Musicalischer Seelen-Lust: The use of Traverso in German Seventeenth Century Sacred Concerti.

The sacred concerto originated in Italy in the late sixteenth century with the works of Giovanni Gabrieli and Viadana. From the outset, this form was characterized by the contrasting use of instruments and voices and of tutti and solo textures. In the introduction to his *Salmi a quattro cori per cantare e sonare* (1612), Ludovico Viadana has used term to describe the different groups which become a standard for composers writing *Concerti*, or vocal pieces contrasting different groups performers: vocal soloists (*Favoriti)* versus a tutti choir (*Capella*) and various instrumental groups: winds, strings or a mix of both.[1] The form reached Germany by early 1600s and was widely adopted by German composers, eventually becoming the central form of Protestant church music for the better part of the seventeenth century.[2] German sacred concertos or *Geistlische Koncert* emulated Italian masters in their use of contrasting forces, but also gave it a local flavor with the creative and colorful use of obbligato instruments.

With the rise of the concerto style came the fashion for the composer to indicating the instrumentation of a piece. Until the early seventeenth century, the assignment of various instruments to vocal parts was left to the choice of the music director or *Kapellmeister*, who made his choice according to ranges, local forces available and his own personal taste. This practice is documented by numerous contemporary sources, and reaches a high point in the third part of Praetorius' *Syntagma Musicum*, which includes detailed instructions on how to assign instruments to different vocal lines based on the clefs indicating the ranges in question.[3] Starting from around 1610, more composers began to indicate specific instruments in printed music, resulting in parts that were instrumentally, rather then vocally, conceived. There are a number of collections from the first half of the century that specify the use of transverse flute. Although it was certainly not the most popular instrument of the time, the flute was called for in more then forty surviving German sacred concerti.[4] This paper will give an overview of this repertoire, focusing on recently discovered pieces and collections. I will also try to answer some general questions about the repertoire, such as when was it written, in what combinations the flute was used and in what range were they expected to play.

The flute in sacred concerti: an overview

Praetorius' *Urania, oder Urano-Chordia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1613) is one of the first German collections that indicates the use of instruments and the first one to name the transverse flute as one of the options for instrumentation. Eight other collections of sacred concerti that call for the transverse flute have so far been found.   Several more works have recently come to light in manuscripts and in prints of single; occasional compositions. Table 1 gives an overview of the collections and single works found so far. All pieces currently known are listed in the appendix.

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[1] Ludovico Viadana: *Salmi a quatto chori per cantare e concertare nelle gran solennità di tutto l'ann*, Venice, 1612. Translated in *Salmi a quattro chori / Lodovico Grossi da Viadana* ; (ed. Gerhard Wielakker), Madison, 1988
[2] Adam Adrio, *Die Anfänge des Geistlichen Konzert*, Berlin 1935, 96, Michael Talbot: "Concerto" *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 1.12.06), <http://www.grovemusic.com>
[3] Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, Wolfenbüttel, 1619, 146-168, English translation in Jeffery T. Kite-Powell, *Syntagma Musicum III*, Oxford, 2004. For a discussion of early seventeenth century instrumentation practices see, for example, Michael Collver and Bruce Dickey, *A Catalogue of Music for the Cornetto*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 10, as well as Nicole Restle, *Vokales und Instrumentales Komponieren in Johann Hermann Scheins* Opella Nova Ander Theil, Frankfurt am Mein, 200, 59-61.
[4] Several authors have written about this repertoire in the past: Anne Smith, *Die Renaissancequerflöte und ihr Musik, ein Beitrag zur Interpretation der Quellen*, in *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 2, (1978) 55-57, Ardal Powel, *The Flute*, 49-56. Nancy Hadden, *The Renaissance Flute in the Seventeenth Century* in *From Renaissance to Baroque, Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century* Edited by Jonathan Wainwright, Aldershot, 2005, 113-133.

## Table 1: Seventeenth-century sacred concerti including traverso, an overview

composer	Collection	Date	location	no. of works	with flute	remarks
publications: collections						
Prætorius, Michael	*Urania, oder Urano-Chordia*	1613	Wolfenbüttel	28	2	
Prætorius, Michael	*Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica*	1619	Wolfenbüttel	40	10	
Schütz, Heinrich	*Psalmen Davids*	1619	Dresden	25	2	
Prætorius, Michael	*Puericinium*	1621	Frankfurt	12	2	
Daniel Selich	*Opus novum*	1623	Wolfenbüttel	20	2	
Schein, Johann Hermann	*Opella Nova II*	1626	Leipzig	32	7	Thomaskantor 1615-1630
Schütz, Heinrich	*Symphoniae Sacrae I*	1629	Venice	20	1	
Michael, Tobias	*Musicalischer Seelen-Lust*	1637	Leipzig	50	6	Thomaskantor 1631-1657
publications: occasional						
Schein, Johann Hermann	*Psalmae ecclesiae christianae à 5, 6, 10, 11, 16*	c. 1620	Leipzig	1		Lost WW II
Schein, Johann Hermann	*Votum pro pace, Frieden Wunsch à 9, 14*	1621	Leipzig	1		Lost WW II[5]
Schein, Johann Hermann	*Freuet euch*	c. 1629	Leipzig	1		
Schein, Johann Hermann	*Lamentatio Ecclesiae (Zion spricht: der Herr had mich verlassen)*	1629	Leipzig	1		

The Years around the second decade of the seventeenth century seem to have been the peak years in the printing of sacred Concerti with obbligato instruments in Germany, with important collections such as Schütz' *Psalmen Davids* and Praetorius massive *Polyhimnia* appearing in print at the same year; 1619. The third part of Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum,* with its instructions on how to apply instruments to vocal parts in Italian and German sacred concerti appears that same year and gives us an indication about the raising popularity of this practice. We can get a better proportion about the place of the traverso in this practice by comparing the number of vocal music collections published in Germany during the seventeenth century calling for the cornetto and those calling for traverso. As seen on graph 1, German composers started indicating the use of cornetto around 1600, but the number of such collections increases greatly over the next two decades, with the first peak around 1620.[6] The use of flute in such collections also shows the same tendency, only on a much smaller scale. There is a drop in the graph during

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[5] Both this and the previous composition by Schein are listed in Joseph Müller, *Die musikalischen Schätze der Königlichen- und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Königsberg.* Bonn, 1870, 317 According to Gerhard Dünnhaupt (*Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock.* 2nd edition. 6 vols. Stuttgart, 1990–93) these copies are believed to be in the St Petersburg, *Rossiyskaya Natsional'naya Biblioteka*, although recent correspondence with the library has turned up no such works.

[6] Collver & Dickey: *A Catalogue* (see footnote 3), 12-13

the late 1630s as the thirty years war entered its second decade, and the economic depression brought by this was felt throughout northern and central Germany. After the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 life was slowly returning to its normal course in Germany, and so did music publishing, as we can see on the graph of the cornetto.[7] Except for two pieces by Knüpfer, there are hardly any flute pieces written after 1650, or at least none that have so far been found. Possible reasons for this phenomenon will be discussed below.
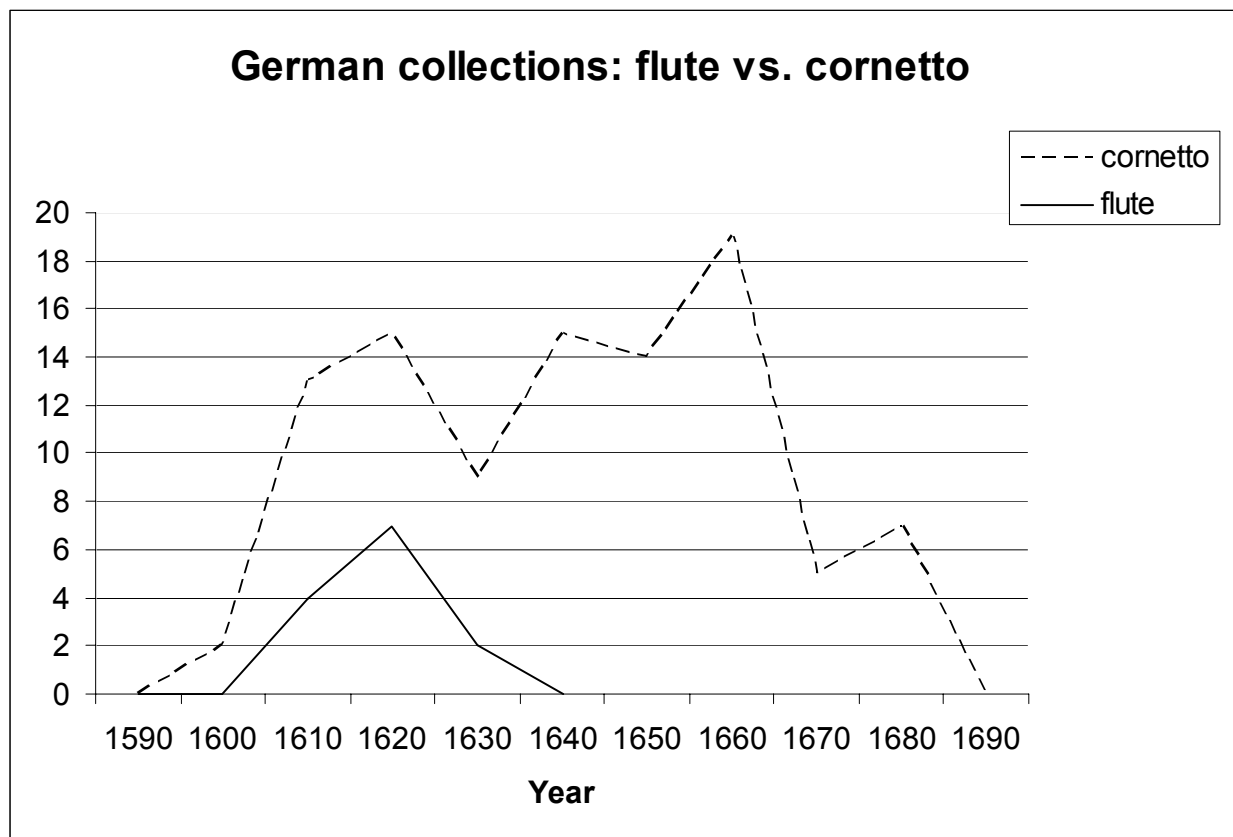
**Graph 1: German collections of sacred concerti with cornetto and flute**

Scoring: Modes, ranges and instrumental combinations

A quick survey of the surviving works gives us an interesting picture of the modes in which flutes were used. The modes most often used are g Hypodorian and F Hypoionian, which confirms Praetorius' indication that flutes are rarely used in keys without a flat in the key signature (*Cantu ♮ duro*). Surprisingly enough, pieces in F are more common then those in g, especially with

Praetorius himself, who comments that flutes sound best in the Dorian and Hypodorian modes, as well as Hypoæolian down a step.[8]

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[7] Stephen Rose: "Music, Print and Presentation in Saxony during the Seventeenth Century" in German History, vol. 23/1, 2005, 1-19

[8] "*Und schickt sich keener besser darzu/ als* Dorius, Hypodorius, *und* Hypoæolius *in secunda inferiore*" (No mode suits them better than the Dorian, Hypodorian and Hypoæolian a second lower.) Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, 156. Translation in Kite-Powell, *Syntagma Musicum III*, 160.

Flute in sacred concertos: Modes

a 3% d 3% C 5% c 3% G 8% g 35% F 43%

Legend: d, C, c, F, g, G, a
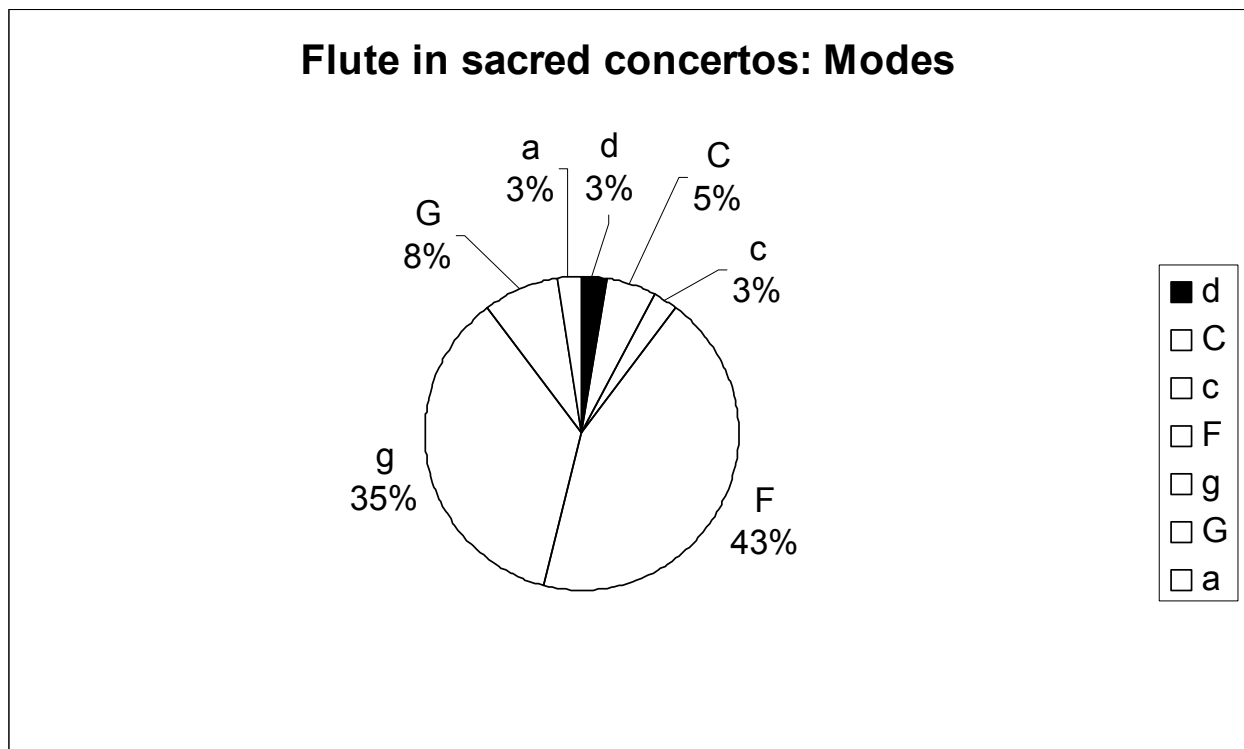
Graph 2: Mode distribution

The ranges of the flute parts can be determined by looking at the original clefs assigned to the part by the composers. The majority of parts, roughly 80%, are set in C1, especially when the piece is scored for only one or two flutes. This clef indicates the range b-e' (played on octave higher on the flute) with occasional high f's and g's, sounding f'' and g''. The flute carries well within a mixed ensemble, even when playing with loud instruments such as cornettos and dulcians. The remaining 20% of flute parts are scored in lower clefs, C2 (about 15%) and C3 (5%). There are no parts, however, marked in G2 (treble clef). This clef, very common in parts for violins, cornettos and recorders, is too high on the traverso, when played an octave higher, or too low, played as is (image 1).

Image 1: clefs and the range indicated by them

With Regards to scoring, we can divide the repertoire into two types of sacred concerti:
- Small scale sacred concerti or *Kleine geistliche Koncert* (as Schütz puts it); Pieces with relatively few parts: two to five or six parts, for voices and instruments. Instruments often

have an independent role, and are used continuously throughout the piece. Examples include: pieces for solo tenor, flute, violin, trombone and bass from Schein's *Opella Nova*; or Schütz' *Veni, sancte Spiritus* scored for two cornettini or flutes, two tenors and BC.[9]

- Large scale concerti: These are polychoral works, and include several groups of solo singers (*Favoriti*), tutti choir (*Capella*) and one or more groups of instruments. There are numerous examples of the use of flute in such pieces: by Praetorius, Schütz, Schein, Selich, Michael and Knüpfer. In earlier pieces of this sort, such as those written by Praetorius, the flute is often included in a "flute choir" with a dulcian for the bass and one singer. Other composers have used the flute in a mixed band, with either strings or winds.

Both genres can be seen by looking at Tobias Michael's *Musicalische Zeelen-lust* as well as some newly found works by Schein, Lemle and Knüpfer.

The flute in small mixed groups: Schein and Michael
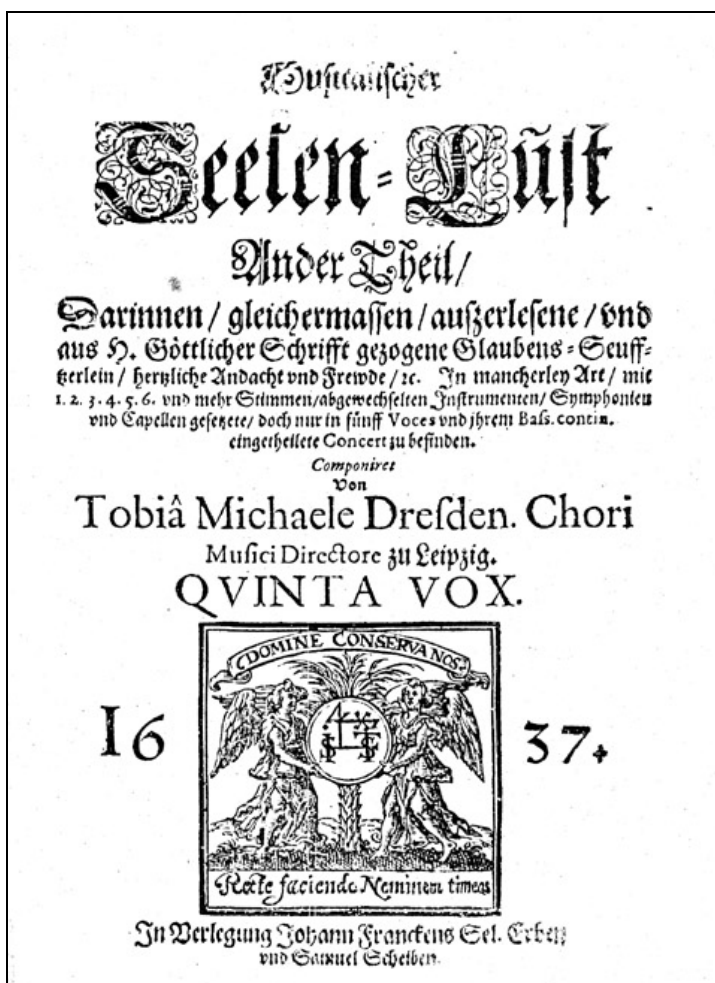
Image 1: The title page of Tobias Michael's *Musicalische Zeelen-lust II*

The biography of Tobias Michael, son of the Flemish composer Rogier Michael, has a lot in common with that of Schein. Born in Dresden only eight years apart, both composers were trained as singers under Rogier Michael at the Dresden court chapel choir, and both went on to study at St. Thomas in Leipzig.[10] Both have eventually become *Thomascantors*, Schein in 1615,

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[9] Johann Hermann Schein: *Opella nova, ander Theil, geistlicher Concerten*, Leipzig, 1626, nos. 1, 4, 16 and 27. Heinrich Schütz, *Veni, sancte Spiritus* (SWV 475). See appendix for complete list of pieces and their scoring.
[10] Bernd Baselt/Dorothea Schröder "Tobias Michael", Kerala J. Snyder/Gregory S. Johnston, "Johann Hermann Schein" *Grove Music Online*

and Michael in 1631 after Schein's early death. Most of Michael's surviving work is published in the two parts of his *Musicalische Seelen-lust*. The first part of the collection, published in 1634 includes five-part motets to biblical texts reminiscent of Schein's *Israelis Brünnlein* (Leipzig 1623). The second part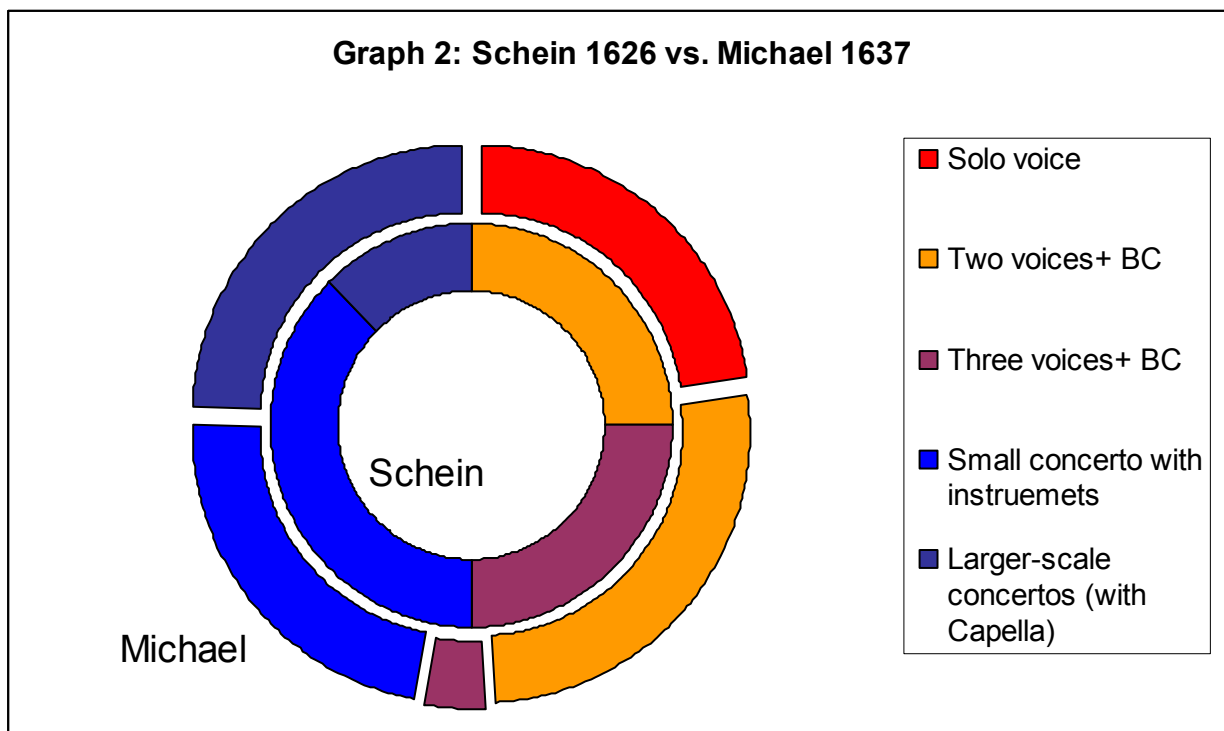, published in 1637, contains fifty sacred concerti for different combinations; from solo voice and continuo to small concerti with voices and instruments, to larger scale works with Choir, soloists and instrumentalists. The pieces are grouped in the collection according to the musical forces involved, starting with motets for solo voice and continuo and finishing with larger-scale works. The structure of the collection is found in table 2.

Table 2: The contents of Tobias Michael's *Musicalische Zeelen-lust II*

Combination	No.	Number in the collection, scoring
Solo voice	12	1-3: S, BC. 3-6: A, BC 7-9: T, BC 10-12: B, BC
Two voices+ BC	15	13-15: 2 S, BC 16-18: 2 A, BC 19-21: 2 T, BC 22-24: 2 B, BC 25: S, traverso, BC 26-27: mixed vocal
Three voices+ BC	2	28-29 (29 with 2 violins)
Small concerto with instruments	7	30-36
Five voices + instruments	10	37-46
Larger ensemble (more then five voices)	4	47-50 (47-48 with trumpets)
Total:	50	

As a whole, the collection shows a strong influence of Schein's *Opella Nova II*, both in its internal division as well as in the vocal and instrumental combinations for which calls. In Both collections about half of the pieces are scored for small vocal ensemble of one to three voices with continuo. The other half of both collections is dedicated to concerti with obbligato instruments, in small and larger settings. Graph 2 compares the distribution of the different genres within the two collections.

Graph 2: Schein 1626 vs. Michael 1637

Legend:
- Solo voice
- Two voices+ BC
- Three voices+ BC
- Small concerto with instruemets
- Larger-scale concertos (with Capella)

As can be seen from the graph there is a higher number of larger-scale works in Michael's collection and a section of motets for solo voice that are not found in Schein's collection at all.

Of the twenty five compositions with obbligato instruments in the collection, six call for *Traversa*. The first one, number 25, *Das ist ein kostlich Ding*, is scored for soprano, flute and continuo (example 1). The piece is essentially written for two equal vocal *canti*, with the traverso playing the second cantus. The flute part could be easily fitted with the same text as the first cantus, and overall, the piece is similar to the vocal duets with continuo found in both Schein and Michael's collection. The combination of transverse flute, voice and continuo, however, is unique to Michael.

Example 1: Michael, *Das ist ein köstlich Ding*, Bars 1-8

Image 2: the traverso part of number 25 *Das ist ein köstlich Ding*

Two other pieces in Michael's collection are scored in a way that brings to mind the small accompanied concerti in Schein's collection. Both *Kommet Herr zu mir alle* (no. 34) and *Wie lieblich sind auf dem Bergen* (no. 35) call for a soprano and a tenor with an instrumental ensemble of flute, violin and bass instrument (either dulcian or bass trombone). It is interesting to compare the use of instruments in these pieces to those scores for similar mixed ensembles in the *Opella Nova II* (numbers 1, 4, 16 and 27). Although the scoring of those pieces by the two composers seems very similar, the function and use of the instruments in them is slightly different. Taking *Also heilig ist der Tag* (*Opella Nova II*, no. 16) as a typical example, we can see how Schein treats the instruments as though they were equal members in a five part motet setting. They enter polyphonically with material based on the melody sung by the tenor, with small ornaments and divisions added. This is not a real sinfonia, but is closer in character to *prima practica* motet writing. Even in the *tripla* section, where we would expect a more homophonic setting, Schein uses a more vocal texture, and continues in this way throughout most of the piece. The two Michael compositions, however, take a slightly different approach to the use of instruments. The pieces are, structurally speaking, miniature polychoral concerti and are similar to the large-scale pieces found in both the Schein and the Michael collections.[11] *Kommet Herr*, for example, contains many contrasts between the different elements in the piece: Solo versus tutti, instrumental versus vocal. The instruments are often used in short sinfonias connecting different sections of the composition and "comment" on the text that has been sung. Michael couples each voice together with an instrument – soprano with violin and tenor with the flute, to create new sound combinations and contrasts. Generally speaking, Michael's settings appear lighter and more modern compared to those of Schein, although they may lack the profound and complex motive treatment found in his predecessor's works.[12]

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[11] See, for example, Schein's *Mach dich auf, werde Licht, Zion* (Opella Nova II/8) and Michael's *Wo der Herr nicht das Haus bawet* (MSL II/41)

[12] For more about Schein's use of instruments in the *Opella Nova* see Restle, *Vokales und Instrumentales Komponieren*, 107-132.

Wo der Herr nicht das Haus bawet (example 2) is written for voices SSATB, soli (*favouriti*), tutti (*capella*), and a five part instrumental ensemble played by violin, recorder, flute, two trombones and a bass. The violin and recorder are playing the same line (Canto I), but Michael specifies when each instrument should play, by marking *violino*, *flauto* and *capella* in the part. The instruments change functions from accompanying the singers to independent roles in sinfonias separating different sections. By using contrasting textures, both vocal vs. instrumental as well tutti vs. solo, Michael manages to create a much grander effect than otherwise suggested by the instrumentation. He pairs the flute and recorder without the violin in some of the sinfonias, a practice which is highly unusual in seventeenth century music. So far, only two other compositions have been found, in which these two instruments are used side by side. Both Schein's *Mach dich auf, werde Licht, Zion,* which has a similar instrumentation to the Michael piece, and Praetorius', *Kom Heiliger geist Herre Gott* call for both flute and recorder, but in neither pieces are they ever used together in an exposed instrumental sinfonia as done by Michael.[13]

Ex. 2: Michael: *Wo der HERR nicht das Haus bauet*, Bars 51-57

The flute as part of the wind/string band

In pieces written in the mid seventeen twenties and the thirties, the flute is often used as a part of the instrumental choir in a string or wind group, and is occasionally used in a mixed group containing both. A typical setting with traverso seems to be a variation on the traditional five part cornetto and trombone ensemble (usually one or two cornettos and three trombones), replacing one or both of the cornettos with flutes. Good examples of the use of traversos in such scoring can be found in some recently discovered works by Schein, Selich, Lemle and Knüpfer.

Apart for the well known pieces in the *Opella Nova* discussed so far, Schein has called for the flute in single, occasional compositions. We know of four that call for the transverse flute, two of which were unfortunately lost during the Second World War (see table 1).[14]

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[13] Schein, *Opella Nova II*/ 8. Michael Praetorius, *Puericinium … darinnen 14 teutsche Kirchenlieder und andere Concert-Gesänge*, Frankfurt, 1621, no. 9.

[14]Schein's surviving occasional compositions now appear in print in the latest two volumes of the collected works: Johann Hermann Schein: Gelegenheitskompositionen (Neue Schein-Ausgabe, Band 10/1-2, ed. Claudia Theis), Kassel, 2004-5. Future research might yield more pieces with traverso as Theis lists over sixty occasional compositions which are now lost. For a discussion of the social settings of Schein's occasional compositions see Stephen Rose: *Shein's Occasional Music and the Social Order in 1620* Leipzig, in *Early Music History* vol. 23 (2004), 253-284

The sacred concerto *Freuet euch des Herren, ihr gerechten* is written for a basic setting of nine voices in two choirs, with an optional expansion to thirteen or eighteen parts with the inclusion of a tutti choir (*Capella*) and an extra string group. The first group is composed of a *Capella* consisting of a vocal choir, doubled by winds (cornetto, traverso, and three trombones). The second choir includes four solo voices (SATB), or *Favoriti*. A four-part string ensemble is written into the parts of this choir as well. The text, "*Freuet euch des Herrn, ihr Gerechten; die Frommen sollen ihn preisen. Danket dem Herrn mit Harfen und lobsinget ihm auf dem Psalter von zehn Saiten*", taken from Psalm 33, is very festive and invites the use of instruments. The piece comprises of four sections, each starting with a ritornello ("Freuet euch..."), followed by a solo section with single voices and continuo, and ending with an instrumental sinfonia. Strings are used in two of these, ilustrating the text "*Danket dem Herrn mit Harfen und lobsinget ihm auf dem Psalter von zehn Saiten. and machet's gut auf Saitenspiel mit Schall*." The wind and string bands are used together in the third sinphnia, following "*Denn des Herrn Wort ist wahrhaftig; und was er zusagt, das hält er gewiß*". The sinfonia contrasts the two instrumental groups with one another: a four part string group with a five part wind group: cornetto, traverso and three trombones (see example 3). The piece concludes with a large tutti section.

Ex. 2: J.H. Schein: *Freuet euch des Herren, ihr Gerechten*, Bars 143-148

A similar compositional treatment can be seen in another occasional composition by Schein: *Lamentatio Ecclesiae* with the text *Zion spricht: der Herr had mich verlassen* (Isaiah, 49 v.14-16). The piece is written for either 9 or 14 voices: A group of vocal soloists (SATB), and a second, five-part, vocal choir doubled by two groups of instruments: Strings, and a mixed group of violin, flute, two trombones and a dulcian. The piece features contrasts between tutti and solo sections, and beautiful instrumental sinfonias between the different sections. Especially effective is the sinfonia that follows the text "*Kann auch ein Weib ihres Kindleins vergessen, daß sie sich nicht erbarme über den Sohn ihres Leibes?*", scored for the mixed group (violin, flute, trombones and dulcian). Although the structure of the two pieces is quite similar, we can see how their different character is expressed by the choice of instrumentation. The festive *Freuet euch* calls for the use of cornetto in the wind band, while the inclusion of the violin in the group in *Zion spricht* makes the sound of the group somewhat milder and more appropriate to the plaintive character of the text.

Taking over Michael Praetorius' position as *Kapellmeister* at the court in Wolfenbüttel in 1621, Daniel Selich continued his predecessor's tradition of polychoral writing, and use of instruments.[15] In the preface to his most important publication, the *Opus Novum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1625), Selich acknowledges the source of his inspiration for writing the pieces in the collection as

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[15] James Leonard Brauer: *Instruments in Sacred Vocal Music at Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel: a Study of Changing Tastes in the Seventeenth Century*, Diss, The City university of Ney York, New York, 1983, 142-149

being psalm compositions by Heinrich Schütz. Possibly due to the hardships of war, already felt at the Wolfenbüttel court by that time, his works are more modest in size compared to those of Praetorius. The twenty four motets in the collection set to Latin or German texts are scored for groups of two to twelve voices, with the majority using two choirs of varying size and instrumental or vocal combinations. Two of the pieces in the publication call for the transverse flute. Both are set for two choirs; a SATB vocal choir intended to be sung by soloists (*Favouriti*), and a second, SSATB *capella* with instruments and voices. The first composition, *Jubilate Deo à 4 / 8 / 9* (no. 4) uses an instrumental group of strings or a mixed group of winds: 2 cornettos, a traverso (on the alto line) and trombone or dulcian. The second piece *Der Herr erhöre dich in der Noht* has a similar scoring, only with the instrumental choir set for strings plus a traverso on the second cantus part. The two pieces are very different in character, as is inherent in their text; the first being bright and festive and the later much darker and plaintive, especially in its first half. This difference, like in the two Schein pieces discussed above, is shown in the choice of different instruments. The *Jubilate*, when played with winds would sound grand and festive, while the *Der Herr erhöre dich* with strings and a single flute would sound more muted and reflective. In both pieces the instruments are used mostly to reinforce the *Capella* or as a replacement of it. Number 16, *Der Herr erhöre dich* opens with a beautiful sinfonia (see example 4) as an introduction to the piece, after which the instruments are used together with the voices.

Ex. 4: Daniel Selich: *Der HERR erhore dich in der Noht*, Bars 1-12

Little is known about the composer Sebastian Lemle, apart for the fact that he lived and worked in Breslau at the first half of the seventeenth century.[16] A collection of his works is preserved in a manuscript formerly in the possession of the university library in Breslau (Wroclaw), now housed in the Staastbibliothek in Berlin. The manuscript, Ms.mus.166, contains 36 sacred concerti by Lemle, all dating from the 1630's, composed for large, polychoral settings with voices and instruments in the tradition of Praetorius. Number 23, *In dich hab ich gehoffet Herr, Concert à 15 Voc. in 3 Choris* is a seven-verse church song scored for three choirs: the first choir is composed of a tenor with a four-part string accompaniment, the second choir is set for five singers doubled by 2 cornettos, traverso and dulcian, and the third choir is a lower vocal choir (five-part) doubled by trombones. Lemle scores alternative verses for the different choirs: verses 1,3, and 5 are sung by the tenor accompanied by the violins (with sinfonias in the beginning and

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[16] Robert Eitner: "Lemle, Sebastian" in *Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, Leipzig, 1900-04, vol. 6, 129

the middle of each verse). Verses 2, 4 and 6 are set for the two other choirs, contrasting solo voices of both choirs with tutti sections doubled by the instruments. The last verse is set for all three choirs together.

A similar treatment is found in the anonymous concerto *Das alte Jahr ist nun vergahn*. The piece, which is also originally from the Breslau collection (now Berlin Ms.mus. 222) is scored for three choirs of an almost identical composition to that of Ms.mus.166.23. This is also a strophic song with seven verses set for a solo "Basset" with alternating accompaniments used in the different verses. Verses 1,3 and 5 are accompanied by violins, while 2,4 and 6 are accompanied by winds. Verse 7 is set again for the whole group. On ground of the similarity between the two pieces, it is possible to assume that *Das alte Jahr* was also written by Lemle, probably around the same time as the other works in Ms.mus.166.

Sebastian Knüpfer took over the position of *Thomaskantor* after Tobias Michael, in 1657. He wrote several sacred concerti and Cantatas, although none of them have appeared in print during his lifetime. He is the last known composer who has used the renaissance flute in his compositions, with two pieces surviving that call for the instrument. One of them *Ach Herr, strafe mich nicht* is well-known and has appeared in modern edition[17]. Another, hitherto unknown piece, calling for two traversos is the concerto *Ich freue mich in dir* (Berlin Ms.Mus. 11780). This sacred concerto is set for fifteen parts in three groups: Five singers (SSATB), a five-part string ensemble (2vln, 2vla, vlone) and a wind group consisting of two traversos and three trombones. The instrumental parts, especially those of the violins are completely independent from the vocal model, and the two violins have a very virtuosic, idiomatic part. The wind group's function is more of harmonic filler, and forms a contrasting choir to that of the violins in the rittornelli. The piece is unfortunately not dated, but we can presume that it was written after Knüpfer's appointment as cantor, and is thus later then 1657.

Conclusion
As we have seen, the use of the flute has flourished in Germany in the 1620s and 30s. There is evidence for its use in central and northern Germany: mostly in Leipzig but also in Dresden, Wolfenbüttel and even in Breslau in the east. Although it is very likely that it was in use in sacred concerti even before that, as suggested by Praetorius in the third part of the Syntagma Musicum, there are no sacred concerti calling specifically for the flute before 1613. The flute was used much less after the 1640s with the last pieces composed for it written as late as 1660s. Knüpfer seems to be the last in the chain of *Thomaskantors* writing for the flute, as was done by his predecessor Schein and Michael. One possible reason for the decline in the use of the instrument was the growing Italian influence and the presence of Italian musicians in important musical positions in German after the thirty years war.[18] Although this was a process already set in motion at the beginning of the war, it was probably accelerated by the vacuum left in musical establishments collapsing, for luck of financial support, during and after the war. A good example of this is the situation in Dresden, where Heinrich Schütz was a Kapellmeister for the better part of his life. The conditions at the court during and after the war are described by Schütz on several occasions, illustrating the incredible hardships that musicians must have gone through during that time. In 1648, after the Peace of Westphalia, the Dresden *Hofkapelle*, which must have been one of the best ensembles in Germany in the early seventeenth century, was reduced to a mere shadow of its former glory. Improvements made to the ensemble after the war, as well as the unification with the *Hofkapelle* of the new elector, Johann Georg II in 1656 brought new Italian singers and instrumentalist into the ensemble, creating internal conflicts between them and the German musicians. [19] The use of various wind instruments, including the transverse flute

[17] Sebasbastian Knüpfer, *Ausgewählte kirchen Kantaten* in DDT lviii (ed. Aronold Schering), Wiesbaden, 1957, 60
[18] Geoffrey Weber, *North German Church Music at the Age of Buxtehude*, Oxford, 1996, 43-60
[19] Gina Spagnoly, *Dresden in the time of Heinrich Schütz* in *Man and Society: The Early Baroque Era* (ed. by Curtis Price), Englewood Cliffs, 1994, 164-174

seems to have been a German predilection, while the new Italian directors had a preference for the violin band with the only winds composed for are cornettos and trombones with recorders or shawms added on special occasions.

The search for unknown seventeenth century traverso music has been an on going project, starting with Anne Smith's article in 1978, where all of the then known pieces were listed. Since then, recent research has come up with almost twice the number of pieces included in Smith's original article, which help us understand better the way the instrument was used. I have no doubt that future research would yield more pieces, and I can only hope that this beautiful repertoire will be heard more often in concert halls and in recordings.

Appendix: German seventeenth century sacred concertos involving the renaissance flute

Composer	composition	Instrumentation (by choirs)[1]	key	collection/library	date	Edition
Anon. (possibly Lemle)	Das alte Jahr ist nun vergahn	1: Basset, 3vln, vlne 2: SSSA, 2cto, trav 3: AATTB, 3trb,bombardon	C	D-B Ms.Mus.222	Ca. 1630	
Knüpfer, Sebastian	Ich freue mich in dir	1: SSATB 2: 2vln, 2vla, vlne 3: 2trav, 3trb BC	gb	D-B Ms.Mus. 11780	After 1657?	
Knüpfer, Sebastian	Ach Herr, strafe mich nicht	SSATB 2vln, 2vla, 2trav, 2clar, tymp, fag BC	c bb	D-B Ms.Mus. 11780	After 1657?	DDT 59, 60[2]
Lemle, Sebastian	In dich hab ich gehoffet Herr	1: T, 3vln, vlne 2: SSATB, 2cto, trav, fag 3: AATTB + 4 trb, trb gr.	Fb	D-B Ms.Mus 166.23	8.1.1635	
Michael, Tobias	Das ist ein kostlich Ding	S, trav, BC	Fb	Musicalischer Seelen-Lust/25	1637	
Michael, Tobias	Kommet Herr zu mir	ST, vln, trav, fag, BC	Fb	Musicalischer Seelen-Lust/34	1637	
Michael, Tobias	Wie libliech	ST, vln ,trav, trb gr.., BC	Fb	Musicalischer Seelen-Lust/35	1637	
Michael, Tobias	(a.t.) Lasset frolich sein	ST, vln, trav, trb gr.., BC	Fb	Musicalischer Seelen-Lust/36	1637	
Michael, Tobias	Wo der Herr nicht das Haus bawet	SSATB, rec+vln, trav, 2trb,fag, BC	Fb	Musicalischer Seelen-Lust/41	1637	
Michael, Tobias	Gott schweigt doch niche also	SSTTB, 2trav, trb, fag, BC	Fb	Musicalischer Seelen-Lust/50	1637	
Moritz, Landgraf von Hessen	Lobbet den Herren	1: viol e voce 2: SA, vln, 2trav 3: A, vln,2cto 4: Capella: SATB	Fb	D-Kl Ms.mus. 53i		
Prætorius, Michael	Kommet Herr zu mir	(general suggestion includes:) 1: SATB 2: cto, 3 trbn 3: trav/rec, pommert/fag 4: vlns	Gb	Urania/25	1613	GMP, 16, 141[3]
Prætorius, Michael	Jesus Christus unser Heiland	1: SATB 2: TB, vln, vla, vlne 3: A, cto, trav/rec, trb, pommert/fag 4: T, 3 trb	d	Urania/28	1613	GMP, 16, 161

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[1] In the case of polychoral pieces I have numbered the different groups for clarity's sake.
[2] Sebasbastian Knüpfer, *Ausgewählte kirchen Kantaten* in DDT lviii (ed. Aronold Schering), Wiesbaden, 1957, 60
Ausgewahlte Kirchenkantaten Sebastian Knupfer, Johann Schelle, Johann Kuhnau ; hrsg. von Arnold Schering
[3] Friedrich Blume (ed.): *Gesamtausgabe der Musikalichen Werke von Michael Praetorius*, Wolfenbüttel-Berlin, 1928-1938. Abbreviated as GMP

Prætorius, Michael	Wachet auf	1. ch. voc: SS S/B 2. ch. voc: AT 3. cap.: SATB 4. ch.. inst.:vln, trav, vla, fag 5. ch. Extraordinario in echo.: ctomt, 2trb, trb maj 6. Cornettis et Violinis	C	Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica/21	1619	GMP, 17/1, 192
Prætorius, Michael	Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam	1. ch. voc: SB 2. ch. voc: SB 3. ch. voc: SATB 1. ch. inst.:vln, trav, vla, fag 2. ch. inst.:ctomt, 2trb, trb maj	a	Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica/22	1619	GMP, 17/1, 229
Prætorius, Michael	In dich hab ich gehoffet Herr	Several instrumentations suggested including: chr instr: cto, vln, trav/rec, trb/fag/vlne (in seconda pars)	G	Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica/25	1619	GMP, 17/1, 293[4]
Prætorius, Michael	Als der gütige Gott	1. ch. evangelista: SB 2. ch. Maria: SB 3. ch. Maria: SB 4. cap fid.: vlns/lutes+rec/trav/ctomt/fag 5. cap. In pleno choro:SATTB	Fb	Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica/27	1619	GMP, 17/2, 354
Prætorius, Michael	Lob sei dem Allmächtigen Gott	1:. flauti vel pro testudine: S,2rec,fag 2:. viole: S,viole 3: tromboni 4: voc: S, trav, ctni in oktava, vlne	Fb	Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica/28	1619	GMP, 17/2, 388
Prætorius, Michael	Erhalt uns Herr bei deinen Wort	1: fiffari/violini/corneti muti, B+fag 2: SATB cum vel sine vdg 3: tromboni, S+vln/trav 4: cap.: SATB	gb	Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica/29	1619	GMP, 17/2, 404
Prætorius, Michael	Jasaia dem Propheten	1: fiffari: S ,2trav, B+fag 2: Tromboni: A, 3trb 3: Lauti: S, 2 lutes 4: Viole 5: SATB	Fb	Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica/33	1619	GMP, 17/2, 541

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[4] The range of the flute part in this piece goes down to C. It is not clear whether this is a mistake on Praetorius' part who assigns either recorders (who would be able to play the low Cs) or flutes, or that he counts on using flutes lower then the rest of the instruments, transposing their part a tone higher. For a discussion of this and other transposition issues in seventeenth century flute parts see Boaz Berney *The renaissance flute in mixed ensembles*, 214-16

Prætorius, Michael	Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein	1: vocalis SATB 2: vocalis SATB 3: Tromboni: T, cto/vln, 2trb, trb maj 4: Viole:A, vln/vdg 5: Flauti: S, 2rec/2trav, fag	Fb	Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica/36	1619	GMP, 17/2, 613
Prætorius, Michael	Herr Christ der einig Gottes Sohn	Several possibilities, including an "English consort": plucked instr, 5 vlns/vgd and rec./trav	Fb	Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica/39	1619	GMP, 17/2, 708
Prætorius, Michael	Kom Heiliger geist, Herre Gott a 8 & 12	1: SSSS, vln, 2cto, travl/vln, 2: ATTB vln/rec,2vla/2trb, trb maj./fag dupp. 3:cap. Fid., textless, 4 voice	Fb	Puericinium/ 9 D-B Ms.Mus 59.20 (same, only with sinfonia in the beginning)	1621	GMP, 19, 94
Prætorius, Michael	Wie schön leuchet uns der Morgenstern a 9 & 13	1: SSSS, vln, 2cto, travl/vln, 2: ATTB rec, trb, trb/fag, trb maj./fag dupp. 3: cap. fid., textless, 4 voice	Fb	Puericinium/ 10	1621	GMP, 19, 23
Schein, Johann Hermann	Freuet euch des Herren ist gerechten à 9, 13 & 18	1: SSATB+2cto, trav, 3trb 2: fav.: SATB 3: 5/4 violins 4: cap. SATB	gb	D-B Ms.Mus.200b	c. 1620	SNA 10/2[5]
Schein, Johann Hermann	Gott der du uns verstossen, Psalmae ecclesiae christianae à 5, 6, 10, 11, 16	Incomplete, includes: SAB vdg, trav, trb, BC	?	D-Koe (lost WWII)	c. 1620	cited in Müller 1870[6]
Schein, Johann Hermann	Votum pro pace, Frieden Wunsch (Leipzig, 1621) à 9, 14	Incomplete, includes: 1: B 2: SATB, trav, trb, bombardon	?	D-Koe (lost WWII)	1621	cited in Müller 1870[7]
Schein, Johann Hermann	Lamentatio Ecclesiae (Zion spricht: der Herr had mich verlassen)	1: SSATB, 2vln,vln/trav,2 trb, vlne/fag 2: fav.: SATB 3: cap.: SATB	gb	D-LEm Mus75c	1629	SNA 10/2
Schein, Johann Hermann	Siehe, das ist mein Knecht	T, vln, trav, fag/trb,BC	gb	Opella Nova II /1	1626	SNA 5, 3[8]
Schein, Johann Hermann	Also heilig ist der Tag	T, vln, trav, alt trb, fag,Bc	gb	Opella Nova II /16	1626	SNA 5, 136
Schein, Johann Hermann	Vater unser, du bist im Himmel	SSATB, vln+cto, trav+cto, 2trb, vlne+trb, BC	gb	Opella Nova II /18	1626	SNA 5, 154

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[5] Johann Hermann Schein: Gelegenheitskompositionen in Neue Ausgabe sämtlischer Werke (ed. Claudia Theis), Kassel 2005 (SNA)

[6] Joseph Müller, *Die musikalischen Schätze der Königlichen- und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Königsberg*. Bonn, 1870, 317

[7] ibid, p. 317. Also mentioned in Arthur Prüfer, *Johann Hermann Schein*, Leipzig, 1895, 49.

[8] Johann Hermann Schein: *Opella Nova, Ander Teil Geistlicher Konzerten*, in Neue Ausgabe sämtlischer Werke (ed. Walter Werbeck), Kassel, 1986

Schein, Johann Hermann	O Maria, Gebenedeiet bist du unter den Weibern	T, vln, trav, fag/trb, BC	Fb	Opella Nova II /27	1626	SNA 5, 241
Schein, Johann Hermann	Selig sind, die da geistlich arm sind	SSATB, cto, trav, 3trb, BC	gb	Opella Nova II /29	1626	SNA 5, 263
Schein, Johann Hermann	Uns ist ein Kind geboren	T, vln, trav, alt trb, fag, BC	gb	Opella Nova II /4	1626	SNA 5, 26
Schein, Johann Hermann	Mach dich auf, werde Licht, Zion	SSATB, vln+cto+fl picc, trav, 2trb, fag+trb, BC	gb	Opella Nova II /8	1626	SNA 5, 57
Schütz, Heinrich	Veni, sancte Spiritus SWV 475	1. SS, fag 2. B, cto/vln, cto/vln 3. TT, 2trb, trb gr 4. AT, vln/cto, trav/cto, vln(e), BC	G	D-Kl mus.ms 2o 49b	c. 1614	WS 32, 101[9]
Schütz, Heinrich	Siehe wie fein und lieblich ist (Der 133. psalm) SWV 48	1. Stromenti: cto mt/vln, vln/trav, vlone/fag 2. Voci: SSATB, BC	gb	Psalmen Davids /48	1619	SG, 14, 143[10]
Schütz, Heinrich	Jauchzet dem Herren, alle Welt SWV 47	1: SSATB, 2trav/cto, fag 2: ST con liuti 3: SSATB, vln, 3vla 4: Cap.: SSATB	G	Psalmen Davids /26	1619	WS 26/4, 121
Schütz, Heinrich	Anima mea liquefacta est SWV 263	TT, 2trav/ctnoBC	gb	Symphoniae Sacrae I / 7-8	1629	WS 13/1, 68
Schütz, Heinrich	Vater Abraham, erbarme dich mein, SWV 477	SSATB; 2vln/trav, vlne, BC		D-Kl Kl Ms.mus. 53y	1640-50	SG, 18
Selich, Daniel	Der Herr erhöre dich in der Noht	1: SATB 2: Cap., partly texted: vln; vln/trav.; vla; Vlno	gb	*Opus novum /16*	1623–4	
Selich, Daniel	Jubilate Deo à 4 / 8 / 9	1: SATB 2: Capella: cto/vln; vla/trav; vla/trb; fag/trb maj.;	Fb	*Opus novum /3*	1623–4	

[9] *Henrich Schütz, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, ed. Werner Breig, Stuttgart 1971- (WS)
[10] *Heinrich Schütz: Sämtlicher werke*, ed. P. Spitta, Leipzig, 1885-1927 (SG)

Abbreviations:

Vocal parts (often marked *Voce* in the original):

S	Soprano/Cantus
A	Alto
T	Tenor
B	Bass
Ch.	Chorus
Cap	Capella
Fav.	Favoriti
Voc	Vocalis
Ins	Instrumentalis
Fid	Fidicinia

Instrumental parts:

vln	violin
vla	viola
vlne	violone/violono
vdg	viola da gamba
trav	traverso
rec	recorder
cto	cornetto
ctni	cornettini
ctomt	mute cornetto
trb	trombone
trb gr./trb maj	trombone grosso/major
clar	clarino
tymp	tympani
fag	dulcian
BC	basso continuo