

*Hora decima: The Musical Theology of the Stadtpfeifer*¹

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“... why shouldn't a Christian-minded heart let itself be inflamed to God's honor and glory by the sound of cornets and trombones?”

Hora decima musicorum Lipsiensium (1672)
Johann Pezel

It is midmorning on a warm summer day and the town square is abuzz with activity. It is market day. Amid all the bustle and clatter of people, carts and animals moving about the cobblestone Marktplatz can be overheard any number of vignettes unfolding: housewives bargaining for pantry staples, the tuneful calls of vendors² peddling exotic goods and wares imported from far and wide,³ the clang of a tinker's hammer on an anvil as he repairs a kettle, the giggles and whines of children testing the bounds of parental patience, and the commotion of chickens and hogs on their way home for dinner. Before long the bell in the church tower resonantly peals the top of the hour with its usual patient regularity- one. . . two. . . three. . . . When the tenth and last toll has nearly died away, a trumpet flourish sounds from the balcony of the town hall at the opposite end of the square. At first few below seem to take notice. Then, moments later, the small band of town musicians plays a well-known chorale to begin their daily concert. Though the activity of those in the market place below continues, it is decidedly quieter as the music wafts through the air from high above. Some even stop what they are doing, pausing for a moment to recall the familiar tune, while an old woman, weighted by bundles of produce and with a plump loaf of bread stuck under her arm, hobbles her way through the crowded market singing the chorale almost imperceptibly under her breath as she slowly makes her way home-“Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr. . .”

THOUGH ENTIRELY FICTIONAL, there can be little doubt that such a scene regularly took place in many German cities and towns during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The daily performance of music, called both *Turmmusik* and *Abblasen*, from the tower or balcony of the *Rathaus* (city hall) by the *Stadtpfeifer* (town pipers) was a

regular feature of almost every city and town that employed a band of civic musicians. While these performances provided music purely for public consumption, they reached to the very soul of German Lutheran society and in effect assumed a theology in their own right. This musical theology, as such, was in fact a realization of Reformation ideals within the context of everyday life.

The Reformation had a profound effect on the shape of Germany's musical landscape. The successful spread of Lutheran reform, of which music was a vital element, brought about a redefinition of the fundamental role of music within German society through not only the Lutheran worship service, but by a reaffirmation of the social identity of the Christian way of life.⁴ Luther believed that music was a wonderful creation and gift of God and regarded its importance to be second only to theology. Armed and inspired with scriptural justification, he recognized music as both a potent spiritual weapon in the struggle against the worldly influence of the devil and as an important and valuable religious tool. It was not only an appropriate and sincere way of worshiping God, but also a most powerful means of conveying the Word of God to the people.⁵ As such, music also played an important role outside of the church and worship service in fostering the Christian way of life. In the third part of his *On the Councils and Churches* (1539), Luther wrote that Christians are “recognized by prayer, public praise and thanksgiving to God. Where . . . psalms or other spiritual songs are sung, in accordance with the Word of God and the true faith . . . you may rest assured that a holy and Christian people of God are present.”⁶ The Wittenberg theologian and professor, Philip Melancthon, who, next to Luther, was the principal figure in the Reformation, reaffirmed the importance of this

universal role that music played outside of the church proper. As a dedicated humanist, Melanchthon was devoted to cultivating the connection between the spiritual and temporal worlds.⁷ He asserted that religious musical edification is essential to the Christian way of living and should pervade every quarter of daily life, because "music is [a] means by which man can come to know God and contemplate Christian truth, which towers above all human knowledge."⁸ "The *cultus dei*," he explained in his preface to Georg Rhau's *Officia de Nativitate* (Wittenberg, 1545), "should permeate the whole life of man, because where church music ceases to sound, it is to be feared that a disintegration of the sacred doctrines will follow." This infusion of religious music into the secular realm of every day life that Melanchthon envisioned represented a veritable sanctification of that life—"the people in the church, the boys in the schools, the girls in their domestic tasks or in the garden, the farmers and reapers in the fields, and the rider in the countryside all singing the words of the prophets and the apostles."⁹ Through this *viva vox evangelii* (living voice of the Gospels), as Luther equated the ministry of music,¹⁰ the common citizen is fortified by God's Word and Christian teaching to face the many vicissitudes of everyday life.

With its focus on common people and their direct relationship with God, the Reformation also had a dramatic influence on Germany's social culture. Much of Germany's northern and central regions were effectively transformed from hierarchical ecclesiastic states based on the principle of sacramental and intercessory religion to evangelical municipal states based on a principle of direct spiritual religion, at the heart of which was a pious and hard-working community for whom personal and immediate faith was the backbone of society. With this change in the role of the church from a political power to a social force, cultural elements—especially music—as vehicles for the expression and propagation of faith, became important catalysts for public social bonding, mollifying the natural dichotomy between the respective public/secular and private/sacred aspects of daily life. The civic musical institutions of the *Kapelle*, *Kantorei* and *Stadtpfeiferei* became the very means by which Melanchthon's musical sanctification of daily life was facilitated. Of these institutions, the *Stadtpfeiferei* played perhaps the

most important role in musically promulgating the Protestant Christian way of life in the public domain.

The tradition of civic authorities maintaining musical ensembles runs deep in German history. As early as the thirteenth century, and undoubtedly even well before, most cities and larger towns employed instrumentalists whose sole duties were to herald public proclamations and to keep watch and signal alarm for such "enormities in the night"¹¹ as the ever-present danger of fire, mayhem and attack.¹² During the fifteenth century, this purely functional role began to evolve as more musically oriented duties were required, and it is from about this time that come the first performances by civic-watch wind bands that were intended purely for the sake of public entertainment. By the beginning of the

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sixteenth century, the civic ensembles of the *Stadtpfeifer* or town pipers (also known as *Ratsmusikanten*, *Stadtmusikanten*, *Kunstpfeifer* and *Türmer*) had become integral elements in a wide range of civic music making and enjoyed a municipally mandated monopoly on all music making within city boundaries, a charge that often included local rural districts as well. In the wake of the Reformation, *Stadtpfeifer* ensembles played an increasing role in church music.¹³ By the beginning of the seventeenth century, their participation extended well beyond seasonal feasts and celebrations to include lesser festivals and even weekly services.¹⁴

The second half of the sixteenth century was a time of rapid growth for *Stadtpfeiferei*. Though most larger cities and towns had possessed civic wind bands in some form since well before the beginning of the sixteenth century, many established civic musical ensembles for the first time during this period expressly for the purpose of taking part in weekly church services. Such cities included Halle (1571), Dresden (1572), Berlin (1575), Köln (1575), Stettin (1588), Eisenach (1589), Weißenfels (1580) and Nordhausen (1595).¹⁵ It was also during this period that the regular practice of concerts of multi-part instrumental music, familiarly known as "tower music" (*Turmmusik*, also *Turmblasen* or *Abblasen*¹⁶), by *Stadtpfeifer* from the church or gate tower, or balcony of the town hall began. These performances quickly became a regular feature of almost every city or town that employed civic musicians and, in spite of a period of decline during the Thirty Years War (1618-48), would reach their greatest height in the last half of the seventeenth century.¹⁷ A poem by

Jacob Lottich published in 1679 charmingly depicts this custom in any number of German cities and towns during the post-Reformation era:

When Titan's¹⁸ high course is about to bring midday,
the clock strikes ten;
then the musicians meet with all their odds and ends,
form a group and let us have a tune
for lunch on their trombones.

The midday music can be heard from
the town hall tower,
almost as high up in the open air;
it sounds for the honor of God and to inform
the people, so that everyone knows each day
at this time it is the tenth hour.

When Latous¹⁹ has departed from us with
never tiring horses
and when we no longer see any light or
rays from him on earth,
then a bell is rung so that its sweet
sound entices us to vespers.

A cornettist then takes the best of his *Zinken*,
chooses a psalm which he considers just suitable,
and he pipes in an artful manner;

.....²⁰

As soon as Aurora²¹ gleams in gold and roseate hues
the watchman still awake takes his trumpet,
alerts and wakes the town with a morning song.
After that he retires and makes up for lost sleep.²²

Performing so-called "tower music" was, next to participating in church music, the most important duty of the *Stadtptfeifer*. Consequently, appointment documents for town musicians usually outlined in some detail what was expected with regard to this responsibility. The appointment contract of Grimma *Stadtptfeifer* Andreas Jacob Burgken from 1674 states that, in addition to diligently attending to church music, he was required to "perform from the town hall at mid-day at 10 o'clock, every Sunday and holidays,²³ also on Wednesdays and Saturdays, [and] as is customary, each time there is a market day."²⁴ Some cities even required daily performances of their musicians, as was the case in Leipzig, where *Stadtptfeifer* were directed to perform each day at ten o'clock "to the honor of God." A special balcony, referred to as a *Pfeiferstuhl*, had even been constructed for them to perform from when the town hall was rebuilt in 1599.²⁵

Another responsibility related to performing tower music, though musically speaking considerably less substantial, was playing *Stundenblasen* to signal the hours and various important times of the workday.²⁶ For a society that traditionally began work at dawn, this practice was an essential part of every day life. In some places it even continued right up to the First World War.²⁷ Beginning as early as

three or four o'clock in the morning, a fanfare, hymn, or other short piece familiarly referred to as the morning blessing (*Morgensegen*) or *Taganblasen*, would be sounded to mark the start of the working day. Other hourly fanfares would be sounded throughout the day to signal the mid-day pause (usually at ten o'clock), the afternoon break (around three or four o'clock). Finally, the end of the day (nine or ten p.m.) would be signaled with an *Abendsegen*, an evening blessing.²⁸ There were also later performances known as *Aubaden* or simply *Nachtmusik*, though these were usually associated with the night watch.²⁹ While the times and frequency may have varied, most cities and towns followed this general schedule. In Cologne, during the sixteenth century, the town musicians were even required to vary their performances according to the time of day: "[signaling] all the hours with cymbals, and also every morning around daybreak, [but] at about three or four o'clock [a.m.?] they are to play on flutes, crumhorns, cornetts or shawms; also around midday at eleven o'clock and then again in the evening. . . at about nine or ten o'clock."³⁰ Similarly in Greiz in 1619, the town musicians played "spiritual songs and other appropriate pieces" every morning at three and eleven, and again in the evening at seven, though they played trumpets at nine a.m. and four p.m.³¹ Leipzig appears to have had a particular penchant for antiphonal tower music. Not only was the hourly signal echoed back and forth between the towers of the Thomaskirche, Nicholaikirche and the Neukirche, but three verses of an appropriate song were played, with each verse echoed three times from tower to tower.³² Nürnberg had a similar tradition, which apparently lasted until 1806.³³ It was also customary in some cities to sound the hourly fanfare to each of the four points of the compass.³⁴ Other performances of *Abblasen* included commemorations of various community occasions such as anniversaries, celebrations, weddings, baptisms and deaths. These *Abblasen*, as with *Stundenblasen*, varied anywhere from simple fanfares, bicinia and tricinia, to hymns and other polyphonic pieces.³⁵ In Reutlingen, for example, a *Sterbechoral* (death chorale) was performed from the church tower at the death of a *Bürger*.³⁶

It is impossible to say just how the midday "concerts" of the *Stadtptfeifer* were conducted or what specifically was performed on them. What few written accounts there are of tower performances are frustratingly laconic, and the rare iconographic depictions of town musicians performing outdoors reveal little if anything pertinent to performance practice. Less vague, yet still uncertain, is the matter

of repertoire. Period references speak only in the most generic of terms, referring to "spiritual pieces," chorales, Psalms, motets, festive songs, or simply *Stücken*, indicating a mostly sacred repertoire, likely of harmonized chorales, chorale based canzonas and sinfonias, motets, Psalm settings, liturgical (ordinary) settings and other cantus-firmus type works. The particular text settings performed would almost certainly have closely paralleled the church lectionary and seasonal calendar. Such was implicit in a directive given by the mayor of Oldenburg in 1665, which instructed the town's *Stadtpfeifer* to perform spiritual songs with gospel or other such "preached texts."³⁷

Some idea of what the tower music repertoire may have consisted may be gleaned from various *Stadtpfeifer* or *Ratsmusik* inventories, as well as certain manuscript collections believed to be associated with *Stadtpfeifereien*. Many *Stadtpfeifereien* are known to have assembled manuscript anthologies of works for their own use, as well as maintained libraries of manuscripts and printed editions. An entry in the records of the Leipzig city treasury in 1600, for example, notes a payment of 3 *Gulden* 17 *Groschen* to a copyist for "copying 80 pieces into the *Stadtpfeifer* books." An entry three months later indicates the placement of an order for 6-part pieces from Venice.³⁸ Inventories cataloguing the music and instruments belonging to the Nürnberg *Stadtpfeiferei* dating from 1575, 1598 and 1609 reveal a sizeable library of manuscripts and printed editions consisting of mostly sacred vocal anthologies by predominantly German and Italian composers. Represented are works by Christian Erbach, Melchior Frank, Hans Leo Hassler, Orlando di Lasso, Pierre Phalèse, Michael Praetorius, Cipriano de Rore, Tilman Susato, Horatio Vecchi, Tomás Luis de Victoria, Adrian Willaert and others.³⁹ One interesting manuscript collection dating from the late sixteenth century and thought to be that of a *Stadtpfeiferei* is preserved in the *Proske-Bibliothek* in Regensburg (Hs. A.R. 775 & 777).⁴⁰ It is an eclectic collection, consisting of some 120 untexted motets, madrigals, and chansons by Abran, Cortecchia, Andrea Gabrieli, Gosswin, Lange, Lasso, Monte, Striggio, Utendal, and Wert, with instrumental scorings for cornetts, trombones and shawms.⁴¹ The diversity represented by this collection and the Nürnberg inventories illustrates the popularity and ready accessibility of a broad range of foreign editions throughout Europe during the late sixteenth and seventeenth century. The widespread distribution of such *welschen Stücken* (pieces by foreigners) was greatly facilitated by

German reprint editions and seasonal *Märkte* or *Messen* (trade fairs) such as those which took place tri-annually in Leipzig.

While most municipal authorities maintained libraries of editions and manuscripts for their *Stadtpfeifer* to use, some town musicians are themselves known to have owned sizeable personal music collections. In 1748, Leipzig *Stadtpfeifer*, Johann Gentzmer, recommended that the city council purchase the personal music collection and instruments of the former senior *Stadtpfeifer*, Gottfried Reiche (+1734), because they (some five chorale books, 122 *Abblasen*, and several instruments) were "still very usable."⁴²

In addition to being the leading professional musicians of their day,⁴³ many *Stadtpfeifer* were also composers of some competence,⁴⁴ though the number of extant editions by them is relatively modest. Perhaps the earliest edition by a *Stadtpfeifer* to include music ostensibly suitable for use as tower music is Stettin (and later Frankfurt) town musician Paul Lütkehan's *Neue latienische und deutsche Gesenge* (Stettin, 1597).⁴⁵ This collection consists of five- to seven-part sacred vocal settings with German and Latin texts, and five- and six-part instrumental fantasies, paduans and galliards, six of which are chorale based.⁴⁶ Even more rare are collections explicitly designated for use as tower music. The only extant examples are two late seventeenth-century anthologies by Leipzig *Stadtpfeifer*:

Johann Pezel (1639-1694; Leipzig, Bautzen)⁴⁷

Hora decima musicorum Lipsiensium, oder musicalische Arbeit zum Abblasen, um 10. Uhr Vormittage in Leipzig, bestehend in 40. Sonaten mit 5. Stimmen als 2. Cornetten und 3. Trombonen, inventirt, componirt und Auff Anhalten vieler guten Freunde. (Leipzig, 1670).⁴⁸

Gottfried Reiche (1667-1734; Leipzig)⁴⁹

Vier und zwanzig neue Quatricinia mit einem Cornett und drey Trombonen vornehmlich auff das sogenannte Abblasen auf den Rathhäusern oder Thürmen mit Fleiß gestellet; Dem Höchsten Gott zu Ehren und denen Musicis zu Nutz und Vergnügen an das Licht von Gottfried Reichen. (Leipzig, 1696).⁵⁰

Save for a single sonatina on the chorale melody "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr" in Reiche's *Quatricinia*, these two editions consist entirely of secular instrumental pieces (intradas, sonatas, fugues, *Aufzüge*, bicinia, "arias", balletti and dance movements) for four- and five-part ensembles of cornetts and trombones. A third collection, amusingly subtitled "Newly-baked Table Scraps"

(Frankfurt, 1685),⁵¹ by the Stuttgart town musician Daniel Speer (1636-1707) also includes pieces for trumpets, cornetts, trombones and dulcians designated as especially appropriate for use by town musicians, and by correlation therefore, also suitable for tower music.⁵² These editions attest to the fact that by the end of the seventeenth century, tower music performances had come to include a variety of purely secular instrumental genres in addition to the mandated spiritual repertoire.

Throughout Protestant urban Germany during the period from the early sixteenth to early eighteenth century, tower "concerts" by *Stadtpfeifer* were an integral and important part of daily life. But they did much more than signal various times of the working day and provide music for public entertainment. They were a "sign of joy and peace"⁵³ that spoke to the very faith of the community, providing an important element of peaceful repose and spiritual reassurance. The direct impact this had on the average citizen in the street was recognized by both municipal authorities and the *Stadtpfeifer* themselves, who spoke with eloquence and conviction of the fundamentally spiritual purpose underlying the performances. Johann Pezel, in the dedication to his *Hora decima musicorum Lipsiensium* (1670), asserted that town musicians performing *Abblasen* from the town hall at ten o'clock with trombones and cornetts "is indeed a truly Christian act, and one which, above all, may kindle Christian hearts to God's praise and honor." After all, he continues,

why shouldn't a Christian-minded heart let itself be inflamed to God's honor and glory by the sound of cornetts and trombones? I remember in this regard the customs of the Persians and the Turks [who, in ancient times, shouted praises to God from high towers⁵⁴]. How much more is it incumbent upon us Christians to think every day, yea, every hour of God's glory? Surely the [sounding of] *Abblasen*, which is done at certain hours by the watchmen of this city [Leipzig] and by the town musicians from the town hall at ten o'clock, plays no small part in it.⁵⁵

The music of the *Stadtpfeifer* did indeed play no small part in the public affirmation of faith in the everyday world. Such sentiments, together with the associated social benefits of a morally conscientious population, were the fundamental reasons that many towns instituted tower music concerts. *Stadtpfeifer* appointment contracts consistently emphasize this point when outlining tower music duties. In 1726 Hamburg's town musicians were instructed to perform psalms at appointed times "to the honor of

Almighty God, to inspire Christian prayer and to sustain the goodwill of the citizens and the entire community."⁵⁶ So valued was the message that the *Stadtpfeifer* performances imparted to the community at large that, when in 1738 a proposal was introduced in Mühlhausen to reduce the tower music to a single trumpet, it was summarily rejected on the grounds that "the playing of one trumpet will arouse poor devotion; such a performance cannot replace the harmonious music of trombones. A great and divine force lives in the harmony [of multiple instruments]. God transplanted his image into it."⁵⁷

The significance of tower music was not limited to merely its spiritual intent. The very instruments that the *Stadtpfeifer* played figured prominently in the psalms and scriptures, and were themselves symbols of God and Christian faith. Leipzig *Thomaskantor*, Johann Kuhnau, once wrote "when our town musicians at festival time play a spiritual song on resounding trombones from the tower, every measure stirs in us the image of angels singing. The eternal and heavenly instrumental music is that of wind instruments. No other instruments but wind instruments are played in heaven by the angels!" This "opening of heaven" at the sound of wind instruments led Kuhnau to conclude that "wind instruments are the oldest, most eternal, most beautiful, most pleasing, most penetrating, and most valuable of all musical instruments."⁵⁸ Of the principal instruments town musicians used for tower performances-trumpet,⁵⁹ slide trumpet, cornett (*Zink*), trombone and shawm-the trumpet undoubtedly had the most readily recognizable biblical associations. Among the many references to trumpets in the Bible, perhaps the most memorable is that found in Numbers 10 which tells of the *hatzotzerot*, the silver trumpets that God commanded Moses to make and sound in order to gather the congregation to the temple.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the trumpet of the period, the valveless eight-foot natural trumpet, possessed a certain divine perfection in itself, inherent in the limited notes it could produce: those of the natural harmonic series, symbolizing the godly perfection of creation and the divine harmony of nature. Additionally, representation of the Holy Trinity was found in the natural harmonic series' principal tonic triad.⁶¹ Interestingly however, the trumpet or horn most often referred to in Luther's German translation of the Bible was a *Posaune*, a trombone,⁶² the instrument through which we hear God himself speaking to his people. At the receiving of the commandments at mount Sinai (Exodus 19: 16-19) "there was a thunder and lightning, and a thick cloud

was over the mountain and there was the sound of a very strong *Posaune* . . . and Moses led the people out of the camp to God. . . and the *Posaunen* became louder and louder."⁶³ The cornett or *Zink*, which was the primary soprano instrument of tower performances during the seventeenth century, was descended from simple instruments made from animal horns and was both visually and aurally evocative of the *qeren* or shofar, the ram's horn instrument used by the Hebrews at temple celebrations. The shawm and other woodwind instruments or *Pfeifen* (i.e., crumhorns, *Schreyerpfeifen*, *Rauschpfeifen*, dulcians, recorders, flutes, etc.) also variously used by the *Stadtpfeifer* symbolized shepherds' instruments and other pastoral motifs.

The spiritual power of tower music was manifold and lay principally in two aspects of its performance: its public venue, which brought the music and message of the church out into the everyday world, and its ability to convey a spiritual message and promote Christian ideals without an explicitly articulated text. Luther believed in the ability of music to affect the human heart and mind and in its capacity for promoting virtue. In his preface to Georg Rhau's *Symphoniae iucundae* (1538) he wrote:

Experience testifies that, after the Word of God, music alone deserves to be celebrated as mistress and queen of the emotions and of the human heart. . . And by these emotions men are controlled and often swept away as by their Lords. A greater praise of music than this we cannot conceive. For if you want to revive the sad, startle the jovial, encourage the despairing, humble the conceited, pacify the raving [and] mollify the hate-filled. . . what can you find that is more efficacious than music? The Holy Spirit himself honors it as an instrument of His specific office when He testifies in His Holy Scriptures that his gifts came upon the prophets through its use, that [music] is the impulse toward all virtues . . . its use drives out Satan. . . . Not in vain, therefore, do the [church] fathers and the prophets want nothing more intimately linked to the Word of God than music. From this arise so many hymns and psalms, in which the message and the voice [*Sermo et vox*]⁶⁴ act upon the heart, while in other animated and living bodies music alone, without message, causes reactions.⁶⁵

Luther's distinction between music's so-called "message" (*sermo*) and "voice" (*vox*) reveals that he recognized music's capability for expression even without the articulation of a text. The music itself, by virtue of the substance of its extra-musical associations, its "message" (which, incidently, also serves to define its genus), inherently expresses meaning. Luther also acknowledged that even purely abstract music, without extra-musical associations,

that is "without message" (i.e., instrumental music), was capable evoking a response, albeit on a more primal level.

The efficacy of instrumental music in worship became one of the central issues in the polemics that arose between conservative and liberal Protestant camps during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁶ Though the tower music of the *Stadtpfeifer* appears to have remained peripheral to, if not entirely immune from the fray, the prolific minutiae that grew out of the heated debate echoed the substance of Luther's views and offered apt explanations as to how tower music expressed spirituality and promoted devotion. According to a group of Wittenberg theologians who responded to a call for the purification of church ceremonies in 1597, "instrumental music is in itself such a gift of God as to move the hearts of men with power even when no human voice sings along."⁶⁷ The scriptural requirement that worship be understandable (1 Corinthians 14) was unnecessary, they felt, because the mere perception of instrumentalists playing spiritual music, whereby the music itself communicates its genus, was sufficient for the power of the music to be felt and its effect achieved. Such is the example of the call to battle, which is readily understood without words. The Bible also provides numerous examples of instruments being used by the ancient Hebrews at festivals to rouse worshippers. On a more practical note, the Wittenbergers found it unrealistic to believe that worshippers at temple celebrations were always able to discern the text being sung amid the clamor of all the wind and stringed instruments being played.⁶⁸ Later defenders of instrumental music during the seventeenth century argued along similar lines, concluding that "even as pure sound without words music is capable of conveying a certain knowledge of God," thereby moving human hearts and exciting "devout minds greatly to earnest prayers and works of grace."⁶⁹ Additionally, secular instrumental music, particularly that which did not evoke or promote frivolity or wantonness, was accepted, albeit reluctantly, as capable of promoting piety and virtue by "awakening the soul," especially so when performed and heard with "fervent devotion."⁷⁰

But text was not necessarily out of the picture with regard to tower music. Many of the psalms, hymns and "spiritual pieces" performed instrumentally by the *Stadtpfeifer* would have been well known to most, if not all, and would have mnemonically evoked equally familiar and cherished texts. Congregational hymns in the vernacular had been an integral, almost liturgical, part of the

Protestant worship service since the Reformation, and together with the psalms, were the chief vehicle by which the congregation, Luther's "priesthood of believers," participated in the worship service. In addition to liturgical musical settings associated with the ordinary of the mass, hymns provided worshipers with not only an elementary interpretation of scripture and Christian teaching that was readily understandable by all, but an aesthetic means of direct and overt praise and thanksgiving that was accessible by all. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed a proliferation of printed editions of Protestant hymn books and hymn poetry,⁷¹ which in itself stands as a testament to the widespread approbation of congregational hymnody as a corporate act of worship and expression of the immediate and personal joy of faith. In those familiar and well-loved melodies and texts, devout Protestants found a certain personal spiritual expression and affirmation that was in many ways analogous to prayer.⁷² It was this very familiarity, esteem, and joy of personal faith that the *Stadtpfeifer* tapped into when playing spiritual pieces from the tower or balcony of the town hall.

Stadtpfeifer were an important element of Protestant German society during the post-Reformation Era. The "friendly and peaceful sound of their music," as Johann Pezel referred to it, was as much a part of daily life, and indeed functioned in very much the same way, as the clock in the church tower which guided the people throughout the days and seasons, and the peal of whose bells marked their joys and sorrows. The performance of spiritual music and hourly psalms from the tower by town musicians was, by design, intended to foster devotion and Christian ideals among the people. As such, it was a public ministry embraced by the greater theology of music as an aesthetic means of communicating the Word of God and Christian teaching, and an expression of doxological praise and joy of personal faith tantamount to prayer. The importance of such "musical prayer," as well as its effects, were all the more powerful when extended beyond the sheltered sanctuary of the church environs to the outside world of everyday life, where, for the devout people in the street, temptations, superstitions, evil influences, mortal dangers, and the myriad uncertainties that tried one's faith were very real. The public performances of the *Stadtpfeifer* offered a potent source of spiritual reassurance, encouragement, and hope. In a difficult and uncertain world, they were an aural reminder of the boundless power of faith and the eternal reward that awaits the faithful. As Johann Matthaeus Meyfart

commented in 1627, amid the backdrop of escalating hostilities of the Thirty Years War, "one who in devotion looks toward the glory of eternity easily endures the misery of temporality."⁷³

... The old woman turns down a quiet side street, the door to her house in sight. In the distance the final verse of a lively hymn can be faintly heard:

If he is ours,
we fear no powers,
not of earth or sin or death.
He sees and blesses
in worst distresses;
He can change them with a breath.
Wherefore the story
tell of his glory
with heart and voices;
All heaven rejoices
in him forever: Alleluia!
We shout for gladness,
triumph o'er sadness,
love him and praise him
And still shall raise him
glad hymns forever. Alleluia!

Though the music fades away, yielding to the conversations of passersby, and the sounds of street sweepers and barking dogs, she continues to hum and sing snippets of the well-known tune—*In dir ist Freude in allem Leide*. . . savoring the last notes almost as a benediction: "Al-le-lu-ia." With the click of her key in the door latch, the bell in the distant church tower, almost as if on cue, tolls the bottom of the hour.⁷⁴

Endnotes

1
Zur Ehren des Glaubens meiner Mutter und meines Vaters. Heb. 11: 1; 2 Cor. 5: 7; Col. 2: 2.

2
For examples of such *Marktrufen* or *Straßentrufen* see Hans Joachim Moser, *Tönende Volkaltertümer* (Berlin, 1935), 49-61.

3
Johann Haselberg describing the Nürnberg market in 1531:

When through the Lindgasse you've been led,
You'll see the market place ahead,
Where wool is sold and textiles rare,
Velvet and silk, and camel's hair.
Dealers in herbs and apothecaries
Here have their shops; and peas and cherries
And cheese and cabbage are for sale,
And pubs dispense fine white wine and ale.

Given in Alexander Cowan, *Urban Europe: 1500-1700* (London: Arnold, 1998), 3.

4
Christoph Wolff, "Germany, I, 1-5," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 7: 268. For a synopsis of Luther's theology of music and the polemics of Lutheran church music during the Baroque see Carl F. Schalk, *Luther on Music: Paradigms of Praise* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1988), and Joyce L. Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the*

Age of the Baroque (New York: Peter Lang, 1993).

5

Geoffrey Webber, *North German Church Music in the Age of Buxtehude* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 9.

6

Timothy F. Lull ed., *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 561.

7

See Wilhelm Pauck, "Luther and Melancthon," and Harold J. Grimm, "The Relations of Luther and Melancthon with the Townsmen," in *Luther and Melancthon in the History and Theology of the Reformation*, ed. Vilmos Vajta (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press 1961), 13-31; 32-48.

8

Hermann Zenk, *Sixtus Dietrich* (Leipzig, 1928, repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1967), 44.

9

Georg Rhau, *Officia de Nativitate* (Wittenberg, 1545), fol. AIIr-v: "Hoc exercitium salutare extingunt aliqui nimis agrestes, qui nolunt adsuesieri populum ad dulces cantilenas, continentes doctrinam de Christo. Deinde metuendum est, ne citius in illis gentibus memoria doctrinae deleatur, ubi nec populus in Templis, nec pueri in Scholis, nec puellae in domesticis operis, aut hortis, nec agricolae et messoris in agris, nec equites in campis canunt Prophetarum & Apostolorum dicta." Facsimile given in Franz Krautwurst ed., *Officia de Nativitate* (Wittenberg 1545), vol. 12, *Georg Rhau Musikdrucke aus den Jahre 1538-1545* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), xvii-xviii See also Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1941), 211-12.

10

Irwin, 4; Schalk, 30.

11

Referring to Henry III's decree of 1253 which established the civic watch in England: "for a full remedy of the enormities in the night. . . in the yeere of Christ 1253 Henrie the third commanded Watches in Cities, and Borough Towns to be kept, for the better observing of peace and quietnesse amongst his people. . ." from John Stow, *A Survey of London Written in the Year 1598*, ed. William J. Thomas (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876), 158.

12

For a comprehensive history of civic musicians in Germany from the Reformation to the end of the Baroque see Timothy A. Collins, "The Stadtpfeifer of Germany: Their History, Professional Status, Instruments and Music" (DMA document, Case Western Reserve University, 2001).

13

In places such as the free imperial cities of Augsburg, Danzig, Lübeck, Leipzig, Frankfurt am Main, and Nürnberg, *Stadtpfeifer* participated in church music relatively early. Leipzig's *Stadtpfeifer* regularly participated in church services as early as the 1520s and were even present at the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. In 1519, when Martin Luther debated the theologian Johann Eck in the Leipzig Pleissenburg, Thomaskantor (and later printer) Georg Rhau attended with the Leipzig Kantorei and *Stadtpfeiferei* to "preface the debates with a *Veni Sancte Spiritus* and to conclude them with a *Te Deum*." Collins, *Stadtpfeifer*, 11.

14

Ibid., 6-27; Arno Werner, *Vier Jahrhunderte im Dienst der Kirchenmusik: Geschichte des Amtes und Standes der evangelischen Kantoren, Organisten und Stadtpfeifer seit der Reformation*. (Leipzig: Merseberger, 1932), 218-23.

15

For a more comprehensive listing see Collins, *Stadtpfeifer*, 13. Those smaller towns who did not possess their own *Stadtpfeiferei* would often import civic bands from other towns to enhance church music on special occasions. *Ibid.*, 12; Werner, 219.

16

Though the term *Abblasen* is most often encountered in period sources as a verb, literally meaning "to blow forth" or "to sound", it is also used as a noun referring to tower music.

17

Even at its height during last quarter of the seventeenth century, the *Stadtpfeiferei* had not appreciably changed in instrumentation or repertoire from what it had been nearly a century before. It is not surprising, therefore, that amid the tacit conspiracy of rapidly changing tastes in musical styles, repertoire, and instrumentation, and the prolific rise of virtuosi and amateur music-making organizations during the first half of the eighteenth century, the *Stadtpfeifer* succumbed to obsolescence. Remarkably however, in at least one instance tower performances lasted well into the nineteenth century. The French composer and musicologist Jean Georges Kastner, in his *Danses des morts* (1852, p. 213), recalled: "In 1840, while I was in Stuttgart [sic], I heard every day a concert of religious music performed by four musicians who, according to the practice, climbed the balcony of the tower to play a chorale, of which the first voice was played on the 'zinke,' and the others by alto tenor and bass trombones." Collins, *Stadtpfeifer*, 19-22, 83.

18

A reference to Hyperion, the Greek god of the sun.

19

A reference to Apollo, son of Leto.

20

The poem continues by describing of the town watchman's duties of patrolling the streets and calling out the hours throughout the night.

21

A reference in Roman mythology to the Greek goddess Eos, goddess of the dawn and mother of the west wind and morning.

22

Wann Titans hoher Lauff den Mittag shier will machen /
Die Uhre Zehn schlägt ab / da geht mit seinen Sachen
Der Musicanten Chor / bestimmt sich zu hauff /
Und blaset uns zu Tisch eins mit Posaunen auf.
Die Mittags Music ist vom Rats-Thurn anzuhören /
Fast hoch in freyer Lufft; sie schallet Got zu Ehren /
Dem Menschen zum Bericht: Dann so weiss jedermann
Ihm täglich um die Zeit / die Glock sey Zehn heran.
Wann nun Latous mit den niemals-Müden Pferden
Von Uns gereist ab; wann wir von ihm auf Erden
Kein Licht noch Strahlen sehn / so zeith man eine Klock' /
Auf dass ihr süsser Schall zum Abend-Seegen lock' /
Ein Cornetist nimmt dann die beste von den Zinken /
Erwehlt ihm einen Psalm ' der ihm schier recht will düncken /
Und pfeiffet nach der Kunst;

.....
So bald Aurora blincket in gold-gefärbter Röthe /
Ergreiff / der ausgewacht / den Wecker / die Trompete /
Macht durch ein Morgenlied die Stadt allard und wach /
Legt drauf sich selbst zur Ruh / und holt den Schlaff ihm nach.

Given in Don L. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721*, 2nd ed. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), 121-22, n. 38. Translation corrected by present author.

23

This rubric usually included both church and seasonal holidays, for some of which *Stadtpeifer* were given an additional stipend, often simply referred to as "Weihnachtsgeld", "Neujahrgeld", etc. In Delitzsch *Neujahrgeld* had a somewhat different connotation. Throughout northern Germany during the late sixteenth century it was a tradition that the local civic band perform *Neujahrsblasen*, whereby the *Stadtpeifer*, together with their apprentices and other *Expectanten* and *Beiständer*, went around the town on New Years day playing in front of citizens' houses for donations. The townspeople of Delitzsch apparently did not appreciate this public service, because in 1599 the city council passed a resolution authorizing a special stipend of one *Taler* if the band would not continue this tradition. Similarly, Leipzig's *Stadtpeifer* had been altogether forbidden from practicing this tradition. Werner, 231.

24

"Alle Sonn und Feyertage, wie auch an denen Mittwochs und Sonnabends gewöhnlichen Marckttagen jedesmahl, wenn er nicht in oder auswertig Auffwartung hat Mittags umb 10 uhr aufn Rathause abzublasen, auch zu dem Ende." Martin Wolschke, *Von der Stadtpeiferei zu Lehrlingskapelle und Sinfonieorchester* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1981), 245-46.

25

Arnold Schering, "Die Leipziger Ratsmusik von 1650 bis 1775." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1921): 21. Regarding variant times and logistics for other cities see Werner, 217.

26

Though this responsibility was usually that of *Türmer* or tower watchmen/musicians, it was in some places also required of *Stadtpeifer*. The difference between these two positions is subtle and quite often confusing. During the seventeenth century, the terms *Stadtpeifer* and *Türmer* were often synonymous, though they were in many cases (especially in larger towns and cities) distinctly separate positions. A *Türmer* was a tower-watchman who may or may not have been a musician. A *Stadtpeifer* was a musician who may or may not have been expected to serve in the tower as a watchman. By the middle of the seventeenth century service, in the tower (*Türmdienst*) had become a particularly degrading duty for a town musician; that duty was the responsibility of the watchman (*Türmer*). Thus the term *Türmer* had pejorative connotations for *Stadtpeifer*. In 1658, an applicant to a town musician's post in Delitzsch declined the position when the council wanted to assign an additional duty as caretaker in the tower. In Oldenburg (1669) the "town watchmen and musicmen [sic] as they have been known from times past," were admonished that their duty in the tower was "a verifiable fact which none among the musicians can deny." Collins, "Stadtpeifer," 20.

27

See Moser, *Volksaltertümer*, 15-49.

28

Two *Stundenblasen* from Eger (Hungary) and Wismar are given in Detlef Altenburg, "Zum Repertoire der Türmer, Stadtpeifer und Ratsmusiker im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," *Alta Musica* 4 (1979): 13, 18, 20. See also Ludwig Plass, "Blick in die Sammlung musikalischer Wahrzeichen deutscher Städte," *Zeitschrift für Schulmusik* 6, no. 3 (1933): 33-37. Another example of such a

fanfare, though not necessarily an *Abblasen*, is heard on Sunday mornings as the opening theme to the television program CBS *Sunday Morning*. The trumpet flourish is one depicted in the famous E. G. Haussmann (1727) portrait of Leipzig *Stadtpeifer* and Bach trumpeter Gottfried Reiche. Long thought to have been written by Reiche himself, recent stylistic analysis of this fanfare has revealed similarities with Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, the trumpet part to cantata 137. In addition, certain numerological characteristics, strongly suggesting that J. S. Bach may actually be the composer. See Eric Altschuler, "Trumpet Major? Did Bach Write the Fanfare in Gottfried Reiche's Portrait?" *The Musical Times* 142, no. 1876 (fall 2001): 29-31. A transcription of this fanfare may be found in Collins, "Gottfried Reiche: A More Complete Biography," *International Trumpet Guild Journal* 15 (1991): 10.

29

Examples of night watch calls from the nineteenth century are given in Moser, *Volksaltertümer*, 38-49.

30

"... sollen alle stunden mit dem Zimbel den uhren nachschlagen, auch alle tag des morgens, wenn der tag bald beginnet heranzubrehren, und ungefährlich um drei oder vier uhren, in ihre pfeifen, krumhörner, zincken oder schalmeien blasen, zu mittag um eilf uhren gleichergestalt und dann des abends... ungefährlich um neun oder zehn uhren abermalen." H. Moser, "Zur Mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte der Stadt Köln," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1918): 136, cited in David Whitwell, *The Renaissance Wind Band and Wind Ensemble* (Northridge, Ca.: Winds, 1982), 204.

31

"... mit den Posaunen eine christliche Lieder und andere gute Stücke abblasen..." The same was also true of the town of Stendal. Werner, *Vier Jahrhunderte*, 217.

32

There may have been more to this than merely an antiphonal effect. Leipzig *Stadtpeifer* Johann Pezel, in the dedication to his *Hora decima musicorum Lipsiensium* (1670), referenced the precedent of the ancient Persians and Turks: "The former, in ancient times, when they meant to make an offering to Jupiter in the best way, went to a tower or other high place and called and exclaimed to him [in] a circle about the heavens, thereby acknowledging his infinity... The latter, even today, will call each other from high towers: *La alla elle alla* ... or *Allach hechber*, that is, the only true God." A transcription of this dedication is given in Arnold Schering, ed. *Johann Pezel, Turmmusiken und Suiten*, vol 63, *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1959), 7.

33

Werner, *Vier Jahrhunderte*, 31, 34-35.

34

Altenburg, "Zum Repertoire," 15, 17. This practice may be heard even to this day in Kraków, Poland, where fire-brigade trumpeters perform an ancient fanfare called the "Hejnal" (pronounced "hay-now") to the four points of the compass every hour of each day, from the north tower of the thirteenth-century church of St. Mary the Virgin. The *Hejnal* has been performed almost continually since the thirteenth century, and since at least the nineteenth century, the trumpeters have abruptly broken off the *Hejnal* in tribute to their medieval predecessor who, on Palm Sunday in 1241, was supposedly shot through the neck amid sounding the alarm warning the city of approaching Tartar invaders. This anecdote is related in Smithers, *Baroque*

Trumpet, 130-131. A picture of this modern day *Türmer* performing the *Hejnal* from the tower of St. Mary's Church may be found in *National Geographic* 191, no. 2 (February, 1997): 11. This story was also the inspiration for the noted children's book *The Trumpeter of Krakow* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), by Eric Kelly.

35

Two *Taufenblasen* (baptismal fanfares) are given in Altenburg, "Zum Repertoire," 20.

36

Moser, *Volksaltertümer*, 17. As part of their church music duties *Stadtpeifer* also took part in funeral processions and graveside performances, often together with the *Kantorei* or *Kapella*. It is interesting to note that the only extant work by J. S. Bach scored specifically for a *Stadtpeifer* wind band is the funeral motet BWV 118, which dates from ca. 1736/7. This motet is a setting of the 1608 hymn text "O [Herr] Jesu Christ, meus Lebens Licht," attributed to Martin Behm, set to the chorale melody *Ach Gott, wie manches Herzleid*, and scored for SATB voices, 2 "litui" (horns), cornett (col. S), and 3 trombones (col. ATB). Bach later (ca. 1746/7) re-scored the motet for SATB voices, 2 "litui", 2 violins, viola, continuo and "3 Oboe e Bassono se piece", an instrumentation similar to that of the first Brandenburg Concerto (BWV 1046) and its related cantata variants. (cf. BWV 52, 207, 207a).

37

"... und daselbst einen geistlichen gesang der sich etwa auf das Evangelium oder den gepredigten text schicket mit Zinken und Posaunen coniunctim figuriren dergestalt, ..." Altenburg, "Zum Repertoire," 30.

38

Ibid., 28.

39

Heinz Zirnbauer, *Der Notenbestand der reichsstädtisch nürnbergischen Ratsmusik: Eine bibliographische Rekonstruktion* (Nürnberg, 1959), 3-42.

40

See Michael Colver and Bruce Dickey, *A Catalogue of Music for the Cornett* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 6, 40.

41

This collection is not unique. Several other manuscript collections contain similar contents. One such collection, the "Fitzwilliam Wind Manuscript," has been identified as having an association with the English Royal Wind Band. See Ross Duffin, "Cornets & Sagbuts, Some Thoughts on the Early Seventeenth-Century English Repertory for Brass," in *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship: Proceedings of the International Historic Brass Symposium*, Amherst MA, 1995, ed. Stewart Carter (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1997), 47-70. See also: David Whitwell, *A Catalogue of Multi-Part Instrumental Music for Wind Instruments or for Undesignated Instrumentation Before 1600* (Northridge, Ca.: Winds, 1983), 59-80; and David Whitwell, *A Catalogue of Multi-Part Instrumental Music for Wind Instruments or for Undesignated Instrumentation* (Northridge, Ca.: Winds, 1983), 153-191.

42

Collins, "Gottfried Reiche," 10, 20.

43

The professional status of town musicians is discussed at great length in Collins, "Stadtpeifer," 28-71.

44

This is perhaps unusual given the high rate of illiteracy among civic musicians. Wolfgang Printz remarked, though probably with exaggeration, in his *Musicus vexatus* (1690, formerly attributed to Johann Kuhnau) that "out of a hundred *Stadtpeifer* there was scarcely one who could write ten words of paper, even if his life depended on it." The most noted exceptions were the Leipzig *Stadtpeifer* Johann Pezel and Stuttgart town musician Daniel Speer. Pezel's numerous literary allusions and references to classical fables in his prefatory essays reveal him to have been considerably better educated than the average town musician. He apparently could also understand Italian and authored several literary commentaries, which have not survived. Speer was also a successful author in his own day, best known for his picaresque novels. See Henry Howey, "The Lives of *Hoftrumpeter* and *Stadtpeifer* as Portrayed in Three Novels of Daniel Speer," *Historical Brass Society Journal* 3 (1991): 65-78. For a full listing of and discussion of tower music editions see Collins, "Stadtpeifer," 96-98.

45

The full title reads: *Neue lateinische und deutsche Gesenge auf die vornehmsten Feste und etliche Sontage im jahr nebst nachfolgenden schönen Fantasien, Paduanen und Galliarden lustig zu singen und gar lieblich auf allerly Instrumenten zu gebrauchen* (Stettin, 1597). See Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 15977. A facsimile of the page and preface may be found in Erdman Werner Böhme ed., *Paul Luetkeman, Fantasien über Kirchenmelodien der pommerschen Reformationzeit (1597)*, vol 2, *Denkmäler der Musik in Pommern* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1931).

46

The contents are given in Brown, *Instrumental Music*, 416-17.

47

A second collection by Pezel, titled *Fünff-stimmigte blasende Music, bestehend in Intraden, Allemanden, Balleten, Courenten, Sarabanden, und Chiquen, als zweyen Cornetten und dreyen Trombonen* (Frankfurt, 1685), is also thought to have been intended for use as tower music. Though not specified in its title, such a use may be considered implicit. Wienandt explains: "The appearance of a set of wind suites this late in Pezel's career may simply be a manifestation of his continuing need to produce the kind of music for the performance of which he was employed. Functional music had no need of special presentation; it had merely to be made available. The title page of [*Fünff-stimmigte blasende Music*] bears this out, for it is utilitarian in the extreme, lacking any evidence of artistic preparation. Its information is given forth in large block letters without decoration, unattractive and practical." See Elwyn A. Wienandt, *Johann Pezel (1639-1694): A Thematic Catalogue of His Instrumental Works* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983), xvi. Interestingly enough, Pezel's *Hora decima* has a most ornate title page. A facsimile is given in Hans Jürgen Lange and Fritz Langhans eds., *Johann Pezelius, Hora Decima: Vierzig Leipziger Turmsonaten* (Berlin: Merseberger, 1968).

48

This edition was republished as string music in Dresden in 1674 under the title of *Supellex Sonatarum Selectarum*. See Wienandt, xxii-xxv.

49

In his preface to this collection, Reiche also references a previous collection of forty (40) five-part pieces that he had had to set aside "because of the difficulties their appearance present[ed] to

the technique of printing." See Collins, "Gottfried Reiche," 8-9, 18-19.

50

This edition, formerly in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, was long believed to have been destroyed during the Second World War. It was rediscovered in the Jagiellonska-Bibliotek, Cracow. See Holger Eichorn, "Gottfried Reiche: Twenty-four Quatricinia Rediscovered," *Historic Brass Society Newsletter* 5 (1993): 4-10. Appended to this edition is a manuscript set of six four-part sonatas for one cornett and three trombones by Johann Georg Christian Störl (1675-1719).

51

Its full title reads: *Recens Fabricatus Labor, oder Neu-gebachene Taffel-Schnitz von mancherly lustigen Rencken und Schwenken . . . mit 1. 2. 3. Sing-Stimmen und 2. Violinen . . . Item . . . Stücklein mit unterschiedlichen Instrumenten insonderheit vor die Kunst-Pfeiffer zum Auffwarten bequem, mit Trompeten, Cornetten, Trombonen, und Fagotten, samt einer Party mit 5. Violen.* (Frankfurt, 1685).

52

Though similar correlations can logically be made to include earlier instrumental collections and other editions by *Stadt-pfeifer*, particularly those scored for ensembles of cornetts and trombones, the principal loud band of seventeenth-century town musicians (see Collins, "Stadt-pfeifer," 96-99), it must be remembered that official mandates pertaining to tower music duties reference almost exclusively "spiritual works". It is only with the Pezel and Reiche collections that secular instrumental genres are *unequivocally* associated with tower music performances.

53

From the preface to *Vier und zwanzig neue Quatricinia* (1696). Collins, "Stadt-pfeifer," 18-19.

54

See note 33.

55

"Traun ein recht Christliches Werk / und welches vor andern die Christlichen Hertzen zu Gottes Preiss und Ehre zu entzünden vermag! . . . warum solte nicht ein Christlich-gesintes Gemüth durch Zincken- und Posaunen-klang zu Gottes Ruhm und Ehre sich anfeyren lassen? Ich erinnere mich aber hierbey der Perser und Türken Gewonheit. . . Wiefielmehr will uns Christen zustehen / alle Tage ja alle Stunden auff Gottes Ehre zu denken? Und hat gewißlich das Abblasen / welches von den Thürmern in dieser Stadt zu gewissen stunden, und von dem Raths-Musicis umb 10. Uhr von dem Rathhause geschieht / nicht eine geringe Verwandnüß / und ebenmässiges Absehen." Schering, *Pezel, Turmmusiken*, 7.

56

From the appointment contract of Christoph Schumann. Wilhelm Ehmman ed., *Tibilustrium: Das geistliche Blasen, Formen und Reformen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1950), 32.

57

Ibid., 55.

58

Ibid., 55-56.

59

Though the trumpet had been a principal instrument civic watchmen/ musicians for literally centuries, their use of it was a source of considerable trouble during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Numerous imperially endorsed Privileges, Confirmations, edicts and mandates issued during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries established and

guaranteed a monopoly on trumpet playing specifically to *Kameradschaft* or guild trumpeters. See Timothy A. Collins, "'Of the Differences between Trumpeters and City Tower Musicians,' The relationship of *Stadt-pfeifer* and *Kameradschaft* Trumpeters," *Galpin Society Journal* 53 (April 2000): 51-59.

60

For details on the ancient Hebrews' use of trumpets see Rabbi Schlomo Yosef Zevin, "Hazozerah [Trumpet]," trans. by Avi Penkower, *Historic Brass Society Journal* 4 (1992): 57-70. This article is a translation of the entry s.v. "Hazozerah" ("Trumpet") from the *Talmudic Encyclopedia*, vol 16 (Jerusalem, 1980).

61

Ehmann, 55.

62

Luther's use of this term is not literal, referring to a trombone, but figurative, representing the ancient trumpet (*buisine*) of God and the angels.

63

" . . . da erhob sich ein Ton einer sehr starken Posaune . . . und Mose führte das Volk aus dem Lager Gott entgegen . . . und der Posaun Ton ward immer Stärker." *Special English-German Edition of the Holy Bible*. (Grand Rapids: n.d.), 148, 149.

64

The translation given in Schalk (p. 37), from Ulrich S. Leupold ed., *Liturgy and Hymns*, vol. 53 *Luther's Works* ed. Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 323, incorrectly translates "vox" as music.

65

Ewald M. Plass, *What Luther Says, an Anthology* (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, ca. 1959), 2: 983-84, no. 3105.

This of course was nothing new. Since the time of Pythagoras philosophers and scholars have expounded at great length as to how and why music was able to physically affect man's body and sway his heart and mind. See Emily Kalmbach Collins, "Soothing the Savage Breast: Music and Medicine in Pre-Modern Western Culture" (M. A. thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 2002).

66

See Irwin, 11-13, 16; Webber, 9-21.

67

Irwin, 38.

68

Ibid., 16.

69

Ibid., 16, 20, 28.

70

Ibid., 31, 40, 111, 137.

71

One estimate puts the number of hymn texts in circulation at the beginning of the eighteenth century at some ten thousand. Lang, 472.

72

Ironically, the Bergdorf pastor Christoph Frick illustrated the moral that "God lets himself be moved by Christian psalms of prayer to protect his own with the host of heavenly angels" in his *Musica Christiana* (1615, pp. 78-9), with an apocryphal anecdote about three tower trumpeters from Brandenburg who

" . . . get up at three in the morning and signal the day from the tower with the glorious song of prayer:

Wenn wir in höchsten Nothen seyn/
Und wissen nicht wo aus noch ein/
Und finden weder hülf noch Rath/
[ob wir gleich sorgen früh und spät.] etc.

[When in the hour of utmost need
We know not where to look for aid;
When days and nights of anxious thought
No help or counsel yet have brought. c.f., LBW 330]

After they have thus fervently called upon God the Lord to stand by them in deepest need, they lie down again to rest. At 4 o'clock the tower falls down, the players fall down with it, none of them breaks a bone, and they don't know how they got down." Given in Irwin, 32.

73

Ibid., 47.

74

Wenn wir dich haben,
kann uns nichts schaden,
nicht die Sünde noch der Tod.
Du hasts in Händen,
kannst Alles wenden,
wie nur heißen mag die Not.
Drum wir dich ehren,
dein Lob vermehren
mit hellem Schalle,
freuen uns alle
in dieser Stunde. Hallelujah!
Dir jubilieren
und triumphieren,
lieben und loben
dein Macht dort oben
mit Herz und Munde. Hallelujah

Johann Lindemann (1549-ca. 1622), "In dir ist Freude;" adapted to the balletto melody of "Linnomorate" by Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi (1550s-ca. 1622); viz. LBW 552.

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