche für ihn nur dadurch Wert, daß es in ein Verhältnis zum Göttlichen tritt”). More on Gryphius and language below.

of reason and that of revelation,” as Russell puts it—Gryphius adopted as a student in Leiden, together with the philosophy of Descartes and “an array of thoughts” (“eine Reihe von Gedanken”) from other philosophers.²⁴

The idea also permeates the writings of Luther, who believed, as Isaiah Berlin paraphrases it, that “theology was nothing but grammar concerned with the words of the Holy Ghost.”²⁵ It is this notion of language as part human reason and part divine inspiration that is important to Gryphius. Adding further metaphysical weight to this dichotomy is Luther’s sacralization of language itself, whereby the letter is conceptualized as the flesh, beneath which, as Berlin puts it, “there is also an immortal soul, the breath of God, of light and life, a light burning in the darkness, which one must have eyes to see.”²⁶ Gryphius’s dramatization of the power of language in *Leo Armenius*, then, is much more than it may appear to be. The braggadocio of Michael, the verbal war against Leo, and the deceitful re-interpretation of rebellious words all have their effect, as noted above.

Yet these passages are just as remarkable for what they do not accomplish. Michael ultimately ascends the throne, despite the imprisonment, condemnation, and audience alienation that his own words effect. On this level, language as an effective force of change is shown to be limited. More importantly, what Gryphius dramatizes here are the limits of reason itself. It is perfectly rational to suppose that the final (and not just temporary) effect of Michael’s words will be his doom, especially since Leo is supposed to be divinely appointed. Indeed, this supposition is strengthened by the very figure of Leo, who, in Gillespie’s estimation at least, is a kind of allegory for reason:

²⁴ See Mannack, 11.

²⁵ Berlin, 77.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 14. More on the idea of light and darkness below.

As the highest earthly representative of a divine order, the monarch's role, in Gryphius's view, conveys the entire predicament of human nature. Leo, as wakeful king, must perform for the body politic a tyrannical duty analogous to the function of reason in the flesh. Like the soul of man, he may never really rest in resisting engulfment by the powers of darkness.²⁷

Leo's demise, then, in a sense signals the submission of the rational to the irrational.

This is figured literally in the events of the plot: Leo postpones Michael's execution in deference to the Christmas feast. As a result, Michael has time in prison to plot and carry out (through his agents) the murder of Leo. The monarch has vacated his rational duty, allowing, as it were, the desires of the flesh (in the figure of Michael) to have their way. Spahr adds: "As emperor, Leo should have placed his duty above all . . . indeed even above the sanctity of the most holy feast, indeed a *ratio status*."²⁸ Yet Gryphius clearly intends to portray, in the figure of Leo, not mere human frailty in relation to reason—the inability to remain wakeful—but, rather, human limitations in relation to God. Even the noblest of men, however reasonable or divinely favored, must ultimately yield to a power greater than his own. In the case of an emperor this power must be divine. The seeming irrationality of Leo's fall has to be viewed by Gryphius as a manifestation of a super-rational divine will: no staunch Lutheran in the age of absolutism could interpret the apparent human contravention of God's will otherwise. Michael's machinations, it may be argued, implement the divine plan.

The parallel to the passion of Christ is striking. That God's own son could appear to be murdered by zealous humans indicates, paradoxically, that the zealots are doing God's will. And indeed, Gryphius does identify Leo with Christ. As Spahr notes, this

²⁷ *German Theater before 1750*, xix.

²⁸ Spahr, 80.

identification is suggested already in the first scene, where one of the conspirators describes what he has read in a mysterious book that chronicles the fates of all emperors:

His [Leo's] strong back is covered
By a purplish red cross, through which a hunter thrusts
With a more than rapid hand a sharply whetted sword
That penetrates through skin, flesh, and bone into the heart.
You know the wild beast: the cross is Christ's symbol,
Before whose birthday passes, this lion will pale and die.²⁹

Spahr points out that “the lion is a well-known symbol of Christ, which is here underlined by having the lion bear the sign of the cross on his back.”³⁰

In the fifth act the narration of the fulfillment of this “prophecy” further cements the Leo / Christ identification. The emperor is attacked while worshipping in the temple, and clutches the cross as he dies. His wife Theodosia later accuses the conspirators of spilling “innocent blood,” telling them to “behold in the temple the mutilated corpse which lies on the cross.”³¹ Viewing the body herself, Theodosia in the final scene provides what Spahr calls “another subtle identification of Leo and Christ”:

O Jammer! ist es der /	O misery! is it he
Der dieses Reich beherrscht?	Who rules [ruled] this realm?

“If we interpret ‘beherrscht’ as present tense,” writes Spahr, then we may consider the ‘Reich’ as the ‘Erdenreich’ with Christ as its ruler. But if ‘beherrscht’ is a past participle, then it refers to Leo Armenius.”³²

²⁹ *German Theater before 1750*, 104.

³⁰ Spahr, 77. Dietrich Walter Jöns, *Das “Sinnen-Bild”: Studien zur allegorischen Bildlichkeit bei Andreas Gryphius* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1966), 227, notes that “the lamb is not the only symbol for Christ. The lion is too: Christ as conqueror of death and the devil is called ‘lion and lamb’” (“Nicht nur das Lamm ist Sinnbild Christi. Der Löwe ist es ebenfalls: Christus als Überwinder des Todes und des Teufels wird ‘Löw und Lamm’ genannt.”)

³¹ *German Theater before 1750*, 132.

³² Spahr, 79. Judith Aikin, *German Baroque Drama* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 58, finds in Leo more a symbol of redeemed humanity than a strict identification with Christ: “Leo does not provide us with a postfiguration of Christ, but rather is the representative of sinful mankind that merits damnation, yet,

The deeper meaning in the murders of Leo and Christ is that God directs those human actions that have a direct bearing on things divine, in this case God's chosen earthly representatives. Embedded within Gryphius's dramatization of Leo's fate is an exposition of this particularly Lutheran view. Beneath the "flesh" of the letter there is "an immortal soul," a deeper linguistic structure that complements, and transcends, the ordinary power of language. The double entendre, sometimes intensified through visual imagery, is one "conduit" through which Gryphius's deeper meaning is conveyed. Thus the images of the lion and the emperor dying on the cross have both their literal meanings and their religious significance. Empress Theodosia's words regarding the ruler of the realm have a similar double meaning.

There are other metaphorical moments peppering the plot that grant access to Gryphius's inner message. In Act 1, Scene 2, for example, Leo confers with his advisors about the threat posed by the ambitious Michael and says: "He [Michael] has the hilt of the sword; we have, unfortunately, only the sheath."³³ Besides hinting at the eventual outcome of Michael's machinations, these words also point to an image Luther used to describe the two-fold nature of language, its obvious, "outward" function and its inner essence. As paraphrased by Wilhelm Grimm, Luther called "language" ("die Sprache") the "sheath in which the steel of the thought is placed" ("die Scheide, in welcher der Stahl des Gedankens stecke").³⁴ Language, in other words, was a dualistic entity comprising both an inner "thought," or meaning, and the symbols by which this meaning was externalized. For Luther, the important part of language, the part with effective

through the grace offered by Christ's sacrifice on the cross, receives undeserved heavenly reward." Still, Aikin does not deny the use of "*imitatio Christi* imagery."

³³ *German Theater before 1750*, 106.

³⁴ The German is quoted in Spahr, xi.

spiritual power, was the idea. The “flesh” of the letter was, if not inconsequential, largely functional, in the way that the sheath is a mere receptacle for the sword. This image resonates with Luther’s notion of theology as the means by which we grasp the divine mind. Indeed, Luther’s conception of theology as “grammar” suggests that the “sheath” of language contains not just a generalized “idea,” but in fact “an immortal soul, the breath of God.”³⁵ The sword, in this view, is God’s Word. Gryphius’s use of this imagery, then, indicates that Michael’s “usurpation” is divinely ordered. The “sheath” possessed by Leo and his adherents is an empty title, powerless against the divine will guiding Michael’s hand.

Cutting Both Ways: Literalness and Allegory in Gryphius

To be sure, the sword as symbol is problematic. While there can be no doubt that it represents power—literally and linguistically—there can be considerable doubt as to whether it represents human or divine power. In fact, many of the frequent references to the sword throughout the play seem metaphorically insignificant. Shortly after the comment about the hilt and the sheath, for example, Leo vows that if Michael relents “no sword will be sharpened here.”³⁶ The emperor’s advisor Nicander, doubting that Michael will yield, then remarks that he (Nicander) “can execute a quick sentence with this sword.”³⁷ In these cases the sword seems to be merely the weapon of choice in a mundane struggle for power.

A deeper significance seems, however, to underlie these references to weaponry. For instance, Exaboliis, another advisor to the emperor, later admits that “the uncertain

³⁵ Cf. n. 26, above.

³⁶ *German Theater before 1750*, 107.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 108.

power of weapons is not steady. Whoever intends through coercion of battle to force his way onto the throne can disappear by battle.” Exabolius then names the power that trumps human will: “Heaven itself watches over crowned heads and supports the scepter.”³⁸ And elsewhere, Nicander again suggests a connection between this power and the image of the sword. Contrasting the sword with language (which, as Gryphius has by now established, is no negligible force), Nicander impatiently urges action against Michael: “Now that dire necessity already begins to embattle us with a bare sword, we think of lulling them [Michael and his co-conspirators] into a dream with words.”³⁹ Thus human language, Gryphius seems to be saying, is no match for the power that, in the realm of absolute earthly authority, must be divine.

Nonetheless it can hardly be denied that the frequency with which Gryphius associates the sword with merely physical force tends to compromise the potency of the image as an allegory for divine will. Indeed, we see here a weakening of allegorical potentiality through a focus on literal meaning, a process that Spahr calls the “concretization of the metaphor.”⁴⁰ The figuration of Leo as Christ is a particularly compelling example of this:

By [the] humanization of Christ, Gryphius brings about a divine allegory where Christ not only suffers for mankind but actually *becomes* mankind in his suffering and doubt. But even He can only be saved by the intervention of Divine Love.⁴¹

Christ has become so human, in other words, that it is hard to see him as divine. His “concretization” as a man seems to make him as dependent on God as the emperor is.

³⁸ Ibid., 111.

³⁹ Ibid., 107.

⁴⁰ Spahr, 77.

⁴¹ Ibid., 21. Spahr writes here about Gryphius’s Latin epics, but the imagery is used in *Leo Armenius* (and elsewhere) too, as discussed below.

This “metaphor” of the noble human as divine is, if not eroded, certainly obscured. This concretization occurs perhaps most graphically through the imagery of blood, which, as Spahr puts it, Christ “literally shed (the stain of the blood upon the real cross) to atone symbolically for man’s real sins.”⁴² The allegorical connotations of Christ’s blood are covered over (literally) by the flow of Leo’s blood onto the cross that he clutches as he dies. The operative implement in this graphic realism—the sword—thus gains further “concreteness” as a physical weapon (as opposed to divine metaphor).

On the whole, then, the tension between literalness and allegory in *Leo Armenius* seems to resolve in the direction of the former. Consequently the spiritual meaning that Gryphius reads, and “preaches,” in the history of the emperor is “internalized” to a considerable degree. We have seen something similar in Opitz’s adaptation of *Dafne*, where the force of the librettist’s message is hidden, to an extent, behind the largely one-sided, literal treatment of theologically significant images like the serpent. There is an important difference here, though. Opitz’s literalness seems to be a product of orthodox Lutheranism. The serpent as a merely mortal threat highlights the effectiveness of human actions in the worldly realm. A serpent imbued just with metaphysical significance would not highlight this effectiveness; it would serve rather as a reminder of human limitations. (Luther and his orthodox adherents viewed human will as essentially powerless vis-à-vis the “metaphysical” realm.) The *Dafne* adaptation thus possesses a certain optimism resulting from Opitz’s tendency to privilege, dramatically, humanity’s mundane efficacy.

Gryphius’s literalness, on the other hand, seems to be a product of Lutheranism tinged with a sense of futility. In *Leo Armenius* the frequent appearance of the sword as a

⁴² Ibid., 77.

weapon of destruction may highlight human effectiveness on the world's stage (even to the point of obscuring Gryphius's message concerning the divine plan behind Michael's actions), yet the sword's presence certainly does not result in optimism. On the contrary, Gryphius's drama possesses an inherent distrust of earthly *vanitas*. The prominence and realism of what Walter Benjamin describes as the Trauerspiel's "pre-eminent emblematic property"—the corpse—betrays Gryphius's fundamental pessimism regarding human actions.⁴³ It is difficult to see clearly the "day of immortality" ("Tag der Immortalitas"), Gryphius's self-described "lust after the eternal light" ("Wolust des ewigen Liechts"), in the midst of the "night of vanity" ("Nacht der Vanitas") that pervades Gryphius's work.⁴⁴

It might of course be argued that the increased pessimism of *Leo Armenius* relative to *Dafne* reflects the fact that by 1646 Gryphius had experienced much more of the Thirty Years' War than Opitz had in 1627. Indeed, Gerald Gillespie remarks that Theodosia's "craving for retribution" for Leo's murder expresses "the frustration of the German mind before the spectacle of rampant injustice and fraud during the Thirty Years' War."⁴⁵ Genre distinctions certainly play a role here, too. *Leo Armenius* is a Trauerspiel, a "mourning play"; *Dafne* is in the pastoral tradition. Nonetheless, there is an important difference in theological outlook between Gryphius and Opitz, one that perhaps made Gryphius interested in the tragic possibilities of the Trauerspiel in the first place: Gryphius viewed the world not so much as a stage benevolently granted by God for the playing out of human will, as Opitz and Luther did. Rather, he viewed the world more as a phase through which the soul, tormented by mortal captivity, had to pass on its way to eternity.

⁴³ See Chapter 2.

⁴⁴ See Rusterholz, 46, for the day / night imagery, and for the quote from Gryphius.

⁴⁵ *German Theater before 1750*, xix-xx.

This Weltanschauung of transition is particularly clear in Gryphius's non-dramatic poetry. For example, in these lines from the *Vermischte Gedichte*, the soul of a deceased asks the living:

What? Are you not entrapped in fearful death-coils?
Do not your own bodies torment your hemmed-in souls?⁴⁶

A "response" to this can be found in Gryphius's *Oden*:

Up my soul, up! up! awake from this dream!
Throw off the worldly, and spite suffering and death!⁴⁷

And the sonnet "Menschliches Elende" begins with this explicit comment on the human condition:

What are we humans after all? a residence of tortuous pains,
A celebration of false happiness, a wayward light of this time.
A stage for bitter fear, beset with sharp anguish,
A quickly melted snow and burned-out candle.⁴⁸

There is an overwhelming sense of darkness in Gryphius's depictions of the world. Human life is an easily extinguished candle. The "black of night" overwhelms us at midday, as he writes in another sonnet.⁴⁹ Opitz's world, on the other hand, is full of light:

The peoples on the earth,
Ever illuminated
By clear sunlight,
Who should know your light,
Gladly run to the brightness,

⁴⁶ Quoted in Rusterholz, 67: "Wie? seyd ihr nicht verschrenkt in bange Todten-Hölen? / Quält nicht eur eigener Leib die eingeklemmte Seelen?"

⁴⁷ Andreas Gryphius, *Gedichte: eine Auswahl*, ed. Adalbert Elschenbroich (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1968), 97: "Auff meine Seel / auff! auff! entwach aus disem Traum ! / Verwirff was irrdisch ist / und trotz Noth und Tod!"

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 6: "Was sind wir Menschen doch? ein Wohnhauß grimmer Schmetzen / Ein Ball des falschen Glücks / ein Irrlicht diser Zeit. / Ein Schauplatz herber Angst / besetzt mit scharffem Leid / Ein bald verschmeltzter Schnee und abgebrante Kertzen."

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 10: "wenn uns schwartze Nacht im Mittag überfil."

That breaks forth from on high.⁵⁰

There is hope even in the inevitable moments of despair: “You poor mortals,” he writes in another poem, “have seen . . . the light of the moon arise, the stars shine on us in the night.”⁵¹

This question of divine light—whether it is a palpable presence in the “lower” world of humanity—is the point at which Gryphius’s “Christiana Philosophia” separates from Luther’s (and Opitz’s) “Theologia.” Where Luther “sees the light through the night,” as Peter Rusterholz puts it, “Gryphius lives completely in the night of time and perceives the light only out of the distant future, scarcely visible.”⁵² The generally “cheerful sense of life” (“freudige[s] Lebensgefühl”) in Luther’s writings⁵³ (as well as the optimistic outlook in Opitz’s poetry) certainly owes something to this idea of God as a perceptible presence in the everyday world. By the same token, the generally pessimistic tone in Gryphius’s works seems to result in part from the idea of God as more an intangible possibility than a concrete presence in this world.⁵⁴

Philosophy, “Pre-Pietism,” and Pessimism

For Gryphius God was a more strictly interior and personal phenomenon than he was for Luther. Gryphius’s knowledge of God, then, was a product of an “inward gaze”

⁵⁰ Martin Opitz, *Gedichte*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1970), 20 (from the poem for Holy Trinity Day): “Die Völcker auff der Erden / So je beschienen werden Durchs klare Sonnen Liecht / Die sollen dein Liecht kennen / Zum Glantze fröhlich rennen / Der auß der Höhe bricht.”

⁵¹ Ibid., 28 (from the “Klage bey dem Creutze unsers Erlösers”): “Jhr armen Sterblichen . . . / wann jhr gesehen . . . Deß Mondes Glantz auffgehn / die Sternen bey der Nacht / Vns leuchten.”

⁵² Rusterholz, 67: “Er sieht das Licht durch die Nacht, wo Gryphius ganz in der Nacht der Zeit lebt und das Licht nur aus weiter Zukunft kaum sichtbar wahrnimmt.”

⁵³ Ibid., 67.

⁵⁴ Thus Spahr, 29, finds in Gryphius’s poetry a particularly strong distrust of worldly *vanitas*. Whatever appears good in the world “will last but a short interval. One must not place one’s joy in such . . . impermanent pleasure, for its opposite will soon appear.” Gryphius “gives the warning that we should not lay too much stock in [the here and now] for no man can witness the eternal.”

that privileged the *a priori* over the experiential. This manner of knowing had had a long and respectable past. “Plato,” says Bertrand Russell, “had set to work to refute the identification of knowledge with perception, and from this time onwards almost all philosophers, down to and including Descartes and Leibniz, had taught that much of our most valuable knowledge is not derived from experience.”⁵⁵ The thoroughgoing empiricism that John Locke would soon introduce had two primary results. First, it placed the adherents of Descartes and Leibniz (and their philosophical progenitors) in an untenable position regarding *a priori* knowledge. Indeed, for moderns it is “almost a truism,” as Russell puts it, that perception is “the first step and degree towards knowledge.”⁵⁶

Second, it paved the way, ironically enough, to the view that, in Isaiah Berlin’s words, “the foundation of our knowledge of ourselves and the external world [is] *belief*—something for which there [can] be no *a priori* reasons.”⁵⁷ The irony in this is that an attitude of profound skepticism about non-experiential “knowledge” could lead to the conclusion that knowledge is in fact grounded in something outside the parameters of sensory perception. The rationality of empiricism, in this view, ends in the irrationality of belief. This irrationality occurs most thoroughly in the work of David Hume, who considered the mind’s impressions of the “causes” and “necessities” of the world to be not objective perceptions, but subjective habits of thought.⁵⁸ The fundamental subjectivity of the perceiver indeed provides a formidable counterposition to extreme

⁵⁵ Russell, 610.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 610. The second quotation here is apparently from Locke, though Russell does not cite the source.

⁵⁷ Berlin, 31.

⁵⁸ For a detailed overview of Hume’s philosophy, see Russell, 660ff. A brief summary of this aspect of Hume’s thought can be found in Berlin, 31-32.

empiricism. Its strength lies in the admission that what exists *a priori* in the mind is in fact not experiential knowledge, but faith, something immune to the critique of reason.

This *a priori* subjectivity describes Gryphius's "knowledge" of God, and explains how Leo's murder could be interpreted as divinely ordered: God is not to be understood merely through the rational observation of the world (though, to be sure, rational observation is important to Gryphius, as discussed above).⁵⁹ Rather, God is, practically speaking, a construct of faith. He exists more in the mind of the believer than in the world of experience.⁶⁰ Thus, again, the general pessimism in Gryphius's works is connected to a sense of God's absence in the "real" world. The relative scarcity of cues to a deeper meaning behind emblems such as the sword allows realism (or literalness) to overshadow allegory. Whatever sense of hope can be found in *Leo Armenius*, then, must come largely from within the individual spectator. For all but the most confirmed believers, the unrelenting bleakness of Gryphius's work is problematic.⁶¹

The root of this dramatic problem is, as discussed earlier, the Lutheran view of human will. In the end a drama about human actions is limited by the confines of this world, since actions cannot grant their "performers" access to spiritual salvation. This problem is compounded by the fact that Gryphius's actors portray actual historical figures. Opitz's optimism in *Dafne* is aided by a freedom to depict human actions (whether literally human, or as represented in the actions of the gods) in whatever light he

⁵⁹ Gryphius's interest in rational observation seems to be more about developing an understanding of *human* nature. See n. 18, above.

⁶⁰ Incidentally, this is where Gryphius seems to depart philosophically from Descartes. Gryphius's *a priori* "knowledge" was in fact belief, while "Descartes believed that it was possible to acquire [actual] knowledge of reality [rather than mere belief] from a priori sources, by deductive reasoning." See Berlin, 31.

⁶¹ Such bleakness demands a particularly profound conviction that salvation can come through the recognition of suffering. Luther's Theology of the Cross, which emphasized Christ's suffering, was a kind of realistic counterpoint to Catholicism's Theology of Glory.

chooses. The “confines” of the myth are somewhat flexible in this regard.⁶² In *Seelewig* there is even less of a problem for librettist Harsdörffer, who neither aims for historical realism nor follows a mythological plot model. Indeed, Harsdörffer’s overtly allegorical characters “exist” solely to serve his didactic aims.⁶³ By comparison *Gryphius* is much more restricted by his subject matter, at least insofar as he wishes to follow the historical record. And *Gryphius* put much stock in historical accuracy. Spahr notes: “His attitude is that history, while not completely inviolable, is at least to be respected in virtually every factual detail.”⁶⁴

Yet pure history without interpretation would have interested *Gryphius* the dramatist as little as it did the Greek tragedians. What *Gryphius* wished to portray in his representation of history was something akin to *Heilsgeschichte*, the unfolding of God’s plan through the workings of history. The figuration of Leo as Christ makes this clear enough. The emphasis on realism and unity of action,⁶⁵ though, allowed little room for the development of this interpretation.

Gryphius’s dramaturgy, then, embodies an essential dualism. First, his adherence to Lutheranism encourages a literalness that weakens the work’s potential allegorical force. This literalness, moreover, is combined with an internalization of God and a

⁶² Of course, Opitz was also restricted by his direct model, Rinuccini’s libretto. This is perhaps another cause behind Opitz’s need to apologize in the preface to his adaptation.

⁶³ Though Harsdörffer did have a loose model for his work, he clearly felt free to suit it to his own didactic ends, as we saw in Chapter 4. One could argue that *Seelewig* is not a dramatic work at all, at least in the same way that *Dafne* and *Leo Armenius* are. It does not attempt to mimic reality (as *Dafne* and *Leo Armenius* do) by imbuing the events of its plot with a sense of logic or inevitability. It does not follow the dramatic precepts of Aristotle, in other words. More on this below.

⁶⁴ Spahr, 71. Gerald Gillespie, *German Theater before 1750*, xix, also says that *Gryphius* “insists on his historical accuracy, even though he changes or mutes elements to generalize the religious faith of the protagonists.” In Spahr’s estimation, this “reverence for history . . . interferes with his dramaturgy” (71).

⁶⁵ The action of *Leo Armenius* is unified in the sense that its plot has a single principal thrust, which is developed within a nearly realistic timeframe: the action of the play begins in the afternoon of Christmas Eve and ends before dawn the next day. Walter Benjamin finds unity of action to be virtually the only characteristic of the *Trauerspiel* that owes something to Aristotle’s theories of tragic effect, as presented in the *Poetics*. See Chapter 1.

distrust of the world that could only be described as “pre-Pietistic.” Second, the demands of historical drama place the hermeneutical enterprise in a subsidiary position with respect to the plot “surface.” To be effective drama, the play must not proselytize too overtly. In the end, the dramatic essence of *Leo Armenius*—the events of the plot and their cathartic effects, key dramaturgical components of Trauerspiel and ancient tragedy alike—is difficult to read as anything but a dramatic history of Leo Armenius.

The Importance of the Reyen

This dualism is surely behind Gryphius’s extensive development of the Reyen, for it is in the chorus (at the end of each act) that the poet gains some interpretative distance from the momentum of the plot. Willi Flemming contrasts this separation of plot and interpretation with a more integrated approach to the history play: “While in Shakespeare the unfolding of the event contains everything, Gryphius stood ponderingly by.”⁶⁶ Gryphius “reported” the historical events, so to speak, holding off on his reading of them generally until the end of the act. The chorus thus takes on a new significance in Gryphius. The Greek chorus—the obvious progenitor of the Reyen—presented, as Flemming puts it, “the voice of the human, the public.”⁶⁷

Gryphius’s Reyen was much more personal. It voiced the poet’s “feelings” (“Empfindungen”) about the “presented actions” (“vorgeführten Handlung”).⁶⁸ In this, Gryphius seems to have been influenced by Joost van den Vondel, whose choruses “arose

⁶⁶ Willi Flemming, “Die Form der Reyen in Gryphs Trauerspielen,” *Euphorion* 25 (1924) (reprinted 1967, 662-665), 662: “Während bei Shakespeare das Abwickeln des Geschehens alles enthielt, stand Gryphius grüblerisch neben [den Ereignissen].”

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 662: “[War der Chor in der Antike] die Stimme des Menschen, des Publikums.”

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 662.

... more [than in the case of the Greeks] from the feelings of the players.”⁶⁹ Jesuit drama was perhaps an even more important influence. Flemming writes of an “allegorical decoration of religious instruction” in the Jesuit chorus that finds its way into Gryphius’s *Reyen*.⁷⁰ This connection he makes quite explicit: “Just as in the altars of the Jesuit church the frame of the painting is used in such a way as to give the picture the right effect, so that the viewer is pointed to the right place through its lines, so the *Reyen* point us to the right spiritual focal point, through which the perspective of the poet is first revealed to us.”⁷¹ The main difference in Gryphius’s approach is a noted scarcity of “decoration” (“Schmuck”), allegorical or otherwise. While Jesuits freely exploited visual and sonic effects in their plays—effects that are “decorative” in the sense that their omission would not affect the theological content⁷²—Gryphius included only what was necessary for the explication of the theological “lesson.”

⁶⁹ Ibid., 662: “entsprang . . . mehr den Gefühlen der Mitspielenden.” Vondel, whom Spahr calls “Holland’s greatest dramatist,” was an important influence on Gryphius, especially during his (Gryphius’s) student days in Leiden. See Spahr, 12-13. See also Willi Flemming, “Vondels Einfluß auf die Trauerspiele des Andreas Gryphius,” in his *Einblicke in den deutschen Literaturbarock* (Meisenheim am Glan: Verlag Anton Hain, 1975): 96-122.

⁷⁰ “Die Form der *Reyen*,” 662: “allegorischer Schmuck religiöser Unterweisung.”

⁷¹ Ibid., 662: “Wie bei den Altären der Jesuitenkirche die Umrahmung des Gemäldes benützt wird, dem Bilde rechte Wirkung zu geben dadurch, daß der Beschauer durch ihre Linien auf den rechten Platz gewiesen wird, so weisen uns die *Reyen* auf den rechten geistigen Blickpunkt, unter dem sich uns die vom Dichter genommene Perspektive erst enthüllt.”

⁷² Aikin, 16, claims that the Jesuits exploited visual and sonic effects in their plays, which were in Latin, in order to make an impact on audiences “composed not only of the educated, but of the uneducated ‘masses’ as well,” the latter of whom would not have understood the texts. Jesuit drama was to Catholicism, roughly, what the *Trauerspiel* was to Protestantism: a vehicle for the propagation of a particular set of moral precepts, often represented allegorically in the events of an ostensibly secular plot. Aikin, 17, notes that “the distinguishing feature of Jesuit theater is its ideological function, its clear connection to the primary purpose of the Jesuit order, propagation of the Faith. Many [scholars] have [also] pointed to the tendency of Jesuit dramas to have a dualistic structure: the representation and its allegorical significance.” Thus the title character of Jakob Bidermann’s most successful play, *Cenodoxus, sive Doctor Parisiensis* (1602), is an apparently pious scholar whose hidden pride causes his damnation. (See John Warrack, *German Opera: From the Beginnings to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 9.) Bidermann (1578-1639, active in Munich) and Nikolaus von Avancini (1612-1686, active in Vienna) were “the most famous and influential of the German Jesuit dramatists” (Aikin, 18).

This explication involved both the “unveiling” of themes in the drama and the metaphorical use of language (including its sonic aspect) within the Reyen itself. To be sure, there is a danger, even in Gryphius’s economic control of language, that this second manner of explication—particularly in its focus on the sounds of language—could lead to the “self-indulgent delight in sheer sound” that in Walter Benjamin’s estimation further weakens the Trauerspiel’s allegorical force, ultimately resulting in the genre’s “dissolution” into opera.⁷³ In this connection, it is clearly significant that, as Flemming notes, “the Reyen were sung, perhaps also accompanied by instruments behind the stage.”⁷⁴ And perhaps the more pervasive emphasis on “Klang” in Gryphius’s later Lustspiele *Majuma*, *Piastus*, and *Verlibtes Gespenste*, all intended to be performed “gesangsweise,” does manifest something of this “dissolution.” Before investigating this further, though, it would be well to examine Gryphius’s two manners of theological explication in the Reyen of *Leo Armenius*.

The Reyen as Theological Explication

In the “Vorrede” to *Leo Armenius* Gryphius makes clear his purpose in writing the work:

Because our entire fatherland once again buries itself in its own ashes and becomes a showplace of vanity, I am eager to present to you the

⁷³ See Chapter 2.

⁷⁴ “Die Form der Reyen,” 664: “Die Reyen wurden gesungen, vielleicht auch hinter der Bühne mit Instrumenten begleitet.” In the case of *Leo Armenius*, there is in fact a clear indication of instrumental accompaniment. Just before the Reyen that appears within the third act (see n. 2, above), Gryphius clearly indicates that Leo falls asleep “unter währendem seitenspiel und gesang.” And right after this Reyen Gryphius indicates, again, “Violen.” In addition, during the “spiel der geigen” here, a “trauer-trompete” is heard from afar, becoming increasingly louder. See Andreas Gryphius, *Trauerspiele*, ed. Hermann Palm, 73-74.

inconstancy of human things in the present and in several following Trauerspiele.⁷⁵

If worldly *vanitas* is a principal theme in *Leo Armenius*, then the idea brought forth in the Reyén at the end of the first act—that one’s words can affect his fate⁷⁶—has three possible interpretations. First, the chorus of courtiers could be speaking (or singing) ironically. Language, a merely human vanity, in this interpretation, certainly does not have the metaphysical power that the chorus attributes to it.⁷⁷ Indeed, irony has been called an “indispensable” (“unentbehrlich”) aspect of Gryphius’s language, and a “fundamental element of the theatrical” (“ein konstitutives Element des Theatralischen”) in general.⁷⁸ And there does seem to be some effort on the part of Gryphius to identify language as something specifically human, belonging neither to animals (the subhuman) nor, necessarily, to God (the superhuman). In the first part (of three) of this Reyén, he writes: “A wild beast makes known with mute signs the meaning of its inner heart: we rule with words! . . . Whatever God revealed of himself to the world . . . Will be discovered by this device alone.”⁷⁹

Second, the chorus could mean precisely what it says, that language is decisive in matters of life and death, even spiritually. In this case, language is not a mere vanity, a

⁷⁵ *Trauerspiele*, 14: “Indem unser gantzes vaterland sich nunmehr in seine eigene aschen verscharret und in einen schauplatz der eitelkeit verwandelt, bin ich geflissen, dir die vergänglichkeit menschlicher sachen in gegenwertigem und etlich folgenden trauerspielen vorzustellen.”

⁷⁶ See the third page of the present chapter.

⁷⁷ It seems clear that Gryphius is speaking about life and death on the spiritual—and not merely physical—plane in this Reyén. The chorus sings: “Keep a tight rein on your lips, in which salvation and doom [“heil und schaden”] reside, and that which condemns and rewards” [“was verdammt und was belohnet”].

⁷⁸ Werner Eggers, *Wirklichkeit und Wahrheit im Trauerspiel von Andreas Gryphius* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1967), 104. The second quote is a citation from Walter Haug. See 104 n. 5. For Gryphius, the use of irony may have been related to his skepticism about reason, as it seems to have been for Hume. See Hayden White, *Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 55: “[The] ironic attitude . . . had to lead to the . . . debilitating skepticism about reason itself which Hume had sought refuge from in historical studies.”

⁷⁹ Translation from *German Theater before 1750*, 117-118.

product of human intention alone; it must also possess an element of divinity.⁸⁰ Third, the chorus could mean what it says but, unaware of a spiritual side to language, vainly exaggerate the power of human will. Here Gryphius might well have desired to leave room, so to speak, for the “voice” embodied by the chorus to grow in spiritual awareness. His clearly stated intention to “present” (or teach something about) the vanity of “human things” makes this quite plausible. (It also grants particular force to the irony of the “first” interpretation above, and provides the *raison d’être* of the “second.”)

In fact the Reyen at the end of the second act does display a developing awareness of human limitations. The chorus begins with an observation about transience: “Oh, thou changing of all things, ever-enduring vanity! Does nothing course through the spheres of time, except inconstancy?”⁸¹ This follows from the action of the second act, wherein Leo condemns Michael, once his supreme commander, to death for seditious behavior. But it also advances the *vanitas* theme of the first Reyen, to the point where the actions of even the noblest humans seem futile: “Frame up castles! Build palaces! Sculpt yourselves from hardest stone! Alas! Nothing is too firm for time! What I build, another will destroy.”⁸² At the end of the chorus Gryphius joins his prominent idea of worldly darkness (discussed above), here via blindness, with the kind of irony used in the first Reyen: “Nothing! There’s nothing that yet today couldn’t go to ruin in a hurry! And we! Alas! We blind people hope to remain forever and ever.”⁸³

The Reyen at the end of the third act brings the awareness of human limitations to the spiritual plane. Its question about whether the “soul” can “envision . . . What’s to be

⁸⁰ Again, for the devout Lutheran (which Gryphius surely was), human will is ineffective in matters of spirit.

⁸¹ *German Theater before 1750*, 119.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 120.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 120.

hoped, and what has taken place” is prompted, again, by the events of the preceding act, particularly the scene in which Leo, fearful for his life and position, observes Michael slumbering in prison. The answer (in the Reyen) is that “We who’ve endeavored to know everything from the beginning of time can still not fathom what we daily find before us. Those whom heaven warns through omens can barely, indeed, they cannot escape.”⁸⁴ The soul is powerless before fate.

Finally, the Reyen at the end of the fourth act (again, there is no chorus closing the fifth act of *Leo Armenius*) provides the “solution” to humanity’s existential powerlessness: Christ. This follows the act’s depiction of Leo’s murder and its figuration of Leo as Christ. The chorus emphasizes, again, the darkness of the world and humanity’s utter helplessness, lowliness, and dependence on God, the only true light: “We erred without light, exiled in black night by God’s solemn curse: therefore the blessed Savior will seek us in the darkness. Don’t you hear His calling? You who have lost the image of the Highest, behold the image born unto you. Ask not, ‘Why does it enter in a stable?’ It seeks us, who are more bestial than a beast.”⁸⁵ Gryphius then returns to the theme of language that was so prominent in the first Reyen, where speech is glorified and linked with power: “The tongue is this sword,” the chorus sings there. The fourth-act Reyen makes clear that human speech, whatever its effective power may be, comes from God: “He offers us mouth and hands,” the chorus sings.

Within the sequence of Reyen, then, we see a kind of dramatization of the progress of the soul, from blindness and arrogance to enlightenment and humility. The “voice” embodied by the chorus begins with a belief in the power of humanity,

⁸⁴ Ibid., 121.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 122.

represented by humanity's highest attribute, language. It then learns, through a growing awareness of humanity's limitations, first materially and then spiritually, that humankind is in fact essentially powerless and helpless without God.

The Metaphorical Use of Language in the Reyen

This progress, or lesson, is also conveyed through the manipulation of the sounds of language. It is probably no coincidence that Gryphius chose to focus on the power of speech in his dramatization of this history, or to equate the tongue with a sword.

Language is the perfect metaphor for the relationship between humanity and God, for, as suggested earlier, language embodied, for Gryphius, Francis Bacon's "double truth" of reason and revelation. The rational, human, side of language is the construct that grasps, and externalizes, the super-rational, divine side of language, Luther's "Stahl des Gedankens," the meaning that can come only through revelation.⁸⁶

In some respects, this resembles Harsdörffer's conception of language. Gryphius "internalized" God, as we have seen, in the same "pre-Pietistic" way that Harsdörffer did. Consequently, there is a strong focus on the primacy of interiority, which Gryphius apparently conceived of linguistically as pure vowel sounds, similar to the essential musicality (pre-verbal tones) that Harsdörffer connected to the origins of language and thought, and to God himself. Thus Marian Szyrocki finds in Gryphius's style an "inner musicality" ("innere Musikalität") that is based on a "congruity of vowel sounds" ("Gleichklang der Vokale").⁸⁷ This kind of "Klangmalerei," as Szyrocki calls it, is,

⁸⁶ Gryphius's equation of the tongue with a sword, then, compresses Luther's dualistic entity into a single image. For Gryphius, as for Luther, the part of language that really mattered, its inner essence, was the sword, not the sheath.

⁸⁷ Marian Szyrocki, *Andreas Gryphius: Sein Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1964), 52.

moreover, no “superficial game-playing” (“oberflächliche Spielerei”). Gryphius employs it with “great understanding, never using assonance for its own sake.”⁸⁸ The poet clearly means to “paint” some internal essence, as Harsdörffer does.

Whether Gryphius was directly influenced by Harsdörffer is an open question, though the two poets did move in some of the same circles. Notably, Gryphius was a member of the Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, as Harsdörffer had been before founding the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz. Thus the two poets are also linked by an overall desire to establish German as a legitimate poetic language.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, there are some striking differences in Gryphius’s use of German. For one thing, the “music” of Gryphius’s poetry seems to have little to do with sensuality. He does not consistently use consonant sounds to imitate and represent the natural world, as Harsdörffer does. Whatever Klangmalerei Gryphius does use (if it may be called such) is restricted to vowel sounds, occasional non-imitative consonants (not meant to imitate nature), and a kind of inner musicality suggestive of the divine (discussed above). His treatment of these sounds, moreover, is more rhythmically oriented than Harsdörffer’s. That is, Gryphius tends to “paint” his meaning not just through the particular emphasis on vowels as opposed to consonants.⁹⁰ Rather, he incorporates both into patterns—typically employing techniques like assonance and alliteration—that are themselves meant to be representative.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Ibid., 52: “Gryphius . . . verwendet sie [Klangmalerei] mit großem Verständnis, ohne daß die Assonanz jemals zum Selbstzweck wird.”

⁸⁹ Indeed, upon joining the society in 1662, Gryphius “felt obliged to ban foreign words from his poetry.” See Szyrocki, 53: “fühlte er sich verpflichtet, aus seiner Dichtung die Fremdwörter zu verbannen.”

⁹⁰ Harsdörffer, again, used vowels to suggest divinity.

⁹¹ Szyrocki, who calls Gryphius a “master of rhythm,” gives an overview of his rhythmic techniques, 51ff. We shall explore Gryphius’s sonic patterning below.

The source of these sound patterns, writes Cysarz, is a “spiritual dynamic, not intensified sensuality as in the Nurembergers.”⁹² Patterns, of course, are most striking and effective in contrast with randomness, or the absence of patterns. The spiritual “dynamic” behind Gryphius’s use of rhythm is very likely the idea that order is fundamentally divine. It is God who created order out of chaos, and it is God’s design that controls the seemingly random, irrational events of history. We have seen the idea of divine order in the poetry of Johann Klaj, who employs “dancing metres” and internal rhymes in his poem “Vorzug deß Frühlings” to convey aurally the striking visual impact of dew on a meadow. Klaj too connects organized sound with divine intent.⁹³ In Gryphius, though, there is more emphasis—particularly in the Trauerspiele—on the idea of divine will guiding history. The contrast with randomness, which grants particular effectiveness to sonic regularity, is also more prominent in Gryphius, as we shall see. Indeed, contrast in general is a hallmark of Gryphius’s style.⁹⁴ Examples of this include the themes of worldly darkness and eternal light, apparent power (of human language) and actual ineffectiveness (*vis-à-vis* divine will), literalness and allegory. One might also include here Gryphius’s general separation of dramatic exposition (in the acts) and personal interpretation (in the *Reyen*).

⁹² Cysarz, 170: “Ihr Quell ist geistige Dynamik, nicht potenzierte Sinnlichkeit wie bei den Nürnbergern.” Cysarz calls these sound patterns “Ornamente,” though he clearly does not restrict their significance to the superficial.

⁹³ The idea is that dew manifests a divine will that invisibly transforms an ordinary meadow into a place of extraordinary beauty. See Chapter 4.

⁹⁴ Cysarz, 165, writes that “Kontrast [ist] seine Form.” See also Szyrocki’s discussion of “antithesis” as “one of Gryphius’s preferred stylistic practices.” (Szyrocki, 54: “Zu den bevorzugten Stilmitteln von Gryphius gehört die Antithese.”) Contrast of course had long been recognized as an effective device in both dramatic and non-dramatic poetry. Cf. the preface to Monteverdi’s eighth book of madrigals, in which Monteverdi (reflecting Petrarch’s ideas of development through antithesis) writes of contrast as a means of moving the affections.

In the work at hand, *Leo Armenius*, Gryphius's personal interpretation and didactic focus (in the Reyen) involve, primarily, the contrast between worldly *vanitas* and divine truth. The "voice" of the Reyen "learns" its lesson, as we have seen, through a growing awareness of the inconstancy of human power. In its essence, then, Gryphius's message is presented as a contrast between the changeable and the unchangeable. Sonically, this is expressed as a contrast between randomness and regularity. Gryphius uses the fixed pattern as a metaphor for divine constancy. Its reverse, the absence of pattern, represents human inconstancy.

Sonic Patterning in the Reyen

In general, the language of the Reyen is more musical in its conception than is the language of the plot. Gryphius is more consistently concerned with sound—and, particularly, sound signification—in the chorus. He clearly connected music with the understanding of the divine, as Harsdörffer did; it is not insignificant, again, that Gryphius's Reyen were sung, probably with instrumental accompaniment. To be sure, the language used in the exposition of the drama is not utterly prosaic. Gryphius had a fondness for rhymes, and often used them to help impart a loose verse structure to even the most naturalistic dialogue. Toward the end of the first act of *Leo Armenius*, for example, the condemned Michael seethes to his captor Exabolius:

Ha! schweig tyrannen-
knecht!
Wo bin ich? Himmel hilf! Wo schläfft das große recht?
Gebunden, nicht verklagt! Verdammt, doch nicht ver-
höret!
Verrathen durch den freund. Den, den der barbar ehret,

Erwürgt der blut-fürst! Ach!⁹⁵

The lines are laid out here in a manner that highlights the rhymes (“knecht / recht,” “höret / ehret”), ensuring that they are not missed. Also, the accents fall into consistent iambic feet. There is poetic music here, but it is of a distinctly decorative kind. That is, the sonic markers can hardly have been intended as an aid to interpretation or performance. The dramatic substance of these lines is certainly not conveyed through rhymed endings and metric regularity. Indeed, the effective reading and performance of this passage (and others like it) would tend to downplay such devices.⁹⁶ Perhaps the seeming irrelevance of the poetic “music” here exemplifies what Walter Benjamin so harshly criticized as “self-indulgent delight in sheer sound.”

At any rate, the sound world of the Reyen is, by comparison, anything but self-indulgent and irrelevant. The music of this poetry, again, is integral to Gryphius’s didactic purposes. In the Reyen of *Leo Armenius*, Gryphius uses alliteration, iambs and trochees, rhyme, and assonance as bases for the patterns (and demarcations of the randomness) that convey his message sonically. Alliteration, to begin with, is used effectively in the Reyen closing the first act. Here the extended repetition of the “W” at

⁹⁵ Andreas Gryphius, *Trauerspiele*, 40.

⁹⁶ The performer certainly would not downplay the exclamation points and the period marking the caesuras in lines 2, 3, and 4, or the exclamation points concluding the first and fifth lines. Yet the inner drama, which the performer (one hopes) would be at pains to express, certainly does not inhere in the rhythmic regularity of the lines. Speaking generally about Gryphius’s style, Blake Lee Spahr notes that Gryphius, though “bound by the rigid Alexandrine,” typically creates a “pulse of a vastly different rhythm which is at odds with the metric scheme. It is as though there are two networks of sound, often vying with one another to achieve the ascendancy” (47). Spahr, 48, demonstrates with a passage from Gryphius’s sonnet “Die Hölle”: “Rhythm struggles against meter, as the tortured souls in hell writhe in agony. One could read the b-lines of the quatrain as Alexandrines: MOrd! Zétter! Jámmer! ’Angst! // Creutz! Márter! W’ürme! Plágen! Pech! Fólter! Héncker! Flámm! // stanck! Geíster! K’álte! Zágen!

But the result would be absurd. One must read rhythmically, even though the metrical scheme complements the rhythm in the background. The struggle presents just that element of tension which conveys the tortures of the damned.”

the beginning of each line gives sonic resonance to the chorus's exaggerated notions of human power:

Was lufft und flamme schafft,
 Was Chloris läst in ihren gärten schauen,
 Was das gesetzte recht von allen völkern wil,
 Was Gott der welt ließ von sich selbst vertrauen,
 Was in der blüthe steht, was durch die zeit verfiel,
 Wird durch diß werckzeug nur entdeckt.⁹⁷

The “W” imparts a kind of regularity to the passage, yet the lines lack the rhythmic unity that would indicate truly “divine” organization.⁹⁸ Significantly, the “attempt” to regulate these lines rests most obviously on the repetition of a non-interior consonant, which represents for Gryphius (as for Harsdörffer) the outer world of mundane humanity (which is not to be trusted).⁹⁹ The one moment of heightened organization in this passage occurs in the reference to God:

Was Gott der **welt** ließ von sich **selbst** vertrauen.

The iambic regularity, inner rhyme (“welt /selbst”), limited “outer” rhyme (“schauen / vertrauen” and, perhaps, “wil / verfiel”) and, most importantly, assonance, or congruity of interior vowel sounds (“Gott /von” and “welt /selbst,” highlighted via metric stress), point to a constancy beyond the created world. Here is Gryphius’s “inner musicality,” which for Szyrocki is no “superficial game-playing.”

Trochaic regularity is used in the opening of the second-act Reyen:

O du wechsel aller dinge!
 Immerwährend' eitelkeit!
 Laufft denn in der zeiten ringe

⁹⁷ Ibid., 41.

⁹⁸ The line lengths vary, though there is a kind of pattern set up: 6, 10, 12, 10, 12, 9. The rhyme scheme follows this pattern (though it is questionable whether “wil” rhymes with “verfiel,” precisely): aBCBCd.

⁹⁹ The main difference between Gryphius’s and Harsdörffer’s treatment is, again, that Harsdörffer’s consonants often resemble, or imitate, sounds of the natural world, while Gryphius’s are more strictly representative (rather than imitative).

Nichts mit fester sicherheit?¹⁰⁰

At first glance, this tight organization, complete with rhyme scheme, might seem to reflect a fully matured awareness of truth. The uniformity of the stanza is not dependent on a single exterior consonant. However, there is also little close congruity of vowel sounds here. The “voice” is wary enough of worldly *vanitas* to avoid the temptation of building upon seemingly solid (consonant) sounds, but it has not yet found its way to the truer security of the inward gaze. It is in fact asking whether there is anything solid in temporality (“in der zeiten ringe”). By the end of the Reyen the reality of changeability has sunk in more fully, so to speak, and the chorus, still unaware of any greater truth, can only answer the earlier question in the negative:

Nichts! nichts ist, das nicht noch heute
 Könt in eil zu drümmern gehn;
 Und wir! ach! wir blinde leute
 Hoffen für und für zu stehn?¹⁰¹

Accordingly, the rhythmic regularity set up in the opening of the Reyen is compromised here through a focus on nothingness in the first line (which employs multiple alliterations of “n,” “ch,” “t,” and “s” sounds) and humanity in the third line (which emphasizes the “w” sound). “Worldly” consonants are again associated with metric irregularity, or a distancing from divine organization. The regularity of the opening reflects, in retrospect, only a partial awareness of truth.¹⁰²

The Reyen at the end of the third act contains a similar expression of partial awareness. In the closing section of this Reyen, the chorus voices its knowledge of humanity’s limitations in the spiritual plane:

¹⁰⁰ *Trauerspiele*, 70.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

¹⁰² This change from the relative regularity of the opening to the irregularity of the ending of the Reyen manifests as well Gryphius’s use of contrast for dramatic ends.

Wir, die alles uns zu wissen,
 Von der ersten zeit beflissen,
 Können gleichwohl nicht ergründen,
 Was wir täglich vor uns finden.
 Die der himmel warnt durch zeichen,
 Können kaum, ja nicht entweichen;
 Auch viel, indem sie sich den tod bemüht zu fliehen,
 Sieht man dem tod entgegen ziehen.¹⁰³

The trochaic regularity of the first six lines (in tetrameter) expresses a certain enlightenment, while the relative scarcity of vowel congruencies betrays the incomplete awareness of truth. The final two lines sonically express, through the interruption of the rhythmic pattern and the abandonment of tetrameter (the final two lines have thirteen and nine syllables, respectively), the return to worldly ignorance that follows perhaps inevitably from a lack of knowledge of God: here the chorus sings of the “many” (“viel”) who futilely attempt to flee death via their own power.

Finally, the Reyen that closes the fourth act sonically “fills in” the missing awareness (of Christ) through the use of assonance, rhyme, trochaic patterning, alliteration, and interruption. In the final section of this Reyen, the chorus sings:

Ehre sey dem in der höh,
 Der unser fleisch mehr als zu hoch verehret!
 Der seine güt unendlich hat vermehret!
 Sein stets fester friede steh
 Länger, als die sonn uns schein! Dieses kind ver-
 leyh uns allen,
 Dass wir wollen seinen willen, dass wir stets ihm
 wol gefallen!¹⁰⁴

All the words in the first line, except “in,” are linked by similar vowel sounds. In fact, the “e”-like sonority introduced by “Ehre” governs the sound of most of the stanza, just as the whole passage is semantically “about” honor. The second line connects “Ehre”

¹⁰³ Ibid., 91.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 109.

with the superlative: by interrupting the trochaic pattern, “mehr” gains prominence and establishes the link with “Ehre.” The “Ehre / mehr” congruence is then replicated, in meaning and in sound, by the “verehret / vermehret” rhyme closing lines two and three. All the words of line four contain the “e”-like sonority, continuing the vowel patterning. Alliteration is also used here to bring out meaning through word pairing. “Fester friede” highlights the idea that God’s peace is truly solid. “Stets,” though modifying “fester,” is also linked alliteratively to “steh,” suggesting that this solid peace may remain forever.

Within the context of the Reyen, this emphasis on consonant sounds (which represent the “outer” human world) does not overwhelm the message. Indeed, Gryphius consciously evokes the mundane realm, if only to make this everlasting peace comprehensible in human terms. The following line, after continuing the “e” sonority with “Länger,” then supplies these “terms”: may this peace remain longer “than the sun shines upon us,” the chorus sings. The remainder of the stanza returns to the trochaic pattern of the opening line. Gryphius “interrupts” the trochaic sound established there (producing an iambic pentameter in lines 2 and 3 and a sonically irregular trochaic tetrameter in line 4 and in the first half of line 5), perhaps because this passage, from the reference to our flesh (“unser fleisch”) through the reference to the sun (“die sonn uns schein”), is “about” the human realm and how God can be understood to affect it.¹⁰⁵ The sonic impact of this rhythmic variety is to heighten the awareness of regularity.¹⁰⁶ Here again we see the contrast so integral to Gryphius’s style. The result is that one perceives the overall message of the stanza thus (reading, or hearing, only the sonically regular

¹⁰⁵ To be sure, line 4 and the first half of line 5 are metrically the same as line 1. However, “Sein” in line 4 would not receive the same emphasis as “Ehre” in line 1, and “Länger” (line 5) would be perceived semantically as a part of the preceding line. Aurally, the trochaic pattern of line 1 does not return with the clear articulation of a fresh thought (a new sentence) until “Dieses kind...”

¹⁰⁶ This is, in all probability, another reason why Gryphius “irregularized” lines 2-5.

trochaic lines, which are perceived as more musical, and hence more important): “Honor be to the one on high. . . . May this child grant us all / to will his will, so that we always please him well!” The knowledge of Christ completes the process of enlightenment traced through the sequence of the four Reyen. One properly honors God, Gryphius says, by subordinating human will (the power of which is exaggerated in the first Reyen) to divine will, following the example of Christ.

Gryphius and Music

It is clear why Gryphius would want his Reyen to be sung: it was here that he used sound, and sound patterning, to help explicate his theological “lesson.” Music, if it was carefully crafted to suit his purposes, could only reinforce this explication. We know that Gryphius had little use, at least in the Reyen, for “superficial” sound used “for its own sake.”¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, we know practically nothing about the music that was actually used in the performance of his Trauerspiele. Considering his emphasis on patterning and rhythmic regularity, however, it could be surmised that Gryphius would not have been particularly interested in the recitative style of the Italians, which relied on naturalistic speech patterns and flexible verse structures. Or if he *was* interested in the Italian style, he probably explored its possibilities most fully not in the Reyen, but in the dialogic passages of the drama.

¹⁰⁷ As we have seen, though, Gryphius did sometimes employ “superficial” poetic “music,” usually in the dramatic exposition (as opposed to Reyen). This, again, is “music”—rhymed endings and metric regularity, for example—that is not directly relevant to the dramatic substance of the lines. That is, the content of these lines could be delivered as effectively—perhaps more effectively—without rhyme or rhythmic regularity. This is not to say, of course, that these passages are not musical; they indicate, rather, that Gryphius employed two kinds of poetic “music”: one that “speaks” the text, as it were, and one that merely decorates it. More on this below.

Of particular interest in this connection are the three comedies intended to be sung: *Majuma*, *Piastus*, and *Verlibtes Gespenste*.¹⁰⁸ In these works Gryphius abandons his practice of separating dramatic exposition and personal interpretation. Here the chorus, if used at all, functions more like a summarizing conclusion than a locus of theological explication. The emphasis throughout is on the plot, which unfolds largely through naturalistic dialogue. Reflective monologues, more conducive to structured verse, are relatively rare, at least in *Verlibtes Gespenste*, the most substantial of the three musical comedies.¹⁰⁹ Whatever interest Gryphius may have had in the style recitativo, then, would have been most appropriately exploited in exchanges like the following, from *Verlibtes Gespenste*¹¹⁰:

Sulpicius:

Schau, was Cornelie mir vor geschencke schickt!

¹⁰⁸ Gryphius labels *Majuma* a “freuden-spiel,” *Piastus* a “lust- und gesangspiel,” and *Verlibtes Gespenste* a “gesangspiel.” See Andreas Gryphius, *Lustspiele*, ed. Hermann Palm (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1961), 171, 197, and 235, respectively. The “freuden-spiel” *Majuma* is, according to its title page, to be presented “auf dem Schauplatz gesangsweise” (171). Spahr notes that “just what a ‘Gesangspiel’ was, is still a matter for discussion.” Spahr suggests that it was more or less equivalent to the Singspiel, and that probably “only certain parts were sung” (122).

¹⁰⁹ Spahr refers to *Majuma* as a “frilly little Freudenspiel” (127), and calls *Piastus* a “little (626 lines) operetta” (128). He also notes that these two are “Festspiele,” or “plays to commemorate a particular event” (126). The implication is that Gryphius did not regard them as serious works. In the Festspiele, writes Spahr, Gryphius was “in the perhaps embarrassing position of being under an obligation to provide encomiastic entertainment for . . . celebrations engendered by his patrons” (129). *Verlibtes Gespenste*, on the other hand, is grouped together with two other “comedies proper,” *Peter Squentz* and *Horribilicribrifax*. Gryphius obviously expended considerable effort on *Verlibtes Gespenste*. The work is paired with *Die gelibte Dornrose*; acts from both plays are meant to be performed in alternating sequence. This custom, says Spahr, “has a long tradition, and serves frequently the purpose either of brightening up a serious piece by the alternation of comic relief (a practice against which later theoreticians were to protest), or . . . simply to provide the necessary time for costume or scenery changes in the main drama. It is a merit of Gryphius’s production that the two plays revolve around the same theme, complement one another and provide an insight from different perspectives. Both are four acts long” (122). See Aikin for further information on *Majuma* (124-125), *Piastus* (128-130), and *Verlibtes Gespenste* (105-109).

¹¹⁰ That this work is, according to Aikin, Gryphius’s “only original contribution” to “italianate comedy” lends further support to this idea. Aikin defines the genre as the reverse of tragedy: “the emotions aroused in the audience are *spes et gaudium* (‘hope and joy’), the opposites of tragic fear and pity (*metus et misericordia*).” See 105-106.

Levinus:

Die **mein** **be**klämmtes **hertz** **be**zaubert und **best**rickt?

Sulpicius:

Die durch **ge**zuckert **giff** mir **libe** wil **bey**bringen.

Levinus:

Wehn kan **ihr** **auge** **nicht** auch **sonder** **giff** **be**zwingen?

Sulpicius:

Nur **mich** nicht, der ihr **kind** **weit** **über** **alles** **schätz**.¹¹¹

Here accents do not fall into rigid patterns. (There are of course different ways to read the accents in these lines. The bolded syllables above represent one interpretation.)

Although Gryphius clearly conceived of these lines as alexandrines (each has either 12 or 13 syllables), their comparatively irregular accents evoke the kind of naturalistic approach to dialogue that recitative seeks to replicate.¹¹² Still, Gryphius does adhere to a rhyme scheme (AABBC), as he tends to do in the dramatic exchanges of the Trauerspiele.

And in the few more extended monologues of *Verlibtes Gespenste* the poetry becomes even more “musical,” as in the following example, with its regular alexandrines and patterned rhyme scheme (AABBCCD):

Der anschlag möchte noch uns allen dinlich seyn.
 Man geb auß, dass er stracks durch unerhörte pein,
 Als er diss traur-gericht zu schmecken nur beliebt,
 Befallen. Wo sein ach ihr zartes hertz betrübet,
 So hat sie freylich nichts als seine gunst begehrt.

¹¹¹ Andreas Gryphius, *Lustspiele*, 254.

¹¹² We have seen in *Seelewig* an attempt to create recitative with regular poetic lines, an approach at odds with the unpredictability of Italian recitative (see Ex. 4.13). We shall see something similar in Bontempi and Peranda’s *Dafne*, discussed in Chapter 6 (cf. Ex. 6.5). Perhaps Gryphius envisioned something similar here, with his use of regular (albeit syllabo-tonically flexible) alexandrines.

Er stelle sich gantz todt. War ihr sein leben werth,
So wird sie seine leich mit bittern thränen ehren.¹¹³

As in the dramatic exposition (as opposed to Reyen) of *Leo Armenius*, this poetic “music” is superficial, in the sense that the sounds of the rhymes and the syllabic organization are not integral to the text’s meaning. Whatever actual music may have been used in the performance of this Singspiel—whether Italian in style or not—would likely have responded to, and reinforced, this superficiality. That is, given Gryphius’s concern for sound, it is likely that he would have composed this text with decorative music (the kind of music most appropriate for the text) in mind.¹¹⁴ Indeed, it is difficult to imagine how a composer could create music that would directly convey an inner textual meaning when the text itself is not a product of Gryphius’s efforts to unite sound and semantics.

Thus Gryphius’s relationship to the kind of music that can “speak” a text’s inner meaning might be scrutinized most fruitfully in the Reyen of the Trauerspiel, where Gryphius was most inclined to suit sound to didactic purpose. Indeed it is this inclination that makes the Trauerspiel more important to the development of German opera than other more ostensibly musical creations like *Verlibtes Gespenste* were, as we shall see. In his work on Gryphius’s Reyen, Willi Flemming makes the interesting connection between the trochaic rhythms of *Leo Armenius* and the Protestant chorale.¹¹⁵ He does not provide any examples of how these rhythms “remind” (“erinnern”) him of the “Kirchenlied,” but he does point out that the unison singing of chorale tunes had been common practice in school dramas since the sixteenth century, and that Gryphius had

¹¹³ Ibid., 255.

¹¹⁴ See n. 107, above.

¹¹⁵ Flemming, “Die Form der Reyen,” 664.

“participated in performances [of these dramas] in his youth.”¹¹⁶ Flemming adds that “voice instruction had a firm place in the Protestant schools.”¹¹⁷ Peter Rusterholz also notes a particular interest in the chorale on the part of Gryphius.¹¹⁸ Perhaps Gryphius did draw on his earlier experience and employ chorale tunes in the performance of the rhythmically regular portions of his Reyen. This certainly would have suited his particularly Germanic “message” and its patterned, regular poetic expression. In fully expanded form, his choruses might have resembled, musically, the chorale harmonizations that later served as didactic centerpieces in oratorios and sacred cantatas.

Elsewhere, Flemming more generally discusses the “Kompositionsprinzip” behind Gryphius’s style, likening his careful development of a single theme—conceived as the “objectively intellectual . . . illuminated by a ray of the divine”—to fugal technique.¹¹⁹ The contrapuntal treatment of a chorale tune would also fit with Gryphius’s Lutheran concerns. Of course, all of this is conjectural. What is most important here is the idea of Trauerspiel as an operatic prototype.

German Opera: Three Paradigms

The three works examined so far in this study—*Dafne*, *Seelewig*, and *Leo Armenius*—represent three different kinds of “responses” to the desire for uniquely German theater in the seventeenth century. Although they are in a sense linked by a common authorial ideology (Lutheranism and musico-poetic didacticism), each work

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 664: “Gryphius hat ja in seiner Jugend schon Aufführungen mitgemacht.”

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 664: “Der Gesangunterricht hatte an den protestantischen Schulen seine feste Stelle.”

¹¹⁸ Rusterholz, 32, discusses the influence “of religious poets and masters” (“von religiösen Dichtern und Meistern) and mentions that Gryphius “revised the chorales of Josua Stegmann” (“Josua Stegmann, dessen Choräle Gryphius neu faßte”).

¹¹⁹ Willi Flemming, *Andreas Gryphius: eine Monographie* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965), 129-130: “objektiv Geistige . . . mit einem Strahl des Ewigen erhellt wird.”

manifests a unique paradigm with respect to the model of Italian opera. (Each is paradigmatic in the sense that it in turn models a “type” for the further development of German opera.) *Dafne*, the direct adaptation, is obviously the closest to Italian opera. It adopts the conventions of pastoral poetry. Its mythological plot is “humanized” to the extent that the characters and events evoke empathy, but not overwhelming pity and fear, in the viewers. It is secular, though its use of allegory is suggestive of a spiritual dimension. The general flattening of the model’s allegorical depth owes something to the theological outlook of its creators: Lutheranism, which insists on a spiritually powerless human will, tends to separate the spiritual dimension from the acts of its humanized characters. The myth becomes more a morality play on the virtues proper to mortal life than an allegory of the relationship between humanity and divinity. A sense of optimism may nonetheless pervade the adaptation, since Lutheranism also insists on the material effectiveness of human will and honors reason as humanity’s highest attribute.

Seelewig represents a more decisive attempt to break from the mold of Italian opera. It largely succeeds, but at a price. Although it adopts the conceptual framework of the pastoral, it employs no mythological plot, no actions that speak to the human condition. Its characters are abstractions. Bearing no believable connection to real life, they are dramatically ineffective. They can evoke no genuine empathy, pity, or fear; the audience is not brought to any kind of catharsis. This type of work is allegorical, but only in the shallower sense of figures representing traits. There is no tension between what something literally means and what it could mean. In a very real sense, this is drama of the inner life. It is clearly connected to the “pre-Pietistic” inwardness of its creators, which was linked to an anti-rational distrust of the sensory world. The focus on

interiority seems connected with the desire to raise the status of pure sound in this kind of “opera.” Music, theorized as the inner “voice” of the divine, gains dramatic potency. The drama of the “eternal soul” is played out in non-verbal sounds as well as in words. Here is the prototype for the later development of the orchestra as a dramatic “player.”

Leo Armenius (and the *Trauerspiel* in general), finally, manifests an even more thorough break from Italian opera, beginning as it does with tragedy, the essential “foreground” of the pastoral, so to speak, rather than with the pastoral itself.¹²⁰ Its historical plot and heightened realism afford greater cathartic power than is possible in the other paradigms. They also enable a seamless joining together of the secular and the sacred: the historical narrative as *Heilsgeschichte* is at once a history play and a dramatization of God’s plan, mirroring the marriage of temporal events and eternal design in the story of Christ’s passion. This model possesses, like the *Dafne* paradigm, a degree of freedom from the constraints of allegory, though the tendency toward extreme literalness is moderated by the regular appearance of the explicatory chorus. It also adopts the “pre-Pietistic” inwardness and consequent preference for non-verbal sound seen in the *Seelewig* paradigm.

In the end the *Trauerspiel* is both better drama and more successful, ultimately, as a model for *musical* drama. It strikes a successful balance between the outer, literal drama of *Dafne* and the inner drama of *Seelewig*. The resulting contrast (between inner and outer content) and, indeed, the greater realism together yield greater dramatic tension. The audience is thus more likely to care about the drama per se and the

¹²⁰ The idea, again, is that the pastoral, as a kind of response to the tragic, is dependent upon tragedy for its existence. See Chapter 3. Of course, there is a distinction of genres here. Gryphius did not aspire to the conditions of opera in his *Trauerspiele*. Still, in his attempt to unite sound “drama” with “real” drama here, Gryphius created an important prototype for German opera. More on this below.

theological message that it embodies. The careful use of sound (and music) to help convey the message prefigures the later emphasis on instrumental music and, again, the efforts to make the orchestra an equal player in the drama. In the next chapter we will examine three later operatic manifestations of the three paradigms—the direct adaptation, the spiritual pastoral, and the Trauerspiel—and seek to show the ultimate significance of the Trauerspiel to German opera.

CHAPTER 6

The Marriage of Theology and Drama: Three Prototypes for German Opera

In the development of German opera prior to the full blossoming of the “Hamburg enterprise,”¹ composers and librettists tended to adopt one of the three paradigms discussed in the preceding chapter: the direct adaptation, the spiritual pastoral, or the Trauerspiel. Numerous examples of each type are known. Adaptations of Italian models include Johann Theile’s *Orontes* (Hamburg, 1678),² Caspar Stieler’s *Il pomo d’oro* (Eisenach, 1669),³ and Giovanni Bontempi and Marco Peranda’s *Dafne* (Dresden, 1672),⁴ in addition to the Opitz-Schütz *Dafne* (Torgau, 1627). Spiritual pastorals (performed “gesangsweise”) include *Seelewig* (Nuremberg, 1644); *Psyche* (Nuremberg, c. 1652), with text by Sigmund von Birken and music by Georg Walch;⁵ *Amelinde* (Wolfenbüttel, 1657), with text by Anton Ulrich, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg,⁶ and *Die triumphirende Treu* (Ansbach, 1680), with text by Christian Heuchelin and music by Johann Löhner.⁷ Operatic realizations of the Trauerspiel paradigm include

¹ The phrase is John Warrack’s. See his *German Opera: From the Beginnings to Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 34. Though the public opera house at the Gänsemarkt opened on 2 January 1678, the “full blossoming” of the “enterprise” in a sense had to wait for the appearance of Reinhard Keiser (1674-1739), who is generally regarded as “the first major composer of German opera.” Keiser began composing his Hamburg operas in 1696. See Warrack, 53.

² Warrack, 38. This was one of the early Hamburg operas with a secular subject.

³ Judith Aikin, *German Baroque Drama* (Boston: Twayne, 1982), 133-134, notes that the text of this famous opera (by Francesco Sbarra, set by Marc Antonio Cesti), was “translated into German by Caspar Stieler at the request of Duke Johann Ernst of Weimar.”

⁴ See Susanne Wilsdorf’s introduction to her edition of Giovanni Andrea Bontempi and Marco Giuseppe Peranda, *Drama oder Musicalisches Schauspiel von der Dafne*, *Denkmäler Mitteldeutscher Barockmusik*, Serie 2, Band 2 (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1998). The adaptation seems to have been a collaboration between the two, both poets and composers. It is not clear precisely who composed what, musically or textually.

⁵ See Mara Wade, *The German Baroque Pastoral ‘Singspiel’* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1990), 191-262.

⁶ See Wade, 263-322. It is unclear who wrote the music. Wade discusses Johann Jakob Löwe and Duchess Sophie Elisabeth as possibilities (see 264-269).

⁷ See Wilsdorf, xii.

Cara Mustapha (Hamburg, 1686), with text by Wilhelm Vogel and music by Johann Wolfgang Franck;⁸ *Die sizilianische Argenia* (Zittau, c. 1683), with text by Christian Weise and music by Johann Krieger;⁹ and *Die beständige Argenia* (Reval, 1680), with music by Johann Valentin Meder.¹⁰

Clearly, German opera was a thriving enterprise, even before the advent of the later Hamburg opera. The intensity of this early flourishing, moreover, indicates a measure of success in the efforts to “separate” from Italian opera.¹¹ Indeed, the strong desire for an independent national style produced a German opera that was as distinctively German as it would ever be. Lutheranism was at the core of this “Germanness.” The musical paradigms at this time manifested various kinds and degrees of distancing from “Italianness.” The eventual infusion of foreign influences in Hamburg (with the first truly great operas in German, beginning with Keiser) tended to moderate, rather than enhance, German opera’s distinctiveness.

Over time Lutheranism largely lost its defining power. Stylistic amalgamation became the new paradigm. Yet even in the eighteenth century and beyond, German opera displayed moments that seem related to the overtly theological and nationalistic aims of the genre’s earliest “envisioners.”¹² The “germ” of Lutheranism was strong enough to survive generic transformation. This was possible, of course, because of the

⁸ This work is related to the Trauerspiel in the sense that its action is set in (recent) historical events—the 1683 Turkish siege of Vienna—and in the balance it strikes between tragic literalness and inner Lutheran content. (Franck uses an elaborated Passion song, for instance.) See Warrack, 38ff.

⁹ This work is also centered around historical figures, and is decidedly German in conception. Warrack, 31, notes that Krieger and his colleague Johan Beer were encouraged by their employer at the court of Weissenfels, who “went so far as to reject Italian opera altogether.” See also Werner Braun’s Vorwort to his edition of Johann Valentin Meder, *Die beständige Argenia*, Das Erbe deutscher Musik, Band 68 (Mainz: B. Schott’s Söhne, 1973), 6.

¹⁰ The librettist is unknown. How this work is related to the Trauerspiel will be discussed below.

¹¹ Wilsdorf, xii, writes that “in the second half of the seventeenth century, early German opera saw a brief but intense flourishing,” and that “this independent branch of theatrical music [i.e., German opera] differs significantly from contemporary Italian opera.” I use, throughout, Stephanie Wollny’s translation of Wilsdorf’s introduction. Wollny’s translation appears in Wilsdorf’s edition, xii-xviii.

¹² More on this below.

musical continuity between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The international “type” of German opera did not abruptly preempt the earlier types; rather, it grew out of them. Paradigms shifted by degrees.

The aim of this chapter, then, will be to examine three operas from the 1670s and 1680s not as static objects, but as works that manifest the respective paradigmatic outlines of *Dafne*, *Seelewig*, and *Leo Armenius* and prefigure the stylistic mix of the later Hamburg enterprise. The works include *Dafne* (by Bontempi and Peranda), *Die triumphirende Treu*, and *Die beständige Argenia*.

The Adaptation: *Dafne*

In February 1672 the “German opera of Apollo and Dafne”¹³ composed jointly by two Italians—Giovanni Andrea Bontempi (1624-1705) and Marco Gioseppe Peranda (c. 1625-1675)—was presented in Dresden by the same court that had earlier commissioned the first adaptation of *Dafne* in 1627. Johann Georg II ordered this second *Dafne* for festivities connected with his grand hunt in the fall of 1671. Ironically the premiere was postponed on account of the death of Sophie Eleonore, whose wedding had occasioned the Opitz-Schütz collaboration 44 years earlier. As with the earlier adaptation, the Bontempi-Peranda *Dafne* affords a valuable glimpse into the conceptual distinctions between German and Italian opera. Much of the ideological content of Opitz’s adaptation is preserved here. This is not surprising, considering that Bontempi and Peranda, though

¹³ The term “opera” appears in the archival records: Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Loc. 8681, *Churf. Sächs. Hof-Diaria de Anno 1667-1671*, fol. 242r. Cited in Wilsdorf, xiii. The information on the background and premier of the Bontempi-Peranda adaptation is drawn from Wilsdorf, xii-xviii.

Italian, were employed in Protestant Saxony. Also, they apparently worked from Opitz's text. Their version is to an extent an adaptation of an adaptation.¹⁴

Thus Opitz's focus on the virtues proper to mortals is retained here. Apollo's willfulness renders him effectively human. As in Opitz, his lament over the loss of Daphne in Act 5 is couched in earthly terms; he is not restored to his status as master of the sun.¹⁵ The third-act exchange in which a reasonable Daphne is portrayed as wiser and stronger than Apollo is here too.¹⁶ And also like Opitz, Bontempi and Peranda commit themselves to a mundane interpretation of the serpent in the first act, which permits them to emphasize human effectiveness in the material realm.¹⁷

The great advantage of the Bontempi-Peranda version as an exemplar of the German / Italian divide is the score's survival. Not surprisingly, the music displays a mix of Italian and German styles. On the Italian side, there are ariosi and dialogic recitatives pointing in the direction of an entirely sung drama.¹⁸ On the German side, there are a number of self-contained forms, notably folk-like strophic songs and choruses that broadly resemble Protestant hymn settings. Significantly, the hymn-like choruses serve to underscore moral lessons in the text.

Composers of early Italian opera, of course, also wrote homophonic choruses, sometimes with texts that could be considered moralistic. In Gagliano's setting of Rinuccini's *Dafne* (1608), for example, most of the choruses are set homophonically.

¹⁴ It is not clear whether Bontempi and Peranda utilized Rinuccini's libretto directly. Wilsdorf, xvi, writes: "For the *Dafne* of 1672, Opitz' libretto provided a loose framework: The division into prologue and five acts is retained, and the scenes established by Opitz begin and end each act in the same manner and sequence." The extent to which Bontempi and Peranda depart from Opitz will be discussed below.

¹⁵ Opitz's "Hier ist mein der Sonnen Liecht" is essentially preserved: "Du O meiner Augen licht."

¹⁶ The passive ineffectiveness of an Apollo weakened by unreasonable passion is preserved almost verbatim. Opitz: "Ach fleuch doch nicht! Mein Herze das zerbricht." Bontempi-Peranda: "Ach fleuch doch nicht / mein herz zerbricht."

¹⁷ Opitz's version is retained again here almost verbatim: "Komm uns Armen doch zu steyer Wider dieses Ungehewer" becomes "Komm unß Armen doch zu steuer / wieder dieses ungeheuer."

¹⁸ Wilsdorf, xiv, points out that the libretto contains "textual variants, supplementary stanzas, and even additional scenes" that are "missing in the score." These may have been "meant for acting only."

There are brief moments of imitative polyphony, but these seem to correspond to localized textual events.¹⁹ The following five-part chorus from the opening scene typifies this generally homophonic approach to choral writing (see Fig. 6.1). It is no surprise that Gagliano would seek to enhance textual clarity, yet the pervasiveness of the homophonic approach to choral writing suggests that there was little, beyond expedience, behind it. That is, Gagliano does not seem to be identifying the homophonic chorus with any particular textual theme.

Coro. 4

Odi il pianto, e preghi nostri O del ciel Monarcha, e Re

Odi il pianto, e preghi nostri O del ciel Monarcha, e Re

Odi il pianto, e preghi nostri O del ciel Monarcha, e Re

Odi il pianto, e preghi nostri O del ciel Monarcha, e Re

Odi il pianto, e preghi nostri O del ciel Monarcha, e Re

Fig. 6.1 Gagliano, *Dafne*, opening scene, five-part chorus

Hear our plaint and prayer,
O Monarch and King of Heaven.

¹⁹ The panic caused by the appearance of the serpent, for example, produces faster note values and a fragmentation of chordal unity. After the serpent has been dispatched, the shepherds return to the safety of the simple, hymn-like chorus. The following excerpt (Fig. 6.1) is copied from Marco da Gagliano, *La Dafne* (Bologna: Forni Editore, 1970), 4.

On the other hand, the Italian composers of the later German *Dafne*, Bontempi and Peranda, seem to identify the syllabic, homophonic chorus with Opitz's specifically German Protestant didactic ends. The few homophonic choral moments in their adaptation—and there are only three, compared to Gagliano's seven—are reserved for those portions of the text that most overtly expound the virtues of reason and practicality. Passages concerning vices like human willfulness and passion tend not to be set in this manner. Thus, the shepherds seeking to fulfill their own desires at the end of Act 2 (Ex. 6.1) sing, in a four-part chorus more independently, in short imitative fragments.²⁰

Ex. 6.1 Bontempi-Peranda, *Dafne*, end of Act 2 Scene 5: shepherds Strefon (alto), Celindro (tenor), Zeladon (tenor), and Melindo (bass), continuo

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kommt und tra get zu - sam - men die hei - ßen Lie - bes - flam - men, die hei - ßen Lie - bes - flam - men, die hei - ßen Lie - bes - flam - men, die hei - ßen Lie - bes - flam - men.

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flam - men, die hei - ßen Lie - bes - flam - men.

hei - ßen Lie - bes - flam - men, die hei - ßen Lie - bes - flam - men.

hei - ßen Lie - bes - flam - men, die hei - ßen Lie - bes - flam - men.

flam - men, die hei - ßen Lie - bes - flam - men.

Come and carry together the hot flame of love.

²⁰ All excerpts from the Bontempi-Peranda *Dafne* are drawn from Wilsdorf's edition. Cf. n. 4 above.

Indeed, the polyphonic chorus occurs at least as frequently in this *Dafne* as any other type of multi-voice setting does.

The opera's first hymn-like moment occurs at the end of the penultimate act (Act 4) (see Ex. 6.2).²¹ This setting highlights what might be regarded as the first article of faith in Lutheran theology, namely that human will is powerless in matters of spirit: worldly creatures cannot oppose divine love. The "subject" of the next hymn-like moment, the last number and final "message" of the Bontempi-Peranda version, is logically correlated to this article of faith: reason demands that we engage in earthly activities that do not oppose divine will (see Ex. 6.3). Here the theme is dutiful submission to God's appointed worldly authority, a virtue praised by Opitz in his dedicatory poem. On one level, the chorus merely seems to be asking for the prince's benefices. However, the placement of the chorus—its configuration within the context of the work as a whole—emphasizes another level of meaning. The chorus is a kind of pendant to the only other large-scale chorus in the opera (Ex. 6.4), which appears in the first act. This earlier semi-hymn-like seven-voice chorus (it is largely note-for-note, but faster moving) is the only moment in the work when gods are singing simultaneously.²² The theme here is also dutiful submission, this time to the God of gods, Jupiter. Thus the obedience in the later chorus (Ex. 6.3) is imbued with a divine attribute.²³

²¹ The smaller notes in the uppermost voice part represent editorial additions. Wilsdorf notes that the single manuscript source transmitting the music in some places contains empty staves, apparently indicating either that certain missing parts were unavailable to the copyist, or that the copyist "intended first to write down the important parts, in a way mapping out the frame of the opera, and then to add the inner voices at a later stage – failing, however, to complete this plan." See Wilsdorf, xiv. Curiously, Wilsdorf comments here only on missing instrumental parts. Presumably the same holds true, in her estimation, for missing vocal parts.

²² In both choruses, the grand scale and suggestions of *cori spezzati* are evocative of Schütz's polychoral concertato style.

²³ The choice of the phrase "viel Nutzen, viel Frommen" in the later chorus (Ex. 6.3) underscores this divine attribute. "Frommen," or "benefit," is obviously connected to "fromm," or "pious." As shown in Chapter 2, submission to worldly authorities was regarded as a sacred act. This was particularly true for Lutherans: since they did not recognize the authority of the pope, the highest earthly authorities—those appointed by God—were the political rulers.

Ex. 6.2 Bontempi-Peranda, *Dafne*, excerpt from Act 4 Scene 5: two unspecified instruments, shepherds Celindro (tenor), Zeladon (tenor), Melindo (bass), continuo

81

gleich,
Schar,

gleich,
Schar,

gleich,
Schar,

und die

kein Ding sei auf

Er - den, das nicht der...

Fel - der, die wer - den...

Fel - der, die wer - den...

6 7 4 # 4+ 5 6 4 #

85

— Lie - be weicht,
— es ge - wahr,

— Lie - be weicht,
— es ge - wahr,

— Lie - be weicht,
— es ge - wahr,

und kein Ding sei auf Er - den, das

die Au - en, Ber - ge, Fel - der, die

die Au - en, Ber - ge, Fel - der, die

die Au - en, Ber - ge, Fel - der, die

6 6 5 4 # #

1. So muß man inne werden,
daß nichts sich ihnen gleicht,
und kein Ding sei auf Erden,
das nicht der Liebe weicht.

So one must recognize
that nothing compares to them [the gods],
and there is nothing on earth
that does not yield to love.

2. Auch selbst die grünen Wälder
mit ihrer bunten Schar,
die Auen, Berge, Felder,
die werden es gewahr.

Even the green forests
with their colorful flock,
the meadows, mountains, fields,
become aware of it.

Ex. 6.3 Bontempi-Peranda, *Dafne*, end of Act 5 Scene 7: two unspecified instruments, nymphs Calliope (soprano), Cassandra (soprano), shepherds Strefon (alto), Zeladon (tenor), Celindro (tenor), Melindo (bass), continuo

75

Nut - zen, viel Nut - zen viel From - men, viel Nut - zen und viel -
 viel From - men, viel Nut - zen, viel From - men, viel Nut - zen und viel -
 viel From - men, viel Nut - zen, viel From - men, viel Nut - zen und viel -
 Nut - zen, viel Nut - zen, viel From - men, viel Nut - zen und viel -
 Nut - zen viel From - men, viel Nut - zen und viel -
 viel From - men, viel From - men, viel Nut - zen und viel -

7

78

From men, viel Nut - zen und viel - From men.
 From men, viel Nut - zen und viel - From men.
 From men, viel Nut - zen und viel - From men.
 From - men, viel Nut - zen und viel - From - men.
 From - men, viel Nut - zen und viel - From men.
 From - men, viel Nut - zen und viel - From men.

7 6
5

Es lebe wohl der Sachsenheld!
 Es blühe wohl sein Land und Feld!
 Es grüne stets, stets vollkommen!
 Es schaffe dieses Fürsten Gunst

May the Saxon hero live well!
 May his land and field bloom well!
 May it be always completely green!
 May the favor of this prince bestow

der Untertanen viel Nutzen und viel
Frommen.

on his subjects much profit and much
benefit.

Ex. 6.4 Bontempi-Peranda, *Dafne*, excerpt from Act 1 Scene 1: Venus (soprano), Pallas (soprano),
Minerva (soprano), Juno (alto), Bacchus (tenor), Mars (tenor), Saturnus (bass), continuo

196

fiehl, was du willst, wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - chen, wir sind wil - lig, -
 fiehl, was du willst, wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - chen, wir sind wil - lig,
 fiehl, was du willst, wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - chen, wir sind
 fiehl, was du willst, wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - chen, wir sind
 wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - chen, wir sind wil - lig,
 wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - chen, wir sind
 wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - chen, wir sind

6/5 6/5 4

199

Das Chor der Götter fahren hinweg bis auf Cupido.

wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - horch - - - chen.
 wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - - - chen.
 wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - - - chen.
 wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - - - chen.
 wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - - - chen.
 wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - - - chen.
 wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig, wir sind wil - lig zu ge - hor - - - chen.

7/4 6/4 5

Deine Worte sind nur Donnerkeile,
 du großer Jupiter,
 befehl, was du willst,
 wir sind willig zu gehorchen.

Your words are but thunder bolts,
 you great Jupiter,
 command what you will,
 we are willing to obey.

Perhaps it is not unreasonable to ask whether the use of the hymn-like chorus to underscore Protestant virtues in this later German *Dafne* reflects the influence of Schütz's setting of 44 years earlier. Bontempi and Peranda, who both worked closely with Schütz at the Dresden court, certainly could have had access to his score.²⁴ And Schütz would surely have had a professional (as well as confessional) interest in supporting the Germanic project of Johann Georg I, as well as that of Martin Opitz, with whom he frequently collaborated.²⁵ Maybe the hymn-like Görlitz example (Ex. 3.1) connected to Schütz is in some way representative of Schütz's setting after all, even if it is not an entirely accurate copy. If so, Bontempi and Peranda may have chosen to retain not only some of Opitz's key ideological content, but also Schütz's manner of highlighting that content musically.

Be that as it may, the Bontempi-Peranda *Dafne* nonetheless contains much that is dependent on neither Opitz nor, presumably, Schütz. The most obvious changes involve the addition of new characters. These include, most prominently, Jäckel ("ein Sackpfeifer") and Kätha ("des Sackpfeifers Liebste"), Chremes (father of Kätha), the nymphs Calliope and Cassandra, and the shepherds Strefon, Celindro, Zeladon, and Melindo.²⁶ These new characters add "another level to the pastoral and mythological

²⁴ They certainly would have been familiar with Schütz's sacred concerti too. As noted above, Bontempi and Peranda's choruses show some traits of Schütz's polychoral style. (See Ex. 6.3 and Ex. 6.4.)

²⁵ See Chapter 3 for a discussion of Johann Georg's Germanic project.

²⁶ There are nymphs and shepherds in Opitz's version too, but here they are named and given specific roles (and music). There are other new characters in the Bontempi-Peranda version, including the gods Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Pallas, Mars, Bacchus, and Saturnus; a hunter; and the peasants Gretha, Urban, and Brose, as well as some silent players. Based on the length of time they are onstage and singing, however, the most important of these new characters are Jäckel, Kätha, Chremes, and the nymphs and shepherds named above. These additions clearly show the influence of Venetian opera, which was full of such rustic minor characters, though the association of bagpipers with vulgarity and revelry (Jäckel and Kätha, as we

worlds,” as Wilsdorf points out.²⁷ The drama thereby gains a significant degree of realism and “earthiness,” as compared to Opitz’s version.

Jäckel and Kätha are thoroughly human figures—rustics—whose love relationship in a sense represents the realization of Apollo’s desire. Kätha reciprocates Jäckel’s lust. The physical consummation of their desire is announced quite frankly. “My fortress has been entered. My virginity is gone,” sings Kätha to her father, who had hoped to protect her virtue.²⁸ This is a picture of human passion untempered by reason.²⁹ It contrasts sharply with the ideological duel between passion and reason played out on the Apollo / Daphne “level.”

The shepherds are likewise given to a degree of worldly passion not found in Opitz. They too desire Kätha. “We feel hot flames; your sweet lovely cheeks, which we wish to capture, are the fire that burns us” sings Celindro. Zeladon adds: “Our heart and insides almost fall away for love.” Kätha responds, again frankly (and, to modern sensibilities, vulgarly): “Surely you mean my sheath [“Scheide,” “vagina”], which drives you mad. I have [only] one and no other; Jäckel is entitled to it.”³⁰ Kätha does not reject the shepherds through an appeal to reason, as Daphne would. Rather, she simply accepts another, stronger, passion (for Jäckel). In the real world, Bontempi and Peranda seem to say, reason has little power. Humans are governed by passion. Even the nymphs, who in

shall see, tend toward the vulgar, and not merely rustic) may betray some northern influence. Cf. Pieter Breughel the Elder’s painting “Peasant Dance” (c. 1568) and Albrecht Dürer’s engraving “The Bagpiper” (1514), for instance. More on the Italian influence below.

²⁷ Wilsdorf, xvi.

²⁸ This exchange is from Act 5 Scene 4, which is headed: “Chremes, the old man, becomes infuriated because his daughter has become a whore” (“Chremes, der Alte, erbittert sich, das seine Tochter zur Hure worden”). In the score, the passage quoted above reads: “Meine Burg, die ist bestritten. Meine Jungferschaft ist hin.” See Bontempi and Peranda, *Dafne*, 175 and Ex. 6.5 below. In her Vorwort, Wilsdorf transcribes “bestritten” to “beschritten” (ix).

²⁹ Chremes, the father, represents ineffectual reason here.

³⁰ The exchange is from Act 3 Scene 4. Celindro: “Wir fühlen heiße Flammen, das Feuer, so uns brennt, sind deine süßen Liebeswangen, die wir wünschen zu umfassen.” . . . Zeladon: “Unser Herz und Eingeweide sinket fast vor Liebe hin.” Kätha: “Gelt, ihr meint meine Scheide, die euch kränket euren Sinn. Ich hab ein’ und keine mehr, die steht meinem Jäckel zu.” See Bontempi and Peranda, 121-122.

Wilsdorf's view represent "a virtuous counterweight to the shepherds' lost innocence," tend to characterize moral goodness in earthly terms.³¹ For example, Cassandra sings: "Virtue is the best man, certainly for the one who adopts it."³²

Bontempi and Peranda gave considerable weight to this new dramatic "level." Of the opera's 34 scenes, fully 25 are devoted to earthly characters. Musically, most of these scenes incorporate Italian generic traits, utilizing fragmented dialogic recitatives and occasional short arioso-like passages. The fifth-act exchange between Kätha and her father is characteristic of this approach (see Ex. 6.5). This exchange "behaves" like recitative, insofar as its sparse accompaniment allows a fairly free execution of a syllabic text whose setting imitates speech patterns. The opening "Kätha," for example, musically approximates the pitch and rhythm one might use in speaking, or calling, the name out. The text that follows—"hast du dich geändert und den Pfeifer lassen fahren"—likewise mimics spoken language, with the longer, stressed syllables ("ändert" and "fahren") given appropriate metric and agogic prominence. Yet there is a regularity underlying this dialogue that sets it apart from true recitative. Each character sings, in turn, phrases or pairs of phrases in tetrameter (or pentameter) with a regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables and frequent rhymes. There is also a clear musical articulation of the text's structure. The rhymed line endings—"ändert / "-schlendert" in measures 2 and 5, "fahren" / "Paaren" in measures 3-4 and 7, and so forth—are highlighted through "rhyming" rhythmic profiles. The alternation of voices is underscored harmonically as well, with a prominent cadence squarely marking the end of each character's phrase. In short, this number displays something of a stylistic mix

³¹ Wilsdorf, 16.

³² From the closing scene of Act 3: "Tugend ist der beste Mann, wohl dem, der sie nimmt an." See Bontempi and Peranda, 129.

between, on the one hand, Italianate recitative, with its evocation of naturalistic speech patterns, and, on the other, a Germanic predilection for poetic and musical uniformity.

Ex. 6.5 Bontempi-Peranda, *Dafne*, excerpt from Act 5 Scene 4: Chremes (bass), Katha (alto), continuo

Chremes, der Alte, erbittert sich, daß seine Tochter zur Hure worden.

CHREMES

KÄTHA

Kä - tha, hast du dich ge - än - dert und den Pfei - fer las - sen fah - ren? Ja, ich

Continuo

5

CHREMES

kom - me itzt ge - schlen - dert, wo man schlä - fet Paar bei Paa - ren, Hat der Teu - fel dich ge -

6 6 6 6 5 4 3

9

KÄTHA

rit - ten? Mei - ne Burg, die ist be - strit - ten. Mei - ne Jung - fer - schaft ist hin.

6 5 4 3

13

CHREMES

KÄTHA

CHREMES

Bist du nār - risch und ge - schos - sen? Nein, es ist für - wahr kein Pos - sen. Wel - cher,

17

KÄTHA

wel - cher Tä - ter und Ver - rä - ter - hat dich in - dies Leid ge - stürzt? ... Jäk - kel, Jäk - kel hat mich

7 6 6 5

21

CHREMES

KÄTHA

ab - ge - würtz. War dein Wil - le auch dar - bei? Un - ge - zwun - gen, frisch und frei

5 6th

Chremes, the old man, becomes infuriated, because his daughter has become a whore.

Chremes. Kätha, have you changed and sent the piper away?

Kätha. Yes, I now come sauntering from where one sleeps coupled in mating.

C. Did the devil ride you?

K. My fortress has been entered. My virginity is gone.

C. Are you foolish and insolent?

K. No, it is truly no joke.

C. What offender and traitor has thrown you into this grief?

K. Jäckel has seasoned me.

C. Was your will party to it?

K. Unforced, fresh and free . . .

Still, this lively exchange between Chremes and Kätha clearly owes more, in its dialogic function and procedures, to recitative than to the strophic song forms used in the dialogues—and, indeed, in all sorts of dramatic settings—of *Seelewig*.³³ Thus, Wilsdorf regards the more naturalistic “speech” in the Bontempi-Peranda *Dafne* as a “direct homage to the Italian opera and a marked departure from the *German Singspiel* [sic], which, beginning with Staden’s *Seelewig*, preferred the self-contained song form.”³⁴ Despite its “German” moments, the *Dafne* of Bontempi and Peranda is weighted to a large degree toward Italian naturalism and realism, both musically and conceptually.

Rather than representing a departure from *Seelewig*, though, this *Dafne* merely continues and develops further some of the characteristics of German opera’s original paradigm, the adaptation.³⁵ It adopts the pastoral genre and the mythological plot. It humanizes the story to an even greater degree than in the Opitz-Schütz *Dafne*, producing stronger empathy in the viewers. Its increased secularism minimizes the spiritual dimension. Allegory seems even less important here; the work’s message concerns mortal life, though there is a kind of disconnect between the moral lessons “preached” by the chorus and the behaviors “practiced” by the earthly characters. A sense of optimism

³³ Cf. examples 4.2, 4.3, and 4.6.

³⁴ Wilsdorf, xvi.

³⁵ This is not to minimize the many important differences between the later *Dafne* and *Seelewig*, but simply to acknowledge the continuity (and distinctions) between this *Dafne* and its direct model, the Opitz-Schütz version.

or cheerfulness persists here, especially among the humans, but it seems to be based more on the enjoyment of sensual pleasure than on the idealistic notion that reason can rein in the power of passion.

In brief, this adaptation is less idealistic, more realistic, and, arguably, more effective dramatically than the Opitz-Schütz *Dafne*. Though there is something of a stylistic mix of the Italian and the German, the Italian side predominates, both conceptually and musically. Aside from the fact that the work's creators were Italian, this blend can certainly be attributed, in part, to "changed demands on staged musical presentations," as Wilsdorf points out.³⁶ It is perhaps inevitable that, as Italian opera became increasingly popular in the north, the German adaptation would ultimately yield a largely Italian product. Clearly this paradigm could have but little lasting effect on the further development of German opera.³⁷

The Spiritual Pastoral: *Die triumphirende Treu*

At first glance, Johann Löhner's *Die triumphirende Treu* might appear to manifest the Trauerspiel paradigm, or perhaps the conventional pastoral of Italian opera, rather than the spiritual pastoral of the Nuremberg school. The list of characters, for example, includes both seemingly historical figures—Anaxander, king of Sicily, with retinue—and characters from Greek mythology, such as Venus, Cupid, and the sirens.³⁸ As in the Trauerspiel, there is a realistic plot with great cathartic power. Also, the forward

³⁶ Ibid., xvi.

³⁷ Of course, one might argue that stylistic amalgamation is itself indicative of "Germanness" in opera. In the case of the adaptation, however, the emphasis does not seem to be on the inclusion of German elements as equal "partners" to the Italian. Rather, over time the use of the moralizing chorus, the folk-like strophic tune and so forth tend to be minimized in adaptations to the point of practical irrelevance.

³⁸ Historical subjects, again, were popular with the creators of Trauerspiele, while traditional mythical figures were typically adopted in early Italian opera. The poets of the Nuremberg school sometimes invented new characters and plots for their spiritual pastorals, partly out of a desire to distinguish their work from that of the Italians.

momentum of the drama is interrupted periodically by choruses that explicate theological messages embodied in the action. As in the Italian pastoral, on the other hand, there is the “traditional criticism of culture,” as Werner Braun puts it, which favors the “freedom and naturalness” of “solitude” above the “over-civilized court,” with its “false appearance[s]” and “luxurious foreign delicacies.”³⁹

Musically, Löhner’s opera also seems, at first, somewhat removed from the Teutonic world of *Seelewig*, with its pervasive short strophic songs and chorale-like settings. *Die triumphirende Treu* displays a comparative wealth of Italian forms, including recitatives, ariosi, and, especially, arias. The fluency of these forms (relative to the “unnaturalness” of Staden’s songs⁴⁰) suits well the work’s emphasis on dramatic realism. On the whole, then, there seems to be much here that places *Die triumphirende Treu* at odds with the aims of the Nuremberg school, at least outwardly. Not that this school, or its official organ, the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz, would have had any special claims on the work of Löhner. Though a lifelong resident of Nuremberg, Löhner (1645-1705), born into the artisan class, could have had only casual ties with the “Pegnitz-Schäfer,” who were largely nobility.⁴¹

Yet the Nuremberg literati, most notably Sigmund von Birken, did nonetheless exercise a certain influence on Löhner. In fact it was through Birken that Löhner received the commission for *Die triumphirende Treu*. As the Margrave Johann Friedrich of the Brandenburg-Ansbach court began planning an opera for a great “Familienfest” in

³⁹ Werner Braun, introduction to Johann Löhner, *Die triumphirende Treu*, ed. Werner Braun (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1984), xlv.

⁴⁰ The idea, again, is that Staden uses the naturalistic speech patterns of the recitative to symbolize the worldly. The songs and “hymns” that predominate in *Seelewig* ignore speech patterns and “unnaturally” prolong vowels, symbolizing the supernatural, or divine. See Chapter 4.

⁴¹ Harold E. Samuel, *The Cantata in Nuremberg during the Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 45, notes that Johann’s father was a “Röhrenmeister,” a “master of pipes.” The leader of the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz after Harsdörffer (who died in 1658, when Löhner was 13) was Sigmund von Birken, “royal crowned poet” (7). More on Birken below. On the Blumenorden of Nuremberg, see Chapter 4.

1679, he asked his contacts in Nuremberg to recommend a composer.⁴² Birken, the most well-placed of these contacts, suggested Löhner. The renowned poet had developed a particular fondness for the young composer that to an extent negated their differences in age and social standing.⁴³ And Birken apparently wanted to guide Löhner not only outwardly, in terms of career, but also inwardly, in terms of artistic ideals. Thus by introducing Löhner to the prominent Dresden poet-musician Constantin Christian Dedekind (1628-1715), Birken was not merely helping him establish professional connections. He was also attempting to “keep the musico-dramatic inclinations of his protégé,” as Braun puts it, “on the right track (on that of the spiritual-moralistic opera), with the help of the Dresden poet.”⁴⁴

With respect to this latter attempt, however, Dedekind as the Dresden connection might have been something of a mixed blessing. Though Dedekind clearly honored the sacred Germanic music of his erstwhile colleague Heinrich Schütz, he was also influenced by the current Kapellmeister Marco Peranda and Vice-Kapellmeister Giovanni Bontempi, both Italians.⁴⁵ And at least one of his “spiritual Singspiele,” *Simson*, was based on a Dutch model, a Trauerspiel no less.⁴⁶ The diverse and international Dedekind, then, was not necessarily the right person to keep Löhner on the “right track” of the “spiritual-moralistic opera” in the Nuremberg mold. If Löhner had any inclinations

⁴² Braun, x. Braun notes that Nuremberg had always been an “important music center for Ansbach” (“Nürnberg, dem für Ansbach stets wichtigen Musikzentrum”) (x).

⁴³ Braun, xiii, makes it clear, though, that they were not social equals: “In any case, the Birken-Löhner relationship consisted not in a collaboration of equals, but in the friendly personal meeting of two men of different age and different social rank under the conditions of a traditional civil culture” (“Jedenfalls bestand das Verhältnis Birken-Löhner nicht in der Zusammenarbeit von einander Ebenbürtigen, sondern in der freundschaftlich-persönlichen Begegnung zweier Männer unterschiedlichen Alters und unterschiedlichen gesellschaftlichen Ranges unter den Bedingungen einer traditionsreichen bürgerlichen Kultur”).

⁴⁴ Braun, xxii: “Birken wollte ihn durch Dedekinds sächsische Beziehungen fördern und die musikdramatischen Neigungen seines Schützlings mit Hilfe des Dresdener Dichters in den richtigen Bahnen halten (in denen der geistlich-moralischen Oper).”

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, xxiii.

⁴⁶ The model is by Jost van den Vondel. See Braun, xxiii n. 141.

toward Italian musical forms and realistic plots, they probably would not have been suppressed through Dresden influence, despite Birken's wishes.

Actually, there is some indication that such inclinations would have to have been encouraged, rather than suppressed. Löhner in fact seems to have been essentially attuned to the theological and musical ideals embodied in the Nuremberg spiritual pastoral. His study of Birken's writings "confirmed" his concept of "the spiritual song as the foundation of his own creation," according to Braun.⁴⁷ Löhner's "statement of principles from the 'Poetischen Andacht-Klang' (1673) 'Without singing / a song is as though dead; and without song or text the tone is an empty voice'," continues Braun, "was already voiced by Georg Philipp Harsdörffer in 1647 / 49 and corresponded well with the opinion of all 'Pegnitz-Blumengenossen'."⁴⁸

Perhaps Birken's concern about Löhner's artistic ideals was driven by the perception that the tastes of the Pegnitz-Schäfer were shifting. Birken, who according to Wade was even "more evangelical about his religious beliefs than . . . Harsdörffer,"⁴⁹ may have wished to form a kind of artistic alliance with Löhner that would "protect" his German religious ideals from the increasing "ecumenicism" of his younger Blumenorden "Genossen," who after 1675 began incorporating French and Italian styles in their

⁴⁷ Braun, xiii: "Er lernte aus Birkens Schriften . . . kennen [und] wurde . . . bestätigt—das geistliche Lied als Fundament des eigenen Schaffens." One of Birken's writings that was well known to Löhner was *Psyche*, with music by Georg Walch (d. 1656). Mara Wade calls this work an "allegorical musical drama" (193). Like *Seelewig*, its primary dramatic focus is on the condition of the soul; the original title even appends the phrase "educating the state of the soul" ("ausbildend den Zustand der Seele"), as Wade notes (191). *Psyche* was an important influence on Löhner, though according to Braun the younger composer preferred a "simpler song style" ("schlichteren Liedstil") to Walch's more "demanding compositions" ("anspruchsvollen Kompositionen") (xix-xx).

⁴⁸ Ibid., xiii: "Seine bekannte Grundsatzklärung aus dem 'Poetischen Andacht-Klang' (1673) 'Ohne Singweise / ist ein Lied wie todt; und ohne Lied oder Text ist der Thon eine leere Stimme,' war schon bei Georg Philipp Harsdörffer 1647 / 49 angeklungen und entsprach wohl der Meinung aller 'Pegnitz-Blumengenossen'." As it has been argued earlier (Chapter 4), the individual tone, for Harsdörffer, was "empty" ("leer") only in the sense that it, as the divine voice, is incomprehensible (empty of meaning) when not joined with imitative, "earthly" sounds. The same is obviously true for Löhner. The tone is the spirit that animates the text. Without it, the text is "as though dead" ("wie todt").

⁴⁹ Wade, 63.

“musico-dramatic activities.”⁵⁰ Löhner’s librettist Christian Heuchelin may have been party to this alliance too. In the preparation of the text for *Die triumphirende Treu* Heuchelin looked to Birken’s writings for guidance.⁵¹ Heuchelin also applied for membership in the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz, and was in fact accepted, in part on the strengths that Birken found in this libretto.⁵²

Heuchelin and Löhner created their opera for the Margrave in Ansbach, who had become enamored enough of Italian opera to devise plans for his own Italian opera house.⁵³ The composer and librettist would likely have been compelled to couch their German ideals, to an extent, within an Italian framework. Thus Braun speaks of Heuchelin (and by association Löhner) working on “two stages: on the actual courtly stage in Ansbach and on an unreal, metaphorical one, with the Nurembergers in the background.”⁵⁴ The generic tendencies that seem to place *Die triumphirende Treu* at odds with the ideals of Birken and Harsdörffer, then, are only outward tendencies. In its “interior”—the “place” that really mattered to the older members of the Nuremberg school—the work is a thoroughly Germanic spiritual pastoral in the *Seelewig* mold. Thus the principal characters, though ostensibly historical and particular, embody virtues or generalized states of the human soul.⁵⁵ The trajectory of the plot outlines a spiritual progress that seems more important than outward circumstances. This is primarily drama of the inner life.

⁵⁰ See Braun, xlvii, for a discussion of the Blumenorden’s “neue musik-dramatische Aktivitäten” between 1675 and 1682.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, xlv.

⁵² *Ibid.*, xxvii-xxviii.

⁵³ See Warrack, 31. The Italian operas, says Warrack, were sung in German.

⁵⁴ Braun, xxviii: “zwei Bühnen: auf der realen höfischen in Ansbach und auf einer irrealen, metaphorischen, mit den Nürnbergern im Hintergrund.”

⁵⁵ Braun, xlv, writes: “The figures of ‘Triumphirenden Treu’ have less a political-topical than a moralistic-general meaning” (“Die Figuren der ‘Triumphirenden Treu’ haben weniger politisch-aktuelle als moralisch-allgemeine Bedeutung”).

Briefly, the story is as follows.⁵⁶ Lisilla, a daughter of King Anaxander, falls in love with a prince named Philosander, who, on account of his virtuous qualities and noble standing, is held in high esteem by Anaxander and most of his court. The union of Lisilla and Philosander is opposed only by the king's distinguished counsel Cleobulus. Bribed by Lisander, another prince, Cleobulus attempts to prevent the marriage and bring about another pairing—Lisilla with Lisander—more advantageous to him. He persuades Anaxander that Philosander is undesirable. As a result, Anaxander sends Philosander off to fight in Barbary. Lisilla discovers Cleobulus's deceit. The king tries to force Lisilla to marry Lisander. Lisilla flees into the desert, where she unexpectedly finds passage to Barbary. After suffering many difficulties, she meets Philosander, now a high-ranking officer. They decide to return to her father's court disguised as slaves. Upon discovering their mutual love (without discovering their identities), the king orders the two "slaves" to be married. Anaxander learns their true identities only after the wedding. He is overjoyed, for during the absence of Lisilla and Philosander he has discovered the plot of Lisander and Cleobulus.

That the main characters—Lisilla, Lisander, Cleobulus, Philosander, and Anaxander—embody states of the soul is made clear in two ways. First, Heuchelin begins the drama after much of the action outlined in the synopsis has taken place. Lisilla has fallen in love. Cleobulus and Lisander have performed their treachery. Philosander has been sent out of the country. Lisilla has fled. The drama begins with reflection, rather than action, and this sets the tone for the entire work. The generally reflective mode of plot exposition allows Heuchelin to define his characters clearly.

⁵⁶ The following plot summary is drawn from the synopsis by Heuchelin, which appears just before the "Vorspiel." See *Die triumphirende Treu*, lxvi.

What kinds of virtues and vices they possess is in a sense more important than what they do.

Even the scenes that present action tend to do so in a curiously indirect, or even allegorical, manner. In Act 2 Scene 5, for instance, the stage directions indicate that Cleobulus is to be pursued into the theater by “a dragon” (“ein Drach”), which kills him there.⁵⁷ In the following scene Anaxander enigmatically reflects on the dead Cleobulus: “How is it that you have not protected me, you mad dog / That you have repaid my great goodness with infidelity?”⁵⁸ Ostensibly this refers to the fact that Cleobulus made no attempt to protect the king from the dragon (which also pursued him, knocking him to the ground). On a deeper level, however, the king means something else. Anaxander continues, in the same scene: “Cleobul’s sweet mouth took me in, / Through his hypocritical appearance I have received this poison.”⁵⁹ Deceit is objectified here as something that poisons the soul. The king has been temporarily incapacitated by it; Cleobulus has been mortally wounded by it. On the most superficial level, what has taken place in this scene is that Anaxander has discovered Cleobulus’s falsehood and has killed him (or had him killed). Another dramatist might have portrayed this event in a direct, realistic manner. Heuchelin, though, is more interested in the inner meaning of the event, which is best projected through reflection.

Second, as each character is introduced into the drama, Heuchelin makes clear what that character represents spiritually. Thus Lisilla, the first character to appear in the drama, sings of her “faithfulness and honesty” (“Meiner Treu und Redlichkeit”).⁶⁰

⁵⁷ *Die triumphirende Treu*, lxxiv.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, lxxv: “Wie hast du toller Hund, dann mich auch nicht verschonet, / Daß du die hohe Güt, mit Untreu so belohnet?”

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, lxxv: “Cleobuls süsser Mund, der hat mich eingenommen, / Durch seinen Heuchel Schein hab ich diß Gifft bekommen.”

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, lxxviii.

Actually, in her opening monologue Lisilla also “labels” the other two members of the love triangle that dominates the drama: Philosander’s “pure soul” (“reine Seele”) possesses only “virtue” (“Tugend”). Lisander’s “desire” (“Begierde”) has produced not a single “praiseworthy deed” (“Ruhmbelobten That”). Faithfulness and Virtue thus contend with Desire. Lisander’s entrance, also in Act 1 Scene 1, is appropriately marked by discontent and inconstancy, contrasting with Lisilla’s faithfulness, or constancy. Following Lisilla into an isolated wilderness—“a forest and a sea”—Lisander sings: “Oh! there is nothing to see here / But mad frothy wave and kiss of wild flood / A place full of loneliness, sadness, and annoyance.”⁶¹

The close juxtaposition of, and contrast between, Lisilla and Lisander in this opening scene brings to mind the polar opposition of *Seelewig* and *Trügewalt* in *Seelewig*. Heuchelin, a member of the Blumenorden an der Pegnitz and a confirmed proponent of its older traditions, surely must have been familiar with *Seelewig*. Lisander’s subsequent song (still in Act 1 Scene 1) seems to be almost a direct reference to *Trügewalt*’s plaint in Act 1 Scene 6 of *Seelewig*:

Lisander:
 Tell me, you rocks, you forests, you meadows,
 Where you will still see Lisilla;
 Tell me, you floods and inform her,
 That in fleeing she will find no rest.⁶²

Trügewalt:
 Rustling forest and dark meadow,
 Tell me where *Seelewig* lies hidden! . . .

Branched bushes and shadowy meadow,
 Tell me where *Seelewig* rests hidden!⁶³

⁶¹ Ibid., lxviii: “Ach! hier ist nichts zu sehen, / Als toller Wellenschaum, und wilder Fluten kuß / Ein Ort voll Einsamkeit, voll traurens und Verdruß.”

⁶² Ibid.: “Saget, ihr Felsen, ihr Wälder, ihr Auen, / Wo ihr noch werdet Lisillen beschauen; / Saget, ihr Fluten, und bringet ihr zu, / Daß sie mit Fliehen nicht finde die Ruh.”

⁶³ See Appendix B.

Heuchelin portrays an opposition between Lisilla and Lisander (faithfulness and desire) that strongly echoes Harsdörffer's opposition between Seelewig and Trügewalt (spiritual purity and worldly corruption). Clearly *Die triumphirende Treu* is a drama of the soul, despite its comparatively realistic trappings (relative to *Seelewig*).

The soul that "progresses" in this work, though, is not Lisilla, but Anaxander. Lisilla (faithfulness) and Lisander (desire) are constant throughout the drama. Anaxander is not. As noted above, he is "poisoned" by deceit, but recovers. The introduction of this character, in Act 2 Scene 1, consequently projects vulnerability and the potential for improvement. His opening monologue begins: "I gladly admit that of many wise eyes, / Many are better suited to counsel and to seeing."⁶⁴ The monologue ends: "Go! quickly summon to me Cleobul and Cleander. So that they can give me their counsel together."⁶⁵ Anaxander is open to new ideas, and therefore improvement, but is also vulnerable to bad advice.

The remaining main characters are, like Lisilla and Lisander, constant throughout. With a single line in Act 2 Scene 2, his first line, Cleobulus reveals his double-dealing stripes. Responding to Anaxander's plea for counsel concerning his daughter, Cleobulus sings: "I might know some further advice, but it should be given in secret."⁶⁶ Shortly thereafter, in Act 2 Scene 3, he expands on this duplicity: "A wise ship owner . . . gave in to the waves, allowed himself to be led by them, / Through unaccustomed ways, until everyone could perceive / That it is better to give in to the fury of the waves, / Than to

⁶⁴ *Die triumphirende Treu*, lxxiii: "Ich stimme gerne bey, daß vieler klugen Augen, / Viel besser zu dem Raht, und auch zum sehen taugen."

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, lxxiii: "Geht! holet mir geschwind, Cleobul und Cleander. / Daß sie mir ihren Raht ertheilen miteinander."

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, lxxiii: "Ich wüste noch ein Raht, doch in geheim zu rahten."

strive against them with the compass.”⁶⁷ The guidelines of “the right and law” (“Der Rechten und Gesetz”) need not always be followed. The end can justify the means of falsehood, says Cleobulus. Deceit, as we have seen, fatally corrupts him. Philosopher, finally, also “announces” his character trait—virtue—with his first entrance, which occurs in Act 3 Scene 6. Here he pronounces condemnation on a spy. His strong stand against “falsely concealed appearance” (“falsch verdeckten Schein”) pointedly sets him apart from Cleobulus.

In general, then, librettist Heuchelin provides easy access to the interiority of the drama, even while the drama unfolds. The reflective mode of exposition and the rather obvious indications of what each character represents both contribute to the unavoidable perception of this work as a spiritual drama. The mythological characters—Fatum (fate), Venus, Cupid, Neptune, and the three sirens—add to this perception. These figures appear only in choruses and chorus-like moments. That is, their function is to explicate and comment on Heuchelin’s moral messages. They do not participate directly in the action.⁶⁸

Outwardly, this conflates hallmarks of the other two paradigms. The mythological figures of Italian opera become, as it were, the Reyen-like chorus of the Trauerspiel. In the end, though, the “mythological chorus” has little connection, dramaturgically, with either Italian opera or the Trauerspiel. On the one hand, these mythological figures neither interact with nor represent humans, as they variously do in Italian opera. On the other hand, this kind of chorus is not essential to the work in the

⁶⁷ Ibid: “Ein kluger Schiff-Patron . . . gab den Wellen nach, ließ sich von ihnen führen, / Durch ungewohnte Weg, biß jeder kunt verspüren, / Daß besser sey dem Grimm, der Wellen sich ergeben, / Als nach dem SeeCompaß, denselben widerstreben.”

⁶⁸ The only exception to the commenting role occurs in the Vorspiel, or Prologue, where Venus, Cupid, and Neptune set the stage for the drama in rather traditional fashion. Even here, though, these three figures come together as a chorus (at the end of the Vorspiel) to prepare the audience for the moral message: “We shall teach you,” they sing, “how one should venerate gods on earth.” See *ibid.*, lxvii: “Wir wollen euch lehren / Wie man auf Erden soll Götter verehren.”

same way that the Reyen is essential to the Trauerspiel (Gryphius's Trauerspiele, at any rate). It is not the main "explicator" of theological messages, for, as we have seen, Heuchelin's reflective mode of plot exposition provides insights into moral meaning throughout the work's unfolding. At most, the choruses of *Die triumphirende Treu* provide further theological emphasis and, sonically speaking, some important textural contrast. The mythological figures do lend a certain pastoral air to the work, yet their function as moral commentators only reinforces the work's generic identity as a spiritual pastoral of the Nuremberg school. The pastoral as "traditional criticism of culture" does not figure in this work to the extent that Braun suggests. Indeed, the opera's resolution occurs in the "over-civilized" court, rather than in some rural paradise.⁶⁹ The pastoral haven here is, again, spiritual.

Musically, *Die triumphirende Treu* is also closer to the Teutonic world of *Seelewig* than it might seem at first. The recitatives, ariosi, and arias are essentially the work of a German "song composer," as Braun observes.⁷⁰ Harold Samuel also notes that the arias are "strophic songs in the same style as [Löhner's] sacred works in this form."⁷¹ Löhner's "Italian" forms, then, represent more a nod to current taste at Ansbach than a bona fide attempt to replicate the fluency and naturalness of Italian opera. Thus, beside the strophic, folk-like "arias" we typically find recitatives that display a motivic and rhythmic conformity to some song-like model. Rather than allowing the text to govern the musical vehicle utterly—an approach that naturally yields a variety of musical

⁶⁹ Cf. n. 39 above.

⁷⁰ Braun, xlvi: "Das Werk eines Liedkomponisten."

⁷¹ See "Löhner, Johann," article in *New Grove*, 2nd ed., vol. 15, 80-81. Samuel also discusses here the folk-like style of Löhner's short strophic settings, which are "like those of other members of the Nuremberg school."

gestures—Löhner seeks to establish musical unity among his recitatives and arias through certain recurring melodic outlines.⁷²

The sequence of numbers leading to and including Philosander's aria in Act 3 Scene 7 displays this essentially musical (as opposed to text-driven) approach. The first of these numbers, Act 3 Scene 5, employs a dialogic recitative between two soldiers and Lisilla, in *Barbary* (see Ex. 6.6).⁷³ The soldiers are questioning what business Lisilla has in *Barbary*. The melodic contour of this passage over an extended continuo G traces a prominent ascending fourth, from D to G, through A (measures 3 and 4), B-flat (measure 5), and then back down to G (measure 6), with a dotted rhythmic figure and leading tone (F-sharp) marking an implied cadence in G minor. The strange dissonance in measure 3 (A against G) and the curious juxtaposition of modes—from a presumed G major in the opening to G minor in bar 5—express Lisilla's uncomfortable position with respect to her immediate surroundings.

⁷² It is not clear whether this attempt at musical unity represents a conscious “misreading” of the Italian style, or whether Löhner was incapable of emulating the freedom of recitative.

⁷³ All musical examples from *Die triumphirende Treu* are excerpted from Werner Braun's edition. Cf. n. 39 above. It should be acknowledged that Löhner is perhaps somewhat closer to Italian recitative in the numbers discussed below than Bontempi and Peranda are in their *Dafne*. The texts for examples 6.6, 6.7, and 6.8 possess more unequal lines and less rhyme, and their settings are characterized by greater rhythmic variety. Still, as argued below, their musical connections to the following strophic aria (Ex. 6.9, in trochaic tetrameter with rhyme scheme abab) suggests a primarily musical approach.

Ex. 6.6 Löhner, *Die triumphirende Treu*, excerpt from Act 3 Scene 5

[2 Soldaten kommen herein.]

1. Soldat



Was habt Ihr hier zu schaf - fen? Was habt Ihr bei der

Lisilla 5



Ich komm aus frem - den Land, ein

Wacht so g'nau Euch um - zu - gaf - fen? Wer hat Euch her - ge - bracht?

22,9



aus - er - wähl - tes Pfand zu su - chen,

[2 soldiers enter.]

First soldier. What business do you have here? What exactly are you gaping at here on the watch?
Who brought you here?

Lisilla. I come from a foreign land to seek a chosen pledge, . . .

The next number (Scene 6) marks Philosander's first appearance in the opera, where he evinces virtue (text discussed above) (see Ex. 6.7).

Ex. 6.7 Löhner, *Die triumphirende Treu*, Act 3 Scene 6

*Die Kriegs-Officierer kommen zusammen, sich zu beratschlagen über den vermeinten Spionen.
Philosander befindet sich unter diesen Officierern und redet die andern also an:*

Philosander

Es wird be - reits be - kannt dem gan - zen Lä - ger sein, daß man nächst an der Wacht in

falsch ver - deck - ten Schein, wie man ver - mut', er - tappt ein Weibs - bild, die zu

fra - gen, wie sie das küh - ne Stück an uns hat dür - fen wa - gen. Geht, bringt sie ei - lend

her, da - mit man mö - ge hö - ren, was sie zu ih - rem Tod noch meh - rer mög be - schwe - ren!

The military officers meet to discuss the supposed spy. Philosander appears among these officers and speaks to them thus:

It is already known to the entire camp that on the watch an evil woman, supposedly in falsely covered appearance, is being held and interrogated about how she might have dared such a bold action on us. Go, bring her here quickly, so we can hear what more she might complain about concerning her death.

The opening of this recitative traces the same melodic contour, transposed up a fourth to the “virtuous” key of C, brightened by a shift to the major modality. There is the typical, prominent ascending fourth in the first measure, followed (in the second measure) by an ascent through D to E, and then a rounding off (in the third measure) through a descent

back to C, with the introduction of the leading tone and dotted rhythm again marking an implied cadence (this time in C major). The unambiguous modality and comparatively clear, “logical” harmonic progression (notwithstanding the peculiar anticipatory E in measure 11, against an F in the bass), with a real cadence in C at the end, underscore Philosander’s confident, resolute attitude. That the melodic contour would resemble that of the previous number—beyond the mannerism of the opening fourth—is telling: despite the scene’s starkly contrasting dramatic content (*vis-à-vis* the previous scene), Löhner nonetheless established a purely musical connection to the preceding number.

The sense of melodic continuity extends into the next recitative (in Scene 7), which dramatizes Philosander’s surprise and disbelief at the sight of Lisilla, and the officers’ reaction to Philosander’s shock (see Ex. 6.8).

Ex. 6.8 Löhner, *Die triumphirende Treu*, excerpt from Act 3 Scene 7

Die Knechte bringen Lisillam.

Philosander *(Fällt in eine Ohnmacht zu Boden.)*

23,4

Die andern Officierer 5

Was? Kann sie durch den Strahl der Au - gen nur er - stik - ken? Weg mit dem Bö - se -

Was? Kann sie durch den Strahl der Au - gen nur er - stik - ken? Weg mit dem Bö - se -

*The servants bring Lisilla.
(Falls in helplessness to the ground.)*

Philosander. O Heaven, what is that, where do these glances come from?
The other officers. What? Can she choke someone with only a flash of the eyes? Away with the villain . . .

This recitative does not trace the melodic contour of the previous two numbers in its entirety, but it does display that melody's most prominent characteristics: the ascent (a perfect fourth) followed by a descent that incorporates a lower neighbor into a dotted rhythmic pattern. This occurs in the first two measures (though the dotted pattern continues throughout). As in Ex. 6.6, it also expresses, through the affective use of dissonance, something of the characters' emotions. Here Philoander's shock and the officers' reaction are highlighted and intensified through the unprepared dissonances on the downbeat of bar 3 and on beat 3 of bar 5, respectively.

The following aria, finally (still in Scene 7), in which Philoander reflects on his beloved Lisilla and his disbelief that she has actually appeared, continues, and in a sense culminates, the trend (see Ex. 6.9). Here we see the melodic contour that dominates the previous three numbers given, as it were, in its most straightforward fashion in the first measure: the ascending fourth, D-G, a continued ascent to B-flat, a descent back to G, and the introduction of a dotted rhythm and leading tone suggesting a cadence in G minor. This musical idea provides most of the material for the rest of this short, strophic song, as it does for the preceding numbers. It is as if Löhner had the tune of this "aria" in mind while composing the recitatives leading up to it. These numbers preceding the aria thus display considerable musical unity, despite their quite varied textual and dramatic content.

This may well owe something to the preferencing of non-verbal sound characteristic of the Nuremberg school. Though we do not see here the use of vowel sounds to represent the divine, as we find in Harsdörffer and Staden, there is a sense that non-verbal sound dominates the text, or is at least raised to the status of equal participant

in the exposition of the drama. Thus we see that more than half of the aria in Ex. 6.9 is performed by instruments alone.

Ex. 6.9 Löhner, *Die triumphirende Treu*, aria from Act 3 Scene 7

Aria

Violine

Viola

Philoſander

Generalbaß

1680: 1680:

1. Scher - zet nicht, ... ihr Göt - ter, scher - zet im - mer nur mit Eu - rem Knecht,

23.7

5 1680:

pla - get nicht mit... dem, was schmer - zet durch ein Spie - gel schein - ge - fecht!

Ex. 6.9 continued

23,9

Do not jest, you gods, do not forever jest only with your servant, do not burden him with painful things through combat with a mirrored appearance!

And the choruses that further emphasize theological messages do tend to be set in chorale-like fashion (see Ex. 6.10), with a tendency to prolong vowels “unnaturally,” as in Harsdörffer.

Ex. 6.10 Löhner, *Die triumphirende Treu*, Act 1 Scene 8

3 Sirenen

1. Es bleibt nie - mals un - ge - ro - chen, wann man will die Göt - ter po - chen.

Göt - ter - rach gar bald sich übt, wo man rei - ne Lieb be - trübt.

11,6

11,7

It never remains unavenged, when one wants to oppose the gods. Divine vengeance is promptly bestowed, when pure love is grieved.

For audiences whose tastes were increasingly defined by Italian opera, the Nuremberg style could obviously not long satisfy. Its preoccupations with the internal and with pure sound simply were not conducive to realism, dramatically or musically. *Die triumphirende Treu* may represent an attempt at a stylistic mix, but to the extent that it adheres to the paradigm of the spiritual pastoral, its “Italianness” seems a mere façade. The path to a truer mix and ultimately more fruitful model for German opera would depend on the Trauerspiel.

The Trauerspiel Paradigm: *Die beständige Argenia*

In 1662 Magnus Gabriel De la Gardie, chancellor of Sweden, established a trade agreement with France.⁷⁴ As part of the deal France would pay subsidies to secure Swedish aid in future warfare. Sweden thereby became committed in 1674 to supporting Louis XIV’s various attempts to dominate northern German territories surrounding Bremen, Hamburg, and Brandenburg, as well as Holland and Denmark. The Swedish king Karl XI won an important battle with Denmark at Lund in 1676, yet Sweden’s enforced military engagement was to continue, especially with Denmark, until 1679. This involvement in warfare discredited De la Gardie and his policies, enabling Johan Gyllenstierna to gain influence at the Swedish court. Gyllenstierna favored alliance with Denmark, and in fact procured the Danish princess Ulrica Eleonora, sister to the Danish king, as bride for Karl XI in 1679.

⁷⁴ Franklin D. Scott, *Sweden: The Nation’s History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 213. The following overview of the political circumstances behind *Die beständige Argenia* is drawn from Scott, 213-214.

The resulting peace between Sweden and Denmark was the *raison d'être* behind Johann Valentin Meder's opera *Die beständige Argenia*. In his dedication, Meder (1649-1719) speaks of his "joy" ("Freude") over the "God-given peace" ("von Gott verliehenen Frieden").⁷⁵ The work is dedicated to the newly married couple, who would certainly have recognized their own situation in the story. Briefly, the plot unfolds as follows.⁷⁶ Thrace is at war with Licia. Arsetes, minister to the Thracian king Lisander, travels to Licia in attempt to gain, for Lisander, the hand of Princess Argenia. The Lician king Cleander, brother of Argenia, agrees to the marriage. As Arsetes returns to Thrace with the good news, Cleander is persuaded by his evil counsel Cacoblethes that Lisander is against him. The marriage is cancelled and the fighting continues. Argenia, however, remains constant in her love for Lisander. She is consoled by the goddess Irene, who predicts peace between the warring nations. Cleander discovers Cacoblethes' treachery and agrees again to the marriage. Lisander and Argenia are united. Peace reigns between the two countries.

Clearly Thrace and Licia are meant to represent Sweden and Denmark, respectively. Arsetes is Gyllenstierna, Lisander is Karl XI, Argenia is Ulrica Eleonora, and Cleander is the Danish king, Ulrica's brother.⁷⁷ The direct experience of Karl XI and Ulrica Eleonora is thus dramatized in Meder's opera. It is not clear how Meder came to choose the names and locations that he did. Lisander (Lysander) is a historical figure, a

⁷⁵ See Johann Valentin Meder, *Die beständige Argenia*, ed. Werner Braun in *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* 68 (Mainz: Schott, 1973), 10. In his Vorwort, Braun notes that the work was intended for the "entrance of the royal couple in Stockholm" ("des Einzugs des königlichen Paars in Stockholm"), but that it was in fact premiered later in Reval, in 1680 (5). The author of the text is unknown, though Werner Braun, in his article "Meder, Johann Valentin" in *MGG Personenteil* 11, 1445, writes that Meder "apparently also wrote the libretto" ("*Die beständige Argenia* [Reval 1680], für das er offensichtlich auch das Libretto geschrieben hatte").

⁷⁶ The following overview is drawn from the "Inhalt des Spiels," which appears in the score, just before the "Ouvverture" (see Meder, 11), and from the drama itself.

⁷⁷ See Braun's Vorwort to Meder, 6-7, for a discussion of these connections. Braun also points out that "Libia," mentioned in the third act, refers to France, and that the extensive battle scene at the beginning of the fourth act probably represents the Swedish victory at Lund (7). More on the battle scene below.

Spartan commander from the time of the Peloponnesian War, as Braun notes.⁷⁸ Lisander and Cleander, though, also appear in Löhner's *Die triumphirende Treu*, and both names "belong to the Baroque shepherd [i.e., pastoral] world."⁷⁹ Cacoblethes and Argenia are even further removed from historical reality. In Greek, the former means "bad counsel," the latter "white."⁸⁰ Meder seems to have chosen these names more for their representational qualities than for their historical specificity. The story is no less historical because of that, though Meder's names do add a suggestive allegorical level that is reminiscent of Nuremberg practices.⁸¹

The dramatization of actual, historical events is one of the features that obviously distinguish this work paradigmatically from *Dafne* and *Die triumphirende Treu*. The historical plot links *Die beständige Argenia* with the Trauerspiel. Nor is this link weakened by the happy ending. The bulk of the opera in fact conforms to Martin Opitz's description of the Trauerspiel: "Commands of kings, killings, despair . . . war and commotion, lamentation, weeping, sighing, and suchlike"⁸² constitute much of the drama of *Die beständige Argenia*. Thus in Act 1 Scene 1 King Lisander seeks to test the effectiveness of his command, questioning his minister Arsetes: "Werd ich das Verlangt' empfangen?" ("will I receive what I demand?"). In Act 1 Scene 7, the goddess Eris—"Discord," the sister of the war god Ares (Mars)—promises to wreak vengeance on both Thrace and Licia: "Ich will so häufig Blut vergießen, daß es wie Ströme hin soll fließen" ("I will spill blood so frequently that it shall flow away like rivers"). Cacoblethes sings of "Glut und Kriegesflammen" ("blazing heat and flames of war") in Act 2 Scene 12;

⁷⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 6: "gehören zur barocken Schäferwelt."

⁸⁰ Ibid., 6.

⁸¹ Braun makes this connection as well: "After the Nuremberg *Seelewig* of 1644, such meaningful-fantastical namings are not particularly surprising" ("Nach der Nürnberger *Seelewig* von 1644 überraschen solche sinnvoll-phantastischen Benennungen nicht sonderlich"). See *ibid.*, 6.

⁸² See Chapter 1.

Lisander reports of “Kriegen, Morden, Sengen, Brennen” (“wars, murders, scorplings, burnings”) in Act 3 Scene 6, and the whole of Act 4 is given over to the dramatization of the great battle between Thrace and Licia. The despair, weeping, and sighing that naturally attend such destruction is given poignant voice at the opening of Act 5, where Argenia laments the supposed death of Lisander. It is almost as if Meder were consciously infusing his opera with the typical features of Trauerspiel, as described by Martin Opitz.

The tragic mien begins to change only in Act 5 Scene 5, where Cleander discovers Cacoblethes’ underhandedness, and the fortunes of the young couple (and the countries they represent) begin to change. Meder in fact succumbs to what the Hamburg librettist / theorist Barthold Feind disdainfully acknowledged as the “contemporary tendency to present Trauerspiele with a happy ending.”⁸³ Considering the occasion for which the work was written, Meder of course had little choice regarding the happy ending. A sense of despair nonetheless permeates much of the work. To be sure, the generally bleak mood over the course of the drama is lightened to a degree by the occasional interjection of comic scenes. Yet, for the most part these scenes merely provide humorous commentary on what has taken place. They do not advance the plot. In this sense they stand outside of the drama.⁸⁴

The function of the comic scenes is twofold: the comic relief lends a sense of real life, as in Shakespeare (not everything is tragic, even in the midst of tragedy), and it heightens the potential for dramatic contrast. Meder exploits this potential to a

⁸³ See Hellmuth Christian Wolff, *Die Barockoper in Hamburg (1678-1738)* (Wolfenbüttel: Mösele Verlag, 1957), 45: “Bey unsern Zeiten ist die Gewohnheit, Trauer-Spiele mit einem frölichen Ausgange aufzuführen.” Wolff does not give the precise source of the quote. More on Feind below.

⁸⁴ The comedy scenes always involve Heluantes, servant to Arsetes, and, often, Argenia’s chamber maid Carinthia. The lecherous Heluantes bears a striking resemblance to Shakespeare’s Falstaff. More on possible Shakespearean influence below.

considerable degree. In most cases these scenes are juxtaposed directly before or after scenes of great dramatic and emotional import. Act 2 Scene 11, for instance, is a merry tit-for-tat between Heluantes, the wooer, and his reluctant quarry Carinthia. It includes this choice exchange:

Hel. Du allerliebstes Kind!	Hel. You most dear child!
Car. Du allergrößtes Rind!	Car. You most coarse bull!
Hel. Du schöne Augenweide!	Hel. You beautiful feast for the eyes!
Car. Du abgebrannte Heide!	Car. You burned up heath!
Hel. Du edles Zuckersüß!	Hel. You noble sugar-sweet!
Car. Du saurer Apfelbiß!	Car. You sour bite of apple! ⁸⁵

Act 2 Scene 10 is where Arsetes takes his leave from the Lician court to carry back to Lisander the good news that Argenia will be his bride. Act 2 Scene 12 begins with Cacoblethes' monologue on his intent to prolong the war with Thrace by deceiving Cleander about Lisander's plans. Meder amplifies the dramatic impact of Cacoblethes' disclosure by first extending the good will of Scene 10 into this playful merriment of Scene 11 with Heluantes and Carinthia. In Act 5 Scene 4 Heluantes' jollity directly offsets the sorrow of Argenia, who in Scene 3 bewails her apparent loss of Lisander:

Hel. Nun will ich mein Elend vergessen und Zucker und Mandelkern essen. Bier, Met und gut Rheinischer Wein die sollen mein Labsal 'fort sein.	Hel. Now I will forget my misery and eat sugar and almonds. Beer, mead and good Rhine wine shall be my immediate relief. ⁸⁶
--	---

On the whole, then, these comic scenes contribute both an enhanced realism and a heightened drama, even sublimity, to the work.⁸⁷ They do not detract from the prevailing

⁸⁵ Meder, 63.

⁸⁶ Meder, 133.

⁸⁷ Sublimity comes from an "artful ambiguity commensurate with the grandeur of thought" as well as from strong, often violent contrasts of subjects / scenes. Cf. Christine L. Oravec, "Sublime, The" in: Thomas O. Sloane, *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 758.

“Trauer” any more than Shakespeare’s comic scenes make his tragedies and histories less serious.

Die beständige Argenia also dramatizes aspects of the Heilsgeschichte, as Gryphius’s Trauerspiele do. In fact theology informs the work to a considerable degree. Much is made particularly of Lisander’s divine right to rule. In his first appearance, right after the Vorspiel, Lisander announces the source of his power: “Heaven, I know I am indebted to you during the day, at night, at all hours that I sit on my throne.”⁸⁸ In Act 2 Scene 4 Arsetes sings: “Yet heaven itself, first of all, will not begrudge what my king seeks.”⁸⁹ Accompanying this sense of divine appointment is the belief that Lisander’s engagement with Argenia has been ordained by God. In Act 2 Scene 6 Argenia sings, along with her mother Sophimene: “Yes, we will both be delighted at such a benefit that heaven, which we praise, sends to us from above.”⁹⁰

And in three different places—Act 2 Scene 7, Act 2 Scene 10, and Act 3 Scene 3—various supporters of the marriage sing a variant of the prayer ending, “Yes, amen, may that [the marriage] happen.”⁹¹ When the marriage and consequent peace between nations is accomplished, the hand of Providence is immediately acknowledged. In Act 5 Scene 8 Arsetes sings: “Since heaven (praise be to it!) has reconciled the high heads [of state] and crowned them with laurel . . . I kiss the hand of the princess.”⁹² Later, in Act 5 Scene 13, this praise of heaven is transformed into a more generalized thanksgiving, as

⁸⁸ Meder 24: “Himmel, ich weiß mich verbunden dir zu Tage, Nacht und Stunden, daß ich sitz’ auf meinem Thron.”

⁸⁹ Ibid., 43: “Doch wird’s der Himmel selbst zuvörderst nicht mißgönnen, das, was mein König sucht.”

⁹⁰ Ibid., 47-48: “Ja, wir wollen beidesteils uns erfreuen solches Heils, das der Himmel, den wir loben, uns abschenken läßt von oben.”

⁹¹ See *ibid.*, respectively: “Ja, amen, das wolle und solle geschehn” (50); “Ja, amen, das gescheh!” (61); and “Ja, ja, ja, ja, amen, das gescheh! ja, amen, das gescheh!” (76).

⁹² Ibid., 142: “Seit daß der Himmel (ihm sei Preis!) die hohen Häupter nun versöhnet und mit dem grünen Lorbeerreis . . . hat bekrönet: so küß ich der Prinzessin Hand.”

Argenia sings: “Heaven be thanked for its goodness, for it has freed us from the burden of cares!”⁹³

Thus, the drama is peppered with suggestions of a heavenly plan that drives the events of history (or at least the events of this particular history). These “suggestions” are made more specific in a number of passages that do not contribute to the exposition of the drama per se. Particularly important in this connection are the choruses of the Vorspiel and the “Schluß-Spiel.” In the former a chorus of gods sings praises to Lisander, as if the earthly king were somehow of a higher order: “May Lisander live long in continual pleasure; May happiness always embrace him.”⁹⁴ The chorus follows this with a pair of lines that evoke the biblical image of Christ enthroned in heaven as vanquisher of earthly corruption: “May his glorious throne stand in peace, unrest and warring lay in ruin.”⁹⁵ In the penultimate chorus of the final act—a “chorus of muses” divided, significantly, into three groups of three⁹⁶—Lisander (as Karl XI) is actually named “Göttersohn.”⁹⁷

With these rather obvious hints that Lisander is figured as Christ, Meder lends his history a deeper sacred meaning. Moments in the drama that could be interpreted literally take on allegorical significance. Thus, Lisander expressing his fears before battle in Act 3 Scene 9 might be read as Christ praying at Gethsemane for strength to carry out God’s plan (the battle against sin and death). “Heaven, let me further sense your staff of

⁹³ Ibid., 156: “Dem Himmel sei gedankt vor seine Gütigkeit, daß er uns von der Last der Sorgen hat befreit!”

⁹⁴ Ibid., 22-23: “Es lebe Lisander in stetem Vergnügen, es müsse sich allweg das Glück umb ihn fügen.”

⁹⁵ Ibid., 23: “Es stehe mit Frieden sein herrlicher Stuhl, Unfrieden und Kriegen die liegen im Pfuhl!” “Pfuhl,” often used in the compound “Sündenpfuhl” (“gutter of sin”), links the world’s “unrest and warring” with sin, which Christ has vanquished.

⁹⁶ The significance of this will be addressed below.

⁹⁷ See *ibid.*, 161.

protection and aid! Let me complete well what I have begun!”⁹⁸ he sings. The divinely ordained marriage of Lisander and Argenia allegorizes the union of Christ with the human soul. Argenia’s vow, in Act 2 Scene 8, to “love constantly and remain faithful” to Lisander instructs the audience in proper spiritual virtues.⁹⁹ Her appraisal of Lisander’s (Christ’s) value in the same scene, moreover, employs a comparison that displays a Pietistic distrust of the mundane: “So I respect your value much more highly than [that of] the world, since nothing remains that pleases my mind.”¹⁰⁰

In sum, there is much here that echoes the Trauerspiel. Meder’s work is at once a history play and a dramatization of divine Providence. The opera unfolds largely as a five-act tragedy, marked by a sense of realism and heightened drama. The forward momentum of the exposition is suspended from time to time by a series of “Vor-, Zwischen- und Nachspielen,” whose function is to explicate suggestive spiritual moments in the drama. And the “theology” of the work seems to lean toward a kind of Pietistic inwardness.

This latter tendency, in turn, may well be linked to the opera’s emphasis on instrumental music, in the same way that the “pre-Pietistic” inwardness of *Seelewig* is linked to the preferencing of non-verbal sound in that work. In general the orchestra figures much more prominently in *Die beständige Argenia* than it does in any other work examined in this study. Admittedly, non-continuo instruments are called for in fewer than half of the work’s scenes. Yet in each appearance they function as soloists; these

⁹⁸ Ibid., 84-85: “Himmel, laß nun ferner spüren deinen Schutz und Helfer-stab! Laß mich wohl . . . zum Ende führen, was ich angefangen hab!” Mark’s gospel tells of a “distressed and troubled” Christ at Gethsemane praying that “the hour [of tribulation] might pass from him.” Christ then bolsters his courage and resolves to complete his task, assigned by God: “Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee; remove this cup from me; yet not what I will, but what thou wilt.” See Mark 14: 32-36. See also Matthew 26: 37-46.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 56: “Ich liebe beständig und bleibe getreu.”

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 52: “So acht ich deinen Wert viel höher als die Welt, da nichts mehr übrig ist, was meinem Sinn gefällt.”

instruments are never merely accompanimental.¹⁰¹ In most cases the solo instruments play ritornelli in alternation with the vocal soloists. At times the material Meder composes for the ritornelli responds directly to—and further develops—various musico-linguistic ideas presented by the singers. This responsive or developmental use of instruments is heard, for example, in the aria of Act 1 Scene 3, where two Sirens praise the joys of love and companionship (see Ex. 6.11).

Ex. 6.11 Meder, *Die beständige Argenia*, Act 1 Scene 3

Zwo Sirenen

Aria à 2

I. Was ist doch bes - ser in der Welt, das Men - schen - her - zen kann ver - gnü - gen

I. Was ist doch bes - ser in der Welt, das Men - schen - her - zen kann ver - gnü - gen

5 6 6/4 5#

¹⁰¹ The instruments are not always specified, though Meder does use certain colors programmatically. Thus in the “Zwischenspiel” preceding Act 4—the great battle act—he calls for violins (quiet, harmonious) to accompany Irene, goddess of peace, and trumpets (brash, martial) to announce war.

Ex. 6.11 continued

5
und de - nen mei - sten wohl - ge - fällt, als wenn sich zwei zu - sam - men - fü - gen,
und de - nen mei - sten wohl - ge - fällt, als wenn sich zwei zu - sam - men - fü - gen,

die in der Lie - be sich er - get - zen si - cher - lich.
die in der Lie - be sich er - get - zen si - cher - lich.

Ritornello
10 15

6 4 # 6 4 # # 6 4 # 6 6 5 4 #

What is better in the world, which can give pleasure to the human heart, and most people like well, but when two join together, who take delight in love securely.¹⁰²

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For the ritornello, Meder uses not the beginning of the aria, but the passage beginning in measure 4, whose text in the first strophe speaks of two people joining together. The ritornello captures this thought in tones. Setting the soprano melody of bars 4 and 5 in

¹⁰² All musical examples from *Die beständige Argenia* are excerpted from Werner Braun's edition. Cf. n. 75 above.

canzona-like imitative polyphony, the instruments texturally give voice to two entities that progress from polyphonic separateness (beginning in measures 10 and 11) to the pleasing resolution of homophonic togetherness (measure 16, second half).

At other times Meder invents music for his ritornelli that functions as a “leitmotiv,” in the sense of a recurring idea that represents a specific character. Thus, the ritornello in King Cleander’s first appearance, in Act 2 Scene 1, has a more representational quality (see Ex. 6.12).

Ex. 6.12 Meder, *Die beständige Argenia*, excerpt from Act 2 Scene 1

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This melody relates only loosely to the earlier vocal music of the aria. The main connection is rhythmic. Yet the ritornello’s “motto”—dotted quarters followed by either a pair of sixteenths or a single eighth—seems as closely tied to the preceding overture (to Act 2), with its regal dotted figures, as it does to the vocal line.¹⁰³ Meder is less

¹⁰³ In the Vorwort to his edition, Braun implies a connection to overture in the French style, noting that Meder “knew French music (Sinfonia to the second ‘act’)” (“Er kannte die französische Musik (Sinfonia zur zweiten ‘Handlung’).” See Meder, 7. Indeed, Meder’s second-act overture does comprise two brief sections, the first a homophonic adagio with prominent dotted figures, the second an allegro with some imitation. Perhaps the French music familiar to Meder included Lully’s opera *Xerxes* (1660), which has a

concerned with making a textual connection here, in other words, and more concerned with creating music that displays something of Cleander's regal character. This character is revealed over the course of the drama, through Cleander's actions. The melodic contour of these four measures (Ex. 6.12) seems to foreshadow the overall path of these actions. The king responds positively to Lisander's suit at first, but then retreats, under the influence of Cacoblethes. Later he fulfills his promise, no longer under evil influence. Measure 9 of the ritornello begins with an optimistic rise and ends with the promise of a resolution to G. Measure 10 subverts the promise, returning the melody to where it began (D). Measures 11 and 12 emphatically reject the direction of measure 10, and fulfill the promise of measure 9 (ending on G in measure 12).

Cleander's strophic aria in Act 2 Scene 3 contains a strikingly similar ritornello (see Ex. 6.13). Though shorter, this melody does essentially the same thing. It rises, retreats, and then affirms the suggestion of its opening. It also employs a variation of the same rhythmic motto. Later, in Act 2 Scene 8, this pattern recurs in triple meter (see Ex. 6.14). Even with its metric and rhythmic alterations, the ritornello in this aria is bound to remind listeners of Cleander's earlier ritornello. The two instruments begin on precisely the same two pitches—B and D—as in the earlier ritornello. They proceed, as before, in thirds. And the overall contour of the later ritornello matches the contour of the ritornello in Scene 3 (Ex. 6.13) exactly. There is the ascent from D to G, and then the retreat back down to E, in measures 16-20 of Ex. 6.14 (measure 5 of Ex. 6.13). This is followed by the arch from G to C to G in measures 21-24 (measure 6 of Ex. 6.13).

Ex. 6.13 Meder, *Die beständige Argenia*, Act 2 Scene 3

Cleander

Aria

1. Him-mel, es ist zwar an dem, daß mir fast nicht un-ge-nehm die Ge-sandt-schaft, die sich-zei-get

und... zu... un- serm Ho- fe nei- get.

Ritornello

6 4 4

[Aria]

2. Nur wünsch ich von dei-ner Güt, daß all Un-heil werd ver-hüt', wel-ches aus der-gei-chen-Din-gen

oft-mals pfl-e-get zu ent-sprin-gen.

Ritornello

10 6 4 4

1. It is certainly due to heaven, that the legation, which shows itself and bows before our court, is almost acceptable.

2. I only desire from your goodness, that all disasters will be prevented, which often arise out of such things.

Ex. 6.14 Meder, *Die beständige Argenia*, excerpt from Act 2 Scene 8

Ritornello

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Clearly, Meder was interested in developing the expressive possibilities of instrumental music. Non-verbal tones were for him a means of representing, at times, a specific character and, at other times, the meaning of a particular segment of text. In both cases, instruments give voice to something internal: character is defined by a kind of inner consistency, something that is altered by outer circumstance, but not changed beyond recognition. Meaning exists within the subject; in relation to the physical text it is an internal phenomenon. That Meder connects this interiority (and its expression through non-verbal sound) to a kind of Pietistic religious sensibility becomes clearer as the opera proceeds. Lisander's Christ-like prayer for strength in Act 3 Scene 9 is followed, after a couple of brief intervening scenes, by an instrumental piece that proves to be the opera's most extensive single number. This multi-sectional "Sonata di Battaglia" both announces and enacts Lisander's (Christ's) battle (against sin), without recourse to words.¹⁰⁴

Later Meder uses instruments to express the anguish of the soul (Argenia) over its most serious adversary, death. In Act 5 Scene 1 Argenia bemoans the supposed "all-too-

¹⁰⁴ The sonata opens Act 4 and is repeated between the fourth and fifth scenes. With the repeat, the sonata occupies 18 of the score's 32 pages devoted to Act 4.

early death” (“allzufrüher Tod”) of Lisander.¹⁰⁵ Before this verbal pronouncement, however, the audience has already experienced her emotional state in an instrumental “Lamento” that opens Act 5 (see Ex. 6.15). This piece incorporates a range of affective techniques, including a generally downward movement (with a chromatic descent through the B to F-sharp tetrachord in the bass in measures 3-6), numerous chain-suspension “sighs” (over a sequential walking bass in measures 17-22), a series of tremolos (over the eighth notes),¹⁰⁶ and a gasping opening and closing gesture that suggests, through rests (the rhetorical “suspiratio”), discontinuity.

The emotion generated by the orchestra here requires only a quick clarification in relation to the plot. Argenia’s words at this crucial dramatic moment (Act 5 Scene 1) are accordingly brief (see Ex. 6.16). Meder does imbue the vocal line with expressive rhetorical techniques, including *suspiratio*, *repetitio*, and *isolating exclamatio*. The affective weight of these techniques, though, is greatly amplified by the instrumental music, which continues developing the emotion already established: the chromatic movement, now ascending, heightens the sense of anxiety; the slower harmonic motion prolongs the feeling of despair; the tremolos return to frame the words. Orchestra and voice combine in a way that lends particular weight to the tragic character of the drama. Yet Meder grants the singer only a brief recitative-like passage here, rather than, as might be expected, a full-blown aria. The expression of the emotional truth behind the words is entrusted primarily to instruments.

¹⁰⁵ Meder, 127.

¹⁰⁶ In his critical report, Braun describes the figure as a “wave-formed tremolo” (“Wellenförmiges Tremolo”). Each marking indicates a series of notes that is to be executed with a single bow direction (“gestoßene Bogenführung in jeweils einer Richtung”). See Meder, 168.

Ex. 6.15 Meder, *Die beständige Argenia*, opening of Act 5

Fünfte Handlung

Lamento

à 5

The first system of the musical score consists of five staves. The top four staves are for the strings (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass), and the bottom two staves are for the piano. The music is in 3/4 time and D major. The first measure of the piano part is marked with a '6'. The second measure has a '7' with a sharp sign below it. The third measure has a '4' below it. The fourth measure has a sharp sign below it. The fifth measure has a '6' below it. The sixth measure has a '6' below it. The seventh measure has a '6' below it. The eighth measure has a '6' below it. The ninth measure has a '7' below it. The tenth measure has a '6' with a sharp sign below it. The eleventh measure has a '4' below it. The twelfth measure has a '5' below it. The thirteenth measure has a sharp sign below it. The fourteenth measure has a sharp sign below it. The fifteenth measure has a '6' below it.

The second system of the musical score consists of five staves. The top four staves are for the strings, and the bottom two staves are for the piano. The music continues from the first system. The first measure of the piano part is marked with a '5'. The second measure has a sharp sign below it. The third measure has a '6' below it. The fourth measure has a '5' below it. The fifth measure has a sharp sign below it. The sixth measure has a sharp sign below it. The seventh measure has a '6' below it. The eighth measure has a '5' below it. The ninth measure has a '4' below it. The tenth measure has a '3' below it. The eleventh measure has a '6' below it. The twelfth measure has a '5' below it. The thirteenth measure has a '4' below it. The fourteenth measure has a '3' below it. The fifteenth measure has a '9' below it. The sixteenth measure has an '8' below it. The seventeenth measure has a '7' below it. The eighteenth measure has a sharp sign below it.

Ex. 6.15 continued

15

6 5 4 3 6 5 4 3 6 5 6 4 3 6 5 6 5 6 5 6 5 #

4 # 9 8 4 3 9 8 4 3 6 4 3 5 b 5 5 6 5 #

20 25

6 5 # 6 5 6 6 7 4 # # b 6 7 6 5 6 5 #

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Ex. 6.16 Meder, *Die beständige Argenia*, Act 5 Scene 1

Argenia
(Der Schauplatz präsentiert einen Garten)

Oh, oh, o nei- di-sches Ge- lück! Oh, o lei- di- ges Ge- schick! Oh, o schreck- li- ches Ver-
häng- nis! Oh, o heim- li- ches Ge- fäng- nis! Oh, o un- ge- mei- ne Not! Oh, o all- zu - frü- her Tod!

Lamento

(The stage presents a garden)

Oh, oh, o envious fortune! Oh, o unpleasant fate! Oh, o terrible disaster! Oh, o secret prison! Oh, o disagreeable misery! Oh, o all too early death!

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Perhaps most tellingly, Meder gives particular prominence to instruments in the short “Chor der Musen” of the “Schluß-Spiel” that follows Act 5. Here the nine muses are divided, following Christian symbolism, into three groups of three. Meder indicates that only four of the muses are to sing. The other five are to play instruments. Thus the three groups consist of, respectively, 1) two “singers” (“canti”) with theorbo, 2) an alto with two violas da gamba, and 3) a tenor with two violins. The chorus as a whole is a standard paean to the patrons (see Ex. 6.17).

Within each of the three groups, though, the bride and bridegroom are described differently. In the first, they are simply a “married couple” (“vermähltes Paar”). In the second, they are “two in love” (“ihr verliebten Zwei”) who, it is hoped, will live in “hearty sweetness” (or “sweetening of the heart”: “herzlichem Versüßen”). In the third, finally, they are “son” and “sister” of the gods (“Göttersohn,” “Götterschwester”). Thus there is a progression from the obvious externality (“married couple”) through the hidden interiority (the “in-love” couple’s “sweetening of the heart”) to something divine (“Göttersohn” and “Götterschwester”). Highlighting this progression is an increasing prominence of instrumental music, from the accompanimental theorbo in the first group, to the violas da gamba that match the rhythmic activity of the singer in the second group, to the busily arpeggiating violins that practically overwhelm the text in the third. Meder clearly associates non-verbal sound with the spirit, as do Harsdörffer and Staden.

What Meder does more successfully than the Nurembergers, of course, is to use this technique in the service of a convincing, even sublime, drama. The realism and the effective use of contrast that contribute to dramatic tension also open the door, so to speak, to the Italian style, with its tendencies toward naturalistic speech and the heightened drama of the *stile rappresentativo*. The union, or conflation, of the

Ex. 6.17 Meder, *Die beständige Argenia*, excerpt from the "Schluß-Spiel"

Chor der Musen

(4 singen und 5 spielen auf Instrumenten, und zuletzt singet Apollo mit ihnen zugleich.
Vorhero aber musizieren 3 und 3, wie es nachfolgend abgeteilet wird.)

I. Chor à 2 Cantì con la Deorba

1. Le - be... hoch, ver - mählt - tes... Paar, leb in... hoch - ver - lang - ter Won - nel Dei - ne Ho - heit... leuch - te

1. Le - be... hoch, ver - mählt - tes... Paar, leb in... hoch - ver - lang - ter Won - nel Dei - ne Ho - heit... leuch - te

6 5 6 6 6 6 5

2. Chor ab Alto e 2 Viol da Gamba

klar wie die Strah - len von der Son - ne!

klar wie die Strah - len von der Son - ne!

2. Le - bet, ihr ver - lieb - ten

6 6 5

Zwei, lebt in herz - li - chem Ver - sü - ßen! Ve - nus laß in lan - ger Reih die Eh' - pflan - zen euch be -

6 6 5 4 3 6 6 6 4 3

Ex. 6.17 continued

3. Chor à Tenore con 2 Violini

10

gie - ßen!

3. Le - be lang, du Göt - ter - sohn! Le - be lang, du Göt - ter -

6 5 6 6 5 #

15

schwe - ster! Phö - bus stüt - ze eu - ren Thron und mach ihn durch Ru - he fe - ster!

6 6 4 3

(4 sing and 5 play on instruments, and finally Apollo sings together with them. Before that, though, 3 and 3 play together, as it is divided below.

1. Live highly, married couple, live in highly desired joy! May your highness enlighten clearly, as the rays of the sun!
2. Live, you two in love, live in sweetening of the heart! May Venus water your marriage plants in long succession!
3. Live long, you son of the gods! Live long, you sister of the gods! May Phoebus support your throne and make it more solid through peace!

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Trauerspiel and *dramma per musica*, then, seems perfectly logical: it was perhaps the only way to meet the competing seventeenth-century demands for German opera with a single, unified genre. It enabled composers like Meder to build something around a

uniquely German Protestant (specifically, Pietistic) “message” without overwhelming the audience with theology. At the same time, it yielded a naturalistic musical drama capable of satisfying the tastes of a public increasingly enamored of Italian opera. *Die beständige Argenia* exemplifies this mix of Trauerspiel and Italian opera, of “Germanness” and “Italianness,”¹⁰⁷ that would characterize so much German opera at Hamburg. Meder’s opera has its theological slant, and it has its dramatic impact. Musically it has expressive instrumental music and, as in *Seelewig*, short strophic songs that, as Erik Kjellberg notes, “predominate over through-composed arias.”¹⁰⁸ The opera is no less remarkable for its Italian forms; Kjellberg praises Meder’s “skillful” recitatives and arioso.¹⁰⁹ In all, *Die beständige Argenia* was something of a model for the immediate future of German opera.

The Trauerspiel and German Opera in Hamburg

It is no wonder, then, that Johann Mattheson reserves special praise in his *Grundlage einer Ehren-pforte* (1740) for Meder. Here is a composer, writes Mattheson, with whom we should be “somewhat more closely acquainted.”¹¹⁰ Mattheson devotes six pages of his encyclopedic work to Meder in an effort to make the composer better known. He discusses Meder’s intense training in counterpoint, his familiarity with the cantatas of Carissimi and Cesti, and his predilection for composing keyboard laments. Mattheson also reports that at one point certain contemporaries of Meder doubted whether he could compose satisfactory cantatas and operas. Meder’s subsequent examples in each genre,

¹⁰⁷ For that matter, French is in the mix too. See the French overture that introduces Act 2 (cf. note 103 above). One might note as well the possible English influence. See the above discussion about the Shakespearean comedy scenes.

¹⁰⁸ See “Meder, Johann Valentin,” in *New Grove*, 2nd ed. 16, 217.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 217.

¹¹⁰ Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-pforte, woran der tüchtigsten capellmeister, componisten, musikgelehrten, tonkünstler &c. leben, wercke, verdienste &c. erscheinen sollen* (Hamburg, 1740). Reprint: (Berlin: Kommissionsverlag von L. Liepmannssohn, 1910), 218: “Wir müssen diesen braven Mann . . . etwas näher kennen lernen.”

according to Mattheson, effectively silenced these critics.¹¹¹ His particular strengths, concludes Mattheson, consisted of a “purity of compositional technique” and “good invention.”¹¹²

In his landmark study *Die Barockoper in Hamburg* (1957) Hellmuth Christian Wolff describes a connection between a “German style” and “tragische Oper.”¹¹³ Though he does not mention Meder (who did not work in Hamburg), much of what Wolff outlines is found in *Die beständige Argenia*. Regarding the German style, both language and music must “serve the expression of the Affekt,” he finds.¹¹⁴ Music does not merely serve the text; it plays an equal role in the expression of emotion.¹¹⁵ “Essential properties of this style,” continues Wolff, are “contrast and surprise.”¹¹⁶ Instruments take on new importance as an “expressive language” of non-verbal sound is developed.¹¹⁷ The strophic German folksong is an important contributor to this style too,¹¹⁸ though of course the popular Italian forms of recitative and aria find their place as well.¹¹⁹

Regarding “tragische Oper,” Wolff begins by declaring that “the difference between sacred and secular operas [in Hamburg] was in no way very great.”¹²⁰ The worldly tragedy had religious substance. It also was based, typically, on historical

¹¹¹ Ibid., 221: “wodurch seinen Misgönnern das Maul gestopffet worden.”

¹¹² Ibid., 223: “wegen Reinigkeit der Sätze als guter Erfindung.”

¹¹³ See Wolff, *Die Barockoper in Hamburg (1678-1738)*, esp. the introduction, 9-21, and the section on 38-60, headed “Die tragische Oper und der deutsche Stil.”

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 13: “Die Sprache der Texte hatte wie die Musik dem Affecktausdruck zu dienen.”

¹¹⁵ This echoes the theories and praxis of Harsdörffer and Staden. See Chapter 4.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 13: “Wesentliche Eigenschaften dieses Stiles waren Kontrast und Überraschung.” The typical inclusion of the comic character (like Heluantes in *Die beständige Argenia*) owes something (as noted above) to Shakespeare. See Wolff’s discussion of the “englischen Komödianten” (13ff).

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 17: “Die Ausbildung der individuellen Klangfiguren und die Ausdruckssprache der Orchesterinstrumente wurde in der Hamburger Oper stark entwickelt.”

¹¹⁸ See *ibid.*, 16, 19.

¹¹⁹ Wolff might characterize the use of Italian forms as “appropriation”: he implies that the representation of character (“Characterbild”) through arias is a German tendency (see 19). This tendency is found in Meder too. See the above discussion of King Cleander’s entrance in Act 2 Scene 1 of *Die beständige Argenia*.

¹²⁰ Wolff, 38: “Der Unterschied zwischen den geistlichen und weltlichen Opern war keineswegs sehr groß.”

events. Wolff mentions a number of such tragedies. *Cara Mustapha* (1686) involves the Turkish threat to Vienna, which reached a climax in 1683. It possesses strongly religious themes, including the conflict Christianity and Islam.¹²¹ *Heinrich der Löwe* (1699) and *Störtebecker und Joedge Michaels* (1701) are two of “a whole array of further Hamburg operas” setting “material from German history.”¹²² The main religious theme of the latter opera involves, again, Christianity versus Islam.¹²³ There was a strong emphasis on realism in these works.¹²⁴ The beheading scene in *Störtebecker*, writes Wolff, was graphically accompanied by calves’ blood, poured onto the stage out of pigs’ stomachs. The tragic operas in Hamburg obviously had a lot in common with the Trauerspiel. A number of them in fact bear the designation “Musicalisches Trauer-Spiel.”¹²⁵

The connection Wolff makes between the German style and tragic opera highlights the importance of the Trauerspiel to German opera. Indeed, the successful fusion of history, theology, realistic drama, and German and Italian musical styles would have been inconceivable without the model of the Trauerspiel. Reinhard Keiser was perhaps the first fully to realize the potential of this fusion. Mattheson’s appreciation of Keiser’s “großartigen tragischen Szenen,”¹²⁶ like Wolff’s estimation of Keiser as essentially a “musical dramatist” (“Musikdramatiker”) who truly grasped the “expressive possibilities” (“Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten”) of opera,¹²⁷ speaks to this. The Trauerspiel connection in Keiser’s works is certainly due in part to Barthold Feind, librettist of

¹²¹ See Wolff, 38-42. See also n. 8 above.

¹²² Ibid., 42: “Eine ganze Anzahl weiterer Hamburger Opern behandelte Stoffe aus der deutschen Geschichte.”

¹²³ See *ibid.*, 42.

¹²⁴ Ibid.: “In Hamburg the greatest value was placed on the ‘greatest naturalness’” (“In Hamburg legte man auf die ‘höchste Natürlichkeit’ . . . den größten Wert”).

¹²⁵ See Wolff’s discussion of the 1705 opera *Die kleinmühtige Selbst-Mörderin Lucretia. Oder: Die Staats-Thorheit des Brutus. Musicalisches Trauer-Spiel* (music by Reinhard Keiser, text by Barthold Feind). More on this work below.

¹²⁶ See Wolff, 241.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 242.

Lucretia (1705), *Octavia* (1705), and *Masaniello furioso* (1706).¹²⁸ Feind names

Lohenstein and Gryphius among his “dramatic models,” notes Wolff.¹²⁹

The combination of realistic tragedy, history, and theology characteristic of the Trauerspiel is particularly evident in Keiser’s “Musicalisches Trauer-Spiel” *Lucretia*.¹³⁰ Wolff pinpoints this work, a representation of “historical events” (“die historischen Ereignisse”)¹³¹ that dispenses with the popular happy ending, as one with a particularly “independent position” with respect to Italian opera.¹³² This independence lies not only in the opera’s overwhelmingly tragic mien (rejecting the *lieto fine*) but also, and more pervasively, in its “Moral.” *Lucretia*’s suicide is not portrayed as “heroic” or “virtuous,” as would be typical in Venetian opera.¹³³ It is represented, rather, in a dishonorable light. Feind means to criticize his moral surroundings, which he labels a “Seculo” wherein “brutality” (“Brutalität”) is called “courage” (“Tapferkeit”).¹³⁴ Keiser’s *Octavia* and *Masaniello furioso* contain similar elements: realistic tragedy, history, and moralistic theology.

That Keiser was drawn to this Trauerspiel-inflected type of opera is clear from his setting of Feind’s libretti, as well as from his earlier opera *Störtebecker und Joedge Michaels* (1701).¹³⁵ Keiser’s status as the first great composer of German opera clearly owes something to his recognition and development of the dramatic, conceptual, and musical possibilities inherent in German tragic drama. The Trauerspiel was surely more

¹²⁸ Ibid., 244.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 250-251: “Als seine dramatischen Vorbilder nennt Feind hier besonders Lohenstein, Gryphius und Postel.” Wolff does not identify his source here.

¹³⁰ See n. 125, above.

¹³¹ Wolff, 47.

¹³² Wolff, 45: “Eine selbständige Stellung nahm Feind gegenüber der italienischen Oper.”

¹³³ Ibid., 45: “Daß der Selbstmord Lucretias nicht als heroisch und tugendhaft angesehen wird, unterscheidet die Auffassung Feinds grundlegend von den in den ‘heroischen’ Opern Venedigs üblichen Verherrlichungen und Belohnung des Heroismus.”

¹³⁴ Ibid., 44.

¹³⁵ See above at n. 122 for a discussion of this work.

important to early German opera than has generally been recognized by scholars heretofore. The desire for musical drama that could accommodate Protestant theology as well as the musical and dramatic possibilities of both German and Italian theater had found an ideal, if unlikely, realization in the seventeenth-century Trauerspiel. Without the influence of tragedians like Andreas Gryphius, the history of German opera in the eighteenth century and beyond would look quite different.

CONCLUSION: ANTICIPATIONS OF THEOLOGY AND DRAMA IN LATER GERMAN OPERA

In seventeenth-century German opera, the spiritual impulse manifested itself in a number of ways, but broadly speaking we find—at least in the works examined in this study—that moral messages were typically defined by one of two dichotomies: reason-versus-passion or inner-versus-outer. Opitz's *Daphne*, in contrast to Rinuccini's, is Reason embodied, and she is meant to be honored. Passion, in the figure of Apollo, is portrayed as a moral liability (as it is not in Rinuccini's version). In the end, reason wins. *Daphne* escapes and morally transcends her pursuer. (Bontempi and Peranda, in their later *Dafne*, return to what is perhaps a more traditionally Italian skepticism regarding the idea that passion can be reined in by reason. This skepticism is dramatized pointedly in the figure of Chremes, whose voice of paternal reason proves ineffectual against Kātha's passion.)

Seelewig also puts a premium on reason, but is ultimately centered more around the inner-outer axis. *Seelewig* herself learns that the senses, and the outer world in general, cannot be trusted. The only security in this world is in the inner sanctuary, whose governess, the soul, finds serenity by accepting her proper place in the divinely ordered hierarchy. *Die triumphirende Treu* outlines a similarly interior drama, with Anaxander standing in, so to speak, for *Seelewig* (the soul that progresses), Lisander for Trügewart (earthly desire), and Philosander for Herzigild and Gwissulda (virtue). Both works honor reason to a degree. *Seelewig* is reprimanded by her conscience for blindly following earthly desire. Gwissulda (the conscience), a source of virtue, is her reasonable protectress. Anaxander listens in earnest to the counsel of Cleobulus, his own supposed

reasonable protector. Yet both works also emphasize reason's limitations. Gwissulda admonishes Seelewig to thank God (not her own conscience) for removing the danger. Cleobulus, though reasonable, proves to be a false guide. The primary message, in both cases, is that the only sure guide is God, whose voice is heard in one's innermost being.

Interestingly, these two dichotomies—reason-versus-passion and inner-versus-outer—represent as it were two responses to the same Lutheran premise, namely that human will is ineffectual in matters of spirit. One response was optimistic: we may not be able to effect spiritual salvation, but we certainly can exercise our will on the material world. The surest, safest principle we have in the direction of this will is human reason. This optimistic attitude lends a certain cheerfulness to Opitz's *Dafne*. The other response was pessimistic: we may have a degree of control over our material world, but since no salvation is to be found in the world of the senses, it is proper to hold it in some degree of contempt. This Pietistic, or pre-Pietistic, inwardness permeates *Seelewig* and has resonances in *Die triumphirende Treu*.

Both responses suffuse *Leo Armenius* and the Trauerspiel in general. Gryphius and other dramatists insisted on a dispassionate representation of the real world. Their picture of reality was not necessarily optimistic, but their belief that they could comprehend reality by means of reason certainly was optimistic. The need to rationalize such horrific imponderables as the slaughter of divinely appointed kings led naturally to the inner-outer dichotomy, in which literal reality had an inner meaning, understood as the unseen divine hand working through the events of history. The inner source of these events was of course to be trusted, and feared, more than the "outer" events themselves. This inner-outer dynamic in turn produced a unique dramaturgical economy: the

Trauerspiel's division of labor into realistic, graphic plot exposition and explicative, allegorical Reyen. The door was thus opened to a successful melding of Italianate dramatic realism with Germanic moralistic idealism. This conceptual union made conditions favorable for the marriage of musical styles seen in *Die beständige Argenia*. Reinhard Keiser later capitalized more fully on the potential of this fusion.

Keiser's work affords a suggestive glimpse into later developments. Indeed, the Hamburg Opera of 1678-1738, German opera's most important early center, produced much that anticipated later developments. There is research still to be done in this area. While it is widely known that the Hamburg Opera staged occasional operas with religious themes, the degree to which Protestantism and the Trauerspiel influenced the general course of German opera after 1700 has not been examined in any great detail. Traces of sacred themes in various operas by German composers suggest that it ought to be.

Much of what Keiser and his Protestant humanistic predecessors were attempting has resonances, for example, in the so-called operatic reform enacted by Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787) and articulated in the theorizing of Ranieri de' Calzabigi (1714-1795). Gluck, too, was searching for a convincing way to combine moral didacticism with effective drama. The "continuity and the nearly syllabic vocal writing" in Gluck's reform operas, notes Bruce Alan Brown, "were calculated to prevent applause, and thus to promote the audience's absorption in the spectacle."¹ Gluck clearly aimed to reinvent opera along purely dramatic lines, following classical principles. At the same time, the composer imbued his works with a particular moral sense that "resonated strongly with the morally tinged aesthetics of Gottfried van Swieten [1733-1803] (an

¹ Bruce Alan Brown, "Gluck, Christoph Willibald, Ritter von," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 28 December 2006), <<http://www.grovemusic.com>>. The reforms took aim primarily at the staid da capo aria and the tendency of composers to bend to the demands of singers.

early Gluck enthusiast) and Joseph von Sonnenfels [1732-1817] and their efforts at educational and theatrical reform.”²

Joseph Kerman elucidates something of the nature of Gluck’s moral sensibility, as manifested in *Orfeo ed Euridice*: “It was remarkable of Calzabigi to have put in the Elysian Fields [in the second act], Vergil or no Vergil; but obviously Gluck wanted them, and made this scene into the opera’s unforgettable climax.”³ The serene, passionless character of this scene’s music displays, to Kerman at least, a rather “un-Monteverdian” interpretation of the myth, wherein Orpheus gains a kind of bliss that transcends his earthly love for Eurydice. Gluck, like his predecessors Johann Löhner and Sigmund Staden (and their librettists), created a drama of the inner life. “Orpheus’ art is directed within himself rather than out into the action which it is said to regulate,” writes Kerman.⁴ Orpheus’ important achievement here is his self-mastery: “The whole aspiration of his spirit is realized in the glittering gray light of Gluck’s perfect heaven, where passion has been finally purified away.”⁵ For Gluck, as for Opitz (in his adaptation of *Dafne*), humankind’s primary virtue, the means by which the unruly forces of passion can be reigned in, is reason. “There is something extraordinary about [Orpheus’] passive response to Eurydice’s reproaches,” notes Kerman, “though he is as always correct, guided by reason, and not a little saintly.”⁶

Gluck’s idealism ultimately threatens to compromise the integrity of the drama. As Kerman admits, “Orpheus is in danger of ennobling himself out of the realm of dramatic action. In the state of beatitude to which he tends, mundane conflict seems

² Ibid.

³ Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama*, 2nd rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 34.

⁴ Ibid., 35.

⁵ Ibid., 34-35.

⁶ Ibid., 35.

trivial, and the dramatist's energy seems wasted."⁷ Gluck is confronted by a problem similar to the one faced earlier by Martin Opitz, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, Sigmund Staden, Johann Löhner, Johann Meder, Reinhard Keiser, and others. Gluck's solution resembles that of Harsdörffer, Staden and Löhner more than that of Opitz, insofar as he idealized Orpheus into an inner, self-contained dramatic entity. One wonders how much Gluck might have been influenced by his predecessors' solutions, and whether a closer engagement with the Trauerspiel model might have enabled Gluck to treat more successfully what Kerman calls "his hero's tentative leanings toward the religious."⁸

In any event, the very presence of religious or moralistic themes within the work of a composer who regarded opera as drama resonates provocatively with some of the key concerns of the earliest envisioners of German opera. Hopefully, it will be obvious from this study that the desire to successfully combine theology and drama was, in the eighteenth century, nothing new. The means by which Opitz, Harsdörffer, Staden, Löhner, Meder, and others sought to establish German opera in the seventeenth century—by beginning with a distinctly German theological point of view, and then searching for a properly dramatic vehicle—likely had a lasting effect on the future of the genre.

⁷ Ibid., 36.

⁸ Ibid., 36.

Appendix A – Translation of Martin Opitz's *Dafne*¹

An den Leser

Gunstiger Leser / wie dieses Drama auß
dem Italienischen mehrentheils genommen
/ also ist es gleichfalls auff selbige
Art / und heutigem Gebrauche sich
anbequemen / wiewol auch von der Hand
weg / geschrieben worden. Welches der
Author zu seiner Entschuldigung setzt /
dem sonst nicht unbekandt ist / was die
Alten wegen der Trawerspiele und
Comedien zubefehlen pflegen.
Die Fabel aber / darvon hier gehandelt wird
/ ist bekandt; Daß nemlich Dafne / deß
Flusses Peneus Tochter / nach dem sie
Apollo auß Liebe verfolget / und zu seinem
Willen zubringen vermeynet / die Erde
umb Hülffe anrufft / welche sie zu sich
nimbt / und in einen Lorbeerbaum
verwandelt.

**An die Hoch-Fürstlichen Braut und
Bräutigam / bey derer Beylager Dafne
durch Heinrich Schützen im 1627. Jahre
Musicalisch auff den Schaw-Platz
gebracht ist worden.**

Das starcke Liebes-Gifft / das unsre hohe
Sinnen /
Die von dem Himmel sind / mit seiner
Krafft gewinnen
Und wann Vernunft erliegt zu Boden
reissen kan /
Sieh' / O du Edles Par / auff diesem
Schaw-Platz' an.
Sieh' an du freyer Heldt / du Bildnuß aller
Tugendt /
Du Preiss der Zeit / und du / Sophie /
Liecht der Jugendt /
Deß Vatters grosse Lust / der werthen

To the Reader

Noble reader, as this drama is for the most
part taken from the Italian,
it is therefore likewise adapted to the same
manner, and contemporary
use, although also written
quickly. This with
apology is set by the author,
who normally is not unaware of what the
ancients take pains to recommend
regarding tragedies and comedies.
However, the fable here treated is
familiar: namely that Daphne, daughter
of the river Peneus, after Apollo
pursues her out of love, and intends to
force his will upon her, calls the earth
for help, which she
receives, and changes into a
laurel tree.

**To the most noble bride and
bridegroom, for whose marriage Dafne
has been set to music by Heinrich Schütz
in 1627 and brought
to the stage.**

The strong love poison, that can vanquish,
with its power, our high thoughts,
That are from
heaven,
And when reason lays defeated can tear
one to the ground,
Witness, O you noble pair, upon this
stage.
Witness, you free hero, you picture of all
virtue,
You honor of our time, and you, Sophie,
light of youth,
Delight of your father, ornament of your

¹ Martin Opitz, *Weltliche Poemata, 1644*, ed. Erich Trunz (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967). To my knowledge, there is no other translation of the complete text into English.

Mutter Zier /
 Sieh' an der Liebe Macht von der du für
 und für
 Befreyt und sicher bist. Wer so wie du sich
 liebet
 Mit ungefärbter Pflicht / wer seine Huld
 ergiebet
 In Urtheil unnd Verstandt / ist
 klüger als der Gott
 Der täglich zu uns bringt das schöne
 Morgenroth.
 Ihm machet Dafne selbst von jhren frischen
 Zweygen
 Den Kranz der nicht verwelckt; sein
 Nachklang wird nicht schweigen
 So lange Liebe wehrt. Nim dann in
 Gnaden an /
 Du doppeltes Gestirn / was Dafne geben
 kan;
 Den jimmer-grünen Kranz / und dencke daß
 die Gaben
 So Fürsten als wie jhr vollauff zugeben
 haben
 Zwar groß / doch jrrdisch sind: die Flucht
 der Zeit vertreibt
 Das unsrig' und uns auch; was Dafne gibt
 das bleibt.

Personen deß Gedichtes.

Ovidius / Vorreder.
 Dafne.
 Apollo.
 Venus.
 Cupido.
 Der erste Hirt.
 Der ander Hirt.
 Der dritte Hirt.
 Chor der Hirten.
 Der Nymfen und Hirten.

DER VORREDER

worthy mother,
 Witness the power of love, from which you
 are forever
 Freed and secure. Whoever loves
 like you,
 With unsullied duty, who bestows
 grace
 With judiciousness and understanding, is
 wiser than the god
 Who daily brings us the glorious
 dawn.
 For him Daphne herself makes, out of her
 fresh branches,
 The wreath that does not fade; its echo
 will not be silenced
 As long as love remains. Accept then
 gracefully,
 You doubled star, what Daphne can
 give;
 The ever-green wreath, and remember that
 the gifts
 Such well-off royalty as you have to
 give,
 Are, though great, also of this world: the
 flight of time drives away
 Us and what we have; what Daphne gives,
 that remains.

Persons of the Poem.

Ovid, Introducer.
 Dafne.
 Apollo.
 Venus.
 Cupid.
 The first shepherd.
 The second shepherd.
 The third shepherd.
 Chorus of shepherds.
 Chorus of nymphs and shepherds.

[THE PROLOGUE]

THE INTRODUCER

Ovidius.

Ihr sterblichs Volck / d' ich nit sterblich
bin /
Komm' jetzt zu euch von den Elyser-
feldern /
Wo unsre Geister ziehen hin /
Und letzen sich in grünen Wäldern:
Durch deß bleichen Charons Meer
Komm' ich / O jhr Menschen / her.

Ich bin der Mann der ich so rühmlich sang
In meine Harpff' und die beruffnen Seiten
Wie Amors Macht und harter Zwang
Den Himmlischen vor alten Zeiten
Hat verwandelt die Gestalt
In Geflügel / Wildt und Waldt.

Ich habe mich die
schwere Liebes-Kunst /
O dich / mein Rom / zu lehren
unternommen;
Hab' auch gezeigt wie solcher Brunst
Ein Herze wider ab soll kommen.
Daß man recht liebt kömpt
durch mich /
Daß man nicht liebt thue auch ich.

Schaw' aber zu / was für ein heller Schein
Umbgibt mich doch / und wessen werd' ich
innen?
Was Majestät muß dieses seyn
Die mir bescheint Gesicht' und Sinnen?
Was doch blincket für ein Liecht?
Ist es mein Augustus nicht?

Ich kenne dich / du Blume dieser Zeit /
Du Zier und Spiegel aller Jugendt:
Der Rautenkrantz / die Freundlichkeit
Verrhätet dich / O Glanz der Tugendt:
Alle Menschen loben dich /
Und die Elbe neiget sich.

Du edle Braut / wol deiner Lieb' und
dir;

Ovid.

You mortal folk, as I am not
mortal,
I come to you now from the Elysian
fields,
To which our spirits go,
And make merry in green forests:
Through pale Charon's sea
I come, O people, to you.

I am the man who so laudably sang
With my harp and its renowned strings
How Cupid's power and strict force
Changed the forms
Of divine beings long ago
Into winged creatures, game and forest.

I have taken it upon myself to teach the
difficult art of love
To you, O my
Rome,
I have also shown how from such passion
A heart can restore itself again.
How to love in the right way comes
through me,
How not to love does as well.

Look, though, what kind of brilliant light
Surrounds me, and whom do I
perceive?
What majesty must this be
Who lights up my face and senses?
What kind of light is twinkling through?
Is it not my Augustus?

I know you, flower of this time,
You ornament and mirror of all youth:
The laurel wreath, the friendliness
Reveal you, O luster of virtue:
All people praise you,
And the Elbe bows before you.

You, noble bride, well to your love and
you;

Ich aber will jetzt wie vorweilen singen
 In was für Noth ein Cavallier
 Und eine Dame sich kan bringen
 Die nicht nach der Liebe fragt /
 Und nur thut was jhr behagt.

I will now sing as before
 Into what misery a gentleman
 And a lady can fall,
 Who ask not for love,
 And do only what suits them.

Ihr werdet sehn für schwerer Liebes-Pein
 Denselben Gott mit nassen Säuffzen
 klagen /
 Der uns den schönen Tage-Schein
 Herumb führt auff dem güldnen Wagen.
 Der uns allein gibt das Liecht
 Sieht für Liebe selber nicht.

You will see for heavy pain of love
 The same god with tearful sighs
 lament,
 Who for us leads the beautiful daylight
 Around upon the golden chariot.
 Who alone gives us light
 Not looking for love himself.

DER ERSTE ACT.

THE FIRST ACT.

Der erste Hirt.

The first shepherd.

Unter diesem Schatten hier
 Liegt das grimme Wunderthier:
 Ihr Hirten weicht / geht weg jhr
 Schäfferinnen;
 Schawt daß kein Ast sich nicht bewegt /
 Daß kein Geräusche sich erregt /
 Es wird sonst ewer
 innen.

Under this shadow here
 Lays the fearsome mysterious beast:
 Be gone you shepherds, go away you
 shepherdesses;
 Take care that no branch moves,
 That no noise is made,
 Otherwise the beast will become aware of
 you.

Der andere Hirt.

The second shepherd.

So müssen wir dann auß Gefahr
 Die süssen Felder meyden /
 Und können unser Vieh unnd weissen
 Lämmer Schar
 Nicht sicher weyden?

So must we then, because of the danger,
 Avoid the sweet fields,
 And can our cattle and flock of white
 lambs
 Not graze safely?

Der dritte Hirt.

The third shepherd.

O Jupiter der mit Donner-Flammen
 Erschütterst See und Landt /
 Nim deinen Plitz und Hagel ganz
 zusammen
 Beut her die starck Hand:
 Komm uns Armen doch zu stewer
 Wider dieses Ungehewer.

O Jupiter, who with thunder flames
 Shakes sea and land,
 Take your lightning and hail all
 together
 Proffer your strong hand:
 Come guide us pitiable ones
 Against this monster.

Der erste Hirt.

Umb diesen Wald und Schatten haben wir
 Bißher gesehn diß Blutgetränckte
 Thier.

Echo. Hier.

Wie daß ich jetzund sicher bin?
 Ists weg / ists anderswo dann hin?

Echo. Hin.

Ich weiß nit wie ich doch diß Ebenther
 deute. Kömpt es ins künfftig auch noch
 wider für uns Leute?

Echo. Heute.

Ach! Ach! wer dann tröstet mich
 Wann das Thier lasset sehen sich?

Echo. Ich.

Wer bistu welcher mir verheist so grosse
 Wonne / O bester Trost den je beschienen
 hat die Sonne.

Echo. Die Sonne.

Bist du der Gott auß Delos welcher sich
 Mir zeigen will?
 O Sonne / hör' ich dich?

Echo. Ich dich.

Du / du hast Pfeil' und Krafft; drum
 stewart der Gewalt
 Der grimmen Bestien / O Phebus also bald.

Echo. Bald.

Apollo.

So ist dann nun dem Drachen
 Durch meines Bogens Macht

The first shepherd.

Around these woods and shadows we have
 Until now seen the bloodthirsty animal
 here.

Echo. Here.

How is it that I am now safe?
 Is it somewhere else, has it gone away?

Echo. Away.

I do not know how to interpret this
 adventure. Will it come for us again
 later today?

Echo. Today.

O, O if the animal appears
 Who will console me?

Echo. Me.

Who are you who promises me such great
 joy, O best comfort ever to appear
 enlightened by the sun?

Echo. The sun.

Are you the god of Delos who will show
 himself to me?
 O sun, do I hear you?

Echo. I hear you.

You, you have arrows and might; therefore
 control the violence
 Of the fearsome beast, O Phoebus, soon.

Echo. Soon.

Apollo.

So are the wild jaws of the dragon
 Stilled through the

Gestillt der wilde Rachen?
 Umbringst ihn nun die Nacht
 Der vor die Pest der Erden /
 Die Schew der Menschen war?
 Ihr Hirten bringst die Herden;
 Ihr seydt nun auß Gefahr.
 Ihr Nymphen windet Kränze /
 Hegt schöne Lobe-Tänze /
 Kompt kühnlich in den Wald /
 Singt daß die Heyd' erschallt.
 Das Thier wird nicht forthin
 Die Luft vergiffen können /
 Und Kranckheit nach sich ziehn.
 Erfrischt Herz' und Sinnen;
 Die Wangen müssen nun euch nachmals
 nicht verbleichen /
 Sie sollen Lilien und roten Rosen gleichen;
 Dann die Schlang' ist
 umgebracht
 Die euch Kummer hat gemacht.

Chor der Hirten.

Du grosser Gott der du den Feuer-
 wagen
 Rings umb den schönen Himmel führst /
 Der du den Tag so oft es pflegt zu tagen
 Mit einem güldnen Mantel ziehst /
 Daß der helle Schein sich dringet
 Durch der finstern Nächte Ruh /
 Daß uns klares Liecht umbringet /
 O Apollo / das machst du.

Daß auff den Frost diß grosse Rundt der
 Erden
 Sein grawes Winter-Kleyd ablegt /
 Daß Wiesen / Feld und Wald
 verjünet werden /
 Daß deß Geflügels Heer sich regt /
 Daß sie in den Lüfften fliegen /
 Und uns lieblich singen zu /
 Daß die Bäume Bletter kriegen /
 O Apollo / das machst du.

Du Künste Gott / du Arzt / du
 Traumaußleger /

might of my bow?
 Does night surround the beast
 That was the plague of the earth,
 The terror of men?
 You shepherds bring the flocks;
 You are now out of danger.
 You nymphs wind wreathes,
 Dance beautiful dances of praise,
 Come boldly into the forest,
 Sing so that the heath resounds.
 The beast from now on will not be able
 To poison the air,
 And spread disease in its wake.
 Refresh hearts and minds;
 Your cheeks henceforth must
 not pale,
 They should be like lilies and red roses;
 For the snake that has caused you such
 sorrow
 Has been killed.

Chorus of shepherds.

You, great god, who guides the fiery
 chariot
 Around the beautiful heavens,
 Who ornaments with a golden mantle
 The day, as often as it continues to dawn,
 So that brilliant light may pierce
 The silence of dark nights,
 So that clear light surrounds us,
 O Apollo, thus do you.

That after the frost this great disk of the
 earth
 May remove its gray winter dress,
 That meadow, field and forest may be
 rejuvenated,
 That the winged flock might rouse itself,
 To take wing into the heavens,
 And sing to us sweetly,
 That the trees might get leaves,
 O Apollo, thus do you.

You god of arts, you healer, you
 knower of dreams,

Du Senger Fürst / du Kraußpenhaar /
 Du immer-jung / du Meister aller Jäger /
 Von dir kömpt alles ganz und
 gar;
 Doch dein Pfeil und schneller Bogen /
 Deines güldnen Köchers Pracht /
 Wird dem allen fürgezogen
 Was dich sonst berühmet macht.

Wer kondt' ohn dich / O Phebus /
 überwinden
 Das wilde Gifft- und
 Flammen-Thier?
 Komm / Cynthius / laß frische Kränze
 binden
 Umb deiner gelben Haare Ziehr;
 Laß die Blumen so wir haben
 Dir O Vatter / lieber seyn
 Als der Edlen Palmen Gaben /
 Und der Cedernreichen Schein.

DER ANDERE ACT.

Cupido. Venus. Apollo.

Cup. Was suchet jhr /
 O Königin der schönen Frawen?
 Wollt jhr nach Rosen schawen /
 Nach Lilien / zu ewres Häuptes Ziehr?
 Nein / liebste Mutter / nein.

Venus. Was wird es dann wol seyn /
 Mein Kind / das mir gebricht?

Cup. Wol Lilien noch Rosen nicht:
 Adonis liegt euch in den Sinnen.
 Und wo ein schöner Hirte sunst /
 Die Ursach einer newen Brunst /
 Mag angetroffen werden können.

Venus. Du kleiner Bösewicht.

Cupido. Seht jhr den Gott aus Delos nicht?

Venus. Was wird hernach doch aus dem

You prince of singers, curly-haired one,
 You ever-young, you master of all hunters,
 From you comes everything whole and
 complete;
 Yet your arrow and quick bow,
 Splendor of your golden quiver,
 Is preferred to everything
 That otherwise makes you famous.

Who could without you, O Phoebus,
 overcome
 The savage poisonous and flame-throwing
 animal?
 Come, Cynthius, let fresh wreathes be
 bound
 As decoration around your golden hair;
 Let the flowers that we have
 Be more dear to you, O father,
 Than gifts of noble palms,
 And the appearance of cedared realms.

THE SECOND ACT.

Cupid. Venus. Apollo.

Cup. What do you seek,
 O queen of beautiful women?
 Do you want to look for roses,
 For lilies, to ornament your brow?
 No, dearest mother, no.

Venus. Then what can it be,
 My child, that I am missing?

Cup. Certainly neither lilies nor roses:
 Adonis is in your thoughts.
 And wherever else a handsome shepherd,
 The cause of a new passion,
 Might be able to be found.

Venus. You little villain.

Cupid. Do you not see the god of Delos?

Venus. What will become of

Himmel werden?
Gehn jetzt doch fast die Götter ganz uff
Erden.

heaven henceforth?
Almost all the gods now walk about the
earth.

Apollo. Erzehle / du berühmter Schütze /
Worzu sind dir die Pfeil und Bogen nütze?
Ist ein grimmes Thier
Das du meinst umbzubringen /
Oder auch gedenckst du dir
Einen Drachen zu bezwingen?

Apollo. Tell me, you famous archer,
Of what use to you are bow and arrow?
Is there a fierce animal
That you intend to slay,
Or do you perhaps intend
To conquer a dragon?

Cupido. Zwar Python ist durch meine
Hand /
Apollo / nicht entleibet worden;
Jedennoch ist bekandt
Was ich für Thaten tue.
Ich bin so wol in deinem Orden /
Bin auch ein Gott wie du.

Cupido. To be sure the python
Was not disemboweled by my hand,
Apollo;
Nonetheless it is well known
What kind of deeds I accomplish.
I am also of your order,
I too am a god like you.

Apollo. Das weiß ich wol; doch wann dein
Bogen / Wird von dir abgezogen /
Machst du sehend andern Wunden //
Oder triffst du auch verbunden?

Apollo. I am well aware of that; but when
you draw your bow,
Do you wound others by sight,
Or do you also hit your mark blindfolded?

Venus. Im Fall du ja wilt wissen /
Apollo / was mein Sohn
Erwiesen hat im schiessen /
So höre nur hiervon
Was neben uns Neptun im Wasser
sage /
Und uber uns der Jupiter;
Geh' unter uns zum Pluto hin und frage;
Alsdann komm wider her.

Venus. In case you want to know,
Apollo, what my son
Has scored with his shooting,
Just listen to
What Neptune beside us in the water would
say
As well as Jupiter above us;
Go below us to Pluto and ask;
And then come back here again.

Apollo. Weil Himmel / See und Erden /
Und was darunter lebt /
Von dir gezwungen werden /
Weil dir nichts widerstrebt /
So zeige man mir doch noch einen Himmel
an /
Noch einen Erdenkreyß / in dem ich frey
seyn kan.

Apollo. Because heaven, sea and earth,
And what lives underneath,
Are forced by you,
Because there is nothing contrary to you,
So show me another
heaven,
Another earthly sphere, in which I can be
free.

Cupido. Ich wuste wol du würdest mich
verlache /
Und daß ein Kind bey dir nichts gilt /

Cupid. I well knew that you would
sneer at me,
And that a child is of no account to you,

Du grosser Schütz und Todt der grimmen
Drachen:
Halt mich für närrisch wie du wilt.

You great archer and death of the fierce
dragon:
Consider me foolish as you will.

Apollo. Erzörne dich so sehr nicht uber
mir /
Cupido mein, O wende Gnade für;
Wilt du mir ja nur deinem Bogen lohnen /
So wollest du des Herzens doch
verschonen.

Apollo. Do not get so angry over
me,
My Cupid, O turn upon me with favor;
If you will only reward me with your bow,
You will yet spare the
heart.

Venus. Du wirst wol sehn was du
gethan /
Wann auß dem Scherzen Ernst
entstehet.
Wirst sehen was mein Söhnlein kan /
Wiewol es bloß und blind
hergehet.

Venus. You will see well what you have
done,
When from your joking seriousness
emerges.
You will see what my little son can do,
Even though he goes about naked and
blind.

Cupido. Bring' ich dem stolzen Herzen
Nicht Angst und Todtes-Pein /
So will ich nicht dein Kind mehr seyn.

Cupid. If I do not reward the proud heart
With fear and death's agony,
I will no longer be your child.

Venus. Du empfindest billich Schmerzen /
Eyferst billich / lieber Sohn.
Gieb jhm seinen rechten Lohn /
Daß er möge noch erfahren
Was deine Macht und seine Hoffart thue:
Du wirst hier keiner Kräfften sparen.

Venus. Rightly you feel hurt,
Rightly you become jealous, dear son.
Give him what he deserves,
That he might yet experience
What your power and his arrogance can do:
Spare no force here.

Cupido. Ich habe weder Rast noch Ruhe
Biß ich mich recht an jhm
gerochen /
Und mit dem Bogen hier
Den er verhöhnt zur Ungebühr
Ihm seinen stolzen Muth gebrochen.
Gar gerne thue ich's nit daß ich soll von dir
gehen.
Ich bleib' auch wo mir's wirdt geschafft:
Doch Rache die man an läßt stehen
Verleurt durch Saumung jhre Krafft.

Cupid. I will have neither rest nor peace
Until I have taken thorough revenge on
him,
And with this bow here
That he so unseemly mocks
Broken his proud insolence.
I gladly do it not that I should
go from you.
I remain where it is done to me:
Yet revenge left waiting
Loses its force through delay.

Venus. Geh' immer hin in Zeiten /
Und denck auff Rach' und List;
Dann wann du zornig bist
So hat man ohn gefahr dich nit an seiner

Venus. Go ever forth into the ages,
And think on revenge and craft;
Then when you are angry
One will, without danger, not have you

seiten.
 Ich kan allhier in dessen bleiben /
 Und umb den grünen Waldt
 Die Zeit vertreiben;
 Hernach so bald
 Du herkömpst / will ich mit dir hin
 In unsern Himmel ziehn.
 Wer von der Lieb' ist franck und frey
 Der mag wol billich frölich leben /
 Doch schaw' er zu daß er nicht sey
 Der Hoffarth allzusehr ergeben.
 Er laß' uns unverlacht;
 Diß ist der schluß / den hat mein Son
 gemacht /
 Der Abschied den er spricht.
 Fühlt jhr gleich Lieb' anjetzund nicht /
 So kan doch bald ein Stündlein kommen
 In dem durch jhre Pein
 Euch Muth und Herze wird benommen.
 Alsdann wird Amors Macht
 Euch nichth verborgen seyn
 Die jhr anjetzt verlacht.

Chor der Hirten.

Du kleiner nackter Schütze /
 Wann der Bogen den du spannst
 Giebet solche Liebes-Hitze
 Daß du Götter fällen kanst:
 Was dann wirst du nicht / O Kind /
 Uns thun / die wir Menschen sind?

Unser Herze muß sich kräncken /
 Unsre Sinnen sind betrübt /
 Wann wir an den Jüngling dencken
 Der sich in sich selbst verliebt;
 Der verlohrt die Menschen-Art /
 Und zu einer Blumen ward.

Aller schönen Nymfen Herzen
 Brannten gegen jhm für Pein;
 Aber er ließ jhre Schmerzen
 Ohne Trost und Hoffnung seyn.
 Zwar sehr groß war seine Zier /
 Doch der Hochmuth gieng jhr für.

near.
 Meanwhile I can remain here,
 And around the green forest
 Pass the time;
 Later, as soon as
 You return, I will go with you
 To our heaven.
 Whoever is free from love
 Might rightly live happily,
 Yet he should take care that he is
 Not too given to arrogance.
 He should not scoff at us;
 This is the conclusion, that my son has
 pronounced,
 The farewell that he makes.
 If you do not feel love at the moment,
 There might nonetheless come an hour
 In which through your pain
 Your courage and heart will be stupefied.
 Then will Cupid's might,
 At which you presently sneer,
 No longer be hidden to you.

Chorus of shepherds.

You little naked archer,
 When the bow that you draw
 Gives such love-passion
 That you can fell gods:
 What then might you, O child,
 Do to us, who are mere mortals?

Our hearts must become ill,
 Our minds are grieved,
 When we think on the youth
 Who fell in love with himself;
 Who lost his human guise,
 And became a flower.

The hearts of all beautiful nymphs
 Burned with sorrow for him;
 But he let their suffering
 Be without consolation and hope.
 To be sure his beauty was great,
 Yet his arrogance was greater.

Eine starb in Liebes-Orden /
 Gar zu tieff durch jhn versehrt /
 Die hernach ein Schall ist worden
 Den man nach uns ruffen hört:
 Aber Amors grimme Macht
 Straffte solche strenge Pracht.

Wie er sonst hatt' euch versehret /
 O jhr Nymfen für der Zeit /
 Also ward er jetzt bethöret
 Durch sein' eygne Zierlichkeit /
 Biß er noch sein Ende nahm /
 Und in Zahl der Kräuter kam.

Laßt uns ja uns selbst nicht lieben /
 Bild' jhm niemand zu viel ein /
 Will er sich nicht selbst betrüben /
 Und in Furcht ohn Hoffnung seyn:
 Wündsch' jhm weder Weib noch Mann
 Zu erfahrn was Amor kan.

DER DRITTE ACT.

Dafne. Apollo.

Dafne. Es ist die Spur deß Hirschen ja für
 mir.
 Wie laß bin ich! Ach! wer' er doch
 allhier.

Apollo. Wer muß nur diese seyn /
 Die auß den Augen lasset blincken
 So einen hellen Himmels-Schein
 Den ich spür' in mein Herze sincken?

Dafne. Ich denck jhm noch wol für zu
 biegen
 Im Fall ich eyle.
 Ich muß nur sehn ob auch der Peil wird
 fliegen
 Und scharpff seyn wie er soll.

Apollo. Ach! scharpff genung sind deiner
 Augen Pfeile:
 Ich fühle sie ja wol;

One nymph died in love's order,
 Far too deeply wounded by him,
 Who then became a sound
 That we hear call after us:
 But Cupid's wrathful power
 Punished such rigid splendor.

As he otherwise wounded you,
 O nymphs of that time,
 So was he now bewitched
 By his own beauty,
 Until he yet came to an end,
 And was numbered among the plants.

Let us not adore ourselves,
 Let no one think too much of himself,
 And he will not be deceived,
 And in fear without hope live:
 Let no woman or man wish him
 To experience what Cupid can do.

THE THIRD ACT.

Dafne. Apollo.

Dafne. It is the track of the deer left for
 me.
 How eager I am! O if only the animal were
 here.

Apollo. Who might this be,
 Who from the eyes lets shine
 Such a bright heavenly light
 That I feel sink into my heart?

Dafne. I think my bow will bend
 properly
 In case I am in a hurry.
 I only have to see whether the arrow will
 fly,
 And be sharp as it should.

Apollo. O! the arrows of your eyes are
 sharp enough:
 I feel them well;

Sie verwunden mich von fernnen.
 Bist du nicht der Nymphen eine /
 Oder / wie ich auch vermeine /
 Eine Göttin auß den Sternen?
 Wie daß du Pfeil' und Bogen an dich
 henckest?

They wound me from afar.
 Are you not one of the nymphs,
 Or, as I believe,
 A goddess from the stars?
 How is it that you have bow and arrow
 about you?

Dafne. Ich such' ein schnelles Wild /
 Und bin ein sterblichs Weibesbildt /
 Nicht eine Göttin wie du denckest.

Dafne. I am seeking a quick prey,
 And am a mortal woman,
 Not a goddess as you think.

Apollo. Glänzt in der schönen Sterblichkeit
 Dergleichen Liecht /
 So frag' ich nach dem Himmel nicht.

Apollo. If in beauteous mortality shines
 The same light,
 I have no need to ask of heaven.

Dafne. Das Thier verläufft sich allzu weit:
 Ich muß den Fuß nur ferrner setzen.

Dafne. The animal is gaining distance:
 I have to continue my pursuit.

Apollo. Du kanst doch mit den Augen
 hetzen /
 Im Fall du schon nicht
 Berg und Thal
 Mit deinen Pfeilen
 Durchsuchest uberall.

Apollo. You can hunt with your
 eyes,
 In case you have not already roamed
 mountain and valley
 With your arrows
 And sought everywhere.

Dafne. Nichts anders wündsch' ich zu
 ereylen:
 Die Lust so ich im Sinne führe
 Sind Berge / Püsch' und Thiere:
 Diß ist der Raub der bey mir
 gilt.

Dafne. There is nothing I would sooner
 have:
 The desire I have within
 Is for mountains, bushes and animals:
 That is the only prey that means anything
 to me.

Apollo. Du fällest nicht nur blosses Wildt;
 Dann deiner stolzen Augen Liecht
 Kan auch die Götter selbst versehren;
 Ihr Herz' ist für dir sicher nicht.

Apollo. You fell not just wild prey;
 For the light of your proud eyes
 Can also wound the gods themselves;
 Their heart is certainly not for you.

Dafne. Die Götter pfleg ich hoch
 zu ehren:
 Durch meine Pfeil' und Bogen
 Wird nur das Wild betrogen.
 Du aber säumest mich
 Mit langem stehen.

Dafne. I take pains to honor the gods
 highly:
 Through my bow and arrow
 Are wild animals alone deceived.
 But you delay me
 With this standing about.

Apollo. Vergönne mir daß ich
 Mag mit dir gehen.

Apollo. Do me the favor that I
 Might go with you.

Ich weiß die Thiere wol zu fällen:
Wir wollen eine Jagt
Mit grosser Lust anstellen
Die mir und dir behagt.

I know well how to fell animals:
We will with great pleasure
Set about a hunt
That will suit both of us.

Dafne. Es darff sich nichts zu mir
gesellen
Als Pfeil und Bogen nur. Glück
zu.

Dafne. There can be nothing to accompany
me
Other than bow and arrow alone. Good
luck.

Apollo. Ach / warte! warumb eylest du?
Erkenne doch / O Schöne / wer dich liebet;
Ein Gott ists der sich dir ergiebet /
Der dich begehrt; gieb deinem Glücke
statt /
Nimb an den guten Rhat.
Ach fleuch / ach fleuch doch nicht!
Mein Herze das zerbricht /
Und zwingt mich daß ich schneller eyle
Als diese meine Pfeile
Wann mir ein Wild auffstößt.
Du rennest / läuffst und gehst
Wohin du wilt so will ich folgen
können.
Wer eyfrig liebt dem kan kein Ding
entrinnen.

Apollo. O, wait! why do you hurry?
Recognize, O beauty, who loves you;
A god it is who devotes himself to you,
Who desires you; give in to your
happiness,
Accept this good advice.
O flee, O flee not!
That breaks my heart,
And forces me to fly faster
Than these my arrows
When wild prey appears to me.
You race, run and go
Wherever you will, so will I be able to
follow.
Nothing can escape from one who ardently
loves.

Chor der Hirten.

Chorus of shepherds.

Liebe wer sich selber haßt;
Aber wer sein gutes Leben
Will der freyen Ruh ergeben
Reißt sich von der argen Last;
Suchet für das süsse Leyden
Felder / Wild / Gepüsch' und Heyden.

Love whoever hates himself;
But whoever wants to devote his good life
To unattached peace
Tears himself from the heavy burden;
Seek for the sweet suffering
Fields, wilderness, bush and heath.

Ihm gefällt die Faulheit nicht
Die nicht als zum bösen wachet /
Die den trägen schwächer machet /
Und der starcken Krafft zerbricht;
Die den Geist zeucht auff die Erden /
Und heißt Männer Kinder werden.

He does not like laziness,
Which only watches over evil,
Which makes the indolent weaker,
And breaks the power of the strong;
Which creates a spirit on the earth,
That makes men into children.

Seine Lust die er begehrt /
Die jhm kürzet manche Stunde /
Sind berühmte schnelle Hunde /

The joy that he desires,
That shortens for him many hours,
Are dogs renowned for their speed,

Und ein Ritterliches Pferdt;
Sein Gemüthe muß sich letzen
Mit dem Adelichen hetzen.

And a horse suited for a knight;
His nature is to long
To hunt with the nobility.

Wann der Reiff das Feldt betawt /
Und die Vögel mit dem singen
Umb die Morgenröthe springen //
Sitzt er munter auff und schawt
Ob er mit den schnellen Winden
Kan ein schönes Stücke finden.

When the frost of the field thaws,
And the birds with singing
Around the dawns begin to leap,
He sits up awake and looks to see
Whether with the quick winds
He might be able to find some game.

Also dringt die scharpffe Pein
Nimmer in sein grosses Herze
Das von Wollust / Lieb' und Scherze
Ganz will frey und sicher seyn /
Will nicht von den Frewden wissen
Die Gemüth' und Leib muß büssen.

Thus the sharp pain
Never penetrates his great heart
Which from lust, love and merriment
Wants to be completely free and safe,
And know nothing of the joys
For which soul and body must suffer.

Flieht ingleichen diese Lust
Die doch nur den weichen Sinnen
So nichts Mannlichs uben können
Soll bekandt seyn und bewust;
Die nur wie ein Schatten stehet /
Der bald wird und bald vergehet.

In the same way flees this desire
Which to sensitive minds—
So nothing manly can be practiced—
Should be familiar and known;
Which stands like a mere shadow,
That now comes and now goes.

DER VIERDTE ACT.

THE FOURTH ACT.

Cupido. Venus.

Cupid. Venus.

Cupido. Was gilt's ich habe dir den stolzen
Muth gebrochen
Der meine Macht / Sonst hat verlacht /
Und mich an dir gerochen?
So lernt jhr Götter nach der Zeit
Hier meines Köchers innen werden.
Und jhr / jhr sterblichen / erhebet weit und
breit
Mein hohes Lob auff Erden.

Cupid. Of what worth is it that I have
broken your proud courage
That otherwise scoffed at my power,
And taken revenge upon you?
Thus you gods learn after your time
Here to become aware of my quiver.
And you, you mortals, raise far and
wide
My high praise on earth.

Venus. O süsser Sohn / was hastu doch
gethan?
Was will diß frölich seyn und
lachen?
Was ist es doch mein Kind? Sag' an;
Daß ich mich auch kan lustig machen.

Venus. O sweet son, what have you
done?
What is the meaning of this jollity and
laughing?
What is it my son? Do tell;
So that I can join in your merriment.

Cupido. O Mutter laß mir einen
Wagen
Von Gold' und Edlen Steinen bawen:
Jetzt mag ich einen Kranz zum Sieges-
Zeichen tragen;
Die Götter sollen heute schawen
Wie recht ich triumphiren kan.
Der Gott so von der Himmels-Bahn
Mit seiner Strahlen Krafft die ganze Welt
durchscheint
Hat meines Bogens Rach' empfunden /
Geht jetzt und weint /
Ist kranck an Liebes-Wunden.

Venus. Kan ein Gott auch rühmen sich /
Daß er für dir frey sey blieben?
Sohn / Sohn / dencke wer bin ich /
Folgt doch deine Mutter dir /
Muß nach deinem Willen leben
Götter oben / Menschen hier.

Cupido. Zwar trawrig hab' ich dich
gemacht /
Jedoch so hast du auch gelacht.
Ich hab dich gar nie gesehen weinen
Wie Mars in deinen Armen lag
Eh' als der helle Tag
Verrätherisch den Glanz ließ auff euch
scheinen.

Venus. Ach schweig: Doch weissest du
wie mir entfiel der Muth /
Und wie mein Antlitz ward als
Blut.
Aber laß uns hier nicht stehen;
Es ist Zeit
Heim zu gehen
In das Haus der Ewigkeit.

Chor der Hirten.

Kein schnelles Wild daß in den Püschchen
lebt /
Dem Graß die Nahrung giebt /
Kein Vogel auch der umb die Wolcken

Cupid. O mother, have a chariot built for
me
Out of gold and gemstones:
I will now bear a wreath as a sign of
victory;
The gods shall see today
How well I can triumph.
The god who from heaven's path
Illumines the whole world with the power
of his rays
Has felt the wrath of my bow,
He goes now and weeps,
He is sick from love's wounds.

Venus. Can any god boast,
That he has remained free from you?
Son, son, think who I am,
Even your mother obeys you,
According to your will must
Gods above, humans here, live.

Cupid. Certainly I have made you
sad,
Yet you have also laughed.
I never saw you cry
When Mars lay in your arms
Before, when the bright day
Tellingly let its splendor shine on you
two.

Venus. O be quiet: you certainly know
how courage failed me,
And how my countenance became as
blood.
But let us not stand here;
It is time
To go home
Into the house of eternity.

Chorus of shepherds.

No quick beast that lives in the
bushes,
To which grass gives nourishment,
No bird that hovers among the

schwebt /
Kein Fisch bleibt unverliebt:
Nichts ist was wohnt auff Erden /
Wo Lufft und See durchstreicht /
Was ist und noch soll werden /
Das nicht der Liebe weicht.

Die Kräuter selbst so ohne Geist
auffgehn
Sind Freund doch unter sich;
Kein Element kan bey dem andern stehn /
O Amor / als durch dich:
Der Mensch ist's der die Gaben
Deß liebens von sich streicht /
Und will ein Herze haben
Das nicht der Liebe weicht.

Der eine stellt auff ungezähmtes Wild /
Der reysset Tag und Nacht /
Ein andrer hört wann die Trompet'
erschülle
Und Fug zum kriegen macht /
Der schawet daß mit Scherze
Und Lust die Zeit verstreicht /
Damit er hab' ein Herze
Das nicht der Liebe weicht.

Doch wann uns kömpt deß Leibes thewre
Wahr
Der Augen Strahlen für /
Der weisse Hals / das Goldtgemengte
Haar /
Der rothen Lippen Ziehr /
So muß man innen werden
Daß nichts sich jhnen gleicht /
Und kein Ding sey auff Erden
Das nicht der Liebe weicht.

DER FUNFFTE ACT.

Apollo. Dafne.

Bleib / Nymfe / bleib; ich bin dein Feind ja
nicht
Daß du so lauffst mein Liecht /

clouds,
No fish remains unloved:
There is nothing that lives on the earth,
Where air and sea abound,
Nothing that is or yet shall be,
That does not yield to love.

Even the weeds themselves, which sprout
without soul,
Are friends among themselves;
No element can stand by another,
O Love, except through you:
Only man it is who
Rejects the gifts of loving,
And wants to have a heart
That does not give in to love.

The one sets his heart on untamed beasts,
He rides day and night,
Another listens for the sound of the
trumpet
That makes the call to battle,
A third seeks to pass the time
With humor and merriment,
In order to have a heart
That does not give in to love.

Yet when to us appears a delightful
form
Radiant to the eyes,
The white neck, the plentiful golden
hair,
Ornament of red lips,
One has to inwardly admit
That nothing can compare to this,
And there is nothing on the earth
That does not give in to love.

THE FIFTH ACT.

Apollo. Dafne.

Apollo. Stay, nymph, stay; I am not your
enemy
You need not run, my light,

Als wann ein armes Schaff vom Wolffe
wird getrieben.

Mein folgen kömpt vom lieben.
Ach / Ach / daß für die grosse Brunst
Kein Kraut wächst auff der Erden!
Was hilfft mich jetzto meine Kunst
Durch welche sunst
Ein jeder heil kan werden.

Dafne. O Vatter Peneus / nim mich an /
Dein unbeflecktes Kind. O Vatter hilff
doch mir /
Im Fall ein Fluß auch helffen kan.
Bedeck' / O Erde / mich nim zu dir meine
Zier /
Verschling sie / od laß sich meinen Leib
verkehren
In etwas welches mich kan der gewalt
erwehren.

Apollo. Soll dann / jhr harten Rinden /
Die unbefleckte Zier /
So Herz und Sinn mir kundte binden
In euch verdeckt seyn für und für?
Ihr Augen / die jhr mehr ein Quell als
Augen seyt /
Bleibt an die Zweige hier gehefftet
jederzeit.
Hier da ist das edle Herze
So das meine mir zerbricht;
Hier ist mein der Sonnen Liecht /
Das die helle Tages-Kerze /
Die Vertreiberin der Nacht /
Aller schwarz und tunckel macht.
Wiewol ich sonst unsterblich bin /
Doch sterb ich jhrentwegen hin.
Ach Nymfe / die du dich
Hast eines Gottes Lieb' erwehret /
Dardurch dein schöner Leichnam sich
In einen Lorbeerbaum verkehret /
Es widerfahr in Ewigkeit ja nicht /
Daß ich dein Lob nit soll' in Himmel mit
mir führen.
Mit deinen Blättern will ich allzeit / O
mein Liecht /
Diß güldne Haar mir ziehren.

As when a poor sheep is driven away by
the wolf.

My following you comes from loving.
O, O, that to remedy such burning desire
No plant grows on earth!
Of what use to me now is my art
Through which normally
All can be healed.

Dafne. O father Peneus, accept me,
Your immaculate child. O father help
me,
If a river can help.
Cover me up, O earth, take unto you my
beauty,
Devour it, or let my body
turn into
Something that can protect me from
violence.

Apollo. You coarse bark, shall then
The unspoiled beauty,
That could bind my heart and mind
Be covered by you forever?
You eyes, that are more like a fountain than
eyes,
Remain attached to the branches here
always.
Here there is the noble heart
That my heart breaks;
Here is my sunlight,
This the bright day-candle,
That drives away the night,
Which makes everything black and dismal.
Although I am otherwise immortal,
Yet I die away on account of her.
O nymph, you who have
Protected yourself from a god's love,
By having your beautiful body
Turn into a laurel tree,
Let it not happen in eternity,
That I do not carry with me your praise into
heaven.
With your leaves I will always, O
my light,
Decorate this golden hair of mine.

Diese meine Pflanze hier
 Soll begrünt seyn für und für /
 Soll in Kält und Hitze stehen /
 Für dem Wetter frey und loß:
 Donner / Plitz und harter Schloß
 Soll bey dir fürüber gehen.

This my plant here
 Shall be permanently green,
 It shall stand in cold and in heat,
 Free and independent of the weather:
 Thunder, lightning and heavy rain
 Shall not affect you.

Die Regenten dieser Welt /
 Und ein unverzagter Heldt
 Der sich Ritterlich geschlagen
 Unter seiner Feinde Schar /
 Soll umb sein sieghafftes Haar
 Diese frische Zweyge tragen.

The rulers of this world,
 And an irrepressible hero
 Who fights nobly
 Among a throng of his enemies,
 Shall upon his victorious head
 These fresh branches wear.

Herd' und Hirten sollen dir
 Lassen deine grüne Zier:
 Hier soll frey von andern Dingen
 Nymf und Göttin jhre Zeit
 Lustig und in Frölichkeit /
 O du edler Baum / verbringen.

Shepherds and their flocks shall
 Leave untouched your green beauty:
 Here shall nymph and goddess
 Free from other things
 Pass their time
 In joy and merriment, O you noble tree.

Der Nymfen und Hirten Tanz umb den Baum.

Dance of the nymphs and shepherds around the tree.

O schöne Nymfe / frewe dich /
 Dein Leib der vor besorget sich
 Man würd' jhn nicht verschonen /
 Nach dem er Laub und Schatten giebt
 So wird der schöne Baum geliebt
 Auch da wo Götter wohnen.

O beautiful nymph, be glad,
 Your body, which you worried
 Would not be spared,
 Now that it has foliage and gives shade
 The beautiful tree is loved
 Even where gods live.

Kein Plitz ist der dein Kleyd
 zerbricht /
 Du achtest keinen Regen nicht.
 Blühst stets mit grünen
 Haaren /
 Legst nimmer von dir deine Zier /
 Bekränzest grosse Fürsten hier /
 Und auch der Götter Scharen.

There is no lightning that will destroy your
 dress,
 You need not be concerned about rain.
 You will always be in bloom with green
 hair,
 You will never lose your beauty,
 You will crown great princes here,
 And also throngs of gods.

Nun wachse fort als wie du thust /
 Geneuß mit Frewden deiner Lust /
 Und deiner schönen Gaben.
 Wir wollen / wo ja Amors Pfeil
 Uns gleichfalls giebet unser Theil /

Now grow as you will,
 With joy partake of your pleasure,
 And your beautiful gifts.
 We want, where Love's arrow
 Likewise gives us our share,

Ihn auch in Ehren haben.

To also hold him in honor.

Und trügen wir dann Liebes Gunst /
Laß unsrer Augen trewe Brunst
Der Liebsten Sinn durchdringen;
Laß unsers guten Herzens Pflicht
Wie Eyß das von der Sonnen bricht
Ihr hartes Herze zwingen.

And if we deceive Love's good will,
Let true fire of the most passionate kind
Pierce our eyes;
Let the duty of our good heart,
As ice breaks in the sun,
Force her hard heart.

Wo aber es sich auch begiebt
Daß die von uns nicht wird geliebt
Die uns liebt je auff Erden /
So laß diß unser Haar allhier
An stadt deß Lorbeerbaumes Zier
In Hew verwandelt werden.

However, if it should happen
That we do not love her
Who ever loves us on this earth,
Let all this hair of ours
Instead of being graced by laurels
Be turned into hay.

Nun grüne fort / und mit dir auch
Der uberedle Rauten-Strauch /
Der uns erhält das Leben;
Der Himmel laß' jhn seine Frucht /
Die manches kranckes Land jetzt sucht /
Von Zeit zu Zeiten geben.

Now blossom forth, and with you also
The supremely noble diamond-laurel bush
That sustains our life;
May heaven grant to it,
Now and forever, the fruit
That many a sick land now seeks.

Nim zu und wachse für und für /
O Rautenstrauch / der Felder Zier /
Für dem die Schlangen fliehen /
Der böse Lust und Schmerzen stillt /
Für dessen Krafft kein Giffß was
gilt /
Und kan uns nicht durchziehen.

Increase and grow evermore,
O diamond-laurel bush, gem of the fields,
Before whom the serpents flee,
Who quells evil pleasure and pain,
Against whose might no poison can
contend
Nor us pervade.

Nim zu und wachse für und für /
Und deine Zweygen neben dir /
Die alle Schönheit ziehret;
Von denen einer sich jetzt giebt
Dem Löwen der jhn herzlich liebt /
Und hin in Hessen führet.

Increase and grow evermore,
And your offshoots next to you,
All graced with beauty;
From which one is now given
To the lion who loves her heartily,
And leads her into Hessen.

O schöner Frühling / frewe dich /
Der Blumen Luft erhebe sich /
Die Vögel müssen singen:
Der Zweyg so dich / O Löw' /
ergetzt /
Den Venus in dein Land versetzt /
Wird neue Zweyge bringen.

O beautiful spring, be glad,
The scent of flowers arises,
The birds must sing:
The branch, O lion, that Venus secures in
your land,
So that you may take delight,
Will bring new branches.

Wir sehen schon wie nach der Zeit /
Wann Jupiter den harten Streit
Durch Teutschland noch wird stillen /
Wir sehen wie der Rauten Ziehr
Mit grüner Luft wird für und für
Feldt / Berg und Thal erfüllen.

We see already how after the time,
When Jupiter quiets the difficult struggle,
Throughout Germany,
We see how Dafne's beauty
Shall evermore fill with her green fragrance
Field, mountain and valley.

Appendix B – Translation of Georg Philipp Harsdörffer’s *Seelewig*, text and commentary¹

The “players” of Volume 4 of the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* are as follows:²

Angelica von Keuschewitz, a young noblewoman
 Reymund Discretin, a well-traveled and well-read student
 Julia von Freudenstein, a wise matron
 Vespasian von Lustgau, an old courtier
 Cassandra Schönlebin, a young noblewoman
 Degenwert von Ruhmeck, a sensible and learned soldier

[PROLOGUE]

R. Die Vorrednerin ist
 Die Music oder Singkunst.
 Nach einem kurzen Vorspiel also singend:

**Mein hoher Adelstand läst mich nicht
 gar verligen /
 Ich muß / ich muß hervor und weisen /
 was ich kan!
 Mag ich die Frevelwitz des Pövels nicht
 vergnügen:
 So wird mein’ Ehre doch gelangen
 Himmel an.**

A. Aus diesem ersten Reimschluß merke
 ich / daß des Pöbel vermessenens
 Gutdunken / und fauler unnützer Wahn
 zierlich Frevelwitz genennet worden. Nun
 singe der Herr fort.

**R. Es hat vor dieser Welt der Engel-
 Chor erschallet:
 Darnach in Gottes Volk ward ich mit**

[PROLOGUE]

R. The Introducer is
 Music or the Art of Song.
 After a short prelude thus singing:

**My high noble standing does not let me
 be at all untruthful,
 I must, I must come forth and show,
 what I can do!
 May I not take pleasure in the
 outrageousness of the mob:
 So will my honor surely reach
 heaven.**

A. Out of this first verse I notice
 that the presumptuous pleasure, and rotten
 useless delusion of the mob
 is delicately named outrageousness. Now
 may the gentleman sing further.

**R. Before this world the choir of angels
 sounded forth:
 Afterwards into God’s people I came**

¹ Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, ed. Irmgard Boettcher, Volume 4 (1644) (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1968), 85-209. Translation mine. To my knowledge, there is no other translation of the complete text (or the commentary) into English. In the interest of clarity, I have italicized the verses of the libretto. Regarding format, I have followed Harsdörffer’s convention of listing the character name above the text he is to sing. There are some differences between this version of the libretto and that which appears with the music (pp. 535-666 of Volume 4). In the discussion of the music in Chapter 4, I give the text from the score version when it differs from the version translated here.

² This version of the libretto contains no list of characters in the drama (*Seelewig*). Fig. 4.1 in Chapter 4 reproduces the list of characters as it appears in the version with music.

**seinem Wort /
Daß der Posaunen Ruf nur durch die
Lufte wallet /
und ohne Schwertesstreich obsieget
manchem Ort.**

V. Hierinnen hat der Herr abgesehen auf die Wort Jobs – Wo warest du / da mich die Morgensterne miteinander lobeten / und jauchzeten alle Kinder Gottes: zu erweisen der Music von alters Adeliches Herkommen / und daß forters mit Gottes Worte unter der Leviten Amt die Sanger jederzeit die sondersten gewesen; da auch von der Posaunen Schall die Mauren zu Jericho eingefallen / wie aus der H. Schrift bekant ist.

**R. Der Harfen Wunderklang dem bosen Geiste wehret /
Und ware Trostes voll in Fahrlichkeit und Noht;
Dem Abenopfer gleich / dardurch man hat geehret
Mit sussem Lobgeruch den ewig grossen Gott.**

J. Dieser Reimschlu sihet auf die Geschichte Davids / welcher dem bosen Geist mit der Harfen Klang gewehret / und Gott mit schonen Psalmen gelobet.

**R. Noch hat sich nach der Zeit die Mivernunft gefunden /
und von des Tempels Thur mich zogen mit Gewalt.
Ich wurd der Knechtin gleich mit Uppigkeit gebunden /
das nach und nach mit mir die Gottes-**

**with his word,
So that the call of trumpets but flows through the air,
and without blows of swords conquers many places.**

V. Herein the gentleman is after the words of Job³ – Where were you, when the morning stars together praised me, and all the children of God rejoiced?: to give proof of music of ancient, noble origin, and further that with God’s words the singers of that time among the office of the Levites were the most remarkable; that also the walls of Jericho⁴ fell from the sound of trumpets, as is known from the holy scripture.

**R. The wondrous sound of harps protects one from the evil spirit,
And keeps one full of consolation in danger and need;⁵
Like the evening offering, through which one honored
With sweet scent of praise the eternally great God.**

J. This verse looks at the story of David, who defended himself from the evil spirit with the sound of harps, and praised God with beautiful psalms.

**R. Still did unreason emerge after a time,
and drag me with force from the temple door.
I was as a servant bound with opulence,
So that by and by the love of God**

³ Harsdorffer’s note: [Job] 38:7. [“When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.”]

⁴ Harsdorffer’s note: Joshua 2. (The fall of Jericho is detailed in 6:20, however.)

⁵ Harsdorffer’s note: 1. Samuel 16:16 [“Let our lord now command thy servants, which are before thee, to seek out a man, who is a cunning player on a harp: and it shall come to pass, when the evil spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well.”]

Lieb' erkalt.

D. Hier zieleet der Herr auf den grossen Mißbrauch der Music / welche mehr in Wirtshäusern / bey Dänzen und Gastereyen / als in der Kirchen gehört wird / ja mehr Weltlich als Geistlich scheinen wil.

R. Obwol mein Kunstgeschmuck wurd eine Zeit bereichert / so gar daß ich mit Ziel und Grenzen wurd umschrenkt. Doch hört man leichtlich jetzt / wie ferne darvon weichet der / so nach seinem Kopf mit Grillwerk mich behengt.

C. Das muß zu verstehen seyn von Verbesserung der Kunstreglen der Music / welche heut zu Tage von gar wenig Meistern beobachtet werden; wie die neuen Gesang- und Liederbücher überflüssig bezeugen.

R. Das schwere Fesselband' ist mir jetzt abgefallen. Dein Freiheit leitet mich zu Gottes Lob und Lehr' / Und zu des Nechsten Lieb'. Ich lasse hier erschallen Ein Geistliches Gedicht ohn eitlen Ruhm und Ehr.

A. Der Herr singet hier / was vor erwähnt worden / daß die Weltliche Freudenspiele in Geistliche Gedichte sollen verwechselt werden; und weil er in der Music Name beklaget die Dienstbarkeit / in welche sie gerahten ist / so führet er sie hier an / als ob sie wieder auf freyen Fuß gestellet / etwas erbauliches zu Gottes Ehren und des Nechsten Nutzen hören lassen werde.

R. Hört nun / so euch beliebt / wie schön mit mir vermählet Die edle Reimenkust / die so verliebt in

cooled within me.

D. Here the gentleman aims at the great misuse of music, which belongs, more in inns, for dancing and entertainment, than in churches, and indeed appears more secular than sacred.

R. Although my artistic ornamentation was for a time enriched, even so my purpose and borders were hemmed in. Yet one hears easily now, how far from that goes he who/ hangs me like lace on his head.

C. That must be about the benefits of artistic rules of music, which are observed today by very few masters; which the new songbooks abundantly evidence.

R. The heavy chain has now fallen away from me. Your freedom leads me to God's praise and teaching, And to love for one's neighbor. I let here resound A spiritual poem without idle fame and honor.

A. The gentleman sings here, what was mentioned before, that secular comedies should be turned into spiritual poems: and because he complains in the name of music, of the servitude, into which it has gotten, so he presents it here, as if placed on free feet again, to make heard something edifying to God's honor and useful to one's neighbor.

R. Now hear, so popular to you, how beautifully wed to me is Noble verse, who is so in love with

mich

**Daß sie mein Selbstwortheist / von
meinem Geist beseelet
Mein Spiel / mein Herz / mein Lieb' / ja
mein selbst ander Ich.**

D. Dieser letzte Reimsatz wendet sich zu den Zuhörern / und drucket aus die genaue Verwandschaft der Music und der Poeterey.

R. Wann diese Vorrede ein schönes Weibsbild singen würde / die zugleich darein auf der Lauten spielen könnte / würde die Erfindung so viel angenehmer zu sehen kommen.

C. Wil man wenig Noten haben / so kan es / als ein Lied / von vier Reimzeilen zu den anderen gesungen werden / oder durch und durch Erzählungsweiß in die Music gesetzt werden.

D. Die Reimen sind jambisch mit 13. und 12. Sylben geschrenket.

J. Die Lehre ist / daß man die Music zu Geistlichen Sachen gebrauchen solle.

V. Das Sinnbild aus dieser Vorrede sind zween Engel / derer der eine singt / der ander auf der Harfen schlägt / mit der Umschrift:

Mein selbst ander ich.

und zu solchen Gedanken haben mich veranlast die vier letzen Reimen.

A. Die Musica wird billich in Gestalt eines Weibsbildes / welche / (zu Bedeutung der edlen Poeterey) mit einem Lorbeerkrantz gekrönet seyn kan / eingeführet; weil selbe ist eine Ernähr- und Pflegerin aller in richtiger Ebenmasse bestehenden Künsten / wie ich dann berichtet worden / daß unter diesen Namen / von welchen die Musen den jhren erhalten / alle andere

me,

**That she is called by the self-same
word, and is given soul by my spirit
My play, my heart, my love, even my
other self.**

D. This last verse turns to the audience, and expresses the exact relationship of music and poetry.

R. If a beautiful picture of woman would sing this introduction, who at the same time could play the lute, the invention would look so much more appealing.

C. If one wants to have few notes, it can be sung, as a song, from one four-line rhymed verse to the other, or through-composed like a narrative.

D. The verses are iambic with alternating patterns of 13 and 12 syllables.

J. The lesson is, that one should use music for spiritual things.

V. The symbol from this introduction is two angels, of whom one sings, the other plays the harp, with the caption:

My other self.

and to such thoughts have the last four verses brought me.

A. Music is easily turned into the form of a woman, which, (important to noble poetry) can be crowned with a laurel wreath; because she herself is a nourisher and caretaker of all existing harmonious arts, as I have been made aware of, that among these names, from which the muses get theirs, all other

Wissenschaften können verstanden werden. sciences can be understood.

D. Ihre Kleidung sol erbar seyn; jhr Leibrock mit langen Streifen / wie die Linien in den Gesangbüchern / und an dem Saume desselben etliche Noten gesehen werden.

D. Her clothing should be honorable; her gown with long stripes, like the lines in the song books, and on the hems of the gown several notes are seen.

C. Damit aber der Zuseher Verlangen vermehret werde / kan der Schauplatz noch verhängt bleiben / und erst beschriebene Person vor den Fürhang heraustreten / und selber nach verrichtem Gesange erst gänzlich aufgezo-gen werden.

C. So that the desire of the audience can be increased, however, the stage can remain covered by the curtain, and the person just described can enter in front of the curtain, which only after the song will be completely raised.

R. Es dienet der Singkunste oder Music nicht zu geringem Lob / wider derselben unwissende Verächtere / daß in der gar kurzen Erzählung von der ersten Menschen Thun jhr Erfinder nicht ist verschwiegen / und Jubal genennet worden / von welchem wir Teutsche das Wort jubiliren behalten.

R. It gives no slight praise to singing or music, contrary to the opinion of those unknowledgeable contemptuous ones, that in the brief telling of the deeds of the first people their inventor is not silent, and is named Jubal, from which we Germans get the word jubiliren.

J. Es hat die Music solche Lieblichkeit / daß fast scheint / als ob vermittelt derselben allein die ewige Freude in diesem Jammerthale ausgebildet würde. Bald sich diese Kunst hören lasset / macht sie schweigen alles / was sonst in den Menschen auch stillschweigend reden kan: sie machet alle Sorgen aus dem Herzen entweichen / linderet die Schmerzen / besänfftiget den Zorn und belustiget mit unsträflicher Wollust jhre Zuhörer.

J. Music has such charm, that it almost seems, as if it arranged of itself alone that eternal joy is taught in this vale of sorrows. As soon as this art is heard, it makes everything become silent, that otherwise in humans can speak silently: it makes all cares disappear from the heart, relieves pains, eases anger and makes its listeners merry with excusable lust.

V. Ob zwar die Seele ein Geist ist / welcher durch leibliche Dinge nicht mag erregt werden / so lassen doch alle derselben Kräfte / der Verstand / der Wille / die Gedächtnüß / die Bildung⁶ sich durch das Gehör übermeistern und bewegen.

V. Whether the soul to be sure is a spirit, that might not be roused through material things, so do reason, the will, the memory, the imagination allow all of the same powers to be overcome and moved through the hearing.

A. Die Music ist hier auf Erden der Echo oder Wiederhall der himmlischen Freuden:

A. Music is here on earth the echo or reverberation of heavenly joys:

⁶ Harsdörffer's note: Imaginatio.

Dann wer kan nicht ohne erstaunen
betrachten ein so Sinnreiches Holz / so
künstlich klingende Seiden / einen
singenden Faden / und eine leere Hölen des
Wiederhalls.

for who can without astonishment behold
such a meaningful piece of wood, such
artfully sounding strings, a
singing thread, and an empty cavity of
reverberation.

D. Der Music Mittelpunkt ist in dem
Himmel / zu welchem alle jhre Ton stralen
(wann also zu reden verlaubet ist /) durch
die Luft eilen: Sie ist die Königin edler
Künste, eine Herrscherin unserer Sinne /
die alle Kräften den Ohren zueilen machet.

D. The center of music is in
heaven, to which all her tone rays
(if one may so speak) hurry through
the air: She is the queen of the noble
arts, a ruler of our senses,
who makes all powers hurry to the ears.

C. Doch solten die Vögelein uns das Lob
dieser Kunste ab erhalten / wann nicht die
verständige und artlich gemessene Stimm
des Menschen darbey were.

C. Yet the birds would get from us the
praise of this art, if the reasonable
and mannered measured voice of man
were not there.

R. Es ist auch nicht das geringste Lob der
Music / daß die Sinnreichste unter allen
Künsten / die edle und fast Göttliche
Poeterey / jhr nachgesetzt und untergeben
wird / darinnen die Hoheit der hurtigen
Geister herfürleuchtet; darinnen die
schönsten Gedanken an jhre Ehrenstelle
erhaben / und gleich denen Edelgesteinen
in das wehrte Golde gefasset werden.

R. It is also not the least praise of
music, that the most thoughtful of all
the arts, noble and almost sacred
poetry, is set after and subordinated to
her, wherein the highness of the quick
spirits shines forth; wherein the
most beautiful thoughts are raised to their
place of honor, and as gems are set
into precious gold.

J. Ist aber nichts zu Nachtheil der Music
aufzubringen?

J. But is there nothing to bring up to the
disadvantage of music?

V. Nichts anders / als der zufällige
Mißbrauch. Man sol den Verstand vielmehr
bemühen / das Gemüht als das Gehör zu
belustigen: der nichtige Klang / und das in
der Luft verrauschende Getöne / kan
niemals wirk- und wesentliche Benügung
beybringen. Dem Frauenzimmer ist
sicherer / daß sie das Trauerliedlein der
Turteltauben / als das Freudengesang der
Nachtigallen hören lassen.

V. Nothing else, but the accidental
misuse. One should much further trouble
the intellect to please the mind rather than
the ears: trivial sound, and
tones rushing in the air, can
never bring about real and essential
satisfaction. It is safer for the
woman, that she listens to the mourning
song of the turtle dove, rather than the
joyful song of the nightingale.

C. Dieses ist zu verstehen von denen
Syrenen / deren Lieblichkeit zu endlichen
Schmerzen locket; die eine fast Göttliche
Stimme haben / aber ein Teufflisches

C. This is to be understood from the
sirens, whose charm entices one to
ultimate sorrow; who have an almost
divine voice, but lead a

Leben führen.

D. Wir suchen hier eine Frölichkeit /
welche nirgend reinlicher zu finden ist /
als bey der himmlischen Music: Es sol uns
aber genügen / wann unser Thun mit
unserem Gewissen übereinstimmet / und
wir unsere Hoffnung nicht gar zu hoch
spannen.

A. Seyn wir hier Fremdlinge in dieser Welt
/ so sollen wir billich das Freudenlied in
eine Klage verwandeln / wie dort die
Kinder Israel ausser jhrem Lande / die
Geistlichen Psalmen zu singen verwegeret.
Doch ist dieses in weit anderem Verstande
geredt / und beliebe dem Herrn nach
diesem Ein- oder Umgang / im
angefangenen Waldgedichte fortzufahren.

DIE ERSTE HANDLUNG

Der erste Aufzug. – Dünkelwitz

Besihet sein Angesicht im Fluß
singend.

**Zerfließender Spiegel und silberne
Fluht /
lege nun deine stolzwallende Wellen /
welche die Winde mit beben
erschwellen /
Und wandere machlich mit minderem
Muht.
Noch harret noch starret die hastige
Struht /
weisend meins Angesichts niedliche
Hellen.
Lasset die Ströme sich häuffen und
schwellen /
Mein Bilde hier dennoch im Lauffen
beruht!**

Bey hiesigem Lande /

devilish life.

D. We seek here a joy,
that is nowhere to be found more pure,
than in heavenly music: however, it
should please us, when our actions agree
with our conscience, and
we do not have too-high
hopes.

A. As we are strangers in this world,
we should easily change the joyful song
into a mournful one, as the
children of Israel dared to sing sacred
psalms while in exile.
Yet this is veering into far different
meanings, and may it please the
gentleman after this entry or treatment, to
continue with the already-begun pastoral.

THE FIRST ACT

The First Scene. – Headed “Arrogant
Wit”

Künsteling, observing his face in the river,
singing.

**Running mirror and silver
flood,
calm now your proud flowing waves,
that the winds swell to
quaking,
And wander placidly with less
boldness.
The hasty stream neither waits nor
freezes,
knowing the pretty brightness of my
countenance.
Let the currents increase and
swell,
My image nonetheless rests in
running!**

In this land,

**in kießlichem Strande / bestehets und
geht:
doch können die Stralen
mit nichten bemahlen
die Menschliche Red'.**

C. Diese und dergleichen Sonnet oder Klingreimen mögen auf mancherley Art gesetzt werden / hier ist eine gleiche / doch schickliche Mensur.

D. Man heist es dactylische oder klingende Springreimen / und ist eine sondere Art / welche mit sechssyllbigen Reimzeilen endet.

J. Das der Künsteling sein Bildniß in dem Fluß betrachtet / lehret / wie der Wissenschaften gröstes Belieben in jhnen selbst ist. Der Gelehrten Leben ist Gedenken / ins gemein haben sie das höchste Wolgefallen an jhren Schriften / und werden vielmals solche Narcissi / die andere neben jhnen verachten / sich herfürbrüsten / und vermeinen jhres gleichen sey schwerlich anzutreffen. Diese Schwachheit der Gelehrten hat der Apostel Paulus bemerkt mit diesen Worten:

Viel wissen bläset auf.

V. Die Frau weist mir unwissend / daß ich zu einem Sinnbild erkiesen solle ein Faß mit neuem ungesundem Wein / welches das Böse von sich gieret; benebens einer Flaschen mit altem gerechtem Wein. Jener bedeutet die eitele vermeinte Wissenschaft der jungen schwülstigen Leute / so sich besagter massen aufzublehen pflaget; Diese die reine und lautere Erfahrung der Alten / welche sich lange Zeit unbewegt bey guten Kraften befindet / mit dem Beywort:

Bestehend entgeht.

A. Der Fluß wird ein zerfliessender Spiegel

**on the pebbly beach, it stays and
goes:
yet the rays
are not able to paint
human speech.**

C. This sonnet or other rhymes of this sort might be set in a number of ways, this is an even, yet proper meter.

D. It is called dactylic or ringing spring rhyme, and is of a special sort, that ends with six-syllable lines.

J. That Künsteling observes his image in the river, teaches, how knowledge takes greatest pleasure in itself. The life of the learned is thinking, they have in common the highest pleasure in their writings, and often become such narcissists, whom others next to them despise, they are boastful, and believe it difficult to find their equal. Apostle Paul remarked on this weakness of the learned with these words:

Much knowledge puffs one up.⁷

V. The lady unwittingly shows me, that I should use as symbol a cask with new unhealthy wine, for which the evil one is greedy; next to a bottle with old good wine. The former indicates the idle supposed knowledge of the pompous young people, who care to puff themselves up to the degree mentioned; the latter the pure and sheer experience of the old, which has long existed unmoved with good powers, with the byword:

Existing eludes.

A. The river is called a running

⁷ Harsdörffer's note: I Corinthians 8:1.

genennet / weil das Gegenbild in desselben
Lauff beruhet.

mirror, because the counterpart rests in the
same current.

DER ERSTEN HANDLUNG

FROM THE FIRST ACT

Zweiter Aufzug.

Second Scene.

Trügewalt / Künsteling.

Trügewalt, Künsteling.

Trüg.

Trüg.

**Künsteling ich muß dir klagen /
wie ich lange Zeit in mir
habe die Begierd getragen
Seelwig zu berucken hier.
Wirst du mir behülflich seyn /
So stell' ich mich dankbar ein.**

**Künsteling, I must complain to you,
how I have carried inside me for so long
the desire
to bring Seelewig here.
If you will help me,
I will be most grateful.**

A. Er sagt hier nicht daß er Seelewig hold
sey / sondern er lobet sie / wie ein
Ehebrecher einer ehelichen Frauen
aufwartet / sie zu Falle zu bringen /
welches durch das Wörtlein berucken
verstanden worden.

A. He does not say here that he desires
Seelewig, rather he praises her, as an
adulterer awaits a married
woman, to make her fall,
this is to be understood by the word
berucken.

R. Hierauf antwortet Künsteling:

R. Whereupon Künsteling answers:

**Wie? soll jemand dein begehren
der inwohnet dieses Land /
schimfen / und dich nicht gewären?
Bist du dann jhr nicht bekant?
Was ich darbey leisten kan /
biet ich frey und willig an.**

**What? should someone
who lives in this land
scold, and not yield to you?
Are you not known to her?
Whatever I can do to help,
I offer freely and willingly.**

V. Hierbey ist vielleicht abgesehen worden /
daß der böse Feind jederzeit mit Vorwand
der Wissenschaft zu betrügen gesucht / und
in dem man das Erkantnuß Gutes und
Böses lernen wil / wird man gemeiniglich
in dem Ergsten unterrichtet.

V. Here is perhaps foreseen,
that the evil enemy at all times tries to
trick with the pretense of knowledge, and
insofar as one wants to learn the
recognition of good and evil, one will
commonly be instructed in the worst.

R. Trügewalt antwortet hierauf:

R. Trügewalt hereupon answers:

**Ach sie pflegt nicht zu verweilen /
wann ich an bequemen Ort /**

**O, she will not care to remain,
if I think to urge her on,**

**Sie gedenke zu ereilen /
jhr zu sagen Liebes-Wort /
Wirst du mir behülflich seyn /
so stell' ich mich dankbar ein.**

J. Das ist die beste Sicherheit der Jungfrauen / die Gelegenheit zu sündigen meiden: Nach dem gemeinen Sprichwort; Wer nicht zum Wasser komt / der ersäuft nicht.

R. Künstel.

**Kanst du sie dann nicht bezwingen etwa in der Einsamkeit?
Oder sie mit List' umringen / wann sie sich hält bey der Weid'?
Ich will leisten was ich kan / wie geziemt eim Freundes-Mann.**

D. Dieses ist der Hofschmeichler nechster Raht; was sich nicht will lassen bügen / das muß man brechen. Als ob es mit gutem oder mit bösen grossen Herren nach Wunsch gehen müste.

R. Trügew.

**Die Gwissulda sie begleitet von der zarten Jugend an / und die Nymfen so verleitet / daß sie fliehet meine Bahn.
Wirst du mir behülflich seyn / So stell' ich mich dankbar ein.**

C. Das Gewissen in dem Menschen / ist ein Bildniß der ersten Vollkommenheit / und läst sich auch bey wolerzogenen Kinderen / durch Bereuung jhrer Mishandlungen ersehen.

R. Künstel.

Sinnigunda wolt ich meinen (wann Gwissulda ligt zu Ruh') Solte selbst in den Heinen

**to some comfortable place,
If you will say a word of love to her,
You will be helpful to me,
And I will be most grateful.**

J. That is the best assurance of virgins, to avoid the opportunity to sin: After the common saying; Who does not come to the water, will not drown.

R. Künstel.

**Can you not then conquer her somehow in her loneliness?
Or surround her with tricks, when she stops by the meadow?
I will do what I can, As is proper to the husband of a friend.**

D. This is the next advice of the court flatterers; what will not allow itself to be bent, must be broken. As if it had to be according to the wish of great gentlemen, good or bad.

R. Trügew.

**Gwissulda has accompanied her since her tender youth, and the nymphs have so misled her, that she flees my path.
If you will help me, I will be most grateful.**

C. Conscience in man, is a picture of the first completeness, and makes itself seen also in well-brought-up children, through regret of their ill treatment.

R. Künstel.

**Sinnigunda is the one I meant (if Gwissulda is sleeping)
She herself in the groves**

**reden oft das Beste zu.
Was ich darbey leisten kan
Biet ich frey und willig an.**

A. Die Sinne sind der Seelen gefährlichste
Wegweisere / als welche ins gemein der
rechten Tugend-Bahne verfehlen.

R. Trügew.

**Möchst du sie mit Liebe zähmen /
durch dein viel und manche Kunst /
wolt ich dein Gestalt annehmen /
und mir rauben jhre Gunst.
Wilt du mir behülfflich seyn /
Stell' ich mich bald dankbar ein.**

V. Wann es der böse Feind dahin bringet /
daß der Mensch von Gott ab / und sein
Vertrauen auf selbstmögende Kunste setzet
/ so hat er bald gewonnen.

R. Künstel.

**Künigunda [*sic*] sol uns dienen /
Ihr beliebt der Hirten Freud /
Wann die Felder sich begrünen
sucht sie Lust und Frölichkeit.
Was du mir befihlest an /
will ich leisten als ich kan.**

J. Die Sinne sind die Werkzeuge des
Verstandes / werden dieses Orts für den
Willen des Menschen genommen / weil
selben vielmals der Vernunft Urtheil
weichen muß.

R. Trügew.

**Wilt du mir dann überlassen /
was du in der Sach' erhältst?
Dann mich alle Nymfen hassen /
und du jeder wolgefällst.
Wirst du mir behülfflich seyn /
So stell' ich mich dankbar ein.**

**often speaks most convincingly.
Whatever I can do to help
I offer freely and willingly.**

A. The senses are the most dangerous
guides, as they are commonly missing
from the right paths of virtue.

R. Trügew.

**If you would like to tame her with love,
through your plenteous and varied art,
I would take on your form,
and rob her of her favor.
If you will help me,
I will be most grateful.**

V. When the evil foe brings it to the point,
that man sets his trust on self-loving arts,
rather than on God,
he has soon won.

R. Künstel.

**Sinnigunda shall serve us,
Beloved joy of the shepherds,
When the fields begin to green
She seeks pleasure and happiness.
Whatever you order,
I will do as I can.**

J. The senses are the tools of
reason, they are taken in this place for the
will of man, because
to them the judgment of reason must
often yield.

R. Trügew.

**Will you then leave to me,
What you have in your bag?
For all the nymphs hate me,
And you please everyone.
If you will help me,
I will be most grateful.**

D. Wer bey Fürsten und Herren wil wol ankommen / der muß zu jhren Belusten Raht und That leisten. Was man erlangen wil / muß man durch angenehme Botschafter / und unter verdecktem Schein werben / und auswirken.

R. Künsteling.

**Trügewalt du solst erfahren
das / was ich erjagen werd' /
in dem Fallstrick' oder Garen /
so dir alles seyn verehrt.
Ich will leisten was ich kan /
als ein Freund- und Biedermann.**

C. Durch den Fallstrick verstehet er sich allein / durch das Garen die Samthülff: ist also der Verstand / er wolle jhm überlassen / was er allein / oder mit anderen werde erhalten können. Biedermann oder Bedermann ist wie ein Scheidsmann / dessen Redlichkeit bederseits vertrauet wird: oder es wird auch Biedermann gesagt / vom Bederben / oder Nutzen / Bederbmann / ein Mann der mit Ehren bederbet oder genutzet werden kan.

R. Darauf schliesset Trügew.

**Dieses hat mir auch versprochen
Ehrelob und Reichimut:
Also wird bald seyn gerochen
Seelwigs Stolz und Übermuht.
Hilf mir zu dem Händelein /
ich will dir bald dankbar seyn.**

A. Fürsten und Herren / welche von Jugend auf nichts als Gehorsam erfahren / und in solcher Hoheit auferzogen worden / halten den für stolz / der jhnen nicht unterworffen seyn wil.

V. Kein schicklicheres Sinnbild kan ich zu diesem Aufzug finden als einen Schäfer /

D. Whoever wants to be well received by princes and gentlemen, must render advice and deeds according to their desires. What one wants to gain, must come through pleasant messengers, and be promoted and effected, under covered appearance.

R. Künsteling.

**Trügewalt you shall learn
what I will pursue,
In the noose or roasting,
shall everything be to your honor.
I will do what I can,
as a friend and honest fellow.**

C. With the noose he understands himself alone, with the roasting the help of others: it is thus the understanding, that he will leave to him, what he alone, or with others can obtain. Biedermann or Bedermann is like a referee, whose honesty is trusted by both sides: or it is also called Biedermann, from Bederbern, or gain, Bederbmann, a man who with honor gains spoil or can be profited from.

R. Therupon Trügew. closes.

**This Ehrelob and Reichimut
Also promised me:
thus Seelewig's pride and
overconfidence will soon be sniffed at.
Help me with the business,
I will soon be thankful to you.**

A. Princes and lords, who from youth have experienced nothing but obedience, and have been brought up in such highness, holds him for proud, who will not be subject to them.

V. I can find no more proper symbol for this scene than a shepherd,

welcher einen Spiegel für das
Angesichthält / weil böse Buben sich
einander gleich gestalten / und allezeit
eines Sinnes sind. Die Überschrift ist diese:
Als ein Freund und Biedermann.

J. Die Lehre ist / daß der böse Feind nicht
nur herumgeht wie ein brüllender Löwe /
uns zu verschlingen / sondern auch zu
erschleichen / deswegen er heist die alte
listige Schlange / welche sich in einen
Engel des Lichtes verstellen kan.

D. Diese Reimen sind trochaisch / sieben-
und achtsyllbig: in welchen Trügewalt den
Endreimen biß zum letzten Satz gleich
wiederholet; Künsteling etwas wenig
verändert.

C. Die Music ist ein Wechsel-Lied /
gemeiner Art.

DER ERSTEN HANDLUNG

Dritter Aufzug.

Ehrelob und Reichimut betrachten zu
Abendszeit jhren Schatten.

Ehrel. **Der Schatten grössert sich / und
reift die Gestalt.**

Reich. **Es ist der Sonnenwerk so
tunkelschwarz gemahlt.**

Ehrel. **Die Sonne bildet mich durch jhre
heise Stralen /**

Reich. **Ja / jetzt beginnt die Luft die
Finsterniß zu mahlen.**

Ehrel. **Schau / wie doch unvermerkt der
leichte Schatten streift!**

Reich. **Und weiset wie der Tag zum**

who holds a mirror before his
face, because evil youths turn out to be
like one another, and are always of a
single mind. The supertitle is this:
As a friend and honest man.

J. The lesson is, that the evil enemy does
not only go about like a roaring lion,
to devour us, but also sneaks
around, for that reason he is called the old
cunning serpent, that can disguise itself as
an angel of the light.

D. These verses are trochaic, seven-
and eight-syllable: in which Trügewalt
repeats the end rhymes until the
final verse; Künsteling changes his
a little.

C. The music is a strophic song,
of a common sort.

FROM THE FIRST ACT

Third Scene.

Ehrelob and Reichimut observe their
shadows at dusk.

Ehrel. **The shadow grows, and
ripens the form.**

Reich. **It is the work of the sun
painted so dark black.**

Ehrel. **The sun forms me through its
hot rays,**

Reich. **Yes, now the air begins to
paint the darkness.**

Ehrel. **Look, how yet unnoticed the
insubstantial shadow touches the light!**

Reich. **And shows how the day wanders**

untergehen schweift.

Ehrel. Das ist das wahre Mahl der hellen Sonnen Gnade.

Reich. Es ist der Nachte Bild / der Finsternüssen Pfade.

Ehrel. Hoh' Ehr dem Schatten gleicht / der uns uns selbstem weist.

Reich. Der Reichthum ist die Sonn' aus der der Schatten fleust.

Ehrel. Der Sonnen schnelle Pferd' jetzt in das Meer sich senken / Laß uns was Trügewart versprochen auch gedenken.

Reich. Die braunlicht' Abendzeit / weisst daß es heut zu spat / Es wird der nechste Tag uns bringen Raht und That.

C. Diese beide Hirten sollen stattlich bekleidet seyn; Ehrelob in grünen Damast / weil die Hoffnung (durch diese Farbe bedeutet) mehr Ehr und Lob zu erlangen stetig grünet / und der Ehrgeiz anfängt / wo er sollte aufhören: Reichimut aber mag einen Purpurfarb Atlassen Rock anhaben.

A. Der Schatten wird tunkelscharz genennet / der mit leichten Streifen / wie ein Mahler mit geringer Hand dahin streichet. Wann man bedenket / wie gar mit genauer Mase er jedes Bilde verzeichnet / so findet sich / daß alles natürlich auseredet.

V. Daraus ist das Sinnbild leicht zu finden / nemlich ein Kind / welches sich in seinem Schatten sihet / mit der Beyschrifte:

Das wahre Mahl.

oder Merkmahl / das uns gleichsam für die

to its demise.

Ehrel. That is the true mark of the bright sun's grace.

Reich. It is the picture of night, the path of darkness.

Ehrel. High honor is like the shadow, that shows us ourselves.

Reich. Wealth is the sun out of which the shadow flows.

Ehrel. The sun's quick horses are now sinking into the sea, Let us think on and promise something to Trügewart.

Reich. The browning dusk shows that it is too late today, Tomorrow shall bring us counsel and action.

C. These two shepherds should be dressed handsomely; Ehrelob in green damask, because hope (indicated through this color) continually becomes green to obtain more honor and praise, and ambition begins, where it should leave off: Reichimut, though, might have a purple-colored atlas robe on.

A. The shadow is called dark black, the one with light stripes, as a painter brushes with a light hand. When one thinks how complete with exact proportion he paints each picture, one finds that everything finishes speaking naturally.

V. Here the symbol is easy to find, namely a child, who sees himself in his shadow, with the caption:

The true mark.

or feature, that so to speak paints for our

Augen mahlet / die Nicht- und Flüchtigkeit
der Ehre und des Reichthums / so ins
gemein zugleich steigen und sinken.

eyes, the triviality and superficiality
of honor and wealth, which commonly
climbs and falls at the same time.

J. Die Lehre dieses Sinnbildes kan diese
seyn:

J. The lesson of this symbol can be
this:

Was wir gewesen sind / noch seyn / und
sollen werden / das zeigt die Nichtigkeit
des Schattens auf der Erden.

What we were, still are, and
shall become, shows the triviality
of the shadow on earth.

D. Diese jambische Reimzeilen sind
erstlich einzelich gewechselt / und doppelt
geschlossen.

D. These iambic lines are
first singly alternating, and doubly
closed.

C. Die Music sol sich nicht allezeit nach
dem Gehör richten / sondern nach den
Grundrichtigen Kunstregelen: dann alles
was der Kunst gemäß ist / wird von dem
Ohr für richtig geprüft; aber nicht alles
was dem Ohr angenehm /
ist auch für Kunstrichtig zu halten.

C. Music should not always follow
hearing, rather it should follow the
basic rules of art: for everything
done according to art, will be considered
correct by the ear; however, not
everything that is pleasant to the ear,
should be considered artistically correct.

DER ERSTEN HANDLUNG

FROM THE FIRST ACT

Vierter Aufzug. – Sinnbetrug.

Fourth Scene. – Headed “Deceit of the
Senses”

Seelewig und Sinnigunda / Die Nymfen
gehen Abends an dem Ufer des Meers
spazieren.

Seelewig and Sinnigunda, the nymphs go
walking on the seashore in the
evening.

Seelewig.

Seelewig.

**Die guldene Sonne schwebt ober dem
Meer?
ihr silberner Monde beginnet das Heer /
der leuchtenden Sterne herfür zu
führen.**

**The golden sun hovers over the
sea,
her silver moon begins to lead forth
the flock of glowing
stars.**

C. Ist eine Beschreibung des Abends. Was
antwort die andere Nymfe?

C. This is a description of evening. What
does the other nymph answer?

Sinnigunda:

Sinnigunda:

O schöne Gefertin wir wollen

O beautiful companion we want to

**spazieren
an deme salz-sandigem Ufer daher /
da gehet und stehet das ebene Meer.**

D. Das Meer läuft von sechs / zu sechs
Stunden ab und zu / daher es hier recht
gehend und stehend genennet wird.

Seelewig:

**Schaue die schneckichten Müschelein
hier /
jhr rundlich so bunte gewundene
Zier /
mit welcher Neptunus sich pflaget
zu gürtten.**

J. Die Muschel welche sich an dem Ufer
des Meers finden / sind Poetischer Weise
beschrieben / als ob desselben vermeinter
Gott solche gebrauchte für Spangen zu
Bezierung seiner Gürtel.

Sinnigunda:

**Erlerne wie vielmals auch unter den
Hirten / und unter den Schäfern im
nidrigen Stand'
auch wohne Belusten und hoher
Verstand.**

V. Sinnigund weiß jhrer Gespielin Reden
zu fürhabendem heimlichen Betrug artlich
zu ziehen / und wil sagen: daß / wie der
geringschätzigen Muschel Zierden zu
verwunderen; also auch daß das schlechte
Schäfervölklein Belieben bringen könne.

Seelewig:

**Ich schaue von fernen den spitzigen
Mast /
des Segel durch Senkung des
Ankeres rast.
die Wogen der Wellen verglichen
erligen.**

**stroll
along the salty, sandy beach,
there goes and stays the level sea.**

D. The sea flows and ebbs, every six
hours, thus it is correctly
called going and staying here.

Seelewig:

**Look at the spiraled mussels
here,
their plump, so colorfully winding
beauty,
with which Neptune takes pains to gird
himself.**

J. The mussels on the
seashore, are described
poetically, as if the same supposed
god needed them for clasps for the
decoration of his belt.

Sinnigunda:

**Learn how frequently as well among
the rustics, and among the shepherds of
low standing
exist amusements and high
understanding.**

V. Sinnigunda knows talk to artfully pull
her playmate to intentional hidden
deception, and wants to say: how to be
amazed at the decoration of the
insignificant mussel; thus also that the
lowly shepherd-folk can bring favors.

Seelewig:

**I see from afar the pointed
mast,
of a sail at rest through the sinking of
the anchor.
The flapping is apt to be compared to
the waves.**

A. Sie betrachtet ein zu Ankerliegendes Schiff im stillen Meer / das sie ungefehr von ferne sehen.

Sinnigunda:

**Ach liebe Gefertin wie sol uns genügen das stetige Hoffen / so man nicht erfährt;
Als were das Glücke Verzagten beschert.**

C. Sie wil sagen: Gleichwie das Schiff nichts wird erwerben / wann es den Anker nicht aufhebt / und den Winden vertrauet; also wird das Glück mit leerer Hoffnung erwarten / der nicht kühnlich darnach trachtet / und eussersten Vermögens darum bemühet ist.

Seelewig:

Was Wunder! die Sonne beflammet das Meer / und röhtet gleichbrünstig das Wasser so sehr / sie blendet mit Stralen die ruhigen Wellen.

D. Das Wasser / von der Abend-Sonnen beleuchtet / scheint ganz roht und brünstig.

Sinnigunda:

Fast solcher Gestalte beginnets zu hellen / wann uns die süßbrünstige Liebe behitzt und herzlich so schmerzliches Flammenfeur blitzt.

J. Hier ist der Sonnen Hitz mit der Liebe verglichen / nach Anlaß gegenwärtiger Fügüsse / zieleet wie das vorhergehende Seelewig zu jhrem Willen zu reizen. Die Lehre kan seyn / daß man auch die herrlichsten Gaben und

A. She is looking at a ship too deeply anchored in the quiet sea, that they see indistinctly from afar.

Sinnigunda:

**O dear companion how shall constant hoping satisfy us, so that one experiences nothing;
as if happiness were shorn from the despondent.**

C. She wants to say: just as the ship will gain nothing, if it does not raise the anchor, and trust the winds; so will he await happiness with empty hope, who does not boldly strive for it, and is not with most extreme capacity striving for it.

Seelewig:

**How marvelous! The sun inflames the sea, and reddens with equal ardor the water so much,
it blinds with rays the quiet waves.**

D. The water, illuminated by the evening sun, looks very red and flaming.

Sinnigunda:

**Almost all such forms begin to brighten,
when sweetly ardent love makes us hot and such painful flames of fire flash so lovingly.**

J. Here the heat of the sun is compared with love, after the occasion of present authorities, planning how the preceding might entice Seelewig to her will. The lesson might be, that one can misconstrue even the most wonderful gifts and

Geschöpfe Gottes / als die Schiffarten / und
den lieben Sonnenschein zu bösem
Fürhaben mißdeuten kan.

creations of God, such as seafaring, and
the dear sunshine to
evil purpose.

V. Das Sinnbild ist ein zu Anker liegendes
Schiff / mit dem Wort:

V. The symbol is a ship too deeply
anchored, with the words:

Wie sol es genügen?

How shall it satisfy?

A. Das Wort erfahren hat hier zweyerley
Verstand: einmal durch Schiffarten
erlangen / das andermal durch Erfahrung
wirklich genießen.

A. The word erfahren can be understood
here in two ways: first, to reach through
sailing, second, to really enjoy through
experience.

C. Die Music ist nach Art der dactylischen
Lieder gerichtet / weil es eine
Ergetzlichkeit antrifft / mit 6/4. gleicher
Mensur.

C. The music is guided by the manner of
dactylic songs, because it
achieves a delightfulness, with a meter
like 6/4.

D. Die Reimen sind also geschlossen / daß
der dritte mit dem ersten stimmt.
Es schickt sich diese Art wol zu Liederen.

D. The poetic lines are closed in such a
way, that the third agrees with the first.
This style is very appropriate for songs.

DER ERSTEN HANDLUNG

FROM THE FIRST ACT

Fünfter Aufzug.

Fifth Scene.

Herzigild / Gwissulda / Sinnigunda /
Seelewig.

Herzigild, Gwissulda, Sinnigunda,
Seelewig.

Herzig. **Lasset uns auch mit spaziren.**

Herzig. **Allow us to walk with you.**

Sinnig. **Wann euch unser Reiß gefällt.**

Sinnig. **If you like our journey.**

Gwissul. **Leichtlich könt jhr euch
verführen /
bald jhr seyd zusamm gesellt.**

Gwissul. **You could easily lead one
another astray,
as soon as you are joined together.**

Herzig. **Fliet von diesem Meergestaten /
da des lucken Sandes viel /**

Herzig. **Flee this place by the sea,
since there is so much sand with gaps,**

Sinnig. **folg nicht dieser Alten rahten /
ist das Meer doch Windestill.**

Sinnig. **do not follow this old advice,
the sea and wind are perfectly calm.**

Gwissul. **Es näht sich die Zeit zu
schlaffen**

Gwissul. **The time to sleep draws
near**

mit dem stillen Schattenschein.

Sinnig. Wer mit dieser hat zu schaffen / bilde keine Lust' jhm ein.

Seelew. Schaut wie jener Anker hafftet zwischen einer Felsen Grufft!

Sinnig. Unsre Hoffnung wird bekräftet ferne von der Erden Klufft.

Gwissul. Man muß von dem Ufer stossen und den Anker heben auf. Sol man durch die Windgenossen halten rechten Hoffnungslauf.

Sinnig. Liebe lasse diese stehen: mach dich von der Zucht jetzt frey.

Sie wenden sich.

Gwissul. Wegert jhr mit uns zu gehen? Bald begegnet jhr die Reu!

Gehen ab.

A. Die Meinung dieses Aufzuges verstehe ich dahin / daß den Sinnen so wenig als der Windstille des Meeres zu trauen.

V. Das Sinnbild / welches hierbey zu erwähnen / ist ein Anker der zwischen Felsen hafftet / mit der Obschrift:

Man muß von der Erden stossen.

Es ist aber alhier der Nymfen Gespräch nicht von dem besegelten Schiffe / dessen Mast sie zuvor von fernem gesehen / sondern von einem kleineren / welches sie näher bey dem Ufer beobachtet.

J. Die Lehre fließet aus erstgedachtem Sinnbilde / daß nemlich wir Menschen uns gar leichtlich bereden / es komme unser

with the quiet appearance of shadows.

Sinnig. Whoever has anything to do with this, Cannot imagine having any fun.

Seelew. See how that anchor is caught in the cleft of a boulder!

Sinnig. Our hope is strengthened far from the cleft of earth.

Gwissul. One must push off from the shore and lift anchor. One shall hold to the right path of hope through the companionship of the wind.

Sinnig. Love let this stand: free yourself now from chastity.

They turn about.

Gwissul. Will you venture to go with us? Soon you will meet with regret!

Exeunt.

A. The meaning of this scene I understand thus, that one can trust the senses as little as the quiet of the sea.

V. The symbol to mention here is an anchor caught between rocks, with the superscript:

One has to push off from earth.

Here, however, the conversation of the nymphs is not about the sailing ship, whose mast they earlier saw from afar, rather about a smaller one, that they observe closer to shore.

J. The lesson comes from the symbol first thought of, that namely we humans easily convince ourselves, that our imprisoned

Standhaftigkeit von der Erden / oder
hoffen mit übermäßigem Vertrauen auf das
Irdische; da hingegen alhier nichts zu
gewinnen / wann wir nicht vom Lande
stossen / un uns den himmlischen
Schikungen gänzlich vertrauen.

D. Die Reimart ist gemein; habe aber
darbey beobachtet / daß spazieren auf
verführen / viel auf still / frey auf
Reu / und dergleichen rührende Reimen
gebrauchet worden / welche man noch zur
Zeit muß zulassen / damit die Gedichte
nicht zu eng geschlossen / und zu
streng verbunden kommen: Solte aber
unsere Sprache aus jhr selbstn und dem
Niederländischen / darinnen noch etliche
Stammwörter verborgen ligen / mit mehr
Worten bereichert werden / auch die
Reimkunst zur vollständigen
Grundrichtigkeit gelangen / würde dann
diese Freyheit / durch gewiese Gesetze
bemässigen oder nach und nach gar
aufheben müssen.

C. Die Music bedunkt mich wolgesetzt.

status comes from the earth, or
we hope with disproportionate trust in the
earthly; on the contrary there is nothing at
all to gain here, if we do not push off from
the land, and trust completely in divine
providence.

D. The rhyme type is common; I noticed
in it, though, that spazieren is coordinated
with verführen, viel with still, frey with
Reu, and other such touching rhymes were
used, which must still be
permitted today, so that the poems
are not too narrowly closed, and too
strictly bound: yet should
our language, wherein several root words
still lie hidden, become enriched with
more words out of itself and from the
Dutch, poetry would achieve complete
basic
correctness, it would have to moderate
this freedom through
certain laws or by and by
even nullify them.

C. The music seems to me well set.

DER ERSTEN HANDLUNG

Sechster Aufzug.

Trügewalt allein.

I.

**Solt mich das nicht recht betrüben /
daß mein Herrlichkeit und Pracht
wird verlachtet und veracht?
Ich will List und Macht verüben!
Rauschende Baumen / du dickes Gefüld /
Sage wo Seelewig bey dir verhüllt!**

II.

**Solt sich meim Gewalt entziehen
Die / so wohnt in meinem Reich /
und mich achten so für feig /
daß ich selbst sie laß entfliehen.**

FROM THE FIRST ACT

Sixth Scene.

Trügewalt alone.

I.

**Should it not grieve me,
that my glory and splendor
are laughed at and scorned?
I will resort to cunning and power!
Rustling trees, you thick meadow,
Tell me where you are hiding Seelewig!**

II.

**Shall she remove my power
She, who lives in my realm,
and takes me for a coward,
because I allow her to flee.**

**Rauschende Wälder und finsters
Gefüld /
Saget wo Weelewig liget verhüllt!**

III.
**Was sich findet in dem Walde /
sol auch billich Weltlich seyn;
wie dann mir obligt allein
daß als Herr ich darob halte.
Aestichte Stauden und schattigs
Gefüld /
Saget wo Seelewig ruhet verhüllt!**

A. Die Welt wird einem finsterem Walde
verglichen / in welchem der böse Feind /
als ein Fürst derselben / sein Werk haben
wil / in den Kindern des Unglaubens /
daher auch Trügewalt den Namen hat.

V. Das Sinnbild ist ein Brennspeigel mit
der Umschripte:
Verübend List' und Macht.
Zu verstehen / daß der Satan trachtet /
durch Verhengniß Gottes / den Menschen
zu Schaden / und sie in das ewige Feuer zu
bringen.

J. Solches thut er listig / wie durch die Art
der Brennspeigel von fernen angezündet
wird / und mächtig mit strengen
Feuerstralen: deswegen man sich für
diesem Tausendkünstler wol zu
hüten hat. Es schickt sich aber dieses
Sinnbild wol zu der Gefährlichkeit des
Meeres / (von welches zuvor Meldung
geschehen /) weil Archimedes erstlich
diese Brennspeigel erfunden / und des
Feindes Schiffheer darmit angezündet
haben sol.

D. Die vier trochaischen Reimzeilen
werden mit zweyen dactylischen
geschlossen.

**Rustling forest and dark
meadow,
Tell me where Seelewig lies hidden!**

III.
**What is in the forest,
should also easily be worldly;
this obliges me alone
to be lord above it.
Branched bushes and shadowy
meadow,
tell me where Seelewig rests hidden!**

A. The world is compared to a dark
forest, in which the evil enemy, wants,
like a prince, to have his
work, in the children of the unfaithful,
thus he has the name Trügewalt.

V. The symbol is a "Brennspeigel"⁸ with
the caption:
Committing deceit and exercising power.
To be understood, that Satan seeks,
through God's destiny, to harm
people, and bring them into the eternal
fire.

J. Such he does cunningly, as through the
manner in which a "Brennspeigel" is lit
from a distance, and powerfully with
strong flames: for that reason one should
well protect himself from these artists of a
thousand means. But this symbol is very
appropriate for the danger of the
sea, (which was mentioned
before,) because Archimedes is supposed
to have first invented the lamp, and to
have burned the fleet of his enemy
with it.

D. The four trochaic lines
are closed with two dactylic
ones.

⁸ A "Brennspeigel," or "burn mirror" was a means to cause flame, as a magnifying lens concentrates sunlight.

C. Diese Music ist nach Art der Lieder gesetzt / und in den dreyen Gesetzen gleich wiederholet.

Chor der Hirten.

1.
**Es ist ein grosser Lust /
 mit kluger Hinkerlist /
 dem Pövel unbewust /
 seyn stetig ausgerüst.
 Es wenden und blenden die trüglichen
 Tück' /
 oft fügen und biegen sie Glückes
 Geschick.**

2.
**Es hat ein grossen Last
 und aufgeseiltes Leid /
 den ringsüm hält gefasst
 sein Einfalt jederzeit.
 Ihn wenden und blenden die trüglichen
 Tück' /
 oft fügen und biegen sie Glückes
 Geschick.**

3.
**Einfalt ist fast verlacht
 bey dieser klugen Welt;
 da wirkt der vorbedacht
 in tunkelem Gezelt.
 Es wenden und blenden die trügliche
 Tück' /
 oft fügen und biegen sie Glückes
 Geschick.**

A. Die Wort-Gleichheit in den Reimen ist sehr wolständig / als hier / wenden und blenden / fügen und biegen / Tück' und Geschick. Daß also in zweyen Zeilen sechs Reimwort gehäuffet werden.

V. Das Sinnbild zu diesem Aufzug kan seyn ein Zelt mit der Schrift:

In tunkelem Gezelt.

C. This music is set in song style, and in the three stanzas immediately repeated, strophically.

Chorus of shepherds.

1.
**It is a great pleasure,
 to be continually equipped
 with clever designs,
 unknown to the crowd.
 Deceptive treacheries can turn and
 blind,
 and often tame and bend the skill of
 happiness.**

2.
**It has a great burden
 and tied up pain,
 around which its simplicity
 at all times holds its grasp.
 Deceptive treacheries turn and blind
 him,
 and often tame and bend the skill of
 happiness.**

3.
**Simplicity is almost scorned
 by this clever world;
 there forethought works
 under dark cover.
 Deceptive treacheries can turn and
 blind,
 and often tame and bend the skill of
 happiness.**

A. The word-equality in rhymes is very prosperous, as here, wenden and blenden, fügen and biegen, Tück' and Geschick. Thus six rhyming words are packed into two lines.

V. The symbol for this scene can be a tent with the words:

Under dark cover.

J. Weil wir verborgener Weise von dem bösen Feinde bestritten / und unerwartet überfallen werden.

J. Because we are in hidden ways fought by the evil enemy, and unexpectedly attacked.

D. Wie in den vorigen trochaischen Reimzeilen der erste und der vierte / inzwischen der andere und der dritte zusammen getroffen / als sind diese jambische anderst geschrenket / und gleichfals dactylisch geschlossen.

D. As in the previous trochaic lines the first and the fourth, in the meantime the second and the third meet together, as these iambic are otherwise limited, and likewise dactylically closed.

C. Hie ist ein Chor der Music hinter dem Fürhang. Sie singen den Endreimen anfangs zugleich / dann führet einer das Gesang biß wieder zu den Endreimen / bey welchen die Stimmen allezeit zusammen fallen.

C. Here is a singing chorus behind the curtain. They initially sing the end rhymes at the same time, then a solo leads the song again up to the end rhyme, upon which the voices come together every time.

DER ZWEYTEN HANDLUNGE

FROM THE SECOND ACT

Erster Aufzug. – Das Morgenlob.

First Scene. – Headed “Morning Praise”

Sinnigunda und Seelewig.

Sinnigunda and Seelewig.

Sinnigunda.

Sinnigunda.

Meine Gefertin wir wollen beschauen die liebliche Blümelein / welche die Nacht waren geschlossen / in unseren Auen / denen anjetzo das perlene Thauen jhr zartliche Schöne hat wieder gebracht.

My companion, let us go see the lovely little flowers, in our meadow, that were closed last night, whose delicate beauty the pearly dew has brought back.

A. Es ist eine grosse Zierde in unserer Sprache / die Schicklichkeit der Beywörter und Verdopplungen sich zu bedienen wissen; als hier die liebliche Blümelein / das perlene Tauen / die zartliche Schöne / u. d. g.

A. It is a great ornament in our language, to know how to appropriately use additional words and word pairings; as here the lovely little flowers, the pearly dew, the delicate beauty, and so forth.

Seelewig:

Seelewig:

Die Erd' entgeistert sich und führet

The earth releases its spirit and sends

**durch die Luft
den Weyrauch und Myrrhen:
Ein jedes Kräutelein / entnommen seiner
Dürren
mit Rauchwerk ertufft.**

V. Diese Blumen von der Morgen-Sonnen
bescheinet / können ein Sinnbilde seyn
Göttlicher Gnaden / mit der Schrifte:

Sie waren geschlossen in unseren Auen.
Daß / obgleich der Mensch sein Gewissen
und Verstand aus der Acht läst / und folget
den sinnlichen Beginnen / daß jhn doch der
allgütige Gott / der seine Sonne läst
aufgehen über Fromme und Böse / mit
seinem Väterlichen Obschutz erhält / ob
jhn vielleicht die Langmuht wiederumb zur
Busse leiten möchte.

Sinnigunda:

**Diesen befärbten zu sondrem Gefallen /
die munderen Vögelein schweben alhier /
lassen die Zünglein und Stimmelein
schallen
lustig die heiteren Wolken durchwallen /
und preisen der Blümelein ruchbare
Zier.**

J. Die Vögelein unter dem Himmel sollen
uns zur Ehre Gottes aufmuntern: nebenst
erinnern / daß alles dem Menschen zu
Nutze / er aber zur Ehre Gottes erschaffen
sey.

Seelewig:

**Es ist der Sonnen Kraft / so diese Schöne
wirkt
mit kräftigen Stralen:
Die köst- und künstlich alls beschmelzen
und bemahlen
in diesem Bezirk.**

D. Weil zuvor vom Tau geredet worden /
schickt sich hier fein das Gleichniß von den

**through the air
Incense and myrrh:
Each little plant, relieved of its
barrenness
With misty spirit filled.**

V. These flowers lit up by the morning
sun, can be a symbol for
divine grace, with the inscription:

They were closed in our meadows.
So that, although man may disregard his
conscience and understanding, and follow
the beginnings of the senses, yet the
all-merciful God, who lets his sun rise on
the pious and the evil, will keep him under
his fatherly protection, if his patience
might perhaps bring him around to
penitence.

Sinnigunda:

**To these colored too special favors,
The sprightly birds climb,
Telling tongue and voice
resound,
merrily penetrating the cheerful clouds,
and praising the notorious beauty of the
flowers.**

J. The birds under heaven should enliven
us to God's honor: and then
remind us, that everything is for the use of
man, but he has been created for the honor
of God.

Seelewig:

**It is the power of the sun, that produces
this beauty
with mighty rays:
the precious and created rays ornament
and paint everything
in this realm.**

D. Because dew was talked of earlier,
the similarity is appropriately undertaken

Goldschmieden genommen / welche die Gefäße mit bunten Farben (wie die Sonne Felder und Wiesen) einschmelzen. Sonsten sind dieser Reimen zweyerley Arten: Die ersten ganz dactylisch / daß der erste / dritte und vierte sich zweysylbig fügen; der andere und fünffte einsylbig: Die zweyte Art ist jambisch und dactylisch / so geschrenkt / daß der erste mit dem vierten / und der zweyte mit dem dritten / reimet; haben ausser den Gesängeren keinen Gebrauch.

here to goldsmiths, who decorate containers with beautiful colors (as the sun does fields and meadows). By the way these rhymes are of two types: the first completely dactylic, so that the first, third and fourth match with two syllables; the second and fifth monosyllabic; the second type is iambic and dactylic, so organized, that the first with the fourth, and the second with the third, rhyme; outside of singing they have no use.

C. Nach den Versen ist die Music gerichtet / in dem das Gesang der Sinnigunda springt und fröhlich / der Seelewig Lied mehr gemässigt ist.

C. The music is ordered to the verses, in which Sinnigunda's song leaps and is joyful, Seelewig's song is more moderate.

DER ZWEYTEN HANDLUNGE

FROM THE SECOND ACT

Zweyter Aufzug.

Second Scene.

Ehrelob / Künsteling / Reichimuht / singen zugleich / zu den Nymfen nahend.

Ehrelob, Künsteling, Reichimuht, sing together, approaching the nymphs.

I.

**Mit Rubinen und Safiren
ist besetzt dieses Land /
das mit manchem Diamant
pflegt der Silbertau zu zieren.
Dieser edlen Blumen Schrein
glänzet von der Sonnenschein.**

I.

**With rubies and sapphires
this land is set,
which the silver dew bedecks
with many diamonds.
This shrine of noble flowers
shimmers from the sunshine.**

II.

**Last uns in dem matten Schatten
singen in der Morgen-Stund;
und mit Herzerfreutem Mund'
alle Vögel üm uns laden.
Jeder lobe seine Lieb'
aus befreitem Herzenstrieb'.**

II.

**Let us in the dull shadow
sing in the morning hour;
and with heart-delighted mouth
summon all the birds to us.
Let each praise his love
out of the liberated urge of the heart.**

III.

**Last uns sämtlich nun bekennen /
daß hierbey die schönste Blum /
aller Wäld- und Felder-Ruhm /**

III.

**Let us together now recognize,
that here the most beautiful flower,
the glory of all forests and fields,**

sey die Seelewig zu nennen.
 Lobet sie mit gleichem Schall /
 über andrer Blumen Zahl.

is named Seelewig.
 Praise her with equal sound,
 above numerous other flowers.

IV.
 Wann die helle Sonne taget /
 wann der Vogel lieblich singt /
 wann jhr Lied die Luft durchklingt /
 und der Blumenruch behaget /
 So gedenk du Seelewig /
 alles woll belusten dich!

IV.
 When the bright sun rises,
 when the bird sweetly sings,
 when her song sounds through the air,
 and the odor of flowers pleases,
 so remember, Seelewig,
 everything well pleases you!

A. Wie die Edelgesteine unter der Erden
 verborgen ligen / so lassen sich dergleichen
 auch ob der Erden sehen: Den Rubinen
 gleichen die Negelein; den blauen und
 weisen Safiren / die blauen und weisen
 Lilien; welche morgens mit dem Silbertau /
 als mit Diamanten umsetzet / zu betrachten.

A. As gemstones lie hidden under the
 earth, so the same are also
 seen upon the earth: carnations
 resemble rubies; blue and white lilies look
 like blue and white sapphires, which can
 be observed in the morning with the
 silvery dew, as if set with diamonds.

V. Das Sinnbild ist ein Fackel / durch einen
 Feuerspiegel angezündet / mit der Schrifte;
 --von der Sonnen Schein.

V. The symbol is a torch, lit by a
 "Feuerspiegel"⁹, with the inscription;
 --from the sunshine.

Dergleichen Spiegel halt ich für der Kunst
 höchstes Meisterstück / welche doch
 oftmals anderen zu Schaden mißbraucht
 werden / nicht anderst als die täglichen
 Wolthaten Gottes / so wir durch den lieben
 Sonnenschein empfangen / von uns zur
 Eitelkeit verwendet werden.

The same mirror I consider the greatest
 masterpiece of art, which nonetheless
 can often be misused to the harm of
 others, not otherwise as the daily
 benefits of God, which we receive through
 the dear sunshine, but used by us for
 idleness.

J. Weil sehr schwer ist sich selbst zu
 erkennen / sol uns alles Lob verdächtig
 seyn: gestalt selbes von Freunden oder von
 Feinden herkommet: Die Freunde
 reden vielmals aus blinder Liebe gegen
 uns; die Feinde entweder aus öffentlichem
 Neide / oder aus betrüglicher Schmeicheley
 / wie dieses Orts beschihet.

J. Because it is itself very difficult to
 recognize, all praise should be viewed by
 us with suspicion: the same form can
 come from friends or from foes: friends
 often speak toward us out of blind
 love; the foe either out of open
 envy, or out of deceptive flattery,
 as happens in this place.

D. Diese Reimen sind gemein / aber von
 den vorigen Liedern in dem unterschieden
 / daß sich die Endreimen nicht wiederholen
 / sondern allezeit ändern.

D. These rhymes are common, but they
 differ from the preceding songs,
 in that their end rhymes do not repeat,
 but continually change.

⁹ A "Brennspeigel." See n. 8, above.

C. Es kan sich dieser Ton auf viel Oden oder Satzreimen schicken / es ist aber wol bedacht / daß zur Enderung diese drey Schäfer zugleich singend eingeführet werden.

R. Bißher haben die Schäfer das Morgenlob eines lieblichen Tages gesungen; Massen in den Wald- und Schäfergedichten üblich / Wälder / Auen / Felder / des Lenzen Blumen / des Sommers Ernde / des Herbstes Weinlese / und anderes dergleichen angenehmes Landwesen mit den ersinnlichsten Worten auszumahlen.

D. Der Herr sagt recht / dann die Poeterey nichts anders / als ein natürliches Gemäld ist / welches mit kunstscklichen Wortfarben ausgestrichen wird; Die Mahlerey aber ein stummes Gedicht / und zu vorgedachtet Dichtkunst gehörig.

V. Beide diese Stuck werden durch die herzbewegende Music oder Singkunst kräftiglich verbunden. Hierbey ist auch zu erinnern / daß die Jugend in Erfindung der Gemälde / Sinnbilder und Schilderwesen nicht weniger zu üben und zu unterrichten / als im reden / reimen / singen und schreiben: und obwol nicht eines jeden Thun ist / in Aufreißung und Verzeichnung seiner Erfindungen bemühet zu seyn; so kan doch solcher Mangel durch die Beschreibung etlichermassen erstattet werden / wie nutzlich aber solche Gemäldübung in der Poeterey seye / ist unschwer zu ermessen.

D. Weil ein jede unter besagten dreyen Künsten / das ganze Leben eines Menschen erfordert / ist nicht zu verwunderen / daß wenig / ja fast niemand zu finden / der in allen dreyen zugleich etwas vortreffliches

C. This tone can be proper for many odes or rhymed verses, it is, however, well conceived, that for variety these three shepherds are introduced singing at the same time.

R. Until now the shepherds have sung a morning song in praise of a lovely day; in most pastoral poems it is typical to depict forests, meadows, fields, spring flowers, summer's harvest, autumn's vintage, and other such pleasant country ways with the most sensual words.

D. The gentleman says rightly, for poetry is nothing other, than a natural painting, that is painted with appropriately artistic word colors; painting, on the other hand, is a silent poem, and proper to the planning stages of the poetic art.

V. Both of these pieces are strongly connected through soul-stirring music or the art of song. Here it should also be remembered, that youth should be instructed and practiced in the creation of paintings, symbols and ways of portraying no less, than in speaking, rhyming, singing and writing: and although no one is to be concerned in each activity, with the exaggeration and cataloguing of his creation; such lack can nonetheless be made up to a degree through description, how useful such painterly practice can be in poetry, however, is not difficult to measure.

D. Because each of the three arts mentioned requires the entire life of a person, it is not astonishing, that few, almost none, are to be found, who can accomplish something excellent in all

leisten könnte. Nun fahre der Herr weiter fort.

three at once. Now may the gentleman continue.

DER ZWEYTEN HANDLUNGE

FROM THE SECOND ACT

Dritter Aufzug. – Seelengefahr.

Third Scene. – Headed “Soul’s Danger.”

Sinnigund / Seelewig / Künsteling / Ehrelob / Reichmuht / Gwissulda und Herzigild hinter den Baumen verborgen.

Sinnigund, Seelewig, Künsteling, Ehrelob, Reichmuht, Gwissulda and Herzigild hidden behind the trees [Gwissulda and Herzigild behind the trees].

Sinnig. **Hörst du was die Schäfer singen?**

Sinnig. **Do you hear what the shepherds are singing?**

Seelew. **Haben sie was fürzubringen?**

Seelew. **Do they have something to bring me?**

Sinnig. **Dein Ruhm und Lob ligt jhnen ob.**

Sinnig. **Your fame and praise lie above them.**

A. Die Sinne werden hier angeführt / als der Seele Kuplerin / oder Unterhändlerin betrügerlicher Liebe.

A. The senses are presented here, as the coupler of the soul, or the negotiator of deceptive love.

Künstel.
**Schöneste Nymfen jhr Krone der Häinen
liebet unser Hirtenfreud /
fliehet / fliehet Einsamkeit!
Welches entfernet von Trauren und Weinen.**

Künstel.
**Most lovely nymphs, you crown of the groves
love our shepherds’ joy,
flee, flee loneliness!
Be removed from sadness and weeping.**

Sie setzen sich.
Sinnigund.
**Lustig wir die Zeit verliehren /
wann uns diese Hürten führen /
dein Ruhm und Lob
ligt jhnen ob!**

They sit.
Sinnigund.
**Merrily we lose time,
if these shepherds lead us,
your fame and praise
lie above them!**

Künstel. überreicht Seelewig ein Vergrößerungs- oder Ferngläß singend:
Schau den gebranden Don / den sonst der Wind zerstaubt /

Künstel. hands Seelewig a magnifying glass or telescope, singing:
See the burned sand, which the wind usually scatters,

ist durch die strenge Glud so
 meisterlich betaubt /
 daß er sich hat vereint / und willig
 können fliesen
 als leicht zerschmelzend Wachs / ja den
 Krystall zu giesen /
 Die Kunst sich unternimt. Das
 brechliche Metall
 (berundet meisterlich /) bringt zu den
 Mittelfall'.
 Der Augen strengen Stral / daß
 alles was wir sehen /
 so viel vernemlicher und grösser komt
 zu nähén.
 Durch dieses Wunderglaß beschau nur
 was du wilt /
 so findest du bereit was dein Gesichte
 füllt.

V. Das Sinnbild zu diesem Aufzug ist
 beschrieben / nemlich es ist ein Fernglaß /
 mit dem Beyworte:

--was dein Gesichte füllt.

Der Wahn ist dieses betrügliche Glaß /
 vermittelt welches wir nahend achten was
 fern ist / oder (wann man
 auf dem anderen Ende durch das Fernglaß
 sihet /) entfernt was uns vor den Augen
 stehet. Dieser Künsteling
 hätte mit keinem anderen Geschenke die
 falschvermeinte Wissenschaften besser
 ausbilden können. Wir ziehen oder
 schieben die ineinander gestossene Rohre
 besagten Glases / wie wir wollen / so wird
 das Beschaute oder Betrachte allezeit
 unserem Gesicht / aber nicht allerseits der
 Wahrheit gemäß kommen.

Sinnig.

**Hier kanst du deinen Muht durch dieses
 Eiß' erweiteren /
 Das durch beliebten Lust vom Trauren
 kan ableiten.**

J. Es sol ein fremdes Sprichwort
 sagen: Was das Aug nicht

is through the severe heat so
 masterfully stupefied,
 that it has become unified, and willfully
 can flow
 like easily melted wax, indeed to
 pour out as crystal,
 art undertakes itself. The
 fragile metal
 (masterfully rounded,) entraps the glass
 in the middle.
 To the eyes come strengthened rays, so
 that everything we see,
 becomes closer, so much more
 perceptible and bigger.
 Through this miraculous glass see
 what you will,
 you will find ready what fills your
 face.

V. The symbol for this scene is
 described, namely it is a telescope, with
 the caption:

--what fills your face.

This deceptive glass is delusion,
 it mediates so that we pay attention to
 close up what is actually distant, or (if one
 looks through the other end of the
 telescope,) makes distant what is actually
 directly before the eyes. This Künsteling
 could not have educated us about the false
 supposed sciences through a
 better means. We pull or
 push the telescoping tube of the described
 glass, as we want to, thus the seen
 or observed always comes into
 our face, but not always as it corresponds
 to the truth.

Sinnig.

**Here you can extend your courage
 through this lens,
 Which can lead you through beloved
 desire away from sadness.**

J. There is a foreign saying that
 supposedly says: What the eye does not

sihet / beweint das Herz nicht. Die Augen führen und verführen die Jugend leichtlich / wie darvon zur anderen Zeite ist ausführlich geredet worden.

Ehrelob.

**Wilt du bey diesem Fluß vertreiben
deine Zeit /**

**So nim von meiner Hand / was ich dir
zubereit:**

**Ein scharfen Angel hier / dir Seelwig
zum Geschenke /**

**Mit dieser schwanken Ruht / eim Anbiß
und Gesenke.**

So du nur emsiglich auf hohe

Felsen steigst

**und von den Klippen ab dich zu dem
Wasser neigst /**

**So wirst du sicherlich nach Wunsch' und
deim Verlangen /**

**oft Fürstliche Gericht' an diesem Angel
hängen.**

**Doch muß dein' Ungedult nicht bringen
bösen Raht /**

**daß du nicht leicht verläst dir so beliebte
Pfad.**

V. Dieses Geschenk ist gleichfals ein Sinnbild / nemlich die Angelruhte / mit dem Wort:

emsiglich.

Weil grosser Fleiß und Gedult / so wol zu dem Angelen / als zu Erlangung grosser Ehren / erfordert wird / das Gefäng aber vielmals der Mühe nicht wehrt ist.

Sinnig.

**Mein sag / was dunket dich von diesen
freyen Hirten?**

**die Mühe heiset Lust in hohen
Ehrbegierden.**

J. Hier ist vorbesagtes Sinnbild ausgelegt. Es ist zuvor der Klippen gedacht worden / weil nach Ehren streben nichts anderes ist / als durch die Gefahr / nach

see, the heart cannot deplore. The eyes lead and mislead youth easily, which has been explicitly stated at another time.

Ehrelob.

**If you would drive the time away by
this river,**

**then take from my hand, what I have
prepared for you:**

**a sharp hook here, for you Seelewig
as a gift,**

**with this wavering rod, some bait
and a sinker.**

**You only have to climb industriously
onto high boulders**

**and from the cliffs bend down to the
water,**

**thus will you surely according to your
wish and desire,**

**often hang princely dishes on this
hook.**

**Yet your impatience must not bring you
to follow bad advice,**

**you must not easily leave your beloved
path.**

V. This gift is likewise a symbol, namely the fishing rod, with the word:

industrious.

Because great industriousness and patience, are required no less in fishing, than in the attainment of great honor, but the catch is often not worth the trouble.

Sinnig.

**Say, my dear, how do these free
shepherds seem to you?**

**their toil is called pleasure in the desire
for high honor.**

J. Here the symbol mentioned earlier is laid out. Cliffs were thought of before, because striving for honor is nothing other, than through danger, to

mehrerer Gefahr streben.

Reichimuht.

**Ob keine Gabe gleich ich dieser Nymfen
wehrt /
kan finden in dem Meer' / und auf der
weiten Erd' /
Je dannoch wil ich jhr zu Fussen
niederlegen
den Köcher / Bogen / Pfeil: auf daß sie in
Gehögen
durch Wälder / Berg' und Thal /
durch finstere Gefüld
auf rechter Fuhr und Spur kan fellen
manches Wild.
Möcht diese Fürstenfreud dir Seelewig
behagen /
So wirst du nechst dem Lust / viel
reichen Nutz erjagen.**

V. Dieser Jagzeug kan in einem Sinnbild
besagte Wort haben:

--durch finstere Gefüld.

oder auch: zu jagen manches Wild.

D. Der Herr Reymund hat wollen
sagen: Ob ich gleich keine Gab / die
dieser . . .

weil es heist die Gabe / und nicht die
Gab / hat deswegen die Wort versetzt /
Ob keine Gabe gleich . . .

dann in der Teutschen Poeterey / wie auch
in der Ebreischen / fast das meinste an dem
e gelegen ist.

Sinnig.

**Der Köcher ist besetzt mit edlem
Onychstein
es pfeifft der schöne Pfeil / es ist hier
nichts gemein.**

C. Die Music ist künstlicher gesetzt / als
ich sagen kan: Künsteling singet mit
sanfter Stimme / Ehrelob mit hohen und
prächtigen / Reichimuht mit gierigem und
eilendem Ton. Es ist aber sonderlich

strive for more danger.

Reichimuht.

**Though I can find no gift to compare to
this nymph,
in the sea, and upon the broad
earth,
Nonetheless will I ever lay at
her feet
the quiver, bow, arrow: so that she
with grace
through forests, mount and valley,
through dark fields
on the right lead and trace can fell
much game.
May this joy of princes please you
Seelewig,
thus will you besides pleasure, much
rich use pursue.**

V. This hunting gear can as a symbol have
the mentioned words:

--through dark fields.

or also: to hunt much game.

D. The gentleman Reymund wanted to
say: Though I can find no gift, which to
this . . .

because it is "die Gabe"/ and not "die
Gab," he chose to set the words,
Though [I] can find no gift . . .
for in German poetry, as also in
the Hebrew, much is laid on
the "e."

Sinnig.

**The quiver is set with noble
onyx
the beautiful arrow whistles, there is
nothing common here.**

C. The music is set artificially, as
I can say: Künsteling sings with
soft voice, Ehrelob with a high and
splendid voice, Reichimut with a greedy
and urgent tone. But it is especially

bedacht / daß die Ehrbegierd mit dem
Angelen / welches an einem gewissen Orte
geschehen muß / verglichen worden:
hingegen aber der Geltgeiz mit dem
Jagwerk vereinbahret / weil dem Gelt zu
aller Gegend nachgestellt werden mag.

Seelew.

**Ich küsse die Geschenk' und werde mich
befeissen /
hingegen Lieb' und Gunst ein jedem zu
erweisen.**

A. Seelewig läst jhr dieses Weltwesen
gefallen / hängt das Herz daran / und
betrachtet nicht / daß das Vertrauen gegen
Gott / dardurch gemindert / wo nicht
aufgehoben wird.

DER ZWEYTEN HANDLUNGE

Vierter Aufzug.

Gwissulda und Herzigild kommen hinter
den Baumen hervor.

Gwissul. **Herzigild du hast vernommen
Seelewig Gefährlichkeit.**

Herzig. **Wir sind schuldig jederzeit /
Zu befördern jhren Frommen.**

Gwissul. **Ich ermahne sie mit weinen /
daß sie Sinnigunda meid'.**

Herzig. **Ach / sie dankt mit Haß und
Neid /
daß wir ihren Nutzen meinen.**

Gwissul. **Auf nun / laß uns nach jhr
eilen /
eh sie sonst zu Schanden wird /**

Herzig. **Lieblich wird sie sein verführt
wann wir kurze Zeit verweilen.**

considered, that the desire for honor be
compared with fishing, which must
happen in a certain place:
on the other hand the desire for money is
united with the hunting gear, because
money may be pursued in all regions.

Seelew.

**I kiss the gifts and will
endeavor,
to show love and favor to
each.**

A. Seelewig allows herself to like this
worldly substance, she hangs her heart on
it, and does not observe, that trust in
God, is diminished therewith, if not
nullified.

FROM THE SECOND ACT

Fourth Scene.

Gwissulda and Herzigild come out from
behind the trees.

Gwissul. **Herzigild, you have perceived
Seelewig's danger.**

Herzig. **We are always responsible,
to promote her piety.**

Gwissul. **I admonish her with tears,
to avoid Sinnigunda.**

Herzig. **O, she thanks with hate and
envy,
what we intend for her benefit.**

Gwissul. **Now up, let us hurry after
her,
before she otherwise comes to shame,**

Herzig. **Dearly will she be led astray
if we linger but a short time.**

A. Das Gewissen ist eine sorgfältige
Zuchtmeisterin / welche durch den
Verstand ermahnet / das böse zu
unterlassen.

A. Conscience is a careful
mistress of chastity, that admonishes
through reason, to avoid
evil.

V. Das Sinnbild sol deswegen seyn die
Sonne und der Mond / deren dieser von
jener erleuchtet und abwesend vertunkelt
wird. Die Obschrift kan heisen:
--zu beförderen--

V. For that reason the symbol should be
the sun and the moon, of which one is
illuminated by the other and becomes dark
in its absence. The supertitle could be:
--to promote--

J. Obwol dieses Sinnbild etwas tunkel ist;
so mag es doch leichtlich erforschet werden
/ wann man weiß daß darunter verstanden
wird / wie in Gefährlichkeiten / der
Geringste Verzug grosses Nachtheil
bringen kan.

J. Although this symbol is somewhat dark;
it might yet easily be explored,
if one knows that it is to be
understood, how in dangers, the
slightest delay can bring great
disadvantage.

D. Das Wort Gefährlichkeit hat vier
Sylben / dergleichen jhrer viel zu Ende des
Reimens nicht dulden wollen.

D. The word Gefährlichkeit has four
syllables, too much of this will not be
tolerated at the rhyme ending.

C. In der Music so hier traurig- und
mitleidigen Ton führet / klingt es wol / und
wird von vielen noch zur Zeit gebrauchet.

C. To have sad and sympathetic sounds in
the music here, sounds appropriate, and is
used by many even today.

DER ZWEYTEN HANDLUNGE

FROM THE SECOND ACT

Fünffter Aufzug.

Fifth Scene.

Sinnigunda. Seelewig hat jhre von den
Hirten entfangene Geschenke üm sich
hangen.

Sinnigunda. Seelewig has hanging around
her the gifts she received from the
shepherds.

Sin. **Haben dich unsere Hirten
beschenkt /
wie du begierig hast üm dich
gehängt:
So will ich erkünte nicht ferners
bedenken /
dir dieses mein Kränzelein jetzto zu
schenken.
Sihe weisröhtlichte Blümelein hier
blassen vor Schame für Seelewigs**

Sin. **Our shepherds have given gifts to
you,
as you have eagerly hung them around
you:
So will I no longer merely think
about
giving you now this my
wreath.
See how reddish white flowers here
pale for shame before Seelewig's**

Zier.

**So niedlich das Kränzelein scheint
gewunden /
doch bleibt dir Sinnigund stärker
verbunden.**

Seelewig. **Liebste Gespielin / der bittere
Tod
löset nicht unserer Liebe
Gebot.**

A. Das Wort niedlich ist von den
Schmieden oder Schlosseren hergenommen
/ welche ihre Arbeit wissen artlich
zusammen zu nieden. Hier ist es zu den
Kränzbinden Gleichnißweis gebraucht.

V. Es sey dann das Sinnbild ein Kranz /
dessen mancherley schöne und
baldwelkende Blümlein die
Vergänglichkeit der Sinnbelustigung
bilden: mit dem Beyworte:
--unserer Liebe Gebot.

J. Dieses Sinnbild gleicht dem Spruch
Jobs: Des Menschen Leben ist gleich wie
eine Blume.

D. Die dactylische oder Datelverse sind
alle gleich / und schläget in dem andern
Reimschluß eine Sylben zu Anfang und
Ende über.

C. Die Music ist zu dieser Reimart
anmuhtig gebracht.

DER ZWEYTEN HANDLUNGE

Sechster Aufzug. – Ermahnung.

Gwissulda / Herzigild / Seelewig /
Sinnigund / bey zweyen verdorrten
ineinander gewundenen Baumen.

beauty.

**So cutely does the wreath seem
wound,
yet Seelewig remains the more firmly
bound.**

Seelewig. **Dearest playmate, bitter
death
does not dissolve the command of our
love.**

A. The word cute is taken from the
blacksmiths or locksmiths, who know
how to forge [“nieden”] their work
together artfully. Here it is used in
comparison to the winding of wreaths.

V. Thus the symbol shall be the wreath,
whose various beauties
and soon-to-wilt flowers suggest the
transitoriness of sensual pleasure: with the
caption:
...the command of our love.

J. This symbol is like the saying of
Job: Man’s life is like a
flower.¹⁰

D. The dactylic or date verses are
all alike, and skip a syllable at the
beginning and end of the second
stanza.

C. The music is brought gracefully to this
manner of verse.

FROM THE SECOND ACT

Sixth Scene. – Headed “Warning”

Gwissulda, Herzigild, Seelewig,
Sinnigund, by two withered trees wound
around each other.

¹⁰ Harsdörffer’s note: Job 14:2.

G. Nicht das / was nur beliebt / und
 unsrem Munde schmeckt /
 Wird von dem klugen Arzt dem
 Kranken dargereckt.
 Verweiß' jhr Herzigild das
 schnöde Sinnbeginnen /
 vielleicht kan dein Gelimf sie mächtiglich
 gewinnen.
 Jhr Schwestern höret mich / und merkt
 was ich will sagen!
 Die Baume so hier stehn ganz
 ausgerostet alt
 sind mit der Aestefug' einander so
 verschallt /
 als ob sie Blüh' und Frücht' auf gleiche
 Bürd' ertragen.
 Wann sie der schweiffe Luft
 durchwandert mit behagen /
 küsst' ihrer Blätter Meng' einander
 manigfalt /
 bald eine Wolke sie mit Regennäß
 bemahlt' /
 ist jhrer Zehren Trüpf von Ast auf Ast
 geschlagen.
 So streng vereinte Lieb' hat bald der
 Baumen Brand
 entzündet also sehr / daß sie sind
 abgestorben /
 und nun des Häkers Art wird
 trennen jhre Band'.

Erwartet gleichen Fall / wann jhr nicht
 lasset ab
 von Liebgeschlossnem Band'; jhr seit so
 bald verdorben
 dort in dem Höllenfeur' / hier in dem
 Todengrab'.

A. Die Meinung dieses Sonnets verstehe
 ich dahin: daß / gleichwie zween mit
 Aesten ineinander geflochtene Baumen / so
 in gleicher Gegenlieb einander verbunden
 scheinen / leichtlich den Brand bekommen
 / und ausrosten: solcher gestalt wird Seel
 und Sinn sich einander unfehlbarlich
 verderben und zu Grund richten. Es ist aber

G. Not only what is liked, and pleasing
 to our mouth,
 is given to the sick by the wise
 doctor.
 If you, Herzigild, reprimand her for the
 base beginning of sensuality,
 perhaps your virtue can forcefully
 win her.
 Listen to me you sisters, and mark
 what I say!
 The trees standing here so
 rotted and old,
 are with their branches joined together
 so closely,
 as if they were bearing the same burden
 of blossom and fruit.
 When the wandering breeze
 flows through with comfort,
 their leaves kiss close to one another in
 many places,
 soon painted with wetness from a
 cloud,
 drops for their consumption spill from
 branch to branch.
 Such strongly united love has soon
 inflamed the trees
 so much, that they have
 died out,
 and now the means of the reaper will
 separate their bands.
 Expect the same, if you do not
 leave off
 from binding too closely with love; you
 will as soon be ruined
 there in the fire of hell, here in
 death's grave.

A. The meaning of this sonnet I
 understand thus: that, just as two trees
 whose branches are intertwined, appearing
 like two bound together through mutual
 love, easily become blighted,
 and rot: so in like form will soul
 and sense invariably spoil one
 another and be destroyed. But it is

¹¹ Harsdörffer's note: Matthew 3:10, 7:19, and Luke 3:9.

nachsinnig geredet / der Aestefug ist
ineinander verschaltet / (durcheinander
geschrenkt; dann schalten ist einschieben /
daher kommet Schalt-Jahr /
von etlichen Tagen dieselben eingeschaltet
/ oder eingeschoben werden /) die Blätter
kussen einander / (verstehe / wann es wol
hergehet /) jhre Zehren (in Unfall und
Widerwertigkeit) triefen von Ast auf
Ast: zu bedeuten / daß die streng-vereinte
Lieb / welche der Baumenbrand / von
denen einander berührenden Aesten
entstehend / erstlich der Früchte beraubt /
und endlich verursacht / daß sie in das
Feuer geworffen werden: dann es heist / ein
jeder Baum der nicht gute Früchte bringet /
wird abgehauen.

V. Dieses Sinnbild hat die Jungfer bereit
ausgemahlet; ermangelt die Obschrift:
Von Liebgeschlossnem Band'--

J. Hieraus flieset die Lehre; daß man
der Sinnlichkeit nicht sol alzuviel
nachhangen.

D. In erzehlten Klingreimen fasset die
letzte Reimzeil die Deutung solchergestalt /
daß die Seele
dort in der Höllen Feuer';
hier in dem Todengrab
der Leibe / wegen der anhangenden
verderblichen und Sündreizenden Sinnen /
zu früezeitig büssen werde.

C. Die Rede der Gwissulda ist in
schlechtern Ton gesetzt / der Herzigild
Sonnet aber laut viel
nachdrucklicher.

R. Gwissulda fährt fort Seelewig zu
ermahnen.
**Wann du nun Seelewig dich wilst der
Fahr entbinden /
und in deins Lebenslauf die wahre Ruhe
finden /**

sensibly spoken, that the branches are
joined together, (through one another
confined: for to join is to shove in, from
this comes "Schaltjahr" ["leap year"],
several days of the same joined,
or shoved in,) the leaves
kiss one another, (understand, when it
goes well,) their sustenance (in accident
and repugnance) drips from branch to
branch: meaning, that closely united
love, by which the tree blight, arising
from the branches touching one
another, first robs the fruits,
and finally causes it to be
thrown into the fire: for it is known, that
every tree that does not bear good fruit,
will be chopped down.¹¹

V. This symbol the young virgin already
depicted; it is only lacking the supertitle:
From love-closed bands--

J. From this comes the lesson; that one
should not put too much weight on
sensuality.

D. In narrated rhymes the last
line contains the meaning of such form,
that the soul
there in the fire of hell;
here in death's grave
of the body, on account of the possessing
spoilng and sin-causing senses,
having to do penance so early.

C. The speech of Gwissulda is set in a
worse tone, the sonnet of
Herzigild, however, sounds much more
expressive.

R. Gwissulda continues to admonish
Seelewig.
**If you would now deliver yourself from
danger Seelewig,
and in the course of your life find true
peace,**

So reiß von deinem Haupt der
Sinnigunda Kranz /
und jhrem Kuppelwerk verstopf dein'
Ohren ganz.
Wend ab dein Angesicht von Künstelings
betrügen /
dann er durch sein Geschenk gesucht
dich zu belügen.
Enthalte deine Hand vom Bogen und
vom Pfeil' /
im Fall du wilt entgehn dem
angestregten Seil'.
Hier wirf die Angelruht zu Herzigilda
Füssen /
wilt du nicht jhren Fang mit
später Reue büßen.
Nun laß auch Sinnigund mit jhrem
Geckenthand
entweichen / wann sie nicht wil spüren
diese Hand
voll eiferiger Straf--
Seelew. --es fället schwer zu lassen /
was man von langer Zeit geliebet ohne
massen.

Sinnigund entläuft / Gwissulda und
Herzigild gehen jhr nach.

A. Hier ist noch deutlicher zu verstehen /
was durch der Hirten Geschenke bedeutet
worden: nemlich / daß das Aug von
angenehmen Betrug / das Ohr von
üppigen Sachen / die Hand von gefährlichen
Werkschafften abzuwenden; welche
Vermahnungen bey Seelewig noch wenig
fruchten wollen.

V. Von dieser Geschenke Sinnbild ist
bereit zuvor Meldung beschehen.

R. Seelewig wil unter den Baumen
schlaffen / wird aber bald von einem
Wetter erschreckt.
**Düstere Wolken / umsausende Winde /
brummende Donner / Feuerstralender
Blitz /**

then tear from your head
Sinnigunda's wreath,
and cover your ears completely from
her double talk.
Turn your face away from Künsteling's
deception,
for he seeks to lie to you through his
gift.
Keep your hand from bow and from
arrow,
if you would avoid the tightening
rope.
Now throw the fishing rod at
Herzigild's feet,
if you do not want to atone for her
capture with later regret.
Now let also Sinnigunda with her
mocking hand
escape, if she does not want to feel
this hand
full of zealous punishment--
Seelew. --it is difficult to leave,
what one has loved beyond measure for
so long.

Sinnigund exits, Gwissulda and
Herzigild follow her.

A. Here is yet more clearly understood,
what is meant through the gifts of the
shepherds: namely, to turn the eye away
from pleasant deception, the ear from
luxuriant things, the hand from dangerous
works; which
warnings have yet little
effect on Seelewig.

V. The symbol of these gifts has already
been mentioned before.

R. Seelewig wants to sleep under the
trees, but is soon frightened by
a storm.
**Gloomy clouds, whistling winds,
grumbling thunder, fiery
lightning,**

wässrichte Schlossen / und Hagels
 Gespitz /
 Schonet nun schonet daß nichts
 entzünde.
 Reche nicht meine so häufige Sünde /
 blößlich erschreckliches
 Himmelsgeschütz!
 Berget mich Hügel und felsichte Riß’.

Alle Wort sind mir zu weng /
 alle Felsen sind zu nieder.
 Ach / die Welt ist mir zu eng /
 daß ich solcher Straff’ entgeh’ /
 Hört der Echo schallet wider
 meim Weh / ach weh / ach weh / ach
 weh’!

J. Die Lehre ist leichtlich zu fassen: daß
 wann wir Menschen nicht wollen guten
 Erinnerungen statt geben / daß wir dann
 von den ernstlichen Drohungen erschreckt
 / und wegen Widerstrebung des Gewissens
 geängstigt werden.

D. Dieses Sonnet ist dactylisch / oder ganz
 Teutsch zu reden / dieses sind
 klingende Springreimen. Etliche nennen es
 Klingedicht / ist aber meines / wenigen
 Erachtens / besser Klingreimen;
 weil Gedichte die Materi / Reimen die
 Form betrifft; in
 dieses Benamsung aber auf das letzte allein
 gesehen wird / wie man sonst hat /
 Vierreimen (quadrain) / Sechstreimen
 (sexain) / Achtreimen (huitain) / oder
 Vierversen / Sechsversen. Durch einen
 Reimen werden zwei Zeile verstanden /
 durch den Versen nur eine.
 Es werden aber durch solche Klingreimen
 allezeit 14. Reimzeilen verstanden /
 welche auf mancherley Arten können
 verfasset werden / und (wie Anfangs
 gehöret worden) in unterschiedlichen
 Gebäuden bestehen; doch dergestalt / daß
 vier und vier Reimwörter sich aufeinander
 binden / welches in den anderen so genau

watery castles, and pointy
 hail,
 protect now, protect that nothing starts
 on fire.
 Repay not my so frequent sinning,
 pure and terrible protection of
 heaven!
 Bury me in hill and boulder’s crevice.

All words are too little for me,
 All boulders are too low.
 O, the world is too narrow for me,
 that I might elude such punishment,
 hear the echo repeat
 my woe, o woe, o woe, o
 woe!

J. The lesson is easy to grasp: that
 when we humans do not want good
 memories, we instead provide, that we are
 then frightened by serious threats,
 and on account of the opposing of the
 conscience are made fearful.

D. This sonnet is dactylic, or to speak
 completely in German, these are
 “sounding jump rhymes.” Many call it
 “tone poem,” it is however, of my little
 consideration, better “sound rhymes”;
 because poems concern the material,
 while rhymes concern the form; into
 this pattern, however, it happens on the
 last alone, as one usually has
 four rhymes (quatrains), six rhymes
 (sistels), eight rhymes (huitels), or four
 verse, six verse. Through a
 rhyme two lines are understood,
 through the verse only one.
 Through such “sound rhyme,” however,
 there are always 14 lines understood,
 which can be composed in
 various ways, and (as initially
 heard) consisting of different
 groupings; yet in such form, that
 four and four rhyming words bind
 together, which in the others are not so

nicht beobachtet wird / wann die Reimung
unter 14. Schlüssen bestehet. In der
letzten Reimzeile ist der Wiederhall artlich
vorgewiesen.

C. Nach solcher Art muß auch die Music
gerichtet seyn / und weil sich die kurzen
Verse viel besser zu singen schicken
als die langen /
mögen die Klingreimen / nach erstgehörter
Art geendet werden.

R. Der Nymfen Chor.

1.
**Was kan unsern Sinn betrüben? Lieben.
Was mag unsre Ruh' verstören? Ehren.
Was pflegt die Begierd zu reizen?
Geizen.
Das heist mit den Eulen beizen /
lauffen nach der Eitelkeit
und erlauffen eilend Leid /
wann wir lieben / ehren /
geizen.**

A. Das Wort chor kan mit
einem K geschrieben werden / wann wir es
von unserem Teutschen Wort erkoren /
auserkoren
/ Kör und Abtrag thun /
u.d.g. wollen herführen.

V. Das Sinnbild will ich zu ende dieses
Gesanges vermelden / inzwischen aber
bemerken / daß durch das ehren / nicht
allein verstanden wird / der so in grossen
Ehren mit viel Unruhe sitztet / sondern
auch der / welcher höhere Standspersonen
auf allerley möglichste Fleiß ehret / um zu
höheren Ehren zu gelangen.

R.
2.
**Was bringt grossen Herren
Rahten? Schaden.
Was gibt wissen uns zu Lohn?**

precisely observed, when the rhyme
consists of under 14 endings. In the
last line the echo is artfully
shown.

C. After such a manner must the music
also be set, and because the short
verses are much better to be sung
appropriately than the long ones, the
sound rhymes might be ended, after the
manner of the first heard.

R. Chorus of Nymphs.

1.
**What can grieve our mind? Love.
What might disturb our peace? Honor.
What excites our desire?
Avarice.
That means to corrupt with the owls,
to run after vanity
and to urgently flee suffering,
when we love, honor, and practice
avarice.**

A. The word "Chor" ["chorus"] can be
written with a "K", if we derive it from
our German word "erkoren" ["chosen"],
"auserkoren" ["selected, predestined"],
"Kör" ["cure"] and "Abtrag" ["carrying
off, excavation"] and the like.

V. I will announce the symbol at the end
of this song, meanwhile however
notice, that with "ehren" ["honor"], it is
not to be understood alone, one who sits
in so great honor with much unrest, rather
also one, who honors with all possible
diligence people of higher standing, in
order to achieve higher honor.

R. [Chorus]:
2.
**What does the advice of great men
bring? Harm.
What does knowledge repay us with?**

ein Hohn.

**Was mag unser Herz genügen? Lügen.
Also pfl eget zu bekriegen /
wann di' edel' Eitelkeit
hinterläst an statt der Freud' /
eitel Schaden / Hohn und Lügen.**

J. Hierbey ist sonders Zweifel auf die drey Hirten abgesehen / welche von Trügewart / Seelewig zu Falle zu bringen angestellt worden / und dieses die vornemsten Eitelkeiten sind / deren Fallstricke die Menschen pfl egen zu berucken.

D. Die Art dieser Reimen ist auf einen zweysylbigen Wiedrehall gerichtet / welches Schluß in der letzten Reimzeile zugleich wiederholet wird: es verbleibt aber in der fünften und sechsten Zeile zum Entwort Eitelkeit / Freud und Leid / durch und durch.

R.

3.

**Sag / was ist hoher Fürsten
Gunst? ein Dunst.
Was ist der Sauff- und
Fresserlust?
ein Wust.
und der so stolzen Krieger Macht?
ein Pracht.
Also wird im End verlacht /
So die flüchtig' Eitelkeit
hinterläst nur Eitel Leid /
blauen Dunst / ein Wust / und Pracht.**

C. Die Music ist hinter dem Fürhang solchergestalt anzustellen / daß die Oberstimmen fragen eine allein als ein Echo antwortet / dann zusammen fallen.

R. Diese Reimart habe ich aus eines Spaniers Gedicht abgesehen / und beduncket mich / daß sie zum Gesang gar schicklich seye. Ob ich aber mich besagter Spanischen Erfindung bedienet / ist zu

Mockery.

**What might satisfy our heart? Lies.
Therefore take care to do battle,
when to you noble vanity
leaves instead of joy,
vain harm, mockery and lies.**

J. Here particular doubt is placed on the three shepherds, who by Trügewart have been hired to entrap Seelewig, and these are the vanities previously named, whose noose people take pains to avoid.

D. The style of these verses is directed toward a two-syllable echo, whose ending in the last line is immediately repeated: yet in the fifth and sixth lines there are the responses vanity, joy and suffering, throughout.

R. (Chorus).

3.

**Say, what is the pleasure of high
princes? a haze.
What is their pleasure in drink and
feasting?
a waste.
and the power of such proud warriors?
a ruin.
Thus in the end will this all be mocked,
such fleeting vanity
leaves behind only idle suffering,
blue haze, a waste, and a ruin.**

C. The music should be performed behind the curtain in such a manner, that the higher voices ask, a solo answers as an echo, and [they] then come together.

R. The style of verse I have taken from a Spanish poem, and it seems to me, that it is very appropriate for singing. But that I have helped myself to this Spanish invention, can be seen in the

ersehen aus erstgesungenem / und
derselben Reimen Abschrifte: weilen sie
noch nicht / in Druck / meines geringen
Wissens zu finden / mag es der Herren
einerlesen / hier ist es.

first sung
copy of the same poem: since it
is no longer, in print, as far as my limited
abilities can discern, may it be read by one
of the gentlemen, here it is.

Lianto.

1.

*Quien menoscabia mis bienes? desdenes
y quien aumenta mis duelos? Los zelos.
y quien prueva mi paciencia? Ausencia.
De esse modo en mi dolencia
ning uno remedio se alcanca,
Pùes que matan la esperanca
Desdenes zelos y ausencia.*

2.

*Quien mi causa este dolor? El Amor.
y quien mi gloria repugna? Fortuna.
y quien consiente mi duelo? El Cielo.
De esse modo yo rezelo.
Morir deste mal estranno,
Puès fe aunan en mi danno,
Amor fortuna, y el Cielo.*

3.

*Quien mejor aràmi suerte? la muerte
y el bien de amor quien lo alcanca?
Madanca
y sus malos quien los cura? Locura.
De esse modo no es cordura
Querer curar la passion,
quando los remedior son
Muerte, mudanca, y locura.*

D. Unter viel tausend Versen ist diese Art
nicht zu finden; doch erinnere ich mich /
daß ich noch dergleichen gelesen. Die
Nachfolg ist so vielmehr zu loben / so viel
rühmlicher ist der Welt Eitelkeit
verachten / als selbe erheben und
befördern: Dann obwol die Poeten
viemals in jhren Liebsgedanken für
unsträfflich geachtet / und die
Tugendbegierde verstanden haben wollen /
so reichen doch jhre Werke der blinden

D. Among many thousands of verses this
style is not to be found; yet I remember,
that I have read something like it. The
successor is so much more to be praised,
so much more laudably is the vanity of the
world scorned, as the same is raised and
advanced: for although the poets
are often regarded irreproachable in their
love thoughts, and want
to be understood as desirous of virtue,
their works nonetheless make blind

Jugend zu grossem Ergerniß / und reizen auch die reine Unschuld zu unziemlichem Nachsinnen / in Ermanglung der Gelegenheit böses zu vollbringen. Ein üppisches Gedicht / ein Bild / welches der Bekleidung und Erbarkeit entnommen ist / ein küßliches Schandwort / u.d.g. bestreiten / und übermögen die Keuschheit mit angenehmen und gleichsam guldenen Waffen / solche Scribenten schaden so viel / als wann sie die öffentlichen Brunnen vergifteten / so manche Todschläge begehende / so viel jhrer dardurch unverschulder Weise sterben und verderben. Dergleichen Liebsbücher werden nicht übel den Egyptischen Fröschen verglichen / von welchen geschrieben stehet / daß sie in dem Hauß / in der Kammer / auf dem Lager und Bette herüm kriechen / mit jhrem Unflate alles beschmeissen / ja auch unsere Ruhe / durch schändliche Träume verunruhen. Man suchet in besagten Schrifften schöne Wort / und findet in derselben Folge abscheuliche Werke; man forschet nach Wolredenheit / und erlernet Ubelthun. Gewißlich / es kan keine wahre Freude und beständiges Belusten ohne die Tugend und ein gutes Gewissen seyn: in diesem ist die höchste Lieblichkeit / und das vollkommlichste Genügen allein zu befinden.

J. Ach / daß diese Lehre in aller Jungfrauen und Jünglinge Herzen mit guldenen Buchstaben geschrieben were! Es beliebe dem Herrn nach diesem Abwege wiederüm zu dem angefangenen Waldgedichte zu schreiten.

V. Das Sinnbild zu diesem Chor soll seyn ein grosser Rauch von einem kleinen Feuer / mit der Obschrifte:

Herrn Gunst.

youth into great nuisances, and also excite pure innocence to unseemly longing, in lacking the opportunity to complete evil deeds. A splendid poem, a picture, which is devoid of modesty and compassion, a harsh, shameful word, and the like that denies, and over-protects chastity with, as it were, pleasant golden weapons, such writers harm so much, as when they would poison public wells, so many murders committed, so much dying and spoiling through their unpardonable means. Love stories of such sort are not inappropriately compared with the Egyptian frogs/ of which it is written¹², that they creep about in the house, in the chamber, in the bedroom and bed, soiling everything with their feces, and also disturbing our rest, through harmful dreams. One seeks in these writings beautiful words, and finds in consequence abominable works; one searches for the well-spoken, and learns evildoing. Certainly, no true joy and respectable amusement can happen without virtue and a good conscience: in this alone are the highest loveliness, and the most perfect satisfaction to be found.

J. O, if only this lesson were written with golden letters in the hearts of all young men and women! May it please the gentleman to continue with the pastoral after this detour.

V. The symbol for this chorus should be a great cloud of smoke from a little fire, with the superscript:

The gentleman's favor.

¹² Harsdörffer's note: second book of Moses 8:3.

DER DRITTEN HANDLUNGE**Erster Aufzug.** – Die kurze Reue

Trügewalt / Künsteling / Reichimuht / Ehrelob.

Trügew. **Ist sie so bald wendig worden?**Künstel. **Ich hab alles selbst gehört. Und gesehen bey der Hecken: Glaubet jhr nicht meinen Worten?**Ehrel. **Hat sie sich dann nicht gewehrt?**Künstel. **Jhre Stärk wolt nichts erklecken.**Trügew. **Harret sie wirds bald vergessen.**Reichim. **Wann sie Sinnigund nicht hält.**Ehrel. **Ist sie dann darbey gestanden?**Künstel. **Sie durfft sich keins Worts vermessen. Ach sie wurde bald verschellt / Daß sie nam die Flucht mit Schanden.**Trügew. **Last uns unser Heil versuchen.**Ehrel. **Alle Hoffnung ist nicht aus.**Künstel. **Man muß neue Fallen bauen.**Trügew. **Folget mir zu jener Buchen.**Reichim. **Sol noch etwas werden d'raus.**Trügew. **Folgt ich will es euch vertrauen.****FROM THE THIRD ACT****First Scene.** – Headed “The Short Regret”

Trügewalt, Künsteling, Reichimuht, Ehrelob.

Trügew. **Has she become so resourceful so soon?**Künstel. **I heard everything myself. And saw everything by the hedge: Do you not believe my words?**Ehrel. **Did she not defend herself, then?**Künstel. **Her strength wanted to spoil nothing.**Trügew. **Wait, she will soon forget it.**Reichim. **If Sinnigunda does not stop her.**Ehrel. **Did she stand by her, then?**Künstel. **She woud not dare a single word. O she was soon missing, Since she took flight with shame.**Trügew. **Let us seek our remedy.**Ehrel. **All hope is not gone.**Künstel. **One must build new traps.**Trügew. **Follow me to that beech tree.**Reichim. **Something may still come of it.**Trügew. **In consequence I will entrust it to you.**

A. Weil dieses gemeine Reden / als ist die Poetische Zierde beyseits gesetzt worden / und auf ein blosses Reimgespräch gerichtet. Es wird aber der Anschlag Trügewalts mit Fleiß verschwiegen / der Zuhörer mehrer Verlangen zu erwecken.

A. Because this is common speech, it is set beside poetic beauty, and is organized into a mere conversation in verse. However, Trügewalt's attack is diligently hidden, in order to produce more expectation in the listeners.

V. Das Sinnbild geben diese Wort and die Hand

Man mus neue Fallen bauen.
Weilen aber vormals eine Mausfallen zu dergleichen Deutung gebraucht worden / wollen wir dieses Orts leere Fischreusen vorschlagen / mit dem Worte:
Alle Hoffnung ist nicht aus.

V. These words deliver the symbol into the hand:

One must build new traps.
However, because a mousetrap has already been used for the same meaning, we would suggest in this place empty fish traps, with the inscription:
All hope is not lost.

J. Zu verstehen / daß wann gleich nicht etliche Fische eine Reussen verbey gehen / daß sie sich doch leichtlich in der anderen oder dritten fangen. Der Böse als ein Tausendkünstler stellet den Frommen auf allerley Weise nach.

J. To be understood, that if several fish at first go by one trap, they will nonetheless easily be caught in the second or third. The evil one as a being of a thousand devices pursues the pious in all manner of ways.

D. Diese Reimen sind der ungebundenen Rede gar gleich. Der erste schliesset mit dem vierten: der zweyte mit dem fünfften / der dritte mit dem sechsten.

D. These rhymes are very similar to unmetred speech. The first goes with the fourth: the second with the fifth, the third with the sixth.

C. Darnach ist auch die Music gerichtet.

C. The music is also set in this manner.

DER DRITTEN HANDLUNGE

FROM THE THIRD ACT

Zweyter Aufzug.

Second Scene.

Seelewig sitzt an den Fluß und singt.

Seelewig sits at the river and sings.

I.
**Schnelleilende Wellen / hellauffender Fluß
harre nun in dieser Auen;
harre laß dich jetzt betauen
mein' häufige Zehren voll
Herzens Verdruß /
will ich dir nun anvertrauen.**

I.
**Quick hurrying waves, brightly running river
wait now in these banks;
wait, be now bedewed
by my frequent wearing out full of heart's vexation,
I want to entrust myself to you now.**

II.
**Dann langest du nachmals ans
 prausende Meer /
 frag ob auch in seiner Tiefen
 solche Bitterkeit zu priesen /
 Und ob es nicht weiche der
 Tröpflein Heer /
 die von meinen Augen triefen.**

A. Seelewig ist von den Ermahnungen der Gwissulda und Herzigild bestürzt / auch von dem Donnerwetter erschrocken / setzt sich deßwegen aus grosser Angst an den Fluß: betäubend selben mit jhren Zehren / wil mit Klagen die Wellen zu rucke halten / und vergleicht jhre unvergleichliche Herzenswehe mit des Meers bitterem Salzwasser.

V. Das Sinnbild sol seyn eine fruchtbare Regenwolken mit dem Beywort:
 Die von den Augen triefen.

J. Weil der Reuzehren Früchte niemand gereuen.

R. Seelewig fährt fort zu singen:

III.
**Die ruhigen Nächte beruhen mich nicht /
 dann ich keinen Schlaf erwerbe /
 und in Jammer-ängsten sterbe:
 Der frölichen Sonne hellscheinendes
 Liecht
 trauret / daß ich so verderbe.**

IV.
**Nun weile nicht ferners betrübeter Fluß:
 meine Klag dein' Eil verwehret /
 und von deinem Laufe kehret.
 So rausche / so laufe mit stärkerem
 Guß /
 weil mein Zehren dich vermehret!**

D. Diese Zusammensetzung der

II.
**Then reach afterwards the
 roaring sea,
 Ask whether also in his depths
 There is such bitterness to praise,
 And whether it does not yield to the
 army of drops,
 That trickles from my eyes.**

A. Seelewig is distraught from the admonitions of Gwissulda and Herzigild, also frightened from the thunderstorm, and for that reason sits down in great fear at the river: grieving the same with her wasting away, wants to hold back the waves with her lament, and compares her incomparable heartache with the sea's bitter salt water.

V. The symbol should be a pregnant rain cloud with the inscription:
 What trickles from the eyes.

J. Because no one regrets the consuming fruits of remorse.

R. Seelewig goes on to sing:

III.
**The quiet nights give me no quiet,
 for I get no sleep,
 and die in misery's fears:
 the bright-shining light of the happy
 sun
 mourns, that I thus perish.**

IV.
**Then stay no further, grievous river:
 my lament prevents your rush,
 and turns you from your course.
 So rush, run with stronger
 gush,
 for my consumption increases you!**

D. This combination of

dactylischen und trochaischen Reimen
haben ausser den Liederen schlechte Art /
und ist vielleicht aus dem abgesehen / was
Saint Amant über den Tod seiner
Sylvie geschrieben hat. Es ist aber solche
Nachfolg dem Herrn nicht zu versprechen /
dann man liest deswegen andere Bücher /
daß man aus selben etwas erlernen und zu
Nutz bringen wil.

C. Es ist sonderlich in der Music und
Reimen beobachtet / daß in den letzten
Sätzen die Unruhe und Eil mit den
dactylischen Reimen bemerkt worden.

DER DRITTEN HANDLUNGE

Dritter Aufzug.

Seelewig sitzt an dem Flusse / Sinnigunda
singet in herbeygehen diese Klingreimen
über das Gesang einer Nachtigale.

**Die schwanke Nachtigall / so
Flügelschnell sich schwingt /
ümführend Wolken an / jhr
langverlangtes Klagen /
Und gleich eim Todenlied' jhr Ach und
Wehmuht singt;
bald schlurffend kehlen ein jhr Seuffzen
/ Angst und Zagen:
Wie der Trompeten Schall mit Pracht
und Macht erklingt /
so pflaget jhr Getön mit gleichem Ruf zu
schlagen:
Bald wie das Wässerlein den schroffen
Kies durchdringt /
so sausselt jhr Gesang / voll Freuden und
Behagen!
Hör doch wie künstlich bunt jhr
Meisterstimm sich wind /
fast jedes Tons Gebänd in jhrem Ton
sich find /
wann sie die Luft durchstreicht mit
einem leichten Flügel!**

dactylic and trochaic rhymes
has, except in songs, a bad style,
and is perhaps conceived, like what
Saint Amant wrote about the death of his
Sylvie. Such an imitation of the
gentleman, however, cannot be promised,
for one reads for that reason other books,
so that he can learn something and find
something beneficial in them.

C. It is peculiar to observe in the music
and verses, that in the last sentences the
unrest and hurry is highlighted with
dactylic rhymes.

FROM THE THIRD ACT

Third Scene.

Seelewig sits at the river, Sinnigunda
sings, while passing by, this tone poem
about the song of a nightingale.

**The slender nightingale, so
fleeting-fast it soars,
circling around to the clouds, singing
her long-desired lament,
And like a dirge her lamentation and
sorrow;
now savoring, screaming her sighs,
fear and apprehensiveness:
As the sound of the trumpet resounds
with splendor and might,
so does she manage to sound her tones
with the same call:
Just as the stream penetrates the rough
gravel,
so whistles her song, full of joy and
comfort!
Yet hear how artificially colorful she
turns her masterful voice,
almost every type of sound is in her
tone,
when she cuts through the air with
a light wing!**

**Erlerne daß das Glück uns weinen
machen kan /
und bald in einem Blick uns lachet
wieder an /
Wann wir dem Unholdmuht nicht
hangen lange Zügel.**

A. Wer der Nachtigall Gesang recht
betrachtet / wird diese Gleichnissen nicht
ungereimt befinden. Es ist aber die
Nachtigall genennt schwank / weil sie sich
(wie folget) mit einem leichten Flügel
schwinget: sie schlägt mit gleichem Ruf /
es sausselt jhr Getön / in welchem alle
Gebäude oder Reimarten begriffen / u.d.g.

V. Solchergestalt schickt sich die
Nachtigall in ein Sinnbild / als welcher
Gesang bald traurig bald frölich erklinget /
mit dem Wort:

Hör doch wie künstlich bunt.

J. Die Lehre ist / daß man das wankelbare
Weltwesen recht erkennen sol.

D. Dieses hat vielleicht der Herr aus dem
Lateinischen Poeten abgesehen / welcher
von der Nachtigall fast dergleichen singt:

--lenta trahens veluti luspiria fleret,
sorberet fractas garrula mox lacrymas:
Deinde sepulchrales singultit Praefica
lessos, &c.

hier laut es:

**Und gleich eim Todenlied ihr Ach / und
Wehmuht singt /
bald schlurffend kehlen ein ihr Seuffzen
/ Angst und Klagen.**

Dieses aber ist noch besser ausgedruckt:

--susurrantum sonitus imitatur aquarum,
Mox velut aerata praevocat arma tuba.

Hier ists mit guten Ursachen versetzt /
Wie der Trompeten Schall mit Pracht

**We must learn that happiness can bring
us to tears,
and then in a moment laugh at us
again,
When we do not hang a long bridle on
the monstrous spirit.**

A. Whoever correctly observes the song
of the nightingale, will find these
comparisons not inappropriate. The
nightingale is called slender, because she
(as follows) takes flight with a light
wing: she sounds with the same call,
her tones whistle, they encompass all
kinds of sounds or rhymes, and suchlike.

V. In such form is the nightingale
appropriate as a symbol, as her song now
sad, now joyful sounds,
with the word:

Hear how artificially gay.

J. The lesson is, that one should well
recognize the fickle ways of the world.

D. This the gentleman has perhaps taken
from the Latin poets, who sing practically
the same thing about the nightingale:

--lenta trahens veluti luspiria fleret,
sorberet fractas garrula mox lacrymas:
Deinde sepulchrales singultit Praefica
lessos, &c.

here it is thus:

**And like a dirge her lamentation, and
Sorrow sings,
now savoring, screaming her sighs,
fear and lamenting.**

This is, however, even better expressed:

--susurrantum sonitus imitatur aquarum,
Mox velut aerata praevocat arma tuba.

Here it is for good reasons translated,
As the sound of the trumpet resounds

**und Macht erklingt /
so pfl eget jhr Getön mit gleichem Ruf zu
schlagen.**

**Bald wie das Wässerlein den schroffen
Kies' durchdringt /
so sausselt jhr Gesang--**

C. Dieses alles erhebet die Music noch viel künstlicher / in dem das Todenlied den Ton führt: Wann mein Stündlein vorhanden ist / und der Trompeten Schall so wol als das Lispelendes Wassers auf das Ersinnlichste mit eingebracht worden.

R. Hierauf fährt Sinnigund fort mit frölichen Verblein Seelewig aufzumuntern.

Sinnigund.

**Seelewig hasse das Klagen und
Zagen /
unsrer Mütterlein sorgliches Plagen /
Es mindert und hindert den frölichen
Muht:
verachte die flüchtig' und nichtige
Huht /
welche sie schnurrisch und murrisch
gegronet /
bissig' und hitziges Küfens gewohnt.**

Seelewig.

**Wann dein erfreulichs Wort möcht
lindren meine Schmerzen
und alles Trauren Weh' abwenden von
dem Herzen /
so wolt' ich ohn verzug ergreifen deinen
Raht /
und gleichsam ganz erneut mich freuen
in der That.**

Sinnigund.

**Frage die Baumen / befrage die Wälder /
frage die blumichten Auen und Felder /
ob du nicht schöner seist /
wenn du viel lachst /
oder mit Weinen nur seuffzest und**

**with splendor and might,
so does she manage to sound her tones
with the same call.**

**Just as the stream penetrates the rough
gravel,
so whistles her song--**

C. Music raises all of this even more artificially, in which the dirge leads the tone: when my hour is at hand, and the sound of the trumpet as well as the murmuring water is most sensuously brought in.

R. Hereupon Sinnigund continues with joyful verses to cheer up Seelewig.

Sinnigund.

**Seelewig, abhor the lamenting and
hesitancy,
Worrying plague of our mother,
It diminishes and hinders joyful
courage:
despise fleeting and invalid
protection,
which comically and morosely
crowned her,
used to biting and heated running.**

Seelewig.

**If your gladdening word might
lessen my woes
and all pain of sorrow turn from my
heart,
I would without delay grasp your
advice,
and as it were completely renewed be
joyful indeed.**

Sinnigund.

**Ask the trees, inquire of the forests,
ask the flowered meadows and fields,
whether you are not more beautiful,
when you laugh much,
or with weeping only sigh and**

achst!
Frage nur / frage die Tochter der
Luffte /
drönend und tönend in nächster
Kluffte!

A. Dieser Klingreimen sondere Zierde
 bestehet in der Wortgleichung / als da ist
 Klagen und Zagen / hindert und mindert /
 flüchtig und nichtig / schnurisch und
 murrisch / u.d.g.

V. Weil dieses kein neuer Aufzug / sondern
 des vorigen Inhaltes Fortsetzung/ als ist
 kein absonderliches Sinnbildes von thun.

J. Die Lehre ist / daß ein freundliches Wort
 das Trauren zu legen vermag / wie das
 Wasser das Feuer leschet.

D. In den Reimen ist wieder wol
 beobachtet / daß die Datelverse zur
 frölichen Aufmunterung / die jambischen
 zur traurigen Entschuldigung gebraucht
 werden.

C. Dieses alles beseelet gleichergestalt das
 fröliche und traurende Gesang.

pine!
Just ask, ask the daughter of the
breezes,
echoing and sounding in nearest
ravines!

A. The unique beauty of these verses is in
 the word similarities, as there is
 Klagen and Zagen, hindert and mindert,
 flüchtig and nichtig, schnurisch and
 murrisch, and suchlike.

V. Because this is no new scene, rather a
 continuation of the preceding content,
 there is no special symbol from so doing.

J. The lesson is, that a friendly word
 might aid sadness, as
 water puts out a fire.

D. In the verses it is again well
 observed, that the dactylic verses
 are used for cheering up, the iambic
 for sad
 excuse.

C. In like form happy and sad song give
 soul to this all.

DER DRITTEN HANDLUNGE

Vierter Aufzug.

Seelewig / Trügewalt verstellet in den
 Wiederhall.

Sinnigund.

Seelew. Echo.

Ehe. **Wer kan dann trösten mich?**

Trügew. Echo. **ich.**

Seelew. **Wer höret was ich klag?**

Trügew. Ech. **sag.**

Sinnig. **Sihe dort aus jenem Ort**

Gibt der Echo Gegenwort.

FROM THE THIRD ACT

Fourth Scene.

Seelewig, Trügewalt alternate in
 echo.¹³

Sinnigund.

Seelew. Echo.

Marriage. **Who then can comfort me?**

Trügew. Echo. **me.**

Seelew. **Who hears what I say?**

Trügew. Ech. **say.**

Sinnig. **See there out in that place**

The echo gives answer.

¹³ Throughout the echo scene, I have attempted a “poetic” translation, in order to give some sense of how the “echoed” words correspond sonically to their antecedents.

Seelew. **Ach / die Freud' ist dahin?**

Trügew. Ech. **hin?**

Seelew. **Wer macht sie mir bewusst?**

Trügew. Ech. **Lust.**

Sinnig. **Lust und Kurzweil dir behag' /**

als dann mindert deine Plag.

Seelew. **Was ziert uns in der Welt?**

Trügew. Ech. **Geld.**

Seelew. **Solt ich noch wünschen mehr?**

Trügew. Ech. **Ehr.**

Sinnig. **Wann ein Schäfer dich verehrt / Dann ist auch dein Gut vermehrt.**

Seelew. **Was bringet mir dann Gunst?**

Trügew. Ech. **Kunst.**

Seelew. **Was mässigt grosses Leid?**

Trügew. Ech. **Freud.**

Sinnig. **Wem soll sie dann folgen hier?**

Trügew. Ech. **dir.**

Seelew. **Rähtest du uns aber guts?**

Trügew. Ech. **Nutz.**

Seelew. **Was für Kurzweil schicket sich?**

Sinnig. **Jene Schäfer suchen dich.**

A. Der böse Feind findet sich um die Traurigen / und obwol seine Stimme uns angenehm scheint / und unseren Sinnen gemäß; so führet und leitet sie doch auf den vorigen Sündenwege.

V. Das Sinnbild ist ein altes Schloß / zu welchem einer schreiet / Ehe / und der Gegenschall der Stimme eben dieses Wort wieder schicket ehE anzudeuten / daß die sicherste Gesellschaft und vollkommlichste Freundschaft sey der Ehestand. Wolte man aber noch was beyschreiben / könnten es diese Wort seyn:

Vermindert Sorg und Klag.

D. Ich weiß mich sonst keines hicher schicklichen Wortes in unserer Sprache zu

Seelew. **O, is joy gone?**

Trügew. Ech. **gone?**

Seelew. **Who can lift me from the mire?**

Trügew. Ech. **Desire.**

Sinnig. **Pleasure and entertainment comfort you,**

and lessen your trouble.

Seelew. **What adornment makes our world sunny?**

Trügew. Ech. **Money.**

Seelew. **What else can add to the same?**

Trügew. Ech. **Fame.**

Sinnig. **When a shepherd admires you, Then your property is also increased.**

Seelew. **What shall bring me bliss?**

Trügew. Ech. **Artifice.**

Seelew. **What makes great suffering light?**

Trügew. Ech. **Delight.**

Sinnig. **Here she should follow who?**

Trügew. Ech. **you.**

Seelew. **But do you offer us goodness?**

Trügew. Ech. **Yes.**

Seelew. **What kind of entertainment shall be appropriate?**

Sinnig. **For those shepherds to wait.**

A. The evil enemy is found around those who mourn, and although his voice seems comforting to us, and corresponds to our senses; yet it guides and leads us into the previous ways of sin.

V. The symbol is an old castle, to which someone shouts, marriage, and the echo of the voice sends back again exactly this word marriage to indicate that the safest society and most perfect friendship is the condition of marriage. But if one still wanted to inscribe something, it could be these words:

Decreases care and complaint.

D. I cannot remember another more appropriate word in our

erinneren / welches man hinter sich und für sich lesen kan.

J. Die Lehre ist diese / daß / ob uns gleich das Gewissen / vermittelst des Verstandes / von den eitelen Weltdingen wendig machet / wir uns doch leichtlich von dem bösen Feinde und unseren Sinnen wieder auf das Eiß führen lassen / die guten Vermahnungen aus den Augen setzen / und in dem alten Trabe fortzugehen pflegen.

D. Der Wiederhall ist einsylbig / und vielleicht natürlicher / als vorgesetzter: Gestalt der Echo alle Sylben eines jeden Worts wiederholet / deren die letzte die allervernehmlichste ist.

C. Dieses ist durch die Music besser zu verstehen / wann noch eine andere Stimme / in gleichem Ton die letzere Sylben wiederholet: und ist wol zu verantworten / daß Trügewalt / der sonst tief singet / hier als ein Tausendkünstler in hoher Stimme antwortet.

DER DRITTEN HANDLUNGE

Fünffter Aufzug.

Künsteling / Reichimuht / Eherelob / Seelewig / Sinnigund.

Künsteling redet gegen die Schäfer im herausgehen. Ich trette forne her.

Hört was uns Trügewalt befohlen in den Sachen / das setz' ich in das Werk' / ich kans am besten machen / und leisten was er wil. Nun trett' ich forne her / jhr beide folget mir / ist sein und mein begeh.

language, which one can read for himself.

J. The lesson is this, that, even if the conscience immediately intervenes from the understanding, to turn us away from vanities of worldly things, we can still easily be led by the evil enemy and our senses back onto the ice, the good admonitions vanishing from sight, and be made to continue at the old pace.

D. The echo is monosyllabic, and perhaps more natural, than superior: in the form of an echo all syllables of each single word repeat, of which the last is the most perceptible.

C. This is better understood through music, when a second voice in the same pitch repeats the last syllables: and it is well to answer, that Trügewalt, who sings especially low, here as an artist of a thousand means answers in a high voice.

FROM THE THIRD ACT

Fifth Scene.

Künsteling, Reichimuht, Eherelob, Seelewig, Sinnigund.

Künsteling speaks to the shepherds as they go out. I step forward.

Hear what Trügewalt commands us in these things, that I will set to do, I can do it the best, and accomplish what he wants. Now I step forward, you two follow me, that is his and my desire.

A. Weil der entschlossene und abgetroschene Betrug Beredsamkeit erfordert / ist Künsteling billich darzu gebraucht worden / welcher dieses Orts den Mißbrauch der Künste und der Wissenschaften bedeutet.

Sinnigund.

**Mit dieser Schäferzunft laß uns die Zeit verkürzen /
und in die weite Luft die Sorgen-Plage stürzen.**

Künsteling.

Ihr Nymfen lasset euch belieben mit der Kühn' in dieser Morgenstund ein freyes Schäfers Spiel.

V. Das Sinnbild dieses Aufzugs sol seyn der blinde Cupido / welcher sich läst von einem Hund leiten und führen / zu verstehen / daß wir blinder Weise oftmals unseren viehischen Lustbeginnen folgen / mit der Schrift:

Ich trette forne her.

Sinnigund.

Wir beide spielen mit / doch aber daß für allen uns zieme solcher Lust / sonst mags uns nicht gefallen.

J. Die Lehre ist daß man sich auch mit dem Schein der Erbarkeit und der Keuschheit in grosse Gefahr führen lässet.

Künsteling.

Wir wissen die Gebühr. Das Spiel das ich bedacht heist man die blinde Lieb' / uns Hirten oft behagt / Man zehlt anfangs herüm und pflaget zu verbinden den / so die Zahle trifft; dann muß dasselbe finden ein anders an die stätt / zu seyn die

A. Because decided and malicious deceit requires persuasiveness, Künsteling is for that appropriately used, who in this place signifies the misuse of the arts and sciences.

Sinnigund.

**Let us shorten our time with this guild of shepherds,
and toss the plague of sorrows into the air.**

Künsteling.

Nymphs, let yourselves enjoy in the coolness of the morning hour a free shepherds' game.

V. The symbol of this scene should be blind Cupid, being led about by a dog, meaning that we often blindly follow the beginnings of our animal desires, with the words:

I step forward.

Sinnigund.

We will both play, but only if everyone has fun that is appropriate for us, otherwise it may not please us.

J. The lesson is that even in great danger one should conduct oneself with the appearance of modesty and chastity.

Künsteling.

We know what is proper. The game that I have devised is called blind love, we shepherds often enjoy it, One begins by counting around and tries to blindfold the one, whose number it is; then that one must find another one to replace him, to be the

**blinde Lieb'
und also nach und nach erfolgt des
Spieles trieb.**

D. Nun erhellet / wiewol sich hierzu des
Herrn Vespasians Sinnbild schicket. Dieses
Spiel heist man sonst / der blinden Maus
/ oder der blinden Kuhe; ist aber hier
nachsinnig die blinde Liebe genennet / weil
wir blinde Menschen in dieser Welt mit
unersättlichen Begierden für schön lieben /
das in der Warheit nicht werth ist der
Herrlichkeit / die an uns sol offenbar
werden.

Sinnigund.
Versuchen schadet nicht--
Seelewig.
--beginn dann an zu zehlen /

Künsteling.
**Es sol das siebende den ersten Blindfang
wehlen.**
**Nun fang ich von mir an: zwey /
drey / vier / fünf / sechs / siebn /
Es laß jhr Seelewig erstmals zu fangen
lieben.**

Sinnigund.
**Hier ist das zarte Band / das dein
Gesicht verblend /
biß du durch solchen Lauf ein anders
hast errennt.**

C. Der Personen sind fünf; weil nun
Künsteling beförchtet / er möchte von
Gwissulda und Herzigild verstöret werden /
als fanget er von sich an zu zehlen / da es
dann nicht fehlen kan: in der Umzehlung
wird er der sechste / und Seelewig die
siebende.

V. Wir weren elende Menschen / wann wir
nicht so wol Mittel hätten
das Unsichtbare / als das Sichtbare zu
erkundigen. Das Ohr ist uns ertheilet um zu

**blind love
and thus proceeds the
game.**

D. Now it is clear, how appropriate the
symbol of the gentleman Vespasian is.
This game is also called the blind mouse,
or the blind cow; but it is here
appropriately called blind love, because
we blind people in this world love beauty
with insatiable desire,
which in reality is not worthy of the
glory, which should be evident to
us.

Sinnigund.
It does not hurt to try--
Seelewig.
--then begin to count,

Künsteling.
**The seventh shall be the first blind
one.**
**Now I begin the counting with me: two,
three, four, five, six, seven,
Seelewig is the first captured one to
love.**

Sinnigund.
**Here is the delicate ribbon, to cover
your face,
while you have gone such a course
another has run off.**

C. There are five people; because
Künsteling now fears, he might be
distracted by Gwissulda and Herzigild, he
begins the counting with himself, since
that cannot fail: in the counting
he will be the sixth, and Seelewig the
seventh.

V. We would be miserable people, if we
did not have decent means by which to
enquire after the invisible, and the
visible. The ear is given to us to

hören / das Aug zu sehen / der Mund zu priefen: Wie solte aber unser Verstand nur fähig seyn das zu fassen / was durch die eusserlichen Sinne erforschet werden mag? Wer in diesem Wahn stehet / hat die Kräfte emsiger Betrachtung noch nicht erlernt.

DER DRITTEN HANDLUNGE

Sechster Aufzug. – Belehrung

Trügewalt hinter einer Hecken verborgen / Gwissulda sitzt unter einem anderen Baumen / und ligt Herzigild in jhrer Schoß. In dem nun Seelewig vermeinet / sie lauffe den Hirten nach / läst sich Trügewalt gerne von ihr fangen:
In dem laufft Hertzigild und Gwissulda herzu / reissen der Seelewig das Band vom Gesicht / und verjagen Trügewalt und die Hirten.

Gwissulda.

**Beschau was du verblind und fast erblind erlauffest!
Du Trüg- und Lügengeist entweich aus ihrem Arm /
Der du für falsche Freud das wahre Leid verkauffest /
entweich mit deiner Rott / mit deinem schmeichel Schwarm.**

Die Hirten entlaufen mit Trügewalt.

Herzigild.

**Und weil du Sinnigund die Seelewig verblindet /
so fall lebendig-tod zu ihren Füßen hier /
entnommen aller Kraft die nun in Spott verwendet.**

Sinnigund fällt auf die Erden.

Du aber Seelewig folg uns nun für und für.

hear, the eye to see, the mouth to speak: but how should our understanding be capable of grasping that, which might be explored through the external senses? Whoever stands in this delusion, has not yet learned the powers of industrious observation.

FROM THE THIRD ACT

Sixth Scene. – Headed “The Lesson”

Trügewalt hidden behind a hedge, Gwissulda sits under another tree, and Herzigild lies in her lap. Meanwhile Seelewig believes, she is chasing the shepherds, Trügewalt gladly allows himself to be captured by her: Meanwhile Herzigild and Gwissulda run over, tear the ribbon from Seelewig’s face, and chase Trügewalt and the shepherds away.

Gwissulda.

**Look what you obscured and almost blind run after!
You escape from the arms of lying and deceitful spirits,
You who for false joy sell true passion,
escape with your corruption, with your flattering mob.**

The shepherds run off with Trügewalt.

Herzigild.

**And because you, Sinnigund, blind Seelewig,
fall half alive, half dead at her feet here,
relieved of all power which is now used in mockery.**

Sinnigund falls to the earth.

But you, Seelewig, follow us now for good.

Gwissulda.

**Dank / lob und singe Gott / daß er dich
nicht verlassen
in solcher Fährlichkeit! dein hat so oft
begehrt
der diese wilde Welt beherrscht ohne
massen /
und dich durch Lieb' und Lob versucht
und gefährht.**

Herzigild.

**Wie nun das eitle Thun aus deinen
Augen weicht /
so scheint in dein Gemüht das ewig
Seelenwort /
das Gotes Gnadenhand zu dir vom
Himmel neiget /
Erheb nun seine Güt mit loben fort
und fort!**

Seelewig fällt auf jhre Knie.

I.

**Ach starker Wunder Gott /
der du durch manche Noht
mich gnädiglich geführet!
Es ist kein Ungelück /
kein Aug- und Herzensblick /
da ich mich recht regieret.**

II.

**Der guldnen Sonnen Liecht
Geflügel mir gebricht
mich Himmelan zu schwingen;
dann nunmehr mich betrübt /
was ich zuvor verübt /
in jrr- jrdischen Dingen.**

III.

**Dein immer-Gütigkeit /
die Morgen stets erneut /
umstrale mein Beginnen!
Ach Herr ich nehm mich mir
und gib mich gänzlich dir /
Ach laß mich dir gewinnen.**

Gwissulda.

**Thank, praise and sing to God, that he
has not left you
in such danger!, so often has he
sought you
who rules this wild world beyond
measure,
and tempts and endangers you through
love and praise.**

Herzigild.

**Now how the vain doings disappear
from your eyes,
in your spirit appears the eternal word
of the soul,
that inclines God's hand of mercy to
you from heaven,
Raise now his goodness with praise
continually!**

Seelewig falls on her knee.

I.

**O mighty God of miracles,
you who have mercifully guided me
through much misery!
It is no misfortune,
no momentary sincerity,
when I rightly govern myself.**

II.

**The golden sunlight
comes on wings
to carry me toward heaven;
for what I have committed,
in wayward earthly things,
grieves me no more.**

III.

**Your eternal goodness,
that ever renews the morning,
enlighten my beginning!
O Lord I take me to myself
and give myself completely to you,
O let me be won over to you.**

IV.

**Es sol zu aller Stund' /
in meinem Herz und Mund /
hinfort dein Lob erschallen /
biß ich zu rechter Zeit /
durch die Vergänglichkeit /
werd in dein Reich hin wallen.**

A. Die Seele wird allhier als ein bußfertige Sünderin eingeführet / welcher Verstand theils aus dem Göttlichen Wort / theils aus Antrieb den innerlichen Regungen des Gewissens / von dem Weltlichen ab- und zu dem Göttlichen angeführet worden.

V. Deswegen setze ich zum Sinnbilde einen Pyramidem oder Flammseulen / über welcher die liebe Sonne schwebet / mit dem Beyworte:

umstrale mein Beginnen.

Dieser Deutung / daß wann unsere Herzen mit brünstigem Gebet über sich steigen / wie die Flamm / deren Gestalt die Seule bildet / daß alsdann die Schatten irdischer Vergänglichkeit / (deren Anfangs von Ehrelob und Reichimut Meldung beschehen /) nirgend befindlich / sondern die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit / über einer solchen Seele / mit brünstigen Gnaden schwebe und selbe erleuchte.

J. Die Lehre ist / daß gleichwie der Fisch im Wasser / der Vogel im Luft / die Thiere auf der Erden ruhen / also finde die Seele einig und allein ihre wahre Ruhe in Gott dem Allmächtigen: wann nemlich ein Mensch das Zeitliche verachtet / die Sinne der Welt gleichsam abgestorben / und durch Anführung des Göttlichen Wortes / nach der himmlischen Wissenschaft / nach dem Reichthum der Ausserwehlten / und nach der Ehre der Englischen Heerschaaren eussersten Vermögens ringet und trachtet.

D. Die Vermahnunge Gwissulda und

IV.

**At all hours shall,
in my heart and mouth,
henceforth your praise resound,
until at the right time,
through transitoriness,
I make the pilgrimage to your realm.**

A. The soul is introduced here as a repentant sinner, whose understanding comes in part from the divine word, in part from the impulse of the inwardly tormented conscience, who is led from the worldly and toward the divine.

V. For that reason I set as symbol a pyramid or a column of flame, above which the dear sun hovers, with the inscription:

enlighten my beginning.

Meaning, that when our hearts climb above themselves with ardent prayer, like the flame, whose form the column depicts, that thereupon the shadow of worldly ephemerality, (which was at first announced by Ehrelob and Reichimut,) is nowhere to be found, rather the sun of uprightness, over such a soul, hovers and enlightens the same with fervent grace.

J. The lesson is, that just as the fish in the water, the bird in the air, the animals on the earth rest, so the soul finds her true rest only in God the almighty: when namely a person scorns the temporal, the sense of the world as it were dies out, and through the guidance of the divine word, wrestles over and seeks knowledge of the heavenly, the kingdom of the chosen, and the honor and extreme wealth of the angelic flock.

D. The admonishments of Gwissulda and

Herzigild sind jambische geschrenkte Reimen / das Gebet aber Seelewig ist eine Ode / in gleichfalls sechs und sieben-syllbigen Jambis bestehend. Man möchte aber hier erinnern / daß in den jambischen Reimen die dactylischen Wörter / Sinnigund / Seelewig / Fährlichkeit u.d.g. nicht zu gebrauchen: weiln aber die Lateiner zweierley Jambos haben / reine und unreine / kan es noch der Zeit gedultet werden.

C. Weil hier nichts fröhliches / sondern eine innere Herzens-Bewegung vorgestellt wird / so ist die Music auch sehr beweglich darzu erkieset worden.

Chor der Engel.

Nun jauchzet ihr Heilige / tönet und singet!

Nun lobet den Höchsten Dankopfer' ihm bringet / welcher die büsenden Seelen erlöst und herzlich tröst.

So ferne der Morgen vom Abend entsethet /

Sein' himmlische Güte die Frommen umfähet;

von reuhigen Zehren er schenket uns ein der Engelein Wein.

Mit heiligem Herzen / und heiligem Willen /

viel werden die Englischen Schaaren erfüllen:

Ihr Heiligen jauchzet / weil ewige Freud den Frommen gedeyt!

A. Dieweil die H. Altvätter die Zehren der bußfehrigen Sünder der Engelwein benennet / ist allhier darauf abgesehen: sonderlich aber auf die Wort unseres Seligmachers / wann er sagt / daß grosse Freude seyn wird bey den Engelen über einen Sünder der Busse thut.

V. Meines Bedunkens ist nichts

Herzigild are iambic ending verses, the prayer of Seelewig, however, is an ode, likewise consisting of six- and seven-syllable iambs. Yet one might remember here, that in iambic verses the dactylic words, Sinnigund, Seelewig, Fährlichkeit and suchlike are not to be used: because, however, the Latins have two sorts of iambs, pure and impure, it can still be permitted of that time.

C. Because here there is nothing joyful presented, but rather an inner movement of the heart, so is the music appropriately made very moving.

Chorus of Angels.

Now rejoice you saints, make sound and sing!

Now praise the highest one, bring him offerings of thanks/ who redeems and heartily comforts repentant souls.

As long as the morning arises from the evening,

His divine goodness will surround the pious;

through repentant tears he pours out upon us the wine of angels.

With blessed heart, and blessed will,

many will fill out the angelic fold:

You saints rejoice, for eternal joy is the reward of the pious!

A. That the blessed fathers of the church called the tears of repentant sinners the wine of angels, is here shown: especially however with the word of our giver of joy, when he says, that there is great rejoicing among angels when one sinner repents.

V. It seems to me that nothing is more

füglicher / zu dieses Chores Sinnbild als der Regenbogen / das wahre Zeichen Göttlicher Barmherzigkeit; so nach ausgestandener Hitze und Regen / auf den Abend unserer Jahre pflüget zu erscheinen / mit dem Worte:

Sein' himmlische Güte die Frommen
umfähet.

J. Nach solcher Engelsfreude sollen alle fromme Christen ein sehnliches Verlangen tragen / als welche alle Weltfreud weit weit übertrifft. Das Ewige hat kein Aug jemals ersehen / kein Ohr vernemen / und kein Menschen-Sinn satksam durchdenken mögen: Dessen Anfang ohne Ende / dessen Ende ohne Anfang / dessen Zahl ohne Zahl / dessen Zeit ohne Zeit nicht vermehret noch vermindert / nicht verlängert noch gekürzt / nicht verzögert noch unterbrochen werden kan.

D. Die Reimen sind dactylisch auf die Sasische Art / mit einem fünfsylbigen Reimzeilein geschlossen.

C. Die Music zu diesem Chor gleicht einem Reyendanz: kan aber auch wie ein Echo gesetzt werden / und die letzten fünf Sylben zur Gegenstimme haben.

R. In diesem Waldgedichte hat die Singkunst den Anfang gemachet / nun sol die Mahlerey schliessen. Die Italiäner führen vielmals zu Vorredneren auf den Schauplatz Flüsse / Stätte / Berge / den Frieden / die Zeit / das Glück / Menschliche Schwachheit / u.d.g. Wird also auch die Vorstellung der Mahlkunst von den Zuhöreren nicht übel angesehen werden / wann sie also singet:

**Ist die Liebestreu nunmehr
ganz erkaltet?
Wil das Kunstgesang ohne mich**

appropriate, as the symbol for this chorus than the rainbow, the true sign of divine mercy; which after outstanding heat and rain, deigns to appear in the evening of our years, with the word:

His heavenly goodness surrounds the
pious.

J. After such angelic joy should all devout Christians carry an intense longing, such as far far exceeds all earthly joys. The eternal has no eye ever seen, no ear heard, and no human faculty fully thought through: whose beginning without end, whose end without beginning, whose number without number, whose time without time neither increases nor diminishes, neither lengthens nor shortens, can neither be delayed nor interrupted.

D. The verses are dactylic in the Saxon manner, closed with a short five-syllable line.

C. The music for this chorus resembles a choral dance: it can however also be set as an echo, with the last five syllables as echoing voice.

R. In this pastoral the art of song appeared first, now shall painting close. The Italians often present rivers in the prologue, also places, mountains, peace, time, happiness, human weakness, and suchlike. Thus the representation of painting might also be considered not inappropriate by the audience, when she thus sings:

**Is love's faithfulness once more gone
completely cold?
Will the art of song break forth without**

**aufprachten
und das Reimgedicht meiner nicht mehr
achten?
Ist das Schwesterband unter uns
veraltet?**

A. Daß die Mahlerey mit der Reim- und Singkunste verschwestert seye / wird niemand abredig seyn der selber wissend ist. Sie bestehen alle drey in ebenmässiger Bildungskräfte / und sonderlichen Erfindungen / die dem Verstand durch das Gehöre und das Gesichte vorgestellt werden: Dahin zielen die Wort / Liebestreue / Schwesterband / Kunstgesang / Reimgedicht. Weil aber die Handlungen der aufgeführten Personen gleichsam ein lebendiges Gemähd / wil sich die Mahlkunst hier beklagen / als ob jhre Schwesternen dieses Ortes ihrer vergessen hätten.

R. Nun endert sie die Meinung / ferners singend:

**Nein / der Eiferneid meinen Sinn
beruket /
Wie das Blümelein mein Gewant
beschönet /
und der bunte Kranz meine Haare
krönet;
So hat Mahlerwerk diesen Platz
umschmucket.**

V. Es wird die Mahlerey gebildet / wie sie aufziehen sollte / wann dieses Waldgedicht wirklich vorgestellt würde: nemlich in geblumter fliegender Bekleidung / mit einem Blumenkranz auf dem Haubte / weil von den Blumen die zärttesten Farben bereitet werden / in der linken Hand tragend die Pinsel und Polleten / in der rechten einen Maasstab / auf dergleichen die Mahler ins gemein / wegen mehrer Gewißheit / die Hand zu steuern pflegen. Weil aber vorbesagte

**me
and my poetry no longer
respect?
Has the bond of sisterhood among us
become obsolete?**

A. That painting is joined as a sister with poetry and music, will no one who is knowledgeable be dissuaded of. They all three possess equal powers of learning, and special inventiveness, which are presented to the understanding through hearing and vision: to that end are aimed the words, love's faithfulness, bond of sisterhood, art of song, poetry. However, because the action of the represented characters are as it were a live painting, the art of painting here complains, as if her sisters of this place had forgotten her.

R. Now she changes the meaning, further singing:

**No, jealous envy makes my mind
consider
How the little flower adorns my
gown,
and the colorful wreath crowns my
hair;
thus has painting beautified
this place.**

V. Painting learns, how she would be used, if this pastoral were really presented: namely in flowered, flowing clothing, with a wreath of flowers on her head, because the most delicate colors are gotten from flowers, in the left hand holding paintbrush and palette, in the right hand a measuring stick, with the idea that painters in general, because of more certainty, take care to guide the hand. Because, however, the

drey verbundene Künste in richtiger
Ebenmaasse hafften /
kan das Sinnbild seyn ein Cirkel mit dreyen
Spitzen / auf einem Papyr stehend / wie
man sonst zu dem Feldmessen
gebrauchet / mit der Obschrift:
umschmucket diesen Platz.

R.
**Oede Stattgebäu / brochne
Marmolzimmer /
Venus / Hercules / Menschen-Götter
Seulen /
halb verfallene Grufften / Nest der
Eulen /
alte mösige Siegesbögen Drümmer.**

J. Hier wird beschrieben / was auf dem
Schauplatz gemahlet zu ersehen.

R.
**Was die hastige Zeiten können fällen /
mag so meisterlich meine Hand
erretten /
durch den Maassestab / Pinsel und
Polleten /
und behaglich schon hier vor Augen
stellen.**

C. Wie die Reimkunst die Beschaffenheit
langst vergangener Händel handhabt / also
stellet die Mahlkunst vor Augen die
unterschiedliche Gestalten / der verfallenen
Gebäude / Seulen / Bilder / u.d.g.

R.
**Welches Kunstgewerb kan mit uns sich
gleichen /
Berge / felsichte Hügel / Thäler /
Wälder /
Flüsse / Meeresfurt' / Ufer' / Auen /
Felder /
In dem Augenblick' unsrem Aufzug
weichen.**

D. Es ist in diesen Worten auf die

previously mentioned three arts bound
together are responsible in equal amounts,
the symbol can be a circle with three
points, on a sheet of paper, just like
what one usually uses for field
measurements, with the superscript:
beautifies this place.

R. [Painting].
**Wasted building, broken
marble room,
Venus, Hercules, demigod
pillars,
half-fallen crypts, nest of
owls,
old mossy ruins of victorious battles.**

J. Here is described, what will
be painted onstage.

R. [Painting].
**What fleeting time can ruin,
might my hand masterfully
preserve,
through measuring stick, paintbrush
and palette,
and pleasantly beautiful here before the
eyes present.**

C. As poetry has at hand the quality
of long past activity, so
painting presents before the eyes the
various figures, of fallen
buildings, columns, pictures, and so forth.

R. [Painting]:
**Which artful trade can with us
simulate,
mountains, rocky hills, valleys,
forests,
rivers, sea ford, banks, meadows,
fields,
In a moment they yield to
our act.**

D. In these words is seen

Auszierung des Schauplatzes gesehen /
welche bey Auftretung der Mahlerey
verwechselt worden / wie erstgedacht.

R. Nun folgt der Schluß an die
Zuhörer:

**Hat das liebliche Sing- und
Reimgebände
meiner Schwesternen Kunstprob / euch
gefallen /
so laß Seelewig Lobgeschrey erschallen /
sagt uns gute Nacht / schlaget in die
Hände!**

Wie nemlich bey den Alten und noch zu
Tag bey den Welschen Freudenspielen
gebräuchlich ist / daß die Zuhörer jhre
Wolgefallen mit lauter Stimme und
Handklappen bezeugen. Es
muß aber hierbey noch von den Reim- und
Singarten dieses Gedichtes erinnert
werden / daß diese letzere Reimen
eilfsylbig / und dem Gebände nach dem
Lateinischen / dem Wortlaut nach dem
Teutschen Reimweise nachahmen. Ich
stehe in dem Wahn / man könne
solchergestalt den Griechischen /
Lateinischen / und aller anderen Sprachen
Reimmaasse oder Versarten im Teutschen
nachkommen; jedoch einer füglicher als in
der anderen.

D. Ja wann wir sicherlich wissen könnten /
welche Sylben lang oder kurz ist.

R. Diese Gewiesheit ist bald zu verhoffen /
die Stammwörter auf a i u endende sind ins
gemein lang / die anderen auf e
und o sind zum theil auch kurz / ausser
etlichen einsylbigen Vornennwörtlein:
wann aber eine Vorsylben oder auch eine
Nachsylben beygesetzt / daß das Wort
zweysylbig wird / so bleibt der Stamm
lang / die angehangte Sylben kurz; als zum
Beyspiele: Lieb / ist das Stammwort /
beliebt ist kurzlang oder jambisch: lieben /

the painting of the stage,
which upon entrance of Painting
was changed, as first thought.

R. Now follows the closing to the
audience:

**If the sweet union of song and
verse
the artful sample of my sisters, has
pleased you,
then let Seelewig hear cries of praise,
tell us good night, clap your
hands!**

As, namely, was common with the
ancients and is still today in Italian
comedies, that the audience shows their
approval with loud voice
and applause. It
must still be remembered, however, from
the verse and song styles of this
poem, that these latter lines are
eleven syllables, and that despite the link
to Latin, the stress patterns imitate
German verse styles. I
am of the conviction, that one could in
such form set the rhyme and verse styles
of Greek, Latin, and all other languages
into German;
nonetheless into one more appropriately
than into the other.

D. Yes, if we could know with certainty,
which syllable is long or short.

R. This certainty is soon to be hoped for,
the root words ending in a i u are
commonly long, the others ending in e
and o are in part also short, except for
several single-syllable prefix-type words:
but when a prefix or
suffix is added, so that the word
becomes two-syllable, then the root
remains long, the added syllable short; as
for example: Lieb is the root,
beliebt is short-long or iambic: lieben,

langkurz oder trochaisch. Ist also die Teutsche Mundart richtig / daß alle zweysylbige Wörter eine Sylben erhöhen / und die andere sinken lassen. Wie hiervon ausführlich zu handeln zu lang seyn würde. Bey der Music ist zu merken / daß bey jedem Aufzug eine An- oder Gleichstimmung zu hören / als den Nymfen mögen Geigen / Lauten und Flöten / den Schäferen Schalmeyen / Zwerchpfeiffen / Flageolet / dem Trügewart ein grosses Horn zugeeignet werden. Es ist aber durch solche Symfonien die Music dergestalt fortzusetzen / daß auch in wärender Verwechselung des Schauplatzes / wann die Fühänge vorgezogen / stetig etwas zu hören ist. Zu diesem Waldgedichte werden ferners erfordert sieben Personen / die zu solcher Bemühung selbsteigene Beliebung tragen / deren ein jeder seine Stimme vernemlich singe / alle Wörter auswendig lerne / derselben Verstand ihnen wol einbilde / mit sonderer Herzensbewegung / bald sanftmühtig / bald frölich / nach Begebenheit / die Stimme sinken lasse und wiederüm erhebe / wie sie dann so genau nicht an die Mensur oder das Tohnmaaß gebunden; und solches alles / so wenig als die zierliche und anmuhtige Geberden / fürzuschreiben. Sie sollen aber also ausgekleidet seyn. Seelewig in ganz weisen Taffet / die Reinigkeit zu bemerken / in welcher sie hier eingeführet wird / jedoch daß sie mehr Neigung zum Bösen als Guten trägt.

J. Herzigild / welche den Verstand bedeutet / kan in Spanisch Leibfarben Atlaß bekleidet seyn / die hohe Würdigkeit desselben zu bemerken.

V. Sinnigunda Kleidung mag man von allerley Farben auf das buntste geblumet angeben / darunter die wandelbare Nichtigkeit der Sinnen verstehend.

long-short or trochaic. The German manner of speaking is therefore correct, that one syllable is stressed in all two-syllable words, and the other is unstressed. To deal with this in detail here would take too long. With music it is remarkable, that with every scene another equal voice is heard, with the nymphs violins, lutes and flutes, with the shepherds shawms, pipes, flageolet, with Trügewart a large horn are designated. It is such instrumental sinfonias that continue playing, also during scene changes, when the curtain is drawn, there is always music heard. For this pastoral there are seven further persons required, who to such trouble bear their own discretion, by which each voice shall sing perceptibly, learn all words by heart, the understanding of which they should imagine, with special movement of the heart, now gentle, now happy, according to occasion, let the voice sink and again rise, as they are not so precisely bound to the meter or the proportion of tones; and everything should be so little prescribed as gentle and graceful gestures. They should be decked out thus: Seelewig in completely white taffeta, to indicate purity, in which she is here introduced, nonetheless she should have more of a tendency toward the bad than the good.

J. Herzigild, who represents understanding, can be clothed in Spanish skin-colored atlas, to indicate her high stature.

V. Sinnigunda's clothing might consist of all the sorts of hues as the most colorfully flowered, by which is understood the changeable void of the senses.

A. Gwissulda kan in Veielbraunen Sammet aufziehen / weil sie alhier als eine erbare Matron eingeführet wird.

A. Gwissulda can be clad in a violet-brown dress, because she above all is introduced here as an upright matron.

R. Künsteling wie ein Jäger ausgerüstet.

R. Künsteling will be equipped as a hunter.

C. Ehrelob sol wie ein Vogler oder Fischer ausgerüstet sey / weil er den Angel übergibt / und der Ehrgeiz mit so betrügerlicher Arbeit sich wol vergleichen läst.

C. Ehrelob should be equipped as a birdsman or fisherman, because he hands over the fishing pole, and ambition can well be compared with such deceptive work.

D. So ist dann Reichimuht allein ein Schäfer / der eine so wucherende und Gewinnsüchtige Nahrung hat: obgleich die anderen beide dieses Ortes auch für Schäfer können gehalten werden.

D. So Reichimuht alone is a shepherd, then, who has such usurious and ambitious nourishment: although the other two of this place can also be taken for shepherds.

J. Weil dem müssigen Schäfervölklein ins gemein dergleichen Liebshändelein zugeschrieben werden; wiewol so liebliches Gesang / und so höfliche Reden bey den rechten Schäferen schwerlich anzutreffen.

J. Because the same kind of grasping lust is commonly attributed to idle shepherd folk; just as lovely song, and polite speech is difficult to find among the right shepherds.

V. Es solte auch ein schlechter Lust seyn ihren groben Possen zuzuhören. In solchen Schauspielen wird von den Schäferen entlehnet / was bey dem Feldleben am annemlichsten ist / und unter ihren Namen oft tapfere Helden eingeführet / an welchen nichts Bäurisches als solcher Schäfertitel zu befinden.

V. It should also be sinful pleasure to attend to their coarse antics. Such plays borrow from the shepherds what is most agreeable about the rustic life, and among their names courageous heroes are often introduced, and nothing peasant-like is to be found as such shepherds' titles.

A. Wie solten sie aber bekleidet seyn?

A. But how shall they be dressed?

R. Nicht viel schlechter als die Nymfen: Künsteling grün / Ehrelob purpurfarb / Reichimuht grau / es sey nun Taffet oder ein anderer seidener Zeuge. Wann Trügewalt mit einem paar Hörneren / und so gemachten Bockesfüssen auftreten könnte / samt einem grossen Jagthorn / würde es sich so viel besser

R. Not much worse than the nymphs: Künsteling green, Ehrelob purple, Reichimut gray, it should be taffeta or another silken thing. If Trügewalt could appear with a pair of horns, and buck's feet, together with a large hunting horn, it would be all the more

schicken. Ferners wird zu wirklicher Vorstellung dieses Waldgedichtes erfordert ein oftverwechslender Schauplatze / der zum wenigsten mit allen Handlungen (inzwischen der Chor sich ohne Erweisung der Personen hören lässet / und die Fühänge zugezogen werden) verändertet. Sein Grund kan seyn eine runde Scheiben / in vier gleiche Theile abgesonderet / und perspectivisch oder nach der Sehkunste ausgemahlet / deren der erste das Meer / Flüsse / Felsen vorweiset / der andere Theil Berge / Felder / Auen / der dritte Hölen / Wisen / Rangen / u.d.g. der vierte allerley Bau- und Mahlwerke begreiffet. Diese Scheiben muß sich umdrehen lassen / daß man fast in einem Augenblicke einen anderen Theil herbringen kan. Sonsten wird auch vonnöhten seyn ein Fernglaß / ein Angel / ein Köcher mit Pfeilen / ein Bogen / u.d.g. Welchergestalt Flamminio Scala bey seinen Freudenspielen / die er dem Großherzogen zu Florenz zugeschrieben / jedes Zugehör gleichesfalles nachsetzet. Dieses mag zu einer Anfangsprob der Musicalischen Freudenspiele genug seyn / und kan man dergleichen von allen Christlichen Tugenden nach und nach ersinnen und auf den Schauplatz bringen; der ungezweiffelten Hoffnung / daß die Gemühter dardurch mächtiglich beweget und zur Gottesfurcht aufgemundert werden sollen.

Anmerkung. Die Music ist zu Ende dieses Werkleins angefüget.

appropriate. Further, for the realistic presentation of this pastoral many stage changes are required, at least with each act (while the chorus sings without indication of characters, and the curtain is drawn). The floor could be a round disk, divided into four equal parts, and painted with perspective or with different scenery, of which the first shows the sea, rivers, boulders, the second part mountains, fields, meadows, the third caves, cliffs, ridges, and suchlike, the fourth all kinds of edifices and painted works. This disk must be able to turn around, so that another part can be brought forward in a moment. In addition a telescope, a fishing pole, a quiver with arrows, a bow, and such things will be needed. In the same way that Flamminio Scala designated similar props for the comedies, that he dedicated to the grand duchess of Florence, each prop is likewise set. This might suffice for the first rehearsal of the musical comedies, and one can by and by designate such props as Christian virtues and bring them onto the stage; with the undespairing hope, that souls are thereby powerfully moved and awakened to the fear of God.

Note. The music is attached to the end of this work.

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