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In memoriam

Gisela de Boor
Hildegard Varwig

a different mindset, much of Schütz's surviving music begins to resound with a richness of allusion and sensual appeal that belies past attempts to tie it to a preconceived idea of the 'German'. Whether his setting of Ovid's myth harboured a similar degree of expressive potency we may never know, but by listening anew to the other sounds within *Dafne*'s orbit, we might end up catching the odd faint echo.

CHAPTER THREE

Life, death and afterlife (Musicalische Exequien, *1636)*

1. It is to be noted that this concerted motet is for two choirs, each choir singing its own words. Chorus primus is in five parts and recites the words of Simeon: Herr, nun lässestu deinen Diener. Chorus secundus is in three parts, for two trebles and a baritone or high bass, singing the following words and others: Selig seynd die Todten, die in dem Herrn sterben. With this invention or choro secundo the author has attempted to intimate and suggest in some way the joy of the blessed disembodied soul in Heaven in the company of heavenly spirits and holy angels. 2. Primus chorus is to be placed in close proximity to the organ, but secundus chorus is to be set up at a distance, according to what seems most practicable.[1]

Schütz's much-quoted instructions regarding the third and final part of his *Musicalische Exequien* offer an unusually vivid account of the musical sounds he envisaged. Similarly informative remarks accompany the first section of the work as well. The story of the piece's provenance – told many times before – is both picturesque and historically detailed: sometime in the year before his death on 3 December 1635, Herr Heinrich Posthumus Reuss secretly had his coffin assembled, decorated with a series of biblical quotations and chorale verses on the topic of death.[2] Schütz, who had been born into Reuss's territory and later encountered him on several occasions, was then commissioned to compose the *Exequien* for Reuss's funeral service at the Johanniskirche in Gera on 4 February 1636. Part I (SWV 279), entitled 'Konzert in Form einer teutschen Begräbniß-Missa', sets the words engraved on the coffin as a paraphrased

[1] '1. Ist zu wissen das dieses Concert zwey Chor und ieglicher Chor seine absonderliche Wort habe. Chorus primus ist Quinque Vocum und recitiret die Wort Simeonis: Herr nun lässestu deinen Diener. Chorus Secundus ist Trium Vocum, hat zwene Discant und einen Baritonum oder hohen Bass, singet folgende und andere Wort mehr: Selig seynd die Todten die in dem Herrn sterben. Mit welcher invention oder Choro Secundo der Autor die Freude der abgeleibten Sehligen Seelen im Himmel / in Gesellschafft der Himmlischen Geister und heiligen Engel in etwas einführen und andeuten wollen. 2. Primus Chorus werde allernechst bey die Orgel / Secundus Chorus aber in der ferne geordnet / und wie es etwa einem ieden für das rathsambste bedüncken wird.' 'Absonderlich Verzeichnüs deren in diesem Wercklein befindlichen Musicalischen Sachen', facs. and trans. in Heinrich Schütz, *Musikalische Exequien Op. 7*, ed. Günter Graulich, Stuttgarter Schütz-Ausgabe, vol. VIII (Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1973), lxii; trans. xl.

[2] 'Herr' was the official title of the Reuss clan before they were elevated to the status of 'Graf' (Count) in 1673. My thanks to Werner Breig for this information.

'German funeral mass', with an embellished 'Kyrie' plus 'Gloria' structure. The shorter second part (SWV 280) comprises a double-choir motet on the biblical passage used in the central funeral sermon ('Herr, wenn ich nur dich habe', Psalm 73), while Part III (SWV 281) presents two further scriptural texts in the manner described in the prefatory 'Ordinantz' just cited.

Given the wealth of information surrounding the piece's genesis, it is little wonder that the *Exequien* have ended up among the most studied works in modern Schütz scholarship. Much of this past commentary has been concerned with interpreting the selection and spatial arrangement of texts on Reuss's coffin, and the ways in which that arrangement determined the musical disposition of Part I of the *Exequien.* Renate Steiger proposed that the textual passages were largely derived from Martin Moller's *Manuale de Preparatione ad Mortem* (1593), while Werner Breig has discussed how Schütz transferred their layout into a theologically meaningful musical structure.[3] Schütz's remarks about Part III have encouraged further commentary; in particular, Gregory Johnston has argued that the musical design evoked the presence of the dead aristocrat at his own burial, using the rhetorical device of *prosopopoeia.* In Johnston's reading, the bass part in the second choir (marked 'beata anima') personifies the soul of the deceased, led to heaven by two soprano seraphim. Since Reuss himself was well known for his good bass voice, the correlation would have been obvious to the attending mourners, and the placement of the second choir 'in the distance', most likely on the church's gallery, would have resulted in a strikingly realistic demonstration of the soul's journey to heaven at the moment of the body's interment.[4]

The majority of these hermeneutic approaches conclude that the *Exequien* effectively communicated the central message of the seventeenth-century Lutheran *ars moriendi* – in the words of Moller, 'to die blessedly means to end one's life in the correct and true faith ... to go to sleep

[3] Renate Steiger, '"Der Gerechten Seelen Sind In Gottes Hand": Der Sarg des Heinrich Posthumus Reuss als Zeugnis lutherischer ars moriendi', in *Diesseits- und Jenseitsvorstellungen im 17. Jahrhundert,* ed. Ingeborg Stein (Jena: Quartus, 1996), 189–212; Werner Breig, 'Heinrich Schütz' "Musikalische Exequien": Überlegungen zur Werkgeschichte und zur textlich-musikalischen Konzeption', *SJb* 11 (1989), 53–68. See also Gregory S. Johnston, 'Textual Symmetries and the Origins of Heinrich Schütz's *Musikalische Exequien*', *Early Music* 19 (1991), 213–26; Sabine Henze-Döhring, 'Schütz' Musicalische Exequien: Die kompositorische Disposition der Sarginschriften und ihr liturgischer Kontext', *SJb* 16 (1994), 39–48; Gerhart Pickerodt, 'Der tönende Sarg: Heinrich Schütz' Musicalische Exequien im Zusammenhang eines Fürsten-Todes', *SJb* 16 (1994), 27–38. The coffin became accessible again in 1994 after extensive restoration work; see Ingeborg Stein, 'Ungewöhnliche Rettungsaktion von 11 Sarkophagen von Mitgliedern des Hauses Reuss in Gera', in Stein (ed.), *Diesseits- und Jenseitsvorstellungen im 17. Jahrhundert,* 252–4.

[4] Gregory S. Johnston, 'Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in 17th-Century German Funeral Music: Heinrich Schütz's Musikalische Exequien (1636) and Three Works by Michael Wiedemann (1693)', *Journal of Musicology* 9 (1991), 186–213, 203.

gently and joyfully and to pass on over'.[5] The piece promotes this notion of a well-prepared passage from the travails of earthly existence to the delights of the next world, offering 'tangible evidence' of the promise of resurrection.[6] This constitutes a compelling reading of the work's theological significance, and one which I intend to build on in this chapter. But Schütz's own description or the piece's structural properties only get us so far in understanding how these doctrines were embedded in a particular historical reality, shaped by a set of specific beliefs, rituals and politics. As Tim Carter has pointed out, composers do not necessarily 'create meaning' so much as 'determine a space' in which meanings might be constituted and negotiated. Within this interpretative space, listeners (and performers) engage 'with a wide range of elaborative possibilities', which can be at least partially recovered by reconstructing the perceptions and norms of that historically situated listening community.[7] Neither Schütz's compositional actions nor his commentary are thereby rendered irrelevant; I suggest, rather, that it is in the interaction between individual creative agency and intersubjective reception that some of the most productive insights can be located.

The network of associations surrounding the *Exequien* emerges as much denser than any individual narrative. The funeral congregation may well have been reminded of Moller; or they may have visualised the soul ascending to the sky. But other connotations productively complicate these points of reference. The piece's intricate echo devices render the aural effect of the distant trio music decidedly diffuse, making it hard to single out voices or protagonists. The impulse towards dramatic representation would furthermore have been curbed by the widespread understanding that it was impossible to imagine the music of the afterlife. Meanwhile, the experiences of the Thirty Years War gave rise to different responses to death, infusing Protestant funeral practices with metaphors borrowed, for example, from classical models of heroic death. Some of these revised responses challenged the comforting Lutheran imagery of dying as a peaceful sleep, for instance by foregrounding a new technological kind of death inflicted through modern means of warfare. In this chapter, I explore these tensions between ever more precise and euphoric visions of the afterlife, and the attendant disenchantment of death in contemporary reality. A detailed examination of these issues raised by the *Exequien* elucidates the ways in which the Lutheran notion of death was transformed during the decades of the Thirty Years War, while revealing

[5] 'Seliglich sterben heisset im rechten wahren Glauben das Leben beschliessen ... sanffte unnd frölich einschlaffen / unnd von hinnen fahren.' Martin Moller, *Manuale de Preparatione ad Mortem* (Goßlar: Vogt, 1621), 4–5.

[6] Johnston, 'Rhetorical Personification of the Dead', 206.

[7] Tim Carter, 'The Search for Musical Meaning', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music,* ed. John Butt and Tim Carter (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 158–96, 189.

once more music's peculiar capacity to both express and outstrip the actualities of life and death through its ambiguous powers of signification.

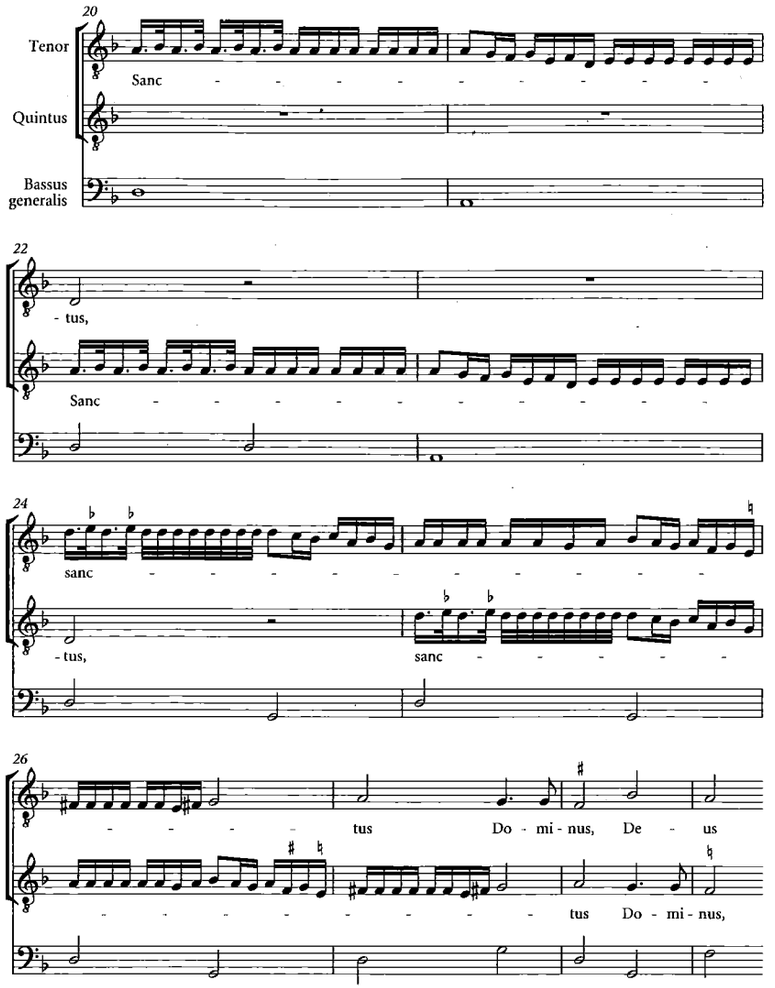
HEAVENLY ECHOES

In Chapter 2, I discussed some ways in which echo effects in seventeenth-century Italianate poetry could suggest a link between this world and the beyond, drawing attention to humanity's separation from the divine while articulating a yearning to bridge that divide. Echoes were also bound up with ideas of death and the *vanitas* motive, crystallised in the self-absorbed Ovidian figure of Narcissus. Moreover, they formed an integral part of contemporary thought about what the music of heaven itself might sound like. In the preface to a collection of polychoral music, Michael Praetorius declared that 'the way of singing *per choros* is in truth the real heavenly way of making music', paraphrasing the biblical prophecy (Isa. 6:2–3) that 'the heavenly seraphim will sing in its angelic choir the trisagion, alternately one after the other . . . As one called the other answered, and they repeated their Sanctus continuously without pause.' Heaven accordingly resounds with a kind of divine polychoral concerto: 'On the one side the choir of chosen blessed people, on the other the choir of cherubim and seraphim stand or hover, and with their shouts of praise and joy in alternation they glorify the Lord, as in a concerto.'[8] Praetorius's tireless exploration of writing for two or more ensembles thereby aimed to offer an earthly preview of the sounds of eternity. Claudio Monteverdi also famously penned a musical version of this biblical image in the 'Duo seraphim' of his *Vespro della Beata Vergine* (1610), in which the seraphims' alternating calls are translated directly into musical antiphony (Example 3.1). This same device of two echoing solo voices is taken up in the central section of a setting by Schütz of Psalm 85 (SWV 461), in a closely spaced arrangement that almost seems designed to redouble the reverberation of a church interior.

Composers around 1600 thus experimented with a variety of strategies to evoke the idea of heavenly polyphonic music, creating exchanges between choirs, instrumental groups or soloists, and even producing the same effect within a single ensemble, for instance through dynamic contrasts. Schütz exploited this latter technique in the vocal concerto

[8] 'die Art per choros zu singen / in Wahrheit die rechte himmlische Art zu musiciren ist . . . die himmlische Seraphim in ihrer Englischen Cantorey das Trisagion, habe gehört abwechselnd / eins umbs ander singen . . . Da einer zu dem andern geruffen und ihn angeschrien / der ander wieder geantwortet / Und also ihr Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus Dominus Zebaoth, ohn Unterlaß wiederholet haben . . . Da auff einer seyten und Chor die außerwehlte seelige Menschen; Auff der ander seyten und Chor / die Himmlischen cantores, Cherubim and Seraphim stehen oder schweben / und alternatim mit ihrem Lob und Freudengeschrey gott den Herrn zu loben / gleichsam concertiren', Michael Praetorius, *Urania oder Urano Chordia* (Wolfenbüttel: Fürstliche Druckerei, 1613), cited in Dieter Gutknecht, 'Transzendenz als klangliche Wirklichkeit: Der Imago-Charakter der Musik zur Schütz-Zeit', in Stein (ed.), *Diesseits- und Jenseitsvorstellungen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 30–46, 31.

Example 3.1. Claudio Monteverdi, 'Duo Seraphim', bars 20–9



'Saul, Saul' (SWV 415) from his *Symphoniae sacrae* III (1650). Here, the indications 'forte', 'mezzopiano' and 'pianissimo' are used to simulate the experience of the voice of God – omnipresent, multifarious and not traceable to one specific sound source – echoing around Saul's head.[9] A similar ploy characterises Part III of the *Musicalische Exequien*, where Schütz introduces the designations 'fortiter' and 'submisse'.

[9] On SWV 415, see Eva Linfield, 'Rhetoric, Rhythm, and Harmony as Keys to Schütz's "Saul, Saul, was verfolgst du mich?"', in *Critica Musica: Essays in Honor of Paul Brainard*, ed. John Knowles (Australia: Gordon and Breach, 1996), 225–47.

Intonatio: Herr, nun lässest du deinen Diener

Chorus 1
in Frieden fahren, wie du gesagt hast. Denn meine Augen haben deinen Heiland gesehen, welchen du bereitet hast vor allen Völkern, ein Licht, zu erleuchten die Heiden, und zum Preis deines Volks Israel.

Chorus 2
Selig sind die Toten, die in dem Herren sterben, sie ruhen von ihrer Arbeit, und ihre Werke folgen ihnen nach. Sie sind in der Hand des Herren, und keine Qual rühret sie.

[Intonation: Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant

Chorus 1: depart in peace, according to Thy word: For mine eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and to the glory of Thy people Israel. (Luke 2:29–32)

Chorus 2: Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord. They rest from their labours; and their works do follow them. They are in the hand of God, and there shall no torment touch them.] (Rev. 14:13, Wisd. 3:1)

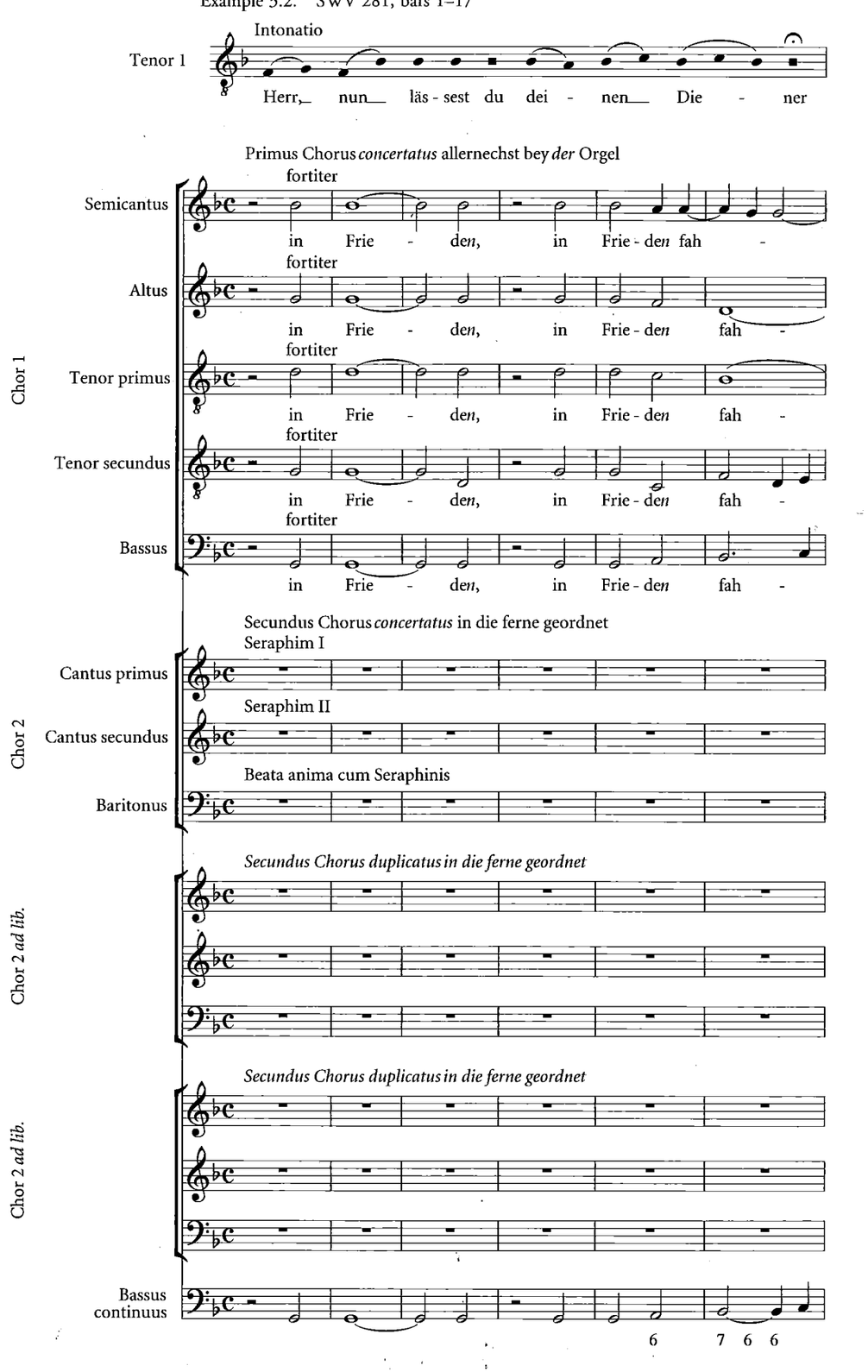
Leaving aside the second choir for a moment, within the first choir listeners already encountered repeated echo effects that could have evoked contemporary visions of celestial music. After the first line of text is stated *fortiter* in chorus 1, the second half of the phrase is repeated exactly, but now marked *submisse* (Example 3.2).

This echolike imitation is maintained throughout most of the movement, with a few significant deviations that will be addressed below. The text of this first group consists of the final words of the world-weary Simeon, dwelling on the elusive 'now' of the transition from earthly to heavenly existence. The scriptural account of Simeon also formed the focus of the first of three funeral sermons for Reuss, delivered by the Gera pastor Bartholomaeus Schwartz at an initial ceremony in Schloß Osterstein on 2 February (Feast of the Purification), presenting Simeon's death as a model for Reuss's last hour.[10] And since Reuss's death notice had called his passing away 'a blessed Simeonic hour', and his actual burial day coincided with that of the biblical figure (4 February), Reuss could have seemed present in this (collective) voice of Simeon as much as in the angelic second ensemble.[11] While the two

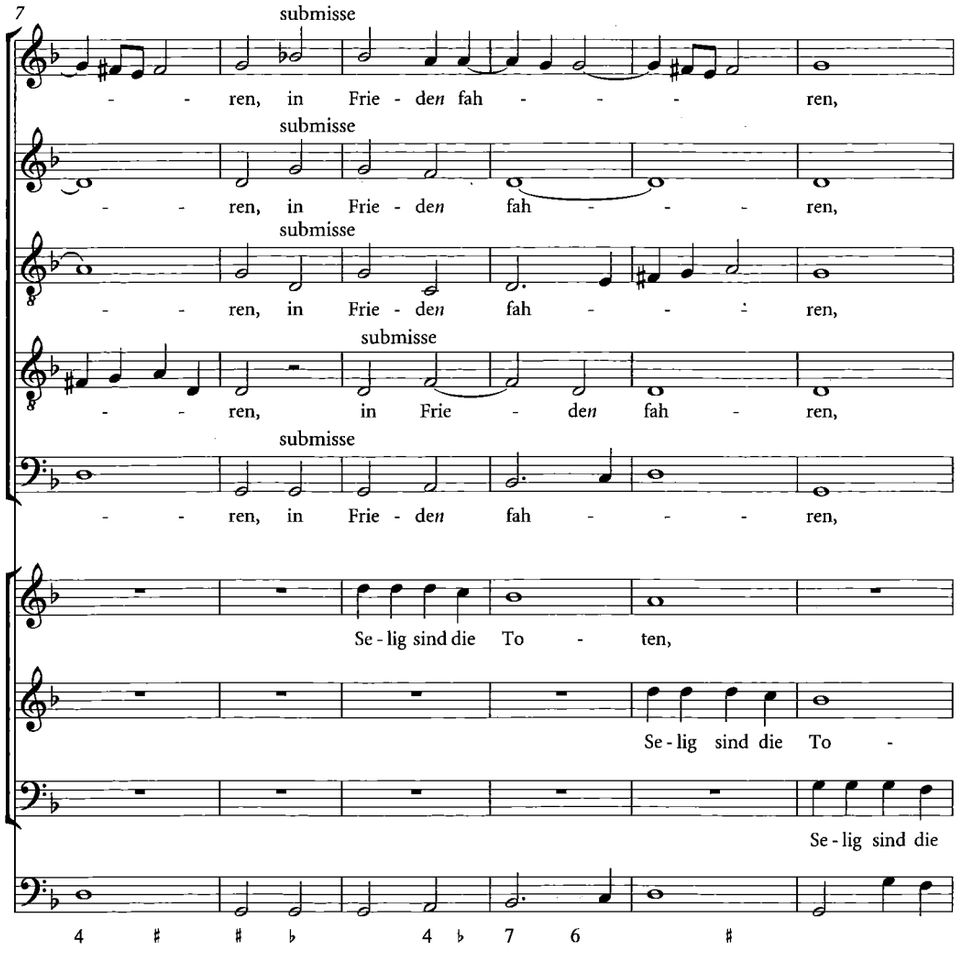
[10] Bartholomaeus Schwartz, *Zwo Christliche LeichPredigten Gehalten in der HoffCapellen zu Gera / nach Wolseligen hintritt aus dieser Welt Deß … H Heinrichen deß Jüngern unnd der zeit Eltesten Reußen* (Gera: Mamitzsch, 1636).

[11] 'ein Sanfftes unndt Seeliges Simeons Stundtlein', cited in Heike Karg, *Die Sterbens-Erinnerung des Heinrich Posthumus Reuss (1572–1635): Konzeption seines Leich-Prozesses* (Jena: Quartus, 1997), 54. On Reuss as Simeon, see also Othmar Wessely, 'Der Fürst und der Tod', in *Heinrich Schütz in seiner Zeit*, ed. Walter Blankenburg (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 329–43, 340.

Example 3.2. SWV 281, bars 1–17



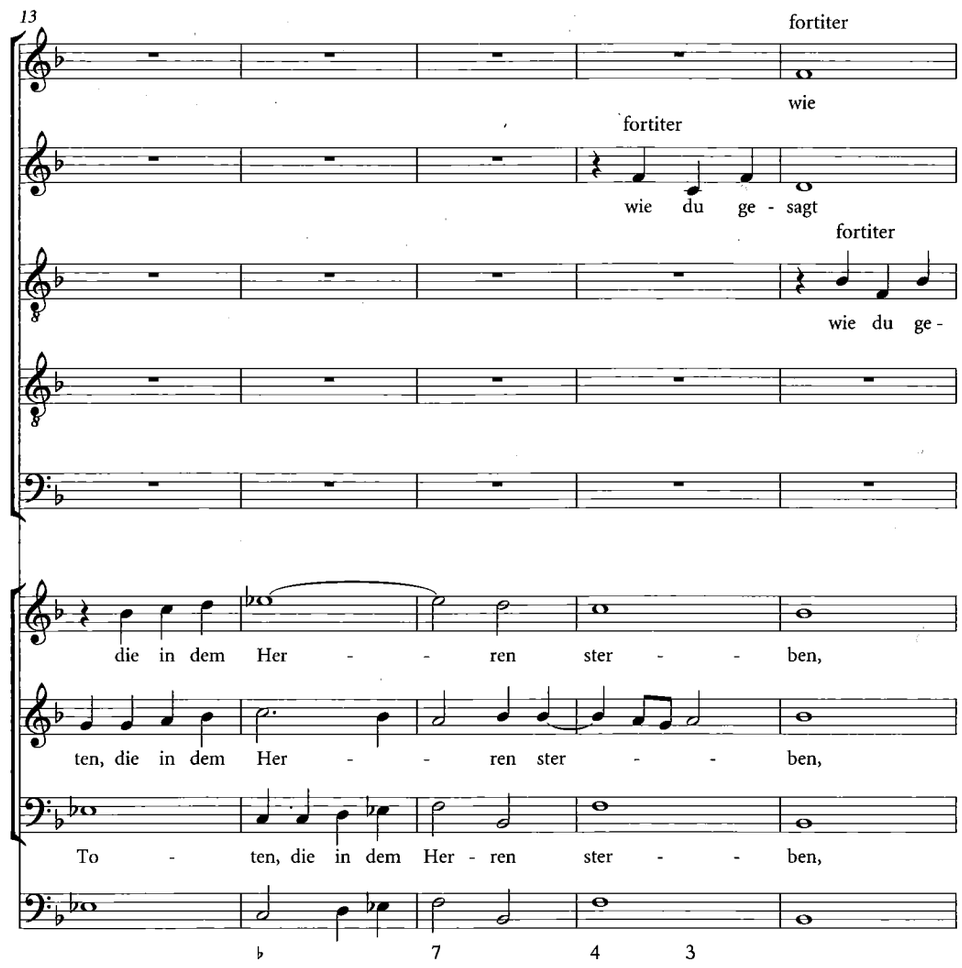
Example 3.2 (*cont.*)



choirs may have been heard as representing the two spheres of earth and heaven, or mourners and deceased, the boundaries in many ways already appear more blurred.

The second choir emerges out of the first of these echo phrases, initially almost unnoticed alongside the continuing sound of chorus 1. The repeated d″ in the first soprano materialises almost like an amplified overtone, reinforced by the second soprano's prolongation of the same pitch two bars later (cf. Example 3.2). In the reverberating acoustics of a church space, these staggered entrances would have been hard to

Example 3.2 (*cont.*)



distinguish aurally, especially if they were unexpected and the performers most likely remained hidden from view.[12] The imitative presentation of 'Selig sind die Toten' thus adds a further layer to the impression of infinitely augmented heavenly resonance, but the disembodied nature of the song leaves open where it originated. If its ethereal quality makes it sound like a faraway echo, then what is it echoing? Although the first

[12] See Johnston, 'Rhetorical Personification of the Dead', 205.

soprano line appears to emerge as an after-echo to what went before – an echo above another, more defined echo – its contours are disconcertingly unrelated to the music it follows, instead seeming to reflect some other sound that is not actually present. As Hans Joachim Moser noted, the monochrome texture and dynamics of chorus 2 set it noticeably apart from the uneven first-choir entries, a contrast that may again point towards a reading of the two groups as representing two separate worlds.[13] Yet we might also suppose, echoing Carolyn Abbate's interpretation of the central aria 'Possente spirto' in Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*, that the audience never gets to hear any of the actual heavenly music; its unimaginable delights can only be experienced through a series of ever-fainter worldly resonances, whose intangible quality renders any true understanding out of reach.[14]

Schütz's final piece of performance advice seems designed to emphasise this opaque effect: 'By making another one or two copies of this chorus secundus, and by setting it up at different places around the church, according to the possibilities that present themselves, the author hopes that the effect of the work might be greatly enhanced.'[15] The resulting diffuse interplay of ensembles, echoes and recalls, then, would have rendered any representational effect of distinct voices or characters rather ambiguous. The piece's 'theatrical' dimension is certainly discernible in the layout of the score, encouraging a literal reading of angels descending and later ascending when the order of vocal entries is reversed.[16] Yet in the work's sounding realisation, these features appear for the most part skilfully obscured. Schütz's composition would thereby have produced a very different effect from Monteverdi's seraphic *Vespers* music. Even if the trio in the *Musicalische Exequien* replicates aspects of the texture and idiom of Monteverdi's version, Schütz resisted the unabashed theatricality of the 'Duo Seraphim', which offered listeners unmediated access to two (and later three) angels shouting in alternation.

What, then, might that (inaudible) divine music have been like? While echo effects formed one element in contemporary fictions of the sounds of heaven, they were supplemented by a host of other images that often derived from biblical prophecies, but became ever more elaborate as the seventeenth century progressed. Schütz invoked a series of these heavenly

[13] Hans Joachim Moser, *Heinrich Schütz: Sein Leben und Werk* [1936], 2nd edn (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), 419–20.

[14] See Carolyn Abbate, *In Search of Opera* (Princeton University Press, 2001), 20–23.

[15] '3. Wer auch diesen Chorum Secundum noch ein: oder zweymahl abschreiben lassen / und nach gelegenheit der Kirchen an unterschiedenen Orten solche Partheyen anstellen wolte / würde des Autoris Hoffnung nach / den effect des Wercks nicht wenig vermehren.' Schütz, *Musikalische Exequien*, lxii; trans. xl.

[16] Norbert Bolin, '"Nun singen sie wieder": Diesseits- und Jenseitsvorstellungen von Musikern', in Stein (ed.), *Diesseits- und Jenseitsvorstellungen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 13–29, 16–17.

scenarios in his dedicatory poem to the *Musicalische Exequien*, ranging from the 'Himmels-Cantorey' of angels to the biblical musicians Asaph, Heman and Jedithun (1 Chr. 25) and the psalmist David. He also incorporated a passage from the Book of Revelation, picturing the twenty-four crowned elders of the Church sitting around the throne of God (Rev. 4:4):

> Wir wollen mit dem Chor der vier und zwantzig Alten /
> Die ümb deß Lammes Stuhl / in lieblichsten gestalten
> Dort haben ihren Sitz / einstimmen gleicher weis /
> Und singen: Dir O Herr gebühret Krafft und Preiß.[17]

[Let us join with the choir of four and twenty elders gathered round the throne of the Lamb in the loveliest manner, and sing 'To Thee, O Lord, belong power and praise'.]

This crowd of lyre-bearing elders also graces the front page of the first volume of Schütz's *Kleine geistliche Concerte*, published in the same year as the *Musicalische Exequien*. They are joined there by two allegorical figures representing the musical pillars of harmony and metre, overseen by a further band of winged musicians playing various instruments (Figure 3.1). Other visual representations of this scene incorporate even more diverse elements, for instance the famous title page of Praetorius's *Musae Sioniae* (1607). Using a church interior as an allegory for the space of heaven, the engraving depicts various groups of singers and instrumentalists arranged around the Lamb of God on several levels. Taken together, they would have generated a joyous harmony of voices, instruments, tunes and antiphonies, as multilayered and impenetrable as Schütz's SWV 281.

Contemporary writers also offered extensive reflections on the music of heaven. The Saxon theologian Johann Matthäus Meyfart included music as one aspect in his vision of the City of God. Aiming to pinpoint as many details of that other reality as possible, Meyfart calculated that Paradise will have a 'circumference of ten thousand three hundred and fourteen million miles, each million counted as twelve times a hundred thousand Italian miles', and that the chosen will 'speak, sing, praise and pray in all languages that have ever been heard under the sun'.[18] His contemporary Valerius Herberger contributed further details: the heavenly Jerusalem would be square, not round; 'courtly manners and urban customs'

[17] Facs. in Schütz, *Musikalische Exequien*, lii; trans. xxxix.

[18] 'Soll der dritte Himmel im Umbkreiß begreiffen / Zehen tausend dreyhundert und viertzehen Millionen Meilen / jede Million zu zwölffmahl hundert tausend Italienischen Meilen gerechnet ... Da wird in allen Sprachen geredet / gesungen / gelobet und gebetet / so jemahls unter der Sonnen sind gehöret worden.' Johann Matthäus Meyfart, *Tuba novissima: das ist, Von den vier letzten Dingen des Menschen* (Coburg: Gruner, 1626; facs. Tübigen: Niemeyer, 1980), 42, 82.

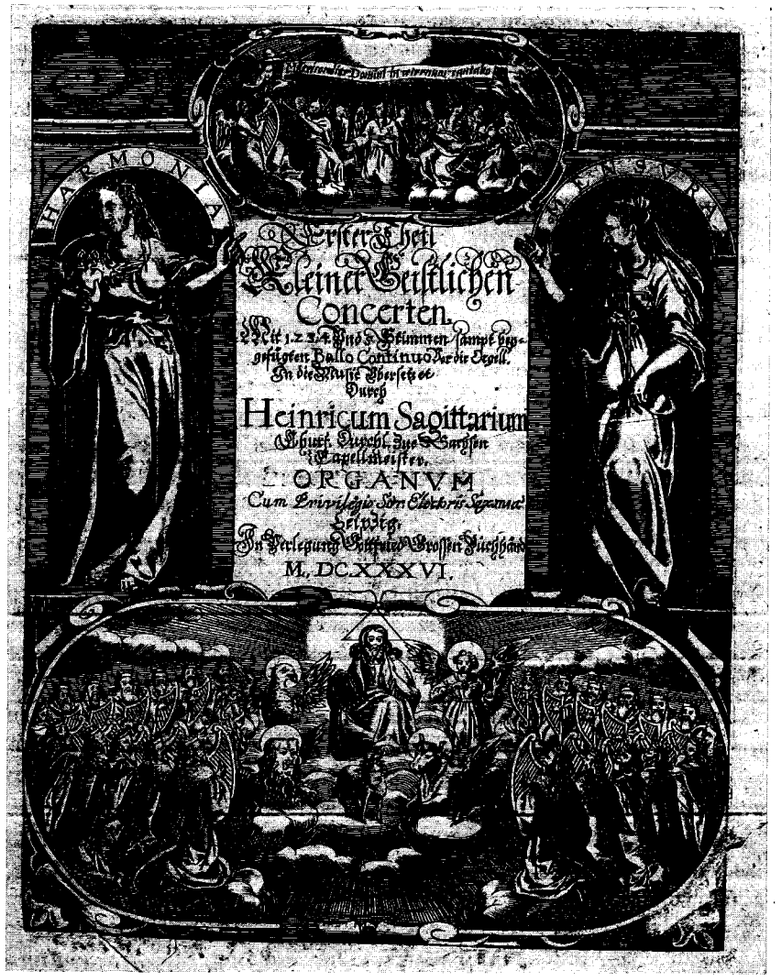


Figure 3.1. Heinrich Schütz, *Erster Theil kleiner geistlichen Concerten* (Leipzig: Grosse, 1636), title page

would prevail; its walls would be made of jasper and gold.[19] Music played a central role in these attempts to picture God's abode, and was subject to equally intense speculations. For the moment of someone's death, Meyfart conjured up the following soundtrack: 'As soon as a chosen soul has been separated from its body, one of the seven angels reaches ... for

[19] 'Sie lieget viereckicht / nicht rund ... höfische mores und Stadtsitten ... von Jaspis und Golde erbawet', Valerius Herberger, *Das Himlische Jerusalem aller rechtgleubigen Christen* (Leipzig: Schürer, 1609), 110, 166, 183. Some of these details are derived from Revelation 21.

his trumpet, drives with great noise through the heavens and announces the departure of the chosen soul ... In addition, the last sigh of a chosen soul is nothing else than a loud cry that resounds through all of heaven, much stronger than an echo between mountain and valley.' Once ascended, the soul joins the chorus of the faithful: 'O unspeakable joyousness, of the angelic voices that intone the Alleluia – with so many thousand choirs? On so many thousand instruments? With so many thousand tongues? In so many thousand voices, which nonetheless all sound together and in the most beautiful harmony.'[20]

Other writers shared similarly ecstatic fantasies. The theologian Christoph Frick announced that God's chapel music would be infinitely better than the best French, Italian and Spanish court ensembles of this world. These angelic performers, he wrote, 'will come together in the great hall of heaven, will let their harmony sound not with 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8 but with many thousand voices, in a new way, with full resonance ... they will sing polyphony in a new heavenly way, colour the notes very artfully, delightfully and delicately, and sing the psalms with great joyousness, for God will renew all music'.[21] Frick's indulgent vision chimes with a broader concurrent trend to place greater emphasis on the sensuous in contemplating the afterlife, a trend that gradually supplanted the traditional notion of universal harmony as mathematically grounded and based in reason.[22] Elsewhere, Frick went into even greater detail:

> The holy angels will bring the harmony from low to high, from high to low, lead it around the middle, sing against one another, imitate each other, intone together, vary their songs in a thousand ways, keep the beat with their wings,

[20] 'Dann so balden ein außerwehlte Seel vom Leibe abgeschieden / ergreiffet der sieben Engel einer ... seine Posaun / fehret mit hellem Geschrey durch den Himmel / unnd verkündiget den Außzug der außerwehlten Seel. Zu dem ist der letzte Seufftzer einer außerwehlten Seel nicht anders / als ein starcker Ruff / der durch den gantzen Himmel widerschallet / viel stärcker als ein Echo zwischen Berg und Thalen', Johann Matthäus Meyfart, *Das Erste Buch Von Dem Himlischen Jerusalem* (Coburg: Gruner, 1627), 119; 'O der unaußsprechlichen Fröligkeit / wenn man ... anhören soll die Englischen Stimmen / die das Alleluja intoniren? Auff so viel tausend Choren? Aus so viel tausend Instrumenten? Mit so viel tausend Zungen? Von so viel tausend Stimmen / welche doch alle zusammen lauten / und mit der schönsten Harmoni erklingen.' Johann Matthäus Meyfart, *Das Ander Buch Von Dem Himlischen Jerusalem* (Coburg: Gruner, 1627), 259.

[21] 'in dem HimmelsSaal zusammen treten / und ihre Harmoney nicht mit 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. etc. sondern mit viel tausendt Stimmen / im newen Thon / mit vollem klang werden erschallen lassen ... Da wird man figuriren / Auff new himlische Art / Die Noten coloriren / Gar künstlich / lieblich / zart / Die Psalmen schön psallieren / Mit Hertzenfrewd allda / Denn Gott wird renoviren / Die gantze Musica.' Christoph Frick, *Music-Büchlein Oder Nützlicher Bericht Von dem Uhrsprunge, Gebrauche und Erhaltung Christlicher Music* (Lüneburg: Stern, 1631; facs. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1976), 113. For an earlier similar account, see Christoph Irenäus, *Spiegel des ewigen Lebens* (Ursel: Henricum, 1582), ch. 28, no page.

[22] Johann Gerhard betrays a similar focus on sensual perception: 'Die Augen werden haben Schönheit / der Geschmack Süßigkeit / das Gehör Liebligkeit / der Geruch Specerey / das fühlen Blümlein mancherley.' (They will see beauty, taste sweetness, hear loveliness, smell spices and touch flowers.) Johann Gerhard, *Ein und funffzig Geistliche Andachten wahre Gottseligkeit zu erwecken* (Jena: Beithmann, 1620), 291.

repeat the great 'holy', pause in adoration of the divine majesty, then triumph with devotion, and perform the most beautiful psalms in many hundred choirs.[23]

But although the delights of the afterlife could be outlined in so many words, one central problem remained: even with descriptions as detailed as Frick's fugues and pauses at hand, the actual musical sounds remained impossible to recreate on this earth. Orthodox Lutheran doctrine held that a full understanding of God's truth was unattainable for sinful humans, based on a scriptural passage quoted by virtually every commentator: 'No eye has seen, no ear has heard, no mind has conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him' (1 Cor. 2:9).[24] Writers often reformulated this as a prohibition, warning that 'it is not proper for us to dare to encircle these miracles of God with our hands, or to measure them with our elbows'.[25] This insistence on a necessary lack of insight created a peculiar conflict with regard to music: on the one hand, Lutheran theologians believed music to be the only art capable of prefiguring the joys of heaven, offering a precious 'foretaste' or 'echo' of their true nature.[26] Moreover, as Georg Albrecht confirmed in 1613, 'all other arts, be they as wonderful as they want, will end with this life, but the art of singing and playing will prevail even in eternal life'.[27] And yet, on the other hand, the fundamental inadequacy of all things human also extended to music, making its earthly form a sorely deficient equivalent of the heavenly ideal, which could only be glimpsed as if 'through a glass darkly' (1 Cor. 13:12). Hence Praetorius conceded that the concertos of heaven will be 'much more grandiose than we could ever dream up in this life', and even the indefatigable Frick concluded that worldly music can only ever be a 'faint shadow' or a 'howling and wailing', its instruments sounding no better than a 'chopping board in the kitchen used to cut up food'.[28]

[23] 'Es werden die heilige Engel ... Die holdselige Harmoney / Aus der Tieffe in die Höhe schwingen / Aus der Höhe in die Tieffe bringen / In der Mitte umbführen / Gegen einander singen / Durch einander fugiren / Miteinander intoniren / Auff tausendterley Art die Gesänge Varijren / mit den Flügeln tactiren / das grosse heilige repetiren / Mit verwunderung gegen die göttliche Majestät pausiren / doch als bald Mit Ehrerbietung triumphiren / und die schönsten Psalmen auf viel hundert Choren Musiciren.' Frick, *Music-Büchlein*, 305–6.

[24] For instance Meyfart, *Das Erste Buch Von Dem Himlischen Jerusalem*, 22.

[25] 'Im übrigen geziemet es sich nicht / daß wir uns unterstehen sollen / diese wunderwercke Gottes mit unsern fingern abzuzirckeln / oder mit unsern ellenbogen auszumessen', Simon Goulart, *Der weise Alte*, trans. Tobias Hübner (Cöthen: Fürstliche Druckerei, 1643), 167.

[26] These formulations were ubiquitous; see Joyce Irwin, *Neither Voice Nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque* (New York: Lang, 1993), 43–55.

[27] 'Denn alle andere Künste / sie seyn so herrlich gewesen / als sie jmmer wollen / hören mit diesem Leben auff / aber die Sing- und Spielkunst wird auch in dem ewigen Leben wären', Georg Albrecht, *Handwercks-Zunfft / Das ist / Kurtze Erzehl- und Beschreibung der vornehmsten Handwercken* (Leipzig: Mintzel, 1631), 130.

[28] 'viel herrlichere Concert dergleichen in diesem Leben wir nicht erdencken können', cited in Gutknecht, 'Transzendenz als klangliche Wirklichkeit', 31; 'nicht anders als ein Hacke-Bret / darauff in der Küche zur verfertigung der Speisen geschlagen wird', Frick, *Music-Büchlein*, 298.

In this context, it is not surprising that Schütz shied away from a forthright presentation of heavenly music in the *Musicalische Exequien*, instead placing a 'dark glass' between its real delights and the dim echo that his listeners got to hear. As the composer formulated in his introduction, such an echo could merely hope to 'intimate and suggest' ('in etwas einführen und andeuten') that divine joy. An Abbatean reading of the second choir echoing an inaudible sound source can thereby be grounded historically in the very tensions surrounding the status of music in seventeenth-century Lutheran theology. Avoiding any direct portrayal of heavenly choirs yelling 'holy, holy', or even the traditional association of divine harmony with strict counterpoint, Schütz's layering of voices strikes a careful balance that responds to the longing for a consolatory glimpse of divine grace, while respecting the impassable border separating one realm from the next.[29] Schütz articulated this stance at the end of his introductory poem: even as he imagines himself eventually joining Reuss in the heavenly choir, he entreats the deceased to look kindly on his musical offering, which must remain an imperfect earthly invention.

> Indeß seht günstig an / was meine Musen schencken
> Euch wollen hier zuletzt / zum Ehren angedencken /
> Und achtet / weil es ist gar schlechtlich zubereitt /
> Daß es geschehen sey noch in der sterblichkeit.[30]

[Meanwhile look graciously upon this offering made by my Muses as a final act of honour and remembrance. Do not forget, for it is imperfect, that it is still a product of mortal endeavour.]

TIME AND ETERNITY

In the next world, according to seventeenth-century Lutheran writers, heaven gets all the good music, all the time. Hell, by contrast, is plagued by a constant barrage of frightful sounds – screaming, teeth gnashing, the devil playing the dissonant organ of the sinner's bad conscience. It is devoid of the comforts of song: 'They will be banned from singing', Frick announced, 'since in the extreme darkness they will not be able to read the music.'[31] Yet although heaven's eternal musicking was routinely extolled as more magnificent than anyone could imagine, some writers addressed a lingering doubt over whether hearing all this music forever was actually desirable. Eternity was widely discussed as a condition that human understanding could not grasp, and that therefore required explanation and

[29] On the association of counterpoint with divine music, see David Yearsley, 'Towards an Allegorical Interpretation of Buxtehude's Funerary Counterpoints', *Music and Letters* 80 (1999), 183–206.

[30] Schütz, *Musikalische Exequien*, lii; trans. xxxix.

[31] 'das singen wird ihnen wol verboten seyn / wenn sie in eusserstem Finsterniß die Noten nicht mehr kennen', Frick, *Music-Büchlein*, 120. See also Meyfart, *Tuba novissima*, 26.

reassurance. Hence Meyfart promised his readers that their delight at seeing God forever would not wane, and Frick asserted with regard to music that the blessed souls 'will not tire of such singing'.[32] Elsewhere, Meyfart defined the properties of eternity in some detail, imagining that instead of cold winters and hot summers there will only be an 'everlasting spring', characterised by continual lightness and the absence of nighttime. Herberger similarly envisaged that 'the light of heaven will not fade, but grow and increase continually in brightness and clarity'.[33]

Yet any such descriptive attempts ultimately failed to get at the heart of the matter, namely the nature of the eternal in its relationship to time. In the prevailing pre-Newtonian worldview of these Lutheran thinkers, the arrival of eternity, as the opposite of decay and death, was expected to spell the end of time itself: 'All time counting will stop, nothing but eternity will follow.'[34] Nevertheless, eternity's expanse could only be approached from a human perspective by harnessing familiar and finite categories, even if to reject them. Johann Gerhard's musings about the eternal torments of hell encapsulate this conundrum: 'Eternity, how long do you last? You can never be measured by time, year, hour or duration ... after a hundred thousand thousand times a thousand years, indeed without end and number, all pain ever suffered will return, and it will be the beginning.'[35] Michael Neander's *Menschenspiegel* (1621) reveals a similar kind of ambivalence: 'The eternal suffers and contains no time, for with God a thousand years are like a single day here on earth.'[36] And the ubiquitous metaphor of eternity as a circle, viewed as the antipole to humanity's linear path from Creation to Apocalypse, equally implied a perpetual motion in time when formulated as 'a wheel that turns continuously' or 'a river in which the water flows ever more from its source'.[37]

The vexed issue of the temporality of the afterlife proved particularly challenging in conjunction with music, which, as a quintessentially temporal art form, had to be reconciled with an idea of timelessness that was

[32] 'Und werden wir auch solches singens nicht müde werden', Frick, *Music-Büchlein*, 116; Meyfart, *Das Erste Buch Von Dem Himlischen Jerusalem*, 374–5.

[33] 'Und dieses Himmelliecht wird nicht abnemen / sondern jmmer ins helle klare grünen / das ist / wachsen und zunemen', Herberger, *Das Himlische Jerusalem*, 129–30.

[34] 'alle Zeitrechnung wird aufhören / lauter Ewigkeit wird folgen', ibid., 95.

[35] 'O Ewigkeit / o ewig Zeit: O Ewig: wie langstu so weit? Die du durch Zeit / Jahr / Stund / und frist / Nimmermehr außzumessen bist? ... Nach hundert tausend tausend mal Tausend Jahr / ja ohn End und Zahl / Wirdt alle erlittne Pein Wiedrkommen / und der Anfang seyn'; Johann Gerhard, *Ein und fünffzig gottselige christliche evangelische Andachten*, ed. Burcard Großmann (Jena: Weidner, 1608), ed. Johann Anselm Steiger (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2001), 485, 487.

[36] 'Denn ewig / leydet und begreiffet keine Zeit / da bey Gott sind tausendt Jahr / wie hie auff Erden ein Tag', Michael Neander, *Menschenspiegel / Das ist / Von den Menschen vor dem Fall / nach dem Fall* (Leipzig: Lamberg, 1621), 285.

[37] 'Die Ewigkeit ist ein stetgehendes Rath / welches jmmerdar leuffet / und jmmerdar lauffen wird ... Die Ewigkeit ist ein solcher Fluß / in welchen die Wasser sich in jhrem Uhrsprung auffs newe ergiessen', Meyfart, *Das Ander Buch Von Dem Himlischen Jerusalem*, 376.

itself difficult to fathom. Karol Berger's recent study of attitudes to time in Western thought posits that in the pre-modern age of Bach and before, music tended to reflect an understanding of divine time as circular. Within Bach's work, Berger discerns this circularity in forms as diverse as the strophic chorale and the da capo aria, implying that almost any kind of recurrence could have embodied the cyclical nature of eternity.[38] Yet on closer inspection, seventeenth-century commentators appear somewhat at odds with this narrative. The only genre that theorists at the time consistently referred to as 'circular' was the canon – Calvisius, for instance, called it a 'fuga in orbem' – but this canonic infinity did not provide the dominant model for imagining the everlasting music of heaven.[39] Instead, in Meyfart's account (based on Rev. 14), the heavenly choirs

> sing a new song without end, and yet without boredom; without end, and yet without repetition ... They will continually intone a new song, which will however never be finished. While here on earth we tire of even the most beautiful songs when they are sung too often and become familiar, in the heavenly Jerusalem new pieces will continually be composed by the most blessed composers, and will be sung and played without end.[40]

In the continuous present tense of eternity, 'holy, holy' is thus heard on a never-ending loop, but is reconfigured at every moment, because something has elapsed since the previous unrepeatable moment. Even as time is meant to have ceased, Meyfart strives in vain to envision a kind of music that exists outside of temporal progression. And the metaphors he falls back on rely less on a convenient notion of circular return than a complicated feat of constant renewal in the present tense. The notion of the 'eternal Now', which Berger introduces further on in his account, therefore emerges as a much more convincing model for reconstructing early seventeenth-century perspectives on time and timelessness.[41]

For contemporary listeners attuned to these debates, the final movement of Schütz's *Musicalische Exequien* would have proved richly stimulating. The compositional layering of two ensembles explores two different musical temporalities, without, however, articulating a straightforward

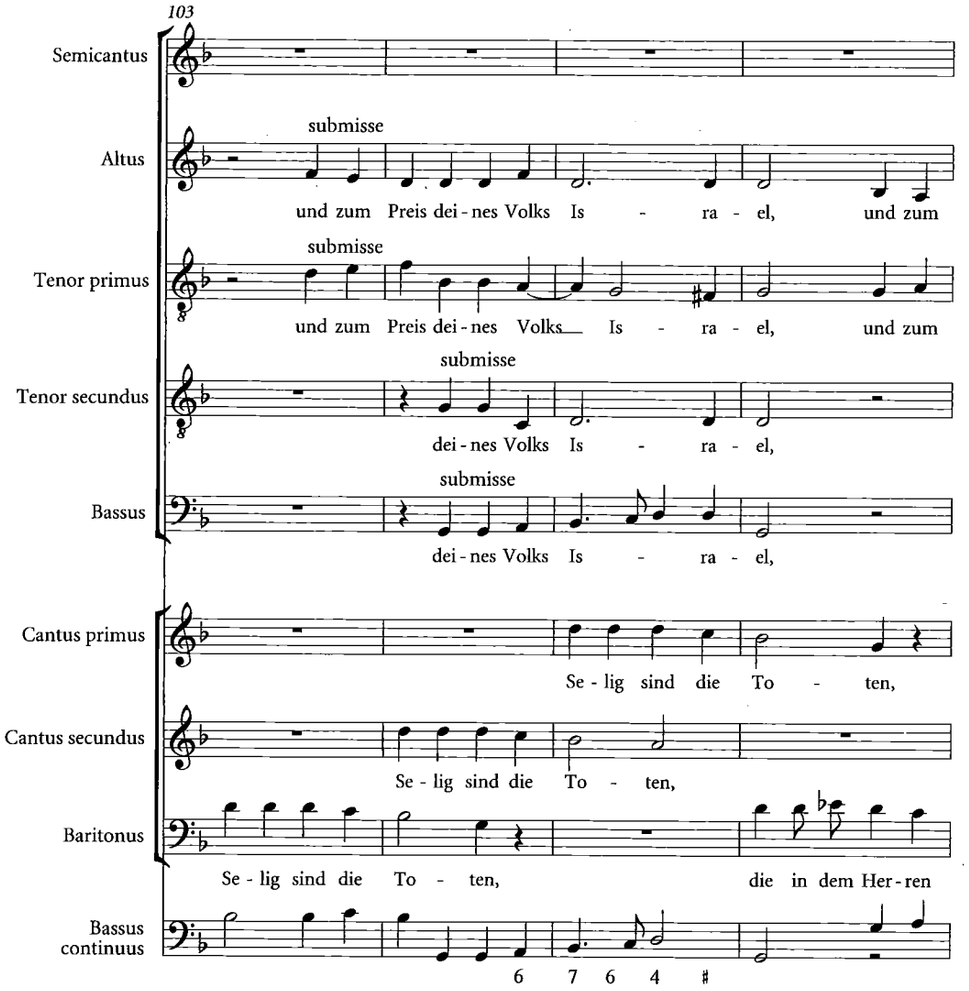
[38] Karol Berger, *Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow: An Essay on the Origins of Musical Modernity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 45–59.

[39] Cited in Paul Walker, *Theories of Fugue from the Age of Josquin to the Age of Bach* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 90.

[40] 'Die Außerwehlten singen ein newes Lied / ohne Auffhörung / unnd doch ohne Verdriessung: Ohne Auffhörung / und doch ohne Wiederholung ... Zumahl / weil allezeit das newe Lied angestimmet / und doch nimmermehr außgesungen wird. Allhier wird man auch der allerschönsten Lieder überdrüssig / wenn dieselbige gar zu offt practiciret und gemein worden ... Aber in dem Jerusalem werden allezeit newe Stück von den heiligsten Componisten gedichtet / ohn auffhören gesungen und Instrumentiret.' Meyfart, *Das Erste Buch Von Dem Himlischen Jerusalem*, 448–50.

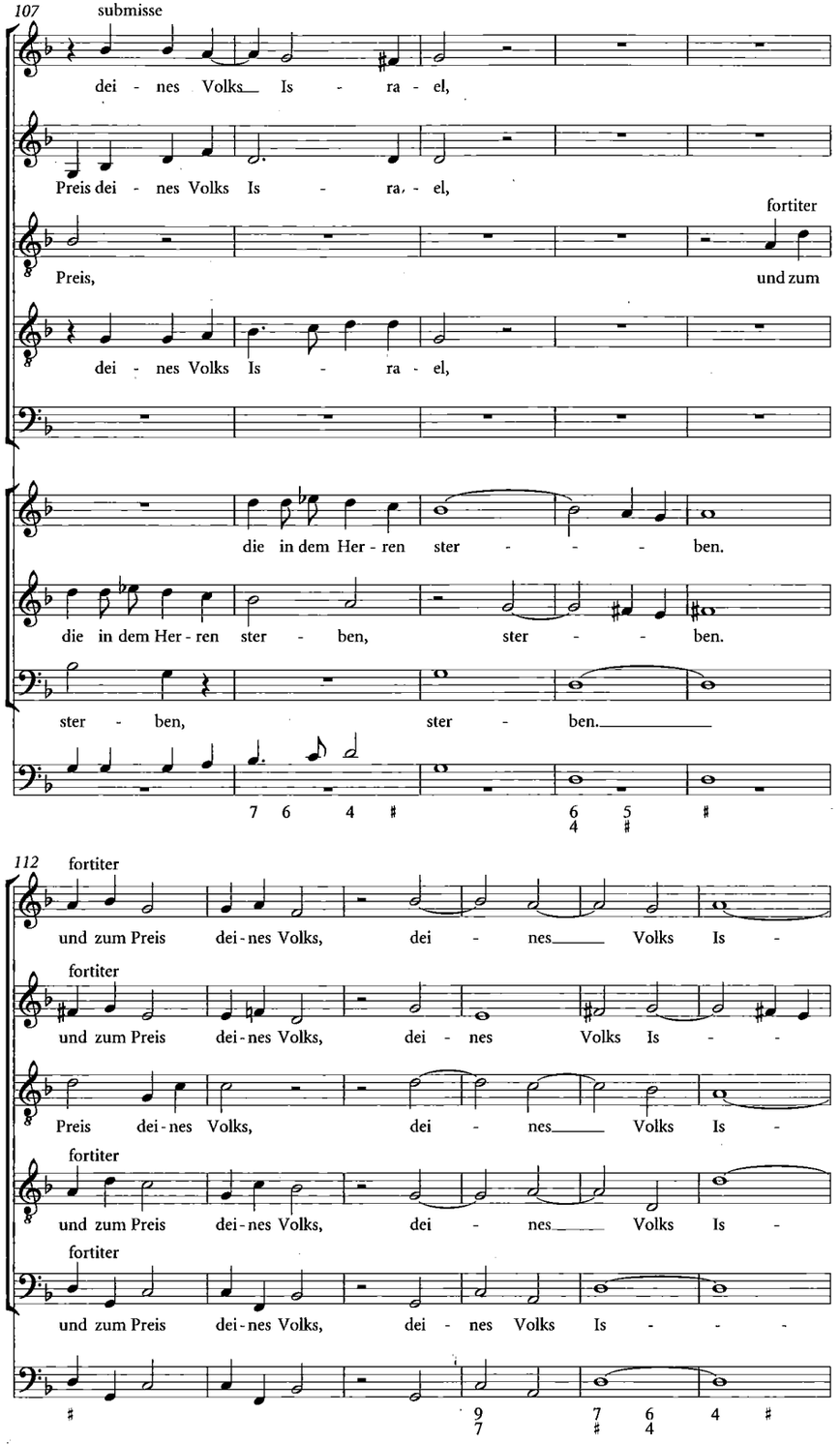
[41] Berger, *Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow*, 59.

Example 3.3. SWV 281, bars 103–23

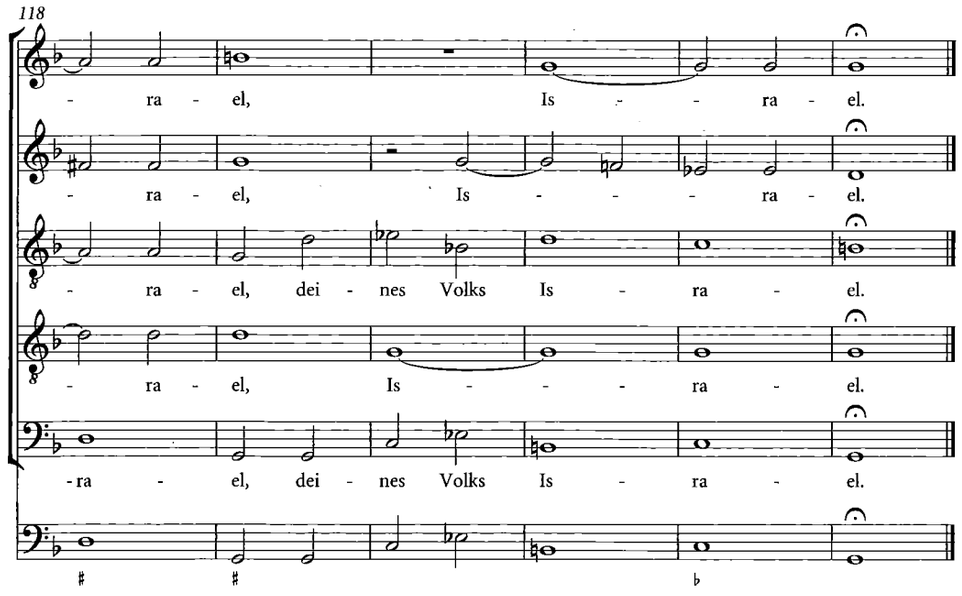


duality between linear and circular conceptions. In the first choir, the material is arranged in a predominantly linear sequence, with a new point of imitation for each textual phrase. Yet this overall impression of linearity is attenuated by the echo effects after each statement, which add a dimension of recurrence to the successive temporal experience. The second choir is more consistently repetitive across its separate phrase portions; its first three entries all elaborate the same motive, which is then reiterated again at the end of the piece – a key signal of cyclicity that sets this compositional stratum apart from chorus 1 (Example 3.3).

Example 3.3 (*cont.*)



Example 3.3 (*cont.*)

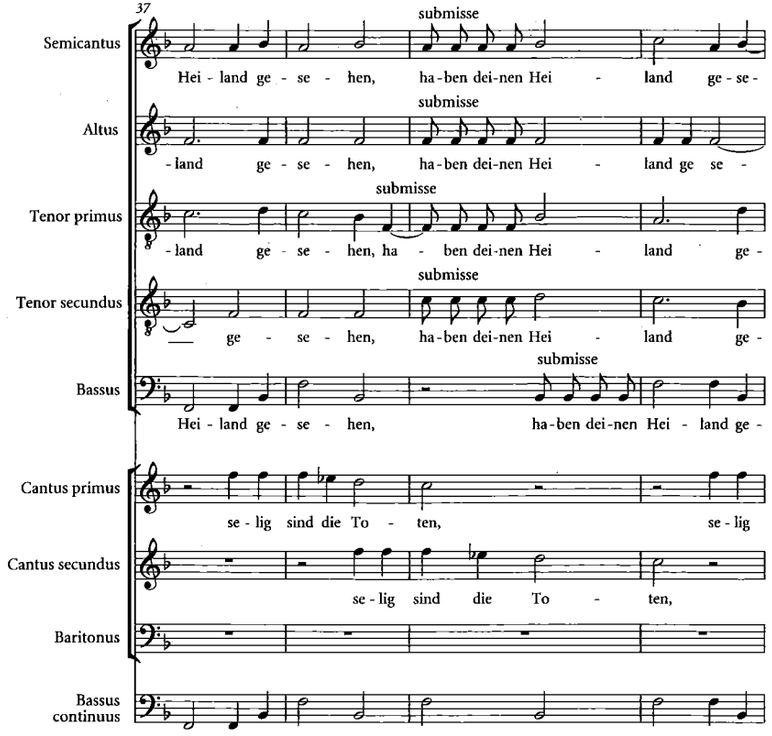


Yet although the final phrase in chorus 2 is closely related to its opening material, it does not present an exact repetition, but has been transformed by the dynamic processes that shape the piece's unfolding over time. The relationship between the two ensembles is thereby continuously reconfigured: at the outset, their alternating statements overlap by a few beats, undisturbed by each other's presence; but gradually a sense of friction ensues from the disparity between the advancing chorus 1 and the static chorus 2. The initial pattern is thus increasingly disrupted: in bar 37, Schütz brings in a higher-pitched and metrically displaced version of the opening motive in chorus 2, before chorus 1 has reached its echo passage (Example 3.4).

And once chorus 2 introduces new motivic material (bar 49 onwards), the orderly stratification of layers and echoes breaks down further. From bar 63, the ensembles no longer alternate in a smoothly overlapping fashion, but exchange their now homophonic statements in clear-cut succession; moreover, chorus 2 is inserted before the appropriate echo phrase in chorus 1, and even offers an unprecedented 'submisse' echo of its own (Example 3.5).

In the following section in triple metre (bar 73 onwards), the roles are redefined again, as chorus 1 no longer sings any echo phrases; the only

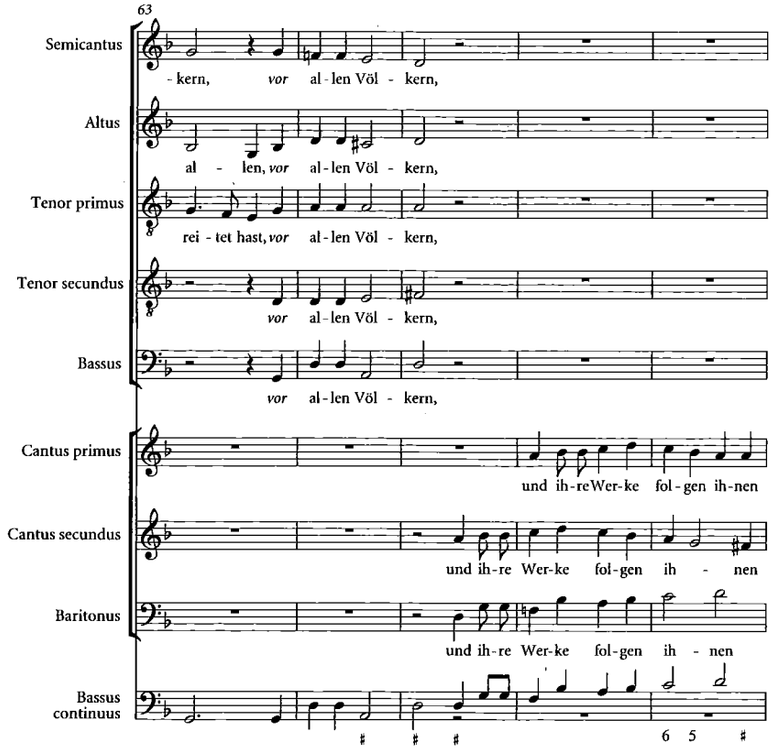
Example 3.4. SWV 281, bars 37–40



echo now comes from chorus 2, which still delivers a different text but, unlike before, a closely related rhythmic contour. These disorientating shifts in the echo sources, in conjunction with the interlocking repetition and variation procedures, render the vocal and temporal layers of the musical fabric increasingly entangled. The final section (from bar 97) explores yet another arrangement, bringing the two groups together in a densely contrapuntal closing statement, during which the second choir – now back to its opening material – is eventually drowned out (cf. Example 3.3).

Both ensembles in SWV 281 are thus subject to carefully deployed temporal strategies of variation and amplification; and notwithstanding the work's allusions to timeless heavenly singing, the collective force of these strategies generates a distinct directionality across the whole piece. In the movement's formal disposition, too, therefore, Schütz resisted evoking any kind of circular or atemporal angelic music too directly, instead merging recurrent and cumulative elements to create a complex and

Example 3.5. SWV 281, bars 63–73

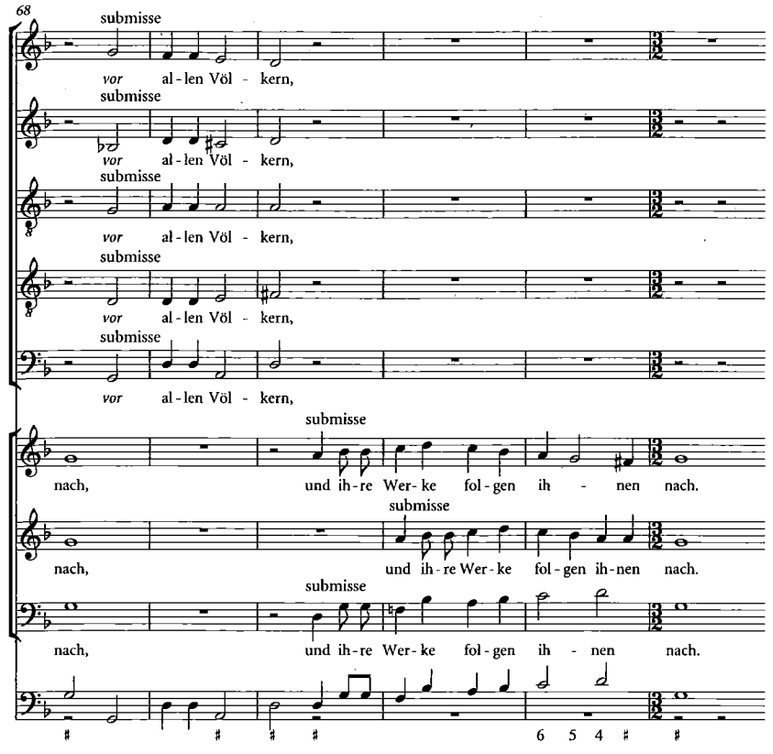


ambiguous listening experience. And by virtue of this ambiguity, the piece perhaps managed to produce a more suggestive gesture towards the unfathomable truth of the beyond than most verbal elaborations could hope to achieve. Where Meyfart and Frick needed to reach for exaggerations of thousands of voices, the sounding reality of just seven parts, effectively arranged and duplicated, harboured a greater potential for offering some kind of a heavenly foretaste. And while this foretaste worked in close conjunction with the consoling words – 'blessed are those who die in the Lord' – the musical realisation to some extent leaves that verbal message behind, and in the process perhaps even outstrips it in persuasive power.

WORLDLY REMEMBRANCE

If SWV 281 delivered to Reuss's mourners a potent gesture towards the infinite, that gesture was at the same time bound up with the

Example 3.5 (*cont.*)



contingencies of the here and now. 'Und zum Preis deines Volks' (and to the glory of your people) is the final line of text that prevails over chorus 2, and while those words literally referred to God's people of Israel, figuratively they pointed to the people and lands of the Reuss family. Beside its spiritual dimension, the funeral ceremony performed a valuable public service of paying tribute to the deceased sovereign, preserving his memory for later generations to ensure the continued authority of the ruling dynasty. Schütz contributed to this task in his introductory poem, commending Reuss's character and good policies in times of war:

> Der Ihr der Musen wart ihr Schirm / Schutz / Freud und Wonne /
> Der Ihr der Gottesfurcht wart eine helle Sonne /
> Der Ihr habt Schulen neu- und Kirchen aufferbaut /

Und sie bestellet wol / und embsig zugeschaut /
Damit der Gottesdienst werd ohne falsch geführet[42]

[You, who were the protector, joy and delight of the Muses, a bright sun of Godly reverence, who rebuilt and built from new our schools and churches, furnishing them with good things and fastidiously supervising them, so that the worship be held free from falsehood]

Other commemorative acts and artefacts included a specially issued coin sporting the ruler's portrait; a funeral procession from Schloß Osterstein to the Johanniskirche in Gera; and the sermon preached by Christoph Richter during the main funeral service on 4 February, which culminated in a lengthy narration of Reuss's parentage, upbringing and Christian virtues.[43] In its published version, the sermon would serve as a memento long after the event itself, immortalising the deceased as a paragon of a righteous Christian life and government, and setting a concrete example for the ideal death that each believer should strive to emulate.[44] The 'beata anima' named in the *Exequien* indeed referred to Reuss himself, but also stood for the soul of any steadfast Lutheran.

The Protestant tradition of funeral sermons and their ever more expansive biographical appendices, which reached a peak of popularity in the seventeenth century, rested on a fundamental ambivalence at the heart of the Lutheran view of death.[45] As Craig Koslofsky has shown, Luther's teachings had removed certain aspects of death from everyday life, by stipulating that cemeteries should be located outside urban spaces, and rejecting traditional Catholic practices of intercession.[46] Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg reaffirmed in his *Evangelisches HandBüchlein*: 'Scripture demands that the living shall pray for the living ... but that we shall call upon the dead, is not sanctioned ... when we are dead we can no longer help each other in this way.'[47] Since the living could no more imagine accessing or speaking on behalf of the deceased, attitudes to death, the function of funeral masses and acts of commemoration shifted as well. For one, Lutheran believers came to attach greater significance to the moment

[42] Facs. in Schütz, *Musikalische Exequien*, lii; trans. xxxix.

[43] On funeral processions, see Gregory S. Johnston, 'Unterm Geleute aller Glocken: die Klangwelt bei Leichenzügen und Begräbnissen der deutschen protestantischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts', in Stein (ed.), *Diesseits- und Jenseitsvorstellungen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 47–52.

[44] Christoph Richter, *Gott uber alles Das ist: Frommer Christenn Liebster Schatz* (Gera: Mamitzsch, 1636).

[45] See Eberhard Winkler, *Die Leichenpredigt im deutschen Luthertum bis Spener* (Munich: Kaiser, 1967), 237–8.

[46] Craig Koslofsky, *The Reformation of the Dead: Death and Ritual in Early Modern Germany, 1450–1700* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 34–54, 81–100.

[47] 'Daß die Lebendigen für die Lebendigen bitten sollen / ist in der Schrifft geboten ... Aber daß wir die Verstorbenen anruffen sollen / das ist nicht geboten ... wenn wir verstorben seyn / da können wir nicht mehr einander also helffen', Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *Evangelisches HandBüchlein*, 8th edn (Leipzig: Lamberg, 1629), 143–4.

of passing away, scrutinising it for signs that the departed soul had indeed been saved: 'If the last moment is good, eternity is also good.'[48] Hence many funeral sermons recounted the deceased's final hours and minutes in some detail, recording the last words, the departed's unwavering faith until the end and peaceful 'falling asleep', a commonplace euphemism for dying that Richter also employed in Reuss's funeral oration. Since Reuss had found a 'good gentle end', it could be assumed that he had prevailed in his ultimate struggle and was headed for heaven.[49]

The funeral ceremony itself took on an important social role in Lutheran practice. Beyond serving as a reminder of one's own mortality, it provided an opportunity for erecting those 'Ehrensäulen' or verbal monuments that enshrined the name, status and deeds of the deceased.[50] Some funeral sermons explicitly addressed people's fear of entering the 'land of forgetting' when they die, bemoaning the fact that after a short while no one will remember who previously lived in a house, or who was buried in a particular place.[51] Hence, as another preacher formulated it, 'in order to preserve their memory, not only columns, epitaphs and gravestones are in order, but it is furthermore customary to have funeral sermons printed'.[52] This 'anthropocentric emptying-out' of the burial rite was criticised by seventeenth-century contemporaries as much as by later scholars; Johann Valentin Andreae's utopian *Christianopolis* of 1619 imagined that during funerals in his ideal Lutheran city, 'no personalia are read out, because God knows best who everyone was, and their progeny will tell of it, which is more reliable than a eulogy that has been bought, coerced or fabricated'.[53] The worldly orientation of these funeral customs was further exacerbated by the widespread practice among mourners of treating such occasions as opportunities for social display, behaving in ways that regularly attracted censure from the authorities. In 1625, the Leipzig city council passed an order, republished

[48] 'Ist der letzte Augenblick gut / so ist auch die Ewigkeit gut', Paul Röber, *Beschreibung deß Menschlichen Lebens ... Bey ... Leichbestattung Deß ... Paul Helwigs* (Wittenberg: Helwig, 1631), no page.

[49] 'ein schönes sanfftes Ende', Richter, *Gott uber alles*, no page.

[50] See Martin Kazmaier, 'Denkmaale von Papier erbauet', in *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften*, ed. Rudolf Lenz (Cologne: Böhlau, 1975), 390–407, 403.

[51] 'daß wir kommen in terram oblivionis, in das Land der Vergessenheit', Matthäus Bloss, *Foenisecium Oder HewErndte: Das ist / Christliche Leichpredigt uber die Wort des Geistreichen Propheten Esaiae* (Jena: Weidner, 1631), 3r–3v.

[52] 'Solches Gedächtnis aber zu erhalten / sind nicht allein Seulen / Epitaphia / Grabstein verordnet / sondern auch Leichpredigten in Druck zu geben breuchlich', Johann Schnetter, *Christlicher LeichSermon und Ehrengedächtnis Uber die Wort Pauli* (Jena: Weidner, 1631), dedication, no page.

[53] 'Man verliest hier keine Personalien ... Wer ein jeder gewesen ist, ist Gott am besten bekannt, und die Nachkommenschaft erzählt es, was sicherer als ein erkaufter oder erzwungener oder erdichteter Lobspruch ist.' Johann Valentin Andreae, *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio* (Strasburg: Zetzner, 1619), ed. Richard van Dülmen (Stuttgart: Calwer, 1972), 223. See also Winkler, *Die Leichenpredigt im deutschen Luthertum*, 231–7.

several times in the 1630s and 1640s, that prohibited inappropriately ostentatious attire among the congregants.[54]

The effects of the Thirty Years War, which by the 1630s impinged on most German territories, further transformed the associations of death with worldly glory, in particular by introducing the idea of a heroic death on the battlefield as a viable alternative paradigm, and by fusing the traditional Lutheran *ars moriendi* with images of classical heroes from antiquity. In this spirit, Meyfart portrayed the soul's arrival in heaven as a victorious Roman conqueror entering the city of Rome, marching to 'the wild booming of drums, the high-pitched squeal of trumpets, the sharp tone of trombones, the lovely voice of flutes, the strong sound of crumhorns, the joyous shouting and singing of the soldiers'.[55] Reuss's death was equally assimilated to this language of heroism: Schütz's poem celebrated him as a 'worthy hero', while Richter emphasised his 'heroic stature, respectable tallness and strong healthy body'.[56] Perhaps the most poignant model of a valiant military death was that of the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus, who had been killed in action in 1632, three years prior to the death of Reuss. Long before his demise, the Swedish general had been fêted as a 'Saviour of God's people' when he came to rescue the Protestant forces in 1630, hailed as the prophesied 'lion of the North' who would slay the apocalyptic beast, namely the Pope.[57] In a sermon celebrating the decisive Saxon-Swedish victory at Breitenfeld in 1631, David Blumenthal proposed a smooth parallel between Gustavus Adolphus and that other Protestant saviour Luther; the liberation work that one had achieved with a quill, the other pursued with his sword. Yet alongside this vision of Gustavus as a Christian liberator, Blumenthal also placed the king in a lineage of classical idols, from Achilles and Hector to Alexander, Hannibal and Caesar.[58] Another poem of praise exhorted the faithful to sing the 'Te Deum' in Gustavus's honour, but also to crown him with wreaths of laurel 'according to ancient Roman custom'.[59]

[54] See *E. E. Raths der Stadt Leipzig / Anderweit Erinnerung / über vorige renovirte Ordnung die Begräbnüsse und Kleidung betreffende* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1642).

[55] 'das wütende Brausen der Paucken / den hohen Hall der Trommeten / den scharffen Klang der Posaunen / die anmutige Stimm der Pfeiffen / den starcken Thon der Krummhörner / das Jauchtzen und Frewdengeschrey der Soldaten', Meyfart, *Das Erste Buch Von Dem Himlischen Jerusalem*, 142.

[56] 'einer schönen Heroischen Statur / ansehenlicher Länge / unnd starcken gesunden Leibes', Richter, *Gott uber alles*, 36r.

[57] See, for example, *Gebete / So auff das angestellte Christliche Lob- und DanckFest / Den 7. Septembris, Anno 1632. im gantzen Churfürstenthumb Sachsen ... sollen abgelesen werden* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1632).

[58] David Blumenthal, *Victoria Ecclesiae Evangelicae: Sieg- und Dancksagungs-Predigt / für den wunderbaren und herrlichen Sieg* (Wittenberg: Hake, 1632), preface, no page.

[59] 'Singet das Te Deum laudamus bald / Daß es biß in den Himmel schalt / Bringt den berühmbten Helden auch / Nach der Uhralten Römer brauch / Heut stracks zu Ruhm und Ehren nun / Zwey Sieges Krentz von Rauten grün', Damian Türckis, *Eine Frewdenreiche Christliche Dancksagung* (n. p., 1631), no page.

After Gustavus's death at the battle of Lützen on 16 November 1632, such Christian-mythological eulogies became ever more elaborate. A 'lamentation song' by David Puschmann dealt with the shocking news of Gustavus's demise by comparing it to Jesus dying on the cross:

> Als Jesus starb zur None /
> Ein grosse Finstre ward /
> So trawret auch die Sonne
> Gustaff Adolphum zart.

[When Jesus died at the ninth hour, there was a great darkness. In the same way the sun now mourns poor Gustavus Adolphus.][60]

A broadsheet with the misleading title 'The Swede is still alive' insisted on the king's continuing leadership in the apocalyptic battle against the Pope.[61] Another preacher demanded that 'not one but many, many cenotaphs shall be erected for the undying glory and honour of this worthy hero', although he also urged his listeners to refrain from deifying the Swedish warrior, a tendency which Catholic authors did not fail to mock at the time.[62] The image of Gustavus as a classical hero, meanwhile, was inscribed for posterity in a tragic play by Martin Rinckart entitled *Alexander Magnus*, a historical allegory of the Swedish king's life and death in the guise of Alexander the Great.[63]

Like such verbal tributes, musical epitaphs fulfilled the dual purpose of articulating sentiments of sorrow and preserving the memory of the deceased. Some early seventeenth-century funeral pieces served primarily as a medium for expressing grief, such as Schütz's lament *Kläglicher Abschied* (SWV 52) on the death of the Elector's mother in 1623, or Johann Hermann Schein's *Threnus* for Wilhelm Ernst of Saxe-Weimar in 1617, with its paradoxical opening of four singers intoning 'I shall be silent and not open my mouth'.[64] Such outpourings of pain gave writers licence to overstep the rules of artistic propriety: in Schütz's *Klaglied* for his wife Magdalena (SWV 501), the first verse states that with her departure 'all concords are inverted, all chords are out of tune', and the

[60] David Puschmann, 'Klag- und Trawr-Lied', in *Praeficae Suecicae: Schwedische Klage-Weiber / bey der Aller-Christlichsten Leiche Deß ... Herrn Gustavi Adolphi Deß Grossen* (Erfurt, 1633), 16.

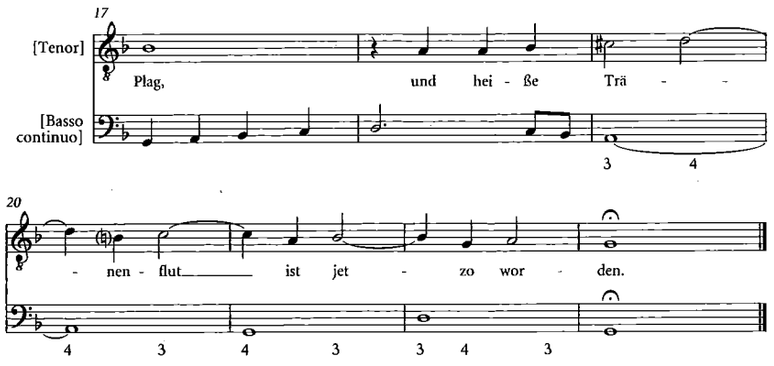
[61] 'Der Schwede lebt noch' (1633), in *Illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahrhunderten der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe*, ed. Wolfgang Harms (Coburg: Die Kunstsammlungen, 1983), 92–3.

[62] 'daß wir diesen hochthewren Helden zu unsterblichen Lob und Ehren nicht nur ein cenotaphium ... sondern derer viel / viel auffrichteten', Nicephor Kessel, *Helden-Clag / Das ist: Christliche Trawr- und Bußpredigt* (Leipzig: Rehefeld, 1632), preface, no page.

[63] The title is listed in Martin Rinckart, *Summarischer Discurs und Durch-Gang / Von Teutschen Versen* (Leipzig: Ritzsch, 1645), preface, no page.

[64] Schein's *Threnus* is printed in *Threnodiae Sacrae: Beerdigungskompositionen aus gedruckten Leichenpredigten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, 125 vols. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1975), vol. LXXIX, ed. Wolfgang Reich.

Example 3.6. SWV 501, bars 17–23



musical setting indeed shifts uncomfortably between *durus* and *mollis* sonorities, between E flat and E natural (bars 6 and 8) or C sharp and B flat (bars 18–19, Example 3.6).

Yet while giving voice to extreme feelings of anguish, these artistic responses at the same time disciplined any tendencies towards excessive grieving. As one sermon insisted, the bereft should avoid succumbing to 'disorderly unending undue inappropriate sadness' or, in the words of Richter, 'grieving like the heathens'.[65] The final chorale sung for Reuss's burial accordingly intoned 'Hört auff mit Weinen und Klagen' (cease crying and lamenting).[66] Schütz's *Klaglied*, too, remains conventionally strophic throughout, and after invoking the mythological powers of Amphion, Apollo and the muses, dutifully returns to the orthodox Lutheran message of hope, envisaging a time when sorrow is turned to joy upon the author's reunion with his beloved in heaven.

One possible solution to the challenge of voicing sentiments of grief while maintaining a sense of authorial distance was to reach for allegory. Puschmann's poem on the death of Gustavus Adolphus depicted various German states as well as 'German liberty' and the river Rhine bewailing the demise of their protector, and the personification of abstract entities enabled creative hyperbole: 'Ah, if my whole stream became all tears', cries father Rhine, 'I could not fully express the immense burden of sorrow that I carry because of the death of my Saviour.'[67] Justus Georg

[65] 'unordentlichen / unauffhörlichen / unmessigen / unziemlichen trawrigkeit', Matthias Gothus, *Exequiae Bircovianae Das ist / Leichpredigt* (Hall: Bißmarck, 1616), no page; 'trawren wie die Heyden', Richter, *Gott uber alles*, 40r.

[66] See Karg, *Die Sterbens-Erinnerung*, 158.

[67] 'Ach wenn mein gantzer Strom zu lauter Threnen würde / Könt' ich genugsam nicht die grosse Trawer-Bürde Beweinen / die ich trag' ob meines Heylands Todt', Puschmann, *Praeficae Suecicae*, 8.

Schottelius's *Lamentatio Germaniae Exspirantis* of 1640 instead showed the war-ravaged nation Germania 'singing a funeral ode to herself'.[68] Yet the exaggerated theatricality of such impersonations evinces a strangely conflicted attitude towards death. In his study of the seventeenth-century *Trauerspiel*, Walter Benjamin suggested that the predilection for such figural means of expression grew out of 'the recognition of the transitory nature of things and the concern to salvage them for eternity'.[69] But in aiming to bridge the gulf that had opened up between now and eternity, writers only found themselves peering into an abyss that widened ever more. The allegorical reinterpretation of the distressing realities of the present, together with the discovery of the 'dramatic character' of death, ultimately contributed further to trivialising the phenomenon, by insisting on a level of tangibility that relegated human mortality to a social ritual or a piece of territorial politics.[70] Worldly monuments, whether in stone, words or sound, inevitably reconfirmed the fleeting quality of life and memory, even while aspiring to overcome that very transience.

Schütz's *Musicalische Exequien* constituted an unstable monument in exactly this way, intended as a tribute to a specific person and occasion that was nonetheless meant to outlast that occasion. Writers at the time enjoyed citing the Horatian aphorism that 'Musa, goddess of the liberal arts, will not let an honourable man die.'[71] But while commemorative coins could be admired in the future, and funeral sermons and occasional poetry were available to reread, a musical tribute vanished after the final cadence faded away. As the most divine and yet most ephemeral art form, music at best left some remembered traces of ethereal sounds or melodic fragments. Of course the piece could be reperformed; Schütz was keen to preserve the work beyond that February day, by publishing it in printed form and stipulating that 'whoever might enjoy this work, could effectively use it instead of a German mass, perhaps for the Feast of Purification or the 16th Sunday after Trinity'.[72] But in any such wider application, the portrayal of Reuss's soul departing to heaven would have lost its specificity,

[68] 'jhr selbst ein Grabelied singen', Justus Georg Schottelius, *Lamentatio Germaniae Exspirantis. Der numehr hinsterbenden Nymphen Germaniae elendeste Todesklage* (Braunschweig: Gruber, 1640), dedication, no page.

[69] 'die Einsicht ins Vergängliche der Dinge und jene Sorge, sie ins Ewige zu retten', Walter Benjamin, *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels* [1928], 2nd edn (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1982), 199.

[70] 'Entdeckung seines dramatischen Charakters', Martin Petzold, 'Theologisches Todesverständnis und seine musikalische Umsetzung', in *Tod und Musik im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ute Omonsky (Blankenburg: Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein, 2001), 15–29, 16. By the 1690s, Christoph Männling would describe the world as a shop – 'the toll booth of death' –, death as the salesman and God as the conscientious accountant. See his *Schaubühne des Todes / oder Leich-Reden* (Wittenberg: Quenstedt, 1693), 87.

[71] 'Die Musa, Göttin der freyen Künste lest einen lobwürdigen Mann nicht sterben', Bloss, *Foenisecium Oder HewErndte*, 4r.

[72] 'Weme nun diese meine Arbeit gefallen möchte / könte deroselbigen sich bißweilen wie obgemeldet an statt einer Teutschen Missa und vielleicht in Festo Purificationis oder Dominica XVI post Trinitatis, auch nicht übel gebrauchen', Schütz, *Musikalische Exequien*, lxii; trans. xl.

and the piece would no longer have served the commemoration of the original addressee. The listening experience on the day for which the work was created only existed in the moment, and once it had passed the sounds receded together with their purpose. Commenting on a performance under Michael Praetorius for a baptism at the Dresden court in 1614, Wolfgang Ferber encapsulated this paradox at the heart of the musical experience:

> It sounded so good (to my mind) that I climbed ever higher in my thoughts, wondering how it must be ever more? When the heavenly music intones its Gloria? And its Sanctus, Sanctus? For such joy can be felt here about this imagined music, which nonetheless evaporates and does not stay. But it delights gods and men day and night, for which music deserves praise.[73]

Music may have been the only art to survive in heaven's eternity, yet on earth it did not manage to outlast its own present-tenseness very well. But perhaps it was through that very presentness that it could seem to presage the everlasting 'Now' so convincingly.

TRANSFIGURATION

As the soul ascended to heaven, it left behind the body: once Reuss's spirit had been carried away in Part III of the *Exequien*, the chorale performed as his coffin was lowered into the crypt – 'Nun lass uns den Leib begraben' (Now let us bury the body) – took care of the remains.[74] Though the music of death proved transitory at heart, what did not vanish in its materiality was the corpse, and war-inspired images of eternally crowned heroes coexisted uncomfortably with the repulsion aroused by real dead bodies. Johann Heermann pondered how death, 'that insatiable cannibal', turns man into 'an ugly, ice-cold, rigid corpse, a dead stinking cadaver, making you hold your nose and feel disgusted ... and when one has lain in the grave for a bit, one has to serve as food and nourishment for worms, and be pulverised into dust and ashes'.[75] The effects of the war brought home these unpleasant facts with perhaps unprecedented directness. The decades around 1600 had witnessed far-reaching transformations in European warfare that resulted in

[73] 'So wol (nach meinm bedunckn) es klang / Also daß ich mich weiter schwang / Mit mein gedancken in die höh / Dacht wie mus es sein jmmermeh? Wenn die Coelestis Musica, Anstimmen thut jhr Gloria? Und Sanctus, Sanctus intonirt? Weil hie solch frewde wird gespürt / Von der erdachten Musica, Die doch vergeht / und bleibt nicht da / Jedennoch sie bey Tag und Nacht / Götter und Menschen frölich macht / Darumb die Music lobens werth.' Wolfgang Ferber, *Relation Und umbständigliche Beschreibung eines ... Stahlschießens* (Dresden: Bergen, 1615), no page.

[74] See Karg, *Die Sterbens-Erinnerung*, 158.

[75] 'macht eine häßliche / eißkalte / erstarrete Leiche / ja ein todes stinckendes Aaß auß jhm / daß menniglich dafür die Nasen zuhelt / und Abschew treget ... Und wenn der Menschen ein wenig im Grabe gelegen / so muß er der Würmer Speiß und Nahrung seyn / zu Staub und Aschen zermalmet werden', Johann Heermann, *Christianae Euthanasias Statue. Lehr- und Erinnerungs-Seulen* (Breslau: Eyering, 1621), 5.

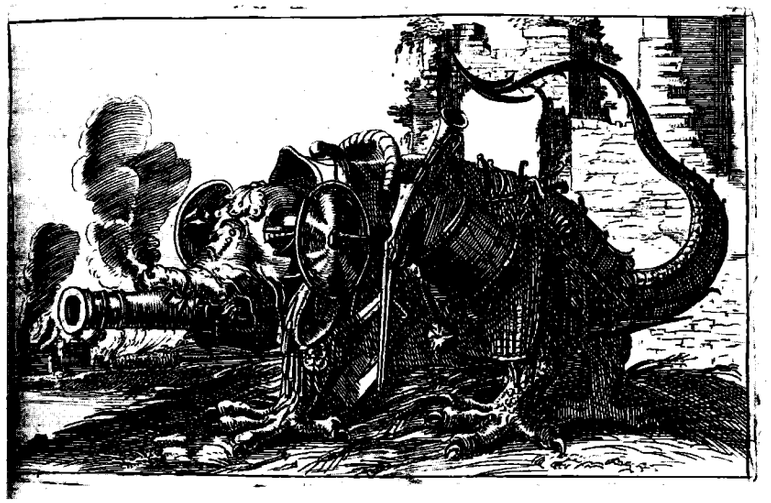


Figure 3.2. Illustration from Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Frauenzimmer Gesprechspiele* (Nuremberg: Endtner, 1647)

the deployment of ever greater well-drilled armies supported by growing numbers of firearms and artillery. Operating with mechanical precision, these armies inflicted death callously and on a previously unimaginable scale; Gustavus Adolphus brought a record number of eighty field cannons with him, and this technological advantage contributed decisively to the Breitenfeld victory.[76] The dread that these iron contraptions elicited is communicated in the image of a metal-clad, dragon-clawed beast published by Georg Philipp Harsdörffer in 1647 (Figure 3.2).[77]

Those outside the areas of combat came to know the frightful 'death by dismembering' through newssheets and pamphlets, which reported the outcomes of individual battles to a wider public.[78] A 'thorough and truthful report' about the Lützen battle that killed Gustavus Adolphus testified that it claimed the lives of over nine thousand men, while several thousand soldiers were 'so terribly wounded and disfigured that even the

[76] Regarding these military developments, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 6–44; John Gulmartin, 'Military Technology and the Struggle for Stability, 1500–1700', in *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability*, ed. Philip Benedict and Myron Gutmann (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 259–75.

[77] For more on the image, see the Introduction, 5.

[78] On dismemberment, see David Hillman and Carla Mazzio, 'Introduction: Individual Parts', in Hillman and Mazzio (eds.), *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 1997), xi–xxix.

stones would pity them'.[79] Other events left behind even greater numbers of victims. The most shocking disaster on the Lutheran side was the destruction of Magdeburg under General Tilly in May 1631. The terror of the invasion and the subsequent devastation by fire of the entire town elicited a range of poetic responses, including an allegory of the King of Sweden (then still alive) holding a 'consolatory talk' with the violated virgin Magdeburg.[80] Some commentators put the number of those who perished at thirty thousand, others at an improbable eighty thousand; once in that numeric realm, those differences more or less ceased to matter, since the horrors became well-nigh unspeakable – as incomprehensible, in fact, as the immeasurable joys of the other world. One pamphlet concluded that nothing like it 'has ever occurred in the German lands, or has ever been heard of in human memory'.[81] Another commentator reported from Pasewalk, a Pomeranian town destroyed by Imperial troops in September 1630: 'Who could possibly express all the sorrow ... because the enemy was raging, all the crushed, stabbed, shot, half-burnt people could not be buried. Hence it happened that they were left lying in the streets, and were eaten by dogs and pigs.'[82]

Death, then, was right there on the streets to see and smell, while on some battlefields, corpses were found stacked to 'half a man's height', an image which clashed disturbingly with the Lutheran narrative of death as a peaceful slumber in the grave.[83] Such dying without proper burial also occurred in those places hit by outbreaks of the plague, during which some of the sick and dying were simply abandoned.[84] In Reuss's territory, the disease reduced the population by a quarter in 1633, and

[79] 'theils aber so jämmerlich verwundet und zugerichtet / daß wol einen Stein erbarmen mögen', *Gründliche und warhafftige Relation Oder außführliche Beschreibung / welcher Gestalt nicht allein die Keyserliche und Ligistische Armee das hochlöblichste Churfürstenthumb Sachsen ... erobert* (n. p., 1633), no page.

[80] *Tröstliches Gespräch / Königlich Mayst. in Schweden / mit der / von aller Welt verlassenen / nunmehr verheerten und verösigten Stadt Magdeburg* (n. p., 1631). Other responses are reported in Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine and Death in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 175–82.

[81] 'welche gewißlich vor diesem niemals in Teutschen Landen ist geschehen / auch bey Mannes gedencken nicht ist erhöret worden', *Trawrige Zeitung / Uber verhoffen: Der erschröcklichen Zerstöhrung und grausamen Thyranney / der Löblichen Alten Keyserlichen Freyen Handel-Stadt Magdeburgk* (n. p., 1631), title page.

[82] 'Und wer wil allen Jammer aussprächen: für der Feinde toben / haben die Zerquetschete / Gesebelte / Erschossene / Halbverbrandte Leute nicht können begraben werden. Daher ist es kommen / daß sie auff der Gassen liegen geblieben / und von Schweinen und Hunden ... gefressen worden', Christian Loper, *Pasewalckische Schlacht Das ist / Missive Von der in Pasewalck verübten unmenschlichen tyranney und verstörung* (Stralsund: Ferber, 1631), no page.

[83] 'Da die Todten halb Mannes hoch auff einander gelegen', *Andere Leipziger Schlacht / Welcher massen ... Das Churfürstenthumb Sachsen ... zum andernmal attaquiret und eingenommen* (Leipzig, 1632), 13.

[84] See *Eines Erbarn und Hochweisen Raths der Stadt Leipzig Vernewerte Ordnung / Derer sich ein jedweder Bürger und Innwohner allhier bey jetzigen gefährlichen Sterbens-Läufften gemäß verhalten sol* (Leipzig: Köler, 1637), no page.

in Dresden it was rampant at several points in the 1630s.[85] According to the Wittenberg *Pest-Ordnung* of 1632, the bodies of victims had to be interred furtively at night (except those of high-ranking citizens), and a list of newly infected persons was to be updated daily – death in this guise transformed into an issue of public health bureaucracy.[86] The disconcerting anonymity of death in such statistical terms did not mesh well with the Lutheran doctrine of the believer's individual struggle for salvation – in Reuss's case, 'after a completed hour of singing and praying, in good reason, with Christian blessed devotion'.[87] Meyfart tried to address the perplexing scale of the numbers involved in the war by proposing that when viewed from heaven, the vast armies would seem merely like colonies of ants – a vision that perhaps managed to shrink the threat posed by the warring factions, but hardly helped people to come to terms with the indiscriminate deaths the factions inflicted.[88] No wonder that Schütz was intent on getting away from it all: after a prolonged visit to Denmark, he returned to Dresden only after the Peace of Prague in 1635, and asked for leave of absence again in 1637.

Those who could afford it made sure that their own death was saved from disappearing into that void of anonymity. As Thomas Kaufmann has outlined, the trend towards individual self-fashioning inherited from the Italian Renaissance surfaced with renewed vigour among the privileged classes in wartime Germany, and funeral proceedings played a central role in this individualising tendency.[89] Musical and verbal tributes to a deceased person set their body and soul apart from the mass of corpses on battlefields and graveyards. Many of these tributes, including Schütz's *Musicalische Exequien*, accordingly dwelt on the prediction of renewal after the Final Judgment, when the believers' bodies would be restored in glorious new form. Sickness and decay were banned from this other world; the faithful will 'leave behind mortality, that old stinking feeble sack of maggots, and in one instant will receive a transfigured shining body'.[90] The biblical promise (1 Cor. 15:42–4) that the body would be resurrected 'incorruptible' and 'spiritual', 'in glory' and 'in power', gave rise to increasingly inflated visions of strength and beauty in the afterlife.

[85] See Anke Müller, 'Heinrich Posthumus Reuss – Verwirklichung eines Lebenskonzeptes zwischen Tradition und Gegenwart', in Stein (ed.), *Diesseits- und Jenseitsvorstellungen im 17. Jahrhundert*, 169–79, 176; Karlheinz Blaschke, *Bevölkerungsgeschichte von Sachsen bis zur industriellen Revolution* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1967), 92–4. For other diseases, see also Cunningham and Grell, *The Four Horsemen*, 270–95.

[86] *Wittenbergische Pest-Ordnung* (Wittenberg: Helwig, 1632).

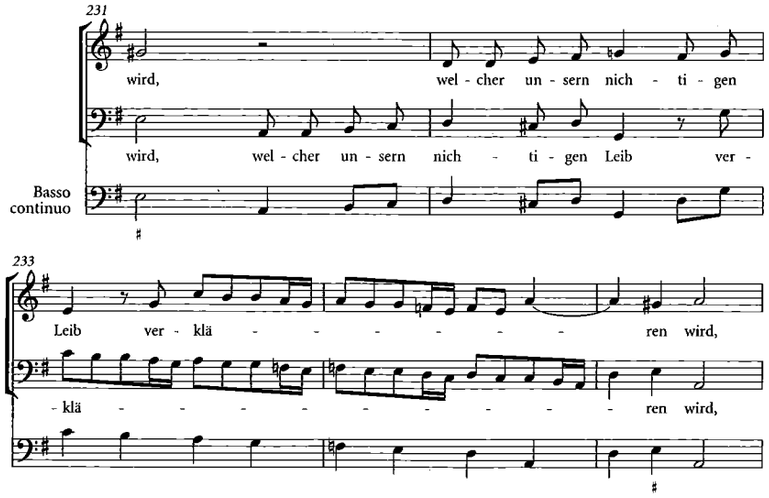
[87] 'nach gehaltene Singe: undt bethstunde, bey guther vernunfft Undt christlicher gottseliger Andacht', cited in Karg, *Die Sterbens-Erinnerung*, 37.

[88] Meyfart, *Das Erste Buch Von Dem Himlischen Jerusalem*, 88.

[89] Thomas Kaufmann, *Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Westfälischer Friede: Kirchengeschichtliche Studien zur lutherischen Konfessionskultur* (Tübingen: Siebeck, 1998), 82–8.

[90] '... die Sterbligkeit / diesen alten stinckenden / gebrechlichen Madensack ablegen / und in einem Augenblick ein verklärten hellen Leib haben', Neander, *Menschenspiegel*, 240.

Example 3.7. SWV 279, bars 231–5



Neander affirmed that 'everyone will be so strong that they can carry a large church with one finger, and can move a tall tower or high mountain with a single toe'.[91] The City of God was thus expected to offer an unassailable refuge from the world's terrors: 'We will live behind a thick wall eternally and safely . . . who could manage to make a hole in that wall?'[92]

The texts inscribed on Reuss's coffin included several excerpts celebrating this prediction of transfiguration, such as the promise (Isa. 1:18) that humanity's blood-red sins shall be white as snow, and the passage 'Unser Wandel ist im Himmel' (our citizenship is in heaven; Phil. 3:20–1). It is perhaps no accident that the latter quotation, which affirms that Christ will restore the believer's 'lowly body', attracted the most exuberant melismatic writing in the whole of the *Musicalische Exequien* (Part I, SWV 279; Example 3.7). In this light, the third part of the *Musicalische Exequien* can be understood to act out or at least foreshadow that anticipated process of transfiguration. The seemingly body-less voices in the second choir could shift the listeners' attention away from the dead physical body below and the process of decay it will undergo.[93] Unlike a

[91] 'Ja so starck wird ein jeder insonderheit werden / daß er mit einem Finger ein grosse Kirchen tragen / und mit einer Zehen einen grossen hohen Thurn / einen grossen hohen Berg versetzen', ibid., 247–8.

[92] 'Wir werden hinter einer dicken Mawren ewig wohnen / und sicher wohnen . . . wer wil durch diese mawren ein loch machen', Herberger, *Das Himlische Jerusalem*, 179.

[93] One of Herberger's sermons confirms this process: 'so schließen wir fest / daß er jetzt auch liege und schlaffe gantz mit frieden und mit dem Seelichen so gewiß schon sicher im Himmel wohne / als wir seine Knochen im Sarge jetzt für Augen sehen' (thus we conclude that he now lies and sleeps in peace and certainly already lives safely in heaven with the blessed, as we behold his bones in the coffin before our eyes), Valerius Herberger, *Der Dritte Theil der Geistlichen Trawrbinden* (Leipzig: Schürer, 1614), 41, cited in Winkler, *Die Leichenpredigt im deutschen Luthertum*, 122.

musical lament that emphasises the corporeal anguish of the mourners, this music about death transformed the worldly affections of grief or disgust into an otherworldly kind of beauty that presaged the odourless attractions of the beyond.

Schütz's *Musicalische Exequien* thus 'resurrected' Reuss in a number of ways: through an oblique representation of his soul's departure, through a musical evocation of the celestial sphere he now inhabits, through prefiguring his body's transfiguration, and through inscribing his memory for those left on earth. Given this multiplicity of meanings, it may be too simple to conclude, with Norbert Bolin, that the *Musicalische Exequien* constituted a piece of 'preaching music'.[94] As with Schütz's *Psalmen Davids*, such a reading overlooks the complex interplay of contextual detail that shaped the initial performance occasion and the responses it elicited. While the *Musicalische Exequien* certainly communicated standard Lutheran views about death and the afterlife, the piece's powers of expression also reached beyond this singular purpose. In its multivalent appeal, the piece offers a potent example of the ways in which music could act as a force of mystification, upholding the idea of the divine within broader processes of secularisation and disenchantment. This sense of mystification, I hasten to add, has little to do with later nineteenth-century obsessions with the 'ineffable'; if anything, it may be related to an older 'magical episteme' of knowing and believing that Gary Tomlinson has found to underpin most sixteenth-century musical practices.[95] By the 1630s, these traditional beliefs had become shot through with early modern anxieties, as ever more tangible prospects of lifting the veil on the mysteries of life and death brought with them the threat of revealing nothing but a terrifying emptiness behind. The musical experience of the *Musicalische Exequien*, while resonating with these fears, could perhaps still – just – help to keep them at bay.

[94] Bolin, '"Nun singen sie wieder"', 29.

[95] Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (University of Chicago Press, 1993), 44–66.