

Artistic Disobedience

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Artistic Disobedience

Music and Confession in Switzerland, 1648–1762

By

Claudio Bacciagaluppi



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To Andrea and Dimitri



By singing, foes are reconciled: If they wish to have a lovely song, they must attune together, as though they sung with one mouth. Their song forges their hearts and feelings together, so that they become one heart, one mind, one feeling, and in this way receive one spirit.

Durch das Gesang werden die Feind widerum mit einanderen vereinbaret, wann sie wollen haben ein liebliches Gesang, so müssen sie zusammenstimmen, als wann es zu einem Mund herauß gieng, das Gesang zeucht ihnen ihr Herz und Gemüht widerum zusammen, daß es widerum wird ein Herz, ein Sinn, ein Gemüht, und auch dadurch bekommen einen Geist.

JAKOB RATHGEB, 1709



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AA/6135 [1639.V.25], *Directorium cantus ...*

ZwA 1981 0002 0525.

Aarau, Stadtarchiv

II.562a, *Donationenbuch der Bibliothek*

II.562c, *Guldenes Buch*

II.606, *Neues Jahrzeitbuch der Pfarrkirche.*

Basel, Staatsarchiv

HA, Handel und Gewerbe, JJJ 1, 4, 14 (Documents 3.2–3.12)

HA, Vereine und Gesellschaften, O 14 (Document 1.6).

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek

NL 107 AMG I.A.1a, *Collegii Musici Protocollum.*

Bellinzona, Archivio di Stato

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Berne, Bürgerbibliothek

Ms Hist Helv VI II 40, Johann Rudolf Gruner, *Chronikon ...* (Document 1.8).

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Milan, Archivio di Stato

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Sankt Gallen, Stadtarchiv

PA X 33 1, 11, 17, 19, 22, 27.

Solothurn, Staatsarchiv

AB 1.17, *Missivenbuch* (Document 2.18)

Ratsmanual, vols 114, 145–9, 147a

Stift Sankt Leodegar zu Schönenwerd, Protokolle, vol. 1.

Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek

DA I 92/4.

Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek

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Zofingen, Stadtbibliothek

Pb 64e, *Kurzer Abriss über die Geschichte des Music-Collegiums ...*

Zurich, Staatsarchiv

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Ms. B 190 (Documents 2.8, 2.12)

Ms. S 493

Ms. T 413

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List of Abbreviations

- HMI* *Historical Music Inventories 1500–1800* [online series], Berne: Swiss RISM office, <http://inventories.rism-ch.org/> (accessed September 2013).
- RISM A/I* *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, series A/I, *Individual prints before 1800* [database], <http://opac.rism.info/> (accessed November 2016).
- RISM A/II* *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, series A/II, *Music manuscripts after 1600* [database], <http://opac.rism.info/> (accessed September 2013).
- RISM d-lib* *RISM Digital Library* [online series], Berne: Swiss RISM office, <http://d-lib.rism-ch.org/> (accessed November 2016).
- RISM DKL* Ameln, Konrad, Jenny, Markus, and Lipphardt, Walther (eds.), *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Section 1, *Verzeichnis der Drucke*, RISM B/VIII/1 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975–80).
- VD17* *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* [database], <http://www.vd17.de/> (accessed September 2013).

Introduction

a General Outline, Source Material, and Main Hypotheses

In the chequered religious geography of the Old Swiss Confederation, the Catholic and Reformed confessions were forced to find some way in which to coexist peacefully. The political solution to the problem of avoiding open conflict—which still flared up twice after the Reformation, in the two so-called Villmergen wars of 1652 and 1712—was to regulate painstakingly every instance of contact, when this was absolutely inescapable, and otherwise to segregate the two different confessions as far as possible. Since ambivalence and the potential for conflict lurked in any expression of religious art, what was the position of sacred music in a confessionally mixed political system? The present study describes the various cross-confessional contacts that were developed surrounding musical matters in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Switzerland. In this period, music was never used with the aim of negotiating confessional differences: on the contrary, sacred music was generally seen as a means of affirming confessional identity. However, in the context of everyday life, the interests of artistic communication were sometimes at odds with the prevailing confessional prejudices and the imposed rules of segregation.

The material for this book is laid out in five chapters. At first, an overview of the historical context and of the specifically confessional premises for music-making in the Reformed and Catholic cantons is presented. It is also necessary to ask whether, and in what aspects, sacred music could be said to belong to one confession or the other. To be sure, between the opposing poles of admiration for the artistry displayed in a piece of sacred music and disapproval of its confessional associations, a viable solution was adaptation. Lutherans in particular had a long tradition of adapting Catholic artefacts so that they would not offend Protestant values: Catholic melodies were sung to Lutheran texts, and Catholic motets were played, untexted, in German organ tablatures.¹ However, the geographical proximity of the confessions in Switzerland encouraged a more direct exposure to the musical activities of the other confessional group, especially of a Reformed public to Catholic music. The difference between public and private performance contexts, each with its distinct

1 Rebecca Wagner Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda in the German Reformation*, St Andrew Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001). The organ anthology *Nova Musicae Organicae Tabulatura*, edited by Lutheran Johann Woltz and printed in Basel by Johann Jacob Genath in 1617 is a good example from a Swiss border town; see Hug, *Johann Woltz*.

repertoire, appears to be of paramount importance (Chapter 1). Different aspects of the relationship that the two confessions established while making and listening to sacred music are described in Chapters 2 to 4. Professional elites communicated across confessional boundaries; in other words, there was a cross-confessional exchange of experts: artists, doctors, soldiers.² Such interaction was also present among musicians. Three examples of different means of interaction are presented. Converted musicians lived out confessional tensions in their personal experiences and decisions, but used their skills to manage the difficulties of integrating within a different social network. The evolution of taste and repertoire in sacred music printed or composed in Switzerland shows some signs of influence across confessional boundaries. Finally, the reintroduction of organs in Reformed churches after their dismantling during the Reformation can be seen (and was at the time perceived) as a rapprochement with the Catholic world, and implied contact with Catholic organists and organ-makers (Chapter 2). The transmission of (mainly printed) music in the evolving market of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries highlights the particular position of Switzerland. The diffusion of musical sources followed informal and formal pathways alike, including lending libraries and booksellers. Archival documents, especially historical inventories of music collections and preserved musical sources, show traces of a unique mixture of North Italian and South German repertoire. Many titles from printing centres such as Milan—besides most of the output of local printers—are known only through their transmission in Switzerland (Chapter 3). The overwhelming majority of cases for cross-confessional circulation of music show the diffusion of music by Catholic (but also Lutheran) composers in Reformed circles. The fourth chapter deals with the most relevant examples of this cross-confessional circulation, as found in the private music societies of Swiss German towns (*collegia musica*). The repertoire of the private music societies of Swiss German towns around 1700 shows a significant confessional overlap. When examining the Swiss *collegia musica* (amateur music societies, who met on a regular basis and usually performed in private), what emerges is related to European developments in two ways. First, these societies reflect in their musical preferences more widespread tendencies, especially in the acquisition

2 Heike Bock, *Konversionen in der frühneuzeitlichen Eidgenossenschaft: Zürich und Luzern im konfessionellen Vergleich*, Frühneuzeit-Forschungen, vol. 14 (Epfendorf: Bibliotheca Academica Verlag, 2009), pp. 77–79; Thomas Lau, 'Der Konfessionskonflikt als Kommunikationsproblem—die Alte Eidgenossenschaft zwischen 1531 und 1712', in Mariano Delgado and Markus Ries (eds.), *Karl Borromäus und die katholische Reform*, Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, vol. 13 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2010), pp. 38–39.

of Italian models of church music in the *stile moderno* and the *concertato* manner.³ Second, they show forms of communication that suggest an overcoming of conventional boundaries. In this respect, there are some similarities to both the religious and social innovations of the pietists, as described by Kaspar Bütikofer, as well as to the political *collegia* in Zurich, examined by Michael Kempe and Thomas Maissen. Historians identify here some of the roots for Enlightenment thought. The political and pietist influences in the Zurich and Winterthur music societies, sometimes loosening the rigid behavioural code of Swiss orthodox Protestantism, will be presented together with a last case study (Chapter 4).⁴ A concluding chapter summarises the main points addressed during the course of the book (Chapter 5).

Switzerland is a rewarding case for studying cross-confessional issues. Since the early years of the Reformation, there was an inherent contradiction between the confessional politics of the Confederate diet and of the single cantons: while a religious pluralism was established during the sixteenth century at the level of the Confederation, the confessions had to be strictly segregated at a local level to prevent conflict. In other words, while Switzerland was a federation of cantons with different confessions, each canton had in principle a confessionally homogeneous population (with a few notable exceptions, as will be seen later), that was to have as little contact as possible with its neighbours of different faith. This was quite unlike the solution adopted by the Dutch in the Calvinist United Provinces, where worship and ritual were tacitly permitted to Catholics and other dissenters, but limited to the privacy of their homes. As long as the eye of the general public was not offended, and as long as worship concerned one family at a time, the authorities were content. The Swiss solution approached, rather, the shaky balance that the two confessions had reached in a number of towns in the Holy Roman Empire: Augsburg, Biberach, Colmar, Dortmund, and Essen, to name but a few.⁵ As Elisabeth Giselsbrecht has convincingly proven, the choices of musical repertoire made by

3 See, for example, Axel Beer, *Die Annahme des 'Stile nuovo' in der katholischen Kirchenmusik Süddeutschlands*, Frankfurter Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft, 22 (Tutzing: Schneider, 1989).

4 Kaspar Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus (1689–1721): der soziale Hintergrund und die Denk- und Lebenswelten im Spiegel der Bibliothek Johann Heinrich Lochers (1648–1718)*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus, vol. 54 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009); Michael Kempe and Thomas Maissen, *Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgesinnten in Zürich, 1679–1709: die ersten deutschsprachigen Aufklärungsgesellschaften zwischen Naturwissenschaften, Bibelkritik, Geschichte und Politik* (Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2002).

5 Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), especially pp. 177–97 and 204–7.

the German public in Nuremberg and Frankfurt in the decades around 1600 (this being the scope of her study) were very much dependent upon local circumstances, and even upon individual taste.⁶ Because of this principle, which may be easily extended to the Swiss society of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, limiting the focus of this book's interest upon Switzerland and upon a limited amount of case studies appeared to be a promising approach.

Historical research about the confessional aspects of Swiss society tends to underline the rigid segregation of the two confessions.⁷ Communication between the confessions was at a low point in the Old Confederation in the period from about 1648 to 1712. The peace of Westphalia (1648) set the premises for Switzerland, then first internationally recognized as a sovereign state, to develop a new self-understanding, but this was a long process. The overall assessment by modern historiography is quite negative: a key concept is Thomas Lau's 'cross-confessional speechlessness'.⁸ The seventeenth century was a period of permanent crisis in the Confederation. Confessional identities were substituted for the common secular founding myths that had emerged in the sixteenth century: the figure of William Tell, for example, was recast in a Catholic reinterpretation of the myth. The opposed elites undermined the spaces at their disposal for discussion and agreement: most importantly, the Confederate diet (*Tagsatzung*) was losing its role of supra-confessional government, many crucial decisions already being taken before the delegates met in the confessionally mixed town of Baden. Thus, cross-confessional speechlessness was diffused at all levels of society and most dangerously in the very same Confederate institutions whose function was to resolve any emerging conflicts and guarantee the peaceful coexistence of the confessions.

Since religious differences risked disintegrating the Confederation, a large part of the social elite tried to establish a counterweight to such trends by emphasizing the existing elements of cohesion, or by inventing new, secular communication channels. The two most relevant examples are found between the 1680s and the 1720s. On the one hand, the youth of the town elite in Zurich started developing patterns of thought that were independent of confessional

6 Elisabeth Giselbrecht, *Crossing boundaries: The printed dissemination of Italian sacred music in German-speaking areas (1580–1620)*, PhD dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2012), pp. 5–9, 234–235 and *passim*.

7 Lau, 'Der Konfessionskonflikt'.

8 Thomas Lau, *'Stiefbrüder': Nation und Konfession in der Schweiz und in Europa (1656–1712)* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2008), pp. 75–79.

identity.⁹ On the other hand, the early pietist movement in the northeastern part of Switzerland integrated certain elements of Catholic thought.¹⁰ Their efforts provided the roots for the foundation of a new common Confederate identity in the eighteenth century. After the last internal war of the confessional age (the Villmergen war of 1712), these pioneering tendencies that had promoted cohesion became in fact more influential. Pietism was slowly integrated into official Reformed doctrine.¹¹ The tendency towards building a cross-confessional, secular identity culminated in the foundation in 1762 of the *Helvetische Gesellschaft*, a learned society open to members from the whole Confederation and inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment.¹² The present study gathers evidence for cross-confessional contacts in the field of sacred music in Switzerland between 1648 and 1762: the exchange of artistic expressions can be seen as one of the contexts where cross-confessional speechlessness was temporarily suspended.

However, can the simple act of collecting or performing music by a member of another confession be equated with toleration? It certainly implied it when cross-confessional contacts were necessary in order to carry out musical activities. It has to be noticed that bridging confessional differences was not the objective of these contacts, which were prompted simply by the admiration for the quality of the sacred music of the other confession, but only their side effect. However, its relevance lies in its being part of a more general cultural development. The emergence of new channels of communication is an element that has been underlined as a crucial element of the rise of the Enlightenment.¹³ In the final chapters of this book, examples are shown where music played an important role in the circles that cultivated such new ways of social intercourse, showing toleration both in religious matters as well as in other domains.

9 Kempe and Maissen, *Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgesinnten*.

10 Kempe and Maissen, *Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgesinnten*; Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus*.

11 Lukas Vischer et al. (eds.), *Ökumenische Kirchengeschichte der Schweiz* (Freiburg: Paulusverlag and Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1998), pp. 184–191.

12 On tolerance in the *Helvetische Gesellschaft* see Ulrich Im Hof and François de Capitani, *Die Helvetische Gesellschaft: Spätaufklärung und Vorrevolution in der Schweiz* (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 146–151.

13 See, for example, Kempe and Maissen, *Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgesinnten*, pp. 9–10.

It is in the “cultural particularities” rather than in the *consensus gentium* that a concept of humanity reveals itself.¹⁴ Cross-confessional exchange was certainly, because of widespread biases, a minority practice, and often a private one. In other words, it is in a private sphere that it may be hoped to find traces of “the freedom of choice of ordinary people, their strategies, their capacity to exploit the inconsistencies or incoherences of social and political systems, to find loopholes through which they can wriggle or interstices in which they can survive”, exploiting a “freedom beyond, though not outside, the constraints of prescriptive and oppressive normative systems”.¹⁵ In the private sphere, different codes of conduct applied to those operating in public service or ceremony. Up to a certain measure, the condition of music lover, especially if it was institutionalised in a music society, overrode the condition of confessional denomination. In this respect, professional and amateur musicians belonged to a kind of Republic of Letters, in which elaborate codes of courtesy circumvented differences in religion, politics, and philosophy. Some musical manifestations—performances, or printed books—were the fruit of inter-confessional collaboration, just as were many scientific projects in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁶

As stated before, 1648, the end of the Thirty Year’s war, and 1762, when the new-founded *Helvetische Gesellschaft* set tolerance as a desirable aim for society, can be usefully set as boundaries of the period of interest for this book. The core of this period lies in the years up until 1712, the year of the second Villmergen war: it is the period of the consolidation and negotiation of confessional identities and interests, but also the period where the signals of toleration are most precious. These dates have a precise, if largely fortuitous correspondence in musical matters. At this time, a repertoire was cultivated whose sources are now all but completely lost. The reason lies in the consequences of two radical renewals of the musical repertoire, the first in the late seventeenth century, the second at the middle of the eighteenth century.¹⁷ The documents on which this study is based are therefore only seldom musical scores, very few having survived from the period examined. The musical repertoire can be discussed

14 Clifford Geertz, ‘The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man’, in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 43.

15 Peter Burke, ‘Overture: the New History, its Past and its Future’, in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p. 16; Giovanni Levi, ‘On Microhistory’, in Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p. 94.

16 See Anne Goldgar, *Impolite learning: conduct and community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), especially pp. 183–188.

17 See Chapter 4c.

based on inventories of music collections, mostly from Catholic religious institutions or Reformed private music societies. Because of the outstanding importance of printed music for the dissemination of musical works in the seventeenth century, most titles from such catalogues can be identified with accuracy. What does the reception of Catholic sacred vocal music by Reformed audiences say about the confessional content of music? Did these cross-confessional contacts individually encourage the development of an attitude of actual tolerance? Are the roots for the tolerance of the learned societies of the Enlightenment to be found in the communities of amateur musicians grouped in the Reformed *collegia musica*? To help answer such questions, a case study is presented at the end of each chapter. The case studies are mainly drawn from personal documents, such as court records and diaries. To study them, a cultural and microhistorical approach seemed appropriate.

The examples given in this book show signs of the pragmatic cross-confessionalism that Benjamin Kaplan termed 'toleration', as opposed to 'tolerance'. Toleration indicates instances of peaceful coexistence between different religious denominations without having developed a concept or a policy of religious tolerance. It is a form of everyday behaviour operating on the local level.¹⁸ In this respect, the path inaugurated by Kaplan is pursued by applying his concept to the field of cultural expression. This book presents some examples of everyday cross-confessional contacts in the context of musical activities, where the persons involved practised the kind of attitude Kaplan calls 'toleration'. The value of these border-crossings, however slight, is by no means lessened by the fact that religious prejudices and biases are seldom, if ever, radically questioned. The examples presented here are heterogeneous by nature. Some belong to the category which Étienne François calls 'commercial ecumenism', such as the Augsburg painters decorating Catholic and Lutheran churches alike.¹⁹ In addition, such contacts may fall under the category that Lutheran and Anglican theologians from the time called 'necessary interactions', and were thus morally justified.²⁰ Finally, in certain cases the motive for cross-confessional contact appears to have been pure interest in the creative output of musicians of other confessional denominations.

18 Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, pp. 8–9 and *passim*.

19 Étienne François, *Protestants et catholiques en Allemagne: identités et pluralisme: Augsburg, 1648–1806* (Paris: Michel, 1993), pp. 139–144.

20 François, *Protestants et catholiques en Allemagne*, pp. 136–137; Alexandra Walsham, 'In Sickness and in Health: Medicine and Inter-Confessional Relations in Post-Reformation England', in C. Scott Dixon et al. (eds.), *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe*, St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 165.

The findings allow the proposal of a new concept to describe all the various types of cross-confessional contacts: *artistic disobedience*, i.e., experiencing the creative output of an alien (confessional) culture. This can happen with different intentions, and can also be subjectively perceived and evaluated quite differently. However, the reception of artistic expressions of the 'other' always involves a potential for conflict, as small as it may ultimately turn out to be. The interest in the artistic achievements of the 'other' offered the occasion to make many cross-confessional contacts. In such occasions, it was pragmatically necessary to practice toleration, setting provisionally aside any issues of cross-confessional strife, in order to obtain whatever was desired, either expertise (as in organ building) or artistic expression (as in the book trade). Thus, artistic disobedience in fact broke the imposed rules of segregation. In the last of the case studies presented in this book, trying to solve the conflict posed by artistic disobedience implied a personal re-examination of confessional differences, and thus promoted something like genuine tolerance.

b Related Research and Methods

In 1986, Frits Noske published an extensive study of the Latin sacred music by nine Dutch composers of the seventeenth century. He analysed their compositions as evidence for the climate of toleration that reigned in the United Provinces during the Golden Age. His study is a pioneering attempt to look at musical practice as evidence for religious toleration. In the first chapter, he mentioned in particular the Dutch *collegia musica* and presented their cultivation of a cross-confessional repertoire as a unique phenomenon.²¹ The degree of religious toleration in the United Provinces was certainly exceptional.²² Noske even states that the members of Dutch music societies were confessionally

21 Noske mentions the situation in Switzerland, where allegedly "the collegia bore the stamp of the Reformed Church. They had no Catholic members, and their principal occupation was the singing of polyphonic psalm settings"; Frits Noske, *Music Bridging Divided Religions* (Wilhelmshafen: Heinrichshofen, 1989), vol. 1, p. 24. Unfortunately, Noske draws his picture of the Swiss *collegia musica* from the studies available in the 1980s. This book is a contribution to correct such a view.

22 See, for example, Jonathan Israel, 'The Intellectual Debate about Toleration in the Dutch Republic', in Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck et al. (eds.), *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic*, Studies in the history of Christian thought, vol. 76 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), pp. 3–36.

mixed.²³ This is indeed a very striking feature, almost unknown in Switzerland, where confessional segregation was much stricter and cross-confessional speechlessness prevailed.²⁴ Still, the documents presented in this book show that an extensive practice of cross-confessional repertoire existed also in the music societies of the Old Confederation.

While researching artistic disobedience in music, confessional prejudices are encountered at two different levels. In the background lies the confessional propaganda from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which informs many historical sources, and presents the differences between the confessions as insurmountable. Underlining differences and covering up cross-confessional contacts was in accordance with the scheme of confessionalisation, by which the political and religious authorities collaborated to strengthen the confessional nature of social identity that was the outcome of the religious wars of the age of Reformation. This process included most aspects of cultural and artistic life.²⁵ The reception of those phenomena in the early stages of musicology is equally tinted with confessional prejudice. Recent research into the history of musicology as a scientific discipline unveiled the confessional background of early German-speaking scholars, which resulted in a partly unjustified separation between studies of Catholic and Protestant religious music.²⁶ An ecumenical history of religious song in Switzerland is yet to be written: many of the available studies are not only outdated, but also separated by confession.²⁷ Karl Nef, one of the pioneers of Swiss musicology, mentions in just one sentence the presence of Catholic repertoire in his book

23 Noske, *Music Bridging Divided Religions*, vol. 1, p. 25. Unfortunately, Noske does not present any positive documentary evidence.

24 For a rare example of cross-confessional music making in Switzerland see Chapter 2.

25 Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth, 'From Empires to Family Circles: Religious and Cultural Borderlines in the Age of Confessionalisation', in Heinz Schilling and István György Tóth (eds.), *Religion and cultural exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, Cultural exchange in early modern Europe, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 26–29.

26 Laurenz Lütteken, 'Konfession und Säkularisation. Zu den Schwierigkeiten der Musikgeschichtsschreibung mit der Kirchenmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts', in Giuliano Castellani (ed.), *Musik aus Klöstern des Alpenraums*, Publikationen der SMG, series ii, vol. 55 (Berne: Lang, 2010), p. 12.

27 Heinrich Weber, *Geschichte des Kirchengesanges in der deutschen reformierten Schweiz seit der Reformation* (Zurich: Friedrich Schultheß, 1876); Augustin Benziger, *Beiträge zum katholischen Kirchenlied in der deutschen Schweiz nach der Reformation*, PhD dissertation (University of Fribourg, 1910; Sarnen, 1910).

on Reformed music societies.²⁸ Even the programmatically ecumenical work by Lukas Vischer and others mentions the presence of Catholic sacred music in a Protestant collection only as a curiosity.²⁹ The slight interest of traditional musicology in pursuing this issue is possibly a deformation due to the Protestant bias of parts of traditional German-speaking musicology. For a long time, studies have concentrated on more typically Protestant musical genres, such as vernacular hymns by Protestant composers. The fact that Lutheran sacred music could easily incorporate, with little or no need for adaptation, works on Latin texts by Catholic composers—effectively forming an international repertoire of supra-confessional sacred music—has received little scholarly attention. A case in point is the Lutheran reception of Jacobus de Kerle's Latin hymns in the late sixteenth century; another are the books of music printed in early seventeenth-century Germany.³⁰ Two further, specular examples for such mechanisms can be seen in the English Renaissance. Thomas Tallis and William Byrd, the two outstanding English composers of the sixteenth century, remained Catholic for their whole lives. Nevertheless, Tallis served in the Chapel Royal under both Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. The reception of Tallis's music in nineteenth-century Britain, however, was biased by the views of Catholic musicological circles. Conversely, William Byrd's Catholic church music represented a problem for Edmund H. Fellowes, his first biographer, who was a canon in St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle.³¹

Karl Nef's seminal 1897 book can still be considered a reference for music-making in German-speaking Protestant Switzerland. If general studies on Swiss music history by Antoine-Élysée Cherbuliez and Arnold Geering added further details, no overview has appeared since then: later studies focussed on single towns (for example, Berne) or institutions (for example, the *collegia musica* of

28 "Es ist hier gleich beizufügen, dass, obwohl man von der katholischen Religion immer nur als der abgöttischen und widerwärtigen sprach, man sich doch durchaus nicht stören liess, katholische Messen und andere liturgische Stücke zu singen"; Karl Nef, *Die Collegia Musica in der deutschen reformierten Schweiz von ihrer Entstehung bis zum Beginn des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Sankt Gallen: Fehr, 1897), pp. 62–63.

29 Vischer et al., *Ökumenische Kirchengeschichte*, p. 180.

30 Christian Thomas Leitmeir, *Jacobus de Kerle (1531/32–1591): Komponieren im Spannungsfeld von Kirche und Kunst* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 260–268; Giselsbrecht, *Crossing boundaries*, p. 25.

31 Suzanne Cole, *Thomas Tallis and His Music in Victorian England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008); Edmund Horace Fellowes, *William Byrd* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936). My thanks to Iain Fenlon for pointing out Byrd's example to me.

Winterthur and Zurich).³² On the Catholic side, a pioneer work comparable to Nef's is Anselm Schubiger's study of 1873.³³ Since then, many single papers on specific subjects have been published, for example, on the Cistercian monastery of Sankt Urban or the collegiate church of Beromünster.³⁴ Recently, musicological research into music in German-speaking Catholic Switzerland has been systematically promoted at the institute for musicology of Fribourg University, where the present study was carried out.³⁵ This book focusses for the first time on the cross-confessional aspects in Catholic and Reformed music-making in the German-speaking part of Switzerland.³⁶

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- 32 Mentions in general histories of music in Switzerland: Antoine-Elysée Cherbuliez, *Die Schweiz in der deutschen Musikgeschichte* (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1932), pp. 237–305; Arnold Geering, 'Geschichte der Musik in der Schweiz von der Reformation bis zur Romantik', in Willi Schuh (ed.), *Schweizer Musikbuch* (Zurich: Atlantis Verlag, 1939), p. 85. Studies on single towns or societies: François De Capitani and Gerhard Aeschbacher, *Musik in Bern: Musik, Musiker, Musikerinnen und Publikum in der Stadt Bern vom Mittelalter bis heute*, Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, vol. 76 (Berne: Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, 1993); Max Fehr, *Das Musikkollegium Winterthur 1629–1837* (Winterthur: Musikkollegium, 1929); Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, *Die Allgemeine Musik-Gesellschaft Zürich: Gründungsphase und Blütezeit im historischen Kontext*, Neujahrsblatt der Allgemeinen Musik-Gesellschaft, No. 196 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 2011); Nicole Kurmann, *Dem Provinziellen widerstehen: das Musikkollegium Winterthur 1629–2004 im Musikleben der Stadt* (Winterthur: Stadtbibliothek, 2004).
- 33 Anselm Schubiger, *Die Pflege des Kirchengesanges und der Kirchenmusik in der deutschen katholischen Schweiz: eine musikalisch-historische Skizze* (Einsiedeln: Benziger, 1873).
- 34 Dieter Ruckstuhl, 'P. Johann Evangelist Schreiber (1716–1800): ein Schweizer Klostermusiker im Zeitalter der Aufklärung', *Der Geschichtsfreund*, 145 (1992), pp. 115–171; Robert Ludwig Suter, *Dreihörige Kirchenmusik am Chorherrenstift Beromünster*, Heimatkunde des Michelsamtes, vol. 3 (Beromünster: Geschichtsverein, 1986).
- 35 See, for example, the report of the congress held in Fribourg in 2007: Castellani (ed.), *Musik aus Klöstern des Alpenraums*. Under the leadership of Professor Luca Zoppelli, a team at the University of Fribourg consisting of Luigi Collarile, Laurent Pugin, Rodolfo Zitellini, and myself, worked in 2010–13 on the research project *Printed Sacred Music in Europe, 1500–1800: Switzerland and the Alpine Region as Crossroads for Production, Circulation and Reception of Catholic Musical Repertoire*, funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation.
- 36 On the musical life in Calvinist Geneva and on the private musical practice of Pierre Fatio (1662–1707) see Christoph Riedo, 'From south to north and from the centre out: Corelli's reception in 18th-century Switzerland', in Agnese Pavanello (ed.), *Corelli als Modell. Studien zum 300. Todestag von Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713)*, Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis 37, 2013 (Winterthur: Amadeus, 2015), pp. 240–249, with further references.

Cross-confessional issues have been examined in relatively recent times among musicologists. Most studies have focussed on court circles. In the seventeenth century, Italian music had such an international reputation that Protestant courts admired and employed Italian musicians, attracting suspicion and critique from religious censors. Situations of the (limited) acquisition of Catholic cultural and musical practices by Protestants have been analysed in the context of the court at Dresden by Mary Frandsen. Despite the strong religious identity of the Saxon court, cultural elements of the opposing faction were taken over and contacts were established with artists from the other confession. Elector Johann Georg II (reigned 1656–80) hired Italian choirmasters and musicians in spite of the harangues of his court preacher, Martin Geier.³⁷ Another famous example shows the kind of confessional tensions that could arise in similar cases. The music of Christina of Sweden's Italian chapel, in the eyes of contemporaries, certainly played a role in her blatant conversion (1654)—and perhaps it is not by chance that four of Christina's singers were later hired by Johann Georg II.³⁸ Peter Leech, to end this brief list of examples, examined the cross-confessional implications of performing sacred music at the court of James II (1686–8).³⁹ The elaborate style of Catholic (and especially Italian) sacred music had a status that prompted patrons such as the Saxon and Swedish sovereigns to hire Italian musicians of the opposite creed. However, this repertoire could not easily be used to represent a patron's splendour in the federal and republican Old Confederation. The political structure of Switzerland did not permit rulers to build a centre of power comparable to that of a European court, except, perhaps, for the prince-abbots of Einsiedeln or Sankt Gallen. Situations showing musical interaction of different confessions in a Republican setting have been analysed by Alexander J. Fisher, who focusses on the use of *concertato* sacred music as a political instrument by the Catholic faction in the confessionally mixed town of Augsburg. The Catholics, though a minority, were in charge of the city government until the Thirty Years' War, and tried to consolidate their position by supporting sumptuous *concertato* sacred music. The historical paradigm applied in this study is that of 'confessionalisation', the growth of a specifically confessional identity in the decades

37 The sermon was delivered at the funeral service for Heinrich Schütz in 1672; Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 65–68.

38 Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, p. 17.

39 Peter Leech, 'Music and musicians in the Catholic chapel of James II at Whitehall, 1686–1688: In memory of Jean Lionnet', *Early Music*, 39 (2011), pp. 379–400.

following the Reformation.⁴⁰ More recently, extending his scope to the whole of Counter-Reformation Bavaria, Fisher explores how music (and sounds other than art music) created and shaped notions of Catholic and Protestant identity. In the devotional practices of congregations, processions, and pilgrimages, Fisher also identifies a side effect of the competition between the two confessions: inasmuch as the Catholic and Protestant resorted to similar instruments for their propaganda among the population (for example, German religious songs), they confounded the boundaries drawn between the two confessional communities.⁴¹

Among historians, recent developments of the confessionalisation paradigm have focussed on cross-confessional relationships, distinguishing between a voluntary opening towards the 'other' (transconfessionality), an exchange on a more or less equal basis (interconfessionality), and a local panoply of variants inside one confession (inside pluralism).⁴² The term cross-confessionality will be used in the sense of 'interconfessionality', the examples of the other types being too few to justify the introduction of different terms. Étienne François, again writing about Augsburg, brings examples of such exchanges in contexts as diverse as the book trade, jewellery, marriage, and conversion. These examples of 'marginal transgressions'—of toleration—are probably indispensable for the flexibility and stability of the system. The successful functionality of biconfessional cohabitation depends, in fact, on the solidity of the taboos (cross-confessional marriage and conversion).⁴³ As mentioned before, Benjamin Kaplan's basic framework of understanding the (social and political) arrangements that enabled a more or less peaceful interaction of different faiths and confessions, with his clear and useful distinction of toleration and tolerance, will be applied to the domain of sacred music.⁴⁴

Frauke Volkland describes cross-confessional exchange in the small town of Bischofszell in the confessionally mixed region of Thurgau using the interpretative tools of microhistory. For Volkland, music is not primarily an instrument

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

41 Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria*, New Cultural History of Music Series (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

42 Kaspar von Greyerz et al. (eds.), *Interkonfessionalität—Transkonfessionalität—binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität: neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese*, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, vol. 201 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlags-Haus, 2003).

43 François, *Protestants et catholiques en Allemagne*, pp. 138–139, 234.

44 Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*.

to build a collective identity, but rather an expression of the self-understanding of the citizens themselves. Adopting this paradigm, she explains phenomena that do not fit into religious orthodoxy, such as the community rituals organised by the young Protestants of Bischofszell. The annual processions to the *Hohlenstein* are incongruous in a confessionally strict understanding of religious practice, but were functional to socialising in the town community.⁴⁵ Also in a republican and public dimension, then, members of a society with a strong confessional identity could cultivate the uses and tastes of the opposite party. Just as with Volkland's study, Therese Bruggisser's findings on those devotional practices in sixteenth-century Switzerland which survived the Reformation, living on in Protestant communities, suggest in fact that similar patterns of cross-confessional exchange, somehow independent of confessional identity, may have long been at work in the context of everyday, private practice—and possibly also in the field of music.⁴⁶

Given that most of the sources for the music performed in Switzerland during the period of the present study are lost, inventories play an essential role in reconstructing the repertoire and identifying cases for a cross-confessional reception of musical works. Inventories may yield information of a bibliographical nature—about either printed books or manuscripts—testifying to the original dissemination of now-lost copies of titles preserved elsewhere, as well as to the existence of musical works utterly unknown from other sources. On the other hand, catalogues of former music collections may be used for studies of a social and economic nature: for example, on the dissemination of musical sources, or on the development of musical taste. In this book, inventories will be used as sources for the latter kind of information. The pioneer of studies using inventories for a social history of art was Michael Montias. In his influential book (1982), he examined statistically the data in 1229 inventories from Delft households spanning the years 1610 to 1679 and listing nearly twenty thousand paintings. As in music inventories, the description is often very cursory: only two thousand paintings are attributed, only half of the entries indicate their subjects or titles, and only six hundred mention the value of the artworks.⁴⁷ In musicology, many inventories were studied from the 1960s to

45 Frauke Volkland, *Konfession und Selbstverständnis: reformierte Rituale in der gemischtkonfessionellen Kleinstadt Bischofszell im 17. Jahrhundert*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, vol. 210 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2005).

46 Therese Bruggisser-Lanker, 'Frömmigkeitspraktiken der einfachen Leute in Katholizismus und Reformiertentum', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 17 (1990), pp. 1–26.

47 John Michael Montias, *Artists and artisans in Delft: a socio-economic study of the seventeenth century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 220–271.

1990s with a primarily bibliographical interest.⁴⁸ Among the studies focussing on the German-speaking area in early modern times, Friedhelm Krummacher and Axel Beer may be mentioned. Krummacher described the transmission of cantatas based on the Lutheran chorale in 1965, incidentally also gathering an impressive amount of information about the rest of the repertoire in the musical establishments he examined. Beer drew extensively upon historical inventories to follow the dissemination of the modern *concertato* style of Italian origin in South Germany in the first decades of the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ Closer to the present approach, Elisabeth Giselbrecht used evidence from historical inventories in tracing the origins and the aims of the anthologies of sacred music published in Nuremberg and Frankfurt in 1580–1620. She observed a preference for sacred music in the catalogues of book fairs, and on the contrary, a predominance of secular music in inventories of private collections. The different genres, she concluded, enjoyed different mechanisms of distribution. Northern collectors made careful choices about what to acquire, and did not just depend on what Italian printers and dealers brought across the Alps. Local patricians were ultimately responsible for what was disseminated through the anthologies of sacred music printed in their cities. Their taste for Latin polyphony in the Lutheran service, and their preference for Italian music, prompted them and their publishers to collect a specific repertoire. Its dissemination was determined by local circumstances, and relied on a few active individuals who collected, selected, adapted, and then disseminated Italian music to buyers in German-speaking areas. Giselbrecht underlined the wide adaptability of Italian sacred music, i.e., its function as a ‘cross-over’ repertoire between the two main churches in German-speaking areas during the age of confessionalism.⁵⁰

48 As an example, a series dedicated to modern editions of historical inventories called *Catalogus musicus* was started by Bärenreiter in 1963, publishing nineteen titles up to 2011.

49 Friedhelm Krummacher, *Die Überlieferung der Choralbearbeitungen in der frühen evangelischen Kantate: Untersuchungen zum Handschriftenrepertoire evangelischer Figuralmusik im späten 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhundert*, Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 10 (Berlin: Merseburger, 1965); Beer, *Die Annahme des ‘Stile nuovo’*.

50 Giselbrecht, *Crossing boundaries*, especially pp. 45–55, 155–162, and 234–238.

Music in the Confessional Age

1a From the Age of Toleration to the Age of Tolerance

The Confessional Age

Martin Luther's ideas on a reform of the church reached the Swiss Confederation very early on: the Basel printer Johannes Froben was one of the first publishers of Luther's Wittenberg theses against the commerce of indulgences in 1518.¹ In that same year, Huldrych Zwingli was appointed priest of the Grossmünster in Zurich, and he soon became the leader of a reform movement inspired by Lutheranism. With the decisive support of the town council, after a few years of struggle (1522–4) Zurich adopted Zwinglian ideas. The Reformation was fulfilled in 1525, when the celebration of the Catholic mass was proscribed and replaced by a Reformed service. Zwingli's partisans spread his innovations in other Swiss German towns: among others, Vadian (Joachim von Watt) in Sankt Gallen, Niklaus Manuel in Berne, and Johannes Oecolampadius in Basel. Five cantons from the inner part of the country which had remained true to the 'old faith'—Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne and Zug—reacted in 1526 by stipulating a separate alliance (and were called henceforth simply the *fünf Orte*). The town councils of Berne and Basel voted in favour of the Reformation in 1528 and 1529 respectively. In cantons Glarus and Appenzell, however, the parliament (*Landsgemeinde*) decided that it was left to each congregation to choose its confession, a decision which proved in the end untenable, as will be seen later. Lutherans and Zwinglians, though they both criticised the Catholic Church, could not find a common theological ground. Philipp Melancthon stated the principles of Lutheran doctrine, which were accepted by most German congregations, in the Augsburg confession of 1530. The Swiss

1 For a general overview of Swiss history in the period examined, see Thomas Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz* (Baden: hier+jetzt, 2011), pp. 91–140; Clive H. Church and Randolph C. Head, *A concise history of Switzerland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 91–150; and Georg Kreis (ed.), *Die Geschichte der Schweiz* (Basel: Schwabe, 2014), pp. 246–351. The confessional history in the early years of the Reformation is outlined in Vischer et al., *Ökumenische Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 103–147; the later developments, up to the eighteenth century, are treated on pp. 148–209. For single concepts and names, the entries of the *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* website, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/> (accessed September 2013), were extensively consulted.

reformers, however, refused to accept it. From that time, then, Protestants split into the two main branches of the Lutherans and the Reformed. Groups of 'dissenters' occupied more radical positions: the most important were the Anabaptists, who were condemned and in the following decades violently opposed by Lutherans and Reformed alike. 'Reformed' is the term most often used in Switzerland; elsewhere, the name 'Calvinist' is preferred, after the second most influential Swiss reformer, Jean Calvin. In 1538, the Council of Geneva drove Calvin, who had been preaching there since 1536, into exile, but saw itself obliged to call him back in 1540 due to the increasing support in his favour among the citizenry. The French-speaking Reformed, led by Calvin, and Zwingli's successor in Zurich, Heinrich Bullinger, had reached a compromise in 1549 that finally led to the publication of a common Swiss confession in 1566 (*Confessio helvetica posterior*). This document, affirming the unity of a Swiss church, was aimed at constructing a Reformed religious identity as opposed to Lutheranism, which had obtained an equal status to Catholicism in the territories of the Empire with the Peace of Augsburg of 1555. It was also a reaction to the Catholic reform launched by the Council of Trent, which had ended three years earlier. Historians tend to emphasise the parallel impetus of the Protestant and Catholic renewals, despite their obvious differences. Hence, the term 'Catholic reform' is commonly used referring to the inner renewal of the Roman Church. It is used as opposed to 'Counter-Reformation', which indicates the activity of those groups and individuals promoting Catholic culture and, ultimately, recatholicisation, foremost among them being the Jesuits.²

The political structure of the Swiss confederation in early modern times comprised three fundamentally different levels of participation.³ There were thirteen full members—the thirteen confederate cantons: Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Glarus, Zug, Fribourg, Solothurn, Basel, Schaffhausen and Appenzell. Next, there were the Mandated Territories (*gemeine Herrschaften*), areas with shared rulership, which were administered collectively by the full members or by some of them, such as the Rhine valley or today's canton Ticino. Lastly, there were associate cities (*zugewandte Orte*) and other allies, which, though not fully integrated, had signed separate agreements with some of the full members and participated regularly in the diets of the confederation (*Tagsatzungen*), such as the Grisons and Neuchâtel. Given that the major cities in the German part of Switzerland had joined

2 See the concise discussion of the various terms in John W. O'Malley, *Trent and all that: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 126–140.

3 See Figure 1.1.

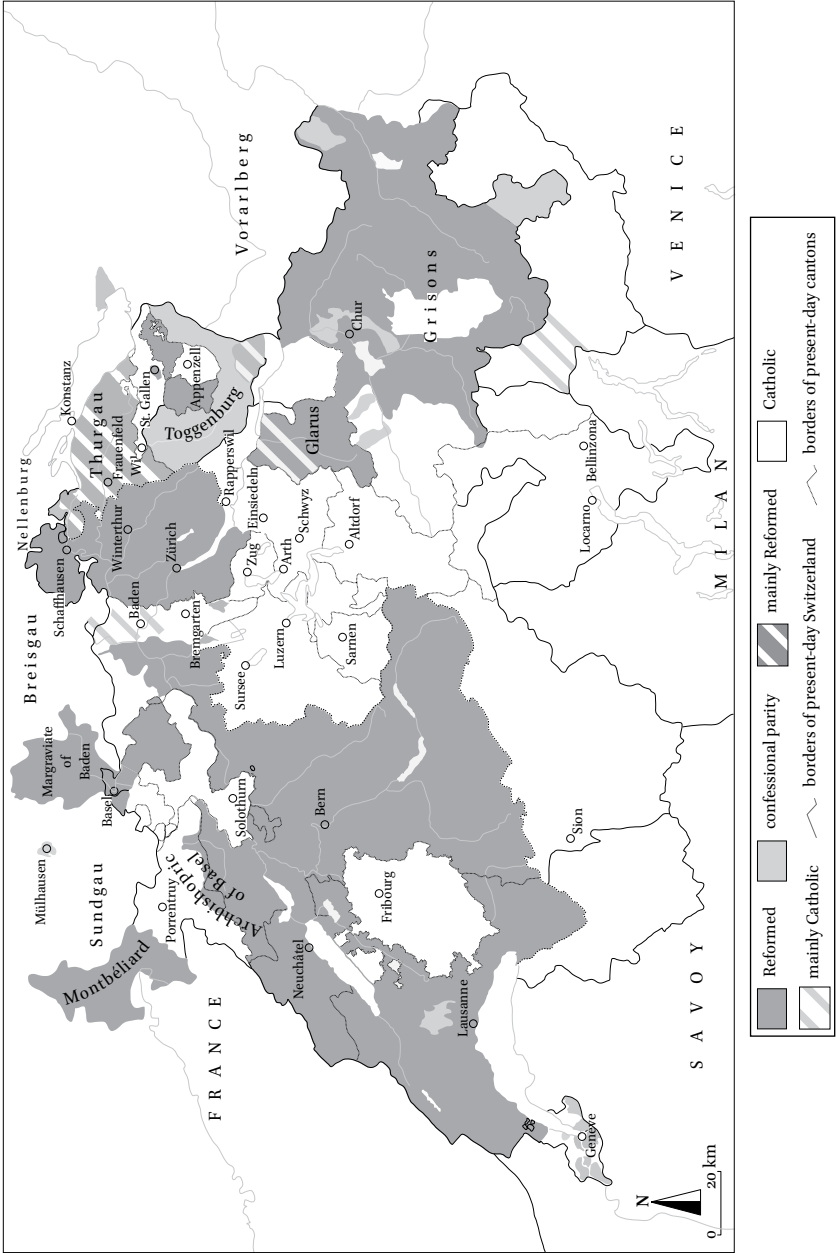


FIGURE 1.1 *The confessions in the Old Confederation*

the Reformation—Basel, Berne, Zurich—while the mountainous region in the geographical centre of the confederation had remained Catholic, the confederates were faced with two problems. First, was it possible to keep up a confederation whose members were of different creed? Second, how was the religious question to be solved in those areas that were subject to the common administration of Catholics and Protestants?

The tension between the cantons over such questions escalated to open violence for the first time in 1529, and the Protestants obtained a military success. An acceptable compromise was found with the treaty called the first *Landfrieden*: on the one side the Reformation was officially admitted, and on the other side the Catholic cantons had the right to maintain their faith. To prevent future strife, mutual provocation was prohibited—a detail with long-lasting consequences on censorship.⁴ However, Zurich further attempted to entirely win over the Mandated Territories to the Reformed faith. A second internal war flared up, and in the battle of Kappel, on 11 October 1531, Zwingli himself lost his life. When the second *Landfrieden* was signed in November, it put an early—if only temporary—stop to the blood-shedding between the confessional groups. The status quo was sanctioned, anticipating in this respect the Peace of Augsburg of 1555. While the confederation as such remained biconfessional, most full members were either homogeneously Catholic or Reformed—to put it in a famous formula, *cuius regio, eius religio* (which can be freely translated as “one land, one faith”). Still, the population of some areas remained confessionally mixed. Canton Appenzell, which was internally biconfessional, finally split in 1597 to keep up with this principle. In Glarus, the other canton that had offered its congregations a free choice of their faith, a lengthy crisis was overcome diplomatically, and from 1564 the two confessions were treated on an equal footing, despite the Catholics being in a minority. In other words, decisions were taken not by vote, but on a consensual basis between representatives of the two parties. It was a quite inefficient, if conciliatory, way of governing. The same mechanism of ‘confessional parity’ (*Konfessionelle Parität*) also helped member cantons of different confessions to rule together those subject areas which were confessionally mixed; for example, some parts of today’s cantons Aargau and Thurgau. Since both confessions had an equal right to celebrate their rites, in many Thurgau villages the two communities amicably agreed to share their church buildings. In many of these ‘simultaneous churches’ (*paritätische Kirchen*)—there were some three dozen in Thurgau alone—the

4 See Chapter 3c.



FIGURE 1.2 A 'simultaneous church' in the village of Ermatingen (canton Thurgau)

choir was Catholic and the nave was Reformed.⁵ Thanks to confessional parity, violent conflict was mostly avoided, but, as Benjamin Kaplan observed, "where rival confessions shared use of a church, their confrontations were as frequent as their worship". Such minor discord can be considered functional in a situation of coexistence: "With limited and largely symbolic goals, the conflict was itself a form of essentially peaceful engagement".⁶

It was ultimately because of domestic affairs that Switzerland remained largely untouched by the Thirty Years' War. Taking part in a European war would have meant risking the dissolution of the Confederation: the opposing parties would have certainly tried to win over the cantons that shared their own faith. Before their eyes lay the ill fate of their ally—the Grisons. Catholic

5 Figure 1.2. On simultaneous arrangements see Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, pp. 204–228. Thomas Lau considers the principle of having to negotiate a consensus a structural deficit of the confederate system; Lau, 'Der Konfessionskonflikt', p. 37.

6 Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, pp. 215–217.

Valtellina was subject to the predominantly Protestant Grey Leagues. Its territory was, with respect to the Catholic hierarchy, under the See of Como, not of Chur, and in the early seventeenth century the Spanish who governed Lombardy were more than willing to use the oppression of the Catholics as an excuse for an invasion of Valtellina. However, attempts at restraining the Protestant predominance by the *Bundestag* of the Three Leagues were but weak, and the Catholic population finally rebelled in 1620, with disastrous consequences. The local Protestant population was massacred, and Valtellina invaded. Between 1621 and 1639, the Grisons were caught in the European struggles between France, Spain, and Austria, lastingly impairing the regional independence as well as the proto-democratic structures of the local government.⁷ Notwithstanding confessional divisions, the ruling elite in the Confederation feared losing its political independence and preferred to choose neutrality—a practical decision that had important consequences in the long run. Though it had not participated in the armed conflict, Switzerland sent a delegation to the peace talks, led by Basel mayor Johann Rudolf Wettstein. In the peace of Westphalia (1648), the Swiss Confederation was for the first time internationally recognised as a sovereign state, and its traditional bonds to the Empire were reduced to formalities. It also started to develop self-understanding as a political entity on its own terms. The female figure of Helvetia as a symbol of the republican confederation first made its appearance in art and literature in the last decades of the seventeenth century, often depicted in great distress as a warning signal and as an encouragement for social and political cohesion. Johann Caspar Weissenbach, to name but one of the first examples, polemically opposed a “waxing” and a “waning Helvetia” (“auff- und abnehmenden Jungfrawn Helvetiae”) in a drama with the highly significant title of *The Confederation's Counterfeit* (*Eydgnoissisches Contrafeth*) of 1672.⁸

Successful neutrality in foreign affairs had its prerequisite in a domestic policy of strict segregation between the confessions. The economically stronger Reformed cantons, however, felt themselves constrained by their bonds to the rural alpine Catholic cantons, and the discrepancy produced two internal wars (the *Villmerger Kriege*) in 1656 and 1712, both declared by the Protestant

7 Randolph Conrad Head, *Early Modern Democracy in the Grisons: Social Order and Political Language in a Swiss Mountain Canton, 1470–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 184–198.

8 Thomas Maissen, *Die Geburt der Republic: Staatsverständnis und Repräsentation in der frühneuzeitlichen Eidgenossenschaft*, *Historische Semantik*, vol. 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), pp. 165–213, 253–276. On the figure of Helvetia and the Swiss self-image see also Lau, *Stiefbrüder*, pp. 371–420.

side. The Zurich clergy was instrumental in the breakout of the first Villmergen war of 1656. In September 1655, a group of Reformed families from Arth—a village in the Catholic canton Schwyz—took refuge in Zurich. Schwyz considered them pernicious outlaws, refused to concede them the property they had left back, and accused Zurich of breaking the confederate laws that prohibited welcoming wrongdoers from other cantons. A compromise might have been possible, and indeed was favoured by the tradesmen, who feared that the war might impair commerce. But the influence of the Zurich clergy on the town council led to a further escalation. Zurich defended the exiles, recalling the right to emigrate (*jus emigrandi*), which had been upheld in the peace of Westphalia,⁹ and with its allies Berne and Schaffhausen took up arms around Christmas. In January, however, the decisive battle at Villmergen—a village in the Mandated Territories in today's canton Aargau—ended unfavourably for the Protestants. In the peace talks, a confirmation of the status quo was decided and sealed in the treaty known as the third *Landfriede*.¹⁰ Confessional peace lasted for another generation, but in 1712, Zurich tried once again to shift the balance of political power in the Confederation in favour of the Protestants. A conflict arose over the Toggenburg, a biconfessional region formally governed by the prince-abbot of Sankt Gallen. At first, the conflict opposed the local government and the prince-abbot, but as time progressed the opposing parties were backed by the Reformed and Catholic cantons. Notwithstanding the diplomatic mediation of the Dutch and English envoys on the one side, and of the nuncio, the imperial envoy, and the French ambassador on the other, war broke out in April 1712, with troops from Zurich and Berne opposing soldiers from the five Catholic cantons. The two armies met in the vicinity of Bremgarten on 26 May, and the Protestants won the day. Peace talks led to the signing of a treaty on 18 July. However, the parliaments of the Catholic cantons of Unterwalden, Schwyz und Zug refused to accept its heavy terms. A decisive battle was once again fought at Villmergen on 25 July, ending favourably for the Protestant side. If, with the fourth *Landfriede* of 11 August, the shares of power in the areas with shared rulership were re-ordered (the Catholics, for example, lost their rights over Baden and Rapperswil), the principle of parity was restated and even reinforced. Both the common governments of the Mandated Territories and the confederate diet (*Tagsatzung*) were henceforth organised paritetically (on a consensual basis between two parties with equal rights and

9 See Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, pp. 160–161.

10 On the first Villmergen war, see Niklaus Flüeler and Marianne Flüeler-Grauwiler (eds.), *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich* (Zürich: Werd, 1994–6), vol. 2, pp. 341–349 and Lau, *Stiefbrüder*, pp. 80–117.

equal decisional power), and a commission was created that would decide in matters of confessional strife (*Landfriedliche Kommission*). The political balance settled in 1712 lasted until the revolutionary wars of 1798 and the foundation of the *Helvetische Republik*.¹¹

A great promoter of Catholic reform, the archbishop of Milan Carlo Borromeo, had been nominated “protector of Switzerland” (*protector Helvetiae*) in 1560 and had extended his political influence far beyond the boundaries of his diocese, into the dioceses of Como, Constance, Chur, Sion, and Lausanne, covering (with the diocese of Basel) the whole of today’s confederation. A papal nuncio for Switzerland had been created and sent to Lucerne under Borromeo’s influence, the first appointed being his friend Giovanni Francesco Bonomi (1578–81). In his time, Borromeo was factually the bishop of Switzerland, and Bonomi his vicar. His successors (permanently resident in Lucerne from 1586) also asserted themselves as an ecclesiastical authority. Borromeo introduced the most active champions of Catholic reform into Switzerland, encouraging the settlement of the Jesuits (1574 in Lucerne, opening the college in 1577) and of the Capuchins (1581 in Uri, 1582 in Nidwalden).¹² A new system of higher education for the Swiss Catholic clergy was to be instrumental to Borromeo’s aims. In Milan Borromeo founded the *collegium Helveticum* in 1579, most likely modelled after the *collegium Germanicum* in Rome. It was led by members of a congregation founded by Borromeo himself the year before, the Oblates of St Ambrose. The *Helveticum* offered grants for two or three students from each of the five original Catholic cantons and from the Grisons (Italians were also accepted, but only as paying students). Borromeo’s cousin and later archbishop of Milan, Federico, also supported the college, and built a new, impressive building for it at the beginning of the seventeenth century, now the *palazzo del Senato* housing the State archives.¹³ The number of Swiss priests who studied in Milan is very small when compared to that of the priests who studied at Jesuit colleges in Switzerland, but its importance lies in the cultural ties that it helped to establish.¹⁴

11 On the second war see Flüeler and Flüeler-Grauwiller (eds.), *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, vol. 2, pp. 372–377 and Lau, *Stiefbrüder*, pp. 421–458.

12 See Paul Oberholzer, ‘Carlo Borromeo und die ersten Jesuiten in der Eidgenossenschaft’ and Christian Schweizer, ‘Carlo Borromeo und die ersten Kapuziner in der Schweiz’, in Mariano Delgado and Markus Ries (eds.), *Karl Borromäus und die katholische Reform*, Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, vol. 13 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2010), pp. 145–193 and 194–207, respectively.

13 Figure 1.3.

14 See Barbara Ulsamer, ‘Zur Geschichte und Bedeutung des Collegium Helveticum: Carlo Borromeo und das Collegium Helveticum’, in Mariano Delgado and Markus Ries (eds.),

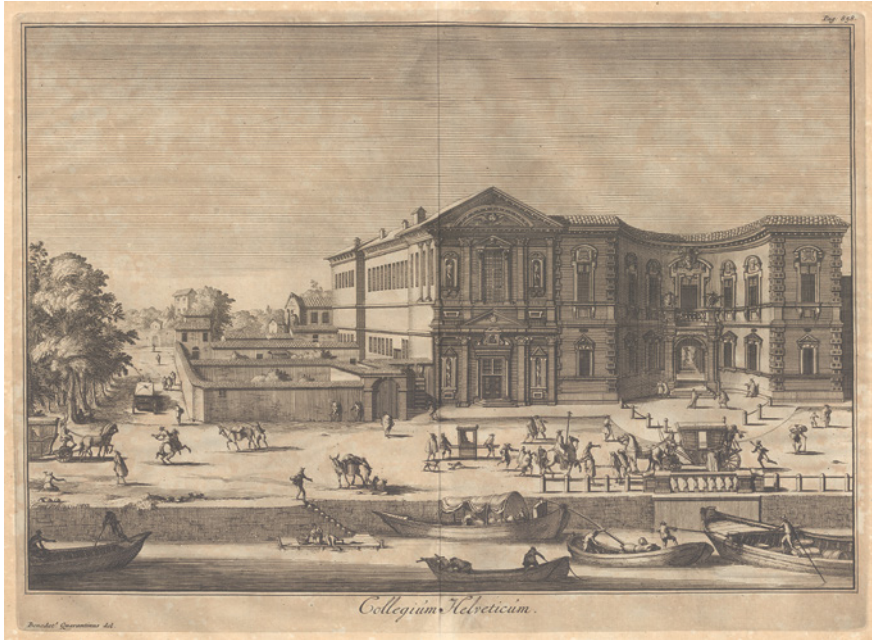


FIGURE 1.3 *The new building of the collegium Helveticum, engraving by Benedetto Quarantino, 1704*

In Switzerland, as in many parts of the German-speaking world, it was only during the seventeenth century that Catholic reform could be successfully implemented.¹⁵ Interestingly, Rome had even planned to recatholicise Switzerland: this plan was only definitively renounced in 1656, after the first Villmergen war.¹⁶ Rather than bringing innovations, the bonds and balances established in the late sixteenth century were confirmed and restated over the following

Karl Borromäus und die katholische Reform, Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, vol. 13 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2010), pp. 208–225. Documents concerning the *collegium Helveticum*, including lists of students, can be found in Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, AKT 19B/452–489; in Milan, Archivio di Stato, Atti di governo, Studi parte antica, buste 47–48, 355–366; and in Milan, Archivio diocesano, Archivio spirituale, Sezione XI, Seminari, Nos 4–9, 25, 37–46.

15 Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, pp. 97–98.

16 Urban Fink, “Der Griff über den Gotthard”—Carlo Borromeo als “Bischof der Schweiz” und Gründer der Luzerner Nuntiatur, in Mariano Delgado and Markus Ries (eds.), *Karl Borromäus und die katholische Reform*, Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte, vol. 13 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2010), p. 138.

century, slowly establishing a regional identity for the Catholic confederates.¹⁷ The alpine Catholic cantons were part of the diocese of Constance, but the relationship was loose and often tense. The city of Constance had been recatholicised in 1548 after a decade of Protestantism, and had lost its privileged status of a free imperial city (*Reichsstadt*), becoming a Habsburg provincial town. The Habsburgs being traditional opponents of the Confederates, it is hardly surprising that after 1604 no Swiss ever occupied that seat. The presence of the authoritative papal nuncio in Lucerne stressed the distance of the Swiss Catholics from their bishop. The prince-abbots of Einsiedeln and Sankt Gallen also strongly asserted their independence from Constance: in the seventeenth century, the abbot of Einsiedeln even strove to establish a new diocese and become bishop of the confederation.¹⁸ The nuncio in Lucerne and the great abbeys progressively secured their role as the main pillars of Catholicism in Switzerland. As was often the case all over Europe, local saints played a role in strengthening a regional Catholic identity. The Swiss tried to promote the canonisation of the popular hermit Nikolaus von Flüe from Unterwalden, better known as *Bruder Klaus*. They relied on the influence of the officer of the Swiss Guard in Rome, Johann Rudolf Pfyffer, from a wealthy Lucerne family.¹⁹ But after his death (1657) the process slowed down; in 1669 Nikolaus was finally beatified, but never reached canonisation. In 1655, the *Goldener Bund* of 1586, a pact of mutual assistance between the Catholic cantons, was solemnly renewed in Lucerne. On this occasion, Carlo Borromeo (who had been canonised in 1610) was chosen as patron saint of Switzerland, just as he had been *protector Helvetiae* in his lifetime. The freshly nominated nuncio in Lucerne (1654), Carlo's cousin Federico, produced strong arguments in his favour, and his advocacy was powerful. In the eighteenth century, the influence of the Enlightenment in Catholic circles was very mild. Reforms in liturgy and pastoral care were undertaken only in the second half of the century. One of the means through which new ideas came into Switzerland was undoubtedly Milan and its *collegium Helveticum*. But on the whole, the local church defended its old privileges, and

17 For the following elements of a confederate Catholic identity, see Lau, *Stiefbrüder*, pp. 121–142.

18 See Fink, 'Der Griff über den Gotthard' and Rudolf Reinhardt, 'Frühe Neuzeit', in Elmar L. Kuhn et al. (eds.), *Die Bischöfe von Konstanz* (Friedrichshafen: Robert Gessler, 1988), vol. 1, pp. 25–44.

19 Pfyffer was an efficient middleman and brought many treasures from Rome to Switzerland, mostly relics of saints from Roman catacombs, but also the music of Frescobaldi; see Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Luigi Collarile, "'Tutte le opere del Girolamo Frescovaldi". 1647: Roma–Lucerna, solo andata', in Brenno Boccadoro (ed.), *Festschrift Etienne Darbellay* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2013), pp. 69–88.

conflict with the secular government occurred repeatedly, as it was the case in Lucerne, the ‘president town’ (*Vorort*) of Catholic Switzerland.²⁰

On the side of the Protestants, it has first to be underlined that the church knew no nationwide structures. There were no authorities capable of extending their influence across the local synods and the cantonal borders, comparable to the nuncio and the great prince-abbots. Instead, the religious and political elites were more closely connected than among the Catholics: as seen before, the first Villmergen war had been declared at the insistence of the Zurich clergy, notwithstanding the wariness of the tradesmen—both professions being represented in the town government. One of the most notable developments in the late seventeenth century was the financial help and hospitality accorded, most generously by Berne, to the persecuted Huguenots from France (after the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685) and to the Waldenses from Savoy and Piedmont (especially in 1687–9). The Reformed cantons had a long-standing tradition of supporting refugees, which had always ultimately proved of benefit to them: already in the sixteenth century, Zurich had welcomed the Reformed families fleeing from the regions around Locarno and Chiavenna, and these—Orelli, Pestalozzi, Muralt, and other locally well-known names—had in turn successfully established the silk industry in the region. Not only did the Huguenots rekindle the stagnant textile industry, the help accorded to them was also considered a means to enhance the Reformed cantons’ prestige among other Protestant states.²¹

On the level of theological debate, the Reformed cantons strictly adhered to orthodoxy after having sent the head of the Zurich synod (*antistes*) Johann Jakob Breitinger (1575–1645) to the synod of Dordrecht in 1618–9. The *Formula consensus helvetica*, designed again in Zurich by Johann Heinrich Heidegger in 1675, can be considered the apex of this orthodoxy. This implied that non-conformists were condemned, and often persecuted or exiled: such had been the fate of many Anabaptists (*Täufer*) since the sixteenth century, and it befell equally the followers of Pietism, who were moreover suspected of being, in some respects, close to Catholic ideas. Only slowly, in the 1720s, did liberal alternatives gain ground. The first was an internal reform of orthodoxy, called ‘liberal orthodoxy’ in French and ‘rational orthodoxy’ in German (*orthodoxie libérale*, *vernünftige Orthodoxie*, respectively) and promoted notably by three theologians: Jean-Alphonse Turretini from Geneva, Jean-Frédéric Ostervald

20 On Catholicism and Enlightenment in Switzerland see Vischer et al., *Ökumenische Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 194–198.

21 Lau, *Stiefbrüder*, pp. 143–155; Flüeler and Flüeler-Grauwiler (eds.), *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, vol. 2, pp. 138–149.

from Neuchâtel and Samuel Werenfels from Basel. The second was a resurgence of the pietist movement carried by a new generation of followers, after the first waves in the 1680s and 1710s had been silenced and its leaders banned.²² Instrumental to an integration of pietist elements into the Swiss church were Samuel Lutz from Berne (who had already been active in the early movement), Daniel Willi from the Grisons, and Hieronymus Annoni from Basel. Both tendencies were not far removed from Enlightenment ideals: the Enlightenment theologians Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783) and Johann Jakob Breiting (1701–76) in Zurich were also supporters of ‘rational orthodoxy’.²³

The time span of the present study, from the middle of the seventeenth until the middle of the eighteenth century, may be considered the apex of confessional differentiation in Switzerland. To be sure, from a religious point of view the separation between Catholics and Reformed was already fulfilled in the sixteenth century. The Protestant cantons were theologically united in 1566 by the *Confessio helvetica posterior*. The Catholic reforms were slowly implemented from the 1570s on, notably thanks to the efforts of Carlo Borromeo. However, the confessional differences that informed everyday life were not primarily defined by theological or liturgical questions, but by day-to-day religious practices that allowed for local, even personal variants. The confessional division, then, was not identical with the process of ‘confessionalisation’. This may be described—from a subjective point of view—as a progressive accumulation of conflictual situations aimed at building an inner and outer barrier between the self and the other. This process reached its zenith in the decades around 1700.²⁴

22 On the Zurich and Winterthur pietist circles in the 1710s see also Chapter 4d.

23 Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus*; Rudolf Dellsperger, ‘Der Pietismus in der Schweiz’, in Martin Brecht and Klaus Deppermann (eds.), *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993–5), vol. 2, pp. 588–616; Thomas Hanimann, *Zürcher Nonkonformisten im 18. Jahrhundert: eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der freien christlichen Gemeinde im Ancien Régime* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1990); Vischer et al., *Ökumenische Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 184–191.

24 Our stance is supported by the findings of Étienne François, who considers the period 1700–30 as the apex of confessional differentiation in Augsburg (François, *Protestants et catholiques en Allemagne*, p. 241). For an overview of the religious history of Switzerland, see Vischer et al., *Ökumenische Kirchengeschichte*. In the last few decades, ‘confessionalisation’ has been increasingly seen not only as the collaboration between Church and State in imposing on society the new order of post-Reformation Europe, but also as a process involving individuals. See Kaspar von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*, transl. of the German edition (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000) by Thomas Dunlap (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 41–43, and Lau, ‘Der

Exceptions and Arrangements

While the confessional differences had risked tearing apart the Confederation, large parts of the social elite tried to counterbalance these tendencies, stressing existing elements of cohesion or inventing new ones. Traditional bonds included social practices of religious devotion and economic interdependencies. On a personal level, confessional identity was not solely defined by liturgical rites but was also determined by local, communal traditions. The centre of the self-understanding of Catholics and Reformed alike were their bonds of family, community, and economy; their religious aspects may not coincide with the official confessional identities.²⁵

Renward Cysat, town clerk (*Stadtschreiber*) of the Catholic city of Lucerne in the late sixteenth century, left in his manuscript *Collectanea* a testimony of the survival of traditional elements of Catholic devotional practice among the Protestants, which were officially condemned as superstition: pilgrimages, processions, the praying of the rosary, and the use of the sign of the cross.²⁶ The young Reformed of the mixed confessional town of Bischofszell, in canton Thurgau, organised an annual procession to the nearby caves of the Hohlenstein—a thanksgiving ritual—which was a sort of mirrored imitation of the Catholic procession for Pentecost. In the Reformed town of Burgdorf, in canton Berne, the younger members of the community participated in a spring procession called *Solennität*, which is still celebrated yearly at the end of June. Already before 1630, the town council contributed with 25 thalers, and after 1729 the local music society (*collegium musicum*) accompanied the singing youth with their instruments.²⁷

Processions always have both a strong religious, devotional component, and a civic, secular character. By stressing the civic component, the Reformed citizens of Bischofszell and Burgdorf passed over the fact that processions

Konfessionskonflikt', pp. 31–33, who mentions the distinction in German between *Konfessionsbildung* (the construction of the confessions, a question of definition) and *Konfessionalisierung* (the social process of building a confessional identity).

25 Von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture*, pp. 41–43; Volkland, *Konfession und Selbstverständnis*, pp. 22–30.

26 The manuscript is preserved in Lucerne University library and was published in part in the 1960s and 1970s; Josef Schmid (ed.), Renward Cysat, *Collectanea chronica und denkwürdige Sachen pro chronica Lucernensi et Helvetiae* (Lucerne: Diebold Schilling, 1961–77). Therese Bruggisser discussed his observations on superstition and devotional practices; Bruggisser-Lanker, 'Frömmigkeitspraktiken', pp. 14–23.

27 On the procession to the Hohlenstein see Volkland, *Konfession und Selbstverständnis*, pp. 49–80. On the Burgdorf *Solennität* see Walter Howald, 'Von der Instrumentalmusik unserer Vorfahren', *Burgdorfer Jahrbuch*, 9 (1942), pp. 52–53.

were not approved by their religion. There are even testimonies for a blatantly unorthodox adoration of holy relics by Reformed people.²⁸ In the Cistercian convent of Sankt Urban, near Lucerne, a chasuble of the Augsburg bishop St Ulrich is preserved, which reputedly cured children of disease. The relic was originally kept in a small chapel that was accessible from outside the precinct of the convent, as it was also used as parish church by the villagers. After 1690, a new building was erected against the north side of the monastic church. The only image remaining of this chapel is a relief in a choir stall of the monastic church (1704), for in 1711 the chapel was dismantled when the whole church was rebuilt in a Baroque style.²⁹ The St Ulrich altar was afterwards placed in a very prominent position as the right hand altar of the monastic church. Children made a pilgrimage on the fourth of July to touch the sacred relic at least as early as 1652 and continued this tradition well into the twentieth century. Father Johann Baptist Rasmann describes the relic and the pilgrimage in a short description of the convent and its history of 1667. He underlines with a certain pride that even Protestants bring their children to be cured, which he considers a confirmation of the relic's miraculous qualities:³⁰

Sacred relics ... The chasuble of the Augsburg bishop St Ulrich is among the most famous of these many relics. Each year, almost innumerable prayers from a great and daily crowd of people reach it. Especially on Friday, children affected from hectic, marasmus, scabies, itch, nausea, and other illnesses, often more than one hundred in one day, are brought by people not only of our own orthodox religion, but also by non-Catholics. This continuous flow is itself the best evidence that the people coming hither obtain what they wish.

The ceremonies during the days of pilgrimage were certainly accompanied by music. The chapel of 1690 had its own organ, which had been built by the

28 See in general von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture*, p. 55.

29 Figure 1.4.

30 "Reliquiae Sacrae ... Celebrior autem est inter tot Reliquias Casula S: Vdalrici Episcopi Augustani, ad quam innumera penè vota per Annum fiunt, estq[ue] concursus maximus ac quotidianus, praesertim Feria Sexta, qua plerumq[ue] infantes Hectica, Morasmo, scabie, prurigine, nausea stomachi, ac alijs quibusuis morbis laborantes, saepe vna die centum, et plures, non tantum à nostra Orthodoxa, sed etia[m] Acatholica Religionis hominibus apportantur: ipseq[ue] continuat[us] concursus certo argumento est, id accurrentes assequi, quod exoptant." Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 737, fol. 10r. The description exists also in a German translation of 1687 (KU 742, fol. 5), cited in Alberich Martin Altermatt et al. (eds.), *Sankt Urban 1194–1994: ein ehemaliges Zisterzienserkloster* (Berne: Benteli, 1994), p. 52.



FIGURE 1.4 The 1690 St Ulrich chapel depicted in a choir stall at Sankt Urban

Benedictine father Pius Kreuel, of the monastery in Einsiedeln, by the beginning of May 1691.³¹ Considering the thriving musical life at Sankt Urban,³² it is highly probable that the festivities for St Ulrich were enriched by elaborate polyphonic music.

Traditional ties between communities, implying social practices of interdependence, were maintained despite confessional boundaries. The abbots of important monasteries were given, in public ceremonies, the citizenship of nearby towns where the abbeys had held extensive interests and property. Often, the monasteries had their own representative in town (*Schaffner*). After the Reformation, the abbots maintained their citizenship and their properties in the Reformed towns, charging a local agent to represent them.

31 Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.7, diary of Josef Dietrich, vol. 7 (1689–92), p. 243. See Friedrich Jakob, *Die Orgeln der Klosterkirche St. Urban: das Meisterwerk und das Werkstattbuch des Orgelbauers Joseph Bossart (1665–1748)*, Veröffentlichung der Gesellschaft der Orgelfreunde, vol. 243 (Männedorf: Orgelbau Kuhn, 2011), pp. 28–30.

32 See, for example, *RISM d-lib*, vol. 3, for the seventeenth, and Dieter Ruckstuhl, 'Von Cantoren, Capellmeistern und frömbden Musicanten. Musik im Kloster St. Urban, 1740–1848', *Heimatkunde des Wiggertals*, 51 (1993), pp. 9–57 for the eighteenth century.

This was the case, for example, between the Bernese Reformed town of Zofingen and the nearby Cistercian abbey of Sankt Urban. Such “affectionate” relations were painstakingly cultivated: in 1710, the abbot Malachias Glutz made a present to the town library of the *Corpus iuris canonici*, receiving in exchange a letter of thanks full of elaborate rhetoric.³³ Still among the Cistercians, the abbot of Lucelle was traditionally a citizen of Basel (Nicolas Delfis, for example, renewed the citizenship in 1728) and the abbot of Wettingen was a citizen of Zurich. The same applied to the abbots of the Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln, who traditionally were—and still are—citizens of Zurich.³⁴

More intricate, and often a source of strife, were the cases where a Catholic abbot had the right of appointing a parish priest (*Kollaturrecht*, right of collation) in a village which had joined the Reformation. The right of collation was coupled with collecting the decimal taxes (*Zehnten*) for the priest's maintenance. Simon Stumpf, pastor of Höngg (then a separate village but now a neighbourhood of Zurich) and an early companion of Huldrych Zwingli, was one of the first to refuse to collect the decimal taxes for the Cistercians in Wettingen. However, the city council preferred to pay a Catholic abbot than to risk losing the revenues of the prebend system, which they decided to maintain. The pastors of Höngg were subsequently chosen by the city council, but had to be officially designated and paid for by the Wettingen abbot. Several cases of Catholic collation rights over Reformed parishes existed in the valley of the Limmat (owned by the Cistercians of Wettingen), in the region around Lake Zurich (owned by the Benedictines of Einsiedeln), and in the Toggenburg and in the Rhine valley (owned by the Benedictines of Sankt Gallen).³⁵

In the wake of the first Villmergen war of 1656, the opposing parties searched to establish new communication channels between the confessions, to prevent

33 *Affection* and its German synonym *Zuneigung* are the words used in the letter of the Zofingen librarians; Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 512 X, fols numbered 91r–v (formerly 92r–v). See Altermatt et al. (eds.), *Sankt Urban 1194–1994*, pp. 30–31; Annemarie Roth, ‘Geselligkeit und Alltag in der Landstadt: Der Einfluss von Orthodoxie, Pietismus und Aufklärung’, in Edith Hunziker et al. (eds.), *Zofingen vom Mittelalter bis 1798: Eine selbstbewusste Landstadt unter Habsburg und Bern*, Veröffentlichungen zur Zofinger Geschichte, vol. 4 (Baden: hier+jetzt, 2004), pp. 298–300; and in general Lau, ‘Der Konfessionskonflikt’, pp. 32–33.

34 *Helvetia sacra* III/3.1, pp. 290–311 and 425–491; Dominicus Willi, *Album Wettingense: Verzeichnis der Mitglieder des exemten und konsistorialen Cistercienser-Stiftes B.V.M. de Marisstella zu Wettingen-Mehrerau, 1227–1904* (Limburg a.d. Lahn: Vereinsdruckerei, 21904), p. xxiii; Bock, *Konversionen*, p. 76.

35 Von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture*, p. 160; Anton Kottmann and Markus Hämmerle, *Die Zisterzienserabtei Wettingen: Geschichte des Klosters Wettingen und der Abtei Wettingen-Mehrerau* (Baden: Baden-Verlag, 1996), pp. 103, 118, 186; Bock, *Konversionen*, pp. 54, 76.

any future dramatic outcome of confessional speechlessness.³⁶ As was previously recalled, some Zurich citizens had opposed in vain the outbreak of the war, favoured by the clergy, fearing its negative consequences on trade. After the war, secular contacts were increasingly activated, providing cross-confessional communication between professional and artistic elites: medical doctors, soldiers, and craftsmen.³⁷ It is in this context that young men from Zurich's best families founded, in succession, three private circles or societies (*collegia*), where, after the manner of scientific academies, one member presented a new subject for discussion in each session. These societies were carefully regulated by statutes, and though most members were students, the societies were in principle open to other social groups. The three societies of the *Insulaner*, the *Vertrauliche*, and the *Wohlgewinnende* met regularly for thirty years from 1679 onwards. The venue of their meetings was first the Wasserkirche and later the Chorherrenstube. Both buildings were themselves dedicated to knowledge and research. The Wasserkirche is a deconsecrated church that housed since 1631 the citizen's library (*Bürgerbibliothek*). The *Bürgerbibliothek* was founded in 1629 and is the forerunner of today's central library (*Zentralbibliothek*). The Chorherrenstube, formerly the building of the canons of the Grossmünster, hosted the Carolinum, the highest educational institution in town. Michael Kempe and Thomas Maissen, who wrote the first in-depth study of the *collegia*, consider them as forerunners of the Enlightenment, if this is defined from the point of view of practices of communication as a tendency toward open, egalitarian exchange. The private societies of Zurich had a wide scope, discussing political, scientific, and literary topics. They were characterised by the presence of statutes regulating participation, a 'proto-democratic' conduct during sessions, and in principle social openness (unlike student societies). Their togetherness was 'productive', in contrast, for example, to a circle of intellectuals attached to a court: these young men had a very practical interest in exchanging ideas and deepening their knowledge, because they would soon be ruling the town or leading the family firm. They were, in the authors' summary definition, "voluntary training places for the prospective professional elites".³⁸

On the other hand, the *collegia* had no direct consequence. Their members were integrated into the social and political system and never aimed for radical change; after two or three years, most of them acquired a position in

36 See Lau, *Stiefbrüder*, pp. 75–79.

37 Lau, 'Der Konfessionskonflikt', pp. 38–39; Kempe and Maissen, *Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgewinnenden*, pp. 106–107. See below, Chapter 2c, for a more ample discussion of instances for the cross-confessional exchange of expert knowledge.

38 See Kempe and Maissen, *Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgewinnenden*; the definition is on p. 285.

administration or commerce and left the societies. Still, the intellectual atmosphere of the *collegia* is certainly one of the roots of the urban protest that flared up in Zurich in 1713. Young members of the corporations tried in vain to renew the constitution of the town government, which was heavily corrupt and safely in the hands of a few families. Prominent actors in the protest were the medical doctor Johann Jakob Scheuchzer and the book printer Johann Heinrich Bodmer. Scheuchzer, mainly known for his pioneering studies of the Alps, had been a member of the *collegium der Wohlgesinnten* and was since 1704 a member of the Royal Society. Bodmer, instead, represented a second major component of the reform movement, being an early and very enterprising promoter of Pietism, which at the time was heavily opposed by the orthodox clergy.³⁹

It was, in fact, left to the next generation of Zurich youth to obtain a breakthrough, innovating the local culture of communication and establishing contacts all over Europe's *république des lettres*.⁴⁰ From 1721 to 1723, Johann Jakob Bodmer and Johann Jakob Breitinger published the *Discourse der Mahlern*, after the model of Joseph Addison's *Spectator*. In 1727, the two founded the (Zurich-based) *Helvetische Gesellschaft*, whose activities focussed on history, and which survived until around 1746.⁴¹ In 1761–2, another *Helvetische Gesellschaft* was founded, this time accepting members from all over Switzerland and from both confessions. (It is perhaps not by chance that the first society meetings were held in Bad Schinznach: the spa is a place for the temporary suspension of social rules.) One fourth of its over three hundred members were theologians, and one third thereof were Catholic. The *Helvetische Gesellschaft* also produced propaganda literature: in 1767, Johann Kaspar Lavater (a one-time student of Bodmer and Breitinger) published anonymously his *Schweizerlieder*.⁴² The author just calls himself on the title page a “Mitgliede der Helvetischen Gesellschaft zu Schinznach”. A programmatic poem by

39 On the tentative constitutional reform of 1713, see Kempe and Maissen, *Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgesinnten*, pp. 249–280, 290–292, and Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus*, pp. 456–486. On Bodmer, see also Chapters 3c and 4d.

40 On the importance of correspondence networks in the early eighteenth century, see Goldgar, *Impolite learning*.

41 See Anett Lütteken and Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer (eds.), *Bodmer und Breitinger im Netzwerk der europäischen Aufklärung* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2009). On their impact on music and musical aesthetics see Laurenz Lütteken, “Die Tichter, die Fiderler, und die Singer”. Zur Rolle Bodmers und Breitingers in der musikalischen Debatte des 18. Jahrhunderts’, *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, 20 (2000), pp. 39–61, and the contributions by Hartmut Grimm and by Ivana Rentsch in Lütteken and Mahlmann-Bauer (eds.), *Bodmer und Breitinger*.

42 Berne: Walther.

Lavater, *Loblied auf die Helvetische Eintracht*, contains an unequivocal statement of religious tolerance: "One God in heaven pray / We, one father only; ... Names will never divide us!"⁴³ Times had changed. The *Helvetische Gesellschaft* met on an irregular basis until 1797, at the eve of yet another new era.⁴⁴

The historical paradigm of confessionalisation underlines the parallel pathways taken towards modernity by Catholics and Protestants during the sixteenth century. The struggle towards a confessional stability characterises the seventeenth century in the German-speaking world. To this aim, violent conflict and propaganda were not the only strategies pursued. Stability was also sought, especially on a local level, through various forms of pragmatic arrangements for a confessional coexistence. The Swiss confederation exhibited, up to the beginning of the eighteenth century, a changing patchwork of confessions in a precarious balance. However, the confessional boundaries were never strictly applied: the Reformation did not break up all the social bonds of devotional practice and mutual economic dependency across the confessional groups. In the second half of the seventeenth century, moreover, economic and political reasons prompted the elites to look for new, secular channels of communication. Genuine tolerance, however, was a product of the Enlightenment: before the mid eighteenth century toleration was mostly an involuntary by-product of other concerns—in the field of music, the affirmation of wealth and power, or a sincere interest in artistic expression.

1b Performing Sacred Music

Catholic and Reformed had quite different approaches to the performance of elaborate polyphonic music in a religious context—in church or as part of devotional practices. Before attempting to identify which characters were distinctive of Catholic music as opposed to Reformed music, and if there was a common range of repertoire, it is necessary to sketch the development of the attitude towards sacred music in both confessions. The major differences, to be discussed below, can be summarised as follows. In Catholic areas, the public display of modern church music was actively promoted by the clergy in many places, while evidence for large-scale music making in private circles is, on the contrary, almost entirely lacking. The liturgy was reformed, according to the guidelines of the Council of Trent, in the early seventeenth century,

43 See also Chapter 5.

44 See Im Hof and de Capitani, *Die Helvetische Gesellschaft*, especially vol. 1, pp. 143, 146–151, and 201–202; the quotation ("Einen Gott im Himmel beten / Wir, nur Einen Vater an ... Namen sollen nie uns trennen") is on pp. 146–147.

and was often accompanied by the introduction of the new *stile concertato*. Elaborate music making had a precise function for the churches: it allowed the enhancement of the solemnity of 'extraordinary' festivities of local importance, which were not privileged by the liturgical calendar. Different codes of conduct applied, among the Protestants, in the private context of music societies (*collegia musica*) in comparison to that of the public services in church. The performance of unaccompanied hymns by the congregation remained the ultimate ideal for the public service: trained (boys') choirs, trombone ensembles, and the organ, were all in principle accepted inasmuch as they were used to support congregational singing. As for the repertoire, the early 'old psalms' and vernacular hymns were largely replaced by the early seventeenth century with the ubiquitous 'Lobwasser psalms': local changes in their relative amount or the introduction of new hymns were, on the whole, marginal.

Catholic

The structure of the Old Confederation did not allow the establishment of a centre of economic and political power comparable to a European princely court. The only structures modelled upon a courtly ideal were the great monasteries. Among the monasteries with a well-documented musical activity, the Benedictine houses of Einsiedeln, Sankt Gallen, Muri, and Engelberg might be mentioned, together with the Cistercian houses of Wettingen and Sankt Urban. Their abbots had not only a claim to representation, but also the required personnel and the economic strength to cultivate a cultural life in which music held an important place. Did the members of wealthy Catholic families feel no need to affirm their status through musical performances? There are only very few hints of the musical interests of private citizens, and they all show some connection to religious institutions. Alexander Pfyffer, a member of one of the best families in Lucerne, the major urban centre of Catholic Switzerland, was a mercenary officer in Piedmontese service. He became a member of the Lucerne Great Council in 1633 (*Grossrat*), and was elected in 1658 to the Small Council (*Kleinrat*). He died in Lucerne in December 1664, and was mainly remembered as a passionate rider and a good hunter. On 10 December 1646 he wrote to his cousin Johann Rudolf Pfyffer, who was an officer of the Swiss Guard in Rome, asking him to purchase all the music of Girolamo Frescobaldi. The music books that were sent from Rome on that occasion were kept in 1661 in the music library of the Cistercian monastery of Sankt Urban, near Lucerne.⁴⁵ Did Alexander Pfyffer order Frescobaldi's music expressly for the monastery's

45 Bacciagaluppi and Collarile, "Tutte le opere del Girolamo Frescobaldi"; Kurt Messmer and Peter Hoppe, *Luzerner Patriziat: sozial- und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Studien zur Entstehung und Entwicklung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Lucerne: Rex, 1976), p. 497.

use, or is this an instance of a private interest in musical performance of a high standard? No answer is yet possible to this question. In the eighteenth century, a gifted composer issued from another of the foremost families of Lucerne: Franz Joseph Leonti Meyer von Schauensee (1720–89). His life was varied, and characteristically divided between military and ecclesiastical service. He was a novice at Sankt Urban, but did not take the vows. He trained instead in music in Milan (1740–2) and afterwards served as a mercenary soldier for the Piedmontese (1742–4). Back in Lucerne, he was active in the town administration for nearly a decade as a member of the Great Council. Though he also composed instrumental music and stage works, his seven printed books of music (1748–64) all contain sacred music. In 1752 he took vows as a priest and held the post of organist at the collegiate church of St Leodegar in Lucerne, becoming a canon there in 1765. A third example from the music library of the monastery of Einsiedeln is of a still later date. A copy of Johannes Evangelista Schreiber's collection of motets (called 'offertories' after their main liturgical destination), *Adoratio Dei ...* Op. 3, printed by the monastery press of Sankt Gallen in 1754,⁴⁶ bears the following remark on the front flyleaf: "These offertories [that is, motets] were donated to our choir for the praise of God by His Honour Doctor Carl Martin Fidel von Roll in the year 1766". Chrysogonus Zech's vespers, *Unum in trinitate ...* Op. 1, published under the pseudonym "Tegurini" by Sebastian Mössmer in Freising and again printed by the monastery press of Sankt Gallen in 1768, bears a similar inscription in the same hand: "This musical work was donated to our choir by his excellency Carl Martin Fidel von Roll in 1775; God may reward him". The donor, Karl Martin Fidel von Roll (1710–84), was chaplain of the convent of Seedorf (in canton Uri), and no professional musician. Did he make a gift to the nuns' choir of some music from his personal collection, or of music he had sponsored to be performed in the convent?⁴⁷ In any case, testimonies of private collections in Catholic regions remain scarce.

46 RISM A/I S 2116; SS 2116.

47 "Dise *Offertori* hat auch zu lob gottes auf den *Chor* verehrt unser herr *Caplan* Ihro Hochwürden Herr *Doctor Carl Martin Fidel* Von Roll A|no 1766"; "Dißen *Auctor* hat auff Vnßeren *Cor* verEhrth Ihro Excelentz Herren *Carl Martin Fidel* Von Roll, deß 1775 Jahrs; gott sy seÿn belohner." Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek des Klosters, 613,1 (RISM A/I T 383; TT 383) and 628,1 (RISM A/I S 2116; SS 2116) respectively. The chaplain is the priest of a female religious house; see Joseph Müller, 'Die Klosterkapläne von Seedorf', *Historisches Neujahrsblatt*, 29 (1923), pp. 28, 33, 35–37, and *Helvetia Sacra* III/1, 1957; 1961–2. By the way, musical practice in Swiss convents is still unexplored. One wonders at the extensive music collection preserved in the Benedictine convent in Sarnen, catalogued in RISM A/II, and at the women choirmasters Abbess Eustachia Ratzenhöfer (1597/80–1653) and Maria Clara Edmunda Zurgilgen (1679–1746) of the Benedictine convent in Rathausen; Mechthild Bernart,

Judging from the preserved documents, then, it can be safely stated that the Church was the most active promoter of modern music in the Catholic regions, at least from the early seventeenth century on. In the first few decades of the century the Catholics introduced to their churches several musical and liturgical innovations. The new rituals after the recommendations of the Council of Trent were adopted around this time. In the Benedictine monastery of Sankt Gallen, an expense is recorded for a “Roman antiphonary” bought in Frankfurt in June 1609.⁴⁸ New, bigger organs were built, for example in Beromünster (1608), Sankt Urban (1609), and Solothurn (around 1600).⁴⁹ Finally, and here most importantly, the modern *concertato* style of Italian origin was introduced. Melchior Roth, canon of the collegiate church of St Leodegar in Schönenwerd (in today’s canton Aargau), bequeathed his musical books to the church chapter in 1622. The chapter minutes contain, in October of that year, a list of the approximately thirty items from his donation. The inventory, then, does not reflect the collegiate’s collection, but rather the private musical interests of Roth. It is worth noticing that he may even have been an amateur. He was in fact neither the cantor (the leader of the monophonic music) nor the organist.⁵⁰ Roth’s collection is fairly eclectic, covering mostly contemporary sacred music from the German-speaking countries (Aichinger, Erbach) but also ‘international’ repertoire (Victoria) and even secular music (Gastoldi). One third of the music books were in the new *stile concertato*, for one to three voices with basso continuo accompaniment. Five of these seven works were by Italian composers, including the collection of *concerti ecclesiastici* by Ludovico Viadana, which can be regarded as a paradigm of the new

Verzeichnis aller Schwestern der Benediktinerinnenabtei Rathausen-Thyrnau, 1245–1995 (Thyrnau: Abtei Rathausen-Thyrnau, 1995), pp. 66–67, 136–137.

- 48 “It[em] den 12. Ju[ni] [1609] dem schirmer erlegt, so er Zu frankfurtt vmb ein[en] neüe[n] Romanisch[en] *Antiphonariu[m]* geb[en], für vnsren Chor. [Gulden] 21 [Batzen] 8 [Pfennig] 8.”, Sankt Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, vol. 879, *Ausgaben- und Einnahmenbuch von Abt Bernhard Müller (1594–1630)*, fol. 135v. For the general situation in Switzerland with respect to the Tridentine reforms see Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, pp. 97–98; for their relatively slow acceptance in Southern Germany and Austria see Schmidt, Heinrich Richard, *Konfessionalisierung im 16. Jahrhundert*, Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, vol. 12 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1992), pp. 37–41.
- 49 Suter, *Dreischörige Kirchenmusik*, p. 6; Jakob, *Die Orgeln der Klosterkirche St. Urban*, p. 20; Max Banholzer, ‘Die Choraulen von St. Ursen Solothurn. Geschichte der Solothurner Singknaben—im Rahmen der solothurnischen Schul- und Kirchengeschichte’, in *Jahrbuch für Solothurnische Geschichte*, 77 (2004), p. 40.
- 50 Since 1607 the cantor was Erhard Gern. The organist was Johann Jost Hutter until 1621, and Johannes Gryfesanus in 1621–4.

style.⁵¹ Italy was thus identified both with Tridentine reform and with modern music. In other words, the dissemination of *concertato* sacred music with instrumental accompaniment was perceived in Switzerland as the musical side of the Catholic reform in liturgy and in ecclesiastical life. In sharp contrast, the decrees of the Council of Trent are widely understood as having imposed a certain restraint upon modern polyphonic music. This is certainly the main narrative from the Italian perspective in the 1560s, but the perception north of the Alps may have been different.⁵²

The collegiate church of St Michael in Beromünster (located near Lucerne) may be taken as an example of musical life in an important secular church. In collegiate churches, the secular church was organised after the manner of the corporations. Some twenty prebendaries lived on the premises of the *Stift*. The land belonging to it was a free territory of the Empire from 1045. Though a strong alliance with Lucerne was regularly renewed, the chapter maintained a certain independence. The village was a wealthy marketplace and the canons were traditionally recruited from among the patrician families of Lucerne. They enjoyed rich prebends which allowed the younger among them to study theology abroad. In 1697, for example, Johann Christoph Riser was allowed to accept the prebend exceptionally before his ordination, and as a result he journeyed to Rome in 1700.⁵³ In 1656, Federico Borromeo, papal nuncio in Lucerne and cousin of St Charles, is said to have declared before the (musically supported) splendour of the church services, “Beromünster is a second Rome”.⁵⁴ (It is possible that his remark showed appreciation not only of the display of

51 Solothurn, Staatsarchiv, Stift St. Leodegar zu Schönenwerd, Protokolle, vol. 1 (1607–37), pp. 162–164. The names of the musical charges in the collegiate church are reported elsewhere in the same volume of chapter minutes: pp. 1, 37a, 52a, and 123a. For the contemporary dissemination of the new style in South Germany, see Beer, *Die Annahme des ‘Stile nuovo’*.

52 In Munich too, the new style and the Roman books were introduced at the same time; Beer, *Die Annahme des ‘Stile nuovo’*, pp. 51–52. For a recent book centred on the musical implications of Tridentine reform in the sixteenth century, see Leitmeir, *Jacobus de Kerle*.

53 Waltraud Hörsch and Josef Bannwart, *Luzerner Pfarr- und Weltklerus 1700–1800: ein biographisches Lexikon* (Lucerne: Rex, 1997), pp. 27, 30–33, 323.

54 In the Latin original it sounds nicely: “Berona altera Roma”; quoted in Estermann, Melchior, *Die Stiftsschule von Bero-Münster, ihr und der Stift Einfluss auf die geistige Bildung der Umgebung* (Lucerne: Räder, 1876), p. 56. For the following remarks on music practice in Beromünster, see *ibid.*, 54–65 and Claudio Bacciagaluppi, ‘Das Repertoire an Vespermusik im Stift Beromünster: Zur Dramaturgie des liturgischen Kalenders’, in Helen Geyer and Birgit Johanna Wertenson (eds.), *Psalmen: Musik zwischen Tradition, Dramatik und Experiment* (Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau, 2014), pp. 381–406.

riches, but also of the liturgical correctness of the ceremonies.) The statutes of the collegiate church were reformed in 1605 under prior Niklaus Holdermaier (in office 1601–6): they introduced, in addition to the organist, a musically proficient canon as choirmaster, who was charged with the musical embellishment of the worship. The statutes duly refer to the decrees of the Council of Trent and to the *Caeremoniale episcoporum* (published in 1600), and at the same time testify to a lavish use of polyphonic music:

The choirmaster's duties. Because it is seemly that, after the prescriptions of the Roman ceremonial [in margin: *Caeremoniale episcoporum*, book 1, Chapter 28], the organ and the musicians' song sound in all Sundays and feast days of the year when people refrain from servile work ... we decree that the choirmaster on every [common] Sunday shall take care to sing in music: at Mass, the Kyrie, Gloria and the rest with four or five parts ... at Vespers, the Magnificat, and if he pleases, the Marian antiphon at the end of compline ... The choirmaster shall take care that the musical text be not lascivious, after the decrees of the Council of Trent [in margin: session 22, decree on the celebration of the Mass].⁵⁵

In 1608–10, the great organ on the west gallery was renovated, and a new organ built on the rood screen, then still in place. In 1691, the first renovation in the Baroque style took place, during which the rood screen with its small organ was demolished and, instead, two new organs were built above the choir stalls (besides the main organ, which was retained). In 1694, soon after the inauguration of the renewed building on the feast of St Michael in September 1693, a new version of the statutes (drafted already in 1689) was approved by the bishop of Constance.⁵⁶

Music traditionally enjoyed a high position at the *Stift*. Various prebends and foundations financed the musical expenses and personnel. The precentor, the first and second organist, and the choirmaster enjoyed, at various times, the revenues of the altars of St Thomas (Becket), of the Virgin Mary, and of St Gall.⁵⁷ Niklaus Schiltenberger or Schitterberg from Lucerne (died 1607),

55 Document 1.1.

56 The new organ was tested on 28 September 1610; Beromünster, Stiftsarchiv, vol. 243, *Protocoll wichtiger Acten und sachen ... Verzeichnet durch Rochum Boumgarter 1606–1627*, fols 54v–55r. See Suter, *Dreichörige Kirchenmusik*, pp. 6–7.

57 Beromünster, Stiftsarchiv, folders 166 (chaplaincy of the Virgin Mary), 167 (chaplaincy of St Gall), 172 (chaplaincy of St Thomas), and 179b (music in general). Descriptions of the churches, chapels and altarpieces mentioned throughout this book are provided by the

since 1592 the chaplain of St Afra, was given in 1596 the prebend of St Thomas and the next year the charge of choirmaster; he is said to have introduced “for the most part new music”.⁵⁸ In 1682, there was some discordance as to the nomination of the new prebendary of St Gall, and for this reason a document was formulated testifying the candidate’s progress in holy life and musical art: “First, I declare that the aforementioned Walter Troxler has accomplished his trial year, both leading an honest and laudable life, as well as applying himself in acquiring perfection both in plainchant and polyphonic music”.⁵⁹ Until 1683, the organist was always a layman. He was often at the same time the schoolmaster, and therefore in charge of the music classes at the Latin school, which provided a part of the musical staff for the church. In 1600, the prior and chapter paid a one-year apprenticeship for Michael Saletin, a chorister, to study “everything that is needed to play the organ and accompany plainchant and polyphonic music” with Gall Russ, organist in Fribourg.⁶⁰ At least since 1617, the schoolmaster gave choristers and other gifted children from outside the school an hour-long daily instruction in polyphonic music after the Vespers service.⁶¹ By 1689, a legacy to pay lay instrumentalists and organists had been added to the choirmaster’s wages and the traditional gift to the choristers on St Cecilia’s day.⁶² These personal and financial arrangements set the stage for the practice of polyphonic music.

Schweizerische Kunstführer, a series published by the *Gesellschaft für Schweizerische Kunstgeschichte*, <http://www.gsk.ch> (accessed September 2013); the issue on Beromünster is No. 669/70.

- 58 “... führte großen Theils neue Musik ein”; Mathias Riedweg, *Geschichte des Kollegiatstiftes Beromünster* (Lucerne: Räber, 1881), p. 506.
- 59 “Primo dico, et declaro supradictum Praesbyterum teneri explere unu[m] annu[m] probationis, tum in honesta, et laudabili vita ducenda, tum etiam in se applicando pro aquirenda perfectione cantus tam firmi, quam figuralis, intereaqu[ue] admittendu[m] fore, ... ad exercitium dicti beneficij”; Beromünster, Stiftarchiv, folder 167, *Kaplanei St. Gallus, 1634–1934*, “Compositio in causa[m] Institutionis D. Gualteri Troxler”.
- 60 Document 1.2.
- 61 “Studeat etiam quam diligentissimè ut discipulos praesertim Choristas, et eos omnes qui externos voce praeceunt, cantu tam figurali, quam Choralis instruat ita ut perfectam claviu[m] modorum, et Intervallorum seu sistematu[m] inter caetera notitiam acquire possint; quod sine reliquoru[m] studiorum dispendio et detrimento fiat, ordinamus ut vespertinis precibus absoluti, singulis diebus integram horam pro illis in figurato praesertim cantu instituendis insumat”; Beromünster, Stiftsarchiv, vol. 651, Ludwig Bircher, *Annales Beronenses*, vol. 2, 1616–19, p. 289.
- 62 This is mentioned in a paragraph of the new statutes: “[fol. 71v] § 8vus. Ut autem enixiore assiduitate chori decorem promoveat, ideoipsi praeter 16 mensuras vinj, quae Eius officio ex hospitio in Aarwangen [?] debentur, decem florenos pro stipendio accordamus.

The repertoire in use at the collegiate church of St Michael is quite impressive. It is testified to by an inventory of 1696, updated until the 1710s, which originally comprised some six hundred pages.⁶³ The choirmaster kept the books of music sorted carefully by genre—motets, ‘morning music’ (mostly mass settings) and ‘evening music’ (vespers settings)—and by bibliographic categories—collections, single works, and volumes in folio—on one hundred and seventeen shelves. There were just over one hundred printed titles and at least two hundred manuscripts. The scorings vary from a *cappella* graduals and manuscript collections of *fauxbourdon* vespers, through small-scale *concertato* motets of Italian taste, to large-scale works for all the three organs that were in use since 1693. An example of the latter is the motet *Factum est proelium* by the local composer Walter Ludwig Bürgi. It was written for the feast of St Michael, and it is scored for two five-part vocal choirs with organ and an instrumental choir consisting of two trumpets, four violins, bass viol, and organ.⁶⁴

The monasteries followed the secular church in introducing reforms. The Swiss Benedictine congregation (founded 1602) reformed its liturgy in 1639. The new *Directorium* prescribed the Tridentine Roman chants for the mass, while the traditional Benedictine melodies were retained for the office. The popular German songs in use at Christmas and Easter (such as *Christ ist erstanden*) were banned.⁶⁵ The introduction of *concertato* music with instrumental accompaniment, however, was not welcomed without controversy. The issue was discussed by the congregation in May 1645, six years after the liturgical reform. It was decreed that *concertato* songs (that is, motets), excessive ornamentation, and purely instrumental music (including ritornellos) should be prohibited. *Concertato* music—the document recalled—is seldom used in churches, and principally when musicians are insufficient in number. Instruments in the role of simple accompaniment are admitted where they have been introduced

Quaestura autem [fol. 72r] nostra sedecim florenos cum dimidio suppeditabit, quos inter Cantores in festo musices patronae Sanctae Caeciliae partietur, Quibus accedunt Decem alij à praesentario nostro à defuncto D. Doctore Andrea Keller legati et destinati Laicis musicam instrumentis ornantibus et organum frequentantibus.” Beromünster, Stiftsarchiv, vol. 1240.

63 See also Chapter 4c.

64 Beromünster, Stiftsarchiv, vol. 1206, *Bonus ordo musices* ..., p. [306]. The inventory is reproduced and transcribed online, *HMI*, vol. 1.

65 Schubiger, *Die Pflege des Kirchengesanges und der Kirchenmusik*, pp. 42–43. The new *Directorium cantus pro monasteriis congregationis Benedictinae Helveticae* from 1639 is preserved in various manuscript copies, for example, Aarau, Staatsarchiv, AA/6135 [1639.V.25]. See also Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HI.8.a.3.21, letters concerning matters of the congregation, including the new breviary and plainchant, 1632–51.

already.⁶⁶ In the following, the chapters of the single monasteries debated how best to apply the congregation's decree. In November, abbot Pius Reher (in office 1630–54) proposed to the monks of Sankt Gallen his personal solution.⁶⁷ It must be noted that *a cappella* polyphonic music had been practised for many decades in Sankt Gallen:⁶⁸ the question debated in 1645 concerned specifically modern music (*musica neoterica* and *cantiones concertantes*). Reher opined that, while polyphonic music was not to be prohibited, only theorbos (“bass lutes”) should be accepted as accompanying instruments. He maintained that a difference should exist between the music of the secular and the regular clergy (of priests and monks). Most of the monks accepted the abbot's proposal. One father Constantius made a show of independent thought and expressed the most original opinion among the thirteen standpoints recorded: that music, in itself, is an indifferent thing, and can be good or bad according to its use.

Conclusion.

1. I [the abbot] consider that [polyphonic] music should be kept modest and grave.
2. If bass singers are lacking, [bass] lutes [theorbos] are admitted.
3. Finer [higher] lutes should be introduced only sparingly. In fact,
4. It seems certain, that everywhere God is much more honoured by plain-chant than by figural music: in the latter occur many more distractions, vanities, and other hindrances to devotion.

However, one generation after abbot Reher, the use of sacred music in *stile moderno* in Sankt Gallen appeared to be unrestricted. An example is the translation of the relics of Saints Sergius, Bacchus, Hiacyntus and Erasmus in 1680, for which the monk Valentin Molitor (1637–1713) composed a service consisting of the Ordinary of the Mass and three motets, with an extraordinarily rich scoring: two four-part choirs accompanied by five instrumental parts—two violins, viola, and two other soprano instruments (violins, trumpets,

66 Document 1.3.

67 Document 1.4.

68 Therese Bruggisser examined the first introduction of polyphonic music at the Benedictine monastery of Sankt Gallen in the sixteenth century; Therese Bruggisser-Lanker, *Musik und Liturgie im Kloster St. Gallen in Spätmittelalter und Renaissance* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004). The documents from 1645 were apparently known to Antoine Cherbuliez in 1932 (*Die Schweiz in der deutschen Musikgeschichte*, pp. 245–246), who mentions the controversy without however giving details on his sources.

or *tromba marina* ad libitum)—and continuo. The music for this unique event was published at the monastery's own printing press the following year under the title *Missa una cum tribus Mottetis in Solemni Translatione SS. MM. Sergii, Bacchi, Hyacinthi et Erasmi*.⁶⁹ The case of Sankt Gallen is not uncommon. In 1615, the general abbot of the Cistercians, Nicolas II, had visited the monastery of Sankt Urban, and urged the monks not to make use of polyphonic music. His admonishment did not have a lasting influence. By 1625, a certain brother Urban was instructing two fellow Cistercians at the monastery of Wettingen in cornetto playing. A music inventory of 1661 mentions some forty music books printed before 1615 and about one hundred printed since.⁷⁰ How can these apparent discrepancies be explained? As often in historic studies, the recurrence of a prohibition can be seen in itself as a sign of its being broken repeatedly. Besides the prohibition argument, there are two other possible answers to this question.

On the one hand, the possibilities of performance were determined by the available musical forces. Singers were recruited internally, by carefully selecting novices on the grounds of musical proficiency.⁷¹ As was common to most of Europe, wherever a school was attached to the religious house, schoolboys were employed as sopranos.⁷² In 1735, abbot Joseph von Rudolphi of Sankt

69 Luigi Collarile (ed.), Valentin Molitor, *Missa una cum tribus Mottetis...* (St. Gallen 1681), Editionen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, vol. 1 (Berne: Peter Lang, forthcoming).

70 Nicolas's admonishment reads: "The common rules state ... that secular and figural song is completely prohibited" ("Ut in libris ordinariis ... expressum est: Cantum ... secularem et figuratum omnino interdcentes"); quoted after Jakob, *Die Orgeln der Klosterkirche St. Urban*, p. 25. The letters of 28 October, 20 and 28 November 1625, exchanged between the abbots of the two monasteries, are preserved in Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 512 D, fols numbered 237, 176, and 150. They are forthcoming in *RISM d-lib*. The inventory is reproduced and transcribed online, *HMI*, vol. 2.

71 In a late report from 1783: "In the choice of candidates who ask to enter the monastery, precedence is given to those having any accomplishment in vocal or instrumental music over those who just bring good marks from their college studies" ("Bey der Auswahl der Kandidaten welche um die Aufnahme bitten, werden diejenigen, welche einige Fertigkeit in der Vokal- oder Instrumental-Musik besitzen, denjenigen vorgezogen, welche nichts als gute Attestaten über ihre Studien aus den Kollegien bringen"); Beat Fidel Zurlauben, 'Sitten der katholischen Geistlichkeit in der Schweiz', in *Schweizerisches Museum*, 1 (1783), vol. 2, p. 394. See also Document 1.9, 14/10/1672.

72 As an example, the history of the choristers for the collegiate church of St Urs in Solothurn is reconstructed by Banholzer, 'Die Choraulen von St. Ursen Solothurn'.

Gallen was ready to pay from his own purse the living expenses for two or three sopranos:⁷³

17 October 1735. Because our church music cannot subsist without sopranos; and because these lose their voice as soon as they grow up and get into higher classes in school, while the youngest need their own school-masters and thus are a burden to the monastery, and the school being overcrowded with these young boys, none can be accepted as novice for a long time; I have admitted two or three sopranos at court, that they may be instructed in morals, discipline, science, and music. However, no other children nor older boys should be accepted.

Instrumentalists, by contrast, often had to be recruited from outside the monastery. For instance, already in 1620, presumably on the occasion of the visit of the governor (*Landvogt*) of the Rhine valley, “trumpeters, cornetto, and trombone players” were employed for church service in Sankt Gallen.⁷⁴ The Cistercians of Sankt Urban employed foreign musicians on important occasions. Abbot Josef Zurgilgen paid 48 florins for the musicians when he became abbot in 1701. Though this sum may also comprise singers’ wages, it seems significant that three years later he bought two bassoons and five oboes “for the instruction of the professed”.⁷⁵ In 1687, the first year of his appointment, the abbot of Sankt Gallen Cölestin Sfondrati bought seventy-five florins’ worth

73 “[546] 17. [October 1735] Weil[en] Vnsre Kirchen *Music* ohne *Discantist*[en] nicht kan *subsistir*[en], dise aber, so sie schon groß, Vnd in höher[en] Schuel[en] sein, gleich die stimm Verliehr[en]; die aber in niderst[en] Jahr[en] [547] seind, eigne *Praeceptores* ha[en] müss[en], mit beschwernus der *Conventherren*: Vnd wird auch die Schuel mit disen klein[en] Knab[en] also Versterkht, das man lange Zeit keine zum *Novitiat promovir*[en] kan; hab ich 2 od[er] 3 *Discantist*[en] beÿ hoff angenom[men], die Von Forther[en] [?] soll[en] in *bonitate, disciplina, scientia, et Musica instrui*rt werd[en]. finde aber, das keine andere, oder grosseren angenom[men] werd[en]”; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, vol. 272b, diary of abbot Joseph von Rudolphi (in charge 1717–40).

74 “[July 1620] It[em] vf den vfritt deß Rhithalisch[en] landvogts, dem hauptpma[nn] Heinrich fleck[en]stein [ver]ehrt, weg[en] er in ettlich[en] sach[en] deß Gottshaußes laborirt [fl.] 11. [bz] 5 [d]—Item dem trometern, Zink[en]ist[en] pusaunist[en] so ich [?] in der Kirch[en] im *chor*, vnd zu d[en] Orglen sich hab[en] laß[en] bemü[hen] [?] [ver]ehrt [fl.] 6. [bz] 6 [d] —”; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, vol. 879, account book of abbot Bernhard Müller (in charge 1594–1630), fol. [269v].

75 “[November 1701] Den *Musicanten* hab ich gaben 48 [Taler] 18 [Batzen] —”; “[6 December 1704] den *Hauboist Joan Wilhelm Weineman* beÿ Strasburg aus bezalt für 2. *fagot* ieder a 12 Tahler 24. 5. *Haubois* ieder a 4 Tahler. *Pro Instructione Professorum* 20 1/2”; Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 229b, account book of abbot Josef Zurgilgen (in charge 1701–6), pp. 12 and 58

of “various musical instruments”, and the following year another sixty-five.⁷⁶ Sfondrati’s and Zurgilgen’s purchases may mark the moment where instrumental music, played by the monks themselves, was accepted in church on ordinary Sundays.

On the other hand, the contrast may in part be only apparent, if the fundamental difference between ‘ordinary’ and ‘extraordinary’ ceremonies is taken into account. ‘Extraordinary’ ceremonies, after Bernard Dompnier’s definition, comprise two types of feasts. The first category are the feasts marking one-time events outside the liturgical calendar: jubilees, beatifications, sanctifications, or the translation of saints’ relics. The second group comprises those recurring festivities which according to the liturgical calendar are ‘ordinary’ feasts, but have acquired locally a particular importance: the abbot’s name day, or the feast of a venerated madonna in a side chapel.⁷⁷ It was precisely the display of pomp, including music, that permitted to the masters of ceremony of the seventeenth and eighteenth century—at times where ceremonial order was of paramount importance—to confer a greater weight on an occasion that could not be highlighted by liturgy and ritual. An example of an extraordinary ceremony with a more than local importance was the dedication of the church of St Michael in Beromünster. One-time festive occasions such as the election of a new abbot or the translation of relics even prompted the printing of librettos and—quite exceptionally—of musical works, as in the aforementioned case of Molitor’s service for the Sankt Gallen translation of 1680.⁷⁸ Translations of relics were not at all uncommon; in the seventeenth century, a real commerce was started. Hans Rudolf Pfyffer alone, an officer of the Swiss Guard, forwarded to his homeland no less than twenty-five corpses from the Roman

respectively. Examples of foreign musicians employed in the later eighteenth century are quoted in Ruckstuhl, ‘Von Cantoren, Capellmeistern und frömbden Musicanten’.

76 Sfondrati was born in Milan in 1644, and had entered the monastery at the age of twelve. As a comparison, a “small organ” (a positive) was bought in the same year 1688 for 135 florins. “[fol. 51r:] [1687] Item für vnderschiedliche *Musicalische Instrumenta* [Gulden] 75 [Kreuzer] 9 ... [fol. 51v:] [1688] Item für ein kleine Orgel *p[ro] P. Othmarn* [Gulden] 135 ... Für vnderschiedliche *Musicalische Instrumenta* [Gulden] 65 [Kreuzer] 13 [Heller] 12”; Sankt Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, vol. 885, account book of abbot Sfondrati.

77 Bernard Dompnier, ‘Déchiffrer’, in Bernard Dompnier (ed.), *Les cérémonies extraordinaires du catholicisme baroque* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2009), p. 13.

78 See Dieter Ruckstuhl, ‘Die Benediktionsspiele im Kloster St. Urban in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts’, *Heimatkunde des Wiggertals*, 46 (1988), pp. 9–59; and again Collarile (ed.), Molitor, *Missa una*.

catacombs.⁷⁹ From the mid seventeenth century onwards, the display of richly scored *concertato* music permitted a ‘personalisation’ of the liturgical calendar, to identify a local tradition distinct from the one in common with the whole diocese—in the case both of Sankt Gallen and Sankt Urban, the diocese of Constance. Representative music had then an important role to play: it helped to affirm the independence of the abbots and the identity of the community.⁸⁰

Reformed

Nothing remotely resembling the public display of the Catholics was tolerated by the governments of the Reformed cities. Feasts, dances, and other amusements were generally allowed only in the private sphere. Let us take, as an example, fashionable clothes. Men and women from the elite families in Zurich could only wear brilliant colours on special occasions, such as private music concerts.⁸¹ Jean Antoine de Torrenté, a converted Catholic priest from Wallis and a member of the music society *zur deutschen Schule*, was rebuked in 1701 by the ‘proselyte clerk’ (a town officer) for his conceited bearing and clothing, unworthy of a dignified citizen and former clergyman: he was wearing a costly black suit (not a cloak), a wig, and a dagger. He complained to his neighbours that he carried a dagger because he was a nobleman, and nobody could prevent him from wearing a red suit the following morning, if he wished. Soon afterwards he vanished, leaving behind him a debt of forty florins at the tailor’s and of twenty more at the shoemaker’s (these and other debts were probably the immediate reason for his secretive departure).⁸² This comparison between music and fashion is not too far-fetched. It was also chosen by a commission of the citizens of Berne called in 1724 to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of building a new organ in the main church: musical instruments, they argued, are in themselves morally indifferent, just as is clothing, but it is reproachable to change one’s opinion on the subject.⁸³

79 Hansjakob Achermann, *Die Katakombenheiligen und ihre Translationen in der schweizerischen Quart des Bistums Konstanz* (Stans: Historischer Verein Nidwalden, 1979), pp. 30–31.

80 Bacciagaluppi, ‘Das Repertoire an Vespermusik im Stift Beromünster’.

81 A concert of the music society *auf dem Musiksaal* in the *Zunftthaus zu Schumachern* (today’s *Neumarkt* theatre) is depicted in a painting from 1753, commented by Dorothea Baumann, *Vom Musikraum zum Konzertsaal. Auf den Spuren von Zürichs Musikleben*, Neujahrsblatt der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich, No. 186 (Zurich: Hug, 2002), pp. 14–17.

82 See Document 2.11 and also Chapter 2a.

83 “Wir sind nit in abred, daß *musicalische Instrument indifferent* seÿen, so wohl als die *Kleider-mode*: Allein Einem Hohen und *Gravitetischen* Stand, vnd allen from[m]en seelen ist es zuwider, Gott dem Herrn heüt auf dise Weiß, morn auff eine gantz widerwärtige Weiß zudienen, ab welcher man vorher ein abscheüh bezeüget hat”; Document 2.27, Part 1, Section 11.

In Protestant towns, public use of elaborate polyphonic music was restricted according to the severe morality of the Zwinglian reformation. The Swiss reformers had at first altogether banned the professional practice of music from the church. Over the course of the sixteenth century, however, perhaps under the influence of the more moderate Lutherans, congregational singing of—locally composed—vernacular hymns and psalms in church was introduced.⁸⁴ Johannes Oecolampadius defended congregational singing in Basel, close to Lutheran Strasbourg; and the first Swiss reformed songbook was published in 1534 in Sankt Gallen, close to Constance, which was Lutheran at the time, and subsequently recatholicised in 1548. The Protestant educational system, which replaced the Catholic cathedral schools, took over the task of educating children choristers, for example in Berne from 1538 and in Sankt Gallen from 1598.⁸⁵ Zurich allowed the singing of (monophonic) songs by schoolchildren only in 1598. Congregational polyphonic song had in the meanwhile been re-introduced in most parts of the Confederation by the late sixteenth century, for example in Berne's main church in 1574, where it was accompanied (from 1581 on) by one cornetto and three trombones.⁸⁶ In the early seventeenth century, the local repertoire of the Swiss reformed church was quickly and almost entirely replaced by the Lobwasser psalms. Ambrosius Lobwasser had translated into German and published (in Leipzig, 1573) the versified French psalter by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze, which had been set in four parts by Claude Goudimel between 1551 and 1566. This version circulated widely in all Reformed churches, not only in German-speaking countries, but also in further translations. Only in the eighteenth century did a repertoire of new compositions manage to enter the churches on Sundays and other feast days (*Festlieder*).⁸⁷ Swiss hymnals for public use in church were therefore often divided into three parts: the Lobwasser psalms, a choice of 'common' or 'old

84 The main reference is Markus Jenny, *Geschichte des deutschschweizerischen evangelischen Gesangbuches im 16. Jahrhundert* (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1962).

85 Hans Gugger, *Die bernischen Orgeln: Die Wiedereinführung der Orgel in den reformierten Kirchen des Kantons Bern bis 1900*, Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, 61–62 (Berne: Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, 1978), p. 4; Nef, *Die Collegia Musica*, p. 25. In Nuremberg, polyphonic music was taught to the schoolchildren continually, also during the span of twenty years during which it was not performed in church; Giselsbrecht, *Crossing boundaries*, pp. 104–106. That this was the case also in Swiss schools appears to be a plausible hypothesis.

86 Gugger, *Die bernischen Orgeln*, p. 4.

87 For the dissemination of the Lobwasser psalms in Switzerland, see Weber, *Geschichte des Kirchengesanges*, pp. 95–102; see also Georg Finsler, *Zürich in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1884), pp. 112–113.

psalms', and a handful of 'festival songs'. The repertoire and the calendar according to which it was sung could vary from canton to canton.⁸⁸

Congregational four-part singing was of debatable quality and exceedingly conservative. In Berne, cantor Johann Ulrich Sultzberger published in 1676 a simplified edition of the Lobwasser psalms, restricting their range and limiting the accidentals in the key signature to one flat or one sharp at the most. When cantor Johann Martin Spiess attempted to introduce two accidentals in his *Auserlesene und geistreiche Fest- Buß- und Abendmahl-Gesänge*, the community reacted with "many complaints and criticisms" ("die vielen Klagen und Einwendungen"), so that a second, transposed edition had to be issued. The melody was still in the tenor (as in Sultzberger's collection). Spiess's edition remained in use for another century.⁸⁹ It comes as no surprise that the school council of Berne approved and financially supported the musical education of the students, encouraging the foundation of a *collegium musicum* under cantor Sultzberger in 1673.⁹⁰ Such *collegia musica* were founded in various towns during the seventeenth century. Their weekly practice opened and closed with the performance of a psalm, but their repertoire was not limited to

88 See Andreas Marti, 'Der Genfer Psalter in den deutschsprachigen Ländern im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', *Zwingliana*, 28 (2001), pp. 47–51. A *Sing-Ordnung* for the city of Sankt Gallen can be found, preceded by an elementary music tutor, as an appendix to the first edition of the anthology *Geistliche Seelen-Music* (Sankt Gallen: Hochreutiner, 1682; RISM DKL 1682⁹), which, in itself, contained devotional songs not intended for use in church (see Chapter 2b). For example, the congregation is to sing in turn, each Sunday after the sermon, seventeen "Auß den Lobwasserischen Psalmen Davids", seven "Auß den Gemeinen oder Alten Psalmen", and nine "Auß den Kirchen-Gesängen", always alternating between a Lobwasser psalm and one of the two other genres: "NB. Hiebey ist zu mercken. 1. Daß alle dise Psalmen vnd Gesänge vm[m]wechslungsweise also geübet werden, daß auff ein Lobwasserischen Psalmen ein Gemeiner, auff den Gemeinen Psalmen wider ein Lobwasserischer, vnd dann ein Kirchen-Gsang, vnd darauf abermal ein Lobwasserischer Psalm, vnd also fürter, wie gemeldt, bräuchlich sind" (page [2]).

89 Johann Ulrich Sultzberger, *Transponiertes Psalmen-Buch worinnen begriffen sind I. D: Ambr: Lobwassers Psalmen Davids. II. Die so genannten Alten Psalmen. III. Die gebräuchlichen Fäst-Gesäng. IV. Andere Kirch- u. Haus-Gesäng* (Berne: Samuel Kneubüler, 1676; RISM A/I S 7212); Johann Martin Spiess, *Auserlesene und geistreiche Fest- Buß- und Abendmahl-Gesänge* (Berne: Hoch-Oberkeitliche Druckerei, 1753; RISM A/I S 4103). See Dorothea Schelkes, *Johann Martin Spiess (1691–1772): ein kurpfälzischer Komponist im Dienst der reformierten Kirche* (Berne etc.: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 147–151.

90 Fritz Brönnimann, *Der Zinkenist und Musikdirektor Johann Ulrich Sultzberger und die Pflege der Musik in Bern in der zweiten Hälfte des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, PhD dissertation (University of Berne, 1919; Zofingen: Zofinger Tagblatt, 1920), pp. 36–41 and 97–107 (transcription of the "Musik-Ordnung" of 1663, 1672, and 1676).

them, and indeed many *collegia*—while identical in their name and similar in their statutes—had hardly any connection to the church or the government. In the eighteenth century, the *collegia* slowly developed to become (private) concert venues.⁹¹ In fact, the music societies became the main venue for elaborate music making in the Protestant cantons, or at least the greatest amount of evidence for this relates to them. Many historical inventories preserved in Switzerland record the collections of *collegia musica*, and the most striking examples of religious toleration in the musical domain are found amongst their repertoire.⁹²

Similarly to vocal music, instrumental practice was likewise extremely conservative in Reformed churches. Organs were removed in most parishes during the Reformation. Zurich broke down its organs in 1527, Berne soon afterwards. The more moderate Basel citizens, instead, only covered up the organ in the Münster, and permitted its use during the service to accompany congregational singing again in 1561. In Berne's main church, a new organ was built in 1727: until then, congregational singing was accompanied by trombones. In Winterthur organs were reintroduced in 1808, in Zurich as late as 1841, and in the Zurich Grossmünster—Zwingli's own church—only in 1876.⁹³ The situation, then, was at the onset similar to the one in the Netherlands, where some of the organs were demolished, while others—especially in the north of the country—were left intact. However, precisely because organs were not used to support congregational singing, the church began to be used as a venue for organ concerts. For example, organ concerts were held in Haarlem from 1634: the painter Pieter Saenredam was (as Gary Schwartz argued) an 'orgelist', in favour of abolishing such secular use of the churches and reintroducing the organ into the service, and his depiction of the organ in his apparently peaceful painting *Organ Concert in the Haarlem Bavokerk* from 1636 actually has quite a polemical undertone.⁹⁴ A special commission nominated by the Berne government in 1724 to answer the question of whether an

91 More details on these institutions are provided in Chapter 4a. See also Nef, *Die Collegia Musica*, especially pp. 31, 54; Hinrichsen, *Die Allgemeine Musik-Gesellschaft Zürich*, pp. 33–35.

92 See Chapter 4c.

93 Rudolf Geilinger, *Zur Feier des 250-jährigen Bestehens des Musik-Collegium in Winterthur* (Winterthur: Bleuler-Hausherr, 1880), p. 16; Gugger, *Die bernischen Orgeln*, pp. 1–18; Weber, *Geschichte des Kirchengesanges*, pp. 117–118.

94 Gary Schwartz, 'Saenredam, Huygens and the Utrecht Bull', *Simiolus*, 1 (1966/7), pp. 85–90. On the organ question see also Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), p. 61.

organ ought to be built in the main church or not, introduced the example of the Netherlands as one of the negative arguments. In Holland, the daily organ concerts allegedly made a stock exchange or a market hall out of the church; by the same token, the Berne youth would also start using the main church as a vile meeting place.⁹⁵ In Swiss Reformed churches, because organ playing was finally reintroduced only to accompany four-part hymns, more elaborate instrumental music was not encouraged. The unfortunate Lutheran immigrant Spiess, the same who was criticized for introducing two accidentals in the hymnbook, was also rebuked for his accompaniments “after the German fashion” (“nach deutscher Art”), with variations in the harmonies and interludes between the verses.⁹⁶

Both organ playing and the performance of *concertato* sacred music lived on, in Reformed cantons, only in private homes and in devotional contexts. In part, the repertoire for private performance was quite similar to the hymns in use in the church: three- or four-part strophic songs. After this fashion are most of the products of local composers, such as the four-part settings by Andreas Schwilge contained in Johann Wilhelm Simler’s *Teutsche Gedichte*.⁹⁷ Yet, even the oldest preserved inventory of a *collegium musicum*, the Winterthur catalogue from 1660,⁹⁸ lists titles of *concertato* sacred music both from the Lutheran north and the Catholic south, such as Andreas Hammerschmidt’s *Vierdter Theil, Musicalischer Andachten, Geistlicher Moteten und Concerten, Mit 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12 und mehr Stimmen ...*⁹⁹ and Giovanni Battista Cesati’s *Sacre muse, a una, due, tre, e quattro voci concertate ... opera seconda*.¹⁰⁰ In 1698, the Zurich music society *zur deutschen Schule* introduced a two-stage admission examination. In the first session, the candidate would only have to perform “psalms and other simple harmonic concordances”; in a second test, the repertoire would comprise “difficult concert pieces”. If he were to fail in the second, he would be admitted on trial. After three months the second examination would be repeated, and only then would he be admitted as a full member.¹⁰¹ There appears to be, then, a clear opposition between a ‘public’ support of

95 See Chapter 2d and Document 2.27.

96 Schelkes, *Johann Martin Spiess*, p. 55.

97 Zurich: Johann Jakob Bodmer, 1648; RISM DKL 1648²⁹. See *e-rara* website, <http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-13165> (accessed September 2013).

98 Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 303, fols 23r–46r; reproduced and edited in *HMT*, vol. 5.

99 Freiberg: Georg Beuther, in one of the pre-1660 editions, either 1646 or 1654; RISM A/I H 1931; HH 1931 and H 1932; HH 1932 respectively.

100 Milan: Carlo Francesco Rolla, 1659; RISM A/I C 1760.

101 Document 1.5.

concertato sacred music in Catholic regions, encouraged and financed by the Church, and a 'private' patronage in Protestant regions. To bear this difference in mind is essential in understanding the development of the *collegia musica* and their repertoire.

1c Music and Confession

In the period under consideration, the strongly differentiated confessional cultures showed marked differences in their approach to sacred music. To be sure, 'confession' is no musical category: in other words, the perception of a piece of music as Catholic or Reformed is intentional, and relies on convention. Still, if the author or the public are acquainted with a set of conventional rules on what is typically Catholic or Reformed, a piece of music may acquire a confessional significance, both in composition and in performance.¹⁰² The most important aspects which allowed music to be loaded with confessional connotations can be seen in the selection of the sung texts, in the use of instruments in church, and in the venues and occasions for musical performance.

The text provides the most overt signal for the confessional character of a musical work. A careful choice of texts allowed some German publishers and composers to produce supra-confessional music books. The anthologies edited by the Catholics Abraham Schadaeus (1566–1626) and Caspar Vincentius (ca. 1580–1624) in 1611–17 and by the Protestant Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661) in 1649, for example, contain many Latin motets by Italian composers which avoid any conspicuous confessional implications.¹⁰³ Hieronymus Praetorius (1560–1629) in Hamburg published books of masses, Magnificats and Christmas motets in German that were probably designed from the start to serve

¹⁰² The nature of the confessional character of music is discussed in Leitmeir, *Jacobus de Kerle*, pp. 927–929.

¹⁰³ Both series of anthological publications comprise four volumes: *Promptuarii musici* ... (Strasbourg: Kieffer, 1611, 1612, 1613, and Strasbourg: Bertram, 1617; RISM B/I 1611¹, 1612³, 1613², and 1617¹); and *Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien* ... (Leipzig: Köler, vols 1–2 in 1641, vol. 3 in 1642, and Timotheus Ritsch, 1646; RISM B/I 1641², 1641³, 1642⁴, and 1646⁴). For the context of their collections see Jerome Roche, 'Anthologies and the Dissemination of Early Baroque Italian Sacred Music', *Soundings*, 4 (1974), pp. 6–12 and Tomasz Jeż, 'Die Breslauer Bibliotheca Rehdigeriana als Dokument der Migration des italienischen Stils in Europa', in Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort and Silke Leopold (eds.), *Migration und Identität: Wanderbewegungen und Kulturkontakte in der Musikgeschichte*, *Analecta musicologica*, vol. 49 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013), pp. 99–137.

buyers from both confessions. And indeed, his book of masses from 1616¹⁰⁴ and his Christmas motets from 1613¹⁰⁵ are both found in the collection of the canons of St Leodegar in 1622 and of the Cistercians in Sankt Urban in 1661. The latter owned also his Magnificat settings and motets from 1602.¹⁰⁶ This is certainly an example of 'commercial ecumenism'.¹⁰⁷ The three Nuremberg anthologies of motets mostly by Italian composers collected by Friedrich Lindner and issued between 1585 and 1590 are another case in point: though tailored on the Nuremberg Lutheran church calendar, there was no obstacle to using them in a Catholic liturgy.¹⁰⁸ Praetorius and Lindner produced their 'ecumenical' music books because, in general, Lutherans did not oppose on a matter of principle the use of the Latin language in church service. Between the habits of many Lutheran communities and the Roman Catholic rites there were flexible boundaries.¹⁰⁹ This enabled wealthy patrons such as Johann Georg II (who, as the Saxon electoral prince, ruled from 1656 to 1680 over the core of Lutheran Germany), to employ Italian musicians, among them the composers Vincenzo Albrici, Giuseppe Peranda, Carlo Pallavicino, and Sebastiano Cherici, and to encourage them to import the stylish small-scale *concertato* motets after the latest Roman fashion of Francesco Foggia, Bonifazio Graziani, and others. Their texts did not offend Lutheran theology, but they were nevertheless newly invented poems in Latin (modelled on Italian poetic meters) which were formally identical to their Catholic counterparts.¹¹⁰

The Reformed had, for their part, entirely banned Latin from their churches. Still, its devotional use was permitted. Some Latin religious texts set by Reformed composers in the United Provinces were examined by Frits Noske in 1989. In 1647, Latin motets in *concertato* style were printed in Amsterdam by the town musician Jacobus Haffner (ca. 1615–1671).¹¹¹ Music with an openly

104 *Liber missarum qui est operum musicorum tomus tertius ...* published in Hamburg by Heinrich Carstens; RISM A/I P 5329; PP 5329.

105 *Der alte Christliche und Geistreiche Gesang, Ein Kindelein so löblich ...*, issued by the same publisher; RISM A/I P 5345.

106 *Magnificat octo vocum super octo tonos consuetos, cum motetis aliquot ...*, Hamburg: Philipp von Ohr and Mathis Montano; RISM A/I P 5333. See HMI, vols 2 and 10.

107 François, *Protestants et catholiques en Allemagne*, pp. 138–141.

108 *Sacrae cantiones* (Nürnberg: Catharina Gerlach, 1585; RISM B/I 1585¹); *Continuatio cantionum sacrarum* (1588; RISM B/I 1588²); and *Corollarium cantionum sacrarum* (1590; RISM B/I 1590⁵). On their public and market see Giselbrecht, *Crossing boundaries*, pp. 130–138.

109 See, for example, Giselbrecht, *Crossing boundaries*, pp. 155–159.

110 See Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, pp. 101–113.

111 Jacobus Haffner, *Alauda spiritualis ...* Op. 1 (Amsterdam: Paul Matthysz, 1647; RISM A/I H 1717). It must be noted that Haffner was born in Austria as the son of a Lutheran pastor. See Noske, *Music Bridging Divided Religions*, vol. 1, pp. 83–89.

ecumenical text was composed by the Reformed Cornelis Padbrué (1591/2–1670). In 1640, he published the setting of a Dutch poem by Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) deploring the splitting of the Christians, *Klaght over de tweedraght der Christe princen*. The collection contains settings of both Dutch and Latin texts.¹¹² No contemporary Swiss Reformed musician composed pieces comparable to those by Haffner and Padbrué.

A strict Lutheran theologian could oppose even the singing of psalms, if in the Latin language.¹¹³ Swiss musicians of Reformed confession were also at times uneasy about singing liturgical texts in Latin. A first case in point comes from Basel, a city considered to be traditionally quite tolerant. One month after the foundation of the local (student) *collegium musicum* in 1692, choirmaster Jacob Pfaff sent a memorandum to the town council. Therein, he made several suggestions to improve the music society, and one of these concerned the society's repertoire. The students, he said, had to sing mostly in Latin, and some of the texts were even clearly papist. Pfaff suggested that Leonhard Sailer, composer to the marquis of Baden, should write some motets on German texts, that would be not only tailored on the students' voices, but might also be used during church services. Unfortunately, it is not known if the town council followed Pfaff's suggestion; hardly any German motets by Sailer are known today.¹¹⁴

Memorandum: How to continue and maintain to its advantage the *collegium musicum* that was founded by the respected delegates ... 5. Mr Sailer, musician at the princely court [of Baden-Durlach] at my request offered to compose at a modest price different pieces of music for the *collegium's* use. These would be tailored on the voices of our personnel and would have German texts apt to be sung both on feast days and on common Sundays in church. It would be a very desirable thing, because most of the authors [that is, of the musical works] in the *collegium* have Latin texts, some even convenient to the papist religion ... Memorandum by Mr Jakob Pfaff, director of the *collegium musicum*, on its continuation and maintenance, read before my lords the delegates on 27 September 1692.

112 Cornelis Padbrué, *I. V. Vondels Kruisbergh en Klaght over de tweedraght der Christe princen. Op musijck gebraght met 4, 5 ende 3 stemmen, etc. met een basso continuo* (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz, 1640; RISM A/I PP 43a). See Noske, *Music Bridging Divided Religions*, vol. 1, pp. 75–82.

113 See Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, pp. 65–68 on the sermon of the Saxon court preacher Martin Geier.

114 Document 1.6.

TABLE 1.1 *The index of Leonhard Sailer's Cantiones Sacrae (1696), continuo partbook*

I.	Volate coelites, Canto solo, 2. VV.	In Nativitatem Christi.
II.	Ave Jesu Christe, C.C.B. 2. VV.	
III.	Quicumque amat te, CC. 2. VV.	
IV.	Ad Sonos ad Cantus. C.A.B. 2 VV.	
V.	Eamus. 4. Voc, 4 Instrum.	In Festum Epiphaniae.
VI.	O Jesu mi, Alto solo 4. Instrum.	
VII.	O anima mea, A.T.B. 3. Instr.	In Paßionem Christi.
VIII.	Ad mensam superum, A.T.B. 2. VV.	De Sacra coena.
IX.	O coeli beati, A.T.B. 2. VV.	In Resurrectionem Domini.
X.	Durum Cor. A.T.B. 2. VV.	In Paßionem Christi.
XI.	Valete, A.T.B. 2. VV.	
XII.	Nolite timere, A.T.B. 3. Instr.	De Spiritu sancto.
XIII.	Das neugebohrne Kindelein, A.T.B. 2. VV.	In novum annum
XIV.	O Cor meum, A.T. 3. Instrument.	
XV.	O anima miseranda, Tenore solo, 2. VV.	
XVI.	Anima mea, Basso solo, 2. VV.	

Sailer is otherwise known from a collection of Lutheran motets printed in Basel in 1696,¹¹⁵ fifteen of which are in Latin and only one in German.¹¹⁶ His collection is precisely of the kind favoured by the Saxon prince Johann Georg: this repertoire was produced in Lutheran Germany, but not in Reformed Switzerland. Here it lacked both a market and patrons: as seen above, the Reformed only admitted in church the singing of psalms (and very few 'old' hymns), and there was no private, courtly chapel at which such solo motets could be performed. In fact, this print was only produced in Basel by accident: Sailer's patron, Friedrich Magnus von Baden-Durlach, was in exile there since 1689, fleeing from the French troops ravaging his lands.

Sailer's publication takes Italian music books as its model also in its presentation: partbooks printed in upright quarto format. It can safely be assumed that the choice of the format was the author's own, as Sailer's *Cantiones Sacrae* are the only musical title issued by the press of Johann Konrad von Mechel.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ *Cantiones sacrae* (Basel: Johann Konrad von Mechel, 1696; RISM A/I S 316).

¹¹⁶ A Christmas song; see Table 1.1 and Music example 1.1.

¹¹⁷ According to the RISM.

Adagio

lu-men ve-rum a-do-ra-te, lu-men ve-rum a-do-ra-te ja-cen-

tem in sta-bu-lo, ja-cen-tem, ja-cen-tem in sta-bu-

lo. Non stel-lae mi-can-tes, non

flo-res ver-nan-tes di-le-ctum de-co-rant, non

MUSIC EXAMPLE 1.1 *Leonhard Sailer, excerpt from 'Volate caelites', from Cantiones Sacrae (1696)*

so - lis splen - do - res a - man - tem co - lo - rant nec stel - læ mi - can - tes di - le - ctum de - co - rant,

non so - lis splen - do - res a - man - tem co - lo - rant, nec stel - læ mi - can -

- tes di - le - ctum de - co - rant, de - co - - - - - rant.

Al - - - - - le - lu - ja.

The musical score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of four systems, each with a piano accompaniment (grand staff) and a vocal melody (single staff). The lyrics are in Latin. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. The piano accompaniment features a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a more active bass line in the left hand. The vocal melody is a simple, hymn-like tune.

Al - le - lu - ja. Al - le - lu - ja.

Al - le - lu - ja.

Al - le - lu - ja. Al - le - lu - ja.

Al - le - lu - ja.

Fingerings: 7 #6 4 # 5 6 7 6 7 6 6 6 4 3 5 6 7 6 7 #6 6 6 4 # 5 6 7 6 7 #6 6 4 3 4 3 7 3 6 4 5 4 3

Partbooks in upright quarto or (in the eighteenth century) in folio were the usual format for works of Catholic church music. Reformed sacred music was printed instead in octavo or (later) in oblong quarto. It was not issued in partbooks nor in score, but arranged in ‘choirbook’ format: all parts were separately present on the same page opening. This arrangement was typical for the congregational songbooks in use in church, but it was also taken over by all editions of a ‘private’, devotional character that followed the same compositional model. Even a very late work by the mentioned Bernese cantor of German origin, Johann Martin Spiess, which contains “violin and flute pieces” and “*concertato cantatas*” (1762), is printed in ‘choirbook’ format.¹¹⁸

Going back to Pfaff’s memorandum, it must be noted that the provenance of the music in itself, which was presumably the work of a Catholic composer, was not challenged. Only the Latin and, moreover, sometimes blatantly Catholic words of the text were a matter of concern to the choirmaster. Why did Pfaff not simply propose a parody, that is, a re-texting of the music? There were possibly personal reasons for it: a certain Schwab, organist in Basel, was a member of the *collegium* and a former colleague of Sailer’s at the Durlach court.¹¹⁹ Parody, however, was a common way to circumvent the problem of having to sing embarrassing words. In Protestant Switzerland, a good example is provided by a collection printed in Geneva by Simon Goulart, containing chansons by Orlando di Lasso, which have been morally purged so that they may not offend Calvinist ears.¹²⁰ Parody enabled a “multiple hearing” of a musical composition, offering an alternative understanding from the author’s own.¹²¹ Re-texting art music with the (principal) aim of permitting unhindered

118 Johann Martin Spiess, *Musicalische Bibel-Andachten, Bestehend in auserlesenen Geistlichen Gedichten aus Rowe, Prior, Canitz &c. Zu Ein, Zwey, und Dreyen Stimmen, samt dem General-Bass, mit untermengten Flöten- und Violin-Stücken, und concertirenden Cantaten* (Bern: Privat-Music-Gesellschaft, 1762; RISM A/I S 4105).

119 See Nef, *Die Collegia Musica*, pp. 68–69, 151–152. The issue, however, is unclear: Nef distinguishes a Dietrich Schwab from a Wilhelm Friedrich Schwab, and no trace of any of them is to be found today in the documents concerning the *collegium musicum* in Basel State archives.

120 *Le thresor de musique d'Orlande de Lasso ...*, issued in 1576, 1582, and again in 1594 by Paul Marceau in the nearby village of Cologny; RISM A/I L 893, L 942, and L 1008; LL 1008.

121 See Richard Freedman, *The chansons of Orlando di Lasso and their Protestant listeners: music, piety, and print in sixteenth-century France*, Eastman studies in music, 15 (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000), p. xvii. His main objective is to analyse Lasso’s chansons as musical compositions starting from the hints the new texts give as to the understanding of contemporary listeners, and not primarily to discuss cross-confessional issues.

artistic appreciation was a quite different enterprise from the equally common practice of parodying a popular melody, where other motives prevailed, such as religious or political propaganda.¹²² Many parodies, such as Goulart's, turned secular songs into sacred motets. Others, however, rose out of confessional rather than moral preoccupations. For example, the text of the Marian antiphon "Hail, holy Queen, Mother of Mercy"—in a setting by Giacomo Carissimi—was 'corrected' at the Swedish court to read: "Hail, Christ the King, Father of Mercy".¹²³ Would any of the well-educated courtiers not have guessed what the original text was?

Some members of the Zurich music societies shared the concern of the Basel choirmaster and the Swedish court musicians, and chose precisely the *contrafactum* solution. At the Zurich Central Library, an exemplar of a motet print by the Milanese composer Michelangelo Grancini of 1646, which may have belonged to the music society *auf dem Musiksaal*, is preserved. Thirteen of the twenty-five texts have been changed so that they comply with Protestant theological positions, applying cancellations in all of the partbooks. Praises of Mary are standardly changed into praises of Jesus.¹²⁴

... you gave birth to the Creator of the world, and remained virgin after labour ...

122 For the motives of later *contrafacta* in a Catholic context see Nicole Schwindt-Gross, 'Parodie um 1800', *Die Musikforschung*, 41 (1988), pp. 16–45; for examples from Switzerland, see Luigi Collarile, 'Bellinzona, 1675–1852. Considerazioni sulla circolazione e ricezione di musica italiana nei conventi benedettini della Svizzera interna', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, 30 (2010), pp. 117–161, and Christoph Riedo, 'Das Geistlich Meyenlied: Die *longue durée* eines Liedes jenseits musikalischer Gattungen und konfessioneller Grenzen', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, 32 (2012), pp. 11–38. On the polemic kind of parody, distributed through cheap broadsides rather than expensive music books, see Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda*.

123 "Salve Regina, mater misericordiae" is changed into "Salve, Rex Christe, Pater misericordiae", Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, Vmhs 53:10; transcribed and commented in Lars Berglund, 'Marvels of the Holy City: On the Use of Roman Church Music at Lutheran Courts in the Mid-Seventeenth Century', in Kathryn Banks and Philiep G. Bossier (eds.), *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period*, vol. 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), pp. 159–161.

124 "... tu redemisti me Salvator Mundi & Victor inferni permansisti ..." is pasted above "... tu peperisti Creatorem Mundi & Virgo post partum permansisti ..."; in No. 1, *Salve nobilis virga lesse*, from the Zurich copy (Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 559 & a-d) of Michelangelo Grancini's *Il Sesto Libro de Sacri Concerti à due, tre, e quattro voci* ... (Milan: Giorgio Rolla, 1646; RISM A/I G 3408).

... you redeemed me, Saviour of the world, and were victorious over hell ...

Many years later, the members of the Zurich society *zur deutschen Schule* likewise objected to singing Catholic texts. In 1736, the pastors among its members were asked to spend some time during the summer leave correcting “idolatrous” texts. In 1738 it came to the ears of the members that choirmaster Johann Caspar Bachofen (1695–1755) had made a number of such parodies, and in January 1741 he was paid for providing a version of some “offertories” (motets) by Johann Valentin Rathgeber (1682–1750) with expurgated German texts.¹²⁵ Although his manuscript is lost, a Zurich copy of Rathgeber’s Op. 2 shows several replacements in the texts of two pieces, originally in praise of Mary.¹²⁶ As Lars Berglund has shown, it is the irony of such a word-for-word adaptation that any audience familiar with Catholic imagery would immediately recognise that these words fit Mary far better than Jesus. In other words, those changes were in fact only a cosmetic touch—a sort of musical fig leaf. Precisely their ineffectiveness allows us to suppose that their main aim was to enable an artistic appreciation, while preventing criticism by the zealous officers of the consistory court (the *Ehe-* or *Chorgericht*).¹²⁷

... Mary / the Saviour was made into the key, the ladder, the door of heaven ... advocate of the sinners, refuge of the afflicted, crowned with stars ...

Confessional differences also surface with regard to the use of instruments in church. Even if the Benedictines had diverging opinions about introducing *concertato* music with instrumental accompaniment in daily liturgy, as seen above, the most restrained Catholic instrumental soundscape lies far away from that of Reformed churches, where the sound of an organ supporting the singing of the congregation was a rarity. The first organ to be placed in a church in the canton of Berne since the Reformation was a positive organ installed in

125 Document 1.7.

126 Nos 13 and 14.

127 See Berglund, ‘Marvels of the Holy City’, pp. 171–174. The quotations (original: “... facta est Maria clavis, scala, porta coeli ... peccatorum advocata, miseris refugium atque stellis coronata ...”; parody: “... factus est Salvator clavis, scala, porta coeli ... peccatorum advocatus, miseris refugium atque stellis coronatus ...”) are from Valentin Rathgeber, *Sacra anaphonesis* ... (Augsburg: Lotter, 1726, RISM A/I R 299; RR 299), No. 14, “De B.V. Maria”, manuscript addition from the copy in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 165¹ & a-i. On the ecclesiastical courts in Reformed Switzerland, see von Greyerz, *Religion and Culture*, pp. 31–32.

the town church of Burgdorf in 1703. However, this instrument did not accompany the congregation during a public church service until 25 July 1725.¹²⁸ The reason is that the organ was owned by the local *collegium musicum* and was used during its rehearsals, which took place in the church. Although the organ was perfectly silent during the service, two preachers, Ulrich Bentelin and Andreas Erhard, opposed this innovation and criticised its mere presence. Here is the account given in Johann Rudolf Gruner's chronicle of Berne:¹²⁹

In that year [1704, in fact 1703], on the initiative of schoolmaster Samuel Seelmatter, who being a music lover and organist had founded the Burgdorf *collegium musicum*, an organ was built in the town church. It was not used for congregational singing during public service, but for the *collegium musicum*, which met there once a week and also on Sundays after prayers. This caused great annoyance in many places and to many people, because it is unusual in our churches. Ulrich Benteli, then the deacon, particularly opposed it, and preached in public that Dagon had been put next to the Ark of the Covenant [1. Samuel 5:1–7]. Also Andreas Erhard, who was that year the chapter's preacher, inveighed against it and, commenting Psalm 150, proved against everybody's hopes that instrumental music should be abolished in the New Covenant. However, this organ is standing yet; it has grown quieter since Seelmatter was transferred to Oberburg, as it is used less.

The rehearsals of the Zurich music society *zur deutschen Schule* were hosted from 1680—one year after its foundation—in the *Fraumünster* church. Four years later, the students expressed the wish of performing instrumental music. This was unthinkable in a Zwinglian church, and a new venue had to be found. In looking for a new venue for its rehearsals, the student society started to detach itself from the religious context where it had presumably started its existence.¹³⁰

128 See Gugger, *Die bernischen Orgeln*, pp. 212–218.

129 See Document 1.8. Gruner's diary was published in 1913; Jakob Sterchi, 'Berner Chronik von 1701–1761', in *Blätter für bernische Geschichte, Kunst und Altertumskunde*, 9 (1913), pp. 101–121, 179–193, 229–275.

130 "1684 *Martius* ... Bei wellichen anlaß beigebracht worden, d[ass] es nitt vndienstlich were, wan[n] man die Instrumenttal Music könnte einführen, weilen vns aber solliche zu üben in d[er] Kirchen zum frauwmünster, (alwo wir bÿs dahin di Music geübt) nitt wurde gestattet werden, hatt ein Membru[m] deß Collegii, darzu nitt vndienstlich zu sein erechtett, daß RäfenThal, vnd hatt uns dazu bei gutte Hofnung gemachett, daß vns d[er]



FIGURE 1.5 *The new music hall by the Zurich Fraumünster church, engraving by Johann Melchior Füssli, 1717*

March 1684 ... On this occasion it was told, that it would be of advantage to introduce instrumental music, but because it would not be permitted to rehearse this in the *Fraumünster* church (where we practised until

Zugang zu dem selbigen gar leichtlich werde vergünstigett werden ..."; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 2, p. [111].

now), a member of the society proposed the Räfenthal [a former monastery by the town wall] as a convenient venue, and has given us good hope that we would be fairly easily admitted into it ...

This independence was most developed, among the Zurich *collegia*, in the well-to-do *Musiksaal* society. After meeting in various private houses, in 1716–18 a rehearsal and concert hall was built (between the *Fraumünster* church and the river Limmat), which in turn gave the name to the society. The interior of the newly built hall is depicted with the organ in the background and a sundry group of instruments lying on the floor in an engraving by Johann Melchior Füssli of 1717. On both sides of the organ, permanent wooden music stands are provided.¹³¹ Such a prominent depiction of musical instruments wished to signal how the private music societies offered the main occasion for Zurich citizens to cultivate elaborate music making, and starting with the building of the concert hall for the *Musiksaal* society, also the first dedicated building.¹³² Obviously, the repertoire cultivated by the *Musiksaal* society was not exclusively sacred, but also comprised *concertato* sacred music, and for this particular genre the music societies offered the only possibility for performance and audience in a Reformed town.

1d Case Study: Joseph Dietrich, Monk in Einsiedeln

Father Joseph Dietrich of Rapperswil (baptised as Louis Dietrich) was born on 11 November 1645 to the town clerk and later mayor Peter Dietrich (died 1681).¹³³ He professed in 1662, became priest in 1669, and during his life took over many different charges in the monastery of Einsiedeln. Being a very good organist, he was chosen in 1670 as choirmaster. In 1671, the abbot appointed him as librarian, and in 1674 he was director of the monastery press. In February 1677 he went to Münsterlingen, to instruct the nuns of the

¹³¹ Figure 1.5. This was published as a frontispiece to the 1718 *Neujahrsblatt*; on this series of publications see below, Chapter 3c.

¹³² The outside of the building is depicted in the cover figure. On the instruments possessed and used by the music societies see Friedrich Jakob, *Die Instrumente der Zürcher Musikkollegien und der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich*, *Neujahrsblatt der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich*, No. 157 (Zurich: Hug, 1973); on the venues for 'private' music making in Zurich see Baumann, *Vom Musikraum zum Konzertsaal*.

¹³³ Dietrich's biographical details are taken from Rudolf Henggeler, *Professbuch der fürstl. Benediktinerabtei U. L. Frau zu Einsiedeln* (Einsiedeln: Kloster, 1934) = http://klosterarchiv.ch/e-archiv_professbuch_liste.php (accessed September 2013).

local convent in organ playing. In March and April 1684 he even went to the Frankfurt book fair. In 1690 he was chosen as chapter secretary and archivist of the abbey. In 1694 he was appointed as sub-prior. He died on 5 April 1704. Not only was his ability in playing the organ great, he also knew the rules of composition and wrote “masses, vespers, motets and all kinds of symphonies”. He was also very efficient in administration and worldly affairs. This is shown among other things from his diaries, which he began with the death of abbot Plazidus Reimann (1670) and continued almost to his last.

His twelve volumes of diaries are a precious source of information about all aspects of life at the monastery. The first seven volumes, covering the years from 1670 to 1692, were excerpted by Magnus Helbling between 1905 and 1913. The remaining volumes are fortunately provided with handwritten indexes, which collect Dietrich's marginal glosses.¹³⁴ The diaries are not personal, autobiographical utterances; he was a Benedictine monk and wrote them in his capacity as chapter secretary. For this reason, most entries follow a standard form: they report the weather, any arrivals and departures of monks and foreigners, and any special occurrences of the day. Chapter sessions are routinely summarised. In a time that was literally obsessed with ceremony, everything had to be recorded that departed from everyday practice, in order to be used as evidence for precedent in any future similar occurrence. Individual musical works are hardly ever mentioned, and then only if the composer is a fellow monk. Appreciative qualifications of the music use vague adjectives such as ‘gorgeous’ (*prächtig*) or ‘excellent’ (*trefflich*). Still, Dietrich's annotations can be considered a precious source for exemplifying several issues of interest here: first, the musical forces available to the Benedictine monastery, their recruitment and education; second, the difference between the ordinary liturgy and extraordinary ceremonies; third, the mechanisms of the book trade and some instances of cross-confessional contacts.

Music in Einsiedeln abbey was usually performed by students of the monastery school and by the Benedictine monks themselves. The number of ordinary

134 Magnus Helbling, ‘Reise des P. Joseph Dietrich von Einsiedeln auf den Frankfurter Büchermarkt 16. März bis 24. April 1684’, *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins Schwyz*, 15 (1905), pp. 129–215; ‘Auszug aus dem Tagebuch des Einsiedler Conventuals P. Joseph Dietrich 1670 bis 1680’, *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins Schwyz* 22 (1911), pp. 1–150; ‘Diarium des Einsiedler Conventuals P. Josef Dietrich 1681 bis 1692 unter Fürstabt Augustin Reding’, *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins Schwyz*, 23 (1913), pp. 71–207. The diaries are kept in Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.1–12. They have been digitised and are accessible online (*Klosterarchiv Einsiedeln* website, <http://www.klosterarchiv.ch>, accessed September 2013). The entries mentioned are transcribed in the Appendix, Document 1.9, and are quoted in the following with the date of the diary entry.

students, as a rule, could not exceed eight: two further places were reserved for boy sopranos (*discantistae*), and two others for promising young boys with good chances to become novices.¹³⁵ Dietrich, as organist, had to instruct students and monks in organ playing, while the choirmaster imparted lessons in music theory.¹³⁶ Musical proficiency was considered an asset when asking to enter the monastery. A priest from Lindau, applying as a novice, was praised as “pious, honest, edifying (sic), and with such musical capacities, that he would be of great avail to us”.¹³⁷ Yet, he was not chosen. Four of the six applicants were admitted to the community, among them the boy soprano Heinrich Riser, who took the religious name of father Dominic and later became choirmaster.¹³⁸ The Einsiedeln Benedictines appear to have eagerly practised musical instruments. Their use was encouraged early on by the later abbot Plazidus Reimann. In 1622–8, when he was confessor in the convent of Münsterlingen (in the canton of Thurgau), he bought and sent to his home monastery a great number of different instruments.¹³⁹ By the end of the century, the monks had acquired such a reputation that the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Engelberg, near Lucerne, sent a father Frowin to Einsiedeln to be instructed in organ and violin.¹⁴⁰ Ambros Püntener, organist and composer, travelled to participate as a musician in celebrations outside the monastery. On the occasion of the founding of a new confraternity in the village of Jona, on lake Zurich, the monastery sent a preacher, a trumpeter and bass trombone player, and father Ambros as organist.¹⁴¹ But he was also asked to compose and conduct music for secular occasions, for example for the renewal of the alliance between the Catholic cantons and their associate, today’s canton of Wallis, in Altdorf.¹⁴² Six monks travelled from Einsiedeln to help with the music, not counting Püntener, who came from Bellinzona in the south, where the monastery kept a school. More than fifty musicians were engaged under Püntener’s

135 11/3/1671.

136 28, 30/9/1672.

137 14/10/1672.

138 The four successful applicants were father Petrus (Peter Wilhelm) Kälin from Einsiedeln (1653–95); Hieronymus (Alexander) Ding from Fribourg (1652–1725); Dominikus (Heinrich) Riser from Bremgarten (1657–1711); and Gallus (Franz Ludwig) Göldlin from Tiefenau (1656–1734). For the biographies of all monks see Henggeler, *Professbuch*.

139 Schubiger, *Die Pflege des Kirchengesanges und der Kirchenmusik*, pp. 42–43.

140 6/12/1694.

141 The preacher and trumpeter were Karl Lussi, 1643–1711, and Franz Schnyder von Wartensee, 1640–1707. 15/5/1678.

142 3/11/1696.

guidance. Music was called for not only during the celebration of religious services, but also during the banquet.

Some monks were renowned for their trumpet playing, and were also invited to services outside the monastery,¹⁴³ particularly Ignaz Stadelmann, who played “incomparably” better than two visiting monks from Petershausen.¹⁴⁴ When Stadelmann was appointed choirmaster in 1694, the abbot issued a new set of rules for music making in the abbey church, which stated cautiously that the use of trumpets should be restricted to the major feasts.¹⁴⁵ During the service of the mass, ‘intradas’ for trumpets, timpani and organ were played at the elevation of the host.¹⁴⁶ An undated document in the monastery archive contains a list of the feast days in which trumpet playing was permitted.¹⁴⁷ The first category are the masses personally celebrated by the abbot—the most high-ranking liturgical occasions in the monastery. The second category are masses of important feasts, even if they are not celebrated by the abbot. The third (optional) occasions are ‘extraordinary’ feasts of liturgically lesser rank, whose importance for the monastery is affirmed precisely through the use of polyphonic music:¹⁴⁸ the birthdays and name days of the abbot, St Michael—patron saint of the monastery’s musicians—and St Cecilia.

Occasionally, visiting musicians were recruited on the spot. One recurring occasion when foreign musicians regularly visited the abbey was the feast of the miraculous dedication of the chapel with the Einsiedeln Madonna (*Engelweihe*), celebrated on 15 September. When this came to fall on a Sunday, a *Grosse Engelweihe* took place, which lasted a fortnight long.¹⁴⁹ A Viennese bass singer travelling northwards after having allegedly spent a long time in Rome and at several courts participated in the celebrations for the feast of the Virgin of Einsiedeln.¹⁵⁰ Dietrich amusedly notices his awkward appearance: he

143 20/2/1686, 28/4/1686.

144 1/9/1680.

145 “Tubaru[m] usus ad Solemniora Festa restringatur”; Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.CC.6, chapter minutes, p. 236 (in fact, 235).

146 Examples for this repertoire are preserved from later times, for example, Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek des Klosters, 51,42 (RISM A/II 00000400014184).

147 Document 1.10.

148 See Chapter 1b.

149 See Christoph Riedo, ‘Um die Music mit größerer auferbaulichkeit, und mindrer unordnung und ausschweifungen diese hochfeyerliche zeit hindurch vollführen zu können. Einblicke in die Organisation der Musik in der Benediktinerabtei Einsiedeln in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der Grossen Engelweihe’, in Castellani (ed.), *Musik aus Klöstern des Alpenraums*, pp. 177–216.

150 21/7/1699.

had a glass eye and assumed the most laughable postures in singing. However, he “valiantly” contributed to the music, and gave many pieces of vocal and instrumental music he carried with him to the choirmaster, who had them copied before he left. A member of the Fugger family from Augsburg, making the pilgrimage to Einsiedeln for Corpus Christi 1680, brought two of his trumpeters with him, who played the *Te Deum* the evening before the feast, and (again) “valiantly” during the high mass and procession on the following day.¹⁵¹

Dietrich mentions a few times the performance of sacred music in German. In September 1679, the relics of St Theodor were translated in the village of Feusisberg. A complex ceremony ensued, which extended over several days, and for which the abbot sent preachers, musicians, and vestments. A similar apparatus was prepared for its first anniversary.¹⁵² By a provisional altar that had been erected in the open air, a “nice song of German verses” was sung. This use of the vernacular was unproblematic, because it could be considered devotional. Yet, Dietrich also describes two traditional German hymns being sung by the congregation during the Easter liturgy, *Freue dich o Himmelskönigin* and *Christ ist erstanden*.¹⁵³ This habit had been reintroduced for the past two or three years. The people present liked the novelty, judging from how “valiantly” they sang along. The issue was controversial—these hymns had been proscribed by the Swiss Benedictine congregation back in 1639¹⁵⁴—so that Dietrich’s appreciation is significant. Was he leaning towards Protestantism? It can confidently be assumed that he was not.

The touchstone for Dietrich’s attitude towards toleration is in his account of his travels. As an agent of the monastery press, he attended the book fair in Frankfurt.¹⁵⁵ On 16 March 1684 he departed from the monastery, and returned on 24 April. One afternoon, two young clergymen from Zurich by the name of Hirzel and Füeßli visited him in his bookstall. Later, a layman also joined him, called Mayer. Dietrich offered him a drink and made a toast to the “praiseworthy state of Zurich” (“die Gesundheit des lobl. Standts Züerich”). Afterwards, an old clergyman, whose name is not mentioned, stayed one hour with him, and Dietrich entrusted him with a letter for a fellow monk. Such encounters,

151 19/6/1680.

152 15/9/1680.

153 19/4/1699.

154 See Chapter 1b, and Schubiger, *Die Pflege des Kirchengesanges und der Kirchenmusik*, pp. 42–43.

155 Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.4, *Diarium Einsidlense*, pp. 489–612. Dietrich’s account of his trip to Frankfurt is summarised in Helbling, ‘Reise des P. Joseph Dietrich von Einsiedeln’.

based on mutual respect, give place to bitter resentment when he meets a convert from the monastery of Sankt Gallen, Johannes Heidelberger.¹⁵⁶ Father Maurus—this was his religious name—had converted and taken refuge in Zurich in 1681. His abbot protested and asked the town authorities to send him back, which they promptly refused. The issue was even discussed before the confederate diet in its session of January 1682 in Baden. The Zurich government, not wishing the conflict to escalate, encouraged Heidelberger to emigrate. He settled in Heidelberg, where Dietrich visited him whilst en route to Frankfurt in March 1684. Dietrich brought him the greetings of the Einsiedeln abbot, who wished he would return to Catholicism, and gave him a letter of Aegidius Effinger, an Einsiedeln monk who had already acted as go-between during Heidelberger's stay in Zurich. Heidelberger however was taken aback and confused. While Dietrich's contacts with Protestants in Frankfurt were informed with respect and 'commercial ecumenism', he could not accept a conversion, which was generally perceived as a menace to confessional identity.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁶ 24/3/1684; Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, *Diarium Einsidlense*, A.HB.4, pp. 522–532. The history of his conversion is reconstructed and commented in Bock, *Konversionen*, pp. 351–365.

¹⁵⁷ On 'commercial ecumenism' see François, *Protestants et catholiques en Allemagne*, pp. 80–84; for an overview on the issue of conversions, see Bock, *Konversionen*, pp. 18–25.

Approaching the Other

In the late seventeenth century, various modes of interaction existed between the two separate musical cultures of the Catholic and the Reformed inhabitants of the Old Confederation. One possibility was to seek by contrast the utmost differentiation from the opposed party—the cultural equivalent of social segregation. On the other hand, there could also arise for propaganda reasons a direct competition in specific fields. Finally, (unconfessed) admiration could lead to parallel or similar developments. It may come as no surprise, but it is still worth noting, that no instances of actual imitation could be found. The handling of elements of the ‘other’ confessional music culture, while implying toleration on a subjective level, could be perceived in society either as a positive innovation or as an element of subversion. In the three sections of the present chapter, examples are presented of different areas where cross-confessional contacts through music can be determined or inferred. The examples are not related to each other, rather they present different ways of approaching the other confession. Converts and proselytes had to resolve the tensions of cross-confessionalism within their own lives. Religious solo song in German was a musical genre which, to a certain extent, was common to Catholic and Reformed composers alike. Organ playing and organ building, finally, was an occasion for cross-confessional expertise. The conclusive case study is centred not upon a living person, but upon a musical instrument: the organ in the Berne minster, and the debates in the town council between 1712 and 1726 that led to its building in 1726–30.

Because of the geographical proximity of the confessional groups in Switzerland, it was not always possible to apply the filter of adaptation to the reception of the creative output of another faith.¹ It was a somewhat different matter to be directly exposed to the music of the ‘others’ in its original context, as a listener or a performer. When abbot Pius Reher discussed in a session of the Sankt Gallen monastery the opportunity of introducing instrumental music to the daily liturgy in 1645, one of his negative arguments was the sarcasm of the citizens (the town of Sankt Gallen being Reformed) which might fall on

1 Perhaps for this reason, adaptations of Catholic sacred music, mostly implying re-texting, are found somewhat more seldom in Switzerland than in other lands. See, for example, Oettinger, *Music as Propaganda* and Berglund, ‘Marvels of the Holy City’, pp. 159–161. For examples from Switzerland see above, Chapter 1c.

the monks in the monastery and trouble the faithful. The abbot apparently failed to realise the appeal, and therefore the potential for propaganda, which a lavish musical practice was likely to have for the Reformed public.²

Third question.

Is instrumental music [suitable] for our congregation?

It appears that it is not.

1. Our people are simple, and do not care for such things; if novelties were introduced, their devotion would be rather hindered than encouraged.
2. Perhaps they would be scandalised, and would be reminded of dance [music].
3. Perhaps also the heretics would deride us, and molest the faithful.

The display of pomp in Catholic religious ceremonies was in fact fascinating for the Reformed public. Respectable Reformed people saw nothing inappropriate in marvelling at the festival apparatus of their Catholic neighbours. For example, in 1719 many rode from the canton of Thurgau (a biconfessional Mandated Territory) to the German city of Constance to attend the Good Friday procession. A miller from the Zurich countryside, Jakob Rathgeb, had been questioned about his trip to Constance, and he defended himself remarking that he was certainly not the only Reformed spectator.³ Also in Berne, until the organs were reintroduced in the 1720s, citizens used to travel to neighbouring cantons on Catholic feasts in order to hear the sound of church organs.⁴

Contacts in musical matters over the confessional border could be perceived sometimes as positive, sometimes as having an element of subversion. The first of the two following examples shows how Catholic music was welcomed among Reformed musicians even when cross-confessional speechlessness had reached its highest peak. The second example shows how cross-confessional contact, in this case common music making, prompted a rebuke from the Reformed authorities as late as the 1730s. Switzerland's last internal war in the confessional age, opposing Zurich (and the Protestants) to Lucerne (and the Catholics), was fought in the summer of 1712. The war was kindled by a quarrel over the region of the Toggenburg, which though confessionally mixed was ruled by the abbot of Sankt Gallen, and the decisive battle was fought at Villmergen, in the equally biconfessional area with shared rulership

² Document 1.4.

³ Documents 2.1 and 2.2.

⁴ "... viel leüt vß den Unserigen An Pöbstischen fästagen, vß begierd eine Orgel zu hören, sich einfinden"; Document 2.27, Part 2, Section IV.

covering parts of today's canton of Aargau. The Zurich music society *zur deutschen Schule* was particularly impaired in its activities during the war, because most of its members were young students. Twelve out of some twenty members took up arms.⁵ Between April and September the rehearsals had to be suspended. After the peace was signed in August 1712, four dismissed soldiers brought back with them a particular kind of war booty—printed music books.⁶ Waging war against the Catholics did not prevent the young Zurich students from appreciating the artistry of Catholic composers, and while plundering their churches they were attracted by the bookshelf on the organ loft. This is a most unusual way of acquiring music books, yet these young Reformed certainly judged their action in a positive way: enlarging their repertoire at the expense of the enemy.

Cross-confessional contacts through musicianship were viewed as dangerously subversive by the Zurich consistory in an episode which occurred in 1736–7. Amateur musicians from Zurich and Winterthur music societies participated in Catholic church services in Baden, a confessionally mixed town, and in the nearby Cistercian monastery of Wettingen. This may suggest that the community of (amateur) musicians functioned at times like the Republic of Letters: during the realisation of a common project—in this case, the performance of sacred music—, confessional issues could be temporarily set aside. Upon hearing of the performances in Baden, the chapter of the town of Regensburg decided to send a note of protest (*gravamen*) to the Reformed synod of the canton of Zurich, who discussed the issue in three of its sessions.⁷ The first time, in October 1736, the synod issued a general injunction (*Insinuation*) to all music societies to prevent such annoyance (*Ärgernüß*).⁸ In November and December 1737, three Winterthur musicians relapsed. This time a letter of enquiry was sent to pastor Wirz, the Reformed pastor of Baden, and later a second one to the pastor of Winterthur. The extensive reply of pastor Wirz is preserved in the Zurich State archives.⁹ In it, the names of the three young men are given: Jacob Hegner, a certain Steiner “zum Drachen”, and his brother, Johann Ulrich. While Hegner showed repentance, the two Steiner brothers were not impressed by the pastor's admonishments, and if they were

5 In 1705 they were precisely twenty-two. Their names are found in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 3, p. 292.

6 Table 2.1 and Document 2.3. Similarly, also the organ of Sankt Gallen monastery was at first meant to be part of the Berne war booty; see below, Chapter 2d.

7 Document 2.4.

8 Document 2.5.

9 Document 2.6.

TABLE 2.1 *The war booty of 1712*

Printed books

1. Konstantin Steingaden, *Hortus Musicus* op. 5, in 4 partbooks = not in RISM A/I
2. Caspar Lang, *Musae sacrae seu Sacrae cantiones ...* op. 1 (Constance: Johann Geng, 1660) = RISM A/I L 544
3. Valentin Molitor, *Epinicion Marianum, pro solemnioribus festivitatis ...* (Sankt Gallen: monastery press, 1683) = RISM A/I M 2963
4. Martini, *Sumptio musicalis*, 5 partbooks = not in RISM A/I
5. Maurizio Cazzati, *Messe brevi a otto voci con una concertata ...* op. 28 (Bologna: Antonio Pissarri, 1662) = RISM A/I C 1621 or later prints (1680 = RISM A/I C 1621a, or 1685/6 = RISM A/I C 1622; CC 1622)
6. Jakob Banwart, *Pars secunda missarum ...* op. 5 (Constance: Johann Geng, 1657) = RISM A/I B 854
7. Electus Dürig, *Hymni ariosi ...* (Constance: Leonhard Parcus, 1707) = RISM A/I D 3648
8. Giovanni Antonio Grossi, *Celeste Tesoro ...* op. 5 (Milan: Giovanni Francesco & fratelli Camagni, 1664) = RISM A/I G 4742
9. Benedictus Rüeg, *Corona Mariana stellarum duodecim ...* op. 2 (Wettingen: monastery press, 1703) = RISM A/I R 3043

Manuscripts and sundry

- Manuscript *tricinia* in four partbooks
 - Partbooks of instrumental music
 - Slightly defective manuscripts of vocal and instrumental music
 - Various defective, unusable partbooks
-

prevented from playing in Baden, they would certainly play for St Bernard's day in Wettingen—an 'extraordinary ceremony' for which the monks would certainly hire supplementary musicians. Wirz, discouraged, concluded that the only way to prevent Johann Ulrich Steiner from playing in the Catholic service would be to break his violin in pieces. The unrepentant fiddler was, by the way, a member of the Winterthur music society.¹⁰ It is worth noticing that the

¹⁰ He is mentioned in the minutes of the society's meetings in 1734; Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 1, *Protokoll Einer Loblichen Music Gesellschaft, 1684–1791*, p. [15].

request to stop the cross-confessional practice of music was approved by the Catholic acquaintances of pastor Wirz. The warning was presumably issued to prevent possible occasions for strife that could easily escalate. Confessional segregation was officially endorsed to maintain peace. Common music making was seen as a dangerous breach in the general cross-confessional speechlessness. A similar kind of preventive measure, by which Reformed governments admonished their own citizens at the request of foreign Catholic authorities, will be encountered again in the domain of censorship.¹¹

2a Converts and Proselytes

Cases of conversion are rewarding objects when studying the relationships between the confessions. If people decided to leave a religious community, they disintegrated most of their social bonds. It had far-reaching consequences for themselves, their families, and their surroundings: conversion can be understood as a 'social drama'.¹² It was no light-hearted decision, and proselytes, deprived of their original social network, depended for their inclusion in the new community on the goodwill of its members. How was the converts' musical education involved in their personal decision-making? Converts were happy to spend any personal gift or talent they happened to possess to gain a new position in society. The musical proficiency of the Catholic clergy was attractive for the Reformed public, and in the following some cases are outlined of former Catholic ecclesiastics who were active as musicians after their conversion. The examples are taken from Zurich, where good documentation is preserved on the musician converts,¹³ from the archives both of the music societies and of the government officers admitting the converts into town.¹⁴ The 'proselyte chamber' would usually finance the freshly arrived converts until they were able to earn their living, but the government understandably wished to keep up this allowance for as short a time as possible. To declare an ability to make or teach music promised financial independence, and this

11 Chapter 3c.

12 For this interpretation of a case of conversion, see Volkland, *Konfession und Selbstverständnis*, pp. 139–188; on the social and political conditions for conversions in Switzerland see Bock, *Konversionen*.

13 Documents 2.7–2.12.

14 An important source for the history of converts in Zurich is a manuscript miscellany collected by Johann Heinrich Fries containing various documents and transcribed reports of conversions both to and from the Reformed confession. The second part, in particular, portrays the Catholics and Jews who converted between 1678 and 1719; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. B 190.

could raise the converts' chances of receiving permission to settle in town. The Zurich music societies, knowing the financial difficulties of the proselytes and eager to secure their services as musicians, regularly exempted them from their membership fees. While in the case of organ building a dispute was observed between those wishing to preserve a maximum of contrast to Catholic music and those wishing to take over some elements from it, here the opposition was located at a different, personal level. The Zurich music societies profited from the know-how of musicians educated in Catholic ecclesiastical institutions, while preserving their confessional integrity. The conflict was carried out in the converts' own life.

Andreas Schwilge from Thann, in Alsace, studied in Würzburg, was a Franciscan novice in Lucerne, graduated in theology in Vienna, and travelled to Rome and Milan. In 1639 he arrived in Zurich and joined the Reformed church. Some time later he was teaching at the German school. In 1640 he married Anna Lorch, and with her had seven children. In 1652 he became pastor at the *Spanweid* hospital in Zurich, but he soon resigned and went to Ulm, where he converted once more to the Lutheran church. He is the most successful in the present list of converts, having reached the post of cantor at the Grossmünster in 1646. Only few of his compositions are preserved, among them a series of four-part settings in a collection of hymns and moral poems by Johann Wilhelm Simler.¹⁵

Andreas Benz was born near Nuremberg and became the priest of Lauterbach, a village in today's Baden-Württemberg. Around 1674 he converted and came to Zurich, where he entered the music society *auf dem Musiksaal* (the most high-brow of the town's musical associations). For the use of his colleagues, he composed a series of five-part instrumental suites in ten movements, and for this reason called them *decades*.¹⁶ He had a wife and child, and lived honestly giving lessons in mathematics and music. His fellow associates—who had offered him free admission in 1674—composed a four-line Latin epigram on his death in 1693.

The Solothurn citizen Franz Reinhart (born in 1672) entered the monastery of Sankt Urban as a novice in 1687, and became a lay brother the following

15 *Teutsche Gedichte* (Zurich: Johann Jakob Bodmer, 1648); RISM DKL 1648²⁹.

16 See Christoph Riedo, 'Privates Musizieren in zwinglianischem Milieu im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert', in Christian Philipsen and Ute Omonsky (eds.), *Hausmusik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte, vol. 81 (Augsburg: Wissner, 2016), p. 124. The manuscript partbooks (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 5016 & a-e) belonged to the society member Salomon Ott, see Chapter 4d. A selection of nine movements was published in 1941: Peter Otto Schneider (ed.), Johann Andrea Bantz, *Suite für 5 Streichinstrumente und Generalbass* (Zurich: Hug, 1941).

year. In 1696, he left the monastery to pursue his studies in Fribourg, but on the way there he stopped in Berne and adopted the Reformed religion. In the monastery archive, no record is found of him after the moment of his conversion, which was undoubtedly felt as a failure—his name was even listed among the deceased in the commemoration book.¹⁷ Proselytes often went a long way before settling down: around 1709 he joined the *collegium musicum* in Burgdorf,¹⁸ and in 1714 he arrived in Zurich. The music society *zur deutschen Schule* took him on as a member in 1714, and exempted him—as usual—from the monthly membership fee. On New Year's Day 1715, he was also given two guilders from the society's reserves, and an additional six guilders and twenty-two shillings from voluntary contributions “out of love for him” (“auß liebe gegen demselben”).¹⁹

The aforementioned proselyte Jean Antoine de Torrenté belonged to a patrician family of Sion, in Wallis. According to his own account, he had been obliged to become a priest during his studies in Vienna, having taken a vow to this effect if the Virgin Mary would cure him from a grave illness. The episode of the ‘involuntary priest’ is a common feature in the autobiographical narratives of converted clergy, and its aim is to increase the credibility of the conversion.²⁰ He arrived in Zurich in February 1700, and already in March he was admitted as a member of the music society *zur deutschen Schule* on the customary favourable conditions. A student in theology, Moritz Zeller, who was admitted on the same occasion for the second time (after an interruption), lent him twenty guilders' worth of instruments and music books.²¹ When de Torrenté suddenly left Zurich for an unknown destination on 11 February 1702, these were still found in his home. A certain Barbara Henger, who had a credit of seventeen guilders, was less lucky. She was quite disappointed, and stated that he had gained her confidence by giving music lessons to her children. Johann Heinrich Fries, at the end of his account of Torrenté, suspects that after leaving Zurich he soon returned to the Catholic church. Such double conversions, while not uncommon, were harshly rebuked: a (non-ecclesiastical) relapsed proselyte,

17 Dieter Ruckstuhl, *Der Zisterzienserkonvent St. Urban im 17. Jahrhundert: prosopographisch-demographische Untersuchung zu Nachwuchs, Sterblichkeit, Wachstum*, MA thesis (University of Berne, 1995), p. 89.

18 In a members' list of the local music society, the entry for Reinhard can be dated after 1709: “Reinhard, *Musicus Exercitissimus & Collegio gratissimus* [in other hand:] *Proselyta, Solodurensis*”; Burgdorf, Archiv des Rittersaalvereins, x 312, *Gesatz Buch*, p. 40.

19 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, pp. 97 (28 June 1714) and 102 (December 1714).

20 Bock, *Konversionen*, pp. 321–331. On Torrenté see Chapter 1b.

21 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 3, pp. 167 (March 1700) and 185–186 (February 1702).

Paul Villiger, who had often participated at the gatherings of the society *zur deutschen Schule*, is compared by the society's secretary to the biblical dog that returns to its vomit.²²

Of one late case hardly any information remains. A certain Albertini, asking in 1769 to be admitted to the music society *zur Chorherrenstube*, alleged that he came from the monastery of Sankt Gallen. He was asked to demonstrate his ability on the violin, on the keyboard, and as a bass singer, and having brilliantly passed the examination he was provisionally admitted as a member and given a loan of five guilders.²³ Unfortunately, no further record could be found in the music society's minutes, and no documents relating to him could be traced in the monastery's archive either, but considering the example of Franz Reinhart, this is hardly surprising.

De Torrenté did not succeed in adapting to the social rules of his new confessional environment, refusing its strict dress code and departing in secret after getting in trouble for debts. Perhaps he encountered such difficulties because he was an aristocrat, and was only obliged by circumstances to become a musician by profession. The other converts were already professional musicians when they belonged to the Catholic clergy. None of them had difficulties in establishing themselves in the canton of Zurich. While their expertise as musicians was appreciated, none of the surviving compositions show any traits that might recall their former confessional affiliation. Schwilge's devotional four-part songs in German and Benz' instrumental suites certainly conformed to the expectations of their public. The composers were probably eager not to show any traces of Catholicism in their music, just as they successfully sought to conform with Reformed habits in their conduct. But what would have happened if a gifted Catholic composer from Italy had come to Zurich and converted there? No musicians are found among the Italian exiles that asked for support from the Zurich proselyte chamber. How the music composed after their conversion would have looked is a matter for speculation only.

22 Proverbs 26:11. "*Paulus Villiger ein Proselit, potiùs Präselit, ware umb dise Zeit öffters beÿ uns, hat hernach wider umbgsattlet, ut canis ad vomitum*. Ist dißmalen Zu Sins oder Seyß in Freÿen Ämbteren"; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 88 (31 August 1713).

23 "... den 4. Augstmonat [1769] kame zu uns ein *proselyt* Herr *Albertini*, der auß dem Closter St. Gallen hieher kame, u. nachdem wir ihn auf dem *Violin*, Clavier u. *Vocal*-Baß als einen großen *Musicum* befunden der uns große dienste leisten kön[n]te, so wurde er vorläuffig ersucht zu uns geflißen zukom[m]en, u. ihm auß der Büchß 5 fl. vorgestreckt, weil er es damahls am nöthigsten hätte"; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 7, p. [60].

2b Religious Solo Song in German

Because of the segregation strategy that prevailed in Swiss society, a common policy was to differentiate as much as possible the customs of the two confessional groups, and thus also their artistic products. The segregation policy at the same time aimed at a balance, not letting either of the factions predominate. This kind of competition without winners required some common ground for comparison. Is there not a slight contradiction between the two strategies of strictly separating and constantly comparing each other's life and manners? As seen above, the confessional character of a musical work is not intrinsically connected with the composition itself, it is rather attached, in an arbitrary manner and more or less firmly, to single features of the musical culture. Thus, the confessional character of any aspect of music leaves open a margin for debate, and may vary in time and space. The variability of the confessional connotations allows us to adjust the distance between the two poles of differentiation and competition. One example for such changing attitudes has been seen before: the congregational singing of the hymn *Christ ist erstanden* on Easter day was prohibited by the *Directorium* of the Swiss Benedictine province in 1639, to be later reintroduced in Einsiedeln around 1695.²⁴ Another example is the changing attitude towards organ playing in church in the Reformed cantons.²⁵ These customary rules concerning confessional 'labeling' were observed rather strictly during liturgy, while they did not apply in private circles or in a devotional context. In the following, two further examples are brought for the changing confessional value of single features of music, both concerning religious solo song in German, first in a Reformed setting and then in a Catholic context.

Religious song in Reformed churches was limited to congregational hymns and psalm singing. The music societies, however, did not limit their repertoire to liturgical works. The development of the societies' repertoire from the late seventeenth to the mid eighteenth century can be observed by comparing the ten editions of an anthology of sacred music that was originally compiled by pastor Christian Huber, the *Geistliche Seelen-Music*.²⁶ As headmaster of the local school, Huber stated in the preface that his aim was to provide those children who wished to have supplementary instruction in singing with an inexpensive music book. In the end, the better musical education of the

²⁴ Chapter 1b.

²⁵ Chapters 2c and 2d.

²⁶ Sankt Gallen: Jacob Hochreutiner, printed by Jakob Redinger, 1682; RISM DKL 1682⁹; see Table 2.2 for the chronology of its numerous editions.

children would be profitable to the town's *collegium musicum*, where they could be later admitted as members.²⁷ In keeping with the pedagogical scope of the anthology, the book contains as an appendix an elementary tutor in music,²⁸ and a guide as to which psalms and hymns are to be sung in church during the liturgical year.²⁹

The *Geistliche Seelen-Music* was of paramount importance for the musical education of the Reformed part of German Switzerland. Conrad Janett (1674–ca. 1731), a well-off landlord living in Fideris, a village near Klosters in

TABLE 2.2 *Editions and sources for the Geistliche Seelen-Music*

Year	Title
1682	<i>Geistliche Seelen-Music, Das ist, Geist- und Trostreiche Gesäng, in allerley Anligen zu Trost und Erquickung Gottliebender Seelen ...</i> (Sankt Gallen: Redinger) [1st impression]; RISM DKL 1682 ⁹
1694	(Sankt Gallen: Jakob Hochreutiner / David Hochreutiner) [2nd impression]; RISM DKL 1694 ⁹
1700	(Sankt Gallen: Jakob Hochreutiner, heirs) 3rd impression; RISM DKL 1700 ¹⁵
1704–5	(Sankt Gallen: Laurenz Hochreutiner) 4th impression; RISM DKL 1704 ¹⁰ and 1705 ¹³
1711–13	5th impression; RISM DKL 1711 ¹² , 1712 ¹² , and 1713 ¹²
1719	6th impression; RISM DKL 1719 ¹⁶
1727	7th impression; RISM DKL 1727 ¹⁰
1737	8th impression; RISM DKL 1737 ¹⁹
1744	<i>Neu-vermehrte Geistliche Seelen-Musick ...</i> (Sankt Gallen: Kaspar Zollikofer) 8th [9th] impression; RISM DKL 1744 ⁷ and 1744 ¹¹
1753	9th [10th] impression; RISM DKL 1753 ¹³

²⁷ Document 2.13.

²⁸ *Kurtzer Bericht Von der Music- oder Sing-Kunst, Für die Christliche Gemeind vnd Schul der Statt S. Gallen*, with a separate title page.

²⁹ *Sing-Ordnung Der Kirchen der Statt S. Gallen. Das ist: Verzeichnuß aller Psalmen, Fest- vnd Kirchen-Gesängen, welche durchs ganze Jahr daselbstsen gesungen werden*, without a title page. See also Chapter 1b.

Source	Impressions
anonymous works	1682 ¹ –1753 ¹⁰
Sigmund Theophil Staden, <i>Seelen-Music Erster Theil Geist- und Trostreicher Lieder ...</i> (Nürnberg: Endter / Sartorius, 1644; RISM A/I S 4269) and <i>Seelen-Music Ander Theil, B List- und Trostreicher Lieder ...</i> (Nürnberg: Sartorius, 1648; not in RISM)	1682 ¹ –1753 ¹⁰
Johann Wilhelm Simler, <i>Teutsche Gedichte ...</i> (Zurich: Johann Jakob Bodmer, 1648; RISM A/I S 3453)	1682 ¹ –1753 ¹⁰
<i>Königliche Harff Dess Himmlischen Sängers Fürsten Davids</i> (Schaffhausen: Johann Kaspar Suter, 1663 or Schaffhausen: Alexander Rieding / Onophrion von Waldkirch, 1675; RISM DKL 1663 ³ and 1675 ⁵)	1682 ¹ –1753 ¹⁰
“Wolfgang Carl Briegels Liederlust” (unknown title)	1682 ¹ –1753 ¹⁰
<i>Sacra Cithara, das ist: achtzig schöne geistliche Gesäng, mit 4. und 5. Stimmen, vor die Jugend zusammen getragen ... Sampt einem Compendio artis Musices</i> (Nuremberg: A. Wagenmann: 1625; RISM B/I 1625 ⁶)	1682 ¹ –1753 ¹⁰
Daniel Friderici, <i>Deliciae juveniles ...</i> (Rostock: Hallervord / Richel, heirs: 1630; RISM A/I F 1955)	1682 ¹ –1694 ²
“Caspar Movii Cithara Davidica” (unknown title)	1682 ¹ –1694 ²
Christoph Weberbeck (original compositions)	1694 ² –1753 ¹⁰
Christoph Staehelin (original compositions)	1694 ² –1753 ¹⁰
Johann Jacob Pfaff (original compositions)	1705 ⁴ –1753 ¹⁰
Johann Heinrich Kyburtz (original compositions)	1711 ⁵ –1753 ¹⁰
Kaspar Zollikofer (original compositions)	1744 ⁹ –1753 ¹⁰

the Grisons, possessed six books of music: four collections of psalms and two different editions of the *Geistliche Seelen-Music*.³⁰ Jean-Antoine de Torrenté taught music to Zurich boys and girls in 1700–1 using “the psalms of David and Hochreutiner’s *Seelen-Music*”.³¹ Jakob Rathgeb asked the Zurich administration

30 “1 Neüe Seelen Musica” and “1 alte Seelen Musica”; see Christian Gillardon, ‘Das Inventar des Podestaten Conrad Janett von Fideris (1674–ca. 1731)’, *Bündnerisches Monatsblatt* (1951), p. 183.

31 “... in der Musik ... knaben und töchtern zuunterweisen: brauchte dazu die Psalmen davids und des Hohenreuteners Seelen-Musik”; Document 2.12.

in 1724 for permission to settle in town, promising to earn his living by teaching people from fifteen to forty years of age to sing and play the continuo to “the psalms, the *Seelen-Music* and other well-known pieces” in just twelve to sixteen weeks.³²

Starting with the second edition of 1694, the book underwent a striking metamorphosis from a schoolbook for the city of Sankt Gallen to a music book destined for a large public of (amateur) musicians. The appendixes were first omitted in 1694. While the preface to the second edition still mentioned school-children—besides adults—as its target public, the phrase “for the congregation and schools of the town of Sankt Gallen” (“für die Christliche Gemein und Schul der Statt St. Gallen”) was omitted from the title page of the third edition, and of the following ones. The fifth edition of 1712 explicitly described the book as being conceived for the use of the local music society, as the publisher, Laurenz Hochreutiner, submitted some new compositions to the judgement of its members in order to decide whether to include them in a subsequent edition (which was apparently not the case).³³

The shift in the scope of the *Geistliche Seelen-Music* from a pedagogical work to an anthology of music for (private) performance is also apparent in its contents. In the first edition, excepting three anonymous works, all the pieces are taken from printed music books.³⁴ In the second edition, one third of the approximately one hundred and sixty compositions are omitted, and about one hundred new pieces are inserted; further works are added in the later editions. The authors of the additions are—if mentioned at all—local composers: Christoph Weberbeck, organist in Lindau (on the German side of lake Constance); Christoph Staehelin, the editor of the second edition; Johann Jacob Pfaff, director of the Basel *collegium musicum*; Johann Heinrich Kyburz, director and co-founder of the Aarau *collegium musicum*;³⁵ and finally Kaspar Zollikofer, pastor in Sankt Gallen. The most telling change, however, is the variety of musical genres the later editions offer. While the first edition contained only three- and four-part hymn-like settings, the second edition includes added instrumental parts to the extant pieces, seventeen solo songs in

32 “... die Psallmen, sambt der seltenmußik und andere bekante sach[en]”; Document 4.13.

33 Documents 2.13 and 2.14.

34 See Table 2.2 and Theodor Goldschmid, *Schweizerische Gesangbücher früherer Zeiten und ihre Verwertung für den heutigen Chor- und Sologesang: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der geistlichen Musik in der Schweiz* (Zurich: Verlag des Schweizerischen Kirchengesangsbundes, 1917), pp. 8–15. Two composers are left out altogether in the third edition: Daniel Friderici and Caspar Movius.

35 See Riedo, ‘Privates Musizieren’.

German or in Latin, and forty canons. The new music was added wherever the “empty spaces” permitted, as the publisher Jakob Hochreutiner explains in the preface: by resetting single pages and leaving out vignettes.³⁶ Another musical genre briefly surfaces in the fourth edition only, where eight instrumental *bicinia* make their one-time appearance. The evolution of the contents of the *Geistliche Seelen-Music* reveals an interest, on the side of the Protestants, in performing different musical genres in the private setting of the music societies. In later collections of Reformed devotional music, such as Johann Caspar Bachofen's *Musicalisches Hallelujah*,³⁷ which was reprinted six times until 1803, and Johann Thommen's *Erbaulicher musicalischer Christen-Schatz*,³⁸ solo songs have an important place. By the time of Zollikofer's edition of the *Seelen-Music* (1744), Staehelin's four-bar inserts had developed into regular strophic solo songs. Still, even the fill-ups from 1694 are, in our opinion, not modelled upon hymn melodies, but upon airs in the modern *concertato* style. It has to be reminded that solo religious repertoire was proscribed from Reformed churches, while it was permitted in Lutheran countries—not to mention the Catholic world with its elaborate solo motets.³⁹

The second example presents in many ways an opposite situation to the Sankt Gallen *Seelen-Music*. While it too concerns German religious solo song, it comes from a Catholic composer and from the near end of the time-scale of this book: Johann Evangelista Schreiber's *Neue und Annehmliche Arien Für Geistliche Kirchen-Gesänger* from 1761.⁴⁰ Catholic prayer and song in German is a typical *longue-durée* phenomenon. In fifteenth-century Switzerland, there were no clear-cut borders between liturgical, paraliturgical and private prayer: nuns used to privately recite German prayers during Latin high mass.⁴¹ In 1635, to hear or see the celebrant was still not considered essential by the French Jean Huchon, who recommended that the worshippers recite prayers privately during mass; only in the later seventeenth century the Catholic mass became a ‘collective’ event (an evolution apparent, for example,

36 Document 2.15. For two added pieces from the fourth edition see Music example 2.1.

37 Zurich: Johann Heinrich Bürkli, 1727; RISM DKL 1727¹.

38 Basel: Daniel Eckenstein, 1745; RISM DKL 1745¹⁴.

39 See Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*, pp. 101–113; and see in Chapter 1b the discussion of Leonhard Sailer's *Cantiones sacrae* (Basel: Johann Konrad von Mechel, 1696; RISM A/I S 316).

40 Fribourg: Hautt; RISM A/I S 2117.

41 See, for example, Ruth Wiederkehr, *Das Hermetschwiler Gebetbuch. Studien zur deutschsprachigen Gebetbuchliteratur der Nord- und Zentralschweiz im Spätmittelalter* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), pp. 157–172.

Sag— was hilft al— le— Welt mit ihr— em Gut und Geld,

Ver— schwindt es nicht ge—schwind, gleich wie— der Rauch im Wind.

Trompet, Marin. I

Trompet, Marin. II

MUSIC EXAMPLE 2.1 *Two examples of the added pieces from the fourth edition of the Geistliche Seelen-Music*

in the demolition of the last choir screens).⁴² In sum, for the Catholic worshipper there was always the possibility to add a second layer, a private dimension to the service in church. Certainly, the necessity for confessional differentiation stressed the dichotomy between German and Latin and discouraged similar practices, which however never disappeared completely. The organist of the Solothurn church of St Urs was advised in 1604 “to encourage popular devotion” by using hymnal melodies, among which was *Christ ist erstanden* at Easter.⁴³ In 1623, the traditional German songs performed by the schoolchildren on the choir screen at matins during Holy Week were replaced by a *Misere-re*.⁴⁴ Religious songs in German were abolished in the reformed *Directorium*

42 Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (eds.), *Histoire de la vie privée* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1985–7), vol. 3, p. 74.

43 “Organista diligenter organi curam gerat atque etiam summis festivitibus ad populi devotionem excitandam communes cantiones, videlicet Resonet in laudibus, Puer natus, Christ ist erstanden, O salutaris hostia, Ecce panis angelorum etc. decantet”; minutes of the chapter of St Urs collegiate church, 23 June 1604, quoted after Friedrich Fiala, *Geschichtliches über die Schule von Solothurn* (Solothurn: J. Gassmann, 1875–81), vol. 2, p. 19, n. 3.

44 “In der dryen Mettin der heiligen Wuchen sollen die tütschen Gsang, so von den Schulern und Schulmeister uff dem Lettner gesungen werden, fürderhin abgestellt sin und anstatt

of the Swiss Benedictine Congregation in 1639, that represented the belated integration of Tridentine reform, but were readmitted in Einsiedeln around 1695 during the Christmas and Easter liturgies, recovering the older tradition, and much to the satisfaction of the gathered congregation.⁴⁵ In contrast, the pupils of the Jesuit college in Solothurn never interrupted the performances of German songs both at vespers (for the feast of St Francis Xavier and during the following week) and for weekday mass services (between the end of December and the feast of the purification of the Virgin on 2 February).⁴⁶ This is hardly surprising: it is well known that the Jesuits generally pursued an active counter-reformation policy, easily accepting such concessions to the popular taste. In Bavaria, congregational songs in the vernacular, part of a pre-Reformation 'pararitual' repertory, were sung before the sermon, for example *Der Tag ist so freudenreich* for Christmas, *Christ ist erstanden* for Easter, and *Komm Heiliger Geist* for Pentecost. This small and consistent repertory was actively promoted until the mid seventeenth century, especially in the Upper Palatinate region, which the Jesuits aimed to recatholicise.⁴⁷

These are some of the rare examples of German works performed during the liturgy in Swiss sources from the seventeenth century. In a devotional context, instead, the use of the German language by Catholic musicians was unproblematic. For example, German *Verslein* were sung before a procession in Einsiedeln in 1680.⁴⁸ Many German titles are included among the manuscript sources for motets with instrumental accompaniment in the 1696 inventory of the collegiate church of Beromünster.⁴⁹ There are twenty seven Latin works for Christmas, and four in German; eighteen Latin titles for Passiontide, and eight in German; twenty five funeral motets in Latin, and four in German.⁵⁰ Were

dessen ein Miserere gsungen werden"; minutes of the chapter of St Urs collegiate church, 28 March 1623, quoted after Fiala, *Geschichtliches über die Schule von Solothurn*, vol. 2, p. 19, n. 2.

45 See above, Chapter 1d.

46 "Festo S. Xaverii ... Vesperae 2. hora. Cantata Germanica. Cantio germanica de S. Xaverio, voce sola ad Regale, continuata per Octavam"; "Sub discipulorum sacro quotidiano cantatae germanicae cantationes Natalitiae ab hoc tempore usque ad Purificationem, plerumque sine Organo; voce solum incipiente uno e Humanistis in ipsis scamnis"; *Ephemerides*, 3 and 31 December 1652, quoted after Fiala, *Geschichtliches über die Schule von Solothurn*, vol. 2, p. 37, n. 2.

47 Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, pp. 38–41.

48 Document 1.9, 15/9/1680.

49 See *HMI*, vol. 5, call numbers 017.04, 018.02, and 047.04.

50 The German titles in the three categories are *Ihr himmlische Geister, Himmels getreuer Freund, O Jesulein zart*, and *Kommt all herein; O Sünder komm, Höret so die Strassen, Weil*

these intended for use during the liturgy? Their placement among the music manuscripts (on the organ loft) and their scoring (for solo voice and two to five instruments) at least suggests performance by professional musicians, even if the context was devotional—just as in the Einsiedeln procession.

Finally, Catholic collections of religious songs in German for the devotional use of a larger public, and requiring only elementary musical knowledge, were not at all uncommon. Devotional strophic songs on newly composed German religious poems for a single voice had emerged as a new genre in South German sources in the mid 1630s, for example in the collections by Johannes Khuen, which were apt for devotional use in monasteries, confraternities and congregations.⁵¹ Alexander Fisher considers them “a possible Catholic parallel ... to the reading, prayer, and psalmody of Protestant conventicles”.⁵² Various titles were published for example by Laurenz von Schnüffis in the 1660s to 1690s in the Constance area,⁵³ and shortly afterwards by Mauritius von Menzingen in the Swiss town of Zug.⁵⁴ Both Schnüffis and Menzingen were members of the Capuchin order, traditionally as attentive to popular devotion as the Jesuits. Five collections by Schnüffis and the *Philomela mariana* were present in the library of the Benedictine abbey of Muri. Father Leodegar Meyer (1687–1761), compiling its catalogue in 1742, reported:⁵⁵

Ordo VII, I Miscellanea

...

- 35. P. Mauritij. O. Min. Cap. Philomela Mariana. Zug. 1713
- 37. Laurentij von Schüffis Capuc. Mirandische Wunder ... Kempten 1703.
- 38. eiusdem Mirandische Waldschalmeÿ. Const. 1688
- 39. eiusdem [Mirantische] Maultrum[m]el. 3. theil. ib. 1695.
- 40. eiusdem [Mirantisches] Flötlein. 3. Theil. ib. 1682.
- 41. Eiusdem Meÿenpfeiff. 3. theil. Dillingen. 1692.

The fact that they were kept not in the music collection, but in the library, is a further indication that they were intended for devotional, and not for liturgical

dem Sünder, Ach Töchter, Mit viel Müh, Ach allerliebste Mutter, Jesu du Brunnquell, and Werden ihr die hohe; and finally Erbarmet euch, Ach wie streng, Ihr Christen, and ... o ruhet.

51 The series started in 1637 with his *Convivium Marianum* published by Niclas Hainrich in Munich (RISM DKL 1637⁴). See Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, pp. 131–189.

52 Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, p. 155.

53 RISM A/I L 1094; LL 1094 to L 1113; LL 1113, with later editions.

54 *Philomela Mariana*, 1713; RISM A/I M 1447; see Music example 2.2.

55 *Bibliotheca Murensis sive Catalogus ...*, Aarau, Kantonsbibliothek, MsMurF 87.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 2.2 *The first melody from Moritz von Menzingen's Philomela mariana (1713)*

use. Schnüffis's songs were far from offending Protestant sensibility: one of his collections was even bought in December 1695 by the Zurich music society *zur deutschen Schule*.⁵⁶

Devotional song in German was cultivated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries either as an ancient tradition (as in Einsiedeln) or in the Counter-Reformation context of competition with the Protestant traditions (as in Bavaria). By the mid eighteenth century, the introduction of music on German texts into Catholic liturgy was perceived as a progressive element, under the influence of the new ideals of the Enlightenment. In 1774, the matter was discussed in an exchange of letters between Johann Ignaz von Felbiger, abbot of the collegiate church of Sagan in Lower Silesia, and Martin Gerbert, the music historian, who was abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Sankt Blasien in the Black Forest. Writing from a biconfessional region, Felbiger noticed that "the habit of the Lutherans to sing German songs in a public service is one of the reasons why the people of this party eagerly attend divine service, and their devotion is far more encouraged by these songs than ours by figural music, be it as beautiful and artful as it will".⁵⁷ Felbiger's aim was to ask Gerbert to write a preface for his own Catholic songbook, as Gerbert himself had published a similar collection in 1773, *Die Christliche Lehre in Liedern*.⁵⁸

56 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 3, p. 70.

57 "Der Gebrauch der Lutheraner, beim öffentlichen Gottesdienst deutsche Lieder zu singen, ist ein Grund mehr, warum Leute dieser Partei fleißig dem öffentlichen Gottesdienste beiwohnen, und ihre Andacht wird dadurch in der That weit mehr befördert als bei uns durch alle noch so schöne und künstliche Figural-Musik"; Georg Pfeilschifter (ed.), *Korrespondenz des Fürstbistes Martin II. Gerbert von St. Blasien* (Karlsruhe: C.F. Müller, 1931–4), vol. 2, p. 17. See Therese Bruggisser-Lanker, 'Majestätische Simplicität. Kirchenmusik und katholische Aufklärung im Spiegel von Martin Gerberts Briefwechsel', in Castellani (ed.), *Musik aus Klöstern des Alpenraums*, p. 54.

58 Bonndorf, 1773; RISM DKL 1773⁴.

About one decade earlier, Johannes Evangelista Schreiber had done precisely this with his aforementioned collection of *Neue und Annehmliche Arien*.⁵⁹ Schreiber, a monk from the Cistercian monastery of Sankt Urban near Lucerne, was from 1758 to 1760 priest in the Alsatian village of Larg. In the foreword to his book, the justification of his use of German language in liturgy for the benefit of a small rural community uses the same vocabulary as Felbiger and Gerbert. Church choirs in the countryside cannot approach the quality of polyphonic music in the greater religious institutions. Also, the community's devotion will be encouraged during service,⁶⁰ on hearing understandable words sung instead of "half Latin" ("Halb-Lateinern"). The "young maidens" ("Jungfrauen") of his parish learned the songs in the space of one year. The one- or two-part songs were not, or not entirely, conceived for solo performance. *O Jesu mein* and *Aus Lieb verwundter Jesu mein* (the fifth and sixth item in the collection, both "for the blessed Sacrament"—perhaps intended to be performed as offertories) prescribe a solo performance of the opening phrases, and a continuation for two voices and for the whole chorus respectively.⁶¹ Also the physical presentation of Schreiber's collection is significant. While books of Catholic Latin sacred music intended for professional performers were printed at this time in Switzerland as partbooks in folio, Schreiber's German songs for a non-professional church choir are printed as a score in oblong quarto. Quarto (usually upright) is the page format of the Reformed publications for the use of the music societies, such as the *XXIV Geistliche Arien zu Zwey und drey Singstimmen* by Johann Martin Spiess, published in Berne by Daniel Brunner in the same year of 1761.⁶² Schreiber's collection, then, while not explicitly as described in abbot Felbiger's letter, still testifies to the Catholic reception of the Protestant principle of performing sacred music in the vernacular during church services.

In conclusion, religious solo song in German appears to be a genre where the efforts of progressive Catholic and Reformed composers converge. Both the insertion of solo songs into Reformed devotional anthologies (in the *Seelen-Music* starting with the second edition of 1694), and the publication of a collection of German songs by Schreiber (1761), were possibly encouraged by the proximity of the confessions to one another.

59 Ruckstuhl, 'P. Johann Evangelist Schreiber', pp. 153–156 and, for the preface, p. 168. The preface is transcribed also here in Document 2.16.

60 "... die ganze Kirchen-Gemeinde werde grössere Auferbauung und Andacht unter dem Gottesdienst empfinden".

61 Music examples 2.3 and 2.4.

62 RISM A/IS 4104.

Andante

O Je - su mein! nach Dir mein Seel ver - langt: Du bist mein Speis al - lein, mein Trost auf Er - den, mein Trost, mein Trost, mein Trost auf Er - den. Auf al - len Sei - ten mich der Feind um - fangt; laß ihn, ich bit - te Dich, nicht meis - ter wer - den, laß ihn, laß ihn, ich bit - te dich, nicht meis - ter wer - den.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 2.3 *Johann Evangelista Schreiber, 'O Jesu mein' from Neue und annehmliche Arien (1761)*

Affettuoso

Aus lieb ver - wund - ter Je - su mein, wie kan ich Dir gnug dank - bar seyn? Wolt wün - schen ich könt lie - ben Dich wie Du al - zeit ge - liebt hast mich. Je - su mein Gott im Sa - cra - ment sey Lob und Danck bis an das End. Ma - ri - ä Sohn der Jung - frau rein soll al - le zeit ge - pri - sen seyn.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 2.4 *Johann Evangelista Schreiber, 'Aus Lieb verwundter Jesu mein' from Neue und annehmliche Arien (1761)*

2c Professional Contacts: Organs and Organists

The members of the Zurich music societies making music in the Catholic service in Baden were admonished precisely because they were ordinary citizens and only amateur musicians.⁶³ In many areas, expert knowledge and specialised personnel could be exchanged across confessional borders without arousing suspicion or giving rise to reprimands. Medical doctors or soldiers, for example, easily circumvented political or religious boundaries.⁶⁴ France had exclusive rights over the mercenaries from Reformed Switzerland (the contract, *Soldvertrag*, was last renewed in 1663), until the Dutch envoy, Pieter Valkenier, convinced the Zurich government that sending mercenaries to a kindred Republic would make much more sense than being at the service of a Catholic monarch.⁶⁵ Catholic cities were generally less developed in craftsmanship, so that specialists from Reformed territories were often called for.⁶⁶ Doctor Conrad Brunner from Diessenhofen (1653–1727), a Protestant, and professor of anatomy in Heidelberg, treated the sick abbot and other fathers of Einsiedeln from 14 to 22 May 1691, who appreciated his showing “great care” (“große Liebe”).⁶⁷ Samuel Seelmatter, town doctor (*Stadtmedicus*) in Zofingen (and a member of the local music society), became in 1752 the doctor of the monastery of Sankt Urban.⁶⁸ Thus, through the need for expert knowledge some close contacts between people of different confessions emerged. This ‘necessary interaction’ was considered excusable, at least in Augsburg and in England, as opposed to the morally questionable ‘voluntary interaction’.⁶⁹

In the field of professional musicianship, however, instances of an unhindered employment of personnel belonging to the other confession appear only after the mid eighteenth century. The Reformed choirmaster Hoffmann was called in 1751 as a performer from Zofingen in the monastery of Sankt Urban, together with three other trumpet players.⁷⁰ A certain Miller from Bohemia, a

63 See above, Chapter 2.

64 See Lau, ‘Der Konfessionskonflikt’, pp. 38–39.

65 Maissen, *Die Geburt der Republic*, pp. 230–238, 360–361.

66 Bock, *Konversionen*, p. 77.

67 Document 2.17.

68 Ruckstuhl, ‘P. Johann Evangelist Schreiber’, p. 143, n. 132.

69 François, *Protestants et catholiques en Allemagne*, pp. 135–136; Walsham, ‘In Sickness and in Health’, p. 165.

70 “Andere Verehrungen ... H. Hoffmann Musicant Zu Zofingen sambt dreÿ andern Trompeteren, 6 [Gutbatzen]”; Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 700, fol. 3r (my thanks to Christoph Riedo for taking a photograph of this source for me). See also Ruckstuhl, ‘P. Johann Evangelist Schreiber’, p. 143, n. 132.

Catholic, was employed by the Winterthur music society as a choirmaster in 1778. When he died in 1790, at his personal wish it was permitted to him to be buried in the town's churchyard.⁷¹ Still, cross-confessional personal contacts on musical matters can already be regularly found in earlier sources: expertise in the field of organ building and organ playing.

As seen above, organs were removed from most Reformed churches in the 1520s and 1530s. Catholic authorities tried to profit from the dilapidation of their neighbours' organs. The organ from the town church of Zofingen was dismantled, but not destroyed: it was bought by the town of Sursee.⁷² The council of Solothurn went so far as writing to the prince of Württemberg in 1538, to ask if he would make the town a present of a dismantled organ from Stuttgart.⁷³ To be sure, at any time Reformed musicians could freely play the organ in a private setting. Still, the Protestants had suffered a loss in expertise about organ building and organ playing, which remained Catholic specialties far into the eighteenth century. In Reformed houses, organs were often built and tested by Catholic hands. The Benedictine monk and composer Valentin Molitor (Müller) from the monastery of Sankt Gallen was invited by the town's (Protestant) music society *zum Antlitz* in 1695 to test their new organ (and repaid with wine, bread, and beans).⁷⁴ The organ of the Winterthur music society was the work of a builder from Constance, and was repaired in 1752 by a builder from Alsace.⁷⁵ The Zurich town trumpeter Johann Ludwig Steiner (1688–1761) spent one year as an apprentice with the Catholic organist Kellersberger in Baden—at a time when no organs were admitted in Zurich churches.⁷⁶

71 Geilinger, *Zur Feier des 250-jährigen Bestehens*, pp. 31–32.

72 Peter Xaver Weber, 'Musiker und Sänger im alten Luzern', *Der Geschichtsfreund*, 93 (1938), p. 97. See also Chapter 1b.

73 Document 2.18.

74 "Im Collegio da Pater Valentin, neben einem anderen Hr. die Orgel probiert, auf gut-achten der anwesenden Hr. Collegianten zahlt 1/2 Wein 1 [Gulden] 4 [Kreutzer], Brot 8 [Kreutzer], Böhnlein 3 [Kreutzer] 6 [Heller]"; Sankt Gallen, Stadtarchiv, PA X 33 11, *Cassabuch* 1636–1702, 29 November 1695.

75 "... anno 1752 im Junio ist von Einem Loblichen Collegio erkannt worden, daß das Orgelwerkh im Music-Saal wider verbeßeret und gestimmt werden soll, weßwegen Herr Rathsherr und Kichenpfleger Joh. Ulrich Steiner und Herr Exactor Johannes Hanhart ersucht worden mit Hr. Christian Jacob Kuehlwein gebürtig von Rappoltsweiler im Elsaß wegen Reparation deß orgelwercks ein accord zutreffen—solches ist geschehen auf weiße und form, daß er nach besichtigung deß orgelwerckhs in die fußstapfen deß orgelmachers zu Costanz Zutretten sich entschloßen ..."; Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep mk 1, *Protokoll Einer Loblichen Music Gesellschaft*, p. [28].

76 Baumann, *Vom Musikraum zum Konzertsaal*, p. 8.

The first instrument built in the Berne minster after the Reformation, between 1727–30, was the work of Leonhard Leu (1678–1754), an organ builder from Augsburg.⁷⁷ A small positive on the choir screen was mentioned in 1724, but it was not used during public services except on Easter Monday and other special festive occasions, and moreover until 1746 was the private property of town councillor Jenner.⁷⁸ From 1719 to 1750 Leu lived and worked in Bremgarten in the *Freiamt*, one of the territories commonly administered by Catholic and Protestant cantons and belonging today to the canton of Aargau. Leu, then, was born and passed most of his professional life in a biconfessional context: Lutheran and Catholic in Germany, Reformed and Catholic in Switzerland (incidentally, he died in Friedensweiler, a Benedictine monastery in the Black Forest). Possibly, Leu settled in Bremgarten precisely in order to serve customers of both confessions. But the Berne town council was not satisfied with his work. The Berne council appointed a supra-confessional commission of experts to judge the organ in the main church, consisting of two Catholic and three Reformed members. Abbot Robert Balthasar of Sankt Urban reports how, in April 1730, the subprior of the monastery was invited to Berne.⁷⁹ The other experts were the Lucerne canon and composer Franz Xaver Leonti Meyer von Schauensee, an organist from Basel, the mayor of Unterseen, Marquard Wild, and the pastor of the same village, by the name of Kurtz. Berne showed some interest in the famous instrument (1716–21) by the Bossard family from Zug—built by Josef Bossard and his son Viktor Ferdinand—which belonged to the Cistercian monastery. In September 1730 the Bernese cantor Andreas Ruprecht asked to inspect the Bossard organ, together with his little nephew and pastor Kurtz.⁸⁰ Notwithstanding the repairs made by Leu in 1738, the shortcomings

77 For the following see Gugger, *Die bernischen Orgeln*, pp. 110–111, 140–141, 165–166, and 682; Schelkes, *Johann Martin Spiess*, pp. 53–54; and Ruckstuhl, ‘P. Johann Evangelist Schreiber’, pp. 145–146.

78 In this respect, the situation was similar to that of the positive placed in 1703 by the local *collegium musicum* in the town church of Burgdorf; see Chapter 1c.

79 “16 Aprilis [1730] R.P. Subprior Petrus cum Servo Bernam vectus est eque ad probandum Organum inibi noviter constructum. 22 ad vesperam regressus est cum D. [Leonti] Meyer [von Schauensee] Lucernensi consiliario q[uem] et hac de causa petitus fuit”; Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 781/05, monastery archive Sankt Urban, abbot and monastery, calendars and diaries (1688–1801), 1730.

80 “15 [September] ex Langenthal D. Andreas Ruprecht ‘cantor Bernensis’ cum parvo Nepote Gravenried et D. Kurtz Praedicante in Under Sewen Organista venerunt qui antea Organum Lucerne investigantes petierunt ut et hic et audire et structuram Organi perspicere possent &c”; Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 781/05, monastery archive Sankt Urban, abbot and monastery, calendars and diaries (1688–1801), 1730.

of his organ prompted the town council to commission a new instrument in 1747, this time from the younger Bossard. Again, an expert from Sankt Urban—the composer Johann Evangelist Schreiber—was invited in 1751 to evaluate the new organ (together with a Reformed expert from Basel).

In the Toggenburg region, because it was biconfessional but ruled by the abbot of Sankt Gallen alone, many Reformed farmers had to cultivate their faith in private. Under the high roofs of their homes, in the chamber known as the *Firstkammer*, they met to read the Bible (reading and writing were often self-taught) and to sing psalms, accompanied by small organs (*Hausorgeln*). These were an exception to the loss of expertise in organ building in the Reformed regions, but it must be stressed that this tradition—which reached its apex in the late eighteenth century—existed outside the Reformed church as an organised structure. Already in 1714, Reformed pastor Zeller from the Toggenburg village of Krummenau had asked his superiors in Zurich if he was allowed to place in the church an organ which he had bought. The answer is not reported: presumably, it was negative.⁸¹

Also in the Mandated Territory of Thurgau, the Reformed communities (attached to the Zurich synod) asked several times during the eighteenth century for the permission to build organs—most probably because of the closeness of Catholic church music. The Reformed community in Ermatingen—where the two confessions share to this day the same church building—was in 1777 at last given an organ as a gift from a wealthy local family, the Zollikofers; the government had no other choice but to consent to its use, at first only for rehearsal purposes, then eventually during the service.⁸² In the issue of organ music, the more conservative Reformed synods sought expressly to hold up an element of difference from Catholic sacred music; the more progressive communities instead considered the musical interest of added value to the Reformed service. Wherever organs were reintroduced, the art of organ building and organ playing was a domain where toleration was cultivated as a necessity from Protestant side. Expertise from across the confessional border was eagerly sought for—and liberally given.

81 Jost Kirchgraber, *Das bäuerliche Toggenburger Haus und seine Kultur im oberen Thur- und Neckertal in der Zeit zwischen 1648 und 1798* (Sankt Gallen: Verlagsgemeinschaft St. Gallen, 1990), pp. 63–67 and illustrations Nos 86–93. Kirchgraber places the art of organ building correctly in its cultural context, from the architecture of the farmhouses to the pietist influence on the farmers' religious practices (see also Chapter 4d).

82 Finsler, *Zürich in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 115–116.

2d Case Study: The Organ in the Berne Minster

In 1528, soon after the town council had approved the Reformation, the organ in Berne's main church (*Münster*) was dismantled. For some forty years, the psalms during the Reformed services were sung only by the schoolchildren. In 1573, congregational singing was introduced, and from 1581 cornetti and trombones were employed to support it. In 1663, under the influence of cantor Johann Ulrich Sultzberger, the town council issued an ordinance concerning music to encourage its cultivation both among the schoolboys and among the citizens. However, at the same time it asked the cantor to dispose of a clavi-chord that had been presented to the councillors, recalling how inappropriate it would be to reintroduce a keyboard instrument in church.⁸³

During the second Villmergen war of 1712,⁸⁴ the question of installing an organ in the "great church" ("grosse Kilchen") was debated in the Berne town council, as far as we know for the first time after the Reformation. The troops of the two Protestant allies, Berne and Zurich, had occupied the territories of the prince abbot of Sankt Gallen in May. At the beginning of June, the Bernese commander in Sankt Gallen, Hieronymus Ernst, sent news to Berne that a substantial part of the library and of the paintings, as well as many other valuable objects from the monastery, had been seized and transported to Zurich. The Berne government felt itself deprived of its just share of the war booty, and on 13 June asked the school council (*Schulrat*) to give the town librarian Marquard Wild appropriate instructions and send him immediately to Sankt Gallen, either alone or together with another suitable person. Once in the monastery, he should watch over a fair division of the goods by drawing lots. Perhaps to make up for the precious books and manuscripts that had already been carried to Zurich, the councillors decided to dismantle the organ of the Sankt Gallen monastery, "bring it here and place it in the great church for the praise of God".

83 "Im übrigen findend m[eine] g[nädige] h[erren] nit anstendig, daß in der Kilchen, zur Zeit der *reforma[tio]n* abgeschaffeter maßen, widrumb *Orgeln* oder *positiv* gelassen werdind, In maßen ihr g[naden] den H[errn] *Cantoren* eines ihr g[naden] *p[rae]senti-erten Clavicordij* Halben ab- vnd dahin gewisen sich besten zu umbsechen wie er deß mit nutzen abkom[m]en möge"; Berne, Staatsarchiv, A II 457, Ratsmanual, vol. 146, p. 120. For the following see Adolf Fluri, 'Zur Geschichte der Münsterorgel', *Der Münsterausbau in Bern*, 22 (1909), pp. 13–47 and 24 (1911), pp. 3–36; Friedrich Jakob, *Die Orgel als Kriegsbeute*, Neujahrsblatt der Orgelbau Th. Kuhn (Männedorf: Orgelbau Kuhn, 1971), pp. 27–30; and Gugger, *Die bernischen Orgeln*, pp. 5–12. Document 2.28 was first published by Fluri, Documents 2.20 and 2.22 by Jakob, and Documents 2.19, 2.24, 2.25, 2.26, and 2.27 by Gugger, who however omitted to mention their provenance.

84 On the Villmergen wars of 1655 and 1712 see Chapter 1a.

Wild was asked to negotiate the terms with the Zurich government and prepare the transportation of the instrument.⁸⁵

On the same day, the Zurich delegate to Berne, Hans Conrad Escher, sent a note to the Zurich town clerk, commenting that he would “not easily put to paper the effect that this would have on the elderly and also on the clergy here”.⁸⁶ In fact, the question had been hotly debated in the greater town council, and had been approved with a margin of three votes only. Escher⁸⁷ marvelled at the Bernese wishing to place an organ in their main church that was stolen from a papist church. He argued that the Catholics would complain against the Berne government and soldiers, and concluded that he would rather pay double the price for a new organ than bring such an instrument to a Zurich church (where, incidentally, organs were not allowed).⁸⁸

The plundering of churches by the Reformed troops was a matter of concern to both the Catholic and the Protestant side, especially considering that peace talks were ongoing. Only a few days earlier, on 11 June, the mayor and the town council of Baden, in response to alleged plundering and profanations, had been compelled to issue a *démenti* protesting that in the local Catholic church the altars and the paintings had not been damaged, and the celebration of the mass had not been disturbed.⁸⁹ On 16 June, then, Zurich advised Berne to refrain from dismantling the organ, arguing that it would seem indeed strange if the Reformed should punish plundering soldiers, and at the same time lawfully despoil the monastery church in Sankt Gallen.⁹⁰ On 23 June,

85 Document 2.19. On music in the 1712 war booty see also above, Chapter 2.

86 Document 2.20.

87 Two letters from Berne signed “H.C. Escher” are dated on 16 and 18 June (Zurich, Staatsarchiv, A 236.3); a letter from Sankt Gallen signed “Hans Conradt Escher” is dated on 17 June (Zurich, Staatsarchiv, C I No. 3433). Either Escher travelled to Sankt Gallen and back to Berne in three days, or there were two Zurich diplomats by the same name. The handwriting has only a vague resemblance, but this may be explained by the fact that the Berne letters are clearly written in great haste and the Sankt Gallen letter is a fair copy.

88 On the other hand, he opined that the people immediately attached to the monastery would only laugh at seeing the abbot being robbed; see Document 2.21.

89 Zurich, Staatsarchiv, C I No. 3431.

90 “... stellind aber anbey zu deroselben klugen reflexionen anheimb, ob es, wan dise Orgelen aus der Kirchen zu St. Gallen solte genommen werden, bey denen Catholischen Inn- und Ausert Lands nit sehr übel wurde angesehen und zu ohnbeliebigen und ungueten reden der Anlas umb so mehr so da Mehr an die Hand geschaffet werden, Weilen Man Mäniglich versichern lassen, dass es in einichen Weis und Weg auf die Religion nit Abgesehen, auch im Wenigsten nicht an die Kirchen und dero Zierachten werde gegriffen werden, sonderen solches ernsthaftt verboten worden seye: Zu deme von den Widerwertigen wunderlich Aufgenommen wurde, Wan Einerseihts beyde Lobl. Ständ [Zurich and Berne] inquirieren

therefore, the Berne council sent a note to its delegates in Zurich, asking them to inform the local government that “to avoid any accusations” it had changed its mind and had decided to leave the organ of the monastery in its place.⁹¹

The organ question resurfaced in 1715. On 3 May, a group of citizens proposed to build an organ in the minster at their own expense. Councillor von Erlach presented a memorandum putting forth their arguments before the city council, who objected that the building of an organ implied further costs: an organ loft would possibly have to be built, and the organist would have to receive a salary. On 21 May, when von Erlach brought the question once more before the council, personally supporting it, the answer was to wait for a detailed plan of the costs and to discuss the issue before both the Lesser and the Greater Council.⁹² After this, no trace is found in the minutes of the town council. Although the proposal was not carried out in the end, it is worth noticing that it had its origin in private circles. Seven years passed before the issue was again discussed in the town council. This time, in due course, a decision was taken in favour of building an organ; but four years passed in an extenuating exchange of documents between the town council and the school board. On 9 June 1722, the town council asked the school board if it were advisable to substitute the trombones that supported the congregational singing with an organ, or violins, or both.⁹³ The school board first appointed a music commission, composed of councillors Mutach, Sinner, Wild, Dachs, and Scheurer, to discuss the issue with cantor Andreas Ruprecht, in September 1723.⁹⁴ On 21 February 1724, Marquard Wild read the memorandum at a session of the school board. The ministers among the members, however, asked to reply to it before voting on it, so the debate was postponed again.⁹⁵

The memorandum of 1724 is preserved.⁹⁶ It is divided into two parts: the first lists five arguments against the organ (*Gründ wider die Orgel*), the second five arguments in favour of it (*Gründ für die Orgel*). The various arguments can

thäten, wass für Soldaten in der hitz eint und anderen Ohrts in die Kirchen getrungen seyen und etwas verderbet haben möchten umb Selbige in gebührende straff zuziehen, Anderseiths die Ständ Selbsten die Kirchen lähreten und die Zierachten abführten, Sie ihrestheils erklärend sich weder wenig noch viel von dergleichen sachen zu nehmen ...”; quoted after Gugger, *Die bernischen Orgeln*, p. 7.

91 Document 2.22.

92 “Er Me[in] h[ochgeachter] h[err] Heimblicher auch zu diserem Anerbieten zustehen sich erklärt”; Document 2.23.

93 Document 2.24.

94 Document 2.25.

95 Document 2.26.

96 Document 2.27.

be briefly summarised as follows. The organ is, first, unnecessary, because the congregational singing can be supported by easier means (the memorandum does not mention them, but refers to the practice in Zurich churches). Second, it is unseemly for the authorities of Berne to change their minds after two hundred years. The organs were “abolished at the time of the Reformation, because they were not necessary for the public service, and they smelled popish quite strongly”.⁹⁷ Third, they do not encourage congregational singing, as can be seen at Easter Monday, when “nobody dares to sing the psalms, in order to hear the sound of the small positive on the choir screen”.⁹⁸ Fourth, the sound of the organ is a hindrance to devotion, as it is nothing but sinful, sensuous pleasure for the ears. Fifth, a full-sized organ would imply major architectural changes in the church, as an organ loft would have to be built. As for the arguments in favour of the organ, the first lists a series of biblical passages in favour of instrumental music. The second specifically explains how an organ is not in contrast with the Swiss confession. “It would indeed smell popish, if popish litanies in an unknown language or with Gregorian melodies should be introduced; but if nothing else is sung than psalms and sacred songs in an understandable language, this will not smell popish. It will smell of Christian freedom, which rejects nothing that is moderate ... Why should an organ smell more popish than trombones and cornetti, which are also used by the Catholics?”⁹⁹ The third argument lists various advantages of an organ accompaniment, as opposed to the use of trombones, to support congregational singing. The fourth point argues that “the hopes of so many listeners and honest citizens” (“das Söhnen so vieler Zuhörern und Ehrlicher Burgeren”) should be considered, and that there is no need to fear “reluctance or disorder” (“Unwillen oder Tumult”). The organ has not the power of making anybody

97 “... zu Zeit der Seligen Reformation als zum Gottesdienst un[n]öthig, vnd zim[m]lich starck nach dem Papsthum riechend ist abgeschaffet worden”; Document 2.27, Part 1, Section II.

98 “... an einem OsterMontag, da <nur> ein geringes *Positif* gebraucht wird, schier niemand den Psalmen singt, auff daß man den *Orgel*-Thon hören kön[n]e”; Document 2.27, Part 1, Section III.

99 “Es wurde freilich nach dem Pabstthumb schmecken, so man in unbekannter Sprach, oder nach *Gregorianischer* weiß Päbstische *Lithanien* Einführte: Wan man aber nichts anders als Psallmen und Geistliche Lieder in verständlicher Sprach zu Singen vor hat, wirt solches nicht nach dem Pabstthumb schmecken, Sonder vielmehr nach der Christlichen Freiheit, die in Mitteldingen neüt verwirfft ... Warumb solte eine Orgel mehr Päbstelen als Posaunen und Zinken? Welche auch von den Papisten in Ihrem Gottesdienst selbsts gebraucht werden ...”; Document 2.27, Part 2, Section II. The verb ‘to smell popish’ (“päbstelen”), needless to say, is unknown to modern dictionaries.

a papist, but rather draws the temptation of the novelty out of church music, while at present many Reformed citizens travel to Catholic towns on feast days in order to listen to an organ.¹⁰⁰ Finally, it would encourage the musical proficiency of the inhabitants of Berne, raising the quality of congregational singing. It was only in June 1726 that the town council finally put the memorandum on its agenda and voted on the organ issue. The motion passed with sixty votes in favour and forty against.¹⁰¹

In 1727, the fourteen members of the *Geistlicher Convent* (a governmental commission of experts for religious and ecclesiastical questions, comprising three deans and three pastors of the minster, the pastors of the Nydegg, hospital, and French churches, and five professors) opposed the imagery of the statues and carvings that had been planned as ornaments for the organ. Possibly, this was in part just a pretext, and actually an attempt to slow down the building of the organ. On 5 June, councillor von Erlach was charged with presenting a memorandum written by the clergy before both the Greater and the Lesser Council.¹⁰² Several experts were summoned, and discussions in the town council followed, until in December 1728 the matter was at last settled and work at the new instrument could be resumed.

Von Erlach, then, was more than once involved in the history of the minster organ. As seen above, he had already unsuccessfully promoted the building of an organ in 1715. Hieronymus von Erlach (1667–1748) was a field marshal in the Austrian army, and had been invested with the title of *Reichsgraf* by the emperor Charles VI in 1712, while he was acting as Bernese envoy to Vienna during the Villmergen war. In the Austrian capital he certainly had ample occasion to appreciate Catholic church music. In 1715, after retiring from the army, he had been elected into the Small Council, and was to act as the mayor (*Schultheiss*) of Berne by turns from 1721 to 1746. Another name is regularly found in several instances when the organ question was debated in Berne, that of Marquard Wild. In 1712 he was sent to inspect the Sankt Gallen library and organ; in 1723 he was appointed a member of the music commission by the school board; and in 1730 he was a member of the supra-confessional commission of experts

100 “Wie dan die Orgel kein krafft hat Jemand Pöbstisch zu machen, Viel Ehnder hilfft Sie dem Neüwkitzel ab, da sonst viel leüt vß den Unserigen An Pöbstischen fästagen, vß begierd eine Orgel zu hören, sich einfinden”; Document 2.27, Part 2, Section IV.

101 Document 2.28.

102 “Zedel an Me[inen] h[och] g[eehrten] h[err] Cons[eiller] Von Erlach. Das von Me[inen] h[och] w[eisen] h[erren] des Convents allhier eingelegte *Memoriale* wegen Ziehrahthen an der Erkenten Orglen <vor> Me[inen] g[nädigen] h[erren] vnd Oberen, R[äte] vnd B[ürger], langen zulaßen”; Berne, Staatsarchiv, A 11 699, Ratsmanual, vol. 113, p. 142.

in charge of evaluating Leonhard Leu's instrument.¹⁰³ Wild (1661–1747) held several positions in the administration and government of the town and canton of Berne. He was town librarian from 1693 to 1714, member of the Greater Council from 1710, governor (*Landvogt*) of Herzogenbuchsee from 1714 to 1721, and mayor (*Schultheiss*) of Unterseen from 1726 to 1732. He was both a politician and an intellectual: he is still remembered for his historical research on the Helvetians. It thus seems probable that he had a personal interest in music, and that he was strongly engaged in favour of the new organ.

Cosmopolitans and intellectuals like Erlach and Wild played a major role in reintroducing the organ into the Berne minster two centuries after the Reformation. The councillors in favour of the organ were familiar with Catholic customs and Catholic music, and showed their commitment over a span of many years. In the end, they succeeded in gathering a majority of the town council about them, outnumbering the more conservative members, and replying to the objections of the clergy. One of the major arguments against the organ was that it 'smelled popish': the opponents wished Reformed church music to sound as different as possible from Catholic church music. Finally, however, "the hopes of so many listeners and honest citizens" were fulfilled.¹⁰⁴

103 See above, Chapter 2c.

104 Document 2.27, Part 2, Section IV.

The Book Market

So far, cross-confessional contacts have been examined in the two domains of musical personnel, and musical composition. In the following, a further sector of musical life will be examined with respect to its cross-confessional aspects: the trading and printing of music books.¹ Did manuscripts and printed books of music follow the same trade routes, irrespective of their final buyers' confession? Was it permitted to booksellers to commerce in, and to publishers to issue, books with religious music of another creed? The confessional divide had, understandably, an enormous impact on the whole book industry. Basel had been a centre of European publishing in the sixteenth century: books, packed in barrels, travelled over the mountain passes on their way to and from Italy.² In 1559, shortly after the publication of the *Index*, the Duke of Tuscany responded in person to an appeal of the town government, which was concerned that the flow of commerce would be impaired after the whole output of the Basel press had been banned:³

Dear town councillors and friends. As we read your kind letter on the authors and books rejected by the index of the Roman inquisition, we aspired to nothing else but to answer your orders by confirming our benevolence and favourable mind to you, your famed city, and the whole German nation ... As for ourselves, nothing of the usual commercial

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- 1 For an overview of the mechanisms of dissemination, focussed on Italian titles in Germany, but very close to the situation in Switzerland, see Giselbrecht, *Crossing boundaries*, pp. 33–55.
 - 2 See Frank Hieronymus, 'Die Alpenübergänge aus der Sicht des frühen Basler Buchdrucks', in Uta Lindgren (ed.), *Alpenübergänge vor 1850. Landkarten—Strassen—Verkehr*, Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft 83 (Stuttgart, Steiner, 1987), pp. 127–146.
 - 3 "Mag[istra]ti et Præstantissimi Domini Amici præcipui salutem. Cum amantiss[im]as literas v[est]ras, super authoribus, librisq[ue] inquisitionis Romanæ indice reiectis, perlegissemus; nihil antiquius duximus, quàm amplissimum ordinem vestrum, ne n[ost]ra benevolentia, propensoq[ue], in illum, et præclarissimam ciuitatem istam, et uniuersam Germanicam Nationem, animo, reddere certiore; ... Proinde apud uos exploratum esse debet, in hoc mutuo libror[um] com[m]ercio, nihil, quantum ad nos attinet, de consueta negotiandi facultate detractum iri ... Alios [libros] porro indice notatos de bonis literis et disciplinis editos, impressor[um] tamen locorumq[ue] nomine prohibitos, ut tolerentur ... nos apud sum[m]um Pontificem pro uiribus intercessuros pollicemur ..."; Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, JJJ 1, 1540–1870, book printing in general.

habits will be lost in our mutual book trade ... We intend to intercede with the Pope, asking him to tolerate those books by good writers and on good subjects that were prohibited only on account of the town of publication and the publisher's name ...

In the seventeenth century, the book industry was affected by a general stagnation. Journeys from Basel to Italy to study became more frequent than business trips.⁴ With the start of the Thirty Years' War, Italian merchants no longer travelled to the Frankfurt book fair. The dissemination of Italian, and especially Venetian titles of printed music passed rather through the Brenner pass and the publishing centres of Augsburg and Nuremberg.⁵ Towards the end of the century, the explosion of the publishing market in Amsterdam transformed this city into a centre not only of production, but also of the distribution of music. In the early eighteenth century, the first instances of titles bought or printed in the Netherlands appear in Swiss sources. In 1707, the patrician Balthasar Planta from Zuoz in the Grisons bought in Amsterdam two sets of partbooks with a retrospective repertoire of music published between 1580 and 1643.⁶ In November of the same year, Estienne Roger's Amsterdam edition of the *Concerti sacri* op. 11 by Giovanni Battista Bassani was bought for the use of the Zurich music society *zur deutschen Schule*.⁷

4 Verena Vetter, *Baslerische Italienreisen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis in das 17. Jahrhundert*, Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft, vol. 44 (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1952), pp. 130–138, 155–157.

5 Beer, *Die Annahme des 'Stile nuovo'*, for example, pp. 61–62, 154–155; Stephen Rose, 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600–40', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 130 (2005), pp. 11–13.

6 Isabella Henrietta van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680–1725*, vol. 5, Part 1, *De boekhandel van de republiek, 1572–1795* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1978), pp. 88–99; Laurent Guillo, 'Les deux recueils de musique de Zuoz/Washington (1580–1643): sur deux témoins de la librairie musicale néerlandaise au XVIIe siècle', *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 46 (1996), pp. 137–152.

7 On 10 November 1707 "Sind für unsere Gsellschaft erkaufft, und auß dem Fisco denen Herren Simler und Hirten bezahlt worden *Bassani Concerti S|ri Motetti. in f|o Octo Tomi. Opera. xi|a* [Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, 1700; RISM A/I B 1193] kostetend 3. fl. 24. ₰", Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 10. The folio format allows the identification of the mentioned title with the Roger edition, because the Italian editions of Bassani's op. 11 were issued in quarto format; see Luigi Collarile, 'Estienne Roger, Marino Silvani, Giuseppe Sala. Prime ricognizioni intorno a un'operazione editoriale complessa', in Tiziana Affortunato (ed.), *Musicologia come pretesto. Scritti in memoria di Emilia Zanetti* (Rome: Istituto Italiano per la Storia della Musica, 2011), p. 105.

The book trade was only responsible for a part of the music disseminated in Switzerland, however significant. The diffusion of musical sources just as often followed informal paths. Books were acquired through personal contacts, which of course were different between members of the two confessional groups, but comparable in their mechanisms. Both young Catholic priests and the offspring of the Zurich upper class travelled abroad for their studies; both the Catholic monastic libraries and the Reformed music societies exchanged or lent the music that they owned.

3a Travelling for Study and Business

The close ties of Catholic Switzerland with Italian, and especially Lombard musical life were in part a side effect of the political plans of Carlo Borromeo. The musical 'colonisation' of Switzerland from Milan was perhaps not one of the means, but certainly one of the signs of the success of Borromeo's scheme. On account of the absence of an institution for the higher education of the clergy in the bishopric of Constance, Borromeo founded in Milan a college that offered free study places for the Swiss clergy.⁸ The organist Heinrich Hiestand studied around 1615 in the *collegium Helveticum*, and was later active in the collegiate church of Beromünster until his death in 1638.⁹ In the eighteenth century, the most common foreign study destinations of the Lucerne clergy were, in order of importance, Milan, Solothurn, Fribourg (in Switzerland), Freiburg (in Germany), and (in fifth place) Constance.¹⁰

The monastic clergy also undertook studies abroad, and Milan was one of the chosen destinations. In October 1589, a young monk of about sixteen years of age was sent from the Cistercian abbot of Sankt Urban to the fellow monastery of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan to study with a special grant from the Pope.¹¹ Nikolaus von Flüe (1598–1649), the later abbot of another Cistercian abbey, Wettingen, received the so-called 'French grant' from the Lucerne government, and was sent in 1615 for three years to Milan. Abbot Nikolaus was, apparently,

8 See Chapter 1a.

9 His letter of application is preserved; Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, AKT 19B/485. See Estermann, *Die Stiftsschule von Bero-Münster*, p. 93.

10 Hörsch and Bannwart, *Luzerner Pfarr- und Weltklerus*, pp. 30–33.

11 See the letters from the nuncio Ottavio Paravicini and from the Lucerne town council to abbot Ulrich Amstein in Lucerne State archives (KU 512 E, fols numbered 47–48, 29 September 1589, and KU 512 C, fol. numbered 18, 12 October 1589).

an excellent singer, played all sorts of instruments, and was also a composer.¹² In 1654, Oswald Weissenbach, a young novice from Wettingen, was sent for one year to Milan by abbot Bernard Keller at his own expense, in order to learn to play the organ. He was instructed to invest all his time in studying music; he was dispensed from learning other subjects and even excused from attending the office. In his spare time, he should rather learn the theorbo and “barbyton” (this last term being, possibly, a Latin translation of violone). The abbot placed the audience at the centre of his reasoning: Wettingen badly needed a capable organist, because the services were so crowded.¹³ Students could also visit the venues of different orders. From Sankt Urban, students travelled to the Jesuit university in Dillingen and to the Benedictine university in Salzburg, corresponding in the meantime with the brothers who remained in Switzerland also on musical matters. Ludwig Meris reported in 1623 from Dillingen that the motets he had ordered in Augsburg, and for whose purchase he had been sent some money, had not been delivered yet. The prior Bernard Helmlin wrote in 1638 to Nivard Kreulingen and Modest Hetzel in Salzburg, reporting on the beautiful music played in Sankt Urban on the feast of St Bernard.¹⁴

Outside Italy, the most important collections of eighteenth-century sacred music from Milan are located in the Czech Republic and in Switzerland. The main vehicle of transmission in the Czech Republic was the Bohemian aristocracy, which furnished the imperial administration with officers for the Lombard government. The dissemination of Milanese musical sources in Switzerland, according to all evidence, passed instead through the Benedictine house in Bellinzona, controlled first by the Jesuits and from 1674 by the monks of Einsiedeln. Almost the entire repertoire of eighteenth-century Milanese church music which is found today in Switzerland can be supposed to have passed through Benedictine hands.¹⁵ In 1744, the Benedictines even sent a castrato singer to Milan for musical education, for two years at least.¹⁶

12 Willi, *Album Wettingense*, pp. 92–93.

13 Document 3.1.

14 “... quas iussus sum missâ pecuniâ Cantiones emere, licet aliquoties eam ob rem iam scripserim Augustam”; Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 512 L, fols numbered 539–540 and 411–412. See *RISM d-lib*, forthcoming.

15 Collarile, ‘Bellinzona, 1675–1852’; Claudio Bacciagaluppi, ‘Il repertorio sacro milanese in Svizzera attraverso gli inventari storici’, in Cesare Fertonani et al. (eds.), *La musica sacra nella Milano del Settecento* (Milan: LED, 2014), pp. 147–167.

16 “Dieser tagen ist der Castrierte Discantist Xaveri NN. von Mayland mit den[en] P[atres] von Bellenz allhero kom[men]—welcher nunmehr 2 Jahr zu Mayland gewesen, und alda sich in d[em] gsang qualificiret in des Gottshauses kösten, damit man ein beständig[en] Diskantist in hier hat.—ob nun diser annoch ein od[er] 2 Jahr widerumb auf Mayland

These days the castrato soprano Xavier N.N. has arrived from Milan with the fathers of Bellinzona. He spent two years in Milan at the expense of the monastery, in order to have a resident soprano here [that is, in order not to rely on a boy soprano, who would leave the monastery or whose voice would break]. It is to be expected that he will be sent to Milan for another year or two, yet, he has very much improved in so short a time ...

The town of Lucerne maintained privileged relations with Rome, since it was the seat of the nuncio; the captains of the papal guards until the nineteenth century were traditionally Lucerne patricians. Hans Rudolf Pfyffer was born in Lucerne in 1611, into an important family in the city. He was sent to Rome at a young age by his father, Jakob Pfyffer, with a view to a career in the Swiss Guard. At twenty-one he became an officer, at twenty-three he obtained the rank of lieutenant, and was finally appointed captain of the guard in 1652. In the letter he wrote to his cousin Alexander on 12 January 1647, he relates that he had been charged by his parents to send to Lucerne at the first opportunity "all the works of Girolamo Frescobaldi". He claims to have bought two editions, unbound, at the price of eight ducats (*Silberkronen*) and a half, which he considered a good deal.¹⁷

Protestant families did not send their offspring in the service of the Pope. However, the Confederation as a whole had, in the seventeenth century, a traditional ally in France, as a counterweight to Habsburg influence. The alliance with France was renewed with great pomp in 1663. The treaty gave the French a privileged access to Swiss mercenary troops, including those of the Reformed cantons.¹⁸ Only at the end of the century were these privileges eroded, notably by the diplomatic efforts of the Dutch and English envoys to Zurich.¹⁹ The trading families of Zurich welcomed the occasions for sending young men abroad, not only for study, but also to tighten commercial alliances. The trade in fact flourished, especially in the textile industry, and veritable colonies of Zurich business families existed in Bergamo, Leghorn, Milan, and Trieste. Zurich also

werde gschikht werd[en], ist zu erwarth[en], indessen hat diser sich sehr perfectioniret in so wenig Zeit", Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.19, *Diarium Einsidlense*, fol. 74r, 4 September 1746.

17 Johann Rudolf Pfyffer in Rome to Alexander Pfyffer in Lucerne, 12 January 1647, Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 512 W, fol. numbered 158r-v. See Bacciagaluppi and Collarile, "Tutte le opere del Girolamo Frescovaldi".

18 Maissen, *Die Geburt der Republic*, pp. 230–238; Lau, *Stiefbrüder*, pp. 160–201.

19 See Chapter 4d.

had a particularly strong relationship with Venice. In 1743, thirteen young Zurich citizens even founded a “società di San Marco” in a mansion called “little Venice” (*Venedigli*) in remembrance of their happy times in Italy.²⁰

Members of the music societies occasionally left Switzerland, their departures being sometimes mentioned in the minutes or in the account books, as it was customary to leave a farewell gift (*Abschiedgeld*) if one was unable to attend the rehearsals for a longer spell of time. Four farewells are recorded in the diaries of the society *zur deutschen Schule*. In 1691, Heinrich Hirtzel bade farewell (*valedicieren*) on leaving for Italy, and left a contribution to the newly bought regal.²¹ Many of the members of the society *zur deutschen Schule* were students, and some of them embarked on a *peregrinatio academica* abroad. Two young men, bidding farewell to their colleagues in 1693, promised to bring back music books from their study trips—in compensation for not paying the toll for their absence: “This same day, Mr. Jacob Christoph Ziegler bade farewell to the society because of his coming study tour, without leaving the usual farewell gift. He promised to donate a nice music book on his return. In similar fashion, and with a similar promise, Mr Hans Caspar Rychener left some months ago”.²²

In February 1710, Hans Ulrich Ziegler—who was the society’s vice-choirmaster—resigned, having to leave the town on his *peregrinatio*, and left a generous gift of one Zurich ducat. The society invested the sum in music books that were ordered from Italy: opus eight, eighteen, twenty-five, and thirty-one by Giovanni Battista Bassani, and opus one by Giuseppe Antonio Vincenzo Aldrovandini.²³

20 Flüeler and Flüeler-Grauwiller (eds.), *Geschichte des Kantons Zürich*, vol. 2, pp. 148–150 and 335–336; Tindaro Gatani and Marco Gherzi, *Das Venedigli. La piccola Venezia di Zurigo* (Palermo: Offset Studio, 2008), pp. 15–25 and 53–56. Many thanks to David Bresch, an authentic Zurich citizen, for drawing my attention to the *Venedigli*.

21 “H. Leütenant Hr. Heinrich Hirtzel, hat wegen vorhabender Reiß in *Italiam*, der Gesellschaft *valediciret*, und zum angedenken biß auf seine widerkunfft dem *Collegio* verehrt, 2. fl. 10. ſ. mit dem vorbehalt, daß selbige an das erkauffte Regal verwendet werdind ...”; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 2, p. 305, December 1691.

22 “*Eodem* [*die*] liesse ohne erlegung des gewohnten Abschiedgelts, weg[en] vorhabender *peregrination* dem *Collegio* *valedicieren*, H: Jacob Christoph Ziegler. Verspricht auff seine widerkunfft, mit einem schönen *Musical: Authore* die Gesellschaft Zu begaben. Auf gleiche weiß, und versprechen ist vor etlichen Monaten verreißet, H. Hans Caspar Rychener”; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 3, p. 34, 12 November 1693.

23 “[Thursday] d[en] 6. [February 1710] hat Hr. Hs. Ulrich Ziegler, wegen vorhabender *Peregrination*, Von unserem *Collegio*, mit einer *manierlichen Sermon* ehrlich *valediciret*, und wegen Austrittgelts und *Nuptias* seiner Zwey Hr[en]: Brüderer, Zur verehrung überreicht Ein Zürich *Ducaten in specie* von A[o] 1709 ... [Thursday] d[en] 20. [March 1710] Wurdend die (durch mittel der Hr: Ziegleren im ThalAcker) auß Italien bschikte *Music* stük

Thursday, 6 February 1710. Mr. Hans Ulrich Ziegler bade honestly farewell to our society, because of his coming study tour, with a respectable speech. As farewell gift, and because of the wedding of his two brothers, he left a Zurich ducat from 1709 ... Thursday, 20 March 1710. The music books sent from Italy with the funding of Mr. Ziegler in the Talacker were delivered, and paid by the treasury 6 guilders and 24 shillings, inclusive of six shillings for the bearer ... List of these music works: ... Bassani *Messe concertate* op. 18 ... *Metri sacri* op. 8 ... *Completorij concerti* op. 25 ... *Cantate e arie amorose* op. 31 ... Aldrovandini *Armonia sacra* op. 1.

A very prominent former member visited the high-brow music society *zum Musiksaal* in 1726, after an absence of three decades. Johann Jakob (John James) Heidegger (1666–1749), the Swiss impresario who played a considerable part in the establishment of Italian opera in London, had arrived in England in about 1707, after leaving Switzerland for an unknown reason.²⁴ From 1713 to 1738 he was business director of the Haymarket theatre, and from 1719 to 1728 of the Royal Academy of Music; he is also remembered for causing scandal with his masquerades. On a trip to the Continent in 1726, he stopped in his home town, and paid a visit to the amateur musicians and fellow citizens at the *Musiksaal*:²⁵

übergeben, und auß dem *Fisco* mit 6. fl 24. fl. sam[m]t 5. fl. für den überbringer, bezahlt ... *Specification diser Musicstücken* ... Bassani *Messe Concert: Op[er]a xviii* ... [Bassani] *Metri Sacri* [etc.] [opus] viii ... [Bassani] *Comple[ori] Concerti* [sic] [opus] xxv ... [Bassani] *Cantate & Arie amor:* [opus] xxxi ... *Aldrovand: Armonia S[a Op[er]a i*"; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 49. See also Claudio Bacciagaluppi, 'Edizioni musicali italiane in alcuni inventari storici svizzeri (1622–1761)', *Fonti musicali italiane*, 17 (2012), p. 67.

24 Several accounts circulate on the reasons for his settling in London: that it was because of a love affair, that he was invited by an English lord he met on his grand tour, and that he was sent on a diplomatic errand to England. See Theodor Vetter, *Johann Jakob Heidegger, ein Mitarbeiter G.F. Händels*, Neujahrsblatt der Stadtbibliothek Zürich, No. 258 (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1902), pp. 7 and 24, n. 12.

25 "17 August Dito [17 August 1726] hat Herr Jacob Heidegger *Director* der Königlich-Englischen *opera* und *Mascarade* wie auch Dero Britan[n]ischen Majestät *Chambelan* nach 30 jähriger *Absenz* die Gesellschaft als ein Altes *Membrum* besucht, und von der *Vocal-* und *Instrumental Music* ein großes Vergnügen bezeüget, auch selbst mit gesungen nachdem er 20 Tage lang keinen thon von sich soll gegeben haben, Er sange *Basso voce* aus der *Allaude* vnd *Bassano* und attrapirte die *intervalla Majora Exacté*. Hat Einer L[o]b[i]ch[en] G[esellscha]fft verheüßen, gute *Musicalia* von *London* zu seinem Angedencken zu senden ..."; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 1, fol. 176r.

On 17 August 1726, Mr. James Heidegger, director of the English Royal opera and masquerade and chamberlain of His Royal British Highness, visited the society as a former member after an absence of thirty years. He declared he was delighted by the vocal and instrumental music, and sang also himself, though he admitted he had not given a tone from himself these last twenty days. He sang the bass voice from the *Alauda coelestis* and from Bassani and caught the major intervals quite neatly. He promised the commendable society to send some good books of music from London in memory of his visit ...

The music books mentioned as being performed from during Heidegger's visit, and used in ensemble with him as a bass singer, are the collection *Alauda coelestis*²⁶ and some work or works by Bassani, which are impossible to identify.²⁷ It is an unusual tableau to imagine Handel's long-time partner in operatic enterprise sight-reading with his former Zurich colleagues from the 1690s. That he was singing Catholic church music, did not presumably bother him much; rather, he may have been amused at performing such an outdated repertoire.

Did Heidegger keep his promise of sending from London some "good books of music" ("gute Musicalia") on his return to England? There are, in fact, only two London editions prior to 1726 in the Zurich central library: *All the additional celebrated Aires in the Opera of Floridante*²⁸ by Handel and the *Songs In the New Opera of Thomiris, Queen of Scythia, collected out of the works of the most celebrated Italian authors viz. Scarlait, Bononchini, Albinoni etc.*,²⁹ a well-known pastiche whose successful premiere in 1707 was Heidegger's first major achievement as a manager in London. It is worth pointing out that the Zurich copy of *Floridante* is one of three copies preserved on the Continent (out of a total of ten), and that *Thomiris* is the only extant copy outside Britain. No *ex libris* is found on the Zurich copies. On the title page of *Thomiris* there is, however, the indication of a price in guilders ("4 f[lorini]"), that was erased from the *Floridante* arias. Were these then bought in Zurich? Still, it is possible that these two titles represent what is left today of Heidegger's parting gift.

26 Either the first or the second book, printed in Ulm in 1682 and 1694 respectively; RISM B/I 1682¹=RISM A/I S 3436, or RISM B/I 1694¹.

27 No fewer than twenty-five titles are still preserved in Zurich central library, coming from the collection of the various local eighteenth-century music societies.

28 London: R. Mears, [1723?]; RISM A/I H 152; HH 152.

29 London: J. Cullen, [1707?]; RISM B/II, p. 372.

3b Lending Music

The music collections of Swiss monasteries and of the Reformed music societies established a network of the dissemination of musical sources, taking over, in a way, the function of public music libraries. Two examples from the Zurich and Winterthur music societies, and from the Benedictine monasteries of Muri and Engelberg, also suggest that there was, occasionally, a cross-confessional exchange of musical sources.

The correspondence of the abbots and priors of Sankt Urban presents many instances of the exchange of music between different religious houses, of the same order or of different orders.³⁰ Here one exchange of letters from the years 1641–2 will be examined. Gregor Gisinger, whose date of birth is unknown, came from the town of Porrentruy (in the Swiss Jura region) and was a canon in the Norbertine house of Bellelay. His letters (from the years 1641–6) occur during a turbulent time for his monastery. Driven out by the Thirty Years' War, and in spite of Swiss neutrality, which Bellelay enjoyed thanks to its alliance with Solothurn, abbot Jean-Pierre Cuenat had to withdraw from 1637 to 1644 with a number of canons to the village of La Neuveville, on lake Neuchâtel. Gisinger, apparently, was among those who remained back at the abbey. Later, he became prior of the Himmelspforte priory in Grenzach-Wyhlen (near Basel), where he died in 1674.³¹ In March 1641 he wrote to Joseph Crammatt, also a canon in Bellelay, who was at the time visiting Sankt Urban: "Whenever Your Reverence will seek the home gods again, as we suffer from a want of eight-part masses, I would like to ask Your Reverence (if you will find it fitting) to bring some with you, that will be copied and sent back soon".³² Later that year, Alberich Graf³³—the prior of Sankt Urban—sent to Gisinger, who was apparently

30 The letters are forthcoming in *RISM d-lib*.

31 Cyrille Gigandet, 'Bellelay, histoire d'une ancienne abbaye de Prémontré', *Intervalles*, 15 (1986), pp. 82–83; Célestin Nicolet, 'Nécrologe de Bellelay', *Actes de la Société jurassienne d'émulation*, 4 (1852), p. 79.

32 "Quandoq[ui]dem R[everentia] V[estra] patrios Lares e[sse] reperitura, ac Missaru[m] 8 vocum penuriâ laboramus, lubens vellem ut R[everentia] V[estra] (si sic expedire iudicaverit) quaspiam secum asportaret, describendas et quantocytus remittendas"; Gregor Gisinger in Bellelay to Joseph Crammatt in Sankt Urban, 22 March 1641, Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 512 F, fol. numbered 349. Crammatt came from Porrentruy, as Gisinger. He was canon of Bellelay and pastor of Genevez, and died in January 1653; Nicolet, 'Nécrologe de Bellelay', 78.

33 Little is known about Alberich Graf's life. He came from Solothurn, and was born about 1618–19. He was professed in Sankt Urban in 1636, and died on 1st May 1685; Ruckstuhl, *Der Zisterzienserkonvent St. Urban*, p. 86.

still welcoming new masses, an anonymous copy of a twelve-part mass on the melody of the *Maienlied* via Crammatt. On Gisinger's enquiry about its author, Graf replied that it was a pirated copy of a composition by Johann Benn:³⁴

[Gisinger to Graf] I received a twelve-part mass together with the motets, for which I am very thankful, but would be more and more personally so, if I knew the names of the author and the sender ...

[Graf to Gisinger] To father Joseph I sent, in addition, Benn's mass on the *Maienlied*, but it is full of faults, and because it was copied furtively by a disciple of its author, I cannot have from the author a more correct copy. I hope father Joseph will correct these faults and send it [back] as a German tablature at all events by the time corresponding to the mass' title ...

Johann Benn was born around 1590 near Messkirch (in Baden-Württemberg). In 1638, he was appointed organist of the collegiate church of St Leodegar in Lucerne. Six years later, he published a collection of masses dedicated to the town council of Lucerne, *Missae concertatae trium vocum*³⁵ The first mass is indeed written "Über das Geistlich Meyenlied", but this is for seven, not for twelve voices. The *Maienlied* was, incidentally, a folk song for May Day that was clad with religious words by Benedikt Gletting in Berne about 1560 and subsequently reprinted on flysheets both by the Protestants and the Catholics, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century respectively.³⁶

Graf's delivery of his own furtively obtained copy of the mass to Crammatt and Gisinger was only justified by the faultiness of the source. As a careful lender, he was loath to give away scores of which he did not have a backup copy, as another passage from the same letter suggests: "I promised to father Joseph, who was then leaving, father Felician's *Concertationes musicas*, but because I did not wish to deprive our dear choirmaster, I looked for a way to obtain

34 "Missam 12 vocum unâ cum motectis accepi, pro #qua# qua grates ago, maiores et magis individuales acturas, si mihi Authoris et mittentis nomina innotescerent"; Gregor Gisinger in Bellelay to Alberich Graf in Sankt Urban, 13 December 1641, Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, K U 512 F, fol. numbered 353; "misi insuper <R[everendo] P. Josepho> Missa[m] à D[omi]no Benn musici co[m]posita[m] über daß Meÿenliedt sed perquam mendosè ac furtim ab Authoris quoda[m] discipulo descripta[m], correctius vero exemplar quia ab Authore h[a]bere non poss[um] <[po]tui>, speravi R[everendum] P. Josephu[m] menda illa emendaturu[m] et in germanica tabulatura correcta[m], saltem ad titulo missae correspondens temp[us] remissura[m] ..."; Alberich Graf in Sankt Urban to Gregor Gisinger in Bellelay, early 1642, Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, K U 512 K, fol. numbered 402.

35 Lucerne: David Haultt, 1644; RISM A/I B 1951.

36 See Riedo, 'Das *Geistlich Meyenlied*'.

another copy. When I had it at last, I ordered our old copy to be dispatched, and left with father Joseph some letters of excuse ...".³⁷ Felician Schwab, a Franciscan monk, had been living in Lucerne from 1630 to 1639 and was at the time in Fribourg (Switzerland). No edition by Schwab with the title of *Concertationes musicas* is known today: is this a reference to a lost edition? It is also conceivable that the phrase does not literally quote the title of a printed book, but generically refers to a manuscript collection of *concertato* motets.

In the Reformed music societies, lending music was an even more common practice, so much so that, at times, it was regulated in the society's statutes. In the music society in *Sankt Magni Gewölbe* in Sankt Gallen, members were only allowed to keep the books for one week—until the next rehearsal.³⁸ This was possibly a general practice; at least, so it was also in Winterthur, where the obligation even extended to the members' private books and instruments, if they had been deposited in the society's rooms. For this reason, a note is added in the society's inventory of music, explaining how Andreas Hammerschmidt's *Gespräche über die Evangelia*,³⁹ belonging to the Hanhart estate, was borrowed by a certain Johannes Hanhart, who was evidently one of the heirs.⁴⁰

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- 37 "Promiseram enim #*Reverendus* P. Prior noster vel poti[us] ego# Ips[us] ego R[everendo] P. Josepho abiturienti *Concertationes Musicas* R[everendi] P. Faeliciani, nec etia[m] volui ijsde[m] defraudare Charissimu[m] nostru[m] Philomusum <Phonascu[m]>, unde [omn]i via et ratione qualiter alteru[m] exemplar habere possim elaboravi, tandem acquisito, promissis ut stare[m] illud ipsu[m] exemplar quod prius habebamus #iussu R[everendi] P. Prioris transmissi# ut transmittere[m] iussit, dedi ergo ad R[everendum] P. Josephu[m] litteras quib[us] R[everendum] P. Priore[m] excusavi ..."; Alberich Graf in Sankt Urban to Gregor Gisinger in Bellelay, early 1642, Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 512 K, fol. numbered 401.
- 38 "14. Von Büchern. So ein *Collegiant* ein Buch auß dem Gwelb mit sich nach Hauß nim[m]t, solle ers einem Buofßner angeben vnd Künfftigen Sontag darauff wider ins Gwelb bringen od[er] schikhen, zu Buß iedes mahl 3 [Kreuzer] so ers v[er]saumbt"; Sankt Gallen, Stadtarchiv, PA X 33 27, statutes of the Sankt Magnus music society, 1687.
- 39 Dresden: Christian Bergen, 1655; RISM A/I H 1948; HH 1948.
- 40 "Zum Vierten, wan ein Glied der Music ein Musicalisches Instrument oder Buch mit sich heim b nimmt, sich alda privatim zu exerciren, soll selbiges uff nechst daruff folgenden Musiktag, wieder Zu der Musik gebracht werden; oder jeder Übertreter disses Punktes um vier Schilling gebüßt werden. Dess glychen wan einer von den Herren Musicanten, Syne bey der Gesellschaft habende eigene Bücher oder Instrument, gewüsser Ursachen wegen abforderte und heim bgenommen"; statutes (Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 303, *Wappenbuch*, fols [12r–15v]), quoted after Geilinger, *Zur Feier des 250-jährigen Bestehens*, p. 10; "Diesen ersteren Authorem hat hr. Johannes Hanhart wider empfangen. [later addition:] Ist wieder Zurück", from the inventory compiled in 1660, Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 303, *Wappenbuch*, fol. [31v].

The most extensive documentation of the borrowing practice of the *collegia musica* is a booklet found among the papers of the other Sankt Gallen music society, *auf dem Sängerbüschchen*,⁴¹ with the title *Borrowings of books and other things from the belongings of the music society* (*Außleihung Bücher, vnd andere sachen, von Music Collegio sachen*). On six pages of the sixteen-page booklet there are some thirty entries from 1664 until about 1693. Were only so few books borrowed, or were not all transactions recorded? In any case, the records concern printed partbooks, manuscript scores, and musical instruments. The very first two entries bring examples for all categories:⁴²

1664.

[Sunday] 31 January. Doctor Tobias Baumgarter borrowed three of the music books in score copied by Doctor Hector Zollikofer: [Jacob] Handl, the fifth part of Hammerschmidt [a manuscript score of the *Chor-Music ... Fünffter Theil Musicalischer Andachten* (Leipzig: Samuel Scheibe, 1652–3; RISM A/I H 1934; HH 1934)], and the psalms.

[Thursday] 18 February. Mr Gmünder brought home with him two partbooks in folio of Hammerschmidt (the first and second soprano) and one violin.

Did these networks of music lending ever relate to each other? There are a few indications that they occasionally did. A concerto by Vivaldi is listed in the inventory of the Winterthur music society from 1722–64: “Concerto by Antonio Vivaldi, in folio, six parts”, as item number 50.⁴³ The inventory of the collection of the Benedictine monastery of Muri from 1848 states that a “very old” manuscript of a concerto by Vivaldi is among its holdings, listed as item number 1047.⁴⁴ In 1813, Leonhard Ziegler, the librarian of the Zurich *Allgemeine*

41 The two Sankt Gallen music societies—founded 1659 and ca. 1620 respectively—were named after their rehearsal rooms; see Nef, *Die Collegia Musica*, pp. 45, 136.

42 “1664. [Sunday] 31. Jener. Herrn Doctor Tobiaß Baumgarter von den Music Büchern die Partitura glichen so herr Doctor Hector Zollikhoffer auß geschriben. 3. bücher. von Handell. Hamerschmidt. 5.ter theil. Pßallmen [Thursday] 18. februar. H. [space] Gmünder, nam mit ins heim 2. Volianten Hamerschmidts bücher. Pri. Sec. Discant, 1 discant Geigen”; Sankt Gallen, Stadtarchiv, PA x 33 17, fol. 2r. My thanks to Christoph Riedo for pointing out this document to me.

43 “Anthonij Vivaldj Concert, in folio. 6 theil”; Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 303, *Wappenbuch*, fol. [50r]. For more details, see Claudio Bacciagaluppi, ‘More on Vivaldi in Switzerland’, *Early Music*, 39 (2011), pp. 597–603.

44 “Vivaldi, Ant. Concert. (sehr alt)”; Aarau, Staatsarchiv, ZwA 1981 0002 0525, documents of the financial council, monasteries and collegiate churches 1805–80, 31. This inventory

Musikgesellschaft, which was founded in the previous year from the fusion of the older music societies and is still in existence today, compiled a catalogue of its music collection.⁴⁵ A Vivaldi source was listed by Ziegler as item 282: “Vivaldi (Antonio) Concerto à 3 Violini, Alto Viola, Violoncello e Organa. Mscpt”. Unlike the Muri and Winterthur copies, this source is preserved. It is a manuscript copy of the violin concerto in E minor, RV 275, in six partbooks, like the lost source in Winterthur.⁴⁶ Considering the rarity of Swiss copies of Vivaldi, it is very much possible that the three sources in Muri, Winterthur, and Zurich were related to each other.

Let us bring a second, albeit later example. It has been mentioned earlier how Milanese sacred music from the eighteenth century was almost exclusively brought into Switzerland by the Benedictine monks of Einsiedeln, via their house in Bellinzona.⁴⁷ An overlap of this particular repertoire with a Reformed collection would thus strongly suggest a direct relationship between the copies, and imply a cross-confessional exchange of music. Indeed, five sacred compositions are found in Switzerland both in at least one Benedictine monastery and in the collections of the pre-1813 Zurich music societies.⁴⁸ Moreover, one of the Benedictine sources is in a Milanese hand, implying that the other sources—with great probability—derive from it.

3c Book Market and Censorship

It would be too vast an endeavour to describe at length the mechanisms of the music book trade in the Alpine region in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁴⁹ A few specific questions only, concerning our focus on

was drawn up when the monastery was closed and its music collection dispersed. The authorities of the canton of Aargau distributed the music from Muri, together with the music coming from the Cistercian house of Wettingen, among twenty parish churches in the district, the cantonal library, and the teacher's college. The Vivaldi source was assigned to the parish church of Muri village.

45 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, a draft under AMG Archiv IV B 33 and the final version from 1814–29 under AMG Archiv IV B 34.

46 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 1072 & a–e. At the time, it was possibly kept in the same folder as a very similar source of the concerto in G minor, RV 316a, now bearing call number AMG XIII 1071 & a–c.

47 See Bacciagaluppi, ‘Il repertorio sacro milanese’ for more details.

48 See Table 3.1.

49 For studies on music book trade in (southern) Germany see, for example, Rose, ‘The Mechanisms of the Music Trade’, and Giselbrecht, *Crossing boundaries*, pp. 30–55.

TABLE 3.1 *Cross-confessional overlap in manuscripts of Milanese sacred repertoire*

Johann Christian Bach, Gloria in E flat major

- Aarau, Kantonsbibliothek, Ms Mus F 1(1) (from the monastery of Muri)
- Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek des Klosters, 389,4 in parts and 388,6 in score (both in a Milanese hand)
- Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 762 & a–bs

Gaetano Piazza, Kyrie in F major

- Engelberg, Musikbibliothek des Klosters, Ms A 555 and Ms A 556 (Milanese hand)
- Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 7086 & a–k

Giovanni Battista Sammartini, Credo in G major

- Engelberg, Musikbibliothek des Klosters, Ms A 627 (Milanese hand)
- Engelberg, Musikbibliothek des Klosters, Ms A 555
- Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 7070 & a–k

Pietro Valle, Dixit in G major

- Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek des Klosters, 205,6 (Milanese hand)
- Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 1064 & a–m

Pietro Valle, Gloria in F major

- Engelberg, Musikbibliothek des Klosters, Ms A 700 (Milanese hand) and Ms A 555
 - Einsiedeln, Musikbibliothek des Klosters, 632,10 (only “Qui sedes” and “Quoniam”, Milanese hand)
 - Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 7089 & a–o
-

sacred music and cross-confessional issues, will be illustrated here. Titles of sacred music could be acquired through the local booksellers, or by placing an order directly with the publisher. Swiss booksellers apparently traded indifferently in (music) books of both confessions. Therefore the issue of censorship will be examined, showing how printing and selling cross-confessional titles could become, on occasion, a very delicate issue.

Among the archival documents of the Zurich *collegia musica*, are preserved the account books of the society *zur deutschen Schule* from 1704 to 1772.⁵⁰ Following the entries over the years, an impression of the means by which the society enlarged its library can be gained—bearing in mind that another important channel, gifts and legacies, was not recorded in the account books. Forty-five printed books of music, summarised in Table 3.2, were purchased

50 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv II A 3.

TABLE 3.2 *Books bought by the Zurich music society zur deutschen Schule, 1704–34**Unspecified provenance (8)*

Authors: anthologies (2), T. Albinoni, G.B. Bassani, Ph.H. Erlebach, J.V. Rathgeber, F. Stickl, unknown

Printing places: Amsterdam (2), Augsburg (2?), Rudolstadt, Ulm (?), unknown (2)

Titles of Catholic sacred music: 3 (37%)

Booksellers (9)

Authors: G.B. Bassani (5), W.C. Briegel, S. Cherici, A. Corelli, A. Vivaldi

Printing places: Amsterdam, Augsburg, Bologna (4), Darmstadt, Paris, Venice

Titles of Catholic sacred music: 5 (55%)

Members or former members (28)

Authors: G.B. Bassani (6), S. Bodinus, A. Kirchbauer, (Martin?) Martini, B.

Pascoli, J.A. Planický, J.V. Rathgeber (8), G.A. Silvani, “Spiess”, E. Wilkomm (2), unknown (5)

Printing places: Augsburg (13?), Bologna (4), Constance (?), Venice (4?), unknown (6)

Titles of Catholic sacred music: 19 (68%)

between 1704, when the expenses were first recorded, and 1734, when the first delivery from Holland arrived, starting a new chapter in the history of the music trade. Eight are of unknown provenance, nine were bought from booksellers, and twenty-eight come from members or former members. These, in turn, may have acquired the books on the book market, or through the informal channels described above. The percentage of Catholic church music, however, is clearly higher among the books acquired by society members. This may suggest that these items were preferably purchased through personal contacts rather than through local booksellers.

The booksellers, for their own part, either purchased their goods at the book fairs, or bought books from printer-resellers. In 1701, the Zurich music society *zur deutschen Schule* explicitly asked Peter Ziegler to purchase a book by Andreas Hammerschmidt, and, if possible, some works by the Catholics Johann Melchior Gletle and Giovanni Battista Bassani, at the Frankfurt fair.⁵¹ Usually,

51 “Eodem [3 March 1701] ward dem Hr[en] Buchhändler Ziegler, *commission* ertheilt, für unser *Collegium*, in Fr.frt. einzuhandeln: Ham[m]erschm. Gespräch über die *Evangelia*, Anderen Theil. Item wann etwas von Glättli und *Bassani* Zubekom[m]en seÿe, selbiges auch für uns zukauffen”; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 3, p. 186.

each bookseller kept in stock a small number of copies of one particular title.⁵² If a somewhat rarer title appears in more than one collection, it is probable that all the copies came from the same bookseller. The library catalogue of the Cistercian monastery of Sankt Urban (1661) lists a lost reissue from 1530 of a collection originally printed by Pierre Attaignant in 1528, *Chansons et motetz en canon à quatre parties sur deux*: “French chansons and motets. Four partbooks in oblong octavo, Paris, 1530, elegantly bound and gilded”.⁵³ On account of the aforementioned patterns of dissemination, it is probable that the Winterthur music society, whose inventory (1660) lists the same title without specifying the year of publishing, also owned a copy of the 1530 issue.⁵⁴

The names of several booksellers who also traded in musical titles emerge from Swiss archival documents. Many were at once printers and booksellers,⁵⁵ but most of them never printed music. The Bodmer firm with its associate Peter Ziegler and the Gessner brothers in Zurich, Johann Hederlin in Lucerne, Jakob Hochreutiner in Sankt Gallen, and Emanuel König in Basel were all able to obtain printed books of music for their clients. The references to the books purchased at Hederlin's in 1626 by the Cistercians of Sankt Urban, and in 1706 at Gessner's by the Zurich society *zur deutschen Schule* are quite generic.⁵⁶ Instead, in 1685 Emanuel König sent to the Zurich society *zur deutschen Schule* from Basel three or four titles by Andreas Hammerschmidt, printed in Dresden and Freiberg, in 1693 Jakob Hochreutiner sold an unknown book by Caspar Movius in sixteen parts in folio to the Sankt Gallen society *auf dem Sängelhäuschen*, and in 1708 Peter Ziegler in Zurich to the *deutsche*

52 See Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du livre* (Paris: Michel, 1958), p. 225.

53 “Cantiones et Motetae Musicales. gallicae. Partes 4. in 8.va transversa Parisijs [added:] 1.530. eleganter compactae et deauratae”; Lucerne, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, Pp Msc 11.4, p. [615]. The 1528 issue bears the number H-3 in Daniel Heartz's catalogue, *Pierre Attaignant, Royal Printer of Music: a Historical Study and Bibliographical Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).

54 “Chansons et Motetz en canon à Quatre Parties Sur deux imprimées à Paris. Ihn 4. Tomis begriffen”; Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 303, fol. [25v].

55 On the printer-booksellers mentioned hereafter see the corresponding entries in Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet: auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007) and David L. Paisey, *Deutsche Buchdrucker, Buchhändler und Verleger, 1701–1750*, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, vol. 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988).

56 The sources just mention “canton[es]” (motets) and “*Music-Stückh*” (pieces of music) respectively; Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 512 L, fols numbered 579–80 and Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv II A 3.1, No. 4, fol. [6r].

Schule musicians Wolfgang Carl Briegel's *Musicalische Trost-Quelle*, printed in Darmstadt.⁵⁷

The Zurich-based booksellers Bodmer merit a more detailed discussion. Three members of the family firm had commercial ties with Zurich music societies. In 1646, the society *zur Chorherrenstube* bought music books from Johann Jakob Bodmer (1617–76); in 1684, his brother Heinrich (1621–89), and starting from 1692 and occasionally for nearly thirty years, his nephew Johann Heinrich (1669–1743) served the society *zur deutschen Schule*.⁵⁸ The two latter Bodmers were additionally the publishers of the *Neujahrsblätter* of the society *auf dem Musiksaal*, eight-page booklets issued as a new year's gift, each containing some introductory, usually moral text, and a short three-part composition, with a print run of five hundred in the first year (1685) and of six hundred from the second number.⁵⁹ Heinrich the younger obtained two books of Catholic sacred music by Johann Georg Rauch for the *deutsche Schule* in 1698.⁶⁰ In 1720, the society repaid vice choirmaster Hans Ulrich Ziegler—the brother of Peter Ziegler, the bookseller and Bodmer's associate—for expenses concerning five books sent from Nuremberg through the Bodmer firm, four titles by Giovanni Battista Bassani and one by Sebastiano Cherici.⁶¹ In the first

57 “October 1685 In disem Monat sind in daß Collegiu[m] erkaufft worden Von Em[m]anwel König Buchhendl[er] Zu Basel Ham[m]erschmidts 1 *Musicalische* Gesprech über die Evangelia p[er] 2 fl 12 bz [1655, RISM A/I H 1948; HH 1948] 2 *Fest vnd Zeitandachten* 4|o 2 fl [1670–71, RISM A/I H 1954; HH 1954] 3 *Mottetten und Concerten* fol. 2 fl 8 bz [1646 and 1654, RISM A/II H 1931; HH 1932; and/or H 1932; HH 1932]”; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 2, p. [157]; “für des *Movij* Musicbücher 16 Theil *in albo*”; Sankt Gallen, Stadtarchiv, PA x 33 11, expenses for the year 1693; “4 tt. 16. fl. Herren Obman[n] Petter Ziegler, für Briegels Trostquell [1679, RISM A/I B 4483; BB 4483] Luth Zedels Zalt den 13.t[en] 9bris A:|o 1708”; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv II A 3.1, No. 5, fol. [6v].

58 The references are to: Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. Z III 329, fol. [5r]; AMG Archiv IV A 2, p. 131; and AMG Archiv IV A 3, p. 7 respectively.

59 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv II A 2, No. 1, fols 7v and 8r. The society *zur deutschen Schule* started its own series in 1713. On the *Neujahrsblätter* see Cherbuliez, *Die Schweiz in der deutschen Musikgeschichte*, pp. 284–5. They were modelled on the *Neujahrsblätter* of the public library, issued since 1640, with an initial print run of four hundred copies; see Kempe and Maissen, *Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgesinnten*, pp. 36–38.

60 *Novae sirenes sacrae* ..., RISM A/I R 347, and *Harmonicis missarum concentus* ..., RISM A/I R 349; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 3, p. 116.

61 “17. tt. [Taler] 16. fl [Schilling] 8. hlr [Heller] hr[en] vice moderator Ziegler, Luth Zedels zalt den 3.t[en] Aprell[en] A:|o 1720 nam[m]l[ich] für 5. *Auth[ores] Music[ae]* von Nür[en]berg, samt postgelt. 14. tt: 4. X|r [Kreuzer] ... *Bassani Opera* 13. 24. X|r. [opus] 24. 1 fl. [Gulden] [opus] 26. 45. X|r *Acro[ama] Missale* 3 [Gulden] *Cherici Opera* 2. 1 [Gulden] 30 X|r

two decades of the century, no less than eighteen titles by Bassani were purchased. The enthusiasm for Bassani's music was so great, that in 1721 the choir-master Schmutz proposed to complete the set and buy all the opus numbers still missing from the collection. The society accepted with general applause.⁶² It is significant that Bodmer should deal in Catholic music, given the prominent role he played as a religious nonconformist, successful soldier, and unfortunate politician. Heinrich Bodmer was a supporter of pietist tendencies, which in those years were still opposed by the orthodox Reformed government of Zurich. He was a leader of the Reformed forces in the second Villmergen war against the Catholic cantons in 1712. In 1713, he attacked the town council's practice of corruption; but his attempt at a reform of the town's constitution failed. On account of his pietist orientation, in 1717 he was deprived of his seat in the Zurich small council, and in 1720 excluded from the great council. In that same year he was finally exiled; he settled in Colombiers, in the territory of Neuchâtel, where he died in 1743.⁶³

It is a piquant detail that one of the very last business transactions of the Bodmer firm should consist of reselling Catholic music—though hardly surprising, considered that the Pietists had a generally tolerant and even egalitarian attitude.⁶⁴ But did this commerce not arouse the suspicions of the Zurich

S[umm] | a 6 fl. 39 X | r alles Reichswähr[ung] an hr[en] Bodmer u. comp. | e zalt 19 Merz 1720 laut Zedels"; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv II A 3.3, No. 16, fol. [8r]. A copy of all titles is still preserved in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek: Giovanni Battista Bassani, *Armonie festive* ... (RISM A/I B 1200); *Davidde armonico* ... (RISM A/I B 1216; BB 1216); *Antifone sacre* ... (RISM A/I B 1218); *Acroama Missale* ... (RISM A/I B 1225); Sebastiano Chericci, *Harmonia di devoti concerti* ... (RISM A/I C 2019).

62 *Metri sacri* ... op. 8 (bought 1710); *Salmi di compieta* ... op. 10 (1716); *Melodie moderne in Concerti sacri* ... op. 11 (1707, a second copy 1734); *Armonie festive* ... op. 13 (1720); *La sirena amorosa* ... op. 17 (1716); *Messe concertate* ... op. 18 (1710); *Messa per li defunti* ... op. 20 (1716); *Salmi concertati* ... op. 21 (1706); *Lagrime armoniche* ... op. 22 (1716); *Le note lugubri* ... op. 23 (1716); *Davidde armonico* ... op. 24 (1720); *Completorii concenti* ... op. 25 (1706, a second copy 1710); *Antifone sacre* ... op. 26 (1720); *Motetti a voce sola* ... op. 27 (1726); *Corona di fiori musicali* ... op. 29 (1717); *Salmi per tutto l'anno* ... op. 30 (1707); *Cantate e arie amorose* ... op. 31 (1710); *Acroama missale* (1720); from Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv II A 3 (account book, 1704–72), AMG Archiv IV A 3 (minutes of the society meetings, 1692–1706), and AMG Archiv IV A 4 (minutes 1707–60). Finally, in April 1721 "Hr Capellm. | r Schmutz proponierte; Es wäre nuzlich, des Bassani Opera zu completier[en], so auch applaudirt word[en]"; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 169.

63 Hanimann, *Zürcher Nonkonformisten im 18. Jahrhundert*, pp. 23–42; Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus*, pp. 469–484.

64 Dellsperger, 'Der Pietismus in der Schweiz', pp. 588–598; Vischer et al., *Ökumenische Kirchengeschichte*, pp. 184–185; Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus*, pp. 50–51 and 98–101.

consistory court? Bodmer's anecdote leads us to examine the issue of censorship in relation to the printing and selling of sacred music. Looking at censorship is a privileged observation point for considering how confessional barriers were imposed and kept up in the Old Confederation.

Censorship was introduced in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire, and in most Swiss cantons, after a decree of the Imperial Diet from 1524.⁶⁵ During the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century, censorship was mostly directed against pamphlets both supporting and attacking the opposite confession. In such cases, cantonal governments could complain before the confederate diet. The Zurich government, for example, could protest against an anti-Reformation pamphlet printed in Lucerne, and the Lucerne government would then intervene against the publisher. Censorship was thus a measure of prevention against political strife. Censorship on printing has to be distinguished from censorship on commerce. While the first was universal and quite strict, the scope and application of the second varied in time and place: while printers risked being fined, arrested or even exiled if they published books without submitting them in advance to the local censorship commission ('uncensored books'), the trade of books from the other confession was not prohibited everywhere. Booksellers from Basel took ample advantage of this liberty,⁶⁶ but also in Zurich, where even the trade was illegal, the bookseller Bodmer indifferently commerced in prints of sacred music from both confessions, as seen above.

The Basel town council issued the first censorship decrees in 1524, 1542, and 1558; the latter was confirmed in 1610 and 1665. Later, the revised *Censurordnung* was printed, for example in 1761. Any book issued in town had to be approved by a special commission of University professors. It had to be religiously orthodox, bear the author's name and the place of publication, and be free of any personal attack against any person of whatsoever condition. Reading and selling books, however, was never regulated by law—yet, in practice, there were cases where booksellers were also prosecuted. Actually, the Basel authorities were not interested in controlling the reading practice of their citizens, but wished rather to prevent political tension.⁶⁷ Censorship in the religiously conservative towns of Geneva and Zurich was more strict than

65 See Gerold Meyer von Knonau, *Geschichte der Censur in Zürich*, Monatsschrift des wissenschaftlichen Vereins in Zürich (Zurich: s.n., 1859), and Rudolf Thommen, 'Zensur und Universität in Basel bis 1799', *Basler Jahrbuch*, 64 (1944), pp. 49–82.

66 See Chapter 3d.

67 See Alban Norbert Lüder, 'Die Basler Zensurpolitik in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 97 (1997), pp. 86–95, and the documents in Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, JJJ 4, censorship (1524–1943).

in 'liberal' Basel. A decree published in Zurich in 1711 lists twelve points concerning book censorship: first, publishers shall not print polemical pamphlets, nor, second, anything uncensored; third, theological and philosophical texts shall be examined by an extended censorship commission (including the pastor of the Grossmünster); fourth, uncensored books shall be confiscated; fifth, church and school books for the town shall not be printed elsewhere; sixth, one copy of any approved book shall be freely given to the three censors and to the public libraries; seventh, authors may freely choose their publishers; eighth, reprints of church and school books shall be revised by the censors; ninth, the censors shall also determine the price of church and school books; tenth, two of the three censors shall regularly visit the bookshops, and prohibit anything (books, engravings, and songs) they deem "detrimental and irritating"; eleventh, every printer shall swear to follow the censorship rules; last, the censors shall inspect the printers monthly and report, if necessary, to the town office (*Cantzley*). The tenth and most important point merits to be quoted in full:⁶⁸

Because books, prints, songs, etcetera, that foster luxuriance, malice, and also false creed, are found both at local bookshops and from foreign salesmen, the appointed censors shall keep a sharp eye, and particularly one of the secular censors, together with the censor from the clergy, shall inspect periodically the foreigners and confiscate everything that may be detrimental and irritating.

The revision from 1758—which remained in force until 1798—adds more details.⁶⁹ The members of the censorship board are mentioned: one councillor of the Great Council, one councillor of the Small Council, and the Grossmünster pastor; in addition, for theological and philosophical publications the

68 "Weilen auch mithin, theils in den hiesigen Buch-Läden, theils bey Frömden, welche allhier feil haben, dergleichen Bücher, Kupfer-stuck, Lieder, &c. gefunden werden, welche zu aller üppigkeit und Muhtwillen, auch falscher Lehr anlas geben; So sollen die verordnete *Censores* heriauf ein wachtsames Aug haben, und insonderheit einer der *Censorum* weltlichen Standts mit dem *Censore* von dem Kirchen-Stand die Frömden so je zun [sic] Zeiten oberzehlte Stuck und Sachen feil haben fleissig *visitieren*, und alles so schädlich und ärgerlich seyn möchte, mit ernst abschaffen"; *Ordnung der Dieneren der Kirchen, in der Statt und auf der Landschaft Zürich samt beygefügter Stillstands- Censur- und Truck-Ordnung erneueret, vermehret; und in Truck verfertigt* (Zurich: s.n., 1711), 'Vom Censieren und Trucken der Bücheren', 45–50: 49.

69 *Erneuerte und vermehrte Predicanten-Ordnung für die Diener der Kirchen in der Stadt und auf der Landschaft Zürich: samt beygefügter Stillstands-, Censur- und Druker-Ordnung* (Zurich: s.n., 1758), 92–99.

opinion of two professors of theology, the professor for philosophy, and the professor for sacred philology at the Carolinum shall also be considered. The board (*Censur-Commission*) shall prohibit anything that goes against the Bible and the spirit of the Confederation, offends the honour of the political class, and generally does not follow the rules of honesty and good manners. If the censors do not agree, the mayor and councils will decide. In a few points, the later decree is less rigid: booksellers, salesmen, and lending libraries shall be controlled routinely once a year, instead of once a month, and just by reading through their catalogues; a personal inspection will be undertaken only if necessary.

The sale and ownership of cross-confessional books was all but common in the Catholic cantons. Copies of Reformed books were burned in the marketplace of Lichtensteig, in the territories of the abbey of Sankt Gallen, in 1679 and 1681.⁷⁰ On trying to borrow Protestant psalm books (with music), Adam Haur, the schoolmaster of Oensingen, was suspended from his office in 1610; the cantonal government in Solothurn recommended to the village community to submit the names of the next schoolmaster for approval.⁷¹ On being accused of selling "Lutheran books" ("lutherische Bücher"), Elias Steiger was exiled from the Catholic town of Solothurn in 1643 after only a few years' commercial activity. He had settled in the town in 1641, exhibiting a letter from his confessor, and in the same year he had married. In 1642 and 1643, however, he was admonished for selling "suspect books" ("v[er]dächtige Büecher").⁷² On 18 and 19 August 1643, an officer examined him and his wife, to see if they possessed Lutheran books and if they were living as good Catholics, confessing and taking communion regularly; she apparently did not, and the officer feared that some people in Solothurn might convert to Protestantism.⁷³ He was exiled and

70 See Jost Kirchgraber, 'Und ich zu meinen verbrannten Büchern', in Peter Erhart (ed.), *Schatzkammer Stiftsarchiv St. Gallen: Miscellanea Lorenz Hollenstein* (Dietikon: Graf, 2009), pp. 80–83.

71 "[On the left margin, added: Beurlaubter Schulmeister] Ohn weytt zu Bechburg diewyll Adam Haur der schulmeÿster zu onsengen luterische psalmen bücher begeret hatt zu Endtlehn[en] daß Er Imme agenz vorttschicken od[er] ein H[err] die gemein straffen werde Inso vernehmitt [?] wan sÿ ohne Ir H. vorwüssen andere schulmeister anwenden"; Solothurn, Staatsarchiv, Ratsmanual, vol. 114 (1610), p. 1.

72 Solothurn, Staatsarchiv, Ratsmanual, vol. 145 (1641), pp. 407, 449; vol. 146 (1642), p. 181; vol. 147 (1643), pp. 97, 347; vol. 147a (1643), p. 81.

73 "H. Schultheiß von Roll Ritter ist befelcht den Eliam den Buochhändler zu examinieren ob er kein lutherische Büecher, auch ob er und sin haußfraw nach Catholischem brauch verrichtet haben, Mit der Confession und Communion waß sich gebürt habe"; "Min hochehrend. H. Schulth[ei]ß von Roll Ritter, hat Meinen H[err]en relation wegen Elias deß

had to leave town and canton by the first of September; his wife followed him in October, and his books were confiscated.⁷⁴ In February 1645, his wife Madeleine “from Berne” (“von Bern”) was permitted to collect the belongings they had left behind in Solothurn.⁷⁵ This phrase can be read in two different ways. Perhaps they had settled in Berne, possibly after having converted. Perhaps, instead, Madeleine was originally “from Berne”, and born a Protestant; a mixed marriage might explain both the officer’s suspicion and Steiger’s dangerous commerce.

In Solothurn, confiscated Protestant books were handed over to one of the canons in the collegiate church.⁷⁶ The heads of Catholic institutions had to periodically renew their permission to read and possess books placed on the *Index*.⁷⁷ Perhaps this was the path by which Protestant books found their way into the libraries of Catholic monasteries. Censorship extended however also to books quietly standing in the library’s shelves. In Sankt Urban, some delicate passages in the works of Erasmus and Conrad Gessner were carefully crossed out.⁷⁸

3d Case Study: Johann Jacob Decker, Printer in Basel

Johann Jacob Decker (born in 1635, died after 1680) was the son of the publisher Georg Decker (1596–1661). The father had come to Basel from Germany, and had obtained a lucrative position as University printer, having the exclusive right to publish the students’ theses. The post was inherited by his son, who however was less fortunate in managing the family business. Between 1665 and 1678 he was repeatedly—and rightly—accused of printing Catholic pamphlets and songs. He lost the University post in 1668, and the last known books

Buochhändlers gethan; wie daß sin frau Niemahlen [?] gebeichtet, Also daß Zubesorgen, daß der lutherische glaube leichtlich möchte bej etliche einreisen u[nd] Ist gerathen, daß Im[m]e durch einen Weibel solle angezeigt werden, daß er biß Verenaes Meiner G[eehrten] H[erren] Landt und gebiet, darinnen Zuwohnen meiden solle”; Solothurn, Staatsarchiv, Ratsmanual, vol. 147 (1643), pp. 357 and 361.

74 Solothurn, Staatsarchiv, Ratsmanual, vol. 147 (1643), p. 473; vol. 148 (1644), pp. 87, 594.

75 “Madlen steigers von Bern ist bewilliget ds sye Ires mans Eliae deß Buechhändlers annoch alhie habende sachen zu sich nem[m]en undt bezüchen möge”; Solothurn, Staatsarchiv, Ratsmanual, vol. 149 (1645), p. 43.

76 In 1641 his name was Gotthart; Solothurn, Staatsarchiv, Ratsmanual, vol. 145 (1641), p. 625.

77 Lucerne, Staatsarchiv, KU 512 C, fols numbered 256 (1626), 137 (1644), and 82 (1657).

78 Altermatt et al. (eds.), *Sankt Urban 1194–1994*, pp. 162–163.

printed by Decker were published in 1680 in the Catholic town of Breisach, at the time under French rule.⁷⁹

Archival documents do not report who first denounced Decker to the city authorities. He had in any case already five years of experience as an independent publisher, when in January 1666 he was first questioned by the police. Carl Lauberer, his typesetter, and Jacob Geissler, his printer, were also questioned, and confirmed how in 1665 Decker had published various “popish songs” (“Papistische Lieder”) and two “popish pamphlets” (“Papistische tractätlin”).⁸⁰ The pamphlets were intended to be sold in the confessionally mixed village of Zurzach, in a commonly administered part of present-day Aargau, where a fair was held twice a year, at St Verena (the first of September) and at Pentecost. While the Zurzach fair was not specialised in books, it attracted the public from quite a vast area: beside Switzerland, mainly Swabia, Baden, Württemberg, Alsace and the Vorarlberg.⁸¹ Decker was punished with three days’ imprisonment and a fine of two silver *Mark*; the illegally printed books were seized. Moreover, the question was left open—at the professors’ discretion—if he should lose his privilege as University printer.⁸² It is worth noticing that his middleman in Zurzach was the administrator (*Schaffner*) of the Catholic collegiate church of St Verena, as he himself stated on a later occasion.⁸³

In fact, at the end of January 1668, a second legal action was started against Decker. This time his house was searched, and many Catholic titles found. He maintained that he had only bought them to resell, and that all the Catholic books he had formerly printed had by that time already been sent to Zurzach.⁸⁴ Jacob Geissler was questioned again, and he blatantly contradicted Decker: he himself had printed for Decker in two weeks in October four flysheets with Catholic songs, at a print run of four thousand each: *Zu dir o Jungfrau wir, Der Psalter, Von dem Rock unseres Herrn Jesu Christi*, and *Das Fegfeuer*. Finally, he had also printed a booklet entitled *Inventuarium* (sic) *universale*, in two thousand copies. On the songs, Decker ordered the typesetter to put the year 1665, so that it might appear as though they had been printed before his first trial.⁸⁵

79 See the entries in Reske, *Die Buchdrucker*; see also Thommen, ‘Zensur und Universität in Basel bis 1799’, pp. 61–62. The last books printed by Decker are listed in VD17 as Nos 39:164546V, 12:126841U, 14:077696X and 14:077796C.

80 Document 3.2.

81 Walter Bodmer, *Die Zurzacher Messe von 1530 bis 1856*, Argovia, No. 74 (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1962), pp. 11–16.

82 Document 3.3.

83 Document 3.4.

84 Document 3.4.

85 Documents 3.5 and 3.6.

Of all the titles mentioned, only a copy of the *Inventarium Universale Von viel schönen und mancherley Künsten und Secreten* is preserved.⁸⁶ Decker issued it without indicating name, place, nor date, so that there still remains a small margin of doubt about the identification. At least two of the songs, however, were probably reprints of flysheets issued by David Hautt in Lucerne in the early 1650s.⁸⁷ The Hautt flysheets (and probably Decker's reprints, too) had only the texts of the songs, without music. Geissler, however, produced at a questioning in June 1667 "a sheet of a printed song with music notation" ("ein bogen eines getruckht[en] gesangs mit *noten*"), suggesting that Decker owned a set of music characters. This song, in particular, had been printed at the request of a bookseller named Buxtorf "for a Catholic priest" ("für einen Pfaffen").⁸⁸

Decker's line of defense reveals the hypocrisy of the Basel authorities, who were ready to close an eye in certain cases of cross-confessional commerce, while strictly defending the law in his own case. Decker again maintained that he only had bought Catholic books to resell them, and that reselling was not against the law; all bookshops in Basel, in fact, were full of Catholic books.⁸⁹ Moreover, he made a point that his competitor Emanuel König had even printed twice the *Corpus iuris canonici*, "a wholly Catholic work" ("ein gleichmessig Catholisches *opus*") without incurring any legal action.⁹⁰ This was perfectly true: König had printed it a first time in 1661, a second time in 1665, and would issue it again in 1670, 1682, and 1696.⁹¹ However seldom it occurred, Catholic texts had in fact never altogether ceased to be printed in Basel.⁹² All this was to no avail: at the end of June, Decker was sentenced to two days of imprisonment and a fine of one hundred guilders.⁹³

86 Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, 35/A 21.9.

87 *Zu dir o Jungfrau wir* is one of the two songs in *Zwey Schönnewe Geistliche Lieder: Das erste: Ein Bittlied zu unser lieben Frawen, O selige Mutter voller Gnaden; Das ander: Zu dir O Jungfrau Maria rein, schreyen wir alle in gemein* (Lucerne: David Hautt, 1652; Berne, Universitätsbibliothek, Zentralbibliothek, Rar alt var 235:181). *Das Fegfewr* is an abbreviated title for *Klag- und Frewd-Lieder: Erstlich: Der armen betrubten und betrangten lieben Seelen in dem Fegfewr. Das ander: Jubel-Gesang, einer erlösten Seel auß dem Fegfewr. Beyde im Thon: Montebaw: oder, O der bösen Stund, da ich war verwundt, &c.* (Lucerne: David Hautt, 1653; VD17 1:043919G).

88 Document 3.7.

89 Document 3.7.

90 Document 3.8.

91 The books are identified in VD17 by the sigla 1:009921R, 39:155956Z, 12:197896S, 12:197994G, and 1:009956Y respectively.

92 For the late sixteenth century, see Lüber, 'Die Basler Zensurpolitik', pp. 126–133.

93 Document 3.9.

The loss of the University printing privilege, and the heavy fines that Decker had to pay, pushed him to seek his sources of income among a Catholic public. This time, however, he would not take the risk of printing any Catholic books in the town of Basel. After his second trial, he accepted the offer of Columban von Andlau, the abbot of Mariastein, a nearby Benedictine abbey, to establish a press in the Alsatian village of Héisingue, which at that time belonged to the abbey. In this way, Decker became *de facto* the monastery printer. The issues of the Héisingue press, however, bore the name of its technical director (*factor*), Johann Caspar Schwendimann.⁹⁴ In 1676, Decker was accused by another Basel printer, Hans Jakob Bertsche (1635–1707), of being the actual publisher of the Héisingue press. He only admitted that he had helped to found the press, but had afterwards left the business to Schwendimann. Also, he acknowledged having printed the illustrated title page (“titulblätlin”) of a prayer booklet, *New Verbessertes Bettbüchel Der Seelen-Liebe genan[n]t*, with the imprint “Getruckt Zu Hässingen Durch Jo. Caspar Schwendiman[n], 1671” (the title page is filed, as a piece of evidence, with the other documents in the Basel State archives). His line of defense is, on the one hand, once again based on the difference between printing and trading: he protested that Schwendimann was an independent publisher, and that he was just reselling Schwendimann’s production, which in itself was not illegal.⁹⁵ He also observed that issuing a print depicting a Catholic religious subject cannot be against the law, as any Reformed engraver, painter or goldsmith is allowed to produce Catholic artefacts. This time, Decker was placed under house arrest for two years.⁹⁶

Johann Jacob Decker’s printing and trading of Catholic titles surely falls into the category of François’s ‘commercial ecumenism’. Decker himself mentions in his defense the example of artisans working for Catholic patrons, just as the Augsburg painters quoted by François.⁹⁷ Decker surely speculated that he might reach a wider market if he also printed Catholic titles. He entertained commercial relationships at first with the collegiate church of St Verena in Zurzach, and later with the Benedictine abbey of Mariastein. Independently of his religious beliefs, about which nothing is known, he thereby effectively practised toleration. The intervention of his Catholic sponsor, the Benedictine abbot (a letter of whom is among the documents of the trial), did not prevent his being condemned. Still, a house arrest of two years looks like a relatively mild sentence, compared to Elias Steiger’s banishment from Solothurn.⁹⁸

94 Document 3.10.

95 “... handlung Zutreib[en] ohnv[er]botten seye”; Document 3.11.

96 Document 3.12.

97 François, *Protestants et catholiques en Allemagne*, pp. 139–144.

98 See Chapter 3c.

Decker's fate shows how censorship, even in the traditionally open-minded town of Basel, could severely affect the lives of those who had to deal with it. On the other hand, it also reveals the ambiguity of the Basel authorities, as shown in the case of Emanuel König. By which stroke of luck, or rather on account of whose protection, König was exempt from legal troubles, still has to be explained.

The ‘Collegia Musica’

4a Types and Functions

At various times archival or musical sources relating to amateur music societies have been mentioned: in the following, a focus is placed on these social bodies and in particular on the *collegia* in the small area between Zurich and Winterthur. *Collegia musica* were mostly—but not exclusively—founded in the Reformed regions of German-speaking Switzerland, and were made up in principle entirely of amateurs. These music societies were similar to the many *collegia* diffused across Europe, of which but a few examples are recalled here. The Nuremberg patricians who joined the *Musikkränzlein*, founded in 1588, cultivated a cross-confessional repertoire with a focus on Italian music, just as did the Swiss societies. The *collegium* in Utrecht, remarkably, dedicated its rehearsals to instrumental music only for several years after its foundation in 1631. The Hamburg music society was founded around 1660 with the support of Matthias Weckmann. The bourgeois musical academy in Catholic Prague was placed under the protection of Johann Hubert Hartig, patron of Jan Dismas Zelenka—but alas, very little is known of its activities. The Leipzig student society had famously the honour of being directed by Johann Sebastian Bach.¹ Antoine-Elysée Cherbuliez identified one specificity of Swiss societies in that they recruited members from among the town elites, while Claudia Heine identified another in their being long-lived.² Some present-day societies (the *Musik-kollegium Winterthur*, and the *Allgemeine Musik-Gesellschaft* of Zurich and of Basel) in fact derive without intermission from their seventeenth-century

- 1 Giselbrecht, *Crossing boundaries*, pp. 100–103 and 162; Johann Cornelis Marius van Riemsdijk, *Het Stads-Muziekcollegie te Utrecht (Collegium Musicum Ultrajectinum) 1631–1881: Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der toonkunst in Nederland* (Utrecht: J. L. Beijers, 1881), pp. 3–5, 81–83; Max Seiffert, ‘Matthias Weckmann und das Collegium Musicum in Hamburg’, *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 2 (1900/1), pp. 111–112; Václav Kapsa and Claire Madl, ‘Weiss, the Hartigs and the Prague Music academy: research into the *profound silence* left by a *pope of music*’, *Journal of the lute society of America*, 33 (2000), pp. 47–86; Herbert Pankratz, ‘J.S. Bach and his Leipzig Collegium Musicum’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 49 (1983), pp. 323–353.
- 2 Cherbuliez, *Die Schweiz in der deutschen Musikgeschichte*, p. 243; Heine, Claudia, ‘*Aus reiner und wahrer Liebe zur Kunst ohne äussere Mittel*’: *bürgerliche Musikvereine in deutschsprachigen Städten des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts*, PhD dissertation (University of Zurich, 2009), p. 171.

ancestors.³ It is suggested here, in addition, that at least some of the Swiss music societies were characterised by their comparative liberality: in the music societies, some of the constraints of the Reformed society were relaxed, creating some space for a certain freedom of thought, speech, and action. This was possible on account of the privileged social rank of many members, and of the strictly private character of the societies. In this respect, Swiss *collegia musica* might be compared with the *collegia* in the United Provinces;⁴ however, it must be remembered that the Dutch were allowed a degree of liberty in social life, including religious toleration, that was unthinkable in Switzerland.

The Swiss *collegia musica* during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were private societies that gave themselves the goal of "helping out" the art of music—after the phrase used in 1663 in Berne.⁵ Music societies existed in Aarau, Basel, Berne, Bischofszell, Burgdorf, Chur, Frauenfeld, Herisau, Sankt Gallen, Schaffhausen, Thun, Trogen, Wetzikon, Winterthur, Zofingen and Zurich, and the list is probably incomplete. In some towns—at least in Berne, Zurich and Sankt Gallen—there existed two, or even three music societies at the same time.⁶ In the eighteenth century a few Catholic music societies came into existence. With the exception of the secular Academy in Bellinzona, they were organised as religious congregations under the patronage of St Cecilia. The oldest known is the Cecilian music society in Wil (in the confessionally mixed territory of the Catholic abbot of St Gallen), which was proposed to the town council in 1710 and founded 1715.⁷ The congregation of St Catherine and St Cecilia in Rapperswil, on lake Zurich, was approved by Pope Benedict XIII in 1726—it counted also eleven women among its members—and renewed in 1737.⁸ Another Cecilian society was founded some years later, in 1767, in the

3 Kurmann, *Dem Provinziellen widerstehen*; Heine, "Aus reiner und wahrer Liebe"; and Tilman Seebass, *Die Allgemeine Musikgesellschaft Basel, 1876–1976: Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Bestehen* (Basel: s.n., 1976).

4 See Noske, *Music Bridging Divided Religions*, vol. 1, pp. 23–25.

5 "... aufgeholfen werden"; Brönnimann, *Der Zinkenist und Musikdirektor Johann Ulrich Sultzberger*, p. 97.

6 Nef, *Die Collegia Musica*; Cherbuliez, *Die Schweiz in der deutschen Musikgeschichte*, pp. 296–297; Geering, 'Geschichte der Musik', p. 85; Gerhard Aeschbacher, 'Die Reformation und das kirchenmusikalische Leben im alten Bern', in *450 Jahre Berner Reformation: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Berner Reformation und zu Niklaus Manuel*, Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, 64/5 (Berne: Historischer Verein des Kantons Bern, 1980–81), p. 246, n. 30.

7 Alfred Widmer, *Liebhaber musizieren in der Kleinstadt: Festschrift zum 275-jährigen Bestehen des Orchestervereins Wil, 1715–1990* (Wil: Orchesterverein, 1990), pp. 8, 11.

8 Josef Hollenstein, 'Rapperswil zur Zeit der Bruderschaftsgründung', in Eduard Bürgi (ed.), *250 Jahre Bruderschaft der Heiligen Caecilia und Katharina Rapperswil, 1737–1987, Jubiläumsschrift*

town of Rorschach, ruled by the abbot of Sankt Gallen.⁹ Another music society was founded at the latest in 1785 in Bellinzona, to the south of the Alps, by the name of *illustre accademia*. There the Einsiedeln Benedictines directed a school, and with them the *accademia* certainly had contacts.¹⁰ These are the only known Catholic music societies known to date.

Actually, the activity of the *collegia musica* in seventeenth-century Switzerland was centred on a close relationship with Reformed church music.¹¹ The first music societies are likely to have grown out of the singing classes of Reformed schools, themselves heirs to the Catholic cathedral schools: their aim was to provide support for the four-part congregational singing of which Reformed Switzerland is still proud. Many society statutes in fact prescribe the performance of a Lobwasser psalm at the beginning and at the end of each rehearsal.¹² Yet, most preserved archival documents show no direct connection between the music societies and the Sunday services in church. The *collegia* were organised on the model of the guilds.¹³ Their members were amateurs, except—sometimes—the choirmaster. Professional musicians started being engaged when public concert life emerged in the mid eighteenth century, and the music societies started to evolve into concert societies.¹⁴ They met once or twice a week to rehearse. Social occasions, such as common meals and excursions, had an important place in the *collegia*. Public concerts were given yearly

der *Caecilia-Musikgesellschaft Rapperswil* (Rapperswil: Caecilia-Musikgesellschaft, 1987), pp. 46–60: 57–59.

- 9 Franz Willi, *Vom Anfang und Aufstieg des Cäcilienvereins Rorschach. Vereinsgeschichtlicher Exkurs zur Jubiläumsfeier (1767 bis 1917) am 9. November 1919* ([Rorschach]: [s.n.], 1919). Two documents mentioned in a late nineteenth-century archive inventory were not found: a member list from the foundation year 1767, and an account book for the period 1784–1865; Rorschach, Archiv der katholischen Kirchgemeinde, *Catalogus membrorum Coll[egium] mus[icum] Ros[acensis] 1767*, and *Kassabuch d[er] musik[alischen] Gesell- und Bruderschaft 1784–1865*; see Placid Bütler, 'Rorschach', in *Inventare schweizerischer Archive*, Part 2 (Aarau: Sauerländer, 1899).
- 10 See the statutes in Bellinzona, Archivio di Stato, scatola 38. The document is currently being studied and edited by Luigi Collarile (*RISM d-lib*, forthcoming).
- 11 For a general characterisation see Nef, *Die Collegia Musica*, pp. 23–97.
- 12 For example, the statutes, renewed in 1649, of the Sankt Gallen society *auf dem Sängerbüschchen* prescribe: "Das Exercitium Musicum solle mit einem Lobwasser oder gemeinen Psalmen angefangen und geendet werden. Was aber sonst unterweilen für Authores Musici zugebrauchen, Ist deß H. Principaln discretion hinngesstelt; Es ist aber auch angesehen das mithin er möglich der Instrumental Music ein halb stund geeignet werde"; Sankt Gallen, Stadtarchiv, PA x 33 1, pp. 36–37.
- 13 Heine, "Aus reiner und wahrer Liebe", pp. 170–173.
- 14 In Winterthur, for example, the first professional choirmaster was hired in 1758; Geilinger, *Zur Feier des 250-jährigen Bestehens*, p. 31.

on civic festivities or for fundraising purposes. In Zurich it was on *Bächtelistag* (2 January), on the occasion of the sale of the *Neujahrsblätter*; in Winterthur on the feast of St Alban (22 June, *Albanikonzerte*); in Burgdorf on the day of the children's procession called *Solennität* (since 1729).¹⁵ Such events were important for the societies' finances, but not less important were donations and legacies. The practice of giving or leaving either money or goods to the music societies is related to the traditional endowments to churches, for the foundations for altars or for the reading of masses on behalf of the souls of the deceased. Following the Reformation, the function of perpetuating one's memory was taken over by secular donations to learned societies, libraries, or museums.¹⁶ The *Guldenes Buch* of the Aarau music society (founded 1710), relating all donations by the society members and their guests, belongs to the same typology of book as the last pre-Reformation *Jahrzeitbuch* of the parish church (1504–28), listing day by day the anniversaries of the church's benefactors, and the *Donationenbuch* of the town library (founded 1776).¹⁷ But most importantly, donations had an important role in establishing a social network between the music societies, as will be later seen in discussing the new years' gifts to the Zurich society *auf dem Musiksaal*.¹⁸

Three basic types of music societies, which overlap in part, can be distinguished.¹⁹ The first type were the societies with a clearly ecclesiastical origin, which had the obligation of supporting congregational singing during the divine service. To this category belong the societies in Winterthur (to some extent) and in Frauenfeld.²⁰ The second category comprises the 'student'

15 See above, Chapter 3c; Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep. MK 1, *Protokoll Einer Loblichen Music Gesellschaft*, p. 33; and Howald, 'Von der Instrumentalmusik', p. 51.

16 Claudia Rütsche elegantly shows this mechanism for the Zurich museum in the *Wasserkirche; Die Kunstammer in der Zürcher Wasserkirche: öffentliche Sammeltätigkeit einer gelehrten Bürgerschaft im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert aus museumsgeschichtlicher Sicht* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1997), pp. 448–449.

17 Aarau, Stadtarchiv, II.562c, *Guldenes Buch*; II.606, *Neues Jahrzeitbuch der Pfarrkirche*; II.562a, *Donationenbuch der Bibliothek*. Also the music society in Burgdorf had a "Donationenbuch", which went unfortunately lost; Burgdorf, Archiv des Rittersaalvereins, x 312, *Gesatz Buch*, p. 78.

18 On the social network around the Aarau music society see instead Riedo, 'Privates Musizieren'.

19 The three Zurich societies match the three different categories; Hinrichsen, *Die Allgemeine Musik-Gesellschaft Zürich*, p. 33.

20 Gertrud Muraro-Ganz, 'Geschichte des Musikkollegium Winterthur', *Zürcher Chronik*, 63/2 (1995), pp. 12–16; Angelus Hux, *Verstummte Klänge: Spuren der Frauenfelder Musik-kultur im 18. Jahrhundert* (Frauenfeld: Huber, 2010), p. 38.

societies, which mainly recruited their members from among the pupils of the local grammar schools and high schools, and were officially approved (and financially supported) by the town governments. The music society in Basel and the 'lesser society' (*collegium minus*) in Berne are among the examples of this category.²¹ Finally, there were societies which recruited their members from among the town elite, such as the 'greater society' in Berne (*collegium maius*) and the society in Burgdorf.²² In search of the two elements—privilege and privacy—that are supposed to be peculiar to the Swiss *collegia musica*, in the following the focus will be placed on the last category, taking as examples the societies from Winterthur and Zurich. The choice is due in part to chance, as these societies happen to be among the best documented. On the other hand, because of the strict morality of the Zurich government, the instances of artistic disobedience and generally of comparative liberty to be found there appear to be particularly significant.

The *Musikkollegium Winterthur* was founded in 1629. For more than one hundred years the work of its twelve to fifteen members had two cornerstones. On the one hand, there was the Sunday obligation to lead congregational psalm singing. The members (*Kollegianten*) met in private every Wednesday to practice. On the other hand, on St Alban's day (and, in the late eighteenth century, on two or three further 'extraordinary' occasions), the society performed in public.²³ The *Winterthurischer Musicalischer Ehrenkrantz* or *Wappenbuch* ("book of coats of arms"), deposited in the Winterthur town library, contains different material relevant to the history of this long-lived institution.²⁴ Its compilation, by the member Hans Ulrich Bidermann (died 1687), commences following a meeting of the association in 1660, in which a renewal of the statutes was decided. The book opens with an extensive introduction, followed by the new statutes and the list of members from 1629 until about the year 1800 (fols 4r–18r). The bulk of the manuscript contains the arms of the members,

21 Eduard Wölflin, 'Das Collegium Musicum und die Concerte in Basel', *Beiträge zur vaterländischen Geschichte*, 7 (1860), pp. 335–388; Brönnimann, *Der Zinkenist und Musikdirektor Johann Ulrich Sultzberger*, pp. 56–58.

22 Brönnimann, *Der Zinkenist und Musikdirektor Johann Ulrich Sultzberger*, pp. 38–41; Hermann Merz, 'Das Collegium Musicum von Burgdorf und sein Einfluss auf das musikalische Leben im ersten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts', *Blätter für bernische Geschichte, Kunst und Altertumskunde*, 23 (1927), p. 95.

23 On the Winterthur music society there is an abundance of literature, for example, Geilinger, *Zur Feier des 250-jährigen Bestehens*; Fehr, *Das Musikkollegium Winterthur*; Kurmann, *Dem Provinziellen widerstehen*; Muraro-Ganz, 'Geschichte des Musikkollegium Winterthur'.

24 Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 303, formerly 114.

from the foundation up to the 1840s (fols 88r–214r). In the first part there are two different inventories of the music owned by the *collegium musicum*, the first laid out in 1660, the second in 1721 (fols 23r–46v and 48r–50v). Further documents include the minutes of the society meetings since 1684, and an account book, started in 1753.²⁵ However, no musical sources belonging to the *Musikkollegium* are preserved earlier than a collection of symphonies by Carl Stamitz bought in 1778.²⁶

Around 1700, three music societies were active in Zurich: the society *auf dem Musiksaal*, founded 1613, the society *zur Chorherrenstube*, of unknown date, and the society *zur deutschen Schule*, founded 1679. Both the *Chorherrenstube* and the *deutsche Schule* societies were comprised almost exclusively of schoolboys and students, the offspring of well-to-do families. The first non-student member entered the society *zur deutschen Schule* six years after its foundation.²⁷ Instead, the *Musiksaal* society was from early on a club where adults covering the highest ranks in the town's economy and politics met for weekly music rehearsals. In the Zurich central library, many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions are kept that once belonged to the three music societies. In 1812, the music was taken over by their successor, the *Allgemeine Musik-Gesellschaft*, which is still active. The librarian of the new association, Leonhard Ziegler, was instructed to compile a catalogue of the music collection in 1813. A first draft contains about eight hundred entries.²⁸ The inventory is divided into two parts: the "older music" ("ältere Musikalien") is listed in a non-thematic catalogue from number one to three hundred and forty-two, followed by the more recent titles accompanied by their incipit. Even if it is unknown from which of the three original societies most of the sources came, this is one of the best-preserved collections stemming from the ancient *collegia musica*. The *Allgemeine Musik-Gesellschaft* also deposited in the library many archival documents belonging to the ancient societies, besides all the surviving musical sources. These comprise account books, members' lists,

25 Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 1, *Protokoll Einer Loblichen Music Gesellschaft*, 1684–1791; Dep MK 90, account book, 1753–1809.

26 Carl Stamitz, *Six sinfonies ...* Op. 13 (London: Dall, 1777); RISM A/I S 4407 and SS 4407; today in Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, MN 2810/2. See Bacciagaluppi, 'More on Vivaldi in Switzerland', p. 597.

27 A certain Hans Jacob Täschler from Sankt Gallen, admitted in 1685 as the societies' forty-ninth member; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv III A 2.

28 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV B 33. A fair copy was drawn in 1814 (AMG Archiv IV B 35). There is also a working copy that was kept updated with the addition of about 350 titles (AMG Archiv IV B 34). One of the last additions dates from around 1828, the entry for the overture of Lindpaintner's *Vampyr* under the number 1153.

and minutes of the general assemblies.²⁹ Many of them contain references to music books acquired by the societies.³⁰ Moreover, they also contain the catalogues of the music collections of the *Chorherrenstube* and of the *deutsche Schule* societies.³¹

Having sketched a description of the Swiss music societies, the *collegia* of Winterthur and Zurich will now be examined more closely using two different access points. At first, a few iconographical sources will be presented. The choice of an image, insofar as it is destined to be seen by strangers, inherently carries with it a share of self-representation. Looking at how the music societies used images may reveal how they perceived themselves and how they wished to be perceived. Next, the repertoire of the music societies will be examined, and especially its cross-confessional aspects, using the preserved inventories as main sources. The different image of the societies' activities, as it emerges from the iconographical sources and from the acquired repertoire, can be explained by recalling their chiefly private nature. Other instances of comparative freedom from the *collegia musica* will finally be presented to back up this explanation.

4b Images

As mentioned earlier,³² two of the Zurich music societies issued *Neujahrsblätter* after the model of the town's public library, small publications dedicated "to the dear youth" ("der lieben Jugend") which were distributed for fundraising on the second day of January (*Bächtelistag*). The series of the *Musiksaal* society was started in 1685, and was then imitated by the series of the *deutsche Schule* in 1713.³³ The *Neujahrsblätter* contained some introductory text or poem and one to three pieces of usually three-part vocal music, expressly composed.

29 Most documents are kept in the music department under the call number 'AMG Archiv'. Accounts of the *Musiksaal* for the years 1626–76 and 1716–18 are found instead in the manuscript department (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Mss. Z 111 326–9 & a–c and T 413, Nos 3–4 respectively). See their description in the *Musik in Zürich—Zürich in der Musikgeschichte* database, <http://www.musik.uzh.ch/static/mizcms/> (accessed September 2013).

30 See Chapter 3a and 3c.

31 See Table 4.1.

32 Chapter 3c.

33 Kempe and Maissen, *Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgesinnten*, pp. 36–38; Cherbuliez, *Die Schweiz in der deutschen Musikgeschichte*, pp. 380–381. Bound series of *Neujahrsblätter* are kept in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Q 341–2 (*deutsche Schule*) and AMG Q 332 (*Musiksaal*).

They also had engraved frontispieces, which are important sources for various aspects of the societies' life. Several recent issues of the *Neujahrsblätter* (the tradition of producing them still continues) use these frontispieces as sources for historical enquiry. For example, Dorothea Baumann examined the *collegia's* rehearsal and concert venues depicted on the frontispieces, and described among others an outside view of the concert hall that gave the name to the *Musiksaal* society, built in 1716–18 next to the *Fraumünster* church.³⁴ The images of instruments have been discussed, among others, by Friedrich Jakob.³⁵ The first number issued in 1713 by the *deutsche Schule* stated programmatically "Let brotherly love continue"³⁶ on its frontispiece, designed by Johann Melchior Füssli (1677–1736). The image described by the motto is, exceptionally, a quite realistic representation of a rehearsal in the society's premises, with a vocal and instrumental consort comprising six singers, two violins, a stringed bass (not quite the size of a violone, possibly a 'bassetto'), an organ, and the conductor, reading the score while beating time with a scroll of paper.³⁷ Religious and allegorical subjects are however, on the whole, clearly dominant on the frontispieces of the *Neujahrsblätter*. They illustrate the quotations that serve as mottos for the booklet's contents.

The Zurich societies provided a model for the societies of smaller towns in the surrounding areas. The Winterthur music society ordered a stove built in 1705 by the local craftsman Johann Heinrich Pfau to be painted by him together with David Sulzer.³⁸ The stove, crowned with the arms of the society members, is divided into two superimposed parts, each decorated with rectangular tiles separated by slender pillars. The pillars carry, in the upper part, images of virtues (*affabilitas, fidelitas*) and arts (*pictura, musica*); in the lower part, allegorical figures of moral defects, with mottos in German and in Latin. The upper tiles show several biblical subjects (for example, the lamb of Revelation 4–5, or David and Saul); the subjects of the lower ones are mostly allegorical, sometimes classical (Orpheus; Ulysses and the sirens; Amphion and Zethus). The art historian Ueli Bellwald states that the iconographical program is taken from Antonio Tempesta's Ovid, Tobias Stimmer's illustrations of the Bible, and

34 A reproduction of this engraving is on the cover of this book.

35 Baumann, *Vom Musikraum zum Konzertsaal*; Jakob, *Die Instrumente der Zürcher Musikkollegien*.

36 "Die brüderliche Liebe bleibe"; Hebrews 13:1.

37 Figure 4.1.

38 Ueli Bellwald, *Winterthurer Kachelöfen: von den Anfängen des Handwerks bis zum Niedergang im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berne: Stämpfli, 1980), pp. 174, 186, 291. The oven is kept in Winterthur, Museum Lindengut.



FIGURE 4.1 Engraving by Johann Melchior Füssli on the first issue of the *deutsche Schule* new year's publication, 1713

Christoph Murer's allegorical anthology.³⁹ Without contradicting Bellwald's opinion, it is proposed here that the immediate source for at least three tiles were the *Neujahrsblatt* frontispieces.

39 Antonio Tempesta, *Metamorphoseon ... Ovidianarum libri 15* (Amsterdam, 1606); Tobias Stimmer, *Neue Künstliche Figuren Biblischer Historien* (Basel: Guarin, 1576); and Christoph Murer, *XL emblemata miscella nova* (Zurich: Wolff, 1622).

The thirteenth new year's gift of the *Musiksaal* society for 1698 bears the motto "we follow one and the same command".⁴⁰ The frontispiece by Johannes Meyer (1655–1712), Füssli's teacher, depicts a concert under Apollo's guidance. Apollo bears a baton, or a music scroll; the instruments are trumpet, harp, violin, theorbo, cornett, a keyboard, and possibly a five-stringed bass. An explanatory verse in the booklet gives a religious and moral interpretation of this mythological allegory of a modern consort: "The hand of the choirmaster gives the tempo at which the singing group rehearses: thus, whoever loves devoutness, shall follow God's will in his dutiful doings".⁴¹ Pfau and Sulzer took for the decoration of their stove two elements of the scene: the time-beating figure and the string bass player. They modernised the setting, placing the musicians around a table in a closed room and reducing their number to four singers (the bearded choirmaster is also singing), one violin, and the bass. The accompanying motto is a classical quotation with a similar meaning: "all as one", or "all for one".⁴²

Five years later, the scene depicted by Meyer on the *Neujahrsblatt* for 1703 is the representation of an acoustical phenomenon: strings will resonate by sympathy. A classically dressed lady is playing a lute, while reading from tablature. A putto holding a *tromba marina* is meanwhile pointing towards a harp hanging from the wall. Two putti lie on the ground amidst various other instruments. The motto is taken from the chapter on the lute in a well-known collection of emblems: "another concordant will answer".⁴³ The corresponding tile in the Winterthur oven replaces, again, the symbolic scene with a depiction of a scene of actual music making. It takes over the figure of the lute player and moves the five-stringed bass, which in the Zurich model was leaning in the foreground, placing it in the hands of a player with a laurel wreath. The motto is taken from Ovid, "the strings' sounds are concordant".⁴⁴

Finally, the figure of a shepherd shading his eyes before the apparition of the angels announcing the birth of Jesus⁴⁵ also recurs both in a Winterthur tile and in a Zurich engraving, published for the New Year in 1705. While the stove tile bears the quite obvious motto "Gloria Deo in excelsis", its Zurich model directly relates the music of the angels to the societies' performances:

40 "Nutu pendemus ab uno"; Lucanus, *Pharsalia*, v:770. See Figure 4.2.

41 "Des Capell-Meisters Hand den Tact zur Music gibet, / Nach dessen Wink allein die singend Schar sich übet: / So sey, wer Frommkeit liebt, in Thun und Lassens Pflicht, / Nach Gottes Will allein ganz fleissig eingerichtet."

42 "Omnes ad unum"; Cicero, *De amicitia*, 86. See Figure 4.3.

43 "Vocem dabit altera concors"; Filippo Picinelli, *Mondo simbolico ...* (Milan: Per lo stampatore archiepiscopale, 1653), book 23, Chapter 4. See Figure 4.4.

44 "... concordant carmina nervis"; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1:518. See Figure 4.5.

45 Luke 2:8–14.



FIGURE 4.2 *Engraving by Johannes Meyer on the thirteenth issue of the Musikschule new year's publication, 1697*

“this is the foundation of our song”,⁴⁶ thereby possibly also punning on “basso continuo”.

The *Wappenbuch* of the Winterthur music society bears an elaborately designed title page, brilliantly coloured. It appears to be the conflation of the

46 “Basis ad Cantica nostra”. See Figures 4.6 and 4.7.



FIGURE 4.3 *Tile on a Winterthur stove by Johann Heinrich Pfau and David Sulzer*

title pages of two music books, the fourth book of Andreas Hammerschmidt's motets from 1646 (or one of its two later editions) and Johann Woltz's organ anthology from 1618.⁴⁷ The Winterthur title page, signed by a certain

47 Figures 4.8–4.10. Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Vierdter Theil, Musicalischer Andachten, Geistlicher Moteten und Concerten ...* (Freiberg: Beuther, 1646; RISM A/I H 1931 and HH



FIGURE 4.4 Engraving by Johannes Meyer on the eighteenth issue of the *Musikscheule* new year's publication, 1702

Krütli, merges Woltz's iconographical contents—Saul throwing the spear at David⁴⁸—and Hammerschmidt's design. The Winterthur society started and

1931); Johann Woltz, *Nova musices organicae tabulatura ...* (Basel: Genath, 1618; RISM A/I W 1848).

48 1. Samuel 18:10–11.



FIGURE 4.5 *Tile on a Winterthur stove by Johann Heinrich Pfau and David Sulzer*

ended its rehearsals with the singing of a Lobwasser psalm: David with his harp was thus a very obvious choice.⁴⁹ The image of David also adorns the title page of the *Wappenbuch* of the Frauenfeld music society, which—just as with the

49 Muraro-Ganz, 'Geschichte des Musikkollegium Winterthur', p. 12.



FIGURE 4.6 *Engraving by Johannes Meyer on the twenty-first issue of the Musikschnle new year's publication, 1705*

Winterthur society—had the obligation of accompanying the congregation during Sunday services.⁵⁰ From the inventory entered in the same *Wappenbuch*, it is known that Hammerschmidt's book was in fact part of the society's

50 Hux, *Verstummte Klänge*, pp. 36–38.



FIGURE 4.7 Tile on a Winterthur stove by Johann Heinrich Pfau and David Sulzer

collection,⁵¹ and judging from the iconographical evidence, Woltz's tablature was also known in Winterthur. Considering that the first church organ after the Reformation was built in Winterthur in 1808, Woltz's book could only be

51 Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 303, fol. 28v.

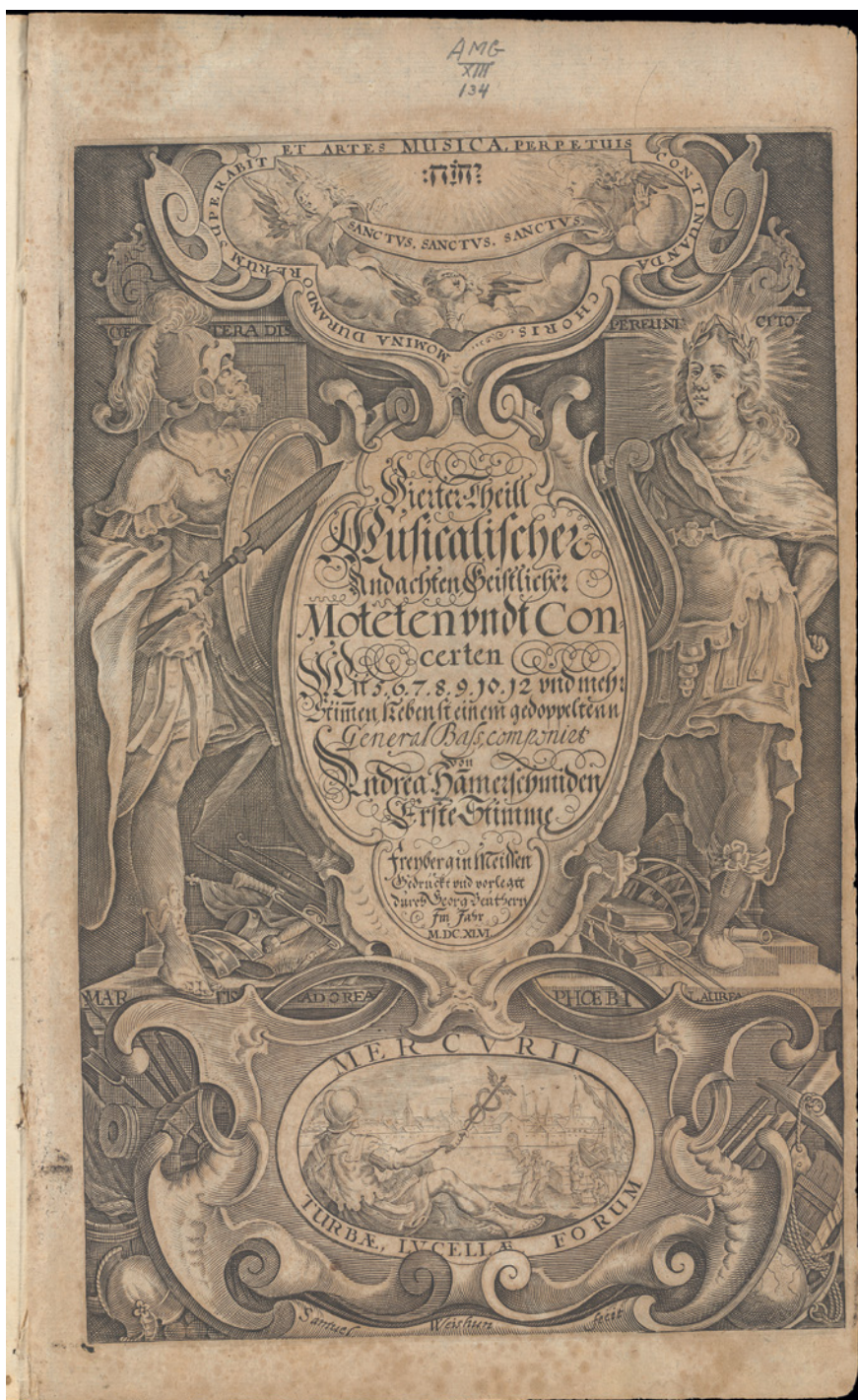


FIGURE 4.8 Frontispiece of Hammerschmidt's *Vierdter Theil, Musicalischer Andachten*

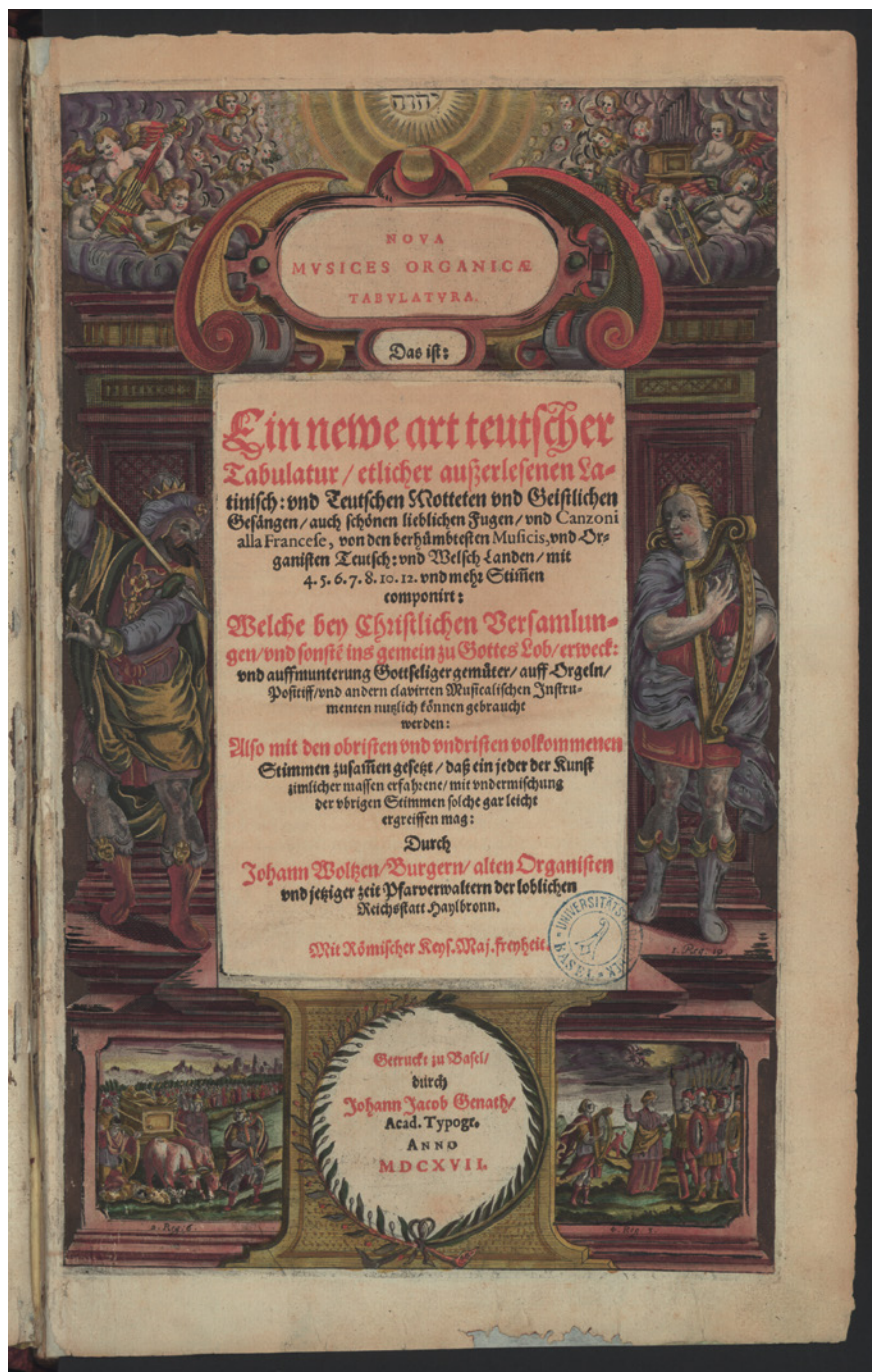


FIGURE 4.9 Frontispiece of Woltz's Nova musices organicae tabulatura



FIGURE 4.10 Frontispiece of the Winterthur music society's Wappenbuch

used in the private context of the *collegium*; and thus it comes as no surprise that it contains, among others, keyboard arrangements of Catholic sacred vocal works by Giovanni Gabrieli and Francesco Bianciardi.⁵²

The iconographical sources show the close relationship between the different music societies. The prevalence of biblical subjects in the Zurich *Neujahrsblätter*, and the Davidical imagery in the Winterthur and Frauenfeld manuscripts, suggest that the music performed in the *collegia musica* was a mirror of Reformed church music. But the image of David and Saul taken from Woltz's tablature also reveals, unwittingly, the cultivation of other kinds of music: instrumental works, and compositions from an international and cross-confessional repertoire. While the Lobwasser psalms and the anthologies of devotional songs like the *Seelen-Music*⁵³ certainly made up an important part of the societies' rehearsals, these were not at all numerically prevailing in the societies' collections of music books, as the preserved inventories show.

4c Cross-Confessional Repertoire

In the period of concern within this study, two revolutions in the repertoire of sacred music performed in Switzerland took place. The first occurred in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and the second around the middle of the eighteenth century. In the first revolution, *concertato* sacred music became universally recognised and performed. Reformed musicians introduced it more and more in their private music making, while Catholics extended its use within the liturgy. In the second revolution, Reformed and Catholics alike radically renewed their repertoire. The music in use during the intervening period, then, is almost completely lost. Nevertheless, using the rare preserved items and the entries in a number of music inventories as sources, some considerations about its cross-confessional aspects can be attempted.

At first, the members of the 'student' music societies probably mostly performed the simple three- or four-part repertoire testified to by the music printed in the Zurich *Neujahrsblätter* and in the first edition of the *Geistliche Seelen-Music*.⁵⁴ The growing interest of the student music societies in *concertato* sacred music (mainly destined for professional performers) is shown

52 Geilinger, *Zur Feier des 250-jährigen Bestehens*, p. 16. On the tablature book see Manfred Hug, *Johann Woltz und seine Orgeltabulatur*, PhD dissertation (University of Tübingen, 1960).

53 See Chapter 2b.

54 Chapter 2b.

by the introduction in the Zurich society *zur deutschen Schule* of a two-stage admission examination in 1698, differentiating “psalms and other simple harmonic concordances” and “difficult concert pieces”.⁵⁵ The elite Reformed music societies, for their own part, always had professional musicians as guests. The account books of the Zurich society *auf dem Musiksaal* mention an organ player from Strasbourg and a cornetto player from Danzig as early as 1645–6.⁵⁶ In Catholic churches, polyphonic music was slowly occupying positions in the liturgy that were traditionally held by chant or simple polyphony (*fauxbourdon*), as seen in the discussion of the debate arisen in the Benedictine congregation in 1645.⁵⁷

The second repertoire revolution swept away most of the *concertato* repertoire from the seventeenth century. Johann Kaspar Diethelm (1706–67) was the Protestant town clerk of the biconfessional city of Bischofszell from 1728 until his death. In May 1743, a fire broke out, destroying a great part of the old town and all the belongings of the local *collegium musicum*. Diethelm estimated the losses in musical instruments, scores, and cash at 564,48 florins.⁵⁸ The Zurich *deutsche Schule* society donated twelve books of music in February 1744 in support of their Bischofszell colleagues. The generosity of the Zurich citizens was, however, only relative; they actually had made “a selection of works which are either in double copy, or that we do no longer need”, printed between 1658 and 1702.⁵⁹ In other instances, the books discarded are not mentioned. The Zurich music society *zur Chorherrenstube* radically renewed its repertoire in 1763. An unspecified quantity of “old music with no practical use” (“alte unbrauchbare Music”) was sold in May that year for 7 guilders and 26 shillings.⁶⁰ The Winterthur *collegium musicum* sold in 1786 two hundred and seventy-four pounds

55 See Chapter 1b and Document 1.1.

56 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Mss. Z III 328, fol. [7r] and 329, fol. [6r].

57 Document 1.4.

58 Bischofszell, Museum, formerly W.2.I, Johann Kaspar Diethelm, *Diarium domenicum*, vol. 1, 28–9. See Max Fehr, ‘Das alte Musikkollegium Bischofszell’, *Schweizerische Musikzeitung*, 58 (1918), pp. 185–186 and 194–195.

59 “... einen *selectum* Zu machen von einich[en] *Authoren* die theils in *duplo*; theils wir nit mehr brauchen”, from an assembly held in October 1743; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 488. The list of the sent items is on page 494. The authors are Francesco Braibanzi, Wolfgang Carl Briegel, Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer, Andreas Hammer-schmidt, Martin Martini, Valentin Molitor, Maurus Moser, Leonhard Sailer, and Daniel Speer; see *HMI*, vol. 9.

60 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 7, pp. 26–27.

of "old music", at the price of one shilling a pound, a decision taken in the assembly of 12 October 1785.⁶¹ Such a renewal was necessary in the process of transforming the private academies into societies organising public concerts.

Catholic church chapels also renewed the contents of their music collections around the middle of the century, similarly discarding the seventeenth-century repertoire. Older music was only exceptionally preserved. For example, the extensive collection of music by Carlo Donato Cossoni, which its author bequeathed to the Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln upon his death in 1700, and which includes several thousand autograph pages in scores and partbooks, has probably remained intact to this day precisely because he was remembered as a benefactor of the monastery.⁶² The music by Cossoni's contemporaries and monks in the monastery itself, Joseph Dietrich and Ambros Püntener,⁶³ has by contrast completely disappeared. In other cases, hints at lost music sources are quite fortuitous. In the Benedictine convent of Sankt Andreas in Sarnen, not far from Lucerne, some of the older music was used in binding the new acquisitions. The Sarnen copy of Johann Valentin Rathgeber's *Decas Mariano-musica, hoc est: X. missae solennes ... op. 7*⁶⁴ was bought, or bound, in 1748, judging from the date scribbled on the labels with the abbreviated title which are glued on each cover. The bindings contain fragments of Stefano Filippini's *Salmi brevi a otto voci*.⁶⁵ When in 1783 the retired mercenary officer and man of letters Beat Fidel Zurlauben reported a widespread opinion, according to which the "exceeding interest" ("überwiegende Neigung") of Swiss monks and nuns for music was some fifty years old, and derived from the contacts the Benedictines had with Italy through their residence in Bellinzona, he is probably mistaking the date on account of the repertoire that he knew.⁶⁶ In fact, around 1730 there had only been a renewal of repertoire:

61 "Erste Rechnung den 8|ten Martij 1786. 13 [thaler] 14 [shilling]—p[er] alte Music—[pounds] 274 à 1 [shilling].—" (Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep mk 90, account book 1753–1809, p. 170); "1785 den 12 8bris. wurde auch von samtlichen Herren alle alte, unvollkomne, etc. Music das Pfund à 1 S. zu verkaufen erkannt" (Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep mk 1, minutes 1684–1791, p. 43). See also Fehr, *Das Musikkollegium Winterthur*, p. 30.

62 Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Luigi Collarile, *Carlo Donato Cossoni (1623–1700): catalogo tematico*, Publikationen der Schweizerischen Musikforschenden Gesellschaft, series ii, vol. 51 (Berne: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 35–38.

63 See Chapter 1d.

64 Augsburg: J.J. Lotter, 1730; RISM A/I R 301 and RR 301.

65 Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1686; RISM A/I F 748.

66 "Diese überwiegende Neigung zur Musik hat sich erst seit etwa fünfzig Jahren in die schweizerischen Abteyen eingeschlichen; und man glaubt mit gutem Grunde, daß sie dieselbe aus dem Kollegium zu Bellenz geholt haben, wo sich einige Mönche von

elaborate church music (also, but not only, Italian) had been widely cultivated well before that time.

Given the nearly complete lack of musical sources from the time of our study, with the notable exception of the collection of the Zurich music societies kept in that city's University library, the main source of information for the transmission of sacred music are historical music inventories. For the present study, the contents of eighteen inventories has been evaluated.⁶⁷ Four inventories describe collections of Catholic religious institutions, while fourteen list the music that belonged to seven different Reformed music societies.⁶⁸ An inventory unique for its size and type comes from the collegiate church of St Michael in Beromünster. The choirmaster *ad interim* Bernard Späni compiled over several years a volume titled *Bonus ordo musicus*. The peculiarity of this source is that the information on the music belonging to the church is given three times: in a bibliographic description of the items (a traditional inventory), in a topographic summary (a schematic representation of the shelves in which the music was kept), and in a systematic description of each item's contents. In this last part, Späni lists the compositions individually in the sources of the church's music collection (mostly miscellanea, handwritten or printed). He categorises them in three stages: first by genre, then by the liturgical feasts for which they can be used, and finally by scoring. For example, a "Iubilate gentes" from the *Teatro musicale de concerti Ecclesiastici ...* published in Milan by Giorgio Rolla in 1649⁶⁹ is catalogued on page 133 among the motets, in the section of the works suitable for the feast of Pentecost, and on the page dedicated to the compositions for one, two or three voices without instruments. Also among the most significant collections is the one from the Cistercian monastery of Sankt Urban, near Lucerne. In 1661, the entire abbey library was catalogued. The eighteenth chapter of the manuscript catalogue lists books of music. That a library catalogue included books of music is an exception for the time: because it pertained to the liturgical celebrations in church, music was usually kept in the organ loft, and was not kept in order by the librarian of the monastery but by the organist (or choirmaster). The catalogue, as was usual

Einsiedeln aufhalten. Die dortigen Professoren brachten bey ihrer Heimkehr den Enthusiasmus für die Italiänische Musik mit sich; aus ihrem Kloster verbreitete er sich in die von Einsiedeln abhängenden Nonnenklöster, und von diesen allmählig in alle übrigen Abteyen"; Zurlauben, 'Sitten der katholischen Geistlichkeit', p. 395.

67 Table 4.1.

68 BM, SCH, SO, and StU; and A, BE1-2, BZ1-2, SG1-5, W1-2, Zc, and Zd respectively. With the exception of SG1-5 and SO, all are published to date (2015) in *HMI*.

69 RISM B/I 1649¹.

at the time, is sorted by the first name of the composer and completed in the appendix with an index of surnames. Bibliographic descriptions are carefully made and include, in addition to the author's name, the title, the page format, the number of parts, and the place and date of publication, allowing identification of printed titles with only a very small margin of error. The most common type of music inventory is a list of titles written down simply to check that no book is lost: the information is the minimum necessary to identify the volume, book in hand. The analytical inventory of Beromünster is instead drawn up with the intention of providing a guide to the repertoire for the choirmaster's duties, and the inventory of Sankt Urban profits from its inclusion in a 'normal' bibliographic catalogue: hence the exceptional detail of the descriptions contained in these two documents. A third inventory of a religious institution, contained in the minutes of the collegiate chapter of St Leodegar in Schönenwerd, is much more sparing in its information, and moreover does not reflect the entire music collection of the church, but only the legacy of canon Melchior Roth in 1622.⁷⁰

The music society in Aarau did not leave a traditional inventory, but rather a *Wappenbuch*: for future memory, the "Golden Book" ("Guldenes Buch") contains the names and the coats-of-arms of the founding members from 1710, of the new members until after 1768, and of all benefactors. The names are accompanied, when needed, by a detailed statement of the donations, sometimes in cash, but often in kind—instruments, music books, and even paintings. As seen before,⁷¹ the *collegium musicum* of Winterthur also kept a book of coats-of-arms, containing, beside other information, two different inventories of the library, the first from 1660 and the second from 1721, updated until the 1760s. In accordance with their official, public nature, these manuscripts are in folio, bound in leather and carefully written. The only inventory of a musical society in an independent volume is that of the *collegium musicum* of Berne, dating from 1761. Unfortunately, the circumstances are unknown. An earlier inventory from 1697 is contained in the minutes of the town's school board (*Schulrat*), confirming the nature of this student association and the patronage it enjoyed from the city authorities. The music books are in fact the property of the government (*hochobrigkeitlich*), and the inventory is drawn up in order to entrust the responsibility for their care to the cantor. The list of scores lost in a fire in May 1743 is the first of the two inventories that the town clerk Johann Kaspar Diethelm drew up of the Bischofszell music society's library, the second one being the list of the gifts offered by the society *zur deutschen Schule* in

70 See Chapter 1b.

71 Chapter 4a.

Zurich and by some private persons of some fifteen music books in February 1744, which enabled the Bischofszell amateur musicians to resume their activities. No less than five inventories are preserved from one of the two Sankt Gallen music societies. Two were inserted in the account books (1650 and 1651) as checklists for the librarian. The oldest (1649), on an independent bifolium, was drawn up when the old librarian resigned, a typical occasion to prompt a revision of the whole collection. The two more recent ones (1748 and 1760) are each on one single sheet in folio, and do not mention the occasion for which they were compiled. The inventory of the society *zur Chorherrenstube* in Zurich is contained in the minute book of its meetings between 1698 and 1743. The book is divided into three sections: a list of members, the minutes themselves, and finally a short list of music titles. This was not updated after the second decade of the eighteenth century: the seventeenth entry (of twenty-one), concerning Giovanni Battista Bassani's *Salmi per tutto l'anno ... op. 30*,⁷² is dated 1714. The origin of the inventory of the *Gesellschaft zur deutschen Schule* is quite curious. In February 1698, after having noticed a certain disorder in the choice of music to be performed, the vice choirmaster Hans Kaspar Ziegler drew up a list of music books, dividing them into three columns: at each rehearsal, the members would choose a work from each column. Such a system unquestionably ensured a great variety, a regular renewal of the musicians' repertoire, and perhaps even a balance between pieces of greater or lesser difficulty of performance.

The information gleaned from these inventories, however, presents some inherent difficulties and limitations. It is difficult to compare the repertoire testified to in different inventories because of the time gap between the compilation of the single inventories, and also because the institutions that collected the music had quite different needs and objectives for its collection. Information about single items is usually reliable, however sparing. It often permits us to identify the source, if this is a printed book of music. Handwritten repertoire is more difficult to pinpoint. Most inventory records contain only brief bibliographic information. If there are no preserved copies of the item described, there is no reliable basis for comparison in order to identify the listed source. One of the rare examples of identifiable manuscripts is that containing the violin concertos by Antonio Vivaldi mentioned earlier and referred to in three entries from Zurich, Winterthur, and the monastery of Muri.⁷³

In Switzerland, Catholic (and Lutheran) sacred vocal music was purchased and eagerly listened to by Reformed citizens, who wished to follow similar

72 Bologna: Marino Silvani, 1704; RISM A/I B 1222 and BB 1222.

73 See Chapter 3b.

TABLE 4.1 *Inventories of Catholic and Reformed music collections*

Year	Provenance	Location	Signum
1622	Schönenwerd, collegiate church	Solothurn, Staatsarchiv, Stift Sankt Leodegar Schönenwerd, Protokoll, vol. 1, pp. 162–164	SCH
1649	Sankt Gallen, music society <i>auf dem Sängerrhäuschen</i>	Sankt Gallen, Stadtarchiv, PA X 33 19	SG1
1650	Sankt Gallen, music society <i>auf dem Sängerrhäuschen</i>	Sankt Gallen, Stadtarchiv, PA X 33 11	SG2
1651	Sankt Gallen, music society <i>auf dem Sängerrhäuschen</i>	Sankt Gallen, Stadtarchiv, PA X 33 11	SG3
1660–1722c	Winterthur, music society	Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 303, fols [23r–26v]	W1
1661	Sankt Urban, Cistercian convent	Lucerne, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, Pp Msc 11.4	StU
1696–18.1q	Beromünster, collegiate church	Beromünster, Stiftsarchiv, BM vol. 1206	
1697	Berne, music society	Berne, Staatsarchiv, B III 873, fols 21v–22v	BE1
1698	Zürich, music society <i>zur deutschen Schule</i>	Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 3, pp. 118–119	Zd
1698–1714p	Zürich, music society <i>zur Chorherrenstube</i>	Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Zc AMG Archiv IV A 6, pp. [347–348]	
1710–1768p	Aarau, music society	Aarau, Stadtarchiv, II.L.562c	A
1722–1764c	Winterthur, music society	Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 303, fols [48r–50v]	W2
1743	Bischofszell, music society	Bischofszell, Museum, formerly W.2.I, pp. 28–29	BZ1

TABLE 4.1 *Inventories of Catholic and Reformed music collections (cont.)*

Year	Provenance	Location	Siglum
1744	Bischofszell, music society	Bischofszell, Museum, formerly W.2.I, p. 63 (also in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 494)	BZ2
1744p	Solothurn, Jesuit college	Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek, DA I 92/4	SO
1748	Sankt Gallen, music society <i>auf dem Sängerbüschchen</i>	Sankt Gallen, Stadtarchiv, SG4 PA X 33 22	
1760	Sankt Gallen, music society <i>auf dem Sängerbüschchen</i>	Sankt Gallen, Stadtarchiv, SG5 PA X 33 22	
1761	Berne, music society	Berne, Staatsarchiv, OG Bern-Münster 208	BE2

patterns of representation to Catholic abbots and Lutheran heads of state, though in a smaller, private setting. An average of one book out of five in the library of the Swiss music societies contained Catholic vocal sacred music.⁷⁴ In the collection of the *collegium musicum* of the Dutch town of Groningen, this proportion was double.⁷⁵ The inventory is undated, but it was presumably compiled shortly after 1700, as it reflects a printed repertoire extending from the 1640s to the 1700s.⁷⁶ How is this cross-confessional repertoire to be explained? As Frits Noske pointed out, the Dutch *collegia* were not connected to the Reformed church service, as many of the Swiss societies were.⁷⁷ Rather, the Dutch *collegia* were in a situation similar to the elite *Musiksaal* society in Zurich: in 1631, the founding members of the Utrecht music society came from

74 See Table 4.2. The Lutheran repertory is not analysed here, as the main focus is on the cross-confessional contrasts inside the Swiss Confederation, but it equally shows how the private music making in the *collegia* indulged in modern *concertato* style.

75 Its inventory lists no less than 70 entries for Catholic vocal sacred music, and only two Reformed titles, out of a total of 168 entries (89 with vocal and 79 with instrumental music); see S. Spellers, 'Collegium musicum te Groningen', *Bouwsteenen, Jaarboek der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis*, 3 (1874–81), pp. 22–29.

76 One of the most recent editions, Bassani's op. 27, was printed in Venice 1701 by Nicola Sala (RISM A/I B 1220).

77 Noske, *Music Bridging Divided Religions*, vol. 1, pp. 24–25.

the best families in town.⁷⁸ It is hardly necessary to recall the general climate of religious toleration that could be found in the United Provinces during the Golden Age. Yet, this was also criticised: in 1673, the Swiss officer Giovanni Battista Stuppa disapprovingly made the point that the Dutch state did not belong at all to the Reformed nations.⁷⁹

The Swiss findings can further be compared to those from the Lutheran inventories examined by Friedhelm Krummacher in 1965.⁸⁰ Listing the data from the Reformed inventories along with the data from those Lutheran collections that contain the most Catholic titles,⁸¹ it can be noticed how the collections of the Swiss Reformed music societies rank among the first for their share of Catholic sacred vocal music. Among the Lutherans several court collections are found, the music gathered by Gustav Düben for the service of the Swedish court being prominent, followed by the collections of the courts in Ansbach, Stuttgart, and Rudolstadt. Two inventories are of the famous private libraries collected by Lutheran cantors: Heinrich Bokemeyer in Wolfenbüttel, and Crato Bütner in Danzig. The last two are music collections of Lutheran churches in Strasbourg and Frankfurt, a category unknown among the Reformed, whose church music was largely limited to congregational singing.

The comparatively high percentage of Catholic titles in Switzerland may be due to the inescapable personal contacts across the confessional borders in the small geographical space of the Confederation. The booksellers trading with Catholic books may be responsible for a number of the titles found in both Catholic and Reformed collections.⁸² The Catholic and Reformed repertoires display in fact a significant amount of overlap.⁸³ Only the Schönenwerd inventory from 1622 does not exhibit any overlap of repertoire, probably because no contemporary inventory from the Reformed side is preserved. Correspondingly, the most recent Catholic inventory (SO, compiled after 1744) shows correspondences only with the latest Reformed inventory (BE2, started in 1761). The best basis for comparison is given by the two largest Catholic inventories (StU, from 1661, and BM, from 1696), and a group of smaller Reformed inventories covering a time span from 1660 (W1) to the 1710s (Zc): between one-eighth and one-third of the titles in the Reformed inventories are also found in one of

78 Riemsdijk, *Het Stads-Muziekcollegie te Utrecht*, p. 2.

79 See below, Chapter 4d.

80 Krummacher, *Die Überlieferung der Choralbearbeitungen*.

81 Marked by a 'K' and by Krummacher's numbering in Table 4.2, which is ordered by percentage.

82 See Chapter 3c.

83 Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.2 *Catholic vocal sacred music in Reformed and Lutheran inventories*

Inventory	Catholic titles	Percentage
BZ2	6/16	37%
W2	25/80	31%
Zd	11/38	29%
Zc	6/21	28%
K 1, Düben (only printed works)	410 (non-German)/1580	25%
K 7, Bokemeyer	240c (non-German)/1100	25%
A	13/51	25%
BE1	8/32	25%
BE2	25/187	16%
W1	15/92	16%
SG4	8/54	15%
K 2, Bütner	21/153	14%
BE2	24/187	13%
SG1	3/23	13%
K 38, Ansbach	140c/1200c	12%
SG2	3/26	12%
SG3	3/26	12%
SG5	7/60	12%
BZ1	1/10	10%
K 36, Stuttgart	80c/750c	10%
K 32, Rudolstadt 2	230c/2640	9%
K 41, Strasbourg, St Thomas	10c/110c	9%
K 39, Frankfurt, Barfüsserkirche	5/130c	4%

these two vast Catholic collections. All in all, approximately one in ten titles of printed music occurs both in inventories of Reformed and Catholic collections. Nine of the thirty-four recurring titles are Italian editions: this high share is certainly due to the close ties of the Confederates to Italy.⁸⁴ One title of instrumental music (Biber's *Fidicinium*, No. 10) and one pedagogical work (Gumpelzhaimer's *Compendium*, No. 18) are, in a way, less relevant to the confessional issue, yet are a testimony to the fact that basically the same music titles were

84 Table 4.4, Nos 6, 8, 9, 12–13, 19, and 32–34. See Chapter 3a, and also Bacciagaluppi, 'Edizioni musicali italiane'.

TABLE 4.3 *Number of printed music books in common between Catholic and Reformed inventories*

Inventory: items (ca.)	SCH: 30	StU: 170	BM: 290	SO: 25	Total: 515
SG1–3: 23–26	–	1	–	–	1 = 4%
W1–2: 80–92	–	6	7	–	13 = 14%
BE1: 32	–	2	4	–	6 = 19%
Zd: 38	–	1	5	–	6 = 16%
Zc: 21	–	1	6	–	7 = 33%
A: 51	–	–	5	–	5 = 10%
BZ1: 10	–	–	1	–	1 = 10%
BZ2: 16	–	–	3	–	3 = 19%
SG4–5: 54–60	–	–	2	–	2 = 3%
BE2: 187	–	–	3	3	6 = 3%
Total: 512–534	0	11 = 6%	36 = 12%	3 = 12%	10% ca.

available throughout the Confederation. In other words, the dissemination of printed books of music followed the same, or very similar paths for buyers of both confessions. The overlap in sacred vocal music almost exclusively concerns Catholic titles acquired by the Reformed music societies. The only titles by non-Catholic authors bought by the Cistercians of Sankt Urban are Abraham Schadaeus's motet anthology (No. 5), and two books of motets and Magnificats by Hieronymus Praetorius (Nos 27 and 28). These titles, however, were conceived from the start as 'cross-confessional', and were aimed at both a Catholic and a Protestant public.⁸⁵ Schadaeus's anthology in fact mostly contains works by Italian masters,⁸⁶ and Praetorius's motets in Latin conformed to Catholic needs, to say nothing of the Magnificat settings. The reason lies in the collectors' scope. Catholic institutions collected music for purely functional reasons: there was no point in buying music which they could not use for liturgical or devotional practices. The Reformed societies, instead, collected books mainly out of musical interest—and in doing so had the possibility of practising artistic disobedience.

85 See also Chapter 1c. For other examples of 'cross-over' repertoire, see the discussion of books printed in Nuremberg by Elisabeth Giselsbrecht (*Crossing boundaries*, pp. 155–159, 328).

86 See Roche, 'Anthologies'.

TABLE 4.4 Titles of printed music books in common between Catholic and Reformed inventories

No.	Composer and title	Reference	Inventories
1	<i>Alauda coelestis, seu concentus sacri ...</i>	RISM B/I 1682 ¹ = RISM A/IS 3436	BM, BE ₁
2	<i>Alauda coelestis, seu concentus sacri ...</i>	RISM B/I 1694 ¹	BM, Zd, Zc
3	[<i>Chansons et motets en canon ...</i>]	(lost)	W1-2, StU
4	<i>Deliciae sacrae musicae ...</i>	RISM B/I 1626 ²	SG1-3, StU
5	<i>Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias sive motetas ...</i>	RISM B/I 1611 ¹	StU, BE ₁
6	Angeleri, Giuseppe Maria, <i>Messe tre à due, et à trè voci, con un Magnificat ...</i>	RISM A/IA 1208	BM, A
7	Arnold, Georg, <i>Psalmi vespertini, a 4., 2. vocibus et 2. violinis ...</i>	RISM A/IA 2166	BM, Zd, SG4-5
8	Bagatti, Francesco, <i>Motetti, messa, e salmi brevi, e pieni per li vesperi ...</i>	RISM A/IB 634	W1-2, BM, BE ₁ , Zc
9	Bassani, Giovanni Battista, <i>Acroama missale ...</i>	RISM A/IB 1225	W1-2, BM
10	Biber, Heinrich Ignaz Franz, <i>Fidicinium sacro-profanum ...</i>	RISM A/IB 2617	BM, A
11	Caesar, Johann Melchior, <i>Psalmi vespertini dominicales et festivi per annum ...</i>	RISM A/IC 19	BM, Zd, Zc
12	Cossoni, Carlo Donato, <i>Salmi a otto voci, pieni e brevi, per li vespri ...</i>	RISM A/IC 4203; CC 4203	BM, BE ₁
13	Cossoni, Carlo Donato, <i>Quattro messe, trè piene, e brevi, e l'altra fugata ...</i>	(missing in RISM)	BM, Zc
14	Dressler, Gallus, <i>Opus sacrarum cantionum ...</i>	RISM A/ID 3523; DD 3523	W1-2, StU

- 15 Eisenhuet, Thomas, *Harmonia sacra* ... RISM A/I E 590 BM, Zd
- 16 Geisler, Benedict, *Concentus Marianus seu sex lytaniae lauretanae* ... RISM A/I G 848; GG 848 SO, BE2
- 17 Geisler, Benedict, *Fluenta roris nectarei* ... RISM A/I G 845; GG 845 SO, BE2
- 18 Gumpelzhaimer, Adam, *Compendium musicae latino-germanicum* ... RISM A/I G 5 123 = RISM B/I 1625¹³ W1-2, StU
- 19 Leonarda, Isabella, *Motetti a quatro voci con le litanie* ... RISM A/I I 97 W1-2, BM, Zc, A
- 20 Lasso, Orlando di, *Selectissimae cantiones, quas vulgo motetas vocant* ... RISM A/I L 976 StU, BE1
- 21 Lasso, Orlando di, *Teutsche Lieder mit fünf Stimmen* ... RISM A/I L 947; LL 947 W1-2, StU
- 22 Meyer von Schauensee, Franz Joseph Leonti, *Obeliscus musicus ... seu xvi. Offertoria solennia* ... RISM A/I M 2539; MM 2539 SO, BE2
- 23 Molitor, Fidel, *Mensa musicalis quam apparatu piarum cantionum* ... RISM A/I M 2954 BM, BE1
- 24 Molitor, Valentin, *Epicinon Marianum* ... RISM A/I M 2963 W1-2, BM, BZ2, SG4-5
- 25 Moser, Maurus, *Viridarium musicium, sive Cantiones sacrae* ... RISM A/I M 3797; MM 3797 BM, Zc, BZ2
- 26 Philippi, Johannes, *Missae harmoniaco VI. VII. VIII. Ixplici concentu* ... RISM A/I P 1967 W1-2, StU
- 27 Praetorius, Hieronymus, *Cantiones sacrae, de festis praecipuis totius anni* ... RISM A/I P 5337; PP StU, Zc
- 28 Praetorius, Hieronymus, *Magnificat octo vocum super octo tonos consuetos* ... 5337 = RISM B/I 1607⁵ RISM A/I P 5333; PP 5333 W1-2, StU
- 29 Rathgeber, Johann Valentin, *Octava musica clavium octo musicarum in missis* ... RISM A/I R 294; RR 294 BM, BZ1, BE2

TABLE 4.4 Titles of printed music books in common between Catholic and Reformed inventories (cont.)

No.	Composer and title	Reference	Inventories
30	Scherer, Sebastian Anton, <i>Musica sacra, h. e. Missae, psalmi et motteti ...</i>	RISM A/IS 1473	StU, Zd
31	Speer, Daniel, <i>Philomela angelica cantionum sacrarum ...</i>	RISM A/IS 4073	BM, Zd, BZ ₂
32	Trabattone, Bartolomeo, <i>Theatro musicale. Opere posthume ... opera prima ...</i>	RISM A/IT 1065	W1 -2, BM, A
33	Trabattone, Bartolomeo, <i>Theatro musicale. Opere posthume ... opera terza ...</i>	RISM A/IT 1066	W1 -2, BM, A
34	Trabattone, Bartolomeo, <i>Theatro musicale ... opera quarta.</i>	(lost)	W1 -2, BM, BE ₂

4d The Private Sphere

Precisely because artistic disobedience is essentially an individual decision against or in spite of collective preconceptions imposed from above, the private dimension of the Reformed music societies was instrumental to its unfolding. As seen above, the societies' musical repertoire was cross-confessional to a significant degree. Because of the interest of Reformed amateur musicians in Catholic sacred vocal repertoire, any reservations about its confessional character were set aside. This applied to the musicians as well as to their music. Johann Valentin Rathgeber, the Benedictine monk and prolific composer, visited Zurich in January 1732. The members of the music society *zum Musiksaal* invited him to dinner, and on this occasion bought from him two of his works.⁸⁷ The kind of communication practised in the music societies may then be considered similar to the interaction of the learned men and women within the Republic of Letters, where political, social, and religious barriers were temporarily suspended in the name of a common interest. In the following, examples of comparative freedom from domains other than music are presented, to show that the relaxation of the rigid Reformed morality in the music societies did not only apply to their repertoire. First the question of gender will be addressed, observing under what circumstances societies welcomed women as guests or members. It will then be described how the Zurich *Musiksaal* society and the Winterthur society offered a space for religious and political debate. Political lobbying took place in the *Musiksaal* society at a turning point in local political history, when the traditional alliance with France was given up in favour of new ties with England and the Netherlands. Many members of the Winterthur society were followers of the early pietist movement. The privacy and freedom of conversation enjoyed in the societies' rehearsals and social occasions are among the roots of the new forms of communication whose development will inform Enlightenment society. To bring evidence that the atmosphere of the music societies was in more than one sense comparatively free from social constraints confirms in turn our assumption that the

87 In the account books, the entries for the invitation and for the books follow each other closely. Three guilders and twelve shillings were spent on the dinner with "Mr. Rathgeb[er]" on 28 January ("mit Hr. RathGeb bey einem NachtEßen Verzehrt worden"), and cantor Bachofen was refunded for spending thirty-one guilders on three music books, including two by Rathgeber, on 1 February ("für 3. *Musicalische Authores*, Namlich Rathgebers *Psalmodia*, Op. 9 [RISM A/I R 303; RR 303] Willkom[m] *Philomela sacra* Op. 2. [RISM A/I W 1217; WW 1217 or W 1218; WW 1218] Rathgebers *Requiem* Op. 8.u[m] [RISM A/I R 302; RR 302]"); Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv II A 3.6, 1729–34, No. 28, March 1731–April 1732, fols [8r–v].

cultivation of Catholic sacred vocal music was only possible in the context of private social intercourse.

In Zurich, a centre of Reformed orthodoxy, women were not accepted as members of the music societies, but they could perform together with their musicians on extraordinary occasions. The performance of a festal cantata with two female solo singers in 1753 in the *Zunftsaal zu Schumachern* (today the main hall of the Neumarkt theatre) is depicted in an oil painting.⁸⁸ Only in 1788 is a women's music society mentioned in Zurich, and three years later it was allowed to participate in the male societies' concerts.⁸⁹ In Winterthur in 1748, during a celebration in honour of Salomon Hegner, his wife, daughter, and son-in-law sang a surprise piece of their own composition.⁹⁰ In 1753, women were first admitted to the gatherings of the music society—but only as listeners. Finally, in 1798 (even later than in Zurich), they were permitted as active participants in the rehearsals.⁹¹ In the "Golden book" of the Aarau music society, founded in 1710, a dozen women are mentioned among the benefactors from the foundation up until the 1740s—but none among the members. In Basel, a girl of the Geymüller family was, in 1753, exceptionally allowed to receive music lessons together with the schoolchildren.⁹²

By contrast, in the Zofingen town library are preserved two copies of Johann Evangelista Schreiber's *Fasciculus Ariarum*.⁹³ The first bears the *ex libris* of a woman: "Senn née Heusermann", the second of a married couple, "Catharina et Rudolphus Seelmatter".⁹⁴ Both women were active in the local *collegium musicum*. When this was renewed in 1750, nineteen women, including

88 Reproduced and discussed in Baumann, *Vom Musikraum zum Konzertsaal*, pp. 14–17.

89 Nef, *Die Collegia Musica*, p. 93.

90 "Salomon Hegner, Schultheiß, Grichtsherr zu Mörfzburg und Oberwinterthur, wie auch Vorsteher einer Loblichen Music-gesellschaft allhier ... Nach deßen endigung [of a preceding 'Music-Stuck'], haben ohnvermuthet, vorgedachten Herren Schultheißen Herr Tochtermann und Frauw Tochter, Herr Sohn und Seine Frauw Liebste, in obsingung eines von ihnen selbst aufgesetzten Musicstuck, Ihre danksagung abgelegt"; Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek, Dep MK 1, *Protokoll Einer Loblichen Music Gesellschaft*, 1684–1791, pp. [22–23].

91 Geilinger, *Zur Feier des 250-jährigen Bestehens*, pp. 35–37.

92 She obtained a positive answer to her request of 6 June: "[un]gf[er] Geymüller auff dem Schützenhauß bittet man möchte selbige mit denen übrigen Scholaren die Vocal Music erlernen lassen, werde sich auch gleich denenselben durch vorgeschriebenen Gesetzen gehorsamb unterwerff[en]"; Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, NL 107 AMG I.A.1a, *Collegii Musici Protocollum*, p. 202. The Aarau source (see Table 4.1) was published by Christoph Riedo in *HMI*, vol. 13.

93 Fribourg: Hault, 1747; RISM A/I S 2114 and SS 2114.

94 Zofingen, Stadtbibliothek, both under the call number F Mus 49.

Mrs Senn, were listed among the forty-one founding members (Catharina Seelmatter joined in 1763).⁹⁵ Similarly, upon its foundation in 1701, the music society of Burgdorf counted six women and sixteen men as active members. They were not bound by the statutes, but had to pay the membership fee.⁹⁶ Berne, which was the ruling city of both Zofingen and Burgdorf, also welcomed female musicianship at an early date. In 1674, Johann Ulrich Sultzberger re-worked Johann Schop and Peter Meier's setting of two poetic collections by Philipp von Zesen, the *Hohes Lied* (the German version of the Song of Songs) and the *Geistliche Seelen-Lust*, originally published in 1657, into one volume.⁹⁷ To Schop's works he added a third voice, and produced new compositions for some of the poems to be sung upon a known melody. He published it both in the usual format for Reformed songbooks, a 'choirbook' in octavo,⁹⁸ and later the same year—with additional compositions—as a set of partbooks in quarto.⁹⁹ He dedicated the octavo edition to the nine members of an all-woman "Sing-Capelle" to whom he had given some music lessons: Ursula Michel, Eversina Fischer, Anna von Werth, Maria Salome Bourgeois, Catharina Ott, Elisabeth Steck, and the maidens Maria Magdalena von Diessbach, Esther and Salome Thormann.¹⁰⁰ The Frankfurt citizen Johann Friedrich von Uffenbach left a four-volume manuscript diary of the grand tour that brought him between 1712 and 1716 to Switzerland, Italy, France and the Netherlands.¹⁰¹ When passing through Berne, he witnessed a performance of the city's music society in the concert hall by the French church (the church of the exiled Huguenots), which was their customary rehearsal room.¹⁰²

95 Zofingen, Stadtbibliothek, Pb 64e, *Kurzer Abriss über die Geschichte des Music-Collegiums ...*, pp. 53–54; Roth, 'Geselligkeit und Alltag', p. 304.

96 Merz, 'Das Collegium Musicum von Burgdorf', pp. 95, 99; Burgdorf, Archiv des Rittersaalvereins, x 312, *Gesatz Buch*, pp. 21–22, 31, 68.

97 Salomons, *des Ebreischen Königes Geistliche Wohl-lust oder Hohes Lied ...* (Amsterdam: Kristof Kunrath, 1657; RISM A/I S 2101).

98 Salomons *Deß Ebreischen Königes, Geistliche Wohl-lust ... noch mit einer Stimme vervollkommet* (Berne: Georg Sonnleitner, 1674; RISM DKL 1674⁹).

99 *Drey-gestimmter Zesischer Salomon ... Sampt bey-gefügtter Geistlichen Seelen-Lust* (Berne: Georg Sonnleitner, 1674; RISM DKL 1674¹⁰, RISM A/I SS 2101a).

100 Document 4.1. See also Brönnimann, *Der Zinkenist und Musikdirektor Johann Ulrich Sultzberger*, pp. 42–49.

101 Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, 8 Cod. Ms. Uffenbach 29, vols 1–4.

102 Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, 8 Cod. Ms. Uffenbach 29, vol. 1, pp. 590–593. The citation stems from the typewritten transcription by Alste Horn, 1968–70 (Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, 8 Cod. Ms. Uffenbach 29 A). The whole passage is reproduced in Document 4.2. See also Eberhard Preussner, *Die musikalischen Reisen des Herrn von Uffenbach, Aus einem Reisetagebuch des Johann Friedrich A. von Uffenbach aus Frankfurt a. M.*

Berne, 11 November 1714 ... From there, they brought me to a music room, that was built at the expense of certain music lovers next to the French church. It is an ancient grain warehouse, and before that a chapel of the nearby church, which the music lovers renovated so well that it is a pleasure to see (and Mr Herff being one of the more distinguished contributed the most). One sixth of the room is separate and contains an organ, as on a screen in a church. This part is so constructed, that nobody can see inside, but one can easily look out, and it can be reached by a separate door, so that one does not see if a music lover is playing, or who the performers are. Below, in the room, there are nice benches and chairs for the listeners, and anybody can go there. They are usually full, and it is permitted and modish even for preachers and women, yea, for anybody to go there ... In order to better listen to the music, I went through the back entrance, where one first gets into a middle-sized room ... From there, one comes into the separate space for the musicians, which is thus closed principally in order that also those women from the city who love and master music may go unnoticed and practise along [with the men]. This happens almost every day, right then for instance there were three [women], who sang quite well. The music performed was mostly oldish stuff and to say the least did not please my ears. Among the instrument players, not one did things properly ... The singers were good, the rest of the instruments pitiful, so that I would have left with pleasure, had it been decent to leave. The listeners' room was full, mostly with the women from the city. It gave me a great pleasure [to see] that there is such freedom here ...

The attitude of the music societies towards women is, then, ambivalent at the least. It should be noted that the differences may be regional: Burgdorf and Zofingen belong to the canton of Berne, Winterthur belongs to the canton of Zurich. Another explanation may lie in the political undertones of the issue of female morality. A liberal attitude was considered a concession to French manners, and, in the eyes of many, unworthy of any patriotic citizen of the Reformed cantons.¹⁰³ Whether the Berne "music lovers" were in favour of the alliance with France is not known. Certainly, however, the members of the Zurich music society *auf dem Musiksaal* were decidedly anti-French, as will be seen presently.

1712–1716 (Kassel: Bärenreiter 1949), pp. 49–51. My thanks to Christoph Riedo for pointing out this source to me. "Music lover" ("music liebhaber") is, by the way, a standard expression to indicate a member of a *collegium musicum*.

103 Lau, *Stiefbrüder*, pp. 341–342.

Around the turn of the century, the Venetian doge wished to renew the old alliances of 1603 and 1615 with Zurich, Berne, and the Grisons, in order to profit from their services as mercenaries. With this aim, Vendramino Bianchi (1667–1738) was sent in 1705 as an agent to Zurich.¹⁰⁴ The following year, the alliance was celebrated with great pomp. Johann Kaspar Hardmeyer (1651–1719), pastor and author of a collection of psalm-settings,¹⁰⁵ published a twelve-page pamphlet in commemoration of the signing of the treatise, *Alte Treu Wird Heute neu ...*,¹⁰⁶ which included a three-part composition urging the nymphs of the Limmat—one of the two rivers in Zurich—to celebrate the alliance with their song.¹⁰⁷ Back in Venice, Bianchi wrote an account of his experiences in Switzerland under the anagrammatic pseudonym of Arminio Dannebuchi.¹⁰⁸ Counting among its members the offspring of some of the most powerful families in town, the Zurich *Musiksaal* society was a favourable venue for political lobbying. On the second day of the year, the *Bächtelistag* or *Bächtoldstag*, the *Neujahrsblätter* were distributed and donations (called *Stubenhitzen*, freely translatable as “oven warmers”, after their supposed allocation) were given in exchange. The account books of the music society record the amount of money raised each year. Usually, only the total sum of the donations is given. However, in certain cases the names of the benefactors are remembered. It can be no coincidence that a gift of two “French thalers” came almost regularly over a period of at least thirteen years from the Venetian residents: Vendramino Bianchi in 1705, Capello from 1707 to 1710, Savioni from 1711 to 1713, Giovanni Maria Vincenti from 1714 to 1716, and Giuseppe Giacomazzi in 1717 and 1718.¹⁰⁹

While Venice had managed to renew long-standing diplomatic relationships, another traditional ally, France, saw its position impaired in the 1690s. The pact by which France had exclusive rights to enlist Confederate soldiers was last renewed in 1663. In 1673, the clergy opposed the raising of a Bernese regiment that was to serve the French in the Dutch War on religious grounds: “You would not have your Forces to serve his most *Christian Majesty* against the *Dutch*, because they are of our *Reformed* way of Religion, though they are not your Allies”, as a Swiss officer, Giovanni Battista Stuppa, formulates the reason

104 See, for example, Gatani and Gherzi, *Das Venedigli*, pp. 15–25.

105 *Die Harpfe des gottfälligen Königs und Propheten Davids* (Zurich: widow of Michael Schaufelberger and Christoffel Hardmeyer, 1701; RISM DKL 1701⁶).

106 Without place nor printer's name; RISM A/I H 2016.

107 “Auf! Ihr Limmatnimfen singet”.

108 *Relazione del paese de' Svizzeri e loro alliati* (Venice: Andrea Poletti, 1708).

109 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv II A 2.2 (account book 1699–1714) and 2.3 (1714–26).

in his pamphlet, *The religion of the Dutch*.¹¹⁰ A Reformed citizen of Chiavenna in the Grisons, Stuppa studied theology in Leiden and was a pastor in London, where he became acquainted with John Thurloe, Oliver Cromwell's secretary, before serving as an officer against the Dutch in the regiment commanded by his brother Johann Peter. In his pamphlet, he used the religious tolerance of the Dutch to prove that in fact the United Provinces could not be considered a Reformed nation: he concluded that the argument of the Bernese was untenable.¹¹¹

... the *States-Generall* have always given Liberty of Conscience to all sorts of persons, and allow'd the publick exercise, in a manner, of all Religions ... It will be no hard matter for me to prove to you thereby, That what external profession soever the *United Provinces* have hitherto made of the *Reformed Religion*, if we search the business to the bottom, it will appear, that they neither are, nor ever were of it ... There is not any necessity of my telling you, That there never was, either at *Geneva*, or in your *Cantons*, any permission, I do not say of the Exercise of our Religion, but even of Habitation, for those whose profess a Religion different from ours. That being so, I assure myself, of your being persuaded, that one and the same Religion cannot inspire those who profess it, with sentiments that are contradictory, and with an absolutely opposite Conduct and deportment.

The pact with France was first broken in May 1693, when Zurich raised a defensive battalion in support of the Dutch Republic. This was the special

110 Giovanni Battista Stuppa, *The religion of the Dutch represented in several letters from a Protestant officer in the French army to a pastor and professor of divinity at Berne in Switzerland* (London: Samuel Heyrick, 1680), the previous quotation is on p. 58. The pamphlet was originally published in French in 1673, *La Religion des Hollandois: représentée en plusieurs lettres* (Cologne: Pierre Marteau), with two editions in the same year (VD17 12:114250Y and VD17 39:144463Y), Cologne as the printing place being probably fictitious.

111 Stuppa, *The religion of the Dutch*, pp. 32–34. Modern historians tend to agree with Stuppa that the Reformed confession was not a state religion in the United Provinces: “Even though the government secured to the Reformed Church the sole right to conduct public worship, including sole use of former Catholic churches, Dutch Calvinism cannot be considered a state religion in the full sense of the term, because there was no expectation that membership in the political community entailed membership in the Church”; James D. Tracy, ‘Erasmus, Coornhert and the Acceptance of Religious Disunity in the Body Politic: A Low Countries Tradition?’ in Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Jonathan Israel, and G. Hans M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds.), *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic*, Studies in the history of Christian thought, vol. 76 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p. 61.

achievement of the Dutch envoy extraordinary, Pieter Valkenier (1641–1712).¹¹² The Dutch had two weighty arguments to convince the Swiss of the advantages of an alliance between their two states. First, they had the same Reformed religion; second, they had the same constitutional type. While Valkenier was cautious with the first argument in his speeches directed at a Confederate public, he still used it occasionally when in Zurich, the town of his appointment from 15 August 1690 to 21 May 1704. But in the question of Swiss independence, he vehemently claimed that political unity had priority over confessional differences. His favourite argument was the common idea of republican liberty, which he had already developed in a publication of 1677: "The Swiss Cantons and the United Provinces, precisely because they both have a republican government, which is hated by the powerful, should be allies and protect each other's liberty, which they should cherish more than life".¹¹³ Valkenier's activities were successful both on a political and on a cultural level. His lesson was highly influential in the development of the Confederation's self-understanding as an independent republican state.

Pieter Valkenier, special envoy from the Netherlands, also made a generous donation to the *Musiksaal* society soon after his arrival in town. In spring 1691, he offered some music books, which were immediately entered in the (lost) library inventory (*Bücher-Rodel*).¹¹⁴ Fortunately, an ex libris was also entered on each frontispiece: "*P. Valkenier Zurich den 17/27 Martij 1691*". While no claim is made to have found all the titles from his gift, the few books identified up to now already offer matter for reflection.¹¹⁵ All but one contain Catholic sacred music, including works by one resident and one expatriate Italian, Maurizio Cazzati and Giovanni Pietro Finatti. The Zurich exemplars of the music of Cazzati and of the two titles by Benedictus a Sancto Josepho are, moreover, the

¹¹² Lau, *Stiefbrüder*, pp. 267–269; Maissen, *Die Geburt der Republic*, pp. 356–366.

¹¹³ "Die Schweitzerische Cantonen und die Vereinigte Niederländer, weil sie beyderseits eine Republick Regirung haben, welche von allen Potentaten gehasset und gedräuet wird, müsten sich genau an einander verbinden und eine die ander in ihrer Freyheit, welche sie lieber haben solten als ihr Leben, beschützen"; Pieter Valkenier, *Das verwirrte Europa* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1677), p. 56; quoted after Maissen, *Die Geburt der Republic*, p. 358.

¹¹⁴ Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv II A 2.1, 1684–99, No. 2, fol. [8r]: "Trinkgeldt dem Diener, welcher die *Musicalische* Authores, lut sonderbahre verZeichnuß In Buecher Rodel, überbracht, die Ihr Excell[enz] H[err] *Falkonier* lobl[icher] Gesellschaft verehrt. 3 [thaler] 12 [shilling]".

¹¹⁵ Table 4.5. On Valkenier's gift, and for an image of the ex libris, see Heinrich Aerni, 'Die Bibliothek der Allgemeinen Musik-Gesellschaft Zürich', *Librarium*, 55 (2012), pp. 16–17. The *Allgemeine Musik-Gesellschaft* owns two copies of Kindermann's book, but only call number Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 5009 & a-d comes from Valkenier's donation. My thanks to Christoph Riedo for pointing out to me the Johan Schop edition.

TABLE 4.5 From Pieter Valkenier's gift to the Zurich Musiksaal society in March 1691

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- Benedictus a Sancto Josepho, *Musica montana* ... (Antwerp: Lucas de Potter, 1677; RISM A/I B 1923)
 - Benedictus a Sancto Josepho, *Completoriale* ... (Antwerp: Lucas de Potter, 1678; RISM A/I B 1924)
 - Maurizio Cazzati, *Sacri concerti* ... op. 47 (Antwerp: Lucas de Potter, 1676; RISM A/I C 1647)
 - Giovanni Pietro Finatti, *Missae, motetta, litaniae B. Virginis* ... (Antwerp: Magdalène Phalèse & cohéritiers, 1652; RISM A/I F 802)
 - Carolus Hacquart, *Cantiones sacrae* ... (Amsterdam: author / Paul Matthysz, 1674; RISM A/I H 34; HH 34)
 - Johann Erasmus Kindermann (ed.), *Musicalischer Zeitvertreiber: ein feines von allerhand köstlicher sachen zusammen gewärmtes* ... (Nuremberg: Endter, 1655; RISM B/I 1655⁴)
 - Johann Schop, *Erster Theil, Neuer Paduanen, Galliarden, Allmanden, Balletten, Couranten, unnd Canzonen* ... (Hamburg: Jakob Rebenlein, 1640; RISM A/I S 2103)
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only known copies.¹¹⁶ All printed music books from the Low Countries dated before 1691 which are preserved today in the Zurich central library carry Valkenier's ex libris.

The Dutch efforts in changing the course of the Confederation's political alliances were paralleled by the activities of the English envoy extraordinary, Thomas Coxe, who arrived in Zurich in November 1689, the year of the Glorious Revolution.¹¹⁷ His role as representative of a state that had recently saved the Protestant faith of its monarchy was particularly delicate in the Catholic cantons. For this reason, like Valkenier, he preferred to stress the theme of freedom, describing Louis XIV as "Oppressor" and William of Orange as "Deliverer and Assertor of the Liberty of Europe".¹¹⁸ If his diplomacy was cross-confessional, he nevertheless settled in Zurich and made a generous one-time donation in January 1690 to the *Musiksaal* society which was still producing income (perhaps interest payments) in 1707.¹¹⁹

116 For biographical information about Benedictus a Sancto Josepho (Benedict Buns, 1641/2–1716) and an analysis of his output see Noske, *Music Bridging Divided Religions*, vol. 1, pp. 143–184, 216–233; his portrait is reproduced on p. 256.

117 Concerning Coxe and his mission see Lau, *Stiefbrüder*, pp. 304–307.

118 From a letter by Coxe of April 1690, cited in Lau, *Stiefbrüder*, p. 306.

119 "14 [thaler] 8 [shilling] an 2 *ducaten*, So H[err] Thomas Coax [sic] *Envoye extraordinaire* Ihr Konigklich Majestat Vß Engelang, der gsellschafft VerEhrt"; "Ein 4. fache Guinee So

A few months after his arrival, the possibility of sending troops to England was taking shape. In fact, one of the goals of his mission was to enrol four thousand soldiers. The young men of the music society discussed the advantages and disadvantages of the new alliance, and aspired to the honour of being appointed officers. But because the matter was of such a delicate nature, the Zurich government did not wish it to become of public concern, and even less the subject of a public scandal. When it came to their ears that at the end of February in the music room there had been some heated argument about Coxe's diplomatic endeavours, they summoned four members for questioning on 4 March 1690: Salomon Ott, Heinrich Holtzhalb, Heinrich Paruel and Jakob Heidegger.¹²⁰ While Heidegger, in youthful exuberance, wished to become officer of the troops destined to England, Ott was quite reserved and even sceptical. He favoured neutrality, and remarked sarcastically that, if the Swiss were to be slaves, it mattered but little if they were slaves of the French or of the English. But the contents of the argument is here of lesser interest than the fact that it took place at all. Both Ott and Heidegger were unanimous in stressing that in the music society there had always been a climate of "confidence and discretion".¹²¹ The music room was a place where one could freely "speak out whatever thought occurred to his mind".¹²² To calm things down, Coxe himself, as a good diplomat, intervened immediately—the following day—with a letter in French to the city's authorities, where he suggested postponing the whole issue of the officers' appointment, and to continue to discuss other, more important points of the agreement.¹²³ Very probably, with this letter the affair was set aside; at least, no later documents have been found.

The textile tradesman Salomon Ott (1653–1711) is the best known of the four questioned 'music lovers' after the later London impresario Heidegger.¹²⁴ Ott also attended the learned societies that were experimenting with the new kind of communication that would become characteristic of the Enlightenment.¹²⁵ He was one of the founding members of the *Collegium der Insulaner*, where

A[nn]o 1690 Von Ihro Ex[zellenz] H[err] Thom[as] Cox Englischem H[err] Envoyé Extraordinaire einer Loblichen gesellschaft Verehrt 64 [thaler]"; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv II A 2.1, 1684–99, No. 1, fol. [5r] and A 2.2, 1699–1714, fol. [2r].

120 Document 4.3.

121 "Vertraulichkeit und verschwiegenheit", in Heidegger's words.

122 "... ein ieder habe reden dörfen, was er nur gedenkte", in Ott's words.

123 Document 4.4.

124 See Chapter 3a.

125 Kempe and Maissen, *Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgesinnten*; on Salomon Ott see pp. 98, 307, 329, and 348.

he delivered ten speeches on topics of trade and commerce between 1679 and 1681, and was member of its successor, the *Collegium der Vertraulichen*, where he delivered another five speeches on constitutional and legal questions (1694–96). His speeches are summarised in the minutes of the societies' meetings. For example, on 4 May 1680 he discussed the commercial hazards of trading in books; on 16 March 1695 he addressed censorship and censors, not in relation to intellectual achievements, but as social behaviour.¹²⁶ He would later become a member of the town's greater council in 1699, guild master in 1705, and governor (*Obervogt*) of the district of Meilen, a town on Lake Zurich, in 1706. When a young man in his twenties, he had bought some books of music that were later incorporated into the collection of the *Musiksaal* society.¹²⁷ As in the case of Valkenier's gift, further titles may yet come to light. It may nevertheless be noticed that seven of the eleven identified titles contain Catholic vocal sacred music, and that one of these is a Milanese edition. The Zurich copies of Carissimi, Rosenmüller, and Ziggeler are unica. The manuscript contains works by the proselyte Andreas Benz.¹²⁸

The private dimension of the music societies offered a secluded space in which to exert freedoms in ways and in speech which were not yet public achievements. These private debates accompanied, in the 1690s, a change in the course of Confederate politics, which abandoned in part the discourse of confessional opposition to embrace the discourse of republican freedom. Liberty was in fact the term chosen by Uffenbach to describe female musicianship in Berne, and by Valkenier and Coxe to describe the similarities between the Swiss, the Dutch, and the English. Heidegger used a cognate concept, confidence, to describe the private conversations in the *Musiksaal* society.

The Winterthur 'music lovers' also spoke freely during their weekly reunions. Their frame of reference was, however, not international diplomacy, but a religious movement that was politically in opposition and wished to renew the Reformed confession: early Pietism.¹²⁹ The movement originated with the publication of the *Pia desideria* by the Lutheran Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705),¹³⁰ and arrived in the Confederation via Zurich with the teachings

126 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Mss. B 57, pp. 433–435 and S 493, fols 250v–251r.

127 Table 4.6. Carissimi, Molitor, and Ziggeler were identified by the author together with Luigi Collarile in October 2009; Gletle, Mognossa, and Rosenmüller by Christoph Riedo, 'Privates Musizieren'.

128 See Chapter 2a.

129 Concerning Pietism see Dellsperger, 'Der Pietismus in der Schweiz', and Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus*, with short biographies of all known Zurich pietists (pp. 508–522). See also Chapter 1a.

130 Frankfurt: Zunner, 1675.

TABLE 4.6 *Music books owned by Salomon Ott*

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- Benz (Bänz), Johann Andreas, *Vier Decades Neüwer Arien, und Couranten wie auch Sarabanden*, six ms. partbooks, Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 5016 & a-e (RISM A/II 400008458), ex libris Salomon Ott, 1675.
 - Carissimi, Giacomo, *Arion romanus ...* (Constance: David Hault junior, 1670; RISM A/I C 1221), ex libris Salomon Ott, 1674.
 - Doré, Ghislain, *Hymnus Te Deum laudamus ...* (Anwerpen: Hendrik Aertssens, 1698; RISM A/I D 3431), ex libris Salomon Ott.
 - Gletle, Johannes Melchior, *Expeditionis musicae classis I ...* op. 1 (Augsburg: author / Andreas Erfurt, 1667; RISM A/I G 2616), ex libris Salomon Ott, 1675.
 - Gletle, Johannes Melchior, *Expeditionis musicae classis V... op. 5* (Augsburg: Johann Schöningk, 1677; RISM A/I G 2620), ex libris Salomon Ott, 1678.
 - Gletle, Johann Melchior, *Musica genialis latino-germanica ...* (Augsburg: author / Andreas Erfurt, 1675; RISM A/I G 2619), ex libris Salomon Ott, 1675.
 - La Marche, Franciscus de, *Musicalisches Jägerhorn ...* (Constance: Johann Geng, 1655; RISM A/I L 345), ex libris Salomon Ott.
 - Mognozza, Giovanni Francesco, *Messa, Litanie e Motetti ecclesiastici ...* (Milan: Camagni, 1673; RISM A/I M 2921), ex libris Salomon Ott, 1674.
 - Molitor, Fidel, *Mensa musicalis ...* (Innsbruck: Michael Wagner, 1668; RISM A/I M 2954), ex libris Salomon Ott, 1673.
 - Rosenmüller, Johann, *Sonate da camera cioè sinfonie, alemande, correnti, balletti, sarabande ...* (Venice: s.n., 1670; RISM A/I R 2566), ex libris Salomon Ott, 1673. Bound together with a ms. collection of four instrumental pieces by Maurizio Cazzati and one by Pietro Nischesola.
 - Ziggeler, Anton, *Missae breves tribus, quatuor, et quinque vocibus concinendae ...* (Constance: David Hault junior, 1669; RISM A/I Z 210), ex libris Salomon Ott, 1671.
-

of Christian Theodor Wolther, a pietist from Lüneburg, around 1686–7. The movement's concern with individual piety had wide-ranging implications. It encouraged a tolerant attitude towards other confessions, and a certain egalitarianism, both with respect to women's participation in religious life, and in terms of social differences. It also advocated private gatherings called conventicles for a communal reading of the Bible. While it was mainly a reform movement, some pietists were in favour of a separation from the Reformed

church. Later pietist ideas were slowly integrated into the Reformed church, but until the 1720s Pietism was vigorously opposed by the Reformed orthodoxy. In 1698 there was a first wave of trials in Zurich and Berne. The leader of the first pietists, tradesman Johann Heinrich Locher (1648–1718), together with other prominent Zurich personalities such as printer Johann Heinrich Bodmer (1669–1743),¹³¹ pastors Heinrich Laubi (1669–1737), Johann Kaspar Hardmeyer (1651–1719), and Johann Heinrich Zeller (1654–99), were fined. In 1714, a second pietist movement started in Winterthur with pastor Johann Kaspar Ziegler, then quickly expanded to Zurich, the town of Stein am Rhein to the north, and many smaller villages scattered throughout the Zurich countryside. This time, repression was harder, because after an urban upheaval failed in 1713, the government was wary of any menace to the security of the state. In fact, Bodmer had been one of the leading figures in the attempt. In the second wave of trials that ensued, the pietist leaders were sent into exile: the goldsmith Johann Ulrich Giezendanner (originally from the confessionally mixed region of Toggenburg) was banned from the Zurich territories without a trial in 1716, and others followed until 1721, including Ziegler and Bodmer himself. By 1718, some one hundred and eighty suspects had been heard.

The pietist movement produced, in Germany and in Switzerland, a remarkable quantity of printed matter, both pamphlets—particularly suitable for clandestine distribution—and books. Johann Heinrich Locher gathered an extensive pietist library; after its confiscation, about one hundred books were given back to him, the list of which is preserved.¹³² But the most important means of communication between pietists were their meetings. A communal devotion without the guidance of a clergyman could not be tolerated where the church was so intimately connected with the government, as in Zurich. (It was, instead, tolerated in the Toggenburg region, because the religious gatherings in the lofts of the Reformed farmhouses were a thorn in the flesh of the ruling abbot of Sankt Gallen.)¹³³ The private character and the free expression of one's thoughts in pietist conventicles are features that they had in common with the meetings of the music societies. Actually, six members of the Winterthur *collegium musicum* were confirmed pietists: the medical doctor Ulrich Hanhart (1688–1729), the town librarian Johann Ulrich Hegner (1682–1735), his elder brother Salomon Hegner (1677–1763), and three theologians: Wolfgang Sulzer (1681–1747), his cousin Jakob Sulzer (1686–1739), and his uncle Johann Kaspar Sulzer (1660–1719). When he was questioned in June 1715, towards the beginning

131 See Chapter 3c.

132 Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus*, pp. 108–121 and 523–531.

133 See Kirchgraber, *Das bäuerliche Toggenburger Haus*, pp. 20–25.

of the second wave of trials against the pietists, Johann Ulrich Hegner reacted very cautiously. Hegner tried to minimise the facts, because he realised that behind the relatively harmless expressions ("offensive speeches", "babbling") lurked the much heavier accusation that, under the cover of music making, the Winterthur 'music lovers' were in fact holding pietist conventicles.¹³⁴

[20 June 1715] Doctor [Johann Ulrich] Hegner was next called in and questioned separately ... *Question* We hear that you held many offensive speeches ... [so that] rector Sulzer was in fact asked to warn you on behalf of the three members of the censorship commission. *Answer* It is a pleasure to account here for my acts ... Rector Sulzer claimed once in the library, that in the music society there was so much babbling, that it irritated honest people, and when I was asked if I wished to reply [?], I said it was better to suffer a little *etc.* I did not know what the rector meant, nor that it was directed at me, nor that the rector was speaking in the name of the consistory.

4e Case Study: Jakob Rathgeb, Miller, Composer, and Convert

The best-known and largest conventicle in the Zurich countryside, counting some thirty attendants, was the one organised by Jakob Rathgeb in the mill called *Riedmühle* on the Altbach river in the village of Dietlikon, midway between Zurich and Winterthur. The mill itself does not exist any longer, but its memory is preserved in the name of a road (*Riedmühlestrasse*) joining Dietlikon to the neighbouring village of Brüttisellen. The miller, county judge (*Landrichter*), musician, and convert, Johann Jakob Rathgeb, is well known to historians.¹³⁵ He was probably born around 1680, and must have enjoyed a

134 "Herr Doctor [Johann Ulrich] Hegner ist hernach hierinberuff[en] und befraget word[en] absonderlich ... *Q[uestio]* Man habe vernohm[en], d[ass] er vil anstößige *Discoursen* geführt ... und Herr *Rect[or]* Sulzer ihne zuwarn[en] *com[m]ittiert* word[en], welches er *ex parte* d[er] 3. *Herren Visitatoribus* bekennt habe? *R[esponsio]* Freüe sich eine rechenschafft seines wandels hier abzuleg[en] ... Herr *Rect[or]* Sulzer habe auf ein Zeit auf der *Bibliotheq[ue]* in *genere* einen anzug gethan, man schwäze so vil aus der musikgesellschaft, dardurch ehrliche leüthe in argwohn gesetzt werd[en], und drauf gefragt, ob er sol ein anzug thun, es habe aber er, Herr *Doct[or]* Hegner, gesagt, nein, sej beßer etwas leid[en] *etc.* habe aber nit gwüßt, w[as] Herr *Rector* meine, oder d[ass] es ihn antreffe, oder d[ass] Herr *Rector* es solle *nomine Conventūs* thun"; Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E 11 56, p. 441.

135 On Rathgeb see Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus*, pp. 81–85 and Hanimann, *Zürcher Nonkonformisten im 18. Jahrhundert*, pp. 83–88, 93–99.

good education, if in part informal.¹³⁶ In 1709, Rathgeb printed in Zurich his only known publication, *Gottseliger Seelen Tägliche Ergezlichkeit* ¹³⁷ This is also the oldest testimony to his activities. It is a collection of fifty-seven simple, three-part strophic songs. Appended to it are twenty prayers by a certain “J.R.G.”.¹³⁸ Rathgeb’s model was most probably the *Geistliche Seelen-Music*, which he owned and used when teaching music.¹³⁹ In the subtitle, Rathgeb uses almost the same words as Christian Huber to describe the contents of the book: compare Rathgeb’s “many beautiful spiritual and consoling songs, suitable for all kinds of times and occasions” to Huber’s “spiritual and consoling songs for all kinds of circumstance”.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, if Huber’s second edition included forty canons, Rathgeb also included three elementary canons. Was Rathgeb the author of the song texts? It is certainly tempting to see in him, the miller of the *Riedmühle*, the author of the “spiritual miller’s song”.¹⁴¹

He certainly knew some Latin, for he admitted during a hearing in January 1716 to having given lessons to his sister. His testimony is not only interesting because it describes a miller’s sister learning Latin, but also because his first justification is, in our understanding, a reference to the cross-confessional repertoire of the Zurich music societies—“one sings any kind of things in town”.¹⁴² The two double-texted songs could, then, indeed come from his pen.¹⁴³

136 The inhabitants of the countryside were often self-taught. Reading and writing were among the goods exchanged in the gatherings in the Toggenburg roof chambers; see Kirchraber, *Das bäuerliche Toggenburger Haus*, pp. 20–25.

137 Zurich: Michael Schaufelberg’s heirs and Christoff Hardmeyer, 1709; RISM DKL 1709⁷.

138 Their title page reads *Zugaabe, Bestehende In etlichen schönen Gebätteren ... (Addition, consisting in several beautiful prayers ...)*.

139 See Chapter 2b and Document 4.13.

140 “... bestehende in vilen schönen geist- und trostreichen, auf allerhand Zeiten und Anlässe gerichteten Gesängen” and “Geist- vnd Trostreiche Gesäng, in allerley Anligen” respectively.

141 Number 56 in his book; Music example 4.1.

142 “*Q[uaestio]* Warum er die tochter habe gmacht latin lehrn[en] sing[en] (dan es hat geheissen, er habe gsagt, sie wüsse nit ob sie nit noch könnte eine Non[n] werd[en]) *R[esponsio]* Man singt ja auch allerhand in d[ie] Stadt, er habe keine Tochter, sondern Schwester, die es gethan; wolte aber nit weiß nit w[as] mehr nehm[en], und sing[en], w[as] er nit verstehe, noch andere darzu treib[en] etc. etc.”; Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E 11 56, p. 507, 22 January 1716.

143 Number 46, *Morgen-Lied*, “Me regat Pater Deus”, or, “Das walte Gott der Vatter”, transcribed in Music example 4.2, and number 47, *Schlaff-Lied*, “Pater, cordis o solamen”, or, “Vatter, dessen ich mich freue”.

Herr mein Gott ich dan - ke dir Daß durch dei - ne gros - se Kraft
 Rühm dein Gü - te für und für Du die Nah - rung uns ver - schafft

Herr mein Gott ich dan - ke dir Daß durch dei - ne gros - se Kraft
 Rühm dein Gü - te für und für Du die Nah - rung uns ver - schafft

Herr mein Gott ich dan - ke dir Daß durch dei - ne gros - se Kraft
 Rühm dein Gü - te für und für Du die Nah - rung uns ver - schafft

Gibst noch un-ser täg - lich Brot Das zu di-sem Le - ben noht, Dank sey dir, Herr Ze - ba-oth.

Gibst noch un-ser täg - lich Brot Das zu di-sem Le - ben noht, Dank sey dir, Herr Ze - ba-oth.

Gibst noch un-ser täg - lich Brot Das zu di-sem Le - ben noht, Dank sey dir, Herr Ze - ba-oth.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 4.1 Jakob Rathgeb's Geistliches Müller-Lied (1709)

Me re - gat Pa - ter De - us, Cre - a - tor max - i - mus; De - fen-dat me so - la -
 Das wal - te Gott der Vat - ter Der mich er - schaf - fen hat; Das wal - te Gott mein Tröst -

Me re - gat Pa - ter De - us, Cre - a - tor max - i - mus; De - fen-dat me so - la -
 Das wal - te Gott der Vat - ter Der mich er - schaf - fen hat; Das wal - te Gott mein Tröst -

Me re - gat Pa - ter De - us, Cre - a - tor max - i - mus; De - fen-dat me so - la -
 Das wal - te Gott der Vat - ter Der mich er - schaf - fen hat; Das wal - te Gott mein Tröst -

tor. Æ - ter - nus Spi - ri - tus; Lux, dux, & vi - te da - tor, Di - vi - nis vi - ri - bus.
 er Der wer - the hei - lig Geist: Der mich im Glau - ben ves - ter Mach und sein hilf - fe leist.

tor. Æ - ter - nus Spi - ri - tus; Lux, dux, & vi - te da - tor, Di - vi - nis vi - ri - bus.
 er Der wer - the hei - lig Geist: Der mich im Glau - ben ves - ter Mach und sein hilf - fe leist.

tor. Æ - ter - nus Spi - ri - tus; Lux, dux, & vi - te da - tor, Di - vi - nis vi - ri - bus.
 er Der wer - the hei - lig Geist: Der mich im Glau - ben ves - ter Mach und sein hilf - fe leist.

MUSIC EXAMPLE 4.2 Jakob Rathgeb's Morgen-Lied (1709)

Question: Why did you teach your daughter to sing in Latin? As we heard, you said that she did not know if she would not in the end become a nun.

Answer: One sings any kind of things in town, and it was not my daughter, but my sister who did it; I do not wish to take any stuff in my hands and sing something I do not understand, nor do I push others to do it *etc.*

In the preface, Rathgeb praises the musical proficiency of the country folk, who are able to sing the Lobwasser psalms, the old psalm-tunes, and the devotional songs in four parts by memory.¹⁴⁴ He actually conceived his collection for “the dear peasant folk” (“die lieben Boursleuht”), as he explains in the preface.¹⁴⁵ In considering the two Latin texts, this dedication appears slightly exaggerated. Who was the actual public for Rathgeb’s song book? In his preface, he claims to have often sought consolation in music because his name had been often slandered in the past. Was Rathgeb already leading pietist conventicles before 1709?

His name appears for the first time in archival records in November 1715, at the beginning of the investigations into the Winterthur pietist circles.¹⁴⁶ He was asked if he had read Johann Tennhardt’s *Gott allein sol die Ehre sein* (a recent pietist book, published in Nuremberg in 1710), if he had ever been in Winterthur, and whom he had met there. He admitted knowing the book, and having visited Johann Kaspar Ziegler in Winterthur. But he claimed to have established all his further contacts there because of musical matters: Johannes Ernst because he owned an organ, and Elisabetha Künzli to give her a music lesson on her spinet. All three, however, were pietists themselves or frequented pietist circles: their musical interests seem to have served as an excuse.

In January 1716, his home was searched by pastor Caspar Vogel of Dübendorf and pastor Johann Jakob Utzinger of Dietlikon. All the books he had in the library and in the hall were examined and listed. The quite impressive list of one hundred and fourteen titles was transcribed by Thomas Hanimann in his dissertation.¹⁴⁷ It contains all sorts of books. He owned religious and fictional literature, political treatises and pamphlets, and surprisingly few titles of musical interest. The books reflected orthodox Reformed, pietist, and Catholic ideas alike. Without doubling Hanimann’s transcription of the original list, a few representative books may be mentioned here, together with a full list of the Catholic titles.

As can easily be expected, two German bibles are found (numbers 113 and 114) and also a children’s bible (number 111).¹⁴⁸ There are a few fictional works,

144 This is the precise contents of the Reformed church songbook; see Chapter 1b.

145 Document 4.5.

146 Document 4.6.

147 Hanimann, *Zürcher Nonkonformisten im 18. Jahrhundert*, pp. 326–329. The list does permit the identification of many titles, but not precisely the date or place of their publication: the works mentioned in the following may therefore have been present in different editions than those indicated here.

148 Johannes Melchior’s *Kinder-Bibel* (Herborn: s.n., 1705).

from Aesop's fables in Latin (number 57) to a "bericht von Doct. Fausto" (number 84). Many years before, Rathgeb had owned a copy of *Eulenspiegel*,¹⁴⁹ but his father had burnt it because he was too assiduous a reader.¹⁵⁰ He also had political literature mirroring an anti-French political orientation and the new self-understanding of the Confederates that had been prevailing since the 1690s, which was (in principle) cross-confessional and republican. The *Französische Tyranny ...* (number 17) is the German translation, published anonymously in 1674, of an account of the French campaign against the Dutch Republic in 1672.¹⁵¹ This is followed by a "Dutch Lion" ("holländischer leü", number 18), possibly Philipp von Zesen's book on the Dutch political system,¹⁵² or a map of the Low Countries, which were customarily represented in the shape of a lion (*leo belgicus*).¹⁵³ Johann Caspar Weissenbach's play *Eydgnoszisches Contrafeth auff- unnd abnehmender Jungfrawen Helvetiae ...*¹⁵⁴ (number 44) was one of the first incarnations of "Jungfraw Helvetia", the female figure which was the symbol of the Confederation.¹⁵⁵ There are only two music titles, the Swiss Catholic songbook (number 7) and the Reformed songbook *Musicalische Geistliche Seelenlust ...* (number 96).¹⁵⁶ The *Praxis catechistica* by Placidus Spiess (number 45) has also a short music appendix with "spiritual songs to be sung in the children's school or in the cloisters".¹⁵⁷ The *Geistliche Seelen-Music* is, strangely enough, missing on the list. Tennhardt's book was not found, and Rathgeb explained that he had exchanged it with a German translation of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (number 92). The Catholic titles in his home he had in part taken back from Rapperswil during the last war, and in part bought in Baden out of curiosity. Here the eleven Catholic titles are reproduced, identified as such from the succinct bibliographic indications.¹⁵⁸ His declarations appear perfectly plausible, looking at the booklet on the history of a Rapperswil confraternity

149 One of the numerous printed accounts of Till Eulenspiegel's adventures, for example *Viel seltsame und wunderbarliche Historien Tyll Eulenspiegels ...* (Hamburg: Heinrich Werner, 1641).

150 "... alzu fleißigen lesens halber"; Document 4.10.

151 Abraham de Wicquefort, *De Fransche tyrannie* (Amsterdam: Jan Claessoon ten Hoorn, 1674).

152 *Niederländischer Leue ...* (Nuremberg: Johan Hofman, 1677).

153 See Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, pp. 54–55.

154 Zug: s.n., 1673.

155 See Chapter 1a.

156 Zürich: David Gessner, 1713; RISM DKL 1713¹¹.

157 "Folgen etliche Geistliche Gesänger in der Kinderlehr oder in den Creutz-Gängen zusin-gen", pp. 371–383.

158 See Table 4.7.

TABLE 4.7 Some Catholic titles owned by Jakob Rathgeb

-
- 7. Catholisches gesang büchlein
Catholisch Gesang-Büchlein (Sankt Gallen: Johann Georg Schlegel, 1689; RISM DKL 1689⁷).
 - 27. Etwas für alle: Pat. *Abr. Clara*.
Abraham a Santa Clara, *Etwas für Alle: Das ist: Eine kurtze Beschreibung allerley Stands- Ambts- und Bewerbs-Personen ...* (Nuremberg: Christoph Weigeln / Würzburg: Hiob Hertz, 1699).
 - 28. judas der Ertzschelm: *EjUSD[em]*.
Abraham a Santa Clara, *Judas der Ertz-Schelm ...* (in two parts, Zug: Muos, 1687 and Baden: Baldinger, 1689).
 - 31. Sol veritatis. P. Gaßer
Rudolf Gasser, *Warheits-Sonnen: Das ist die Heilige Schrifft, welche ... den uncatholischen Irrthumb vernichtet* (Zug: s.n., 1706).
 - 32. Heilsam[m]es Mischmasch; *P. Abrah. Clara*
Abraham a Santa Clara, *Heilsames Gemisch Gemasch, das ist: Allerley seltsame und verwunderliche Geschichten* (Nuremberg: Christoph Weigeln / Würzburg: Hiob Hertz, 1704).
 - 37. Tractat um den Ursprung d[er] bruderschaftt unser Lieb[en] frau[en] Rapperschw.
Matthäus Rickenmann, *Die geistliche Esther, oder Traktat von dem Ursprung, Nutzbarkeit, Würde, und Überfluss der newen Bruderschaftt unser lieben Frawen ... zu Rapperschweil* (Einsiedlen: Joseph Ochsner, 1690).
 - 45. Praxis Catechistica Catholica.
Placidus Spiess, *Praxis catechistica Oder Aufferbäwliches sehr nutzliches Gespräch, Zwischen Einem Vatter vnd Sohn. Item: Zwischen einem Catholischen vnd Uncatholischen* (Baden: Johann Ludwig Baldinger, 1692). Originally printed in Bregenz in 1659, it had been also reprinted in the monastery of Sankt Gallen in 1663; see RISM DKL 1659³⁰ and VD17 12:123702G, respectively.
 - 56. Leben u. Wandel S. Verenae.
Mauritius Adler, *Summarische Beschreibung Dess lebens und sterbens der Hailigen Junckhfrawe und Marterin Verenae zue Zurzach begraben ...* (Augsburg: Greutter, 1616).
 - 67. histori von dem Ursprung der Römisch-Geistlich[en] Orden
Adriaan Schoonebeek, *Kurtze und gründliche Histori von dem Ursprung der geistlichen Orden ...* (Augsburg: Daniel Steudner / Anton Nepperschmid, 1692). Original title: *Courte & solide histoire de la fondation des ordres religieux ...* (Amsterdam: author, 1688).

-
- 69. *Fulvii Fontana predigen an die Eydgnoschaft*
Fulvio Fontana, *Predigen ... in den hochlob[lichen] 5 catholischen Orthen der Eydgenossenschaft ... geprediget ...* (Einsiedeln: Johann Heinrich Ebersbach, 1705).
 - 81. Gek Gak Guk. P. Abrah. Clar.
Abraham a Santa Clara, *Gack, Gack, Gack, Gack, à Ga Einer Wunderseltzamen Hennen in dem Herzogthumb Bayrn ...* (Munich: Lucas Straub, 1685).
-

(number 37), or at the Baden editions of a Catholic catechism (number 45) and of Abraham a Santa Clara's *Judas der Ertz-Schelm* (number 28). As for the students from the Zurich society *zur deutschen Schule*,¹⁵⁹ the involvement in the second Villmergen war in 1712 had also for Rathgeb been an occasion to bring home Catholic books as war booty. The biconfessional town of Baden was an ideal place to satisfy a Reformed citizen's curiosity about Catholic books.¹⁶⁰

Rathgeb was also asked what kind of gathering had taken place on the previous Sunday in his home, and he explained that with a company of fifteen he had sung several pieces of music, ending with a psalm and a German hymn, *Werde munter mein Gemüte*. He had only briefly commented on the psalm text, "one might see therein who is to dwell in the holy hill and who is not".¹⁶¹ In fact, he planned to found a "regular music society" that would meet every Sunday for two hours.¹⁶² A witness heard on the sixteenth of February, however, drew a picture of these gatherings that sounds more like a pietist conventicle than a music rehearsal: "Three weeks ago, the miller of the *Riedmühle* held a meeting where he directed some singing, read a passage aloud and commented upon it, just as in a public service".¹⁶³ The consistory court concluded, quite correctly,

159 See Chapter 2.

160 Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E II 56, pp. 495–502. Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* (number 108) is omitted here as less significant for cross-confessional interests, being earlier than the Reformation.

161 "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? / He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart"; Psalm 15:1–2.

162 Document 4.7.

163 "Vor 3. wuch[en] habe Riethmüller eine Versammlung gehalten, singen laßen, und hernach etwas vorgelesen und <darüber> geredt, wie in einer öffentlich[en] versammlung etc."; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, E II 56, p. 509 (16 February 1716).

that more than just the practice of music was going on in Rathgeb's mill. In the very mild admonishment he received three days later, he was asked to interrupt the music gatherings; he should make music only in the circle of his family, and otherwise stay at home without travelling around so much—notably to Zurich and Johann Heinrich Bodmer's bookshop. Bodmer was also sought for, and asked not to disseminate such dangerous literature.¹⁶⁴

By May 1716, Rathgeb had already relapsed. It was reported to the authorities that he had let foreign people into his house, had been again to Winterthur, and had recently been in Stein am Rhein, ostensibly to give music lessons.¹⁶⁵ In July, he was arrested and brought to Zurich for a more serious questioning. In his first hearing on 13 July he admitted he had visited Johann Giezendanner in Stein am Rhein, and had had contacts with Johann Kaspar Schneeberger (1664–1727) in Engstringen, Johann Kaspar Ziegler in Winterthur, and Beat Holzhalb (1693–1757) and Bodmer in Zurich. Bodmer “was supposed to print a song of his” in January, possibly a flysheet.¹⁶⁶ Bodmer was cross-questioned on 18 July, and while he was not ashamed of having treated Rathgeb as his equal, providing an instance of pietist social egalitarianism, he did not defend him: if Rathgeb was in error, he said, he would be the first to correct him.¹⁶⁷

When Rathgeb was questioned for the second time in Zurich, he gave his most personal statements.¹⁶⁸ After having been fined for dancing in the street in 1715, he repented of his previous life, and started to look actively for alternative ways of religious living. His eagerness and initiative testify to his open-mindedness: he sent a young girl to the canton of Berne in search of the Baptists, to see if it were true that they were utterly conciliatory, and how they

164 Document 4.8.

165 “Zum Andern wurde berichtet, d[ass] Rietmüller wider das Gebott dennoch leüth ins haus laße, hien und her schleife, besonders zu Rieden, Winterthur *etc* dismahl zu Stein sei und vorgebe, sei mit consens der Herren Obervögten dahin gereiset um seine *Information* in der *Music* zu *absolvieren etc.*”; Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E II 56, p. 538 (15 May 1716).

166 “... er ihm sein lied hab trucken sollen”, Document 4.9.

167 “*Obj[iection]* Man verwundere sich nicht wenig über den engen Umgang mit dem Rietmüller; daß Er sich mit selbigem *del pare* stelle, von Begebenheiten die Niemand bereiffen kön[n]e rede, dem Rietmüller heiße in die Stadt kom[m]en, und hülff und Raht anerbiete. *R[esponsio]* Habe kein anderen Umgang mit dem Rietmüller gehabt, dan daß selbiger etwan zu jhme kom[m]en: #die# Er schäm[m]e sich nicht mit einem Christen *del pare* zu stehen ... übrigens vermeine Er Christlich zu seÿen, einem, den man *praesupponiren* ein Christ zu seÿen, zu anerbieten mit Raht und Taht an die Hand zugehen; So aber der Rietmüller irrig, wolle Er sich zum ersten wieder selbigen erkläret haben”; Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E I 8.1, No. 18 (18/7/1716). See also Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus*, p. 86, and Hanimann, *Zürcher Nonkonformisten im 18. Jahrhundert*, p. 87.

168 Document 4.10.

succeeded in being so; and he went to Winterthur to meet the local clergy, taking a visit to Johannes Ernst's positive organ as an excuse to learn about his religious views. The topic of music making was immediately taken up by his questioners, and he was asked why he urged people to sing so much. He answered that he did not urge anybody, but some twenty people wished to make music together "as in town" ("ein Music wie in der Stadt"). Lastly, he admitted having hidden his correspondence and some twenty-five further books in the positive organ. Four days later, the trial minutes report on some of the newly found evidence. Among many theological titles,¹⁶⁹ there is one music title, a Lutheran songbook, "Seelen Schatz von allerhand geistl[ichen] Liedern".¹⁷⁰ A suspect phrase was found in a letter of his cousin: whoever wished to arrange his "inner harmony" ("in[n]erliche *Harmonie*") should join the new music society.¹⁷¹ This time, the sentence was much more severe. It was decreed on 29 July, that, among other things, he should dismember and sell his house organ in the next six weeks, remain three years under house arrest, and not entertain any correspondence whatsoever. Orders were also given that his books should be seized, and that the pastors of Dietlikon and the neighbouring villages of Wangen and Bassersdorf be asked to report to the Zurich authorities anything suspicious in his behaviour.¹⁷²

One year later, on 12 August 1717, Hans Ulrich Gessner, pastor of Bassersdorf, wrote a letter of denunciation to Zurich. Rathgeb was illegally exerting an alien profession,¹⁷³ that is, acting like a preacher, and had even bought a new organ. He suspected that Rathgeb may have picked up his "strange principles" in "the monasteries" (possibly, the Cistercian house of Wettingen, near Baden), which he had often visited "because of his music".¹⁷⁴ Gessner was highly suspicious of

169 On these titles, see Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus*, p. 97.

170 Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E I 8.1, No. 19 (20/7/1716). Only a later issue of 1719 is known: *Neuzugerichteter Seelen-Schatz, das ist, ein vollständiges Gesang-Buch, von allerhand, in denen Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirchen gebräuchlichsten alten und neuen Liedern ...*, Alten Stettin: Hermann Gottfried Effenbahrt, 1719; see the *Gesangbuchbibliographie* website, <http://www.gesangbucharchiv.uni-mainz.de/> (accessed September 2013).

171 "[*uaestio*] Was das bedeute, so beÿ Anrichtung ihrer *Music* Gesellschaft der Vätter geschriben: wer Lust habe seine in[n]erliche *Harmonie* anzurichten, sich beÿ derselbigen einfinden solle? R[*esponsio*] Halte anders nichts in sich dan zu zeigen, wie beÿ dem äußerlichen singen, auch das in[n]erliche seÿn müße"; Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E I 8.1, No. 19 (20/7/1716).

172 Document 4.11.

173 "... in ein frömd amt greiffe".

174 "Daß diser unrühige Mensch harnäkig seine alte leÿren fortsetze, wider d[as] Hochoberkeitl[iche] gebott bestendig handle, fürwitz tribe, ußert d[ie] schranken seines

artistic disobedience: in his view, Rathgeb had been influenced by the Catholics because he liked their sacred music so much. It might be added here that Rathgeb had, by the time of his first trial, already been exerting artistic disobedience in the domain of art. In his house were apparently some unspecified “ghastly etchings” (“garstige Kupfer”);¹⁷⁵ and it is known from the account of the witness Esther Büchi that the pietists around Rathgeb encouraged their guests to meditate in front of images of the Crucifix and other religious subjects, a practice that shocked her, finding it quite “popish”.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, the prints found in Rathgeb’s house in 1716 may have been the work of Catholic artists.

A new accusation by Jakob Utzinger, the pastor in Dietlikon, led Rathgeb to be exiled from Zurich in spring 1718. In his letter, Utzinger reports a conversation he had with the miller in his home. In it, Rathgeb shows a remarkable degree of civic courage, telling the clergyman that he valued individual piety above the issue of confessional differences.¹⁷⁷

beruffs schreite, in ein frömd amt greiffe, und anzeigungen gebe, daß er nicht abstehen werde; daß er auf allerhand weise suche jünger u[nd] anhängen zumachen, verkleinerlich und Ehrührig von den *Ministris* rede, sond[er]bahre u[nd] villeicht aus den Klöstern erlehrete (da er sich s[einer] *Music* weg[en] viel aufgehalten) *maximes* an sich habe, und was dergleichen *consequenzen* auß s[eine]r aufführung mehr könten gezog[en] werden; worzu noch komt, daß obgleich er sein vormahl gehabtes *Positiv* auß M[eine]h[och]g[eachteten] H[ochedlen]h[er]r[en] befehl verkauffen müßen, er jezund widerum ein anders hat *etc.*”; Zurich, Staatsarchiv, A 27.131 (12/8/1717).

175 Document 4.8.

176 “... das solte nit seyn, seye papistisch”; Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E II 432, No. 143b, quoted after Hanimann, *Zürcher Nonkonformisten im 18. Jahrhundert*, p. 96.

177 “Erstlich sagte er: Die Religion mache niemand selig. Deme geantw. Freylich nit ein falsche u. jede, sonder die wahre Religion, u. auch dieselbe nit, in bloßer äußerlicher bekantn. sond[ern] in gläubiger annehmung u. folg *etc.* Fr[age] Ob er dann nit dafür halte, daß unsre Religion die rechte u[nd] seligmachende Religion seye? R[esponsio] Ja er glaube das, doch könn[en] in allen Religion[en] auch from[m]e seyn, unter Papisten, *Lutheraneren*, Widertaufferen. *Replie[a]* Daß Gott allenthalben die seinige habe seye außert allem Zweifel; Ob er ab[er] glaube daß ein eigentlicher Papist als ein verläugner deß verdiensts Christi; ein Widertauffer, ein schänder u[nd] verläugner deß H[eiligen] Tauffs u[nd] Bundts Zeichens deß dreÿ Einigen Gottes, können <recht> from[m] seyn; Der *Lutheraneren* halb, d[ie] das fundament deß glaubens nit umkehr[en] haben wie bessere gedanken? R[esponsio] Einmal ein from[m]er seÿ ihm Lieb, er mög dann ein Papist, oder *Lutheraner* od[er] Widertauffer seyn. *Thomas à Kempis* seye ja auch ein Papist u[nd] from[m]er Mann gewesen”; Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E I 8.2, No. 10 (1/3/1718).

First, he said: religion alone does not make anybody blessed. I answered, certainly, not any religion, nor a wrong one, but the true one, and in the true religion, not just a superficial declaration of belief but a convinced acceptance and practice. *Question* Do you not think, our religion is the true one leading to grace? *Answer* Yes, I do think so, but there can be pious people also in other religions, Papists, Lutherans, Baptists. *Reply* No doubt, God bestows his grace anywhere; but do you think that a professed Papist, negating the merit of Christ; or a Baptist, discrediting and denying the holy baptism, sign of the alliance with the holy trinity, can be truly pious? Or a Lutheran, who thinks it better to reverse the foundations of faith? *Answer* Anyway, a pious man is dear to me, be he a Papist, a Lutheran, or a Baptist. Also Thomas à Kempis was a Papist and a pious man.

His exile was decreed on 20 May 1718; soon afterwards, his family was permitted to follow him. His mill was sold by the Zurich authorities. He settled in Müllheim, in the biconfessional Mandated Territories of Thurgau, and set up another mill.¹⁷⁸ Again, though, Johann Holzhalb, pastor in Pfyn, and Johann Jakob Beiel, pastor in Wigoltingen, reported Rathgeb's disobedience in 1719. He still had contacts with pietists in Schaffhausen and Stein am Rhein, and many foreigners visited him (in fact, the pastor of Müllheim himself, Johann Heinrich Fäsi, was suspected of Pietism). He also associated with Catholics: he had been to the Good Friday procession in Constance, where he had also bound some copies of his songbook from 1709 (and perhaps other books, too).¹⁷⁹ His frequenting of Catholics would become the starting point for the last chapter in the miller's life.

Around 1722, Rathgeb converted to Catholicism, convinced by the Capuchin monks from Thurgau's capital of Frauenfeld. Early in 1724, his brother and sisters—who had not converted—abandoned him, asking to be admitted again into Zurich territory.¹⁸⁰ Rathgeb himself also declared that, should he be

178 Hanimann, *Zürcher Nonkonformisten im 18. Jahrhundert*, pp. 88, 93.

179 "Mit dem Riedtmüller unterhaltet der Herr Pfarrer [Johann Heinrich Fäsi in Müllheim], w[ie] ich höre, gute freundschaft und sind Sie oft beysamben ... wird der Herr Pfarrer am besten zu sagen wüßen ... ob d[ie] Bücher so der Riedtmüller in großer anzahl zu Co[n]stantz einbinden laßen, alles *Exemplaria* gewesen seyen, von demjenigen *Tractätlein* deßen Er sich *Authorem* nen[n]et und 1709. in Zürich getruckt worden"; Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E 11 57, pp. 857–858 (Johann Jakob Beiel, Wigoltingen, 10/10/1719). On the visit to the procession, see Document 2.1. On Johann Heinrich Fäsi see Hanimann, *Zürcher Nonkonformisten im 18. Jahrhundert*, pp. 93–94.

180 Hanimann, *Zürcher Nonkonformisten im 18. Jahrhundert*, pp. 97–98.

readmitted to Zurich, he would come back to the Reformed church and earn an honest living for himself and his family by teaching music.¹⁸¹ He recalled that he had been first “tempted” to change his religious orientation about thirty years before, and had long followed the pietists, but was finally disappointed when he discovered that they, too, pursued wealth and worldly goods. He had approached the Capuchins because of their retired life, but protested that he had never abjured some of the main principles of the Reformed confession, and had expressly maintained the freedom not to say the rosary and to continue reading the bible. But his appeal remained unanswered, and he had to also abandon Müllheim. The last archival document relating to Rathgeb is a petition that he wrote to the Zurich town council from Ochsenbach, in Germany, on 20 December 1724.¹⁸² In this letter, he again stated his wish to return to the Reformed church, and asked the head of the Zurich church, Johann Ludwig Nüscher (1672–1737), for the permission to settle with his family either in Zurich, in Winterthur, in the Zurich countryside, or in the Thurgau, where he would live as a music teacher. To be more convincing, he described in detail his capabilities as an instructor in music. He could teach people between fifteen and forty years of age, without prior knowledge of musical notation, the keyboard facility to sing the psalms, the *Seelen-Music*,¹⁸³ and “other well-known pieces” in twelve to sixteen weeks, and to realise the continuo to accompany them in a way that nobody would object to. He thus very probably summarised the standard repertoire of his musical gatherings. Also, typically for a convert, he wished to prove that he would not live at the expenses of the ‘proselyte chamber’.¹⁸⁴ His vicissitudes—as far as known—end with this further testimony to his life-long practice of music.

Was the pastor of Bassersdorf right when he suspected Rathgeb’s interest in Catholic organ music as the first cause for his going astray? Whatever its origin, Rathgeb showed a remarkably ‘modern’ tolerance: he gathered information about the Baptists, owned a Lutheran songbook, chose to follow Pietism, and finally converted (though for a few years only) to Catholicism. In other words, he considered the different confessions and religious groups, in principle, as equal, and felt free to look for the one he deemed was best attuned to his personal ideal of a pious life.

181 Document 4.12.

182 Document 4.13.

183 See Chapter 2b.

184 See Chapter 2a.

Conclusions: Music as an Agent of Toleration?

*Einen Gott im Himmel behten
Wir, nur Einen Vater an;
Einen nur, der uns vertreten,
Und uns seelig machen kann.
Brüder! Er will wol uns allen!
Jede Tugend jedes Stands,
Redlichkeit wird ihm gefallen,
Mit und ohne Rosenkranz.*

*Nur nach Einem Himmel streben
Wir, wir treuverbundne Freund'!
Ewig bey einander leben
Alle, die sich hier vereint.
Namen sollen nie uns trennen!
Wer Gott liebt und redlich ist,
Mag, wie er nur will, sich nennen
Bruder ist er, und ein Christ!*

One God in heaven pray
We, one father only;
Only one who represents us,
And can give us grace.
Brothers! He wants the good of us all!
Every virtue of every class,
Honesty, he will favour,
With or without a rosary.

Towards one heaven only strive
We, we friends bound in faith!
May all that are here unite
Live forever nigh.
Names will never divide us!
He who loves God and is honest,
However he may wish to call himself,
Is a brother, and a Christian!

Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741–1801) wrote the *Lied auf Helvetische Eintracht* in 1767 as part of the collection of *Schweizerlieder* that he created for the *Helvetische Gesellschaft*, five years after its foundation. The *Schweizerlieder* were set to music by Johannes Schmidlin (1722–72) and published in 1769.¹ Schmidlin perhaps chose to set the series on the model of the religious solo song, because this was itself a musical genre which provided a link between the confessions.² Stanzas four and five of Lavater's poem, reproduced above, address the issue of confessional differences, and advocate a tolerant attitude. Lavater was himself a Reformed theologian from Zurich, and a pupil of Johann Jakob Bodmer and Johann Jakob Breitinger at the Carolinum.³ In the spirit of the mature Enlightenment, Lavater celebrated the Swiss concord, placing the patriotic values and the virtues of the Confederates above confessional piety.

Jakob Rathgeb had similar tolerant views, valuing a man on account of the sincerity of his religious feelings rather than of his confession. Did he become tolerant *because* of his musical interests? This is impossible to ascertain, and neither is a psychological explanation the aim of this study. The coincidence of musical interests with cross-confessional contacts and progressive elements in political and religious matters appears nevertheless significant. It can safely be affirmed that music was one of the activities where toleration (and even tolerance) could surface in the presence of certain accompanying conditions. In Zurich and Winterthur, the interest of Reformed music lovers for Catholic sacred music coincided with two contemporary tendencies that questioned the rigidity of confessional segregation as dictated by the orthodox Zurich synod. The first was the reorientation of political thought, now aligning the Confederation's identity with republican ideals. The second was the religious movement of early Pietism, as it swept over the Reformed cantons between the 1680s and the 1720s. Thus, the music societies were part of the social humus that prepared the way, in a more indirect and pragmatic way than the political *collegia* of the late seventeenth century, for the development of a concept of tolerance which in 1762 was openly and publicly stated with the foundation of the *Helvetische Gesellschaft*.⁴

1 *Schweizerlieder mit Melodien* (Berne: Ludwig Walthard, printed by Abraham Wagner, 1769; RISM A/IS 1734).

2 See Chapter 2b.

3 See Chapter 1a.

4 On the Zurich political societies, see Kempe and Maissen, *Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgesinnten*. On Lavater's *Schweizerlieder* see Im Hof and de Capitani, *Die Helvetische Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, pp. 146–147, 201–202.

At least some of the music societies represented a circle partially protected from social restrictions, a space where freedom of speech and thought prevailed. Political debates were carried out in the Zurich society *auf dem Musiksaal*. Pietists profited in Dietlikon and Winterthur from the weekly music meetings to share and spread their ideas. In several music societies in the canton of Berne, women were admitted as members.⁵ In the domain of music making, this comparative freedom extended to possessing and performing Catholic sacred music. It is important in this respect to recall that the question was by no means an indifferent issue: the cross-confessional aspects of music making were perceived as problematic. In 1692, for the student *collegium* in Basel, director Jacob Pfaff asked permission to commission from Leonhard Sailer compositions with a German text, in order to avoid having to sing Latin or 'popish' texts.⁶ When 'music lovers' from Zurich and Winterthur participated in 1736–7 in musical performances during services in the Catholic parish church of Baden and in the Cistercian monastery of Wettingen, they were reprimanded.⁷ The attitudes of the music societies varied locally. The position of women was quite different in Berne and in Zurich. In contrast to the Winterthur society, in Zurich there were no professed pietists among the members of the elite music society *zum Musiksaal*, but the society had contacts of a business nature with at least two prominent Zurich pietists: the painter Melchior Füssli, who decorated several *Neujahrsblätter* with etchings, and Johann Heinrich Bodmer, who printed the *Neujahrsblätter* for many years and from whom the society repeatedly bought music books.⁸ To a certain extent, the rules of conduct governing the music societies and the learned societies that formed the network of the Republic of Letters were similar: when discussing music and science, respectively, confessional contrasts were temporarily suspended. Johann Valentin Rathgeber, as a composer of reputation, was invited to dinner by the members of the music society *zum Musiksaal* when he visited Zurich in 1732. The fact that Rathgeber was, incidentally, a Benedictine monk, was no obstacle to the Reformed amateurs' hospitality. By contrast, no members of the music societies and of the contemporary political societies were found to be in common, besides the merchant Salomon Ott.⁹

5 Chapter 4d.

6 Chapter 1c.

7 Chapter 2.

8 Chapters 3c and 4b. See Bütikofer, *Der frühe Zürcher Pietismus*, pp. 79 and 509 on Füssli's pietism, and pp. 456–486 on Bodmer.

9 Chapter 4d. Kempe and Maissen briefly summarise the biographies of all members (*Die Collegia der Insulaner, Vertraulichen und Wohlgesinnten*, pp. 297–311).

The close geographical proximity and political ties of the two confessions in the Old Confederation, and the international contacts of the Zurich elite, encouraged the circulation of a cross-confessional musical repertoire. Catholic, and especially Italian, sacred vocal music was a model of artistic excellence for the whole of Europe. It was especially appreciated in the Zwinglian towns, where elaborate vocal-instrumental music was totally banned from the church and only rarely present in public life. There is one fundamental difference between the reception of Catholic sacred vocal music in Switzerland and its reception at Protestant courts. In Sweden or in Dresden, the high artistry of Italian musicians and the prestige of Italian music served the cause of a convincing representation of power.¹⁰ The reception of Catholic sacred vocal music in the Swiss *collegia musica* retained a private dimension. In the republican Confederation, the aspiration to musical modernity was perhaps a status question for wealthy citizens, but not a question of representation. Perhaps it was a question of republican identity, insofar as the music societies contributed to the social identity of the town community. Only many years later—in the era of public concerts—did works of Catholic sacred music reach public performance in Zurich. For example, an unidentified Mass by Baldassare Galuppi was performed in a 1768 concert of the society *zur Chorherrenstube*.¹¹

Throughout this study single documents were closely read and individual fates described in detail in the four case studies. The rigid morality imposed from above (in historiography, its permeating influence is explained by the confessionalisation paradigm) was counterbalanced by oases of comparative relaxation in the private sphere.¹² Confessional barriers were overcome in an individual, private perspective. Toleration cultivated in private circles did not imply religious indifference, indeed it did not exclude conflict. The issue is not one of tolerance versus intolerance: the relationship between these

10 See, for example, Berglund, 'Marvels of the Holy City' and Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries*.

11 "Ferner wurde auch Music außgewehlt, die auf die bevorstehende Bücher-Census [a ceremony where the best students were presented with books] solle gemacht werden, derzu wir durch H[err] Scholarcham Ulrich aufgeforderet wurden, da dann gutbefunden worden, in *actu priori* Eine Symphonie u[nd] 2 lat[einische] Gloria, & *Actu posteriori*, eine Symphonie, die Meß v[on] Galuppi u[nd] d[en] 21. psalm v[on] Agricola aufzuföhren"; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 7, p. 54. The psalm by Johann Friedrich Agricola, which accompanied Galuppi's Mass in the second part of the concert, is, unlike its companion piece, still preserved in manuscript form (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG XIII 7074 & a-q).

12 See Schilling and Tóth, 'From Empires to Family Circles'.

two concepts is symbiotical and circular.¹³ Significant breaches can be seen in those experiences that break the symmetry, that do not follow the rules of segregation. Segregation was officially presented as precautional (endorsed to prevent cross-confessional violence), but was in fact ideological (endorsed to prevent any change in the status quo). In music making, confessional differences could be overcome. Bridging the religious divide was certainly just a side effect of the musical activities, and not their main objective, but it was accepted precisely because it was placed in the sphere of artistic interests. To describe this phenomenon the concept of 'artistic disobedience' is proposed. Dealing with the creative output of a group perceived as alien or even hostile, such as the followers of another confession, could cause different reactions on a personal and social level, but in any case it had something slightly transgressive and disturbing about it. Artistic disobedience was no *quantité négligeable*. The subterranean tension accompanying it required a solution, which could imply—or encourage—religious toleration.

13 Walsham, 'In Sickness and in Health', p. 162.

Appendix: Transcription of Archival Documents

Editorial Note

Orthography and capitalisation are maintained as in the original documents. Punctuation is changed only when it is deemed essential to comprehension. Modern punctuation marks are substituted for the German comma “*abcd/*” and parenthesis “*(:abcd:)*”. Line and page breaks are not indicated. The following special characters are used: | = superscript; <*abcd*> = addition by the scribe; [*abcd*] = editorial addition or completion; #*abcd*# crossing out or erasure. In the context of manuscripts in the German language, words written in Latin script instead of German script (*Kurrentschrift*) are italicised.

Chapter 1

Document 1.1 The 1605 Statutes of Beromünster

De Officio Magistri Capellae.

Cum in o[mn]ib[us] Dominicis, et o[mn]ib[us] festis, per Annu[m] occurrentib[us], in quib[us] populi, à Servilib[us] operib[us] abstinere solent, deceat in Eccl[es]ia Organa, et Musicoru[m] Cant[us] adhiberi, iuxta praescriptu[m] Ceremonialis Romani [in margin: Caeremon[ia]le] Episcop[orum], li. 2. c. 28], ne Festa confundantur, sed ordine fiant o[mn]ia, simulq[ue] aliqua, ut par est, solemnitate[m] habeatur differentia, ideo decernim[us], ut Magister Capellae, singulis dieb[us] Dominicis, ad Missa[m], Kyrie eleison, cu[m] Gloria, et reliquis annexis 4. aut 5. Vocu[m] (Introitus enim, Graduale, Alleluia vel Tract[us], Offertoriu[m] et post Communio, cantu Choralis canentur) Ad Vesperas, Magnificat, et si libuerit, Antiphona[m] de B. Maria Virg[ine] in fine Completorii, Musicè decantari curet: Quod idem de festis duplicib[us], per annu[m], in foro etia[m] celebrari solitis, intelligendu[m] est. In festis vero Primae Classis, utraq[ue] Vesperas, Officiu[m] integru[m] Musicè, et si fieri posset, sextam, per falsobordonos, modulari faciat: In festis autem Secundae Classis, et o[mn]ib[us] iis, quib[us] Canonici utuntur Almutiis, ad primas Vesperas, Hymnu[m] cum Magnificat, Officiu[m] Mai[us], una cum Secundis Vesperis, integrè Musico Cantu concini procurabit; Ita tame[n], ut semper solemnitate[m], earumq[ue] dignitatis ratio, et differentia teneatur.

Magister Capellae, pro Officij sui munere, procurabit, ut Musicae cant[us] non sit lasciv[us], iuxta [in margin: sess[io] 22. Decreto de Celebra[tione] Missae] Concilij Tridentini Mandatu[m], sed pijs, distinctisq[ue] Modulationib[us], ita fiat, ut Divinu[m] cultu[m] exornet. Audientiu[m] animos ad pietate[m] accendat [in margin:

Visitat[io] Comens[is] fo. 180], non autem ad inania desideria, nimis excitet: Studeat verò, quantu[m] fieri potest, ut Missali, et Breviario, se accom[m]odet. Insuper, quae illi in Statutis Synodalib[us], et Ceremoniali Romano, servanda praescribuntur, sedulo curabit ...

Curabit etia[m], ut per Scholasticu[m] pueri in Cantu ita instruantur, ut nunqua[m] defectu illorum Musica suo tempore intermittere debeat.

Dabit opera[m], ut tam ipse, qua[m] Ludimagister, habeat inventariu[m], seu Notam o[mn]ium Cantionu[m] ad Eccl[es]iam nostra[m] spectantiu[m], sive Typis illae mandatae sint, sive scriptae; ut singulis annis, diligenter semel inquiri possit, utrum aliquae lacerae sint, aut perditae: fractae ut reficiantur, amissae ei[us] sumptib[us], cuius incuria perire, Collegio restituantur ...

Beromünster, Stiftsarchiv, vol. 752, fols 35r–36v.

Document 1.2 An Apprenticeship Contract from Beromünster, 1600

Zuwüssen seÿ Nachdem die Hoch vnd Erenwürdigen Andächtigen vnd Wolgelehrt[en] Herr[en] Probst vnd Capittel, der hochloblich[en] Stifft zu Münster im Ergöuw, Zu dem Erbar[n] Jüngling Michael Saletin von Münster, Iren gewößern Choralisten ein solliches gnädigen willen erfaßt, Das Sÿ fürgenom[m]en Denselb[en] in der Kunst des orgelnschlagens vnderrichten: Vnd byneben vnder Jrer verlegung, den *studijs oblige*n zulassen. Da das Wolgemelte Herr durch Iren Chor- vnd mittbruder Den Eerwürdigen Wolgelehrt[en] Herrn #Johan# Casparu[m] vom moß, Mitt dem Erenhafften Gall Ruß, Organist[en] zu Frÿburg in Üchtlandt, deßhalben traitiren vnd handlen lassen, Vnd diewÿl gesagter Ruß sich schon zuvor durch ein schrÿben gegen mehrwolgedachtem Herrn Probst vnd Capitel resolviret vnd erklärt, Welchergestalt, vnd vmb was besoldung vnd zalung deß tisch- vnd Lehrgelts, Er, obgemelten Jüngling vff ein Jar lang zu sich nem[m]en, Instruier[en] vnd erhel[en] wöle ... nitt allein vnd vorab zu aller Gottsfurcht anzuleit[en], Auch zur Schulen ernstlich anzuhalt[en] vnd zu wissen, Sonder neb[en] demselb[en], In allem dem was Ime zu versäehung einer Orgel, In *Choral* vnd *figural* gesang *fundamentalit*[er] vnd nach aller notturfft zu wuß[en] vnd zu khönnen vonnöten, getrewlich Instruier[en] vnd vnderricht[en] ...

Beromünster, Stiftsarchiv, folder 179b, 18 August 1600.

Document 1.3 The Benedictine Decree on Modern Music, 1645

Decretu[m] quoad musica[m] figurata[m].

Musica figurata sit religiosa et grauis: seriò proin[de] ac grauitè à Superioribus prohibeantur et ex Choris eliminent omnes cantiones leues, praesertim eae, quae Concertantes uoantur, quae ipsae Concertantes uniuersim in Ecclesiâ rariùs usurpentur, maximè quando id non exigit inopia et paucitas Musicor[um]. Abstineatur etia[m] in templo ab im[modicis] coloraturis, alijsq[ue] uocu[m] lenocinijs, quae uanitate[m] et ostentatione[m] sapiunt, et distractiones magis, quàm deuotione[m] caussant [sic]. Textus, qui cantatur, sit sacer et authentizatus.

Instrumenta Musica ubi habentur interim retineri possent: ubi non habentur, videant Abbates et Conventus, quid et qu[an]t[u]m pro honore Dei et aedificatione populi permittere possint aut velint. Vbiq[ue] tamen adhibeatur debitu[m] moderamen. Symphoniae uerò siue usus soloru[m] instru[m]entoru[m] sine uiuâ uoce penitus prohibeantur, etia[m] illae, quae cantionib[us] subinde premittuntur, aut in medio intersecuntur.

Caveatur item proxitas.

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, vol. 366, chapter minutes (1612–70), ‘Decretum Quoad Musicam Figuratam factum in Mon[aste]rio Muren[sis] die 10 Maij 1645’, fol. 216[a]r.

Document 1.4 Pius Reher’s Proposal on Instrumental Music, 1645

Propositio

Circa Musicam Instrumentalem.

Quaestio 1|a.

An conueniat Religiosis maximè Monachis?

R[esponsio] Non sum (aiebat R[everendissi]m[us]) contra Musicam religiosam, grauem & deuotam: laudo: Moneo ut perficiatur. Attendatur Scholarib[us] & professis ut addiscant, optarem ut plures sacerdotes eam nossent: aliqui si mihi obedirent, deberent adhuc illam addiscere. Loquor Neoterica, von newen Concerten mit allerley geigen vnndt Pfeiffen. & dehac Musica Allamodica

Vide[tu]r q[uod] non. 1|o. Videtur debere ea[m] differ[ent]iam inter Musicam aulicam, vel et[iam] Cathedralem, ac clericoru[m] saecularium, & inter religiosoru[m], quoru[m] institutum poti[us] est plangere & ducere vitam poenitentialem. 2|o. Non est usitata in ipsa Romana Ecclesia seu Capella Papali. 3|o. est prohibita in Ceremoniali Romano. 4|o. Omnes Religiosi Reformati eam à suis Congrega[tio]nib[us] proscripserunt; Cassinenses addunt ca[us]am; Quoniam ex hui[us]modi vana leuitate plurimos labi vidim[us] in suaru[m] perniciem animarum. 5|o. Si musica neoterica non sponte cesset, sicuti homines semper sunt nouitates amantes, & veteru[m] fastidientes, videtur sanè, si veniat parum Zelos[us] Pontifex, quod sine dubis sit reformanda, nec enim decet grauitatem Eccl[esiast]icam, minimè v[er]o omniu[m], moniales mendicantes, quae et[iam] cheles in sua odae induxerunt, & ijs ludere discunt, pro eo, ut labore manuum suarum victu[m] quaerant. Quin fertur alicubi iam omnino cessari à Cantionib[us] illis, quas concertantes vocant, nominatim in Sueuia à Praemonstratensibus instr[u]m[en]ta prohibita.

Quaestio 2.|a

An sit pro n[ost]ro Mon[aste]rio, supposito quod monachos non dedeceat?

Vide[tu]r quod non.

1|o. quia maiores n[ost]ri (R[everendissi]m[us] p.m.) eam admittere noluerunt.

2[o. quia instr[u]m[en]ta addiscere est op[us] longi temporis & maioris boni, studi-
oru[m] maxime impeditiuu[m]. Mon[aste]rium n[ost]r[u]m doctrinam exigit propter
magni momenti negotia & officia sp[i]r[itua]lia & temporalia, quae multis iuuenib[us]
et[iam] poenis & ponitentijs inculcari vix p[otes]t; quid foret si ad instr[u]m[en]ta
auicarentur? essent ea asyllum omnium pigroru[m] & ociosoru[m]. Est rara auis
Instrumentista doct[us], nec n[on] nugae eos studijs vacare sinunt.

3[o. Instr[u]m[en]ta facilè possent fieri causa labentis vel certè periclitantis discipli-
nae. Causa plurimaru[m] leuitatum, quas Instrumentista vitare vix possunt; causam
referunt in Cantiones, eas sic esse compositas. Causa intemperantiae: Musici ord[i-
na]rie h[abe]nt guttura sicca: (N.B.) & si sit superior, cui musica talis cordi, quidquid
musicis libebit, licebit.

Si talem Musicam inuenissem, tolerarem; sed introducere, hacten[us] omni aditu
prohibitam, hoc est, quod consc[ient]iam vellicat.

Nec objiciant[ur] alia Mon[aste]ria: Expetiunt[ur] superiores et[iam] magnas
difficult[at]es: sentiunt etiam aliquem defectu[m] in studijs, vbi magis ... sunt: vbi
non ita sunt, temp[us] sic aliqua[ntu]lu[m] meli[us] locare & otium vitari [?] possunt ...

Quaestio 3.^a

An sit pro populo n[ost]ro?

Vid[etu]r quod non.

- 1.º quia est popul[us] simplex, talia nunc n[on] curat, & si nouitates istae introduce-
ren[tu]r, magis à deuo[ti]o[n]e impediren[tu]r, quàm in ea promouerentur.
- 2.º Fortassis magis scandalizaretur, & choreas sibi imaginaretur.
- 3.º Fortassis & haeretici sarcasmis nos incesserent, & populu[m] vexarent.

Conclusio.

1. Modestam & grauem Musicam censeo retinendam.
2. In defectu Bassistaru[m] Chelin bassam admitti po[t]e[st].
3. Cheles deliciores minimè introducendas. quia
4. vide[tu]r certum, quod vniuersim per cantum firmum DEVS multò magis honore-
tur, quàm per figuratum: in isto n[on] multò plures distra[cti]o[n]es, vanitates, & alia
deuotionis impedimenta intercurrent.

Nolo grauare (ait R[everendissi]m[us]) conscientiam meam. si putatis me obsequium
praestare Deo, mon[aste]rio & populo expedire liberè dicite.

Sequun[tur] d[ictae] s[entent]iae singuloru[m].

Eodem die [9 November 1645] propositu[m] vti Instr[u]m[en]ta Musica introducenda?
Negotiu[m] in Congregat[i]o[n]e huius an[n]i p[ro]positu[m] fuit, & decretu[m]
leuem cantu[m], colores, & c. vitanda. Instr[u]m[en]ta vbi hacten[us] in vsu fuère,

servaeat[ur]. Vbi n[on] in vsu erant, videant Abbates & Convent[us] q[uo]d & qu[an]-
tu[m] pro honore Dei f[ace]re po[ss]int.

Quaes[itum] q[uo]d agend[um]?
R[everendus] P[ater] Decan[us].
Com[m]ittit R[everendissi]mo.

P[ater] Supprior. [sic]
Quia Maiores n[ost]ri solo Gregoriano contenti fuère, ideo ni[hi]l nouj introducend[um]. Ad Nouitiatu[m] suscipiendi n[on] fient, q[ui] cantare n[on] nôrit.

P[ater] Bernardus.
Fiat, ut ab antiquo. Choralis Cant[us] ex fund[amen]to discatur. S. Benedict[us] in Instr[u]m[en]tis bonoru[m] operu[m] nullam facit mentione[m] Instrumentoru[m] Musicorum.

P[ater] Magnus.
Null[us] ad Nouitiatu[m] suscipiend[us], qui cantu[m] n[on] sciat. Cant[us] figurat[us] grauis, plen[us], continuetur. Fistulas n[on] admittendas. Chelin pro Basso n[on] reijcit, cum nulla videat[ur] leuitas timenda.

P[ater] Gregorius.
Omitt[en]da Instr[u]m[en]ta. Chelis maior n[on] displicet.

P[ater] Paul[us]
Et in s[e]n[tent]ia P[atri] Magni.

P[ater] Ambrosi[us].
Docend[us] Choralis Cant[us]. Instrum[en]ta Com[m]ittit R[everendissi]mo.

P[ater] Benedictus.
Instrum[en]ta com[m]ittit R[everendissi]mo.

P[ater] Beat[us] e[tiam] in s[e]n[tent]ia P[atri] Magni.
P[ater] Modest[us] idem. Positiuu[m] placeret neq[ue] et[iam] Chelis maius introduc[en]da.

P[ater] Constanti[us].
Musica b[e]n[e] vel malè vti po[ss]um[us]. res indifferens e[st]. Instr[u]m[en]ta musica n[on] renuit. Nec[ess]ariam putat Chelin maiorem.

P[ater] Aegidi[us].

Cant[us] Choralis vrgend[us]. Figurat[us] continuand[us]. Instr[u]m[en]ta com[m]it-
tit R[everendissi]mo.

P[ater] Bernardin[us].

Positiuu[m] fieri cupit.

Sankt Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, vol. 366, chapter minutes (1612–70), fols 215v–216v. The transcription follows the logical contents of the document. In compiling the volume, the monk's replies and the abbot's proposal were inverted, and fol. 216[a] inserted between them (see Document 1.3 for the transcription of the insert).

Document 1.5 Easy and Difficult Repertoire in Zurich

4. Endtlich hat sich umb in das *Collegium* aufgenom[m]en zuwerden angemeldet H. Erhard Leßelring *Philologiae stud*: Da <man[n]> dann beÿ der ersten fraag, so das *Collegium* allwegen zubedenken pflegt: namlich, ob man *Membra* annem-[m]en solle: einhellig für gut befunden, und er kennet hat, daß es ins künfftig nit beÿ bisher geweseter prob bleiben solle, sonder derjenige, so dem *Collegio* einverleibet zuwerden begehre eine zweyfache prob außstehen, d[ie] einte in psalmen und leichten *Harmoniis Concordantibus* w[ie] bis dahin geschehen, d[ie] andere ab[er] in schwereren *Concert*-Stucken; So nun einer in dise beÿden proben dem *Collegio satisfaction* werde thun können solle Selbiger den Zutritt zu volligem *Membro* des *Collegii* haben: So ab[er] einer es beÿ der ersterern prob verbleiben und d[ie] andere außzustehen sich nit understehen dörfte, solle selbiger 3. Monatlang beÿ dem *Collegio* in probier-Zeit seÿn, in diser Zeit, doppleten Monatschuz bezahl[en] und dann beÿ dem *Ordinari Quartal*-Bott d[ie] andere prob außstehen und auf sein Begehren und des *Collegii* gutbefinden, alß ein völliges *Membrum* angenom[m]en werden ...

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 3, protocols of the music society 'zur deutschen Schul' 1692–1706, p. [126], June 1698.

Document 1.6 Jacob Pfaff's Memorandum from 1692

Memoriale Wie das von den Hrl. und hochgeachten H. *Deputaten* gestifftte *Collegium Musicum* mit nutzen möchten *continuiert* und fortgesetzt werden ... 5. Weilen sich H. Seyler, *Musicus* an dem Fürstl. Hoff auff mein Begehren anerbotten, unterschiedliche musicalische stuck in das *Collegium* Zu *Componiren* umb ein billiches, welche nach unseren *subjectis* in den stim[m]en gerichtet wären mit teütschen texten, so wohl auff Fest- als andern Sontäg in den Kirchen Zu gebrauchen, wäre solches wohl zu wüntschen maßen unsere *Authores* im *Collegio* mehrtheils lateinische, auch etliche auff Päbstische Religion gerichtete Text haben ...

Memoriale H.M. Jacob Pfaffen als *Directoren* des *Collegii Musici* wegen weiteren *continuir-* vnd fortsetzung desselben Verlesen von Meinen H[erren] Dep[utaten] den 27.^{ten} 7bris 1692.

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Vereine und Gesellschaften, O 14, collegium musicum, 1692–1795, unnumbered document.

Document 1.7 Parodying Rathgeber in Zurich, 1736–41

Underschiedliche H. *Ministri* diser Gesellschaft wurd[en] erbetten über bevorstehenden *ferias Caniculares* an der so nöthigen und nützlichen *Correctur* der abgöttisch[en] *texten* mit fleiß zuarbeit[en].

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 379 (July 1736).

Um 3. Uhr Eröffnete Hr. *Prov.* und *ViceMod.* Köchli das *quartal* mit einer schönen red, über d[ie] Beschreibung einer *Music*Gesellsch. darin[n] er öffentlich dankete, den[en] H. so über disen Som[m]er an Verbeßerung abgöttischer *texten* rühmlich gearbeitet; *Recom[m]endierte* diß Lobl. und nützliche Werk zu *Continuier[en]*, wan[n] gleich d[ie] Gesellsch. etwas Kostens darauf wenden müßte.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 381 (September 1736).

Es wäre gut wan[n] man mit gelegenheit um schöne *Music*stück mit erbaulich[en] Teütschen *texten* um sehen würde. Darbey der Bericht gefallen, daß Hr *Cantor* Bachofen zu 1. *Author* mit einem abgöttischen *text* einen anderen Teütschen *text* gemacht, deßwegen erkan[n]t ward, bey ihm zulosen, ob er selbigen nicht der Gesellsch. gegen billiche bezahlung überlaß[en] würde. Es ward beliebt mit der *Correction* abgöttischer *texten* Zu *continuiert[en]* dabey dan[n] denjenig[en] Hr. die Bisher solche nuzliche Arbeit übernom[m]en öffentlicher dank abgestattet wurde.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 404 (March 1738).

Hr. *Capellm[r]* Bachoffen übergabe einen geschribnen *Authorem* bestehend in Übersetzung des *Rathgeb:* in teütschen *Arien*, dafür ihm, wie auch für *Componierung* des Neü Jahr Stücken 3. *Ducaten* accordiert wurde.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 453 (January 1741).

Document 1.8 Johann Rudolf Gruner on the New Organ in Burgdorf, 1703

In disem Jahr [1704, in fact 1703] hat die Statt Burgdorff auff angeben Ihres Schulmeisters Samuel Seelmatters, der als ein sonderbarer Liebhaber der *Music*, und *Organist*, ein *Collegium Musicum* daselbst auffgerichtet, ein *Orgel* in Ihre Kirch machen laßen, nicht zwar selbige zum öffentlichen Kirchengesang zu gebrauchen sonder zu dem *Collegio Musico*, so sich wochentlich einmahl, auch sontags nach dem Gebett da versamlet,

zu gebrauchen, welches beÿ vielen ohrten und Leüten großen Anstoß gemacht, indem diß in unseren Kirchen nicht üblich; disem hat sich sonderlich widersetzt damahliger Helfer Ulrich Bentelin der öffentlich geprediget, man habe den *Dagon* neben die Bundslade gesetzt [1. Samuel, 5:1–7], auch hat damahliger *Capituls* Prediger selbigen Jahrs H[err] *Andreas Erhard* sehr dawider geeifferet, und zum Text genom[m]en den 150 Psalm, und darauß bewisen wider aller Leüten hoffnung, daß die *Instrumental Music* im Neüwen Testament abgeschaffet sein solle. Doch bliebe dise *Orgel* bißhar, aber doch seit H[err] Seelmatter von dar nach Oberburg *promoviert* worden, sehr Rühig, weil sie wenig gebraucht wird.

Berne, *Burgerbibliothek*, Ms Hist Helv VIII 40, Johann Rudolf Gruner, 'Chronikon, Das ist Historische und gantz Unpartheÿische Kurtze Beschreibung der Denk- und Merkwürdigen Begebenheiten, Die sich in der Statt Bern selbst und deren Landen Stätten und Gebieten zugetragen haben von dem Jahr 1701. an biß auffß Jahr 1725 inclusivé', p. 39 (1704).

Document 1.9 Excerpts from the Diary of Joseph Dietrich

11. Martij in Capitulo congregato in Refectorio, ... Quo ipso facta est Conclusio Capitularis, ut de caetero Scholares nostri com[m]un[it]er non excaedant octo, quibus iungantur duo discantistae pro Musicâ, seruentur duo loca pro opportunit[at]e[m] aduenientiu[m] insignioris Spei adolescentium, sicq[ue] numerus Scholarium[m] duodenarium nunqua[m] excedat.

Einsiedeln, *Klosterarchiv*, A.HB.1, *Diarium P. Josef Dietrich*, vol. 1 (1670–77), p. 43 (11/3/1671).

Zue Endt hatt Ihre Fürstl. Gn. P. *Josepho* befohlen, etliche in *Organo* zue Instruieren, dafür Ihme die Zeit ernambset, in dieb[us] ieiuunioru[m] nach gesungen Ambt biß vmb 11. Vhr. vnd alle Tag die Zeit nach der Vesper biß vmb 5. Vhr. Mit welchem also daß *Capittel* geendet ...

30. Ist Ihr Fürstl. Gn. widerumb in daß *Capittel* kom[m]en, vnd in selbigem Erstlich naher Kempten in *subsidiu[m]* P. *Superiori* zuerreißen befohlen R.P. *Fridolino Kleger*, so nun mehr sohier [?] ein gantzes Jahr *Capellmeister* geweßen: an deßen stell verordnet R.P. *Sigismundu[m]* Gios, deme auch befohlen die *Scholares* in *Musicâ* zue instruieren. Einsiedeln, *Klosterarchiv*, A.HB.1, *Diarium P. Josef Dietrich*, vol. 1 (1670–77), p. 162 (28 and 30/9/1672).

14. *Octobris* hatt Ihre Fürstl. Gn. Capitel gehalten wegen etlichen starkh das *Nouitiat* begehrenden: benantlichen wegen *Petri Kälin* von Einsidlen, so biß dahin in d[er] apothekh gebraucht worden, *Alexandri Ding*, vnd *Philippi Follet* [?], beider von Fryburg in Üchtland, *Henrici Riser* von Bremgarten discantisten allhier, *Franc. Lud. Goldin* von Rapperschwyll. Darzu Endtlichen noch einkom[m]en ein Priester von Lÿndaw, so

schon zum öeffteren durch *R.P. Antoniu[m] n[ost]ru[m]* bey Ihro Fürstl. Gn. anhalten laßen, deme daß Lob geben, alß were solcher ein fromber, Ehrlicher, aufferbawlicher Priester, wie auch in der *Music* also befüegt, Daß er auch möchte zur selbiger vnß sehr dienstlich sein.

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.1, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 1 (1670–77), p. 163 (14/10/1672).

Verwichenen Sambstag seind auf Rapperschwyl spatzirt *RR. PP. Carol[us]* Lussi vnd *Francisc[us]* Schnider, mit *F. Ambrosio* Püntener. *P. Carol[us]* zwar, das Er auf die Einsetzung d[er] Brud[er]schafft des *H. Scapulirs* in d[er] Pfarrkirche Jon[en], so auf d[en] 15. Tag Sonntag *ante Ascensionis* geschehen sollen, predigte: die beide andere aber, allda die *Musicam* zu ziehren [?], denn der erste *P. Francisc[us]* ein trefflich[er] Trombeter vnd Bass-Pusonist, d[er] and[er] aber ein überaus köstlicher *Organist* gewesen. Es soll dise *Solemnitet* mit nit geringem Zulauf d[er] vmblicgenden, vnd gar prechtig gehalt[en] word[en] sein.

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.2, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 2 (1678–80), pp. 18–19 (15/5/1678).

19. *Junij* Ist hier ankom[m]en Herr Graf Fugger begleitet von 2. seiner Trombetern, neben anderen Bediennten. Jene hett er gleich disen Abend in das Gottshauß geschickt, das sie mit Ihrem Trombetten Schall sollten die *Musica[m]* helfen ziehren; dise haben sich nit nur disen Abend vnd[er] dem *Te Deum laudamus* sonder auch [...?] Tag im Hohen H. Ampt vnd gantzer *Procession* dapffer brauchen laßen.

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.2, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 2 (1678–80), p. 246 (19/6/1680).

An disem Tag [1/9/1680] seynd hier ankom[m]en zwey *Patres* von Petershausen by Constantz, vornemblich die Einsidliche Jungfr. Mutter zubegrüßen, dann auch was was wunders zusehen: Seynd beide nechsten Morgen auf Schwytz spatzirt: waren Willens, auch das Schwytzerland zubesichtigen, wie sie das Schabenland erfahren. Darund[er] war der einte ein Trompetter, vnd bemühte sich mit Vnßeren *P. Francisco* Schneid[er] vnd *F. Ignatio* [...?] Abend mit den Trompetten *recreation* zumachen: blaste auch nit vnfein, war iedoch vnßerem *P. Francisco*, d[er] ein vortreflicher Trompeter #...?# vnd diß *Instrument ex proprio* [...?] erlehret, gantz vnd gar nit zuvergleichen.

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.2, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 2 (1678–80), p. 292 (1/9/1680).

Die *solemnitet* war in folgender Ordnung. Anfänglich als wohlerwelt[er] *P. Subprior* mit anderen von Einsidlen herauß ankom[m]en, hatten erstlich *P. Francisc[us]* vnd

F. Ignati[us] von oben dem Berg d[er] *solemnitet* den Anfang mit lieblichen Trombetten Gesätzlin gemahct. Darauf hinunder spatzirt zu d[er] Kirchen; Worund[er] daß Volk durch die größere Glocke zusammen beruffen, vnd #...?# als man vermeinte alles vorhanden seye, beÿ dem ausfart d[er] Kirchen gegen den hoche aufgerichtem Althar, vnd nechst darby *formirten* Cantzel od[er] Predigsthul, wid[er]umb die Trombetten geblaßen, ein schönes Liedlein von teütschen *Versen* eines umb das andere gesungen: ... Nach vollendeter Predig fieng die *Procession* an, angeführt von den Musquetieren, welche dann mit rührender Trom[m]el vnd fliegenden fahnen in schöner Ordnung vorher marschirt: folgte dann d[er] SchutzEngel, Creütz vnd fahnen, vnd ein große Anzahl Junger döchteren, alle mit Kränzten auf dem Haupt, [...?] vnderstellt mit vnderschl. Kirchen Fahnen vnd Bilder. hierüber die Bildtnus St. *Theodori*, vnd ein Jung Knab in d[er] Kleidung d[er] Mutter Gottes: hierauf *Scholares & Fratres*, vnd Priester von Einsidlen, so den *Chor* halteten, anfanglich das *Pange lingua*, hernach ab[er] *Psalmen* sangeten, in d[er] Kleidung, wie sie herauß kom[m]en: ... In dißer Ordnung gienge die *Procession* hinnd[er] durch die Haupt-Straß gegen Wollrauw, fügte dann oben her sich durch eine angenehme Runde durch ein über die Maaßen liebeche Ebne in einen graden Weeg auff in offenes Feld wo ein kleines Althärlin aufgericht war ... bis man S.|*mus Sacramentu[m]* auf dem Altharlin niedergestellt. Darauf singte *Chor[us]* ein zierliche Mottete[n] von acht Stim[m]en ...

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.2, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 2 (1678–80), pp. 299–302 (15/9/1680).

[in margin: *P.P. Ambrosi[us] et Ignati[us] et F. Sebastian[us] Suitiu[m] et Urania[m] profecti.*] 20. Feb. verreiseten vnßere H. *P.P. Ambrosi[us]* vnnd *Ignati[us]* mit *F. Sebastiano Reding* erstens nacher Schweÿtz, dorten H. Statthalteren Reding zubesuchen (*Parente F. Sebastiani*) von der aber auff Altorff zureißen, wo *P. Ambrosi[us]* künfftigen Sonntagpredigen solte, die vbrige ab[er], die gar edle Trombeter waren, die *Musicam* ziehren. Ist die Reiß glücklich abgeloffen ...

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.5, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 5 (1685–6), p. 487 (20/2/1686).

[in margin: *patres nostri subsidiarij in S. Gallu[m] ad jubilaeu[m] Principis S. Galli missi.*] An eben dißem Tag seÿnd nacher St. Gallen verreisst vnßere *Patres Franciscus, Ambrosi[us], Ignati[us]*, vnnd *Sebastian[us]*, mit sich führend 4. Trombetten, neben vil[en] *Musicalischen* bücheren, vnnd ettlichen Affictionen, die *P. Ambrosi[us]* vnnd *P. Ignati[us]* mit ein anderen auffgesetzt, vnnd zierlich schreiben, vnnd von dem Mahler mit Farben ziehren laßen: damit sie künfftigen *Jubilaeu[m] Sacerdotale Abbatis Galli* alldorten *celebriren* vnnd *venerieren* helfften.

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.5, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 5 (1685–6), p. 514 (28/4/1686).

P. Frowin[us] ab[er] ist hier verblib[en], dann er sollte in d[er] Orgel-Kunst vnnd *Violin* vnd[er] wißen werd[en]. Welches vnßer Gn. Fürst vnnd Herr auß sonderer Gutmütigkeit seinem H. Praelaten zugesagt.

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.9, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 9 (1694–5), pp. 50–51 (6/12/1694).

Heüt reißen vnßere H[erren] *PP. Francisc*[us], *Fridolin*[us], *Dominicus, Caelestin*[us] vnnd *Anselm*[us] nacher Altorff, dort[en] die *Musica*[m] by dem bundtschwur zuhalt[en]: seynd alle in dem Hauß H. Statthalter Pünteners (wer ein leiblich[er] Brud[er] vnßers *P. Ambrosij*) accom[m]odiert, vnnd sehr kostlich gehalten word[en]. Alldort[en] auch sie mit Ihr[en] *Instrumentis* verfasst gemacht, die *Musica*[m] an selbiger *Solemnitet* herrlich halten zu können. Es erzellte mir hernach H.P. *Ambrosi*[us], daß in 54. od[er] 55. *Musicanten*, vnnd zwar alles vortrefliche, zusammen kam[m]en: welche dann ... ein herrliche *Musica*m werd[en] gemacht hab[en], deren *Prim*[us] vnd Kapellmeister ware vnser H.P. *Ambrosi*[us], vnnd zwar vast alles von eigener *Composition*, darmit er sich stattlich versehen, vnnd große Ehr aufgehebt. Der Einzug d[er] Her[en] Gesandt[en] von Wallis vnnd auch d[er] *Catholischen* Orth[en] geschah d[en] 5 *Novembris* mit so prechtiger *Solemnitet*, daß d[er]gleichen in vnßeren Land[en] nit solle gesehen worden seyn. Den 6. darauf halteten Sie den Bundtschwur, od[er] Erneüwerung des bundts, mit herrlich[en] *Propositionen*, vnnd Ehren Bezeugung[en], nach deß[en] vollendung sangt[en] die H[erren] *Musicanten* das *Te Deum laudam*[us], wurd[en] auch alle grobe Geschütz gelöst, darüb[er] die Mahlzeit gehalten mit solchen Kostbarkeit[en], daß männiglich sich darob verwunderet, vnnd königlich zu seyn erachtet. Vnnd[er] welch[en] vnßeren vnnd andere H. *Musicant*[en] ein trefflich Tafel *Music*[en] angestellet, was all[er] hand so wohl *Vocal* vnnd vill mehr *Instrumental* [?], daß ied[er]mann es rüemen muß[en]. Sogeg[en] vnnd in die Nacht sich verzog[en]. Die Speis[en] worden aufgestellt alles in Nagelneüwe[n] Geschirr[en] von Englischem Zinn, die Trünck in allerhand köstlichen großen Silber u. vergelten *Pocalen* kunstreich[en] Gläßern [etc.] in *sum*[m]a alles auff das zierlichst und prächtigst. Nechsten Tag ist kein Ambt, sind nur ohngefähr d[er] H[erren] Meß[en] in Gegenwart aber H. Gesandt[en] mit einer ganz edlen *Musica* gehalten worden [etc.] Mit einem Wort, alle dise *Solemnitet* solche prächtig in *omni genere* gewesen seyn, daß dergleichen wed[er] Luzern noch einiges anders Ohrt iemahlen gehabt. Ich halte mich ab[er] nit lang darmit auf, sond[er] halte mich by vnßeren Herr[en], welche durch vnnd durch sehr köstlich gehalten word[en]: endlich d[en] 8. Nov. auch den[n]en ein hochlob[en] Stand Ihn[en] *solemn*[iter] gedanket vmb die Ihm erweisene Ehr vnnd gehaltene ansehnliche *Musica*, vnnd Ihn[en] ihr Reiß dahin vnnd wid[er] allhero außgehalt[en], auch ein *Honorariu*[m] von 18. Philipp thaleren *praesentieret*, von dan wid[er] abgereist, vnnd gesagten Tag glücklich ankomm[en] ... Den 5. Nov. ist ein frischer lüfftig[er] tag geweßen. Vnßer H. *P. Ambrosi*[us] ist heüt

von Altorff auch wid[er] abgereist, nam sein Weeg auf Luzern, von dar nach[er] Vahr, St. Catherinenthal, Freüwdenfels, Sonnenberg, Fising[en] [etc.] dann nach[er] Eynsidl[en], vnnd endtlich wid[er] auff Bellenz zu seiner *Charge* d[er] *Procuratur*, wo er d[en] 29. Nov. wid[er] glücklich angelangt. Zu altorf hatt er mit seiner *Musica*, die er auff das ller köstlichist, vnnd zu [...]kliches großem Vernüegen vnnd Freüwd angeordnet, große[n] Ruhm erhalt[en]. Waß aber er für ein *Honorariu[m]* bekom[m]en, hatt er mir nit *com[m]unicier[en]* woll[en]: ist ab[er] wohl zugedenk[en], daß wann die H[erren] zu Altorf die anderen *Musican[t]* so reichlich beschehrt, er, als d[er] *Principal* ein namhafft [...] werde empfang[en] hab[en].

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.10, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 10 (1696–8), p. 214 (3/11/1696).

[Easter day, 19 April] Nach der Predig am Morg[en] fieng d[er] Prediger (*A[dmodum] R[everendus] P. Subprior*) daß Christ ist erstand[en] selbst[en] an, so ietzt 2. od[er] 3. Jahr solle also *practiciert* worden seÿn, vnnd folgte darüb[er] das gemeine Volk. Mann sagte mir, das andere mahl auch die Orgel darzu gebraucht worden, heüt hörte ich sie nit, ob sie auß vergessenheit, od[er] anderer vrsach[en] weg[en] vnd[er]weg[en] [...] gebliben, weiß ich nit. Mich hatt es herzlich gefreüet, solches Gesang so wohl ietzt, als am Morgen in Abholung des *Venerabilissimi* auß dem Grab das Freüwe dich du Him[m]els Königin anzuhör[en]: dann meiner vorherig[en] [...] Jahren ist das Christ #ist# ist erstand[en] vill Jahr vnd[er]weg[en] geblib[en], daß Freüwe dich du Him[m]els Königin niemahl[en], sond[er] das *Regina coeli*, vnnd daß *Victimae Pascali* [sic] gesung[en] word[en]. Das volk scheinte auch ein Freüwd darbÿ zuhab[en], daß sie dapffer darauf gesungen. *Benedictus Deus*.

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.11, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 11 (1698–9), p. 119 (19/4/1699).

Es ist diser Tag[en] (*ad festu[m] B.V. Einsidlensis*) ein frömbd[er] *Musican[t]* ankomm[en] en, so ein Bass gesung[en], vnnd den *Violin* gezogen[en], der sich ein Wÿener ausgegeb[en], vnnd soll Zeit Zu Rom, auch anderstwo an vornem[men] Höfen sich aufgehalten. Namens [gap] Hatt nur ein Natürlich, das and[er] ein Gläsern Aug, ließ sich dapffer brauch[en], vnnd erzeugte im Sing[en] das er ein *Musican[t]*: machte ab[er] in der [...] vnnd singen solche *postura[m]*, das mann seiner villmahl lachen müssen [etc.]. Er hatte bÿ sich ettliche schöne *Musicalische Vocal-* vnnd *Instrumental-*Stück, welche abzuschreib[en] vnßere H[erren] Capellmeister sich sehr bemühet. Er speisste allezeit zu Hoof, hatte mit sich einen *Cameraden*, so ab[er] kein *Musici[us]*. Verbleibte hier biß *ad 22. Julij* da er erst abgereist: vnnd hatt *R.P. Ignati[us]* Capellm[eister] ihm bÿ Ihr[en] Fürstl. Gn[aden] ein Trinkgelt von 2. Louis Thalern außgewürkt, mit denen er abgereist.

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.11, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 11 (1698–9), p. 273 (21/7/1699).

Document 1.10 The Use of Trumpets in Einsiedeln

Directorium Quando ad Elevationem Jubilus Tubarum cum Tympano et Organo adhiberi solead?

1.mo

In Missis Pontificalibus extra S[anctissi]mum Sacellum. item in Primitiis RR. Patrum.

2.do

In Sequentibus Festivitatibus, etiamsi non Pontificaliter celebrentur, ac id quidem ratione Mysterij, aut Solemnitatis.

In Epiphania D.N.J. Christi.

In Festo S[anctissi]mi P.N. Benedicti tempore Pascali.

In Resurrectione D.N. Jesu C.

In Dedicat[i]one Basilicae majoris.

In Ascensione D.N.

In Die Pentecostes.

In Assumptione B.V. Mariae.

In Dedicatione angelica SS. Sacelli.

In Solemnitate SS. Rosarij.

In festo omnium Sanctorum.

In Nativitate D.N. ad 3. Missam.

3.tio

Jubilus hic Tubaru[m] cum Tympano et organo ad Libitum fieri potest in hisce Solemnitatibus:

In Natalitiis et Nominaliis Celsissimi Nostri feliciter regnantis.

In Dedicatione S. Michaelis Archangeli, utpote Patroni Specialis Musices Eremitani. item in Festo S. Caeciliae V. et M. Patrone communis omnium Musicorum.

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.EC.10, unnumbered.

Chapter 2*Document 2.1 Reformed Visitors to Catholic Processions (1)*

... auch ist von ihme nit nur d[ie] Sag, daß er <der Rathgeb> vil mit dem *Catholisch*[en] priester daselbst, vnd auch mit den *Catholisch*[en] andrer orth[en] zimlich vil gemeinschaft pflege, dan vnd wan ihren Gotts-dienst besuche vnd ihren *processionen* zulieb manch[en] gang thüie, w[ie] er dan auch lest-gehaltenen Charfrejtag zu *Constantz* nit nur der großen *procession* zugeschauet, sonder d[ie] ganze Zeith mit einem pfaffen vmherspaziert vnd lestlich mit ihm in ein Schenk-hauß gegang[en], darüber Er von Etlich[en] bekanten Hh. vnd bürgern angetroffen und bescholten worden *etc.*

Sonder daß Er auch öffters auf Winterthur Schaffhaußen vnd stein reiset vnd gemeinlich dasiger orthten d[ie] Bruderschaft nit ohne zuspruch laßet, Solle auch Schon Vnderschiedliche Mahl Mr. *Runcle*, zu Schaffhausen besucht haben, Er soll sich auch etlichen woch[en] lang ein bekanter vnd *degradierter* Scheuß [?] beÿ ihm aufgehalten haben *etc.*

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, EI 8,5, No. 24 (Johann Holzhalb, Pfyn, 1719).

Document 2.2 Reformed Visitors to Catholic Processions (2)

Übrigens beschwert der Rahtgeb sich sehr, daß man[n] ausgabe, Er seÿe zu Winterthur gewesen, mit warheit werde kein Mensch solches kön[n]en sagen, so wenig als daß er an einer *procession* gegangen, wer im[m]er dise unbegründte Sach[en] über ihn ausgabe. Zu *Constanza* habe er sich so wenig ärgerlich aufgeführt, als andere *reformirte* Leüth, insonder auch von Müllheim, die bei ihm gewesen, und mit ihm gegangen ...

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, EI 8,5, No. 24 (Johann Heinrich Fäsi, Müllheim, 16/6/1719).

Document 2.3 The War Booty of 1712

Von diser Zeit har, bis den 7b. diß Jahrs, ist die besuchung des *Collegii* eingestellt verbliben, weilen die Kriegs Unruhen sich vermehret, und albereit 12. *Membra Collegii* theils im Feld, theils in der Stadt unter den Waaffen warend, übrige aber sonst aufgemahnet worden ...

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 74 (14/4/1712).

In diserem und vergehnderen 3. Monaten sind nachfolgende *Music* Bücher dem *Collegio* verehrt worden von folgenden Herr[en]

a. Hr. Com[m]issarius Caspar Hirt verehrt:

1. Steingadens *Hortum* [?] *Musicu[m]* *Opus V.* | u[m] 4. *Tomis in 4:|o*
2. Langen *Sacras Cantiones. Opus. I.* | u[m] 4. *Tomis in 4:|o* / als ein Kriegs Peüt.

b. *Vice Mod. u. Act.* Ziegler, verehrt:

Tricinia Manuscripta incerti Authoris, 4 Tom. in 4:|o sambt anderen *Instrumental Music* büchlen[en] *mscr:*

c: Hr: Andreas Furrer verehrt: *Epinicion Marianum Valentini Molitors. 13. Tomis, in 4:|o in albo.* sambt anderen *Mscrtis Mus: voc: & Instr:* so etwas *defect.*

d: Herr Pfahrer Ziegler Zu Aeschwanden, *Vice Moderatoris frater* verehrt:

1. *Martini Sumptio: Musical: 5. Tom: in 4:|o 25. Julii.*
2. *Cazzati Messe brevi, Opus 28.* | u[m]. 10. *Tom: in 4:|o eodem.*
3. Banwarts *Missaru[m]* *pars II:* | a *Opus V:* | u[m] *Tom. n. in 4:|o 26. d. |o*
4. Dürigs von Werdenstein *Hymn: Arios: 8. Tom: in 4:|o* / den 9. *Augusti, 1712.*
5. *Grossi Celeste Tesoro. Op[er]a V:* | a *Tom: 9. in 4:|o d[en] 18. d. |o*

6. Rügen Coron: *Mar: Stellaru[m] duodecim. Opus 2. | u[m] / Tomis 18. in 4. | o deest Altus Concert: eode[m]*. Samt vilen Anderen, so von dem *Milite ignorante* an bekantem Ort defect und Zum Theil ohnnütz gemacht worden.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, pp. 76–77 (8/9/1712).

Document 2.4: Reformed Musicians in Catholic Service, 1736 (1)

VIII. Regensperger *Capitel* ... [in margin: *Musiciren* der unsrig[en] beÿ den *Cathol.* an Feÿertagen in ihren Kirchen.] *Baden:* Einige *Musicanten* von Zürich und Winterthur, auch so gar geistl. Standes *musiciren* mit den Päbstischen an Feÿr- und Son[n]tagen in den Kirchen zu Baden und Wettingen. Diesem *gravamini* abzuhelffen sollen auf den *Musicgesellschaften* vorstellungen und *inhibitionen* geschehen. Mit beÿden *Schmidlinis*, deren der ältere *Stud. Theol.* der jüngere im *Coll. Hum.* ward Hr. Schulhr. zurenden aufgetragen. Hr *Cantor* Bachofen, deme aus dem *Convent* ausgeschwäzt worden, beschwert sich, daß man ihne dißfals *coupabel* angeben wollen. *etc.*

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E 11 43, 'Acta Ecclesiastica, Continuatio actorum ecclesiasticorum, Aktuar Hans Caspar Hagenbuch', 1731–49, pp. 410–411 (26/10/1736).

[in margin: Lauffen einicher *Musicanten* in die *Papistische* Kirchen zu Baden u. Wetting[en].] *Baden: grav.* hinlauffen der *Musicanten* zu der *Papisten Music* gen Wettingen, und in die Statt Baden: Zweÿ Winterthurer seÿen deßwegen vor hochlob. *Syndicat* constituirt worden: der einte habe es sich reüen laßen: der andere nicht viel darnach gefragt: deßen bruder bald darauff wieder nach Wettingen zur *Music* gegangen. An Hr. Pfr. zu Baden sol geschrieben werden, daß er dieses fehlbahren Nam[m] einberichte.

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E 11 43, 'Acta Ecclesiastica, Continuatio actorum ecclesiasticorum, Aktuar Hans Caspar Hagenbuch', 1731–49, pp. 466–467 (1 and 3/11/1737).

[in margin: Lauffen einicher *Musicanten* von Winterthur in die *Papistische* Kirchen zu Baden und Wettingen. v. pag. 466 fin.] 6. Beÿ der *sub 8. Nov.* eingekom[m]enen antwort Hr. Pfrs. von Baden, v. Beÿl. *num. 1027.* laßen es MHr bewenden, und sol an Hr Pfr. zu Winterthur geschrieben werden, daß er beÿ gebenden anläßen, die Hr. *Musicanten* erin[n]ern, des gehens und sings in den papistischen Kirchen zu Baden und Wettingen sich zumüßigen *etc.*

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E 11 43, 'Acta Ecclesiastica, Continuatio actorum ecclesiasticorum, Aktuar Hans Caspar Hagenbuch', 1731–49, p. 474 (3/12/1737).

Document 2.5: Reformed Musicians in Catholic Service, 1736 (2)

Den 9. | t[en] diß *proponierte* Hr. Prov. Köchli, auß *Com[m]ission* MH. *Examinatoru[m]*, daß im letzt[en] *Synodo* auß dem Reg[en]sberger *Capitel* ein *gravamen* Vorgebracht

word[en], daß Verschiedne H. *Musicant*[en] Von Zürich Zu Baden mit d[en] *Catholicis* beÿ dem Gottesdienst *musicier*[en]; Deß nahen [?] auß hohem Befehl, deßweg[en] auf allen *Collegiis Musicis* ein *general Insinuation* Zuthun, daß ein jeder *Colleg[iant]* sich vor solcher Ärgernuß hüte.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 4, p. 382 (9/11/1736).

Document 2.6: Reformed Musicians in Catholic Service, 1736 (3)

... Ich sage, dass über diese *gravamina*, mich auch *specialiter gravirt*, das aergerliche hinlauffen etlicher unserer Hr. *Musicant*[en] von Zürich, und Winterthur, zu der Papisten Kirchen-*Music*, so wohl im Closter Wettingen, als in der Statt Baden, an Sonn- und Feÿertag[en]: derenwegen ich dan, und wan, sonderlich, auff ansinnen, und Er-mahnen unterschiedlicher Liebhaber[en] des reinen *Evangelisch* Gottesdiensts, und eines Christlich-fürsichtig[en] aufführung; auch selbst, auff Vermerkt[en] Anstoß, ein-od[er] anderes Vernünfftig[en] *Catholique* selbst[en], meinen Pflichten gemäß zu seÿn erachtet, wie *publicé* ab der Canzel, so *privatim*, gegen den Ein- und anderen mit dieser unzeitig- und ohnmässigen *Musicpassion* eingenommen[en], sothanen mißbrauch der *Music*, zuremonstrir[en], und gebührend, ernstlich zuend[en], mehrmahl[en] aber, leider! ohne erwünschte frucht: Wie dan auch, solches je mehr, und mehr trukende *gravamen*, den *Synodal-actis* einzurücken, MH. *Visitatores*, sonderheitlich letzthin, angelegentlichst ersucht; mithin denselben erzehlet; wie daß, im abgewichenen Som-[m]er, zweÿ *Musicant*[en] von Winterthur, mit Nahmen, Hr. *Jacob* Hegner zum [Kreuz] (Welcher sonstn seines Christl. lebens halber, beÿ jederman das beste Lob hat, auch von vielen Jahren her mir selbst[en], auff diesen fuss bekant ist) und Hr. Steiner beÿ der Hoffnung, einen gleichen fehler begangen; und deswegen von denen beÿden, damals hier anwesenden Hohen Herren Ehrengesandten, Unserer Gn. Hh. *Constituiret*, und ihnen einen hochobrigkeitliche *Censur*, mit solchem Nachdruck, und in mass[en] gegeben worden, dass der Eine dieser fehlbar[en], nahm. Hr. Hegner (welcher allem Anschein nach, durch seine Unbesonnenheit, sich lassen verführ[en]), seinen *Excess* aufrichtig erkennt, bekennet, und demütig abgebet[t]en, zumahl[en] die hochobrigkeitliche Andung, und bygefügte trefflich- und väterliche Warnung, und Ver-mahnung, mit geziermender Unterthänigkeit, und gehorsam[m]en dankbezeugung angenommen, auch nachmals seines Reüens, gegen mir, ganz besondere, so mund- als schriftliche Kennzeich[en] gegeb[en]. Den anderen aber, Hr. Steiner belangend (deme man, seines anderwertigen eingezogenen Wandels, auch ein guter Zeugnus beÿleget) gabe, ebenbemeldter Hr. Hegner, mit bezeugung seines hertzlich[en] Missfalens, mir, in Vertrautem geheim zu verstehen, dass derselbe, nit mit ihm zum [Kreuz] kriechen, noch angeregt-hochobrigk. *Censur* allerdings in Ernst auffassen wollen: maßen er sich, gegen ihm Verlaut[en] lassen: er glaube nicht daß dieses Verbott bis auff Wettingen gemeint, daher, wan es an Bernhardifest gut Wetter, werd er, mit seinem Bruder, den er auff selbige Zeit allhier erwarte, dorthin gehen. Gewiß ist, daß auff selbig[en] Tag, sein

Bruder, namens Hr. Hans Ulrich Steiner, Wohnhaft bei dem Drachen zu Winterthur, sich hier in Baden eingefunden: ob Sie aber zu Wettingen gewesen, wolte Hr Hegner, eigentlich weder Verneinen, noch bejahen, könt aber doch aus Verschiedenen Umständen[en] das letztere klar abnehmen.

Von diesem letztbenahmt[en] Hr Steiner zum Drachen habe zumahlen, und bisher, aus langer Erfahrung, daß gerselbe, dieses, und villeicht noch anderer Stück[en] halber Verneint, vel quasi ... [unreadable word] zu seyn: allermaß[en] er, ohnerachtet aller meiner gethanen *public-* und *privat Remonstrat[ionen]* (Wo nit gar mit Verlachung, und bespottung derselbig[en], auch gegen seinen bekant[en], und freünd[en] unter den *Catholiques* selbst[en]) so oft er gen Baden gekom[m]en, auff seine Lyr[en] fortgefahr[en], und besorglich fortfahr[en] wird, wo man ihm die geig[en] nit zerbricht.

Gleichwie ich aber, mit dieserem bericht, gegen M[eine] Hochgeacht- u. Hochgeehrtest[en] Herren *Examinatorib[us]*, so wenig, als ehr- u. mehrmahl[en], gegen M[eine] H[erre]n *Visitorib[us]*, die benant[en] Personen, zu Verklag[en] und in Unglück zu bring[en], *intentionirt*; allermaßen mir auch allzuwohl bekant, daß solche leüthe, alles, nach *form* Rechts wollen erwiesen haben: ich aber (dene zwahren, mein dies arth[en] tragender *Character*, Verhoffentlich, außer diese Schrank[en] sezet) sonderheitlich, in ansehung des, in M.Hr. *Actuarii* Schreiben beziehleten, und von dem, durch die hohen Hr. Ehrengesandten ihm zweifelsfreij eingeschärfft[en] Verbott, #...# scheinbarlich abgetreten Hr Steiners by der hoffnung, zuleisten, nicht anderst im Stand wäre, als durch die, wie Vertraute Aussag seines *Complicis* Hr Hegnauers, diesem aber, welcher <doch> seine Recht auss gestand[en], und reüend erfund[en] worden, unschuldiger Weise, glühende Kohl[en] unter die ...

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E II 68, No. 1027, J.H. [?] Wirz in Baden to Caspar Hagenbuch (8/11/1737).

Document 2.7 Proselytes in Zurich: Andreas Schwilge

Ego Andreas Schwilge de Thannis parentibus natus Jacobo Schwilge de Stuckhardt Wirttenbergae patre ciue Thannensi, Matre verò Maria Magdalena Hägelin, à pueritiâ prima ad scholas ad addiscendas litteras ductus vbi postquam artes Grammatices & Organoru[m] & vocis musices caepi, quindecim circiter annorum aetatis Ensishemium à Padre ad Gymnasium Jesuitarum missus Syntaxeos, Poëseos, Rhetorices tribus annis studiosum egi finitis his annis Herbipolim profectus & in vniuersitate ph[i]l[osoph]iaie operam dedi in duos annos, tandem viginti annorum Monachatum Franciscanorum Herbipoli suscepi nomen (Franciscus Engelhardus) mihi religionis more e[tiam] inditum, statimq[ue] Herbipoli Lvcernam in Heluetia[m] missus ad Nouitiatum scilicet, anno cu[m] dimidio Lucernae degens dein Friburgum Heluetiorum promotus & ibi duobus annis philosophiae scotisticae studui, Lectore Fratre Gabriele Almaï; finitâ & absolutâ philosophiâ Viennam Austriae delegatus ibi praeter studium Theologicum ad quod incubui philosophia[m] Junioribus legi & professus saepè publicas defendi

conclusiones, & postquam profitendo etia[m] primu[m] sententiaru[m] ut nomina-
mus librum absolui, totamq[ue] Ipse Theologiam in Antiquissima Vniuersitate Vien-
nensi publicè pro gradu defendi, me Romam contuli; ibidem anno plus cum dimidio
commorans, deinde Mediolanum Gymnasiu[m] illud nostrum splendidum uisendi
gratia petij, anno quasi elapso reuersus Romam sed paucos post dies Romam relin-
quens Tigurium Deo fauente feliciter perueni aetatis meae triginta vnus anni adhuc
incompleti ...

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E I 9.1, Proselyten 1545–1664, No. 36 (22/II/1639).

Document 2.8 Proselytes in Zurich: Andreas Benz

Auch in disem Jahr [1674] ist Hr. Andreas Bantz, (gewesner Pfaff) in die Gesellschaft
kom[m]en, wegen seiner Kunst auf dem *Violin* deß Schußes entlaßen [the members-
hip fee], und im übrigen Zu allen Satzungen verpflichtet gewesen.

*Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, AMG Archiv IV A 1, minute book of the music society 'auf
dem Musiksaal', 1712, with historical notes on the period 1613–1712, fol. 103v.*

Es ist auch dismahl bei uns, vor etlichen jahren her, Herr *Andreas Benz*, geboren 2.
stund von Nürenberg, in *studiis* unterwisen zu Ingolstatt, und zu seiner Zeit im *coeles-
tiner* Orden, gewesener Pfarrer zu Lauterbach im Elsass: hat zu Zürich weib und Kind,
ernähret sich ehrlich durch Lehrung der *Arithmetic* und *Music*.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. B 190, fol. 326r (1679).

Den 7. Hornung [7 February 1693] ward begraben Herr *Andreas Bentz*, so vor vilen jah-
ren ein Papistischer Priester in Elsass gewesen, und alhier zu Zürich die *Reformier-
te Religion* #geh# aufgenommen und bis an sein End beken[n]t, auch dabei from und
gottsförchtig gelebt: hat nach sich gelassen ein frau und drei söhne. War ein trefflicher
Musicus. Einer von der *Music*-Gesellschaft hat ihm folgende *disticha* gemacht:

Parca Lyrae doctae dum suavia fila recidit

BenzI, Musarum congemuère chori.

Phoebus, sat vobis concentus miscuit, inquit,

AEthereo lyra nunc haec socianda choro est.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. B 190, fol. 342v.

Document 2.9 Proselytes in Zurich: Franz Reinhard

Zu end des jahrs [1696] kam gen Bern ein *conventual* von S. *Urban*, gebürtig von
Solothurn, *doctoris Reinhardi* Sohn, und nahm die *Reformierte Religion* daselbst an. Er
solte zu S. *Urban* den *Studijs* obliegen, und in dem er durch Bern nach Freiburg reisen
solte, um alda die *Studia* fortzusezen, wolte er von Bern nicht hinweg, sonder begab
sich alsobald in das *Gymnasium*, sein Vorhaben zu entdeken. Ist ein junger Herr von
22. jahren [he was really 24], guten gemühts, so daß Hoffnung, sein Herz sei aufrichtig,

und werd treu verbleiben. Man hat stark an ihn gesetzt: Schultheiß Besenwald von *Solothurn* hat selb sich steiff *interponirt*: man ließe hier alles an die Willcur H. Reinhards, der auf seinen Vorhaben beständig verharret. So ward berichtet von Bern den 1. tag Mey 1697.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. B 190, fol. 346r.

Document 2.10 Proselytes in Zurich: Jean-Antoine de Torrenté

... Vor dreÿ Wuchen [hat] sich beÿ vns angemeldet ... Hr. *Joh. Antonj Torrente*, Ein Priester Von Sitten aus Wallis, 32. Jahr alt: den sich in die 13. Jahr in Wien vnd Prag aufgehalten, vnd mit guten *Recom[m]endations*-Schreiben begleitet ward; Bezeügete, daß Er eine aufrichtige anmuthung zue vnßerer wahren Reform. Evang. Religion tragen thueÿge; Instandigst bittende, Ihm[m]e auf etwas Zeits die underrichtung in den sachen des heils zu ertheillen; vnd die hier zur benöthigte Verpflegung gn[ädig] gedeÿen zulaßen; den[n]e obbedeute Zeit zu seiner vnderrichtung nicht wol versagen können; Wann Er aber wegen guten wüßenschafften in der Italienischen Sprach *Instrumental* vnd *Vocal-Music* verhofft ehesten anlaaß zubekom[m]en, sein stuckh brott durch fleißige underrichtung verburgerter Junger Knaben selbst zu verdienen; Alß bittet Er in vnderthen[n]igster deemuthigkeit die Oberketliche Verpflegung disen *Monat* durch gegen ihm[m]e zu *continuierten*, vnd Ihm[m]e die gnedigste Bewilligung zugeben, daß Er sich nach angeregter Zeith Lenger alhier, vnd zwahren ohne fehrner Oberkeitliche Vncösten, aufhalten möge. *etc.*

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E I 9.3b, Proselyten 1682–1700 (19/3/1700).

Document 2.11 Proselytes in Zurich: Jean-Antoine de Torrenté

Fr: Barbara Hengerin ... hatte auff ansuchen des S[r] *Antoine Torrentis* beÿ Hr. Tuchh[ändler]r Hottingern Tuch zu einer Kleidung in das Haus beschickt, welches sich *in circa* 32. fl. beloffen; daran 15. fl. bezahlt worden, vmb die Restierenden 17. fl. Sie von hrn. Hottingern angesucht werde; welche Verbürgung zu Keinem anderen end geschehen, alß Ihm[m]e hierinn zu willfahren, weilen Er #seinen# <Ihren> Sohn vnd Kinder in der *Music-Kunst* vnderwiesen; Ihro aber wol nicht in den Sinn Kom[m]en were daß Er auff die form[m] den außtritt nem[m]en sollte. *etc.*

Herr *Mauriz Zeller*, SS. *Theologiae candidatus* berichtete, daß Ihm[m]e bemelter *Torrente* von Hr. Stadtschreiber Hochen-Reüthiner auß St. Gallen *recom[m]endiret* word[en], danahen Er Ihm[m]e angelegen sein laßen, besagtem *Torrente* alle möglichste Ehrendienste zu erweisen, ... habe dem *Torrente* ein 20 Reichsthlr. werthig *Musical-instrument* vnd etliche Büecher geliehen, welche sich annoch in M[r] Ludwig Kellers Hauß befindend, die Er auch verhoffe, widerumb ohnverweigeret zu erheben; ...

Am Freÿtag abends Seige Er zu Baden beÿ dem Engel übernacht gewesen; Man vermeint, daß Er sich nach Baßel begeben werde *etc.* allwohin auch geschriben word[en].

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E I 9.4, Proselyten 1701–29 (14/2/1701).

Document 2.12 Proselytes in Zurich: Jean-Antoine de Torrenté

Johannes Antonius de Torrente.

Diser, gebürtig von Sitten im Wallisserland, kam (wie er fürgab) im 13. jahr seines alters auß seinem Vaterland gen Prag in Böhmen, alwo er studirte: Von Prag nach Wien, alwo er im studiren *continuïrte*, doch nicht im Vorhaben ein Priester zuwerden: fiel in eine hizige Krankheit und Verwirrung seiner sinn[en], worauf von Ihm außgegeben ward, daß er in solchem Zustand der H. Jungfr. *Maria* ein gelübd gethan, daß er wolte Priester werden, im fahl er widerum aufkäme. Ob aber gleich nach seiner genesung er sich dises glübd's sich nicht erin[n]erte, ließe ihm dan[n]och die geistlichkeit keine ruhe, bis er Priester word[en]. Daß er Priester worden, bezeugete mitgebrachtes unterschribenes und besigeltas *Testimonium*, welches also lautet:

“Nos Leopoldus S.R.E. Presbyter Cardinalis Tituly S. Hieronymi Illyricorum, Archiepiscopus Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Strigoniensis, Lociq[ue] Ejusdem et cominatus Supremus ac perpetuus Comes, Sedis Apostolicae Legatus Natus, Primas Regni Hungariae, ejusdemq[ue] summus et Cancellarius et Secretarius, S. Johannis Hierosolymitani Ordinis Prior, et Commendator Egrae et Maybergae, Sacrae Caesareae Regiaeque Majestatis intimus Consiliarius etc.

Recognoscimus per praesentes, ac quibus expedit universis, notum facimus, quòd anno à virgineo partu 1699. d. 12. April, Pontificalibus indut, et S[acro] Sancta Missarum Solemnia in Sacello nostro domenstico Divi Johannis Baptistae celebrantes, dilecto nobis in Christo Johanni Antonis de Torrente Valesio Dioecesis Sedunensis legitimè praesentato et approbato p[ri]mam cl[erical]em T[onsu]ram cum 4. minorum, die verò 14. Junii Subdiaconatum, d. 21. Diaconatum, et demum 12. Julii Sacrum Presbyteratus ordinem, juxta SS. D. N. indultum nobis benignissimè concessum, nil ei obstantibus novis declarationibus in Domino contulerimus. In quorum fidem has ei manu propria subscriptas et consulto Sigillo nostro roboratas, ex officio expediri demandabamus. Viennae d. 17. Augusti, anno ut suprà. Leopoldus Cardinalis à Colloniz. Johannes Baptista Sigonius, Theol. D. Protonotarius Apostolicus Em.mi Secr.rius et Sacel. Ord.ni Not.rius ex officio m. p[ro]pria”.

Nachdem er also Priester worden, ernährete er sich in Wien mit Messelesen. Da er nun mit *Evangeelischen* leute selbiger Zeit umgieng, kam er in Erkenntnus seiner irrthümern, nahm zu Wien abschied, fürgebende, er wolte in sein Vaterland reisen. Nahm zugleich erlaubnus unterwegs in P[äp]stisch[en] orten Messe zu lesen, wie er dan im fürüber reisen messe gelesen zu Regensburg d[en] 13. *Febr.* und zu Augsburg den 17. *febr.* 1700. <(Schlecht Vorhaben)>

Nachdem Er gen S. Gallen kame, hat er sich daselbst nicht lang aufgehalten, sonder ist gen Zürich komen (alwo er der *Reformirten Religion profession* gethan) im *Februario*, und hat man vom 27. *Februar.* bis den 23. April 19. gld[en] 26. schilling bezahlt.

Hernächst fienge er an in der Musik, deren er wol erfahren war, knaben und töchtern zuunterweisen: brauchte dazu die Psalmen davids und des Hohenreuteners Seelen-Musik; Zeigete auch einichen das schlagen auf dem *clavicordio, instrumento*

und *Positiv*, war des weg[en] geehrt und geliebt, gewan[n]e auch dadurch vil gelt und gutthäten, in d[en] er monatlich in die 20. gld[en] verdienen könnte.

An ihm nahm man wahr schlechten eýfer für *religion*, auch keine begier darin[n] zuzunehmen, hingegen war er hoffärtig im gang, und in der Kleidung, trug ein schon *alamoden*-kleid vom besten schwarzen tuch, ein *Peruque*, item den degen. Welches Uns[eren] gn[ädigen] H[erren] nicht gefiele. Als ihm hierauf durch den *Proselyten*-schribler bedeutet word[en], Uns[ere] gn[ädige] H[erren] sähen gern, daß er sich einer bescheidnen Kleidung bedienete und den mantel trüge, hingegen, weil er ein Priester gewesen, des tragens des degens sich müssigte, hatte er seinen hausgnossen gesagt, das kom ihm frömd für, er zahl seine kleider aus seinem Verdienst, er sei vom Adel, dörf den degen wol tragen; wolt, er hette ein Scharlachin Kleid, Wolt mornig[en] tags anzeühen, und sehen, wer es ihm zuverbieten hette, *etc.*

Morgens frühe des 11. febr. 1701. hat er sich in der stille, ohne jemand's Wüssen, mit Sak und Pak hinweg gemacht, liesse obgedachtes von seinem Priesterthum zeugendes *testimonium* ligen, ob mit fleiss, od[er] aus übereilung, ist nicht bewusst; wo er hinkommen, ist verborgen. Seine Hausleute geben für, daß ihm ein kein brief noch bott[en] zukomen, durch die er hette können Verlokt werden. Ob Uns. gn. Hh. ihm angedeuter Willen ihn dahin gebracht, ist unbekant. Ist geschehen bei angehender Pápstischer fasten, da er Zweifels ohn erachtet, jez kön[n] er seinen abtritt von Römischer Kirch abbüssen, beichten, und *absolution* erlangen.

Ob aber gleich diser *de Torrente* durch seine unterweisungen vil gelt verdienet, so hat er doch seines Kostheren und andere Schuldgläubigern nicht bezahlt. Seinem Kostherrn Meister Ludwig[en] Keller, dem Pfister, blibe er in die 40. für Kleider-Wahren 20. auch für schu etwas schuldig. Hette er den monat *Februarium* bei uns aussgehalten, hette er Von seinen *Scholaren* in die 20. gld[en] züerheben gehabt, die er eintweder seinen schuldgläubigern bezahlen, oder mit sich auf den Weg hette nehmen können. Was ihn so sehr getriben, ist nicht bekant.

Die Schuldgläubiger liessen aller orten hinschriben, ihn zuerforschen, aber umsonst. Ein Schiffman von Zürich vermeinte, er hab Ihn selbigen tags, da er von hier weg gangen, zu Baden im Wirtshaus zum Engel gesehen zu mittag essen: Könnte es aber so gar gewösse nicht bestetigen, weil er den Pfaffen so gar eigentlich nicht gekennet. Bald hernach gieng die red, er wer in Holland bei H. Hauptman Schlatters söhnen, selbige in *Musicis* zu unterweisen, aber man hatte im Brachmonat davon noch keine gwüssheit. Nach vilfaltiger nachforschung befand sich nicht, daß er bei H. Hauptman Schlatter sei. Diser hat jenen nie gesehen.

Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. B 190, fols 362r–363v.

Document 2.13 The 1682 Preface to the 'Seelen-Music'

... Diser loblichen Sazung gemäß, werden nicht allein täglich, vor vnd nach Mit-tag, wan[n] die Schulen vollendet sind, in allgemeiner Versammlung aller vnd jeder Schuleren, die jenigen Psalmen Davids, vnd andere geistreiche Gesäng, welche an den

H. Son[n]- und Fest-Tagen, auch Mittwochen, in vnseren Christlichen Gemeinden, (deren in die hundert vnd acht, an stat, daß vor einem *Seculo* nur allein acht bekannt waren) üblich sind, in dem ordenlichen Tact abgesungen; sondern auch wochentlich, in der bestellten Music-Schul, die jenigen Knaben sonderbarlich vnderichtet, welche, nach dem sie darinnen gemelte Psalmen vnd Gesång zu vier Stim[m]en gnugsam ergriffen, sich weiters auch in anderen Musicalischen Büchern zu üben lust haben; damit sie, nach erlangter mehrerer Wüssenschafft vnd Übung der Sing-Kunst, eintheils zwar, nach gehaltenen *Examinibus*, von den Schul-Herren, in derselbigen, so wol auß den Lobwasserischen Psalmen Davids, als auch auß anderen Authoren, zu vier Stimmen, dest erfreulicher angehört, anders theils aber auch vnserem wol angesehenen loblichen *Collegio Musico* folgendes desto ruhmlicher einverleibet werden mögen ...

Christian Huber, preface to 'Geistliche Seelen-Music', first edition, 1682.

Document 2.14 The 1712 Preface to the 'Seelen-Music'

Hochgeneigte Herren!

Deneselben habe nicht unbedeutet lassen können, daß von dem Herrn *Authore* der letzten Melodeyen, noch mehrere empfangen über des Creutzbergers Passions-Andachten, mit freundlichem Ansuchen, daß selbige auch möchten durch den Truck bekandt gemacht werden; weilen aber die Zeit vil zu kurtz, und das Buch starck beghret worden, habe dieselbige dienstlich ersuchen wollen, daß sie dise neue Composition möchten vor durchsehen, und mit der angenehmen Musick-Gesellschaft, nach des Herrn *Authoris* Verlangen, ein und abermal *probiren*: Ob ihnen diese Melodeyen beliebig wären oder nicht? Wann sie angenehm außfielen, wie nicht daran zweifle, wolte alsdann, so es dem HErrn gefällt, die übrigen, eintweder der darauf folgenden *Edition* einverleiben; oder aber als einen Anhang gleich noch jetzund verfertigen lassen ... Oder, wo sonst einige beliebte Aenderung ... solte vorgenommen werden, daß das Buch einem *Collegio Musico* dienlicher fiele, werden sie die Gütigkeit haben, mir dero Gutachten schriftlich oder mündlich mitzuthemen ...

Laurenz Hochreutiner, preface to 'Geistliche Seelen-Music', fifth edition, 1712.

Document 2.15 The 1694 Preface to the 'Seelen-Music'

... Andern theils hat mich, gegenwertige Seelen-Music widerumb aufzulegen, bewogen, underschidlicher vilfaltiges begehren und verlangen nach derselben, so wol wegen der lieblichen Gesangsweisen, als der Geist- und Trostreichen Worten; Neben dem, daß unserer Jugend ein solch Buch zu Erlernung der Edlen Music-Kunst nohtwendig und anständig ist. Und weilen zu allbereit erfundenen Sachen leicht ist etwas hinzuzuthun, als hab ich, einen *General-Bass*, wo es der läre platz zugegeben, liebliche Geigen-Stim[m]en à 3. 4. 5. anmuhtige einstim[m]ige Singweisen und *Fugen*, neben vilen neuen Stucken, mit hüfflichem Zuthun Hrn. Christoph Stähelins, Kirchen- und Schuldieners allhier, beyfügen lassen; Damit also die Jugend zu Erlernung diser lieblichen

Kunst je mehr und mehr angefrischet werde, und wir samtllich allgemach dasjenige lernen ergreifen auf Erden, was einst droben im Himmel unser fürnemstes Weck, und gröste Belustigung seyn wird, nemlich, Gott mit dem gantzen him[m]lischen Chor, loben und preisen ...

Jakob Hochreutiner, preface to 'Geistliche Seelen-Music', second edition, 1694.

Document 2.16 The Preface to Schreiber's 'Arietten'

Daß bey dem Gottesdienst das Singen dem Allerhöchsten alzeit beliebig und angenehm gewesen seye, beweiset sowohl das Alte als Neue Gesetz, und die Kirchen-Historien satksam; Ja durch das Singen wird in dem Himmel die Ehr, und Lob Gottes sowohl von denen H. Englen, als von denen Auserwählten in Ewigkeit abgestattet werden: Dahero solle mir mein Mühe bey Ausfertigung diser geistlichen Arietten oder Kirchen-Liedern nicht als ein einfältig- oder eitles bestreben ausgedeutet werden. Mein Endzweck ist, dass das Höchste Wesen gelobt, und durch singende Andacht gepriesen werde: Die vollkommene Chöre in denen Gestiftern, und Clösteren loben Ihne mit prächtig- und vollstimmiger Music, geringere Chöre aber müssen sich oft nur mit 1. oder 2. Stimmen behelfen: Doch alle und jede beeifern sich mit eigener Möglichkeit und äussersten Kräften ihre schuldige Pflicht dem Höchsten Herrn abzutun. Sollen aber die einfältige Land-Leute allein dessen beraubt seyn nach ihren Kräften diese Schuldigkeit zu bezeugen?

Das Göttliche Lamm wil ja von denen Jungfrauen mit einem Ihm beliebigen Gesang besonders besungen werden, denen sich niemand beygesellen solle. Damit also solche Keusche Seelen schon hier auf Erden diesem Lamm Gottes ihr Unschulds-volle Liebe beweisen könnten, habe ihnen mit diesen Geistlichen Liedern nach Möglichkeit behülflich seyn wollen; In steifer Zuversicht die ganze Kirchen-Gemeinde werde grössere Auferbauung und Andacht unter dem Gottesdienst empfinden, Wann ihr Eifer mit einem andächtigen Lied, welches sie verstehen, leicht fassen, folgsam betrachten kan, als öfters mit abgeschmaktem Gesang der Halb-Lateineren geschieht, angeflammt wird: Über das vertröste mich durch diese Geistliche Gesänger denen unanständigen und Seelen mörderischen Liedern grossen Einhalt, wann nicht gänzlichen Abbruch zu thun. Nur sollen sich grosse Music-Meister nicht stossen an diesem einfältigen Baß, mit welchem ich nicht die Kunst aufweisen, sondern habe den Organisten nur anleiten wollen, daß er denen Singenden zur Hülf, nicht aber mit Ubertäubung durch starke Register oder vollstimmige Accorden zum Überlast seye, dass man weder Melodie weder Wort-Verstand vernemmen könne: Daß aber auch Alle diese Lieder ohne Orgel können gesungen werden, beweisen die Ehr- und Tugendreiche Jungfrauen in der Pfarrey Larg mit auferbäulicher Verwunderung deren Zuhörerinnen alle Sonn- und Feyrtäg, da Sie weder Orgel in der Kirchen, weder Wissenschaft der Noten haben. (Es kommt nur auf einen unverdrossenen Lehrmeister an.) Dahero sind einige gar kurtz und leicht zu erlernen, nach und nach werden die schwäzere schon leichter vorkommen. In einer

Jahrs-Frist sind diese alle (2. oder 3. ausgenommen) von besagten Jungfrauen erlernt worden, welches ich anderen zur Aufmunterung sage. Endlichen können dise auch auf dem Feld, und in ehrlichen Gesellschaften mit Vergnügen abgesungen werden, dannoch protestiere ich feyrlichist, daß man diese geistliche Arietten niemal zu sündhaften Liederer mißbrauchen solle: Der Ehr, Lob und Herrlichkeit Gottes sind selbe alleinig zugeschriben, zugeeignet, und mit demütigster Unterthänigkeit aufgeopfret.

Sollte dise Bemühung beliebigen Beyfal finden, so könnte wohl der ganze Catechismus in solchen Liederer nachfolgen.

Johannes Evangelista Schreiber, preface to the 'Neue und annehmliche Arietten' (Fribourg: Hautt, 1761).

Document 2.17 Doctor Brunner in Einsiedeln, 1691

[left margin: *D. Medicus Brunner ex Diessenhoffen vocat[us] advenit, pro Ill[ustrissi]mon[ost]ro*]

Auf den Abend kam allhero H[err] Doctor H[err] Conrad Brunner von Schafhaußen ein Tochtermann H[err] Doctor Wepfers, vnseren Gn[ädigen] Fürsten vnnd Herren in seiner Krankheit, an Statt seines Herren Schwahers, der sich deß Reißens entschuldiget, verhilfflich zu seyn. Dernach ab[er] Ihr Fürstl[ich] Gn[aden] in etwas beßer sich befund[en]; Nicht desto weniger war[en] sie ab deßen Ankunft nit wenig erfreuet. Vnnd weilen Ihre Fürstl[ich] Gn[aden] vnd[er]schidl[ich] schwäre Anstoß erlitt[en], die mithin nit geringe Gefahr erzeugten, ist H[err] Doctor Brunner desto lieber worden der auch vnermüdet Ihro Fürstl[ich] Gn[aden] aufewartet, vnnd beneben noch andere Kranke fleißig besuoct, vnnd große Liebe erzeugt, so sich bis auf den 22. May verzog[en].

Einsiedeln, Klosterarchiv, A.HB.7, Diarium P. Josef Dietrich, vol. 7 (1689–92), p. 246 (14/5/1691).

Document 2.18 Solothurn Asks for the Stuttgart Organ

Durchlüchttiger Hochgeborner Fürst, Sonders gnädiger Herr, uwer fürstliche gnade, sy unser willig dienst, und was wir Eren vermögen, zugsagen [?] bevor, Gnädiger Fürst, und Herr, Uns langett glöublich an [?], das uwer fürstlich gnade, die Orglen, zu Stuttgarten lassen abbrechen, und darby verständiget, das solliche ein gar köstlich gutt wärkh sin sölle, Desshalb wo dasselb gebrochen oder unnütz sollt gemacht werden, von wegen der arbeÿt und kunste, so daran gewändett, ettlicher masse zubeduren, Hetten heruff uwe fürstlich gnade, zu dem #Höchsten uns# geflissesten uns möglich, Sie wölle bedenken, [p. 89] den gnädigen willen, So si vernacher allwägen zu uns getragen, und das wir, auch sonderlich wol geneigt gewäsen [in margin:] <und noch diser zytte,> so vil an unserm vermögen #gestanden# Iro dienstlich wilfarung zubewysen, und sye es Iro anmüttig, sollich wärkh, In <unser> ... [?] #Kih# Kilche, zu Einer gabe, oder umb ein zimlich geltte kommen zulaßen, erbitten umb uwer fürstlich gnade,

wir uns zu verdienen, allzytte gantz willig, und bereyt, mit hilffe des allmächtigen, der uwer fürstlichen gnade, allezytte säligklich geruhe zubewaren, Datum Mentag vor Visitationis Marie, mdxxxviii

Solothurn, Staatsarchiv, AB 1.17, 'Missivenbuch', p. 88 (May 1538).

Document 2.19 The Sankt Gallen Organ as War Booty (1)

Zedel an Me[ine] h[och] l[oblichen] h[erren] die SchulRäht. Über die erhaltene nachricht, daß die Abt St Gallische *Bibliothec* vnd *manuscript* zu handen beider Lobl[i-chen] Ständen Zürich und Bern zum Theil schon nach Zürich *transportiert* worden theils dan noch zu St Gallen nebst kostbahren Gemähl[en], *mathematischen Instru-ment*[en] und anderen sachen ligind habend Me[ine] g[nädigen] h[erren] R[ät] vnd B[ürger] guttfunden Jemand[en] nacher Zürich vnd st. Gallen zuschick[en], vmb diser abtheilung bÿzewohn[en], alles under die *Instruction* die sie Me[ine] h[erren] Ihm zuetheil[en] werdind; Ihnen überlassende den H. *Bibliothecarium* Wild allein, oder neben dem selben noch [...] anders abzuordn[en], vndt in seiner *Instruction in specie* zugeudencken, daß dieser Theilung durch das Loos gescheh[en] thüye. Fürs Einte.

Fürs andere dan[n] habind Me[ine] g[nädige] h[erren] auch geschlossen, daß die *Orgelen* in dem Closter St. Gallen dorten weggenom[m]en, und alhar in hiesiger grosse Kirchen zum Lob Gottes geführt und gestellet werden solle; deßweg[en] dan[n] Me[ine] g[nädige] h[erren] Vnd Ober[en] [the greater town council] M[einen] h[och] w[erten] h[erren] den *Repräsentant*[en] in Zürich auffgetrag[en], mit selbigen LobEhren Stand umb die Überlaßung zureden, vndt dann selb[en] allfällig zubedeüt[en], wan[n] Er es verlange, #daß# Me[ine] g[nädige] h[erren] sich mit Ihme umb den halben Theil abfinden werden, Vnd wie dieser abführung der *Orguelen* #züglich# füeglich <H[err] Wild> aufgetragen werden kan[n]; Also werdend sie Me[ine] h[och] l[oblichen] h[erren] [the school council] zugleich auch angeson[nen], denselb[en] hierüber die guttfindende *Instruction* zu Erteil[en].

Berne, Staatsarchiv, A 11 638, Ratsmanual, vol. 52, pp. 139–140 (13/6/1712).

Document 2.20 The Sankt Gallen Organ as War Booty (2)

Hochgeehrter Herr Stattschreiber!

... H[err] [Julius Hieronymus] Ernst [the Berne commander in Sankt Gallen] solle sich auch erklagt haben über die partheyische Theilung allerhand in d[en] St. Gallischen eroberten *effetti*; ... Mir gelingt Gott Lob wohl eint und and[er] *scrupul* auszunem[m]en, gleichwohlen habe nit [ver]wehren khön[nen], daß *dato* ein and[er] Herr zu d[em] Herrn L[and]vogt Ernst, als H[err] Wild d[er] Burger[en] *Bibliothecarius* und Exulant[en]sch[rei]ber in hier ist v[er]ordnet word[en], der unverweilt nach St. Gallen reiste, mit Herrn Ernst alld[ie] gefunden, sonderlich d[ie] Schrifft[en], *archive*, *Bibliothec* u[nd] orgellen fleißig nachforschen u[nd] zu d[em] ende ein[en] ander[en] v[er]ständig[en] gelehrt[en] jung[en] mensch[en] mit sich nem[m]en wird; darbey

dato vor R[ä]th u[nd] B[ur]ger p[er] *majora* d[ie] Meinung dahin gehet, daß wo Zürich sich dazu *disponieren* lassen wolte, Bern gehrn die größere orgell[en] für sin *portion* nem[m]en u[nd] Zürich d[en] aufzuegeb[en] habend[en] Werth, anderwerts v[er] güthen, mithin diß orgelwerkh in die große Kirch[en] hirhero führ[en] lassen wolte. Was dißes underfangen in hier bey d[en] älteren u[nd] auch bey den H[er]ren] Geistlichen für *effect* ist nit wohl d[er] feder[en] zu vertrauwen.

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, A 236.3, Hans Conrad Escher from Berne to the Zurich town clerk (13/6/1712).

Document 2.21 The Sankt Gallen Organ as War Booty (3)

HochgeEhrter Herr Vnderschreiber.

... Erstlichen über die albereith übersändte Bücher kein *Inventarium* nit möglich zu machen vnd auch über diejenigen die ab der *Bibliothec* auch schon widerumb In Cisten yngeschlagen vnd könnftige wuchen übersendt werden auch keines kön[n]en gemacht werden wägen großer anzahl der Büchere[n] vnd nit habender Leüthen, dan diejenigen <H[erren]> so sich In hier finden von Morgen biß vff den Abend gantz gnug zuschaffen haben ... Mir aber gnädigst erlauben S[ie] zu bitten In Zürich jemandem übert dem H[errn] Wilden von Bern zuverordnen der daß begehrte *Inventarium* <In Zürich> zu Pap[er] bringe. Die Orgell belangend so hat H[err] Landvogt Ernst mir eine Erkantnus von Lob[lichem] Stand Bern die vor R[ä]th vnd B[ur]ger ergangen vorgewißen daß durch mehrer Stim erkänth worden die Orgell In Ihre Haubt Kirch In Bern Zu dem Lob Gottes vffzustellen, vnd vmb überlaßung der selbigen mit Lob[lichen] Stand Zürich sich abzufinden, dem[m]e geantwortet Ich verhoffe Er werde mir nit In vnguten vffnäm[m]en wan hierin[n]en nit wilfahren kön[n]e, biß vnd solange Ich von M[einem] G[nädigen] H[erren] hierüber einen *positiven* beschluß erhalten werde, zu dem[m]e so verwundere mich daß ein Lobl[icher] Stand Bern eine *Orgell* vß einer P[ä]pstischen Kirchen die daruß geraubt in Ihre Kirchen setzen wolle, zu dem[m]e <solange> ein geben von [?] vnd In Closter St. Gallen sein werde, so werden S[ie] <gegen Lobl[lichem] Stand Bern> vnd Ihre Reißenden hetten allerhand vngutte reden welche einem vnd andern zu Unglückh sein könnten #...# hören müßen, Ich meiner syths wolte lieber eine *Orgell* umb doppelt gelt, alß eine soliche In vnßere Kirchen setzen hälffen. Deßen H[errn] Haupt[mann] Kienberger ein b[ef]ahl gibet vnd vß einem Brieff gezeiget daß eben dißer gedanken In Bern auch gehalten darüber man auch ernsthaft miteinander gestritten, vnd ändtlichdaß mehr darüber vßgefelle[n]t vnd mit 3. mehreren Stim[m]en die abführung ermehret worden, H[err] Landvogt Ernst bittet mich höflich M[einem] G[nädigen] H[erren] die y[n]willigung darzu bestens zu *recom[m]endieren*, Ich meines theils aber <h[ie]lte darfür> es were *reputierlicher* wan selbige stehen blibe, daß aber hiesige äptische angehörige belanget so halte darfür daß dißere nur Lachen werden, wan man den Apt nur braff schürpet [*‘to peel’*], deßwäg[en] es eine *Indifferente* sach wan man selbige #wan man selbige# schon wegnäm[m]en wirt ... Gott leite die

gedanckhen M[einer] G[nädigen] H[erren] hierzu, vnd verlyche einen glückhlichen vnd gesegneten friden, In deßen will Ich über Kopff u[nd] Halß verkauffen vnd abführen laßen waß müglich. Waß daß Rauben vnd Plündern betrifft, so kan Ich von namhafften sachen ... [?] sagen daß geraubet werde, woll aber geschiet eins vnd daß andere von bedienthen vnd Soldaten daß nit sein solte, aber doch nichts Namhafftes, vnd wie Ich Im[m]er nachfragen so will es dan Niemand gethan haben, dan die Lüth vß der Statt grad vorhanden vnd für ehrliche Lüth *passieren* wollen, so die sachen abnähm[m]en, Mir wirt es sehr lieb wan mich mein Gott vß dißem *embaras* herußhällfen wirt ...

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, C I No. 3433, Hans Conrad Escher from Sankt Gallen to the Zurich second town clerk Beat Holzhalb (17/6/1712).

Document 2.22 The Sankt Gallen Organ as War Booty (4)

Wir habend zwahr vor einichen Tagen Eüweren H[erren] *Praedecessoren* bedeüten lassen, was maßen wir gemeint wären, die in der Abt St. Gallisch[en] Kirche befündtliche Orgel allhar verschaffen zelaßen; In Betrachtung aber der jenigen wohlmeinlichen Vorstellung, so Lobl[icher] Stand Zürich Eüch derentwegen gethan, habend Wir sothane *reflexionen* in dißmahliger der sache *Situation* von Erheblichkeit befunden, und hirmit zu abmeidung aller besorglicher beschuldigung Unsere gedanken gerne dahin abgeenderet und Unsers Ohrts auch geschlossen, daß diesere orgel in der Kirche St. Gallen unverrukt gelassen werden solle. Wie dan Ihr unsere Tit[uli] Lob[liche] Stand Zürich dißfähigen unseren nunmehrigen willen zu eröffnen haben werdet: Eben also und damit Wir nicht beklaget werden mögind, alls hätten Wir allzu frühzeithig ja wider beschehene Vertröstung Enderungen in Kirchensachen vorgenom[m]en, so glaubtend wir unsers Theills auch das Beßere, wan mit abschaffung der Alltaren in der Kirchen zu Schlieren für einmahlen inngehalten und erwartet wurde, wohin die sache[n] sich #auch# etwan außlaßen möchte[n], da nachwärts in eint oder andere weg Wir ohne Bedenken darzu einwilligen würdend.

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, A 236.3, the Berne town council to its envoys in Zurich (23/6/1712).

Document 2.23 The Minster Organ in Berne (1)

Zedel an Me[inen] h[ochgeachten] h[erren] Heimbl[ichen] v[on] Erlach. Nachdem [m]e Me[ine] g[nädige] h[erren] d[as] *memorial* so ihme Me[inem] h[ochgeachten] h[erren] wegen stellung einer Orglen in die große Kirchen von einichen Me[iner] g[nädigen] h[erren] übergeben worden, abgehört und darbey vernom[m]en, daß underschidliche Persohnen deß Anerpietens wären, diese *Orgel* in ihrem Kosten ohne Ihr Gn[aden] entgelt herzustellen, habend Ihr Gn[aden] vor allen auß nöhtig erachtet, die sicherheit wegen dieser verköstigung zuhaben, und darneben auch einen Vorschlag zusehen, wie groß diese *orgel* sein solle und wo dieselbe zusetzen? *Item* wie hoch der *organist* zu *salarieren* und waß mit denen Posunisten anzefangen, langet also Ihr Gn[aden] fründl[iches] Gesin[n]en an Ihne Me[inen] g[nädigen] h[erren], dieses

denen Herrn Mahreren zu eröffnen und des weiteren erfolg Ihr Gn[aden] zu referiren ... Zedell An Me[inen] h[ochgeachten] h[erren] Heiblichen von Erlach. Sintemahl Einiche M[einer] g[nädigen] h[erren] der Bürgern, so zu einfühung einer Orgel in Allhie-siger Großen Kirchen Wohmeinliche erin[n]erung thun, laßen sich durch eingebene schriftt erleütet selbige ohne Me[iner] g[nädigen] h[erren] entgelt oder Verköstigung zur stand zu bringen, Er Me[in] h[ochgeachter] h[err] Heimbllicher auch zu diserem Anerbieten zustehen sich erklärt, darbey Aber der Vorbehalt Wahrgenom[m]en worden, daß Erst nach Verstandenem Belauf samblender steür vmb die *Construction* Einer *Orgel* ein Verding beschehen solle; Als habind Ihr Gn[aden] Gutfinden dem Verne- ren entschluß zuerwarten, da übrigens erkent, daß denzumahlen solches Vorhaben Me[ine] g[nädige] h[erren] vnd O[beren] R[äte] v[nd] B[ürger] vorgetragen werden solle: So Ihr Gn[aden] Ihme Me[inem] h[ochgeachten] h[erren] hierdurch zueröffnen gutfinden.

Berne, Staatsarchiv, A II 650, Ratsmanual, vol. 64, pp. 381 (3/5/1715) and 480–1 (21/5/1715).

Document 2.24 The Minster Organ in Berne (2)

Zedell an Mehwh. die Schullrath.

Auss habattem anlaß seÿndt Ihr gn. Erinneret worden, wie schlecht es offer- mahl[en] mit der *music*, Insonderheit in der gross[en] Kirchen zugehe, welche doch eine von den schönst[en], mithin die gemeind groß und ansehnlich seÿe, ob des- senthalb[en] nit nöthig sein wolle, nachdenkens zu haben, wie sowohl der *Vocal*, alls *instrumental music* auffzuhelffen, um zu dem Endt in die grosse Kirchen anstatt der Posun[en], entweder eine anständige *orgel* oder aber der gygen oder beyder zugleich sich zubedienen; Wie nun Ihr gn. disen anzug der Erheblichkeit befund[en]; also ha- bend sie selbig[en] zur *deliberation* vor sie Mehwh. weisen wollen, mit fründtlichem gesinnen, hierüber Ihre gedanck[en] wallt[en] zelass[en], undt das befind[en] Ihr gn. zu referier[en].

Berne, Staatsarchiv, A II 677, Ratsmanual, vol. 91, p. 221 (9/6/1722).

Document 2.25 The Minster Organ in Berne (3)

Herr Cantor Ruprecht, bleibt sein alt loob, wie aber dem Verfahl der *Music* in der großen Kirchen, wider auffzuhelffen, soll expressé nach dem herbst urlaub berathen werden, zu welchem End an volgende Me[ine] h[ochgeachte] h[erren] ein Zedell er- ken[n]t worden.

[left margin: *Music* Com[m]ission] Me[ine] h[ochgeachte] h[erren] Rathsherr Mutach H[err] Sin[n]er, H[err] Wildt, H[err] Dachß, H[err] Scheurer

welche fr[eundlich] zuersuchen, über mitkom[m]enden Ihr Gn[ädige] befehl vom 9. Julij [sic] 1722 ihre weiße gedanken walten zulaßen, und Me[inen] h[ochgeachten] h[erren] den Schulrathen #zure# ihr gutfinden zureferieren.

Berne, Staatsarchiv, B III 875, Manual des Schulrats, vol. 4, p. 285 (20/9/1723).

Document 2.26 The Minster Organ in Berne (4)

So wardt auch Me[iner] h[ochgeachter] H[erren] Comittierten abgefaßtes *Music* gutachten, wie der *Vocal* vnd *Instrumental Music* in der großen Kirchen beßer auffzuhelffen sein möge, verlesen, zu deßen bekräftigung Me[in] h[ochgeachter] H[err] alt Landvogt Wild ein weitläuffig *memorial* Me[inen] h[ochgeachten] H[erren] den Schulrathen eingeben; alß Me[ine] h[ochgeachte] H[erren] die sam[m]tliche geistliche Herren gebetten, daß bevor über solches ein schluß genom[m]en, solches Ihnen zur beantwortung Com[m]unicirt werden #ko# möchte; so auch *placidirt* worden, so daß nun dero antworth darüber zu erwarten sein wirt.

Berne, Staatsarchiv, B III 875, Manual des Schulrats, vol. 4, 295 (21.2.1724).

Document 2.27 The Minster Organ in Berne (5)

Gründ wider die Orgel 1724. N. 1.

Unpartheyische Gedancken über die Frag, Ob in die Grosse Kirch allhier eine *Orgel* einzuführen seye?

Antwort.

Zu diser weit außsehenden Newerung im Offentl[iche]n Gottesdienst zuschreiten ist gantz vnnothwendig, Dem Hochloblichen Stand Bern nit nur beÿ den *Reformierten*, sonder auch *Catholischen* Eÿdgnossen gantz schimpfflich, dem Kirchen-gsang nachtheilig, der Andacht Verhinderlich, vnd der *Architectur* der Großen Kirch *absolut* zuwieder.

I. Vnnothwendig

Weil das Kirchen-gsang durch viel leichtere Mittel kan geeüffnet werden, als durch ein *Orgel*-Werck. Was das für Mittel seÿen, kan vns die benachbarte Kirch zu Zürich gnugsam berichten, als welche undisputierlich das schönste vnd anständigste Kirchen-gesang hat, vnd das ohne einföhrung einicher *Orgel*.

II. Unanständig ist es

1. Einem Hohen Stand Bern, wan[n] derselbige jetz nach 200. Jahren in den Offentlichen Gottes-Dienst wolte einföhren, was zu Zeit der Seligen *Reformation* als zum Gottesdienst un[n]öthig, vnd zim[m]lich starck nach dem Papsthum riechend ist abgeschaffet worden, vnd zwar (welches wohl zumercken) nicht in einem Bilder-sturm, wie vorgegeben wird, sonder auß Hoch-Oberkeitlicher Erkantnuß verkaufft worden. Wir sind nit in abred, daß *musicalische Instrument indifferent* seÿen, so wohl als die *Kleider-mode*: Allein Einem Hohen und *Gravitetischen* Stand, vnd allen from[m]en seelen ist es zuwider, Gott dem Herrn heüt auf dise Weiß, morn auff eine gantz widerwärtige Weiß zudienen, ab welcher man vorher ein abscheüh bezeuget hat.

2. Unanständig ist es dem Hauß Gottes. Dan[n] wie kön[n]en leicht versehen, daß wan[n] allhier zu Bern eine *Orgel* in die Kirch solte gesetzt werden, es in disem Gottshauß nicht besser gehen würde, als in denen Kirchen in Holland, da alle abend auf der *Orgel* gespielt wird, vnd die Kauffleüt sich im Gottshauß versam[m]len, wie in einer *Burse* oder Kauffhauß [etc.] Nicht nur nicht beßer, sondern viel erger, weil vnsre muthwillige Jugend auß dem Hauß Gottes machen wurden ein schnödes *rendezvous*. Welches allein gnugsam wäre den Zorn Gottes über Statt und Land zuerwecken.

III. Dem Kirchen-gsang nachtheilig.

Es ist auß der Erfahrung bekan[n]t, daß an einem OsterMontag, da «nur» ein geringes *Positif* gebraucht wird, schier niemand den Psalmen singt, auff daß man den *Orgel*-Thon hören kön[n]e: Wie wurde erst den[n]zumahl das Gsang dahinden bleiben, wan[n] eine vollständige *Orgel* sollte gehört werden? Überdiß hat dasjenige *motif*, dass nam[m]lich durch den *Orgel*thon das Psalmen-singen vnderstützt werde, gantz keinen grund. Dan[n] alle *Music*-Verständige, so durch Teütschland vnd Holland gereiset, müssen gantz das widerspiel bezeugen.

IV. *Orgel* ist der Andacht hinderlich.

Undisputierlich ist aller fleischeslust der wahren andacht hinderlich. Nun was ist das *praeludieren* und *interludieren* anders als eine Ohren-lust? Welche aber so wenig vom him[m]l[ischen] Vatter herkom[m]t, als augen- vnd fleisches-lust. Weiters, wie kan eine *orgel* anders als der andacht hinderlich seÿn? Dann will #er# einer die *Orgel* hören, so muß er nothwendig schweigen. Schweigt er aber, wie kann er sagen, er habe mit andacht gesungen?

V. Eine *Orgel* ist der Großen Kirch vnd ihrem Gebäw *absoluté* zuwider. Dan[n]

1. auf dem Steinernen Fuß, so an dem bewußten Pfeiler angehenckt ist, kan nit ein Einiges *Register* von großen *Orgel*-Pfeiffen gestellt werden, sonder nur ein *Positif*; welches der größe vnsrer Kirch gar nicht *proportioniert* wäre.

2. Will man aber eine vollständige *Orgel*, die vnsrer Großen Kirch in alle weg entspreche, so muß zu disem Zweck ein Eigener Lettner gebawet werden, just in[n]erthalb dem Großen Portal. Solches aber ist wegen der Auffzugs auff den Thurm gantz vnd gar wider alle *reglen* der *architectur*.

Dise vnd noch viel andre gründ haben Vnsre Gn[ädigen] H[erren] vnd Oberen bewogen, daß Sie beÿ einführung des Kirchen-gesangs, nicht eine *Orgel*, sonder die Posaunen erken[n]t haben, wie solches in Dero Hoch-Oberkeitl[ichem] Schluß, so abgefaßet worden im *Martio* 1581. genugsam zuersehen. Nun die Gründ, so vnsre Gnädige Herren vnd Obern dazumahl gehabt die *Orgel* nicht in die Kirch zuadmittieren, und dem offentl[ihen] Gottesdienst zuzuordnen, die gelten ohn Zweifel noch auff den heütigen Tag.

Werden also M[eine] Gn[ädige] H[erren] mit all-schuldigster *Submission* ersucht, daß Sie geruhen möchten gnädigst zubefehlen, die Hoch-Oberkeitl[ichen] Erkantnußen von An[n]o 1581. dieses *Orgel*-geschafft betreffend, aufzuschlagen, vnd die damahls gültig-befundene Gedancken auch dißmahl in Dero Hochweise Überlegung zunehmen.

Gründ [on p. 635: Gründ für die Orgel. 1724. N. 2]

Das eine Orgel, Sonderlich in Allhiesiger Haupt- und Großen Kirch, zum Psalmengesang Einzuführen, loblich, Anständig, Nützlich vnd bei diesen Zeiten überauß Nothwendig.

1. Satz. Das eine Orgel gar wohl beÿ unserem Gottes-dienst gebraucht und zugelassen werden könne.

Weil es mit der H[eiligen] Schrifft zugelassen ja gebotten; *Vide Psalm. 92. 149. et 150.* [etc.] man auch das Exempel des Volks Gottes hat. Das habe zum *Levitischen* Kirchen Gepräng gehört [etc.] Unerwähnt, daß mit Pfeiffen Gott loben, schon von der *Sinaitischen* Gsatzgebung under dem Volk Gottes üblich gewesen wie abzunehmen auß dem Exempel *Jobs Cap. 30.* (das nach vieler Gelehrten meinung lang vorher gelebt) und des *Israëlitischen* Frauwen Zim[m]ers *Exod. 15* ...

11. Satz. Die Einführung Einer Orgel streitet Auch nit wider die *Helvetische* Glaubens-*Confession*, so weit man weiß, sonder Selbige billiget vielmehr Alles, waß mit Gottes-wort bestehen mag, und zur Vermehrung des lobs Gottes abgesehen ist.

2. Einwurff. Auffß minst Pabstelet Er, wer wider unsere *Confession recté* gehet [etc.]

Antwort. 1.º Es wurde freilich nach dem Pabstthumb schmeken, so man in unbekannter Sprach, oder nach *Gregorianischer* weiß Pabstische *Lithanien* Einführte: Wan man aber nichts anders als Psallmen und Geistliche Lieder in verständlicher Sprach zu Singen vor hat, wirt solches nicht nach dem Pabstthumb schmeken, Sonder vielmehr nach der Christlichen Freiheit, die in Mitteldingen neüt verwirfft.

2.º So ist nit zu glauben, dass die Sel[igen] *Reformatores* getrachtet die Orgel vß den Kirchen zu mustern, ohne wo etwan gar ein hitziges *Temperament* möcht *praedominirt* haben, Oder im Orgel-Gebäuw bilder einverleibet gsin, Oder die *Organisten* ins Papstthumb gewiechen weren [etc.] Sonsten hätten Sie *ex professo* darvon meldung gethan, und wurden die Kirchen zu Basel und Müllhaußen Auch die Orgel außgemustert haben; zu Geschweigen das in Engelland, Holl- und Teütschland, auch under den Papisten selbs seÿende *Reformirte* Kirchen die Orgell Ohne Anstoß vnd Verweiß gebrauchen. Als die da auch wissen, waß mit Gottes wort bestehen mag oder nit?

3.º So ist auch bekant, daß in den Gmeinen Ämteren hier im land An den meisten Orten, da beide *Religionen* nur eine Kirch brauchen, die Orgel zum Psallmen-gsang auch gebraucht wirt, wahrhafftig nit zur Ärgernuß, aber wohl zur grösten *Ædification* [etc.]

4.º Warumb solte eine Orgel mehr Pabstelen als Posaunen und Zinken? Welche auch von den Papisten in Ihrem Gottes-dienst selbs gebraucht werden [etc.]

5.° Gsetzt Es wolle also genom[m]en werden, So kan man das so genante Unheilige eben wie *Moses* das gold der *Ægyptieren* durch einen Heiligen gebrauch heiligen, Gleich wie eben die unter dem Pabstthumb gehabte *Tempel* und Glocken sind behalten worden, vnd nun ohne Anstoß zum Heiligen gebrauch verblieben. Es wirt Auch Niemandt sagen, daß darumb des H[eiligen] *Davids Music* nach dem Heidenthumb geschmeket, weil Er Auch solche *Instrument* gebraucht, welche die Heiden zu der Abgötterei brauchten [etc.]

III. Satz. Die Posaunen haben bei weitem nicht die lieblichkeit, viel weniger den Vortheil einer Orgell. Dan

1.° Jeneren Art ist hart zu thönen, das mehr einem Feld- als Kirchen-thon gleicht und kan nit wohl gezähmet werden, daher in kleinen Versamblungen so vielmehr einem Geblär, Als einem Gesang ähnlich ist, in großen Versamblungen aber durch viel Menschen stim[m]en versüeßet, vnd dieß Geschrey denzumahl in Etwaß verdeket wirt: die Orgell aber hat Ihre *Register*-Züg, nach denen man das Gsang verstärken, oder verminderen kan, und auf alle lieblichkeiten einrichten, Sonderlich in Hoch-gewölbten Kirchen [etc.]

2.° Ein *Harmonisch* Posaunen-Gsang erforderet etliche Persohnen die oft von ungleicher *dexteritet* sind: da hingegen ein Organist Alles versehen kan u[nd] Gleich wie nun der Alten Pfeiffen-werk im Reigen, da es viel Personen erforderet, beschwärlich were, Also hat man hingegen Mehr Ursach Gott dem Herren zu danken, für eine solche schöne Erfindung, da Ein einicher Mensch vieler 100. Persohnen wohl vertreten kan.

3.° Die Posaunen sind unsicher Im Anstim[m]en, In den Zügen und thönen, zum *transponieren* unbequem: In winters-Zeit können Sie eingefrieren, auch kan der Menschliche hauch die Rören netzen und also den Thon verfälschen, wie öftters gespührt wirt: Sie ermüden Auch Endlich den Stärksten Mann, daß Er nit vßharren mag, vnd wie übel gehts, wan Einer im *intonieren* nit das recht Munstuck ergreiff? [etc.] Im gegentheil hat die Orgell allen Vortheil, wie Verständige wissen, Allen diesen Mänglen abzuhelffen.

[3.] Einwurff. Also dan hinauß mit denen Posaunisten, welche diese kunst erlernet, dahvon bestellung habend, und Sonderlich Am Oster-Montag, und *Solennitäten* gebraucht werden? [etc.]

Antwort. Dieß zu beantworten were An[n]och zur zeit Unötig, weil zu Einem Orgel-gebäuw viel und lange zeit von[n]öten und weil wegen 3. oder 4. Personen *privat interesse* ein so schön und nützliche Sach *pro publico*, nit soll hinderstellig gemacht werden: Gleichwohl [?] ist man nit gemeint, dießmahlige Posaunisten Einsmahls von Ihrem *Stipendio* zu verschalten, man kan das *Choral* oder die *Tenor-Posaunen* und Zinken zur Orgell brauchen wie zu Basel üblich [etc.] die Jünger und Stärker auß Ihnen könnten die feld- und Statt-*Trompeten* ergreiffen, An welchen man sonst mangel hat; Zu Einer Orgell aber an Festagen und Anderen *Solennitäten*, vnsäglich zierlich ist: Ja wan Sie sich auf dem *Clavir* übeten, weren Sie eben diejenigen, vß welchen der

Organist selbs könnte mit der Zeit genom[m]en werden: zu geschweigen das Ihr Gn[a-den] Weg und Mittel gnug habend, den Eint und Anderen Anderwertig zu *employeren*; Solte also dieses *ad tempus* an[n]och kein *quaestion* machen, Vielmehr bittet man mit *Unpraeoccupirten* Gemüht zu *reflectieren*, das Es bei Einem der lieben Edlen *Music* nit so gar Abgeschwornen Gemüht in All weg lieblich- und Anständiger, auch minder Ärgerlich, wan man Anstatt eines Gehäuls Im Offentlichen Gottes-dienst ein lieblich gesang hört, das da durch eine Orgell beförderet wirt, dan wer hat sonderlich in Unser Großen Kirch nit wahrgenom[m]en, das wan in einer großen Versammlung bekante Psallmen abgesungen werden, die Posaunen bei weitem nicht *sufficient* das gesang zu behalten Sie kön[n]end auch nicht nachgeben, wenn man ein wenig vom Thon abfällt wie es oft geschieht, wegen der meisten Psallm *Melodien* allzuhohen Thons, welchem Eine Orgel sicher steuern wirt [etc.] In dem wan man von allem *Music*-gsatzlich reden soll, ein guter Organist *lavieren*, Nachgeben und durch die halbthön vffem *Clavier* fahren, und in einer Sum[m] das gsang allzeit in Ordnung behalten, hiemit sich der *Register*-Zügen *proportionierlich* dem Gesang nachrichten kan, die Gemein mag groß und Stark, oder aber klein und Schwach sein, welches aber die Posaunisten ohnmüglich *observieren* kön[n]en: Also wirt man bejm Gebrauch der Orgel, kein mahl weder Mißthön noch Abfähl Im Gsang wahrnem[m]en können [etc.]

iv. Satz. Ist zu *reflectieren* vff das Söhnen so vieler Zuhörern und Ehrlicher Burgeren, die Sich ärgeren thäten, wan man demjenigen weiters widersträben wurde, worzu wir so oft von *David* vnd *Paulo* vermahnet werden, vngezweiffler Hoffnung, das So viel träge zuhörer durch Ein Solche erlaubte Anlockung zum lob und Anhörung des worts Gottes vffgeweckt wurden, desto freüdiger Psallmenbücher mit ins hauß Gottes zu tragen, und wer nicht singen doch nachlesen, vnd im hertzen dem lieben Gott Psallieren kan: Angefeüwret durch ein Solch *instrument* So die Andacht erwekt Seel und Geist him[m]elwerts zeücht: Vorzu die Herren Prediger das meist *Contribuieren*, und die Gemeind zum Gsang und lob Gottes Anmahnen könnten [etc.]

4. Einwurff. Es sind aber viel Mißbräüch zu besorgen, wie man deren wahrnimt an den *Solennitäten*, Auch man allhier insonderheit der Vßgelaßenheit Ergeben ist, Also dörffe mit der zeit das *Tempel* Gottes, zu Einem buch- oder Spatzier- oder Markt-hauß gemacht werden [etc.]

Antwort. 1.^o *Abusus non tollit usum*, Sonsten müßten das Gsang, Posaunen- und Zinggen ja gar Andere stük des Gottes-diensts auch abgeschaffet werden [etc.]

2.^o Eine Christliche Obrigkeit kan nach Ihrem H[eiligen] Eiffer durch Ihre hohe *Authoritet* und *prudenz* aller besorgenden Unordnung vorbeüßen, vnd zwar nirgendwo liechter als *in loco publico*, da man sich vffs wenigst vor den Menschen scheüwen und fürchten muß, wer Gott nit fürchtet [etc.]

3.^o Zu Basel *observiert* man keine Mißbräüch, vnd obschon hier an *solennitäten* etwaß dergleichen geschieht, so ists nur wegen der *Rarität* eine *Music* zu hören: vnd wurd diese Neüwgierigkeit bald ersättiget werden [etc.]

4.° Wahr ist das den Unreinen alles Unrein, wie hingegen den Frommen Alles heilig vnd Guht. Und weil man Mißbräuch besorget, So kan auch denen durch gute *Reglement* gesteuert, die Orgel *exclusivè* Von Allem *prophan*-gebrauch bey hoher straff vßbedingt, hingegen lediglich zum lob Gottes, und Seinem H[eiligen] dienst vßgesondert vnd *Consacriert*, Auch Niemahl *Extra* gebraucht werden, Als Auß *permission* Eines Inwesenden herren *Decans* [etc.]

[5.] Einwurff. Dieses seye eine Neüwerung. Hette man die Orgel nur einmahl abgeschaffet, die Zeiten seyen #widerumb einzuführen# böß- vnd überauß gefeähr- und bedenklich widerum einzuführen, waß vß der Kirch gemusteret, vnd weil der Pöbel leichtlich böse gedanken haben möchte, wegen naherer Zutrettung zum Pabstthumb: man wüße ein *Exempel* im weltlichen, namlichen die Annem[m]ung des *Gregorianischen Calenders* [etc.]

Antwort: 1.° Posaunen einführen wahre auch Auf ein Zeit Neüw gsin, und ist den[n]och angenom[m]en worden, führte mann ein Orglen ein, es stund nit lang an, man hette es vergessen, zu dem es nit neüw ist in *protestierenden* Kirchen Orglen Einzuführen und zu haben [etc.]

2.° Nit alle Neüwerungen sind zu verwerffen, Sonst bliebe manche gute Ordnung vermitteln, die mann Seit der *Reformation* eingeführt ...

3.° Man hat kein Unwillen oder Tumult zu beförchten, wo[...?] Ein Ehrw[ürdiges] *Ministerium* mit Gottes wort dieses werk, Als dem lieben Gott zu Ehren gemeint, dem Volk Vorstellen, vnd ohne *passion* das geschäft ansehen wirt: Wie dan die Orgel kein krafft hat Jemand Päbstisch zu machen, Viel Ehnder hilfft Sie dem Neüwkitzel ab, da sonst viel leüt vß den Unserigen An Päbstischen fästagen, vß begierd eine Orgel zu hören, sich einfinden.

4.° Warumb hat man sich der Neüwerungen Im Kirchen-Gsang nit auch widersetzt? Da man etliche Orten Sprachrohr Stim[m ...?] Bassgeigen vnd waß dergleichen, das Gsang zu *soutenieren* gebruaichen.

5.° So <ist> die Alte Orgel in der sel[igen] *Reformations*-Zeit p[er] *Decretum Magistratûs*, sonder im Bilder-sturm[m] hinundergeworffen, und Also *Dispergirt* worden, daß man[n] also nit ursach hat sich zu *stomachieren*, wan mann Eine Orgel wieder herstellt. Vnd weilen Einmahl Albereits Allhier, zu desto beßerer beibehaltung des Kirchen-Gsangs die *Instrumental-Music*, wegen der *Spaciositet*, vngemeinen Höhe vnd länge der Kirch *de facto* eingeführt ist; Als ist an der Posaunen-Stell Ein Orgel unserer Großen Kirch neben dem so schönen Gläüt das Einig angemessene und Annoch manglende *Instrument*, welches am meisten Andacht macht, die Seel him[m]elwerts zu ziehen vehig vnd gleichsam mitzusingen zwingt, mitthin von der Ehrenden Burgerschaft, lediglich zur beförderung Göttlicher Ehr und zu beßerer beibehaltung des Kirchen-Gsangs, mit Außschluß Aller *prophanation* *Desiderirt* wirt.

v. Satz: Eine Orgel Kan Einzig der Sinkenden *Music* Und *Negligirten* Kirchen-Gsang widerumb Auffhelffen.

Viel gute und fromme hertzen merken vnd *deplorieren* es, das leider das Kirchen-Gsang zu Statt und land *deperirt*, vnd Sonderlich seit deme der baselhunt [?] Abgethan, und mit demselben vnder den *Studiosis* Viel gute Alte Ordnungen unterjochet, die hoffart *Cavalier perruquen* vßgelaßenheit im Gebrauch Viel-farbiger Kleideren zu Ärgernuß from[m]er hertzen, und die *Licenz* #den# In den Meisten dahin ergrieffen werd, das Sie nit nur Vffem lettner, zu *soutenierung* des Kirchen-gsangs in gnugsam[m]er Anzahl (da doch deren gegen 250) sich nit mehr einfinden, Sonderen gar nit mehr lehren wollen *solmisiren*, vnd die Psallmen *Music* ergreifen, hiermit die Einem Geistlichen so nohtwendige wüßenschafft muhtwillig vß Acht laßen: Wie sollen nun diese heüt oder morgen Ihre Schulmeister unterweisen? Muß nit hermit das Kirchensang so ein *essential*-Theil unsres Gottes-diensts ist, aller Orten nach und nach zu grund gehen? Vnd wo bleibt also der Eiffer für die Ehre Gottes und Eüffnung seines H[eiligen] dinests? [etc.] Darumb ist höchst-nötig, das hierinnen *remediert*, vnd Eine Orgel als das 3te *Requisitum* zu einem so *spatiosen* vnd herrlichen Kirchengebäuw, vnd nit minder herrlichem geleüt (vnd *N.B.* da die große glogg auch Erst seit etwaß mehr als 100. jahren beÿgesetzt worden) eingeführt vnd also die liebe *Music* wider gepflantzet werde: Allermaßen Solches an Vßeren Orten bey den *Protestanten* höchst loblich zu verführen: dan wo das Aaß ist, da versambeln sich auch die Adler. Und wird es Niemahl an *Musicanten* manglen und Gebrechen, da Orglen sind: wie denen bewußt: So es vß der *Experientz* haben [etc.] Welches dan Me[ine] g[nädige] H[erren] Räht und Burger vor 11 Jahren bewogen, das Sie eine Orgel in die große Kirch einzuführen gleichsamb einhäblig bereits damahls Erken[n]t, dan also lautend die *verbalia* dieser Ihrer hohen Erkanntuß *sub 13. juny 1712* [etc.] Vß Vielfaltig gewalteten Gründen finden wir guht die Im Closter St. Gallen angetroffene Orgel, zu verherrlichung des lobs Gottes in unsere Allhiesige Große Kirch, führen zu laßen, derowegen wir Eüch Unseren fürgeliebten Mitträhten vnd Ehrengesandgten Vffgetragen haben wollen, deßwegen mit Lobl[lichem] Stand Zürich zu reden, vnd denselben vm dero Überlaßung zu Ersuchen, da dan Allfählig wan Selbiger lobl[i-cher] Stand es verlangen thete, wie Uns mit Ihme Vmb den halben Theil abfinden wurden. [etc.]

Schluss

Über die Vorstellung wegen Einführung Einer Orgel

1.º Seyen Also Ihr Gn[aden] zu bitten für Eine Haupt-Organ In die Große Kirch von 30. à 40. *Registren* Eine Summ von 2. à 3000. da[ler] von der Ehr Gottes wegen, zu *Consacrieren*.

2.º Dem SchulRaht gn[ädigst] zu befehlen, daran zu seÿn, das *en attendant* das vffem lättnr sich befindtliche kleine Orgelwerklin, auf gezim[m]ende weiß zum Kirchen-gsang gebraucht, vnd damit daselbe wohl *soutenirt* <durch 2 Orgelbäß begleitet> werd, zu veranstalten, das Alle und Jede *Studiosi* ohne unterschied bey empfindl[i-cher] Straff, An Sonn- und Donstagen, allein sonst nirgendwo, als vffem lättnr

in der Kirch sich einfindend, vnd dort wie von Alters her üblich ware, helffind Gott loben, vnd das Gsang underhalten [etc.]

3.º «Selbigem ferner befehlhlich vffzutragen» eine *Expresse Music Commission* zu verordnen, deren oblige, wenigstens alle 14. Tag Einmahl die Offentlichen Ziest- und Samst-Tag-Gesänger In der Knaben Lehr zu *visitieren*, Alle Studenten ohne unterschied *Obligiren* bej aufgesetzter Straff Solche zu *frequentiren*, und also den Alten, der Kirchen-Music halb außgangnen Obrigkeitl[ichen] Ordnungen wider das leben zu geben ...

Berne, Staatsarchiv, A V 1499, Quodlibet, vol. 6, pp. 607–634.

Document 2.28 The Minster Organ in Berne (6)

Demnach Me[ine] g[nädige] h[erren] vnd Oberen Rächt und Burger M[einer] r[echt] h[och] w[ürdigen] H[erren] der Schuhl Rächten Gutachten in seinen *rationen pro et contra* angehört, Ob Eine *Orguel* allhier in der großen Kirchen zu haben vnd einzuführen? habend Selbige mit 60. gegen. 40 stim[m]en erkennt, daß so wohl der verfallenen *Vocal-* als *Instrumental Music* auffzuhelffen, Insonderheit aber die Kirchen-Music in einem dem Gottesdienst gezim[m]enden Stand zu bringen, eine anständige *Orguel* für hießige große Kirchen gemacht, vnd an einem bequemen Ohrt zu Obigem end *placiert*, mithin eine *Com[m]ission* von fünff Ehrenglideren verordnet werden solle, welche disere Sachen *diriguieren*, vnd daß M[einer] g[nädigen] h[erren] schluss fürderlich vollzogen werde, die Anstalt verfügen sollind.

Berne, Staatsarchiv, A II 693, Ratsmanual, vol. 107, 189–190 (5/6/1726).

Chapter 3

Document 3.1 Learning Music in Milan

... Porro intentionis meae ... est in primis ut ... bonos ac religiosos mores addiscat et exerceat, deinde quoniam multus populus ad locum n[os]trum ad Divinum officium confluit eamq[ue] ob causam aliquis necessari[us] sit qui benè pulset organum, ut arti pulsandi organum liber ab alijs studiorum occupationib[us] p[rae]cipuè incumbat quam ad rem ut R[everendissi]ma P[aternalitas] V[estra] illi et bono magistro p[ro] meis sumptib[us] p[ro]videre dignetur rogo. Quodsi deinde ab hoc studio aliquid vacui temporis habebit contentus sum ut et[ia]m in alijs musicalib[us] instrumentis ma[xim]è barbyto et theorba se exerceat. Praesbyteratūs ordinem idem frater propter defectum legitimae aetatis nondum e[st] ascensus ... Consignabo brevi R. mae P.V. per viam Cambii pactam pecuniam pro medio anno quam petiit tantisper pro mensa, pro Camera et utensilib[us] alijs necessariis requisitis, nempe 30 scuta aut 10 dublas Italicas reliquum post medium annum in fide religiosa fideliter soluturus ... Filium meum

... â Choro exemptum esse quò commodius ars Musicae pro qua addiscenda tantum Anni spatium habet, insudare po[ss]it valde cuperem, et obnixè ac humilimè rogo; pro debita refusione suptuum omni loco facienda nulla erit difficultas ...

Aarau, Staatsarchiv, AA/3462a, Kloster Wettingen, Missivenbuch der Äbte, fols 57r-v and 58v, abbot Bernard Keller to Attilio Pietrasanta, abbot of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan (23/6 and 26/7/1654).

Document 3.2 Two Testimonies in the Case of Johann Jacob Decker

H[err] Carl Lauberer der alte weinrüeffler berichtet Er habe dem jungen Deckher nun geraume Zeit mit Schrifftsezen in seiner Truckherey gearbeitet, der ihn auß mangel anderer arbeit mehrentheil[en] Papistische Lieder, deßgleiche[n] auch Zwey Papis-tische *tractätli*[n], deren eines d[en] gulden Schazkäm[m]erli[n] genant d[en] ander aber von opfferen Messen und den Fegfeur handle, Zusezen [?] geben; Ein Sollothurnischer BuchTruckher deme diese sachen nachgetruckht worde[n] hab deßweg[en] neulich alhier klag[en] woll[en], mit deme ab[er] Er <decker> sich verglichen und dar-durch solches abgewendet habe. Wann auch etwan Geistliche Herren und *Professoren* in die Truckherey kom[m]en, hab man obige sachen eilendts weg thun müßen, So-daß Er gezeüg öffters 3. od[er] 4. stund und so lang Sie da geblieben, dort ohne Arbeit gestanden, und erst wann [?] sie wied[er] weggang[en] seine vorige arbeit wied[er] ergreifen dörfen.

Jacob Gißler von Zürich ein Buchtruckher bei gemeltes deckher in diensten berichtet gleichfals, daß ermelter sein herr ohngefahr in verschieener Meß ein gewüß Papistich *tractätli*[n], das gulden Schazkäm[m]erlin g[e]n[ann]t duch Ihne gezeüges trucken laßen, und dabey Ihme gezeüge vorgaben, daß hievor dergleiche[n] auch in seiner Truckherey getruckht word[en] ab[er] nicht auß kom[m]en seye, Er gezeüg sey desen ohnschuldig, weil Er Truckh[en] müesse w[as] man Ihm gesetzt lüfere, Sonten pflege ermelter sein Herr dergleich[en] *tractätli*[n] den Land Crämern zu v[er]kauff[en], reiste auch selbste[n] gehn Zurzach, alda er sie v[er]kaufte.

...

Information. Wegen Herr Hanns Jacob Deckhers deß Buchtruckers. Verlesen d[en] 31. Januarij 1666.

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, III 14.

Document 3.3 The First Sentence against Decker

Extractus Rahts-Protocollj vom 31. Jan. 1666.

... Erkandt. Deckher soll 3. tag und Nacht eingestegt, bey erlaßung ihme eingebund[en] werd[en], des erkandtnuß künfftigs gehorsam Zu leiste[n] bey höherer straaß, soll 2 Marckh Silbers straaß erleg[en] und befragt werd[en], wer mehr dergleich[en] getruckht, des Obrist Knecht die *exemplaria* so ohncensirt getruckht also

bald abforder[n] und zur Canzley lüfern. Den H[erren] vo[n] der *Universitet* freygestellt werde[n], wann Sie Befinde[n] daß Deckher die *Studiosos* beschwere, dehne[n] zuerlaube[n] ihre sachen beÿ ander[n] Truckhe[n] zu laße[n] ...

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, III 14.

Document 3.4 Catholic Books Found in Decker's Home

Jüngstverwiechene[n] Sambstags ergangener Rathserkandtnus zu gehorsamst volg[en], ist durch den obristen- und Raths Knecht ein Jacob Decker deß Buchtruckhers Behausung, weil[en] dem einkhom[m]enen Bericht nach deren selbig ererst [?] jüngst hier allerhand verbottene und ohncensirte Catholisch Bücher getruckht haben solle, ein *visitation* vorgenom[m]en, und so wohl in der Truckhereÿ als übrige[n] Gemache[n] deß ganze[n] Hauses, nicht weniger auch i[n] Käste[n] und Tröge[n] allein folgende sachen befunde[n] worden, wie folgt.

Erstlich in dreÿen unterschiedliche[n] Gemache[n] und auf dem östreig, allerhand theils von Ihme theils dem angeben nach Annoch von seinem Vatter sel. getruckhte Uneingebundene Lieder- und Historien Büchlin, auch etwas wenig *Disputationen*.

Item in eine[m] Kaste[n] unden Im hauß eben dergleichen, aber eingebundene Lieder- und historie[n] Büchlin.

So dann in eine[m] and[eren] gemach die under Truckhereÿ genant, unterschiedliche theils zu Luzern, theils zu Costanz getruckhte Uneingebundene Catholische Bücher, die er seinem Vorgebe[n] nach hiebevohr an sich erhandlet, und dehre[n] es Zwar vermög einer hiebeÿ ligende[n] *Specifica[ti]on*, ein mehrers sein sollen, darvo[n] er aber schon d[er] mehreren theil widerumb verkaufft habe, und alleine noch folgende *Exemplaria* vorhande[n], als 1. das Lebe[n] Christj, 2. das münchene Bettbüchlin, 3. *Tully Ciceronis Epistola* 4. Priest *Canisi* 5. *Rudimenta* 6. *Nicolaj Cusani* Zuchtschul. 7. Schuz Engelbüchli[n] 8. das Rosengärtli[n]. 9. die alte Cathol. hohe genfferschul. und letztlich die Cathol. Evangelia.

I[n] einem Kasten dieses Gemachs, gleichfalls allerhand Unterschiedliche Gattung Catholische aber eingebundene Bücher, die er ebenmäßig seiner anzeig nach vo[n] Freÿburg, Costanz [sic] Luzer[n] und andere[n] orthe[n] her an sich erkhaufft.

Über dieses vermeldete derselbige, daß Er jenige Catholische «bücher» so er vor ungevohr 2. oder 3. Jahren selbs getruckht. und darumb er auch abgestrafft worde[n], als da seind gewes[en] d[er] *Cathechismus*, Kindersfeil. weÿhnacht; Nam[m]en. nebe[n] allerhand Liederbüchline[n], gleich damahls nacher Zurzach a[n] H. Hans Jacob Arthelj [?] der Chorherr[n] Schaffner allda versandt, hinder welchem auch noch ein guter Theil darvon lig[en] thüg[en].

Und diß ist nun das jenige was sowohl in fleißige durchsehung sein Deckhers behausung gefunde[n] werde[n] möge[n], als was er auff das Zuvohr an Ihme beschehene ernstliche ermahne[n] sich selbste[n] fürgezeigt hat.

... Hans Jacob Decker betreff. v[er]les[en] d[en] 1 *Februarj* 1668.

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, III 14.

Document 3.5 Geissler's Second Testimony

Von dem 14 biß auf d[en] 26. Octobris 1667. seind getruckt wor[en] 4 boge[n] papistische lieder, wie folgt. Erstlich, Zu dir ô Jungfraw wir, auf dem Titel ein Marien bild und auf etliche[n] Exemplarien die jahrzal 1668. seind 4000. Exemplar getruckt word[en] das andere, der psalter genan[n]t mit etliche[n] Figur[en], 4000. Exemplar.

Das dritte, von dem Rock unsers H. Jesu Christi. welchen zu Trier solle gefunde[n] werde[n] 4000 Exemplar.

Das vierte, das Fegfeüwr genen[n]t, ein gantz[en] bog[en] 4000. Exemplar.

Ein halbe[r] boge[n] *Inventuarium* [sic] *universale* welches von aller hand Künste[n] lautet, 2000 Exemplar.

Jacob Geißler.

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, III 14.

Document 3.6 Testimonies in the Second Trial against Decker

Vermög Jüngstvergangener Rathserkhanntnuß haben meine großgönstig hoch Ehrende Herren *Deputate*[n] sich erkundiget, obe und was für Bücher und tractätli[n] herr Jacob Deckher der BuchTruckher seit seiner Jüngste[n] Bestraffung ohncensirt getruckht haben möchte, Zu dem ende Freytags den 31. *Januarij* <1668> hernach folgende Persohnen deßwegen beÿ leyblichem Eyde verhört, welche darüber außgesagt habe[n], wie folgt.

Jacob Geÿßler der Buchruckhergesell bezeügte nach leyblich geschworenem Eyde, Daß als vor ohngefehr einem Jahr und Nam[m]entlich auff herbst A. 1666. er gezeüß von Ihme deckher auß der Arbeit kom[m]en, derselbe darüber Zwee[n] Nürnberger angenom[m]en hatte, deren einer Nam[m]ens Christoph *Clemens* Schmidt, von herbst 1666. biß auff gemelte Zeit A. 1667. beÿ deme in arbeit geweste[n], welcher so wohl als auch Franz Frëyvogel sein deckhers Schrifftsezer eins mahls Ihme gezeüß auff Befrag[en] was Ihr herr gutts truckhte, angezeigt, Er hette jm erste[n] halbe[n] Jahr als vo[n] herbst 1666. biß ostern 1667. des *Canisij* Catholisch[en] *Catechismu*[m] wohl 7000 *Exemplaria* getrucht. Nach der Frankhforter ostermeß A. 1667 Seÿe Er gezeüß wid[er] zu Ihme Decker[n] jn arbeit kom[m]e[n], und mit und nebe[n] diesem Nürnberger Geselle[n] beÿ Ihm gewese[n], Biß nach der F[rank]forter herbstmeß gemeltes Jahrs, In welcher Zeit Er gezeüß vom 1[en] biß de[n] 14[en] 8bris. vorgedachtes Jahrs Ihme Drecher[n] Zweÿ <Catholische> Lieder auff einem bog[en] <das eine> mit der Überschriff Zu dir Ô Junfr. Maria rein, das ander Ô selige Mutter voller gnaade[n] jn 4000 *exemplarien* getruckht; So dann habe Er v[er]möß sein gezeüß[en] darüber gestellter Prüfung vom 14[en] biß den 26[en] 8bris. getruckht Ein *tractätli*[n] genant *Inventariu*[m] *Universale* auff eine[m] halbe[n] boge[n] 2000 *Exemplaria*, Item ein Papistisch Lied d[en] Feegfeür g[e]n[ann]t. 2000 [sic] *Exemplaria*.

Item ein #Catholisch# Papistisch Lied d[en] Psalter g[e]n[ann]t. darinn 4. Figure[n] eine auffen *Titul* und dreÿ Innwendig auff eine[m] halbe[n] Boge[n] 4000 *Exemplaria*.

Item noch ein Papistisch Lied vom Rockh unsers Herr[n] Christj auff eine[m] halbe[n] Boge[n] 4000. *Exemplaria*.

Auff dem mehrern Theil obstehende Lieder[n], habe der Schrifftsezer gleich damahl[en] die Jahrzahl 1668. gesetzt, der meinung, damit dieselben alldieweil es neu Lieder Zu sein scheint[en], desto besser abgehe[n] möcht[en]. Es habe aber Er Deckher, als Er es gesehe[n] *expressè* befohl[en], die Jahr <Zal> 1665. darauff zumach[en] Befohl[en], auff d[en] es scheine, als ob sie bereits vor seiner abstraffung getruckht word[en] were[n]. Der hab sonst seine eigene Crämer an sich so dergleiche[n] bi Ihme abhole[n], Jeziger Zeit aber da die Päß verschloße[n], Seyë es schlechter abgang.

Sonst habe Er deckher mit und nebe[n] den so genant[en] Schazkäm[m]erli[n], umb deßwill[en] Er herbevor abgestrafft word[en], Zugleich auch andere <Papistische> tractätli[n] mit Nam[m]e[n] das Rauchfäßli[n], Handbüchli[n] und Meßbüechli[n] getruckht, welche letzter[n] ab[er] alle <seither> jn seine[n] Hand[en] gebieb[en] seÿ[en].

Peter Paul Weißler der Buchbinder und Burger alhier Bekund schaffet nach leyblich geschwohrenem Eydt, Er hette umbe anderer Arbeit[en], die Er gezeüg Deckher[n] verfertigt, demselben jm *Julio* 1667. 1200 *Exemplaria* von des *Canisij* Papistischen *Catechismo*, welche[n] Er Deckher selbs getruckht, eingebund[en].

... auffgenom[m]ene Kundschaftten, Hanns Jacob Decker den Buchtruckher betreffend. v[er]les[en] d[en] 1 *Februarij* j. 1668.

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, III 14.

Document 3.7 Questioning Geissler and Decker

Auff empfangenen g[nädigen] Befelch haben meine g[nädigen] hochehrendte Herren die Sieben sich gestrig[en] mogens auff den sogenannten Eselthurn verfügt, und den daselbst v[er]hafften hannß Jacob deckher den Buchtruckher ... mit Jacob Geÿßler seines gewesen gesellen desweg[en] *confrontirt* ... dekher gabe hierauff zur antwort, Er leügne nicht, daß Geyßler nicht diese sach[en] in seiner Truckherey möchte getruckht haben, aber er bleibe darauff, d[ass] es vor seiner bestraffung bescheh[en]. Geyßler zog darauff ein bogen eines getruckht[en] gesangs mit *noten* hervor und begerte von deckher zuwüßen, ob er denselben nicht auff begeren h[errn] buxtorffen des Buchhenders für einen Pfaffen getruckht, darüber deckher ehe er d[as] blatt gesehen, Zubehaupten v[er]meint, d[ass] es bereits bei lebzeiten weyland H. dr. Buxtorffen sel. bescheh[en] nachgehendts aber gestand[en], d[ass] er es ja auff ansuch[en] gemelts h. Buxtorff[en] Zutruckh[en] gestattet, Geyßler aber so wohl dieses als andere vormahls fürgezeigte abdruckh Ihme v[er]bottener und unehrbarer weise auß d[er] Truckherey entfrömbdet hette ... [added in margin: wiewohl auch sonst nit Verboten mit Catholisch[en] büchern vmbzugeh[en], dann deren Alle alhiesige läden voll seyen.] ...

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, III 14.

Document 3.8 Decker's Defense

Vermög Jünstergangene RhatsErkhanthnuß haben meine g[nädige] hochehrende herren die Sieben, sich gestrig[en] morgens auff den Innern Spahlenthurn, alwo h[err] Jacob deckher d[er] Buchtruckher sich in der gefangenschafft stefelt, begeb[en] ...

Seye <zwär> schelchter gewinn bei d[er]gleich[en] gering[en] sach[en], allein die klam[m]en Zeiten möten einen offtmahls etwas Zuthun daß er sonst nicht thette, das bekhennt d[ass] die Truckherey sehr v[er]mehrt und wenig Arbeit seye, Er Insonderheit ausser d[er] *Universitet* sach[en] fast nichts Zuthun habe, Er begere zwar seinen fehler mit andern nicht zubeschönen, allein habe Ihm hierzu Zum theil auch anlaaß geb[en], d[ass] <auch die alhiesige buchhändler selbsten, hin und wid[er] in d[er] nähe und ferne allerhand Catholische büech[er] den Papistisch[en] orth[en] truck[en] lassen, und nachwerts alhier öffentlich v[er]kauff[en], und Insonderheit> H. Emanuel König bereits vor etlich[en] Jahr[en] und anjezo widerumb d[en] *Corpus Iuris Canonicu[m]* vnd[er] d[er] Preß habe, darinnen d[as] Päbstische Recht enthalten und <d[as] werckh> anders nichts als ein gleichmessig Catholisches *opus* seye, habe gedacht, seye es einen erlaubt, werde es den anderen nicht v[er]bott[en] sein ...

... Relation der Herren Sieben, den nunmehr in verhafft ligenden Jacob deckher den Buchtruckhers betreffendt. Verlesen d[en] 26[t[en]] Junij a. 1668.

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, III 14.

Document 3.9 Decker's Second Sentence

Extractus Rahts Protocollj. vom 27[ten] Junij 1668 ... Soll noch zween tag vnd Nacht in hartern gefangenschafft gesetzt, vmb 100 fl (die Er vor Erlaßung bezahlen solle) gestrafft, volgendts mit der Vrphes Ihme eingebunden, der den Truckheren gegebenen Ordnung, bey höheren Vngnad Könnftigs sich gemess Zuverhalten, auch auf erfordern sambt seiner Frawen sich vorm E. Bann einzustellen.

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, III 14.

Document 3.10 Decker's Press in Hésingue

Meine g[ross]g[ünstigen] hochEhrende herren die VII. haben sich gestrig[en] morgens ... Auff Befrag[en], was es mit deren hiebevor Zu häsing[en] gewesten Truckerey für ein Bewandthnuß gehabt, und ob nicht Er v[er]haffter <selbs> deren v[er]leger <vnd dieshalbe Ihme Zustendig> gewesen, Zu dem ende, damit Er desto ohngescheücht[er] die Papistische Büech[er] aufferhalb Truckh[en] möchte [etc.] antworttet v[er]haffter, Nachdeme Er vor 8. Jahren weg[en] Begangenen fehlers und getruckht[er] Catholisch[en] Büechern von hier gewich[en], Seye Er Zu den H. von Andlaw gewesten *Praelaten*, so damahl in Stein gewesen, kom[m]en, und aldort[en] aufenthalt gesucht ... hierauff habe d[en] h. *Praelat* Ihne wid[er] beschickht, vnd Ihne ersucht, Ihne eine TruckerPreß und Schrifft[en] mach[en] Zulass[en], ... darauf Er v[er]haffter

deme die Preß ganz new und Zwar alhie bej v[er]schiedenen handwerkhsleüth[en] v[er]fertig[en] und durch H. *Cyriacu[m] Pistoriu[m]* «eine schrift» giess[en] lass[en], darzu den h. von Andlaw noch mehr Schrifften Zu St. Gall[en] «und anderstwo» bestellt ... Nach deme nun der h. *Praelat* selbst[en] anfangs einen *factoren*, Na[m]ens Joh. Caspar Schwendiman von luzern «gebürtig» beschrieb[en], und d[as] werckh angehebt, Seye nicht ohne, d[ass] Er darzu anweisung gegeb[en], auch büecher vnd tractälin erkaufft ...

Verlesen den 8. *Julij* 1676.

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, III 14.

Document 3.11 Decker's Defense

Information in respectivè Schmach- und Schlaghendeln Zwüschén H. Jacob Bertsche dem Buchtruckher und seinen gesellen Klägern an Einen So dann H. Jacob deckher auch Buchtruckher Beklagten an andern Theil ... Montags d[en] 3. t[en] *Julij* 1676 ... Belangend nun die obspecificirten stuckh, hatt man von Ihm deckhern derenthalber keinen andern beruht gehal[en] [?] mög[en], als d[er] selbige vor etlich[en] Jahren Zu häsing[en] vnd v[er]legung H. *Columbani* von Andlaw gewest[en] *Praelat*[en] Zu Murbach und Luders [etc.] getruckht worden seyen, welche Er «wie Er genugsam erweisen könne,» Käufflich an sich gebracht, und wid[er] umb anderwerts Zu v[er]kauff[en] pflege, in d[er] Zu v[er]sich Ihme darmit, gleich andern alhiesig[en] Buchhendlern, welche gleichfahls Papistische Büech[er] v[er]kauff[en], handlung Zutreib[en] ohnv[er]botten seye ... Jedoch ist Er deckher gestendig, diejenige Kupff[er] od[er] *titulblätlin* zu einen Papistisch[en] *tractätlin*, oben in obstehend Zeügen v[er]hör gedacht, getruckht Zuhab[en], v[er]meint ab[er] Ihm solches ohnv[er]botten seye, Weil Ein Jeder Kupff[er]stech[er], Mahler od[er] goldschmidt «auch *reformirt*[er] *religion*» Papistische sach[en] ohngehind[er] t v[er]fertigen dörffe.

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, III 14.

Document 3.12 Decker Asks to be Released from House Arrest

E[uer] Gn[aden] ist leider! mehr den genugsam bekandt, was gestalten ich vor vngefehr 21. Monaten wegen eines gewissen Verbrechens in dero schwäre Vngnad gefallen, vnd auff 2. Jahr lang ins Hauß *condemniert* worden [etc.] ... so hatt es doch demseithero Vnd Zwar vngefehr bej 5. Monaten dem lieben Gott gefallen wollen, meiner Vielgeliebte Haußfrau (so in dießem Vnglück vnd grossen Hauß-creütz je vnd alzeit mein sonderbahrer trost geweßen) Zu seinem Göttlichen gnaden abzufordern ... Wann mir ... fast vnerträglich fallen will, dem hauß länger also abzuwarten ... Also gelangt an Ew. Gn. mein gantz flehenliches bitten, mir de noch wenig restierende monat in gnaden nachzusehen vnd mich wider in vorige freiheit Zu setzen; nicht zweiffelndt, daß wie ich mich richten Verhoffendt—Vntadenlich gegen männiglich[en] Verhalten, in das

künftige auch dermahlen handele vnd Wandeln werde, daß niemand ab mir Zu klagen Vrsach haben solle ...

Verlesen d[en] 20 t[en] *Martij A.* 1678.

Basel, Staatsarchiv, HA, Handel und Gewerbe, III 14.

Chapter 4

Document 4.1 Women Musicians in Berne (1)

Dreyfaches Frühlings-Geschencke, denen Edel- vnd Wohl-gebohrnen, Gottliebend- vnd Tugendsammen Frawen,

1. Fraw Ursula Michel, Gebohrne Felsin,
2. Fraw Eversina Fischer, Gebohrne Wurstenbergerin,
3. Fraw Anna von Werth, Gebohrne Steigerin,
4. Fraw Maria Salome *Bourgeois*, Gebohrne Hallerin,
5. Fraw Catharina Oth, Gebohrne Beersetin, }
6. Fraw Elisabeth Steck, Gebohrne Jennerin } Sehr wärthe Gefatteren,

Wie auch Denen Künschen, Züchtigen, vnd mit allerley GOtt wohlgefälligen Tugenden wohl gezeihrtten Jungfrawen,

7. Jungfr. Maria Magdalena von Dießbach,
8. Jungfr. Esther }
9. Jungfr. Salome } Thormannin, Geschwisterte.

Meinen allerseits vilwärthen Frawen vnd Jungfrawen.

...

Edel vnd Wohlgebohrne, Ehr- vnd Tugendreiche Frawen vnd Jungfrawen.

... Das aber, Wohlgeehrte vnd Gottsel[igen] Frauen, Auch Tugendreiche Jungfrawen, Ich Ihnen diß gegenwärtige Frühlings-Geschencke zueygne vnd übergiebe, darzu haben mich eygentlich auch Drey Ursachen bewogen.

1. Die Gottseligen Tugenden, mit welchen sie, als mit einem Heiligen Schmuck einer wohl-gezierten Braut ihres Himmlischen Bräutigams, in seiner lieben Kirchen vnd Gemeine, welche Ihme GOtt von Ewigkeit hatte vermählet, einher gehen und herrlichen Glantz von sich geben. Und auch theils deroselben diesen herrlichen Nahmen Salome führen, mit welchem Christus JEsus, der Himmlische Bräutigam, in diesem Hohen-Lied, seine liebe Braut, die Christliche Kirchen benennet.

II. Die grossen Ehren vnd vielfaltigen Gutthaten, mit denen Sie mich jederzeit begünstiget vnd beschencket; Solche aber, gebürlichst zubeschulden, ist bey mir nichts anzutreffen, als zu viel wenigkeit vnd unmöglichkeit. Doch kan ich nit underlassen daß ich nit zum wenigsten ein dankbares Gemüth zuerkennen gebe, Welches durch diß wenige geschiehet; wohl wissend, daß jhnen ein solch guter Will so lieb als sonst eine reiche Gaabe ist; Wordurch meine sorgfältigen Gedancken sich vmb etwas beruhigen.

III. Weil mir die Ehre gegönnet worden Ihnen allerseits mit meinen wenigen Diensten aufzuwarten, durch zutheilung erforderlicher *Instruction* vnd Anweisung zu dieser so Herrlich- vnd Edelen Him[m]els-kunst, der lieblichen *Music*. Verhoffe auch, Ihnen durch dieses Dreyfach-außgearbeitete Frühlings-Geschencke anlaß zugeben, sich je länger je mehr in dieser, zum GOTTes-dienste destinierten, Kunst zu *exercieren* und zu vervollkommen ...

Johann Ulrich Sultzberger.

Johann Ulrich Sultzberger, dedication of 'Salomons Deß Ebreischen Königes geistliche Wohl-lust oder Hohes Lied ...' (Berne: Georg Sonnleitner, 1674).

Document 4.2 Women Musicians in Berne (2)

Bern, den 11ten novembris 1714 ... von dar führten mich die He[rren] in einen bey der französischen kirche auf verschiedener liebhaber der *music* kosten gebaueten sehr schönen *music* saal. es ist dießes ein altes korn haus oder vor dießem noch älter [?] eine capell der dabey stehenden kirche geweßen das aber etliche *music* liebhaber <wozu He[rr] *Herff* als einer der vornehmsten das meiste *contribuirt*> so wohl zu recht machen laßen daß es eine freude zu sehen ist. der 6ten theil des saals ist zugeschlagen und mit einer orgel versehen, wie ein ledner in einer kirche darauf die orgel stehet. dießer aber ist mit vermacht daß niemand hineinsehen aber man wohl heraussehen kan, und in dießen stand gehet man durch eine andere *aparte* thür, damit man nicht siehet wan ein liebhaber etwas mit machet, oder wer die *music executirt*. unten in dem saal sind schöne bänck getäffel und size vor die zuhörer dahin jederman gehen kan, gemacht, und die gemeiniglich alle besezt und so gar predigern und frauen zim[m]er ja allen menschen erlaubt und *mode* ist hinein zu gehen. der ganze saal ist mit schönen gemälden behangen meisten[n] theils verehrungen großer He[rren], als des landgraffen von baßel und deßen prinzen, der vorigen königin in engelland, und anderer. ich ginge umb die *music* beßer zu hören hinten hinein, alwo man erst durch ein mittelmäßiges gemach gehet, welches völlig mit gemälden so aber meistentheils schlechte sachen sind, behenget ist, welches alles lauter raub aus der *st gallener bibliothek* ist. das *portrait* des vorigen und izigen pabstes sind noch die besten stücke darunter, von dar gehet man in das zugeschloßene *apartement* der *musicanten* welches meistentheils deßwegen so verdeckt gemacht ist damit auch die frauen zim[m]er der statt so liebhaber und meister der *music* sind ungesehen dahin gehen können, und sich mit *exerciren*, so schier alle tage geschieht, gleich wie den deren izo 3 vorhanden waren so ziemlich wohl sangen. man machte lauter meistentheils altfränckisch gezeug so meinen ohren zum wenigsten nicht gefallen wolte. und unter den *instrumentalisten* war kein einziger so was rechtes gemacht. außer ein neu angekom[m]ener burger von hier namens *Haglesteg* [?] <so vor einiger zeit *violonist* des izigen königs in spanien in der *capelle* geweßen seyn soll.> ein man der *viol instrumenta* fertig spielen soll aber deßen ver-

teuffelte alte *maniren* mir gar nicht gefallen, er machte mir zu ehren ein *Solo* ohne paß mit doppelten griffen auf der *violin*, sehr künstlich und ungemein geschwind allein weder strich noch *goust* darin, und mühsam [?] gefiedelt. er spielte aber nach der hand einen französischen pass extra wohl so mir beßer als seine *violin* gefallen. die singstim[m]en waren gut, aber der rest der ubrigen *instrumentalisten pitoyable* daß ich gern weg gegangen wäre wen es sich geschickt hätte. der saal der zuhörer war ziehmlich angefült und meistentheils von frauen zim[m]er von der statt, das mir den sehr wohl gefallen, daß man solche *libertät* hier hat. bey dießer *music* wurde es so spath daß es ganz finster war. deßwegen ginge in begleitung des He[rrn] *herffen* und He[rrn] Schürers nach hauß.

Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, 8 Cod. Ms. Uffenbach 29, vol. 1, pp. 590–593.

Document 4.3 Ott's and Heidegger's Testimonies

Act[um] Zeistags den 4[en] Martij A[nn]o 1690

Pr[aesen]t[es] Herren Zunfftmeister Heß und Heidegger.

Nach dem[m]e Ehren-Gemeldte meine HochgeEhrte Herren, zu gehorsammer erstattung empfangenen Hoch-Oberkeitlichen Befehls, hernach-benante Persohnen, wegen des Jüngsthin auf dem *Music* Saall geflossenen *Discurses*, betreffende die *Nomination* der Oberst- und Haubt-Leüthen in Engelland, verhört, habend dieselbige auß-gesagt was *her#* folge.

Herr Haubtmann Salomon Ott, hat Berichtet: Es habe Hr Jacob Heidegger, heüt 8. Tag beÿ der *Music*-Gesellshafft (under wellichen bißher ein solliche vertraulichkeit gewesen, das ein ieder habe reden dörfen, was er nur gedenkte) zu ihm[m] gesagt, *Il me semble que vous n'êtes pas pour l'Angleterre*. Darüber habe er geantwortet: Er wüße zwahr wol daß vnßerem Land eine Aechte Kriegs-Schul eben so nothwendig seÿe, alß die Latinische Schul ... ob es nit dienstlicher were, Sich einer Vnpartheÿischen *Neutralitet* zubefleißen. Etwas Zeits hernach habe der Hr. Heidegger ihne befraget: Was er darzu sagte, wan der Herr Oberkan [?] Oberist, und der Hr. Schellenberg Haubtman würden erwehlt werden? Hierüber habe er zur Antowrt gegeben: Wan diese sach für Unßre Gn. Hr. Räth und Bürger kom[m]e, werde der Jenige darzu gelangen, der das glück und die mehreren Stim[m]en habe. Worüber Hr. Heidegger *repliciret*, Es werde der Herr *Envoyé*, die *Nomination* der *Officiers* nicht *cedieren* ... Er Hr. Ott aber habe ihm[m]e ... geantwortet, ein unwidersprechlicher Grund, daß die *Nomination* der *Officiers* dem Herr[en] *Envoyé* nit könne überlaßen werden seÿe: Weil der König war *#...#* Die erwehlung der *officiers* beÿ Ihme stehen solte, dieselbige nahc Sienem belieben brauchen und *cassieren* könnte ... Wan wir *Sclaven* seÿn müßind, so seÿe nicht viel daran gelegen ob wir Englische oder Frantz[e] *Sclaven* seÿen ...

Herr Haubtman Heinrich Holtzhalb, und Hr Heinrich *Paruell*, warend hierüber Jeder absönderlich auch verhört, und stim[m]ten in Ihre[n] aussagen mit Hr. Haubtman Otten überein.

Herr Hans Jacob Heidegger hat sich also Verantwortet. Der Anlaß seines geführten *discourses* seye under diesen zweien eins gewesen, er wüße sich aber nicht wol mehr zuerinnern, eintweders weil der Hr. Ott, alß der Hr. Heidegger auß dem *Music-Sall* alwo er gesungen, #h# in die Stuben kom[m]en, gesagt habe: Wan wir *Sclaven* seyn müßend, so ist es eins wir seýend Englische oder Französische: Oder Weil er befraget worden: Ob er auch wolle Hauptman in Engelland werden? ... Sonsten habe er beý diesem sienen *discours* gar kein böß *intention* gehabt, und etlichen Hr. nach dem-[m]e die Gesellschaft von einander gescheiden auf der oberen Brugg angezeigt, daß das was er geredt nur sein eigene Meinung seye, welliche er #zu# in dieser Gesellschaft, beý wellicher man biß dahin sich aller Vertraulichkeit und verschwigenheit befließen, zuerofnen kein bedenken getragen, in hofnung es werde ihm[m]e nichts für übell aufgenom[m]en werden ...

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, A 222.1, Beziehungen zum Ausland, Grossbritannien 1500–1691, No. 225, 4 March 1690.

Document 4.4 Coxe's Letter

Magnifiques Seigneurs

Le Soubsigné Envoyé Extraordinaire de S[a] M[ajesté] B[ritannique] aýant conceu des Esperances de voir heureusement terminer dans cette Diete la plus grande partie des difficultéz qui regardent les Principaux Points du Traitté commencé entre le Roy son Maistre et Vos Magnifiques Seigneuries, s'est appercû que celui de la nomination des Officiers à malheureusement suscité de grandes ialousies et divisions parmi Vostre Bourgeoisie: Ce que le dit Envoyé souhaittant fortement de travailler à composer et éteindre par les moyens les plus efficaces, pour le bien et l'honneur de Vostre Estat; à iugé necessaire de Vous prier de vouloir faire suspendre, pour le present, Vos delibérations et décisions sur tout ce qui touche la Levée des Troupes et la nomination des Officiers; Et de continüer, si Vous le trouvez à propos, celles que Vous avez desja commencées pour la Liquidation des Garanties et des Suereté; Comme de ce qui semble devoir précédér, tant pour l'ordre que pour l'importance de ces Matieres.

Th[omas] Coxe.

Fait à Zurich.

Le 5. de Mars. 1690.

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, A 222.1, Beziehungen zum Ausland, Grossbritannien 1500–1691, No. 226, 5 March 1690.

Document 4.5 Rathgeb's Preface to His Songbook

... Es wird auch jeziger Zeit bey uns auf dem Baurenland das Psalmen-Gesang solcher gestalt geübt, daß gar vil sind, so die Lobwasserischen Psalmen, auch die Alten Psalmen mit samt den Kirchen- und Haußgesängen zu vier Stimmen singen, daß es ein Lust ist

solchen abzulosen, und zwar ohne Bücher. Das Gesang ist bey uns Landleuhten, Gott lob, so hoch kom[m]en, daß auch junge Knaben von vier- und fünfzehen Jahren alt, die vor angezogne Psalmen und Lobgesänge in einem jeden Psalmen eins oder zwey stücklein singen außwendig, mit Melodey und Verstand.

Zu dem End habe ich nun diß mein ringfügiges werklein mir fürgenom[m]en herauß zugeben, dann wann man einmahl angefüllt ist mit dem *Heiligen* Geist, wie Paulus sagt werdet foll Geists, so kan man nicht anderst, man steigt allezeit in ein höhere Wüissenschaft dann der H. Geist, der ist der rechte Säng-er-Meister, der uns allezeit treibt und führt in höhere erkandtnuß Gottes ...

Ich hab selber auch in grösten Nöhten gesungen, da mir mein guter Nammen oftmahls hat sollen undertrukt werden von meinen Feinden, wann es immer möglich gewesen were, sie haben mich verachtet, geschmächt, mit vilen grausamen Lügenen sind sie über mich gekommen, das meine Blutsverwandten und Freund oft dardurch in grosse Bekümmernuß und Herzenleid gesezt worden, daß sie oft darüber haben geklagt und geweinet: dargegen aber hab ich mein Clavier ergriffen, und mit allen Heiligen des alten und neuen Testaments, meine Bitterkeit widerum versüßget mit dem lieblichen Psalmengesang ...

Durch das Gesang werden die Feind widerum mit einanderen vereinbaret, wann sie wollen haben ein liebliches Gesang, so müssen sie zusammenstimmen, als wann es zu einem Mund herauß gieng, das Gesang zeucht ihnen ihr Herz und Gemüht widerum zusammen, daß es widerum wird ein Herz, ein Sinn, ein Gemüht, und auch dadurch bekommen einen Geist.

Gott aber, der gedult und des trosts, gebe uns, daß wir einerley gesinnet seyen undeinanderen, und verleihe uns die Gnad, daß wir unsere Seelen in diser Ergezlichkeit können ergetzen und laben. Den Kinderen gehört noch Milch, und den starken gehören auch starke Speisen, so hab ich dises mein geringfügiges Werklein nicht für die starken, sondern für die Kinder, (das ist) für die lieben Boursleuht, herauß gegeben, zu dem end hin, daß Gott der Herr werde dardurch gelobt, gerühmt, und geprisen.

O Jesu, du Sohn des lebendigen Gottes, der du auch geliebet hast das Gesang, da du warest nach deiner Menschheit hier auf Erden, verleihe uns den *Heiligen* Geist, daß wir dich und den Vatter können loben und preisen durch das andächtig Gesang hier in Zeit und bis in ewigkeit Amen.

Jacob Rathgeb, from the 'Vorrede An den Christlichen Leser', 'Gottseliger Seelen Tägliche Ergezlichkeit ...' (Zurich: Michael Schaufesberger's heirs and Christoff Hardmeyer, 1709) fols. [2r-16r]: [12v-16r].

Document 4.6 Rathgeb's First Hearing

Examen mit *Jacob* Rathgeb, dem Müller in der Riedtmüllli der pfarre Dietliken, gehalt[en] d[en] 25. 9br. 1715.

P[rae]s[entes] M[ein] H[ochgeehrter] H[err] Verwalter Hoffmeister, M[ein] H[ochgeehrter] H[err] *Examinat[or]* Frieß, und M[ein] H[ochgeehrter] H[err] Schuhkrat Hottinger.

Nach dem dem Müller *proponiert* worden, daß man vernohmen habe, wie er ein und andere bücher insbesondere den Tānhart habe gelesen; habe man ihn wollen fragen, wie er ihn bekom[m]en, und wie er ihm gefallen? ... [Johann Tennhardt, *Gott allein sol die Ehre sein* ... (Nuremberg: s.n., 1710)]

Ob er auch zu Winterthur gewesen? was er da gethan? mit wem er umgegangen seie?

R[esponsio] Habe draußen auch gute leüth, mit denen er von Gott und gut[en] ding[en] gredt, und hoffe Gott werde ihr und sein gut vorhaben segnen, welches sei, Gott nach der *Religion*, welche wir gut haben, aber nit darnach leben, zu dien[en] *etc.* habe draußen ein fuder wein bei Herr [Johann Kaspar] Ziegler gholet, über tisch mit ihm von denen leüth[en], die von den baur[en] in seiner mülli übel ausgeschrauen worden, geredt, ob sie dan so vil böses an haben; man sage sie seien neügläubige, geh[en] nit in die Kirch[en], dröber habe er ein[en] recht[en] haß geg[en] sie [ge] habt, deshalben auch begehrt mit ihm zured[en], und vernehm[en], ob sie solche seien; diser Herr Ziegler habe ihm gesagt, wüße nicht böses über sie, Herr Sulzer predige so schön, d[ass] er um vil gelt kein predig ihm versaum[en] wolte; so auch sein Veter Herr [Johannes] Ernst [(1692–1761)]; und weil er gehört, d[ass] diser Ernst eine Orgeln habe, habe er ihm im haus nachgefragt, mit ihm erstlich gesung[en], hernach gesucht mit ihm zureden [und] habe angefang[en] vom Tānhart reden, dünkt ihn schön, was er darvon halte; Herr Ernst habe sich vast nit einlaßen wollen [und] entlich gesagt, Tānhart sei ein gefährlich buch, müße [man] wol wößen mit ihm umzugeh[en] ...

Wer ihm sonst zu Winterthur von Geistlich[en] und weltlich[en] bekant?

[Responsio Er] ken[n]e sonst niemand, als daß er zu J[un]gf[e]r Küenzlin [Elisabetha Künzli (1695–1720p)] gegang[en], [ob er] ihr wol auf der *Spineten* aufmach[en] kön[n]e, mit deren habe auch vom Tānhart geredt, die aber ein solches abscheüh[en] habe ab ihm, [dass] sie nichts von ihm möge hören reden ... Es seie auch einmahl [ein] junger Geistlicher bei Herrn Ernst gewesen, der ihn zur *information* in der *music* begehrt, weil er gar geschwind *informieren* kön[n]e; [er] wüße aber <nit wer> derselb gewesen, habe auch die *information* ab[ge]lag[en] [?], dan er gehe niemhal gen Winterthur als nur in eign[en] [Gesch]äfften, und kön[n]ne dem andern nit abwart[en].

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E II 56, pp. 673–675 (25/II/1715).

Document 4.7 Vogel and Utzinger Search Rathgeb's House

Hocheachte, wohlEdle, wie auch wolEhrwürdige, hoch und wolgelehrte, from[m]e, fürnem[m]e, fürsichtige, und weise, hochgeEhrte großgönstige Herren.

Zufolg des von Euch Unseren Hocheachten, und HochgeEhrten Herren *Examinatoren* empfangenen hohen befehls haben wir beÿde Unterschribne den 29. *januarij* uns

zu Meister Jacob Rathgeb dem Rietmüller in sein haus begeben, alle seine bücher, so wol die er in dem bücher Casten, als in der stube hat, besichtigt, davon eine ordenliche (als beylag aus weiset) verzeichnuß gemacht, den *Swenkfeld* [a book by Kaspar Schwenkfeld] und *Weigelium* [a book by Valentin Weigel] zur übersendung nach Zürich ausgeschoßen, und <wie> #wil# er der Möller an letst verwichenen Sontag, betreffend die Versam[m]lung in seinem haus, sich verhalten, gefragt:

Was nun hierauff deßelben antwort und bericht gewesen, gelieben Ihr Unsere hochg[eehrten] Herren zu vernem[m]en aus folgendem:

Erstlich sagte Er, das er den Dän[n]hart [Johann Tennhardt's *Gott allein sol die Ehre sein* (Nuremberg, 1710)] nicht mehr beÿ handen, sonder im Marckt beÿ einer bücher Crömer in gegen des *Bunians* reis nach der ewigk. [John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*] vertauscht habe.

2. Machte er anfangs bedenkens den *Swenkfeld* und *Weigel* uns zu überlaßen, angesehen der erste, nicht sein eigen, sonder von Hans Klöti zu baltenschweil ihme geliehen seÿ, der andere aber ihne 3. fl. gelt gekostet, deren verlurst er besorge, auf unser *remonstration* aber, das er dem befehl unserer Hochg[eehrten] Herren *Examinatoren* sich #z# diß fals zu unterwerffen, höchst schuldig seÿe, versprach er, dise bücher seinem herren pfarrer in das pfarrhaus zu schicken, wie wol mit stets bezeügenden Hoffnung, das, weil er beÿ einkauffung des *Weigelij* nicht gewußt, das er ein gefährlicher *author* seÿe, er diß fals ohne schaden werde gelaßen werden: Her. pfarrer von *Dietlikon* wird beÿde bücher an hohes orth übesenden:

3. betreffend die papistische bücher, die er hat, berichtete er, das er sie theils im letsten Crieg, sonderheitlich zu Rapperschweil bekom[m]en, und theils zu baden aus *Curiositet* gekauft habe.

4. sagte er, er habe letsteren Sontag eine *Music*gesellschaft in seinem haus gehalten, mit selbiger etlichen *Music*-stück, darauf den 15 Psalm gesungen, und über den in[n] halt dises Psalms sich nur dahin ersprächet, das er gesagt, man sehe hiermit, wer auf dem heiligen burg wohnen werde, oder nicht, hierauf geredet mit dem gesang: werde munter mein gemüthe: die sänger (deren 15. gewesen) seÿen abends fortgangen, und noch beÿ Tagszeit heimkom[m]en:

5. beÿ der abends-hausübung seÿen keine frömde leüth gsein, außert 2. verwandten, die von fehrnen orthen zu ihm z dorff kom[m]en, und beÿ Ihm über Nachtet:

6. Seÿe aber gesin[n]et mit etlichen sängeren, ein *ordinari-music*-gesellschaft auf alle Sontag anzustellen, die grad nach der Kinderlehr anheben, und 2. stund wahren solle, darbeÿ er aber außert der *Music*- übung weiter nichts vornem[m]en, oder *trac-tieren* wolle:

Und diß ist, was Eüch unsre Hochgeachte, und Hochgeehrte Herren *Examinatoren* in Crafft des empfangenen hohen befehls wir in schuldigster antwort gehorsam[m]st berichten sollen und cön[n]en: Wir bitten anbeÿ den großen Gott, das Er Eüch uns. Hochg[eehrten] Herren zu gutem seiner Kirch in beständiger Leibs und Seelen

wolfahrt erhalten, und Eüre gottselige sorgfalt für die erhaltung der reinen und seligmachenden lehr weiter im herren gesegnet sein laßen wolle: Wormit dan auch zu Eüerer uns. Hochg[eehrten] Herr[en] beharrlichen *favor* wir uns angelegenlichst und deemüthigst empfehlen, und nechst Göttlicher anbefehlung mit schuldigstem *respect* verbleiben

Eüer

unsrer Hochgeachten, und HochgeEhrten Herren Gehorsamste Dienere[n] Caspar Vogell. pf[arrer] zu Dübendorff. [signed: Joh[ann] Jacob Utzinger. p[farrer] zu Dietlikon] Dübendorff. d[en] 31. *januarij* 1716.

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E II 56, pp. 491–494 (31/1/1716).

Document 4.8 The First Sentence in the Rathgeb Case

Hierüber nach gefallen *judicio* wurde erkannt:

Dem H. pfr. zu Dietliken sol über seine unachtsamkeit, große schwachheit, und erzeigte <einfalt> ein ernstliches mißfallen bezeuget, und er zu mehrerer *vigilantz* aufgemuntert werd[en], auf d[en] Rietmüller, auf seine gmeindsgenossen, und alle frömde fleißig acht geben, und es hieher bericht[en], seinen Zuhörern, *pri[vatim]* *information* und Singstund[en] im Schulhaus oder Kirchen anerbiet[en]; auch acht haben, d[ass] Rietmüller nit so hin und her lauffe, sonder daheim bleiben [und] seine, des Rietmüllers, garstige Kupfer, won er sie zuhand[en] nehme *etc.*

Weg[en] des Rietmüllers, weil er ungehorsam, alles vast laugnet, bis er überwisen wird, eines so großen einzug <hat>, da einiche von 30–50 persohn[en] melden, soll[en] ihm alle zusam[m]enkunfft[n]en bei tag und nacht, Sontag und werktag, es sei ins *Musizieren* <welches, sonst wohl erlaubt seÿn möchte,> *informieren* gänzlich abgestrikt und angekü[ndigt] seÿn, d[ass] man den weltlich[en] arm brauch[en] werde. Nur möge er mit den seinig[en] im haus *musizieren*, und die hausübung[en] aus den predig[en], *Catechismo*, Zeügens halten *etc.* Sol auch keine frömde bücher aus th[eilen] die ausgestreüte wieder einfordern, und sie samt[lich] in d[as] Antistitiu[m] lifern. *etc.* Nit so viel hin und her lau[fen] sonder bei haus seinem bruff abwart[en] *etc.* <Man befahle ihm auch die garstigen Kupfer wegzuschaffen, er gestunde aber nit, d[ass] er einiche habe *etc.*> Es w[urde] anbei seinethalb[en] gutgefund[en], d[as] etwan ein und ander Hr., ihne bshike, *privatim*, ihn *informiere*, und trachte auf den recht[en] weg zu bring[en], und die fehler ihm zeige so er aber dise gute mittel ausschlag[en] würde, könnte man dan ernstlichere mit ihm für die hand nehmen ...

... Weg[en] obbedeutet[en] ausgestreüt[en] büchleins soll[en] 2. Hr. aus disem *Collegio* Zu Hr. Obm. bodmer geh[en], die gefahrlichkeit desselb[en] vorstellen, und bitt[en] nichts mehr desgleich[en] auszustreüen *etc.*

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E II 56, pp. 518–519 (19/2/1716).

Document 4.9 Rathgeb's First Hearing in Zurich

Q[uaestio] Man habe seit seiner letzten außag allerhand bericht vernohmen daß das einte und andere von seiner außag sich nit wahr befinde *etc.* alß er habe nichts vom Stäger, der in seiner mülli gewesen, gesagt, *item* schreibe Hr. Ungemuth von Schaffhausen Giezent[anner] werde in die mülli kom[m]en?

R[esponsio] der Stäger seÿ in der mülli gewesen, da er zu Stein gewesen, sein bruder habe ihm dises hinauß geschriben, er habe ihn nie gesehen. der Vetter habe ihm von Eigstringen geschriben, es seÿ diser Stäger ein Lismer von Liechtenstäg, begehre seiner *institution* in der *music*, vetter habe es auch hernach mundtlich ihm, dem Rietmüller gesagt, und gewahrnet, solle sich hüeten, dan[n] er seÿ auch im geschrey, sonsten habe er den G[ie]z[en]tan[n]er nit alß zu Stein gesehen *etc.* ...

Q[uaestio] Mit wem er am meisten umgegangen?

R[esponsio] Am meisten zu J[un]k[e]r [Johann Kaspar] Schneeberger beÿ dem Senkel, [Johann Kaspar] Ziegler, [Beat] Holzhalb und Herrn Obman [Johann Heinrich] Bodmer, wan[n] er Zu Herr Obman das erste mahl gekommen wüßte er nit eigentlich, um das neü jahr herum glaube er, weil er ihm sein lied hab trucken sollen *etc.* sie haben geredt von der widergebuhrt, und habe Herr Obman gsagt: wir müß[en] Gott betten darum, und er wol nit aufhören Gott plagen, biß er ihn zu einen rechten Christen mache ...

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E I 8.1, No. 19 (13/07/1716).

Document 4.10 Rathgeb's Second Hearing in Zurich

Actum Don[n]erstags d[en] 16[ten] julii 1716.

Praes[en]t[es] Hr. Rahtsherr Lavatter, Hr. Pfarrer Ulerich beÿ dem Frau Münster, und Hr. Pfarrer Heidegger beÿ den Predigern ...

Obj[ectio] Daraus wäre ja klährlich zu schließen in was bößer *opinion* er beÿ jederman gestanden, «Es habe ja» auch sein Vatter se[lig] ihme etliche bücher verbrennt.

R[esponsio] Es seÿe nicht ohn daß sein Vatter se: vor 9 jahr im dritten jahr seines Ehestands, ihme alzu fleißigen lesens halber den Eulenspiegel verbrennt, nebenst deme habe er den *Faustu[m]* gelesen, der wegen darbeÿ stehenden *observationen* nicht gänzlich zu verwerffen.

Q[uaestio] Wan[n], wie, und aus was Anlaß, er den meisten trieb verspühret, zu einer Verbeßerung des Lebens?

R[esponsio] Vor ander halb jahren habe der Vogt von Dietlikon ihm beÿ dem Hhr. Obervögten verklagt, tanzens halber, das vor einem haus geschehen, und darvor er um 9 tt gestraft worden: worbeÿ er anlaß genom[m]en in sich selbst zu schlagen, überlegend daß Gott für seine guttahten man beßer zu danken schuldig: in Leßung der h. Schrift betrachtung des Lebens der Patriarchen und Propheten, er beÿ sich selbst überlegt ob auch dergleichen Menschen mehr anzu treffen: da habe er angefangen di seinigen zum Kirchen gehen und beßerung des Lebens zu verman[n]en: Mitler

weil habe er noch gedenkt wol <etwan[n]> von dem Zorn und schwehren <den[n]en Er sehr ergeben geweßen,> sich enthaltende Leüht zufinden, zu dem Er ein Meidli ins berner Gebiet geschickt, um zu erkundigen, ob wahr was von den nicht schwehrenden noch sich erzörnenden wiedertäuffern gesagt werde und auf was weis sich selbigen #deßen# vor diesen heüten könte, allein das Meidli deme er 1 gl. auf den Weg gegeben seÿe unverrichteter Sachen zuruck kom[m]en. Inzwüschend seÿe seines Vettern Hochzeit zu Embrach fürgefahren auf deren er ein Mezger Ziegler angetroffen, der ihme verdeüet was maßen die jungen und alten geistlichen zu Wintertur sehr zweistig [?], noch werts habe er dem Mezger Wein abkauft, der ihne zu H. Ernst als einem neüw gläubigen geführt, den[n] Er <bÿ Besichtigung des *positivs*> mit der frag ob selbiger dem denhard gelesßen, und was er von dem Kirchengehen halte, *probiret*, ob nicht etwas *sectierisches* an ime habe: nun selbiger <habe> dem den[n]hard als irrgeist verworfen, hingegen das Kirchengehen und unser *Religio* gemäß zuleben, *recom[m]endiret*, seÿe er über den Sonntag bis Montag zu Wintertur verbleiben; und am Sonntag Morgen mit Ernten zu Wülflingen zu Kirchen gängen.

Obj[ectio] aus was ursachen er dem Ernst auf solche Art auf die Prob sezen #müßen# <wollen>?

R[esponsio] Wan #selbiger# Ernst den Denhard [Tennhard] gutgeheißen; das Kirchen gehen *improbiret* gleich dem Denhard, wurde er selbigen nicht für from gehalten haben. Dem Denhard habe er sich für #11 b.# <11. Bhatzen> von einem frömden buch händler unter dem störcken angeschafft, von dem *Titul* des buchs, die Wahrnugs [sic] Stim[m] an alle Könige, Fürsten *etc.* ... verführet ...

Q[uaestio] Wer ihm mit H. Sulzer <zum Kleeblatt> zu Wintertur in bekantschaft gebracht?

R[esponsio] Ernst habe ihme Sulzers getruckte Predig vorgeweisßen; darauf er zum Sulzer gekehret, selbigen um ein *Exemplar* ersuchet, da selbigen sich mit keins beÿ der stell zu haben, entschuldiget, hatte er ein *Exemplar* von seinem #Lied# <Gsangbuch> überschickt, und hingegen ein predig erhalten ...

Q[uaestio] Wo er sein *Correspondenz* und bücher hingetahn daß selbige nicht haben mögen gefunden werden?

R[esponsio] Er habe verwichener Tagen ein Martÿrbuch gelesen ... nun befinde er sich in gleichem Stand ... jedoch wolle er es ... entdecken: seine *Correspondenz* seÿe nebenst 25 bücheren <und unbehalthem Büech[er] *Conte*> in dem *Positiv* unter den blaßbalgen verborgen, und so man dahin schicken tühge, werde sein bruder soliche zeigen kön[n]en ...

Q[uaestio] Warum er die Leüt zum singen angeman[n]et?

R[esponsio] Habe in so weit niemand angeman[n]et, dan sich etlich n^o 20 miteinander ein *Music* wie in der Stadt zu halten, unterredet ...

Examen des in dem Oettenbach verhaften *jacob* Rahtgeben aus der Rietmüllis *Sub d[en] 16[ten] julii 1716*

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E I 8.1, No. 19 (16/7/1716).

Document 4.11 The Second Sentence in the Rathgeb Case

Richtvuch [= decree] d[en] 29[t[en] Julii H[err] Bürger M[ei]st[er] Holtzhalb St[att] h[a]lt[e]r und Beÿd Râth.

Dem[m]nach M[eine] G[rossgünstigen] H[erren] geschriten zu entlicher Beurtheilung der handlung mit Jacob Rathgeb dem Rieth Müller «von Dietlikhen», welcher mit Irrigen Lehr-sätzen und schwermereÿ nit allein Selbsten angesteckt, sondern auch andere dahin zu verleiten Sich unterstranden; haben hochg[eeh]r[en] d[en] M[eine] g[rossgünstigen] H[erren] nach ableßung Seiner entlichen außagen und abgelegtem Bericht derer zu dem *Examen* verordneter *Herren*, Einhellig erkennen, daß Er Jacob Rathgeb, von wegen Seiner dißörthig schwerer fehleren und verbrechen, auch in ansehung seines herüber bezeügend großen Reüwens, alle über Sien everhaftung ergangne ohnkösten Bezahlen; demnach seine Bücher, außert denjenigen, welche der Eidtg[e]n[össischen] *Confession*, auch unseren *libris Symbolicis* und *Normalibus Conform*, Oberkeitlich *confisciret* seÿen; Sein *Positiv*, damit Er einhalte und unberichtete Leüth an sich gezogen, von nun an auß einanderen gethan, allhero geführet und innert sechst wochen den nechsten verkauft; Fehrner solle Er dreÿ Jahr lang ins hauß *bannisiret* und der Richter-Stell entsetzet seÿn, in der heiteren Meinung, daß Er ein stilles und zeügsames Leben führe, und außert daß hauß zugehen außgenohmen in die Kirch, Mülli, und auff seÿne Güeter, zumahlen nit befügt, Jemanden dieser Irrthumen halb verdächtigen, under was vorwand es immer were, zu sich ins hauß als auff die Güeter kom[m]en zulaßen, auch aller Brieff Wechsel, so wol in Empfach- [?] als abgebung derselben, Ihme gäntzlich verboten und abgelenet seÿe, widrigen fahls Er ohne verschohnen von Statt und Land *bannisiret* werden; danethin den Hh. Obervögten eine Erkantnuß zugestellt auff diese haußhaltung und *Execution* dieses Urtheil, ein genaues Auffsehen zuhaben; Wie nicht weniger beÿde Hh. Pfarrer zu Wangen und Dübendorff, neben dem Hr. praffer von Dietlikon, durch die Hh. geistlichen mit erforderlichen Nachtruk erin[n]eret werden, auff besagten Rathgeb ein wachtbare aug zuhalten und auff Sein thun und laßen geflißenlich zu *invigilieren*: Welche Urtheil durch die Hh. verorneten Beÿder Ständen Ihme angezeigt werden solle ...

Ent-Ämthet Jacob Rathgeben—des Müllers zu Dietlikhen—vom 29sten *Julii* 1716. *Exequiert* d[i]to durch die VerOrdneten Herren.

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, E I 8.1, No. 19 (29/7/1716).

Document 4.12 Holthalb's Relation on Rathgeb

... Sodeß [?] ist aber meldter jacob Rathgeb auch wider einmahl herkom[m]en, da ich dan Hr. Schloßpaedagogu[m] Schellenbergen zu mir ins pfarrhauß *invitiert* vnd mit deßen zuzug vnd beÿseÿn vm was Ernstlicher an den Rathgeben gesetzt vnd in auch gründtlicher vnd gewüßenhafter befragt war d[ie] Ursach seiner so gefährlichen vnd höchst ärgerlichen Änderung, ob er warhafftig vnd zur *Cathol. Religion* eigentlich *profess* gethan? ... worauff er geantwortet, daß eine mehr alß 30. jährige ihm auf dem

herzen gelegene *Tentation* ihm hierzu bewegt, vnd da er auß seinem Ellenden erstes erkanten sünden leben, dem er von jugend an alß ein rauchloses [sic] weltkind angehanget, gewünscht sich herauß zuwicklen habe Er gesuch seinen Gott zuversöhnen mit einem angenom[m]en stillen, ehrbahren, vnd heiligeren wandel vnd leben; worin aber d[ie] damahls neüwen *Pietisten* d[ie] er noch nit gekannt, ihne bald aufgesucht, bestücht [?], vnd ohne seinen genugsam[m]en Vorbedacht, vnd vndersuchung So weit an sich gelockt, vnd verführt, biß Sie ihne zu einen vngesegneten *Exempel* aller vngehorsam[m]en vnd widerspännigkeit vnd verwirrung gemacht, deßen End geweßen sein vnd der Seinigen erfolgter *ruin*: Nun er beÿ dißen geschehen vnd erfahren, daß der Letzte betrug ärger seÿ alß der Erste, vnd daß d[ie] Meisten vnder den Titel vnd anfang deß *pietismi* nit Gott, sondern Gold, welt, gelt, Ehrgeitz, wollüst vnd Müßigang suchind: Seÿ er in solcher verwirrung und *tentation* weiters, vnd *ab extremo ad extremu[m]* kom[m]en vnd gegangen, vnd vermeint Seiner Gott vnd d[ie] ruh seines gewüßens zuseuchen, in einer gänzlich[en] *Separation* vnd absönderung von der welt vnd den leuthen *i.e.* in einer stillen Einsambkeit vnd Entfehrnten *Eremitage*: welches Er aber mehr vnd Eher beÿ den *Catholischen* alß beÿ Vnß zufinden vermuthet: zu dem End Er auch grad beÿ sr. Ersten angabung Seine begied hier zu vnd sein vorhaben ihnen eröffnet; worzu man ihme dan so gleich alle Freÿheit, gelegenheit v. anleitung *promittiert*, ihne darauff angenom[m]en, ohne einige zugemuthete abschwerrung, oder Eidt, in dem man ihme, beÿ den *Cappucinern* zu Fr[auen]feldt, nur ein kleine *Schedulam* vorgelegt zuleßen vnd seinen nam[m]en zuunderschreiben, in welcher Er gar keine Verkäzerung vnserer *Reform.* Lehr, sonder nur einiche der *principalsten* glaubens-artiklen *Röm. Religion* ersehen, darüber Er aber Einiche stük *excipiert* vnd ihme seine gewüßensfreÿheit vorbeahlt, belangend namlich das leßen der Bibel vnd andrer guten bücheren, den Verstand der Mäÿ, d[ie] *adoration*, das bätten deß *Rosen-Cranzes*, Nohtens *etc.* welches man ihme willig *Cediert* ... Solte Er Hoffnung haben daß man ihne in d[ie] Schooß der Kirchen vnd ins Vatterland wideraufnehmen würde, so wolte er nit allein alle bißherigen irthum herzlich gern fahren laßen, sonder auch kirchen vnd predigen mit lust vnd Eiffer besuchen, in allem der Kirch vnd vnser reinen Lehr *Conformieren*, sich allem befehl gemäß halten, vnd zu allem guten weißen laßen, wolte auch fahls er widerkehrte an liebsten vor d[ie] statt Zürich sich in stillem weißen aufhalten, vnd sein stük brot ohne jemand beschwerlich zu seÿn selbst suchen mit treüwer *information* in den *musicis etc. etc.* ...

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, A 26.16, *Verschiedene Personalien aus dem Zürcher Gebiet, 1720–31* (Johann Holzhalb, Pfyn, 28/2/1724).

Document 4.13 Rathgeb's Petition

... obschon ich hernach gehalt[en] word[en], all ein vngehorsamer der oberkeit, so habe jch mit mejnem wisen solche sünd nicht begang[en] und hoffe Gott werde mich weidteß daruorbringen, und glaube festigklich daß mejne gnedige herr[en] <dis> als

eine berichte und nicht allß eine klagte an[n] seh[en] werden, dan jch suche gewüß nichts anderß als mejnen herren Mein Verlauff sambt mejner noht und anlig[en] vor zu stellen, hoffende meine herren als meine oberkeit werde mir als einen Übell geplagten[n] man, auch schutz und schirm schaffen, weg[en] d[en] bapist[en], dan sy gehend mir auff leib und leben, und #das# jm sonderheit, daß jch kein schutz und zu flucht vor Zürich als meinem glaubens brüderen habe, bitte daß mejne hr vm Gotteß willen, wan solcheß nicht jn[n] zürich, od[er] zuwintertur sein kan[n], allda meine stüklÿ brot zu gewühn[en] so bitte jch daß sy d[en] Pfarherren, und jhren beambtend[en] jn[n] Zürich gebiet, od[er] jm[m] Turgauw, solcheß zulasen[n] <werdind>. Dan[n] jch welte mich sambt weib und kind[er] gantz ehrlich ehrnehren jm[m] dehme mir Gott ein[n] grosen fortell geben, leut von[n] 15 biß 20. 30 und 40 jahren alt, die Psallmen, sambt der sellenmußik und andere bekante sach[en] in[n] 12 od[er] lengstens 16 wuch[en] #zu# lehren sing[en], und d[en] gen[n]erallbaß schlag[en] so Gut das solcheß niemand[en] wirdt können tadl[en], u[n]d das solche Persohnen die weder noten, noch das Claujer verstehend noch lehren, so des solcheß kurtze Zeit, wehnig müh und kopff brechenß braucht, und klejne kösten gibt, wie eß sonsten brüchlich ... wen mejne Gnedige herren so gütig sind, und mir solche Freiheit werd[en] schenk[en] (eß mag dem sein jn[n] Zürich, windtertur, od[er] jm[m] turgauw usf) woran jch nicht zweifl[en] will, werde jch mich mit der hülff Gotteß aufführen das Gott und die oberkeit #auch# <sambt> alle erbaren mendsch[en] ein woll gefallen, wird daran haben, und hoffe niemand[en] beschwerlich [9] zu sein und zu fall[en]. Denn jch habe daß sing[en] und schlag[en] underschid[en]liche Persohnen in[n] 6. 9 und 11 wuch[en] gelernet, auch lüt von[n] 15 biß geg[en] 40 jahren die keine einige nohten gekent haben wie man <desen> #ku# nach Richt von stein am[m] Rein, dann hr Profisor schmid vom Pfeÿ [Pfyn] auß dem[m] schloß, und Pfarhuß, dann hr quartier haubman fögellÿ zu hütling[en] [Hüttlingen] und anderstwo geben[n] kann, allein wann mejne genedige herren[n] mir solche begerdte freÿheit (jhre statt und land widerum zubetrett[en], und mein brot #zu# beÿ ihnen zu suchen) zum[m] Guten jahr werd[en] schenken so werde jch solcheß an[n] d[en] lieben jhrig[en] und wo jch solche gunst erlang[en] kan genugsam[m] jn[n] der Taht erweißen ...

jhr gehorsamer Knecht und Diehner

jacob Rahtgeb

Ochsenbach

d[en] 20 Christmonat 1724

Zurich, Staatsarchiv, A 26.16, Verschiedene Personalien aus dem Zürcher Gebiet, 1720–31, Jakob Rathgeb in Ochsenbach to Johann Ludwig Nüscheler in Zurich (20/12/1724).

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