PROTESTANT FUNERAL MUSIC AND RHETORIC IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY:
A MUSICAL-RHETORICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PRINTED SOURCES

By

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ABSTRACT

The present thesis is an investigation into the musical rhetoric of Protestant funeral music in seventeenth-century Germany. The study begins with an exposition on the present state of musicological inquiry into occasional music in the Baroque, focusing primarily on ad hoc funeral music. Because funeral music is not discussed in any of the basic music reference works, a cursory overview of existing critical studies is included. The survey of this literature is followed by a brief discussion of methodological obstacles and procedure with regard to the present study.

Chapter Two comprises a general discussion of Protestant funeral liturgy in Baroque Germany. Although numerous examples of the Divine Service in the Lutheran Church have survived the seventeenth century, not a single order of service for the funeral liturgy from the period seems to exist. This chapter provides both the social and extra-liturgical background for the music as well as a plausible Lutheran funerary liturgy based on documents from the period and modern studies.

Prosopopoeia, the rhetorical personification of the dead, is the subject of Chapter Three. After examining the theoretical background of this rhetorical device, from Roman Antiquity to the German Baroque, the trope is examined in the context of funerary sermonic oratory. The discussion of oratorical rhetoric is followed by an investigation into
the musical application of the concept of prosopopoeia in various styles of funerary composition, from simple cantional-style works to compositions in which the personified deceased assumes certain physical dimensions.

Chapter Four includes an examination of various other musical-rhetorical figures effectively employed in funeral music. Also treated in this chapter are musical-rhetorical aspects of duple and triple metre, where triple metre in particular, depending on the text, can be understood figuratively, metaphorically or as a combination of both. As this chapter makes clear, owing to the perceived antithetical properties of metre and certain figures, musical rhetoric was often used to illustrate the distinction between this world and the next.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Funeral music accounts for more than half of the occasional music published in Germany in the seventeenth century, yet as a genre it has received critical attention from relatively few scholars. There is no doubt that the composition of funeral music, or participation in the performance of it, was one of the principal sources of incidental income for the Lutheran musician. The importance of this supplementary income derived from the accidentia can be seen in the popularly quoted petition of 1730 from Johann Sebastian Bach to Georg Erdmann, the Imperial Russian Resident Agent in Danzig and former schoolmate of the Thomas-kantor. In the letter Bach complains that

my present post amounts to 700 thaler, and when there are rather more funerals than usual, the fee rises in proportion; but when a healthy wind blows they fall accordingly, as for example last year, when I lost fees that would ordinarily come in from funerals to an amount of more than 100 thaler....


Considering the integral role that music played in the funeral rites of the Lutheran church, the importance of funeral music to the livelihood of composers and performing musicians, and the large number of funerary compositions that have survived in published or manuscript form, one would naturally expect to find an appreciable number of scholarly studies on the subject. But such is not the case. There is not a single monograph which deals extensively with the subject, and only a handful of pertinent shorter studies have appeared in this century.\(^3\) Even in basic reference works the topic has been ignored: for instance, there is no entry for "funeral music," "occasional music," "church music," or their cognates in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians; neither are there corresponding entries in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, nor for that matter in any other of the principal music dictionaries and encyclopedias.

It is possible, however, to obtain some indication of the significance of funeral music in Baroque Germany by referring to RISM (Reper­toire International des Sources Musicales). In the nine volumes entitled Einzeldrucke vor 1800,\(^4\) there are no less than 575 entries for voriges Jahr an ordinairen Leichen accidentien über 100 rthl." (Cited in W. Neumann and H.-J. Schulze, Schriftstücke von der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs, Bach-Dokumente: Herausgegeben vom Bach-Archiv Leipzig, supplement to Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, vol. 1 [Cassel, Basel, Paris, London, New York: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1963], pp. 67-68.)

\(^3\) The obvious exception to this is the comparatively large number of writings dealing with various aspects of Schütz's Musikalische Exequien. In this respect see Chapter Three, footnote 111.

funeral music published between 1600 and 1700. Furthermore, many of these entries consist of several independent compositions. Still others refer to anthologies containing either funeral music alone or funeral music together with other occasional music. These works, which may be extensively supplemented by subsequent discoveries and what Wolfgang Reich of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek refers to as the "much larger manuscript tradition," constitute a rather impressive body of musical literature, a repertory that has remained, for the most part, untouched. One of the reasons why this music has escaped critical scrutiny is its relative inaccessibility. Indeed, the only practical way to know what published works exist is to go, entry by entry, through each of the nine volumes of RISM's *Einzeldrucke vor 1800* -- a chore both tedious and unreliable.

Because there is no readily available bibliography of the small number of musicological writings on the subject of funeral music in Baroque Germany, it may prove beneficial to consider them here and to provide a brief overview of their contents. Though dealt with more thoroughly in some of the following studies, it is also hoped here that some sense will be imparted of the historical context in which this music was created and performed. Among the earliest studies to draw on published *Leichenpredigten* as a source of musical-historical information

5Reich to Johnston, 19 April 1984. "...viel grössere handschrift-liche Überlieferung."

6It is unreliable in the sense that it is impossible always to determine from the title of a composition or of a larger work, as given in RISM, whether the music is funerary or simply devotional, penitential or commemorative.
are two nineteenth-century articles, by Philipp Spitta and Beyer respectfully, published in the *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*. Both of these articles are concerned with biographical information on well- and lesser-known German composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The bodies of the articles consist almost entirely of passages excerpted directly from the funeral sermons and accompanying curricula vitae of the published *Leichenpredigten*, providing a contemporary report on the lives and careers of the musicians. Spitta's and Beyer's work is essentially archival; although both authors recognized the importance of the information, they refrain from elaborating upon it.

A few musicological works have appeared in the twentieth century which deal tangentially with the subject of funeral music. These include Otto Riemer's *Erhard Bodenschatz und sein Florilegium Portense*

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8 The term "Leichenpredigt (pl. Leichenpredigten)" is most often translated into English as "funeral sermon." In the context of the present study, however, the term will be understood in its Baroque sense and in the sense that it is currently used in scholarly discussions of German funerary literature and music. In the Baroque, *Leichenpredigt* was a term used not only in reference to the funeral sermon as such -- that is, the oration most often based on scriptures and delivered by the presiding clergy in the church or chapel; it also encompassed all other items with which the published sermon may be found, including other ad hoc orations (e.g., Abdankungen), descriptions of the procession and service, epicedia and other poetry, portraits and illustrations, biographical sketches and genealogies, and, of most interest here, funeral music.
and Walter Reckziegel’s Das Cantional von Johan Herman Schein.\textsuperscript{9}

Although several of the works in Bodenschatz’s motet anthology, the Florilegium Portense (Leipzig, 1618/1621), were popularly performed at funerals, Riemer has very little to say about the occasional application of these compositions.\textsuperscript{10} Reckziegel, on the other hand, devotes a small part of his book to a stylistic discussion of those of Schein’s occasional funeral lieder which were later incorporated into his Cantional (Leipzig, 1627/1645) and gives the locations of individual exemplars.\textsuperscript{11} Nevertheless, Reckziegel’s reference to Schein’s funeral music is entirely incidental to the more general discussion of the Cantional as a whole.

The first musicological work to focus critically and exclusively on the subject of Baroque funeral music in Germany is an article by Arno Werner, "Die Fürstliche Leichenpredigtensammlung zu Stolberg als musikgeschichtliche Quelle,"\textsuperscript{12} published in Archiv für Musikforschung in 1936. Werner examines the Stolberg-Stolberg catalogue of


\textsuperscript{10}According to a Magister Leibniz in the Leipziger Kirchenandachten (1694), the compositions in the Florilegium that were commonly used at funerals were Jacobus Gallus’s Ecce quomodo moritur justus and Media vita, Hans Leo Hassler’s Si bona suscapius and Annibale Stabile’s Nunc dimittis. Cited in F. Hamel, "Die Leipziger Funerale zur Kulturgeschichte der Beegräbnismusik," Schweizerische Musikzeitung 88 (1948): 90.

\textsuperscript{11}Reckziegel, op. cit., pp. 140-51.

Leichenpredigten as a source reference of music and musical-historical information, a study which received its initial impetus from Rochus von Liliencron as part of the series Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst.

The collection of Leichenpredigten and the subsequent compilation of an accompanying index were carried out during the first half of the eighteenth century at the behest of the Gräfin Sophie Eleonore zu Stolberg-Stolberg, who died in 1749. Though perhaps unmatched by her contemporaries in zeal, the Gräfin's reasons for collecting these works were well in accordance with the contemporary practice among Protestants of preparing for death through the careful study and contemplation of funeral sermons.\textsuperscript{13} The actual process of bringing together these roughly 25,000 different publications must have begun sometime before 1716, when the first provisional catalogue of the collected works appeared. As the collection grew, supplementary indices were added. Earlier in this century, between 1927 and 1935, the publishing firm Degener & Co. of Leipzig, in collaboration with the "Fürstliche Kammer" of Stolberg, issued a four-volume catalogue of the amassed body of Leichenpredigten. Although the catalogue itself is unreliable as a reference tool, especially with regard to the musicalia,\textsuperscript{14} it nonetheless offers the modern scholar access to the rich and varied contents of Leichenpredigten.

Werner mentions the importance of the available biographical


\textsuperscript{14}Werner, op. cit., p. 294.
information on musicians of various professional types (Capellmeister, cantors, music directors, organists, trumpeters, Stadtpfeifer and Musikanten), and sees in these so-called Personalien the means of piecing together a picture of the cultural milieu in which the musicians flourished. He is also able to shed some light on the seventeenth-century class system and its social ramifications for musicians: epi-deictic poetry was often written in honour of Capellmeister and music directors but not, it seems, for organists, Stadtpfeifer and other musicians of inferior social status. Other sections of the Leichenpredigten held by Werner to be of lesser interest to the historian or musicologist receive little attention, and the type of Baroque funeral oratory known as the Abdankung is simply said to be "unimportant."

Given the magnitude of the Stolberg-Stolberg collection, and its hitherto unexploited wealth of musical information, it is understandable that Werner's work with the catalogue was of necessity far more organizational than interpretative. He discusses the funeral music itself in the most general of terms. Funeral compositions are mentioned as having been most commonly written in four or five parts without basso continuo, though polychoral works written for two four-part choirs and compositions for solo voice were not rare. Much less common were funeral works

15 Ibid., p. 294.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid. But see M. Fürstenwald, "Zur Theorie und Funktion der Barockabdankung," in Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften, ed. by R. Lenz (Cologne, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1975), pp. 372-89. Since the time of Werner's writing, the Baroque Abdankung has been given due recognition by German literary scholars as an artistic genre that was widely practised throughout Lutheran Germany in the Baroque.
for two, three and six voices. Some unusual funerary compositions are singled out by Werner for brief discussion, such as Ernst Otipka's Trauerbühne (Leipzig, 1678) and Erhard Titius's "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist" (Dresden and Zittau, 1681).

Werner summarizes his study by maintaining that the Stolberg-Stolberg collection presents us with a largely untapped source of occasional music, as well as considerable biographical information on both famous and obscure composers of the German Baroque. Furthermore, it is felt by Werner that the Leichenpredigten are also significant as sources of historical information concerning the role of funeral music in its cultural context. Preceding an appended table (pp. 299-317) which represents a brief overview of the contents of the Stolberg-Stolberg catalogue are the following five indices provided by Werner: 1) references to music mentioned in the catalogue; 2) references to musicians, on the occasion of whose death funeral sermons, curricula vitae or threnodic poems (Trauergedichte) were written; 3) references to musicians, whose family members are the object of funerary writings; 4) references to musicians who have written threnodic poems; 5) Werner's corrections and supplements to the catalogue's "Verzeichnis der Lieder und Musikstücke."

18 Werner, op. cit., p. 297.

19 Ibid., pp. 297-98. According to RISM, the sole exemplar of Ernst Otipka's Trauerbühne is housed in the Stadtbibliothek in Lindau (Bodensee); however, attempts by the library to locate the work were unsuccessful (Werner Dobras, Leiter des Kulturamtes, to Johnston, 17 November 1986).

20 Ibid., p. 298.
Twelve years after Werner's article was published, Fred Hamel's "Die Leipziger Funera: zur Kulturgeschichte der Begräbnismusik" appeared in an issue of the Schweizerische Musikzeitung. Like Werner, Hamel is not overly concerned with a critical examination of the music itself; his primary aim rather is to describe the social and cultural context in which funeral music was performed in Leipzig. Among Hamel's motivations for writing this article was his recognition of his contemporaries' indifference to the type of music performed during funeral ceremonies and a corresponding ignorance of Germany's historic tradition of funerary composition. He hoped that his article might in some way lead to an "Entkitschung" of German funeral music and a revival of the funeral music of the Baroque.

The article comprises six main topics of discussion, each of them only briefly touched upon. The first, "Organisation," is a description of funerary practices in Leipzig during the Baroque. Basing his description of the Baroque exequies on various civic ordinances, Hamel details the involvement of the students of the Leipzig schools at funerals, from the first notification on the blackboard that the students' participation was required through to their singing at the interment of the deceased. Hamel provides the modern reader with an occasional glimpse into this period when death was a stranger to no one. To the students of the Thomasschule, conjugating Latin verbs, learning the

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22 Ibid., p. 132.

23 Ibid., pp. 88-89.
Lutheran catechism and singing at funerals were all part of the same routine. The seriousness with which the students took these mournful occasions is intimated in a school ordinance from 1723 whereby the students were expected to wear the time-honoured black garments, to keep them neat and clean as much as possible, to walk in a processional manner ahead of the body; and furthermore, not to be up to the least bit of mischief, chatter, to get out of or even leave altogether their line, but rather to sing sedulously together the lieder from the songbooks they have with them and, furthermore, to observe a proper consonance, and to remain quiet in their respective places during the funeral sermon, as well as in the cemetery.

The second section of Hamel's article is headed "Musikalische Praxis." The author discusses here the restrictions imposed on the elaborateness of funerals in order for them to conform with the particular social class of the deceased. The third part is given to a brief discussion of the cantional-type lied, which was the most common type of music performed at Leipzig funerals, because of civic ordinances which banned the use of instruments in city churches. Hamel believes that the cultivation of this simple style, as seen in such works as J. H. Schein's Cantional, was further promoted owing to the impoverishing effects of the Thirty Years' War. Johann Rosenmüller is the topic of the fourth

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24 From the "E. E. Hochw. Raths der Stadt Leipzig Ordnung der Schule zu St. Thomas," 1723, XII, 1-3. Cited in Hamel, op. cit., p. 89. "...die von alters her eingeführte ehrbare schwarze Kleidung gebrauchen, auch selbige, so viel nur möglich, rein und sauber halten, prozessionsweise vor der Leiche hergehen, dabei nicht den geringsten Unfug treiben, plaudern, aus ihrer Reihe oder gar davongehen, hingegen aber die lieder aus denen bey sich habenden Gesang-Büchern allesamt fleissig absingen, dabei eine richtige Consonanz beobachten, und unter währenden Leichenpredigten, wie auch auf dem Kirchhof an ihrem behörigen Orte Stille seyn."

25 Ibid., pp. 89-91.

26 Ibid., pp. 91-92.
part, as Hamel gives a brief overview of the types of funerary music written by him. As part of the fifth point, *Die Motette*, Hamel notes that parentation motets were written by every Thomaskantor between 1600 and 1750. Often commissioned by the deceased's family and eventually published together as part of the *Leichenpredigt*, the parentation motets were most often based on biblical texts on topics of death, salvation, resurrection and eternal life. Hamel points out that the trend towards technical complexity in motet composition in the latter part of the Baroque in Leipzig led to the eventual introduction of a keyboard instrument to supply pitches and harmonic support. Instruments, however, were not permitted independent parts except for performances at funerals held in the University Church, that is, out of civic jurisdiction. The last topic for discussion in Hamel's article is the funeral compositions by J. S. Bach.

In 1959 an article by Werner Braun appeared entitled "Das Eisenacher Begräbniskantional aus dem Jahre 1653." The cantional in question is the Eisenach Cantor Theodor Schuchardt's *Threnodia sacra* (Gotha, 1653), a single copy of which was discovered in the collection of the Landesbibliothek Weimar. Braun examines and presents a brief

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overview of the contents of the Schuchardt anthology, touching upon the relationship of the Threnodia sacra to other contemporary funerary cantionals, points of compositional style, and origins of the traditional melodies. The article concludes with a table of contents for the anthology, which includes representative works by Melchior Franck, Johann Hermann Schein, Joachim à Burck, Melchior Vulpius, with a particularly large proportion of compositions by Schuchardt.

To date, no one has contributed more to the study and understanding of funeral music of the German Baroque than has Wolfgang Reich. Reich's doctoral dissertation "Die deutschen gedruckten Leichenpredigten des 17. Jahrhunderts als musikalische Quelle," completed in 1962 at Karl-Marx-Universität in Leipzig, continues to serve as the bench mark for modern studies in the area of German funeral music. In his prefacing remarks to the dissertation, Reich states that the primary goal of his work is to provide music researchers with a comprehensive reference tool for gaining access to sources of printed music found in the larger Leichenpredigten collections in the German Democratic Republic.31

Reich's dissertation begins with a general discussion of published Leichenpredigten as a historical phenomenon in Baroque Germany.32 Under the subheading, "Die Musikbeilagen der gedruckten Leichenpredigten,"33 Reich traces the growth and decay of the practice of publishing Leichen-


32 Ibid., pp. 1-6.

33 Ibid., pp. 6-13.
predigten with music throughout Germany from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century,\textsuperscript{34} taking into account the fact that some centres flourished at certain times because of local composers who specialized in funerary composition,\textsuperscript{35} other areas published the music and the Leichenpredigten separately, and yet others, as a result of the Thirty Years' War, class consciousness or a combination of the two, imposed restrictions on the publication of funeral music. For instance, though no reason is given, there appears to be no publication of ad hoc funeral music in Danzig after 1676, and in Nuremberg a "Verneuerte Leich-Ordnung" from 1705 decreed:

And because the printing and distribution of funeral lieder is all too much abused and almost no distinction is maintained thereby, thus shall there be henceforth no more than two lieder printed in folio in the first class, one in quarto in the second and third, but in the following classes none whatsoever, under penalty of six gulden.\textsuperscript{36}

Reich also alludes to the multifold problems of identifying the composers of the music in Leichenpredigten.\textsuperscript{37} It is sometimes unclear whether the name given on the printed title page is that of the

\textsuperscript{34}See Anhang I, p. 180. Schema der zahlenmässigen Ausbreitung des Leichenpredigtdruckes zwischen 1550 und 1750.

\textsuperscript{35}For example, some of the more prolific composers of funeral music included, to name a few, Johann Hermann Schein and Johann Rosenmüller in Leipzig; Heinrich Schwemmer and Paul Hainlein in Nuremberg; Wolfgang Caspar Briegel in Gotha; Johann Stobäus and Heinrich Albert in Danzig and Königsberg; Johann Gottlieb Thill in Regensburg.

\textsuperscript{36}Cited in Reich, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 9. "VNd weilen das Drucken und Aus-theilen der Leichen-Lieder allzuweit missgebraucht, und fast gar kein Unterschied damit gehalten worden: So sollen fürohin in dem Ersten Stand höchstens zwey, in Folio, in dem Andern und Dritten Eins, in Quart, bey denen folgenden Ständen aber gar keine Lieder gedruckt werden, bey Strafe Sechs Gulden."

\textsuperscript{37}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 11-13.
composer, the poet or the performer. Other times, the composer is identified only by his initials, and these initials may likewise appear with those of the poet, which only compounds the problem by confusing the two. Symptomatic of the time, too, was the German preoccupation with the *relatio mystica*, as composers concealed or veiled their identities through acrostics and cryptic messages. Neither was it uncommon for the composer's name to be omitted entirely from the publication. For this reason numerous composers have remained completely anonymous, either because their authorship was evident to everyone when the music was published, or simply because they chose to be.

Under the subheading *Quellenbericht*, Reich gives a general overview of the material consulted for his study. Though restricting his study to archives and libraries of the German Democratic Republic, Reich remarks that approximately 65,000 *Leichenpredigten* were nevertheless available for examination. Over 80 per cent of the *Leichenpredigten* are bound together in the customary anthologies; the largest of these collections are housed in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (ca. 16,000), the Staatsarchiv in Magdeburg (ca. 12,000), the Ratsschulbibliothek in Zwickau (ca. 10,000) and the Landesbibliothek (now the Forschungsbibliothek) in Gotha (ca. 7,000). Other significant collections of *Leichenpredigten* cited by Reich are located in libraries in Rostock, Wittenberg, Greifswald, Jena and Leipzig.

The major section following the introductory pages bears the heading "Katalog der gedruckten Musikbeilagen in den Leichenpredigten."
Sammlungen der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik,

39 a catalogue of some 426 separate entries organized by place of publication, year of publication, and name of the deceased. The musical works are identified as nearly as possible by composer, title of composition or textual incipit, and setting. Reich also includes additional bibliographic information about current locations of copies of the works in repositories of the German Democratic Republic, identifying these locations with the library sigla established in RISM. He furthermore uses the sigla "St" and "St oN." The former indicates which of the works mentioned are included in the Stolberg-Stolberg catalogue, and the latter refers to exemplars of works in the Stolberg-Stolberg collection but lacking the music supplement. Fortunately the bibliographic value of Reich's catalogue was recognized, and it was published in a revised version in 1966.40

The second major division of Reich's dissertation presents a general analysis of some of the music, categorized by geographic area and by musical genre.41 In his analyses, Reich examines the compositional approaches to funeral music as practised in various parts of Germany.

39 Ibid., pp. 16-68.


41 Reich, "Die deutschen gedruckten Leichenpredigten," pp. 77-145. The geographic breakdown comprises Northwest Germany, Northeast Germany, Central Germany, and Southern Germany. Under each of these geographic headings the current forms or approaches to composition are examined, including motets and geistliche Konzerte, Lied forms, cantatas, dialogues and other multipartite forms.
He discusses, for example, the popularity of dialogic compositions in central Germany and how, in the second half of the seventeenth century, this approach was superseded by dialogic cantatas. Approximately fifty pages of transcribed examples at the end of the dissertation are included to illustrate some of Reich's discussion of compositional style.

Reich summarizes many of his observations on funeral music in the concluding Zusammenhang and Thesen. He sees printed funeral music in Leichenpredigten as a largely German phenomenon that began in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, gathered momentum in the early years of the seventeenth century, reached a period of efflorescence in the 1670s and 1680s, and declined steadily during the first half of the eighteenth century. In explaining the relatively weak transmission of Leichenenpredigten with supplementary music, he enumerates as the five chief reasons: 1) only ad hoc compositions were included in the publications, since they were exceptions to the standard practice of relying on the customary cantionals and motet anthologies; 2) larger works, such as Schütz's Musikalische Exequien, were often published independently of the Leichenpredigt; 3) sometimes the music was removed from the Leichenpredigten by contemporaries; 4) periodically the publication of the music was forbidden by law; 5) after the middle of the seventeenth century, it became increasingly common for the Leichenpredigt to incor-

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42 Ibid., p. 136.
43 Ibid., pp. 161-74.
44 This is notably the case with many of the funerary compositions in the collection of the Ratsschulbibliothek in Zwickau.
porate only the text of the musical work. In his closing remarks, Reich makes a number of observations of both general and specific natures. Because Baroque composers availed themselves of all the current musical styles (though the cantata and solo song were in many ways restricted), Reich states that seventeenth-century funeral music, ultimately, may not be properly referred to as a stylistic genre per se.

A relatively recent contribution to the historical study of German funeral music is Gerhard Schuhmacher's article "Musikbeigaben in Leichenpredigten und selbständig veröffentlichte Sterbekompositionen," a published version of a paper first read at the Erstes Marburger Personalschriftensymposion in 1974. Schuhmacher begins his article by stressing that an understanding of the context of Baroque funeral music is requisite to a proper appreciation of the music itself. Like others before him, he comments on the general neglect of the subject of funeral music.

On the whole, Schuhmacher's article is a general treatment of the subject of funeral music, directed as it is at the symposium's audience of non-music specialists. He mentions the practice of some of the more eloquent pastors in the Baroque, who published their funeral sermons in anthologies for others to study and emulate. Some of these antholo-

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46 Schuhmacher informs the reader in a footnote that he, in collaboration with Wolfgang Reich (Dresden) and Hans Unger (Jena), was at that time working on a bibliography of occasional music, which of course would include the subject of funeral music. Ibid., p. 410.

gies also included funeral music by the local cantor, presumably so that they might serve as models for study and emulation, or merely for copying and performance. This in turn demonstrates to a small degree the close professional and artistic association between the composer of the music and the author of the text -- sermon, lied text, or both. In his subsequent discussion of where and when the publication of funeral music was practised, and what were the prevailing conditions, Schuhmacher derives much of his information from earlier studies.48

Unlike the other writers, Schuhmacher in his study does address periodically and cursorily the matter of the rhetoric of funeral music.49 He remarks upon the shortage of musical-rhetorical elaboration in the music owing to the strophic nature of most works. In the case of Heinrich Schwemmer's music, however, he notes that there is a kind of apotheosizing effect in each verse of text that can be aurally perceived as a gradual vowel transformation from dark to light vowels. This, he adds, though without going into much detail, is reflected to some degree in the treatment of the string accompaniment by the composer. He comments briefly on the popularity of assigning particular voice-types to represent specific characters in dialogues: angels are depicted by sopranos, God or Jesus by a tenor, mortal men or women by altos. In solo songs, the sinner is often represented by a bass voice, unless personified with a greater sense of verity by the composer. Schuhmacher suggests that woodwinds are rarely used because of the inappropriateness

48Ibid., pp. 414-15.
49Ibid., pp. 418-20.
of their bright tone colour, and trombones were stigmatized as infernal symbols. The area of funeral music and its rhetoric, Schuhmacher informs his audience, is wanting both in scholarly investigation and in consideration of the music, as an element of the Baroque, in the context of contemporary theory.

It is generally agreed upon that rhetorical concepts pervaded musical thought in Baroque Germany, and we should likewise be able to assume that these same musical-rhetorical principles were applied to the composition of funeral music. Over the years, a number of detailed studies have been written about the application of musical-rhetorical figures in the works of specific composers, but none has yet considered the more general use of musical rhetoric in a specific musical genre. In the preface to the Stuttgarter Schütz-Ausgabe of the Musikalische Exequien from 1973 the editor, Günther Graulich, makes the following observation:

No history of protestant funeral music has yet been written. In recent times the baroque funeral oration has begun to attract the attention of scholars as a rhetorical literary genre; its musical counterpart also warrants more detailed investigation into its liturgical significance and its place in the history of music. For the period from Heinrich Schütz to Johann Sebastian Bach an investigation of the genre itself and its musico-rhetorical content

would certainly uncover much of interest.\textsuperscript{51}

While Graulich's introductory observations are no doubt valid, the effect upon the academic community, with the possible exception of the above-mentioned article by Gerhard Schumacher, has been negligible. But this is simply in keeping with the general state of neglect suffered by funeral music as a genre. The present study, in some ways, is written in response to the unquestionable need for further musicological investigation into funeral music. More specifically, it is an examination and demonstration of consciously applied elements of musical rhetoric in funeral music of the Lutheran Church in seventeenth-century Germany. The detailed examination in Chapter Three of the principal rhetorical device will serve as the primary backing to warrant such a conclusion. For reasons arising chiefly from the extreme discrepancies between the abundance of primary sources on the one hand and the paucity of secondary sources on the other, it becomes necessary to impose at the outset some restrictions upon the scope of the present work; in this way alone can the aims of the dissertation be satisfactorily achieved.

The value of Wolfgang Reich's dissertation and catalogue of printed

music supplements to Leichenpredigten collections in the German Democratic Republic has already been mentioned in the preceding overview of existing secondary sources. It too has its built-in limitations. First of all, Reich eliminates from his examination any critical evaluation of the manuscript sources of funeral music. Neither does he concern himself with funeral music printed independently of the Leichenpredigt, a sizeable body of music literature which would include such monumental works as Schütz's Musikalische Exequien. Finally, Reich delineates his study further still by utilizing only those sources available to him within the borders of the German Democratic Republic. Had Reich lacked the foresight to draw up such boundaries for the first major study of the genre, he no doubt would have been overwhelmed by the sheer mass of unassessed material.

The present study, like Reich's, is also limited entirely to printed sources from the seventeenth century. By delineating the work in this way, it was possible to make use of the two indices published by Werner and Reich, and also of the nine volumes of RISM's Einzeldrucke vor 1800. Although these three sources alone do not provide many clues about the generic nature of the funeral music, they at least provide the researcher with some indication of texts, settings and, in the case of Reich and RISM, the present locations of surviving exemplars of certain compositions. Without comparable reference materials for manuscript sources of this repertoire, it would be nothing short of foolhardiness to attempt to bring unpublished funeral works into consideration for this study.

Unlike Reich's dissertation, on the other hand, the present one does not focus exclusively on the repositories of a single country;
neither is it restricted to those funerary compositions published solely as musical supplements to Leichenpredigten. Thus one is immediately confronted by a problem which stems from limitations of the other indices. Werner's index is limited, first, to those compositions included in published Leichenpredigten, and, secondly, to Leichenpredigten which comprise the Stolberg-Stolberg collection. The limitations of Reich's index pose two different problems. It is easy enough to make cross-references from Reich to RISM in order to determine which works listed in Reich's index are duplicated in libraries and archives outside the German Democratic Republic. However, it is not so easy to learn which ad hoc funeral works published independently of the Leichenpredigt exist in that country. Nor can one easily determine the existence of printed funeral compositions housed only in countries other than the German Democratic Republic. The solution to these problems, as mentioned before, is simply for one to check each of the entries in RISM's Einzeldrucke for those texts which suggest that a musical work may in fact be funerary.

Upon examining the contents of these three references a provisional list (based on abbreviated titles, textual incipits, indications of settings, and on the critical assessments of the scholars mentioned above) was compiled comprising funerary works presumed to be representative of the various musical forms and styles current in seventeenth-century Germany. The subsequent field work was conducted in Europe,\(^5\) which allowed for an examination of the data and for verifi-

\(^5\)A complete list of libraries and archives visited during this time is given in the "Acknowledgements," pp. viii-ix.
cation that the gathered compositions were either representative of the genre or uniquely aberrant (and thus more highly rhetorical). It is believed that an assessment of the musical-rhetorical content of this sampling will permit an accurate inference of certain principles governing the genre of funeral compositions as a whole.

The second chapter of the dissertation is a cursory study of the funeral liturgy in Lutheran Germany in the seventeenth century. Just as the circumstances are an important rhetorical consideration in the writing of a speech, the liturgical context was an important factor in the composition of funeral music. It is the intention in this chapter to outline a plausible seventeenth-century funeral liturgy as it may have been practised in the Lutheran Church. Because the placement of music in the funeral service was found to be treated as freely as was the liturgy itself, it is not possible here to enter into a full discussion of when or where in the ceremony the music was performed. However, some of the later discussions of specific compositions and their rhetoric will be better understood in light of their known or conjectured placement in the ceremony. It might be added at this point that further research into funeral liturgy and music of this period would be a very productive study.

The third chapter is an investigation of what may well be the cardinal rhetorical device employed by composers of seventeenth-century funeral music -- namely, the rhetorical personification of the dead. While other elements of rhetorical persuasion are evident in the music,
none found in the course of this examination carries the force of the musical animation of the deceased. By entering into a detailed discussion of the most effective rhetorical device found in this repertoire, I hope to demonstrate not only the presence in funeral music of an extremely persuasive musical rhetoric but also of a musical rhetoric that can be seen, in certain ways, to bear close comparison to sermonic oratory.

In the fourth and final chapter, a number of rhetorical or affective devices employed by Baroque composers will be examined. Conceivably, any one of these concluding topics -- and no doubt others -- could be examined with the same depth as the preceding treatment of personification. But such detailed investigations of each and every rhetorical consideration would quickly exceed the intended scope of the present dissertation. The Figurenlehre, the so-called doctrine of figures, will be looked at, though a concentrated and detailed examination of its role in funerary composition would be best served in an independent study.53 Secondly, the incorporation of metric changes,

53 It would also be ill-advised historically, for the Figurenlehre ought to be understood as a single facet of musical rhetoric. See M. Ruhnke, "Musikalisch-rhetorische Figuren und ihre musikalische Qualität," in Ars Musica Ars Scientia: Festschrift Heinrich Hüschen zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. by D. Altenburg (Cologne: Gitarre und Laute Verlagsgesellschaft, 1980), pp. 385-86. Basing his comments on the pedagogical writings of Joachim Burmeister, Ruhnke reminds the reader that musical-rhetorical analyses too often focus on the Figuren, to the exclusion of other equally important musical-rhetorical elements. Burmeister himself encouraged his students and the readers of his Musica autoschediastike (Rostock, 1601) and Musica poetica (Rostock, 1606) always to look for additional relationships between the rhetorics of music and oratory. See also M. Ruhnke, Joachim Burmeister: ein Beitrag zur Musiklehre um 1600 (Cassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1955), pp. 144, 145.
particularly from duple to triple metre, will be viewed as fulfilling an antithetical rhetorical function analogous to affective changes employed in funeral oratory.
The process of rhetorical composition in the Baroque involved a number of steps that were shared equally by writers of orations and composers of music. At the first stage of composing an oration -- i.e., the inventio -- the Baroque rhetor would have had to take a number of factors into consideration: (1) what he had to say, (2) to whom he was to say it, and (3) the context in which it was to be said. Although the orator might complete the first steps immediately, with little or no conscious effort, it was nevertheless an essential step in the compositional process. After deciding upon the subject and taking into account both the audience and context, the orator could then decide whether his oration was to be deliberative, forensic or epideictic. He would then begin selecting the appropriate ethical, logical and pathetic arguments pertinent to the situation. The parallels between musical and oratorical composition can be easily imagined.

The rhetoric used in the Lutheran funeral service in seventeenth-century Germany would immediately suggest much to the pastor-orator. The type of audience would be made up primarily of mourners who knew the deceased personally. We can deduce from the funeral oratory itself and
gather from rhetoric manuals such as Christoph Weissenborn's *Politischer Leich=Redner* (Jena, 1707)\(^1\) that the fundamental rhetorical task of the orator was to honour (*laudatio*, *Lob*) and lament (*lamentatio*, *Klage*) the deceased,\(^2\) and to console (*consolatio*, *Trost*) the bereaved with references to and assurances of the resurrection. The affective or emotional progression from a state of lamentation to final consolation was a lengthy process which essentially began at the time of death (and even before) and concluded with the burial. Three centuries later, we can see that Protestant funeral rites have not changed significantly with respect to audience type and the rhetorical aims of the clergy; perhaps more foreign to our own experience, however, is the context, that is, the funeral service in the Lutheran Church as practised in the seventeenth century. Concerning context, Quintilian says: "For not only what we say and how we say it is of importance, but also the circumstances under which we say it."\(^3\) In order to understand the suasive role of funeral music in seventeenth-century Protestant Germany, it will

\(^1\) C. Weissenborn, *Politischer Leich=Redner welcher die practicabelsten Kunst=Regeln von der Invention, Disposition und Elocution derer nach heutigen Mode eingerichteten Abdankungen bey offentlichen Trauer==Solennien zur Beförderung feiner Oratorischen Collegiorum durch deutliche Exempel erleutert* (Jena: Heinrich Christoph Cröker, 1707), pp. 1-2.

\(^2\) M. Fürstenwald, "Zur Theorie und Funktion der Barockabdankung," in *Leichenpredigten als Quellen historischer Wissenschaften*, p. 379. Fürstenwald states in her discussion of the various parts of the *Abdankung* that "die *lamentatio* wird nicht besonders behandelt, weil sie vom Personenlob kaum zu trennen ist; sie ist gleichsam ein klagendes Echo, das dem Lob antwortet." ("The *lamentatio* is not separately dealt with, because it is scarcely separable from personal praise; it is, so to speak, a plaintive echo that answers the laudation.")

prove beneficial, then, to have some understanding of the liturgy itself.

Any study of Lutheran funeral liturgy must deal with an initial problem: unlike the Catholic Church, which had firmly established its *exequiae* for the seventeenth century in the *Rituale Romanum* of 1614, the Lutheran Church never did arrive at a set, universally employed funeral liturgy. In fact, Friedrich Kalb, in his *Grundriss der Liturgik*, writes at the beginning of his discussion of Reformation funeral liturgy that already in the sixteenth century "the funeral ordinances...offer a picture of almost bewildering diversity." But the funeral orders were not the only area of the Lutheran liturgy to be subject to variety; Hermann Caspar König, Archdeacon in Celle, compiled and published in 1721 a catalogue documenting 351 changes and additions to the basic Lutheran liturgy. These changes, of course, were not universal but rather were independent alterations which came into effect over the years and in various areas. It might be noted here too that the numerous other secular ordinances (*Polizeiordnungen*, *Schulordnungen*,

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5Ibid. p. 273. "die Begräbnisordnungen...bieten ein Bild fast verwirrender Mannigfaltigkeit."

Eheordnungen, Consistorialordnungen, etc.) affected in their own way, directly or indirectly, the continuous changes in the liturgy from place to place.

The liturgical flexibility in the Protestant Church has its roots in the writings of the Reformer himself, Martin Luther. In fact, Luther never provided the Reformed Church with a codification of his views on what ought to comprise the funeral liturgy. (He had done so with the baptismal and wedding ceremonies.) Seven years later, in 1533, Luther was still of the opinion that "there should not be required rules in the ceremonies, rather they should be in the authority of the priest to treat as will serve best," believing that the liturgy would

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Denn es nicht meyne meynunge ist, das ganze deutsche land so eben müste unser Wittenbergische ordnung an nemmen.... Sondern feyn were es, wo ynn eyner iglichen hirschafft der Gottsdienst auff eynerley weyse gienge und die umbligende stedlin und dörffer mit eyner stad gleych bardeten; ob die ynn andern hirschafften die selbigen auch hielten odder was besonders dazu thetten, sol frey und ungestrafft seyn.

For I do not propose that all Germany should uniformly follow our Wittenberg order.... But it would be well if the service in every principality would be held in the same manner and if the order observed in a given city would also be followed by the surrounding towns and villages; whether those in other principalities hold the same order or add to it ought to be a matter of free choice and not of constraint.

8 Sehling, op. cit., 1:10-11.

9 Wittenberger Kirchen-Ordnung 1533, cited in Sehling, op. cit., 1:vi. "...es sollen die ceremonien nicht notige gesetze sein, sondern in des pfarrers gewalt stehen, darin zu handeln, wie es zum besten diene
take its own form "through actual practice."\(^{10}\) Thus the liturgy developed throughout the sixteenth century and was adapted to suit a wide variety of customs and conditions, so that already in the early seventeenth century, according to the Sachsen-Coburgischen Visitation of 1613/14, "in almost every village a different ordinance holds true."\(^{11}\)

Judging by the numerous amendments to the basic liturgy as evidenced in the church ordinances of the sixteenth century,\(^{12}\) it is reasonable here to assume that the Lutheran funeral liturgy of this period was likewise flexible and could be modified to satisfy the exigencies of time and place.

What little Luther says about his views on the Protestant funeral is found in the preface to a collection of funeral music containing eight Latin chants and six German chorales published by Johann Klug in 1542.\(^{13}\) In this introduction Luther takes the opportunity to condemn certain "papal abominations" pertaining to funeral rites in the Catholic Church, such as vigils, processions, purgatory, and Masses for the dead. Furthermore, Luther writes that, unlike the Catholic churches, the Protestant churches were no longer to be used as houses of lamentation or places of mourning; rather, they were to be "Koemiteria", or dormi-

\(^{10}\)Ibid. "...durch thatsächliche Übung."

\(^{11}\)Ibid. "...beinahe in jedem Dorf eine andere Ordnung galt."

\(^{12}\)Revisions to funerary procedures in sixteenth-century Protestant Germany can be found in Sehling's *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen...*, op. cit.

tories or resting places. Those features which had always belonged to the Christian burial rites were preserved: the bodies were carried in state and sung over, and the graves were adorned with tombstones. The purpose of the ceremony, according to Luther, was to implant in each member of the congregation the article of the resurrection.

It seems that no liturgical outlines for a seventeenth-century funeral service have survived into the twentieth century. For several reasons we should be able to assume a priori that the funeral service was not significantly different from the Divine Service heard each Sunday in Lutheran Germany. Had there been any pronounced liturgical changes at the outset of the Reformation, Luther, as he did with the Mass, would most likely have published his reforms, and certainly Klug's collection of music would have provided the obvious vehicle for expressing those views. Similarly, throughout the rest of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, no theologians or ecclesiastics found it necessary to codify the order of the funeral liturgy. When the subject was addressed, it was done locally by means of emendations through the church ordinances. In the course of studying printed Leichenpredigten, most of the sources tend to support a regular de tempore divine service. Exceptions are noticeable through degree of extravagance rather than actual changes in the liturgy. Based on Luther's writings, historical documents, and modern liturgical and musicological writings, it is possible to construct a plausible Lutheran funeral ceremony as practised in seventeenth-century Germany.

Funeral music in the seventeenth century was not restricted exclusively to the music of the liturgy; the church service was preceded
by a funeral procession in which music played a significant part. The funeral ritual began in the home or court chapel where the body of the deceased lay in state for a period of at least twelve hours. According to Thuringian and Saxon church ordinances, this was more a pragmatic than religious consideration, for death was not always accurately diagnosed in the seventeenth century, and the "deceased" occasionally revived. Members of the lower and middle classes were buried as soon as possible, generally within a few days. Royalty, depending on rank and probably wealth, were often embalmed at death and were not buried until several months later. This allowed for a suitable period of state mourning and also made it possible for the executors to arrange for the many elaborate funerary details: the preparation of the coffin, which was often extremely ornate, with sculpted legs and engraved pictures and biblical scriptures; several sermons to be read variously at the chapel and other churches in the deceased's domain; commissioning, composition and rehearsal of music; epicedia, and all other matters pertaining and contributing to the pomp and pageantry of the occasion.

The strict observance of class distinctions in seventeenth-century Germany had much to do with the degree of extravagance allowed to enter the funeral ceremony. Ordinances of various kinds provide us with much of the information about the material and musical elaborations of funerals. As in all other Church ceremonies, the

14 Sehling, op. cit., 1:320.

funeral service included *adiaphora* (indifferent matters) which Johann Wilhelm Baier defines in general terms in his *Compendium Theologiae Moralis* of 1698 as:

> Matters, whose use in the public administration of sacred things or in the private exercise of divine worship is indifferent, as not being in themselves part of divine worship and neither promoting nor hindering the eternal salvation of men, but instituted for the sake of good order and decency, add a certain dignity, with respect to men, to religion and ecclesiastical discipline (p. 10).^{16}

Thus, literally anything ceremonial that did not affect the act of worship itself -- in fact, the ceremonies themselves were seen merely as "supports and ornaments" to divine worship^{17} -- was counted among the adiaphora of the Church, and was therefore subject to the ruling secular and ecclesiastical powers. The type of clothing worn, the type of precious metal used in the ceremonial cross, the number of coaches, the duration of the funeral service, the number of students allowed to sing, the number and titles of pieces sung, all were prescribed by the governing and ecclesiastical authorities to assure that class boundaries were not transgressed.^{18}

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^{17}Friedrich Balduin, *Tractatus luculentus ... de ... casibus ... conscientiae* (Wittenberg, 1628), p. 1135. Cited in Kalb, *Theology*, op. cit., p. 106.

^{18}For additional information on class distinctions in Germany at this time, see D. Krickeberg, *Das protestantische Kantorat im 17. Jahrhundert: Studien zum Amt des deutschen Kantors*, Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft: Veröffentlichungen des musikwissenschaftlichen Institutes der Freien Universität Berlin, ed. by A. Adrio, vol. 6 (Berlin: Verlag Merseburger, 1965), pp. 94-114.
By way of example, one can consider briefly the conditions which governed musical performances at Leipzig funerals in the seventeenth century. There were at that time three separate categories of funerals, one for each of the city's three distinct social classes, the aristocracy apparently being above such classification. In terms of the music used at the funeral, the members of the lowest social class in Leipzig could only expect to have the "kleine halbe Schule" or even the "Viertelschule" present at the funeral. The Kleine halbe Schule consisted of the alternation at successive funerals between the prima and tertia, and the tertia and quinta classes from the Thomasschule, while the Viertelschule consisted of fourteen of the school's youngest students singing under the "Bakkalareus", who himself was one of the junior instructors at the school. Examples of the music that was permitted at this social level were such Reformational chorales as "Aus tiefer Not" and "Erbarm dich mein," which were to be sung in unison. Corresponding to the simplicity of the music and the ceremony in general was the modest fee of 3 thaler, 6 groschen for the kleine halbe Schule and a mere 21 groschen for the services of the Viertelschule. Members of Leipzig middle class were permitted considerably more extravagance for their funerals. At a cost of 7 thaler, 22 groschen, the citizens from this social stratum could secure the services of the "grosse halbe Schule," also known as the chorus musicus, which was made up of the students of the Thomasschule's three senior classes as well as the quinta performing under the direction of the cantor himself. In accordance with the higher social station, the music performed at these funerals consisted of harmonic settings of music of four and five parts.
Also, unlike the funerals at which the Viertelschule and the kleine halbe Schule participated, music was permitted to be sung in the cemetery at the grave side. Numbered among the uppermost class of Leipzig society were the members of the city council, learned citizens and patrons of the Thomasschule. A fee ranging anywhere from 15 to 24 thaler, for the funerals of the monied social class, could secure the singing forces of the "ganze Schule." On these occasions figural music was sung from the Florilegium Portense and other motet anthologies, and, of course, works commissioned specifically for the occasion. Sometimes, depending on the estimation accorded the deceased, the choir might also be expected to sing before the gates of the city.

It should be noted that these regulations make up but one ordinance at a specific time within a single city, and that this ordinance may have had limited influence even on surrounding communities. Just how extreme were the divergences can be seen in the attitudes towards the inclusion of musical instruments in performances of funeral music in the cities of Nuremberg and Lüneburg. Heinrich Schwemmer (1621-1696), who shared responsibilities as Director chori musici in Nuremberg, received a large number of commissions for funeral music, most of which included, in addition to voices, a three- or four-part string ensemble with basso continuo. The music of Schwemmer, as well as that of other composers of funeral music, such as David Schedlich (1607-1687) and Paul Hainlein (1626-1686) who at this time were also active in Nuremberg, shows that instrumental accompaniment was the norm for funeral music. At the same time in Lüneburg on the other hand, Friedrich Funcke (1642-1699), the cantor at St Johannis, was fined a half-year's salary, simply for using
a regal at the funeral of his brother-in-law.\textsuperscript{19} Harold E. Samuel states that this action was taken because the regal "had never been permitted at the burial of a distinguished citizen,"\textsuperscript{20} and Wolfgang Reich suggests that there may have been a precedent for this infraction of the law in order for it to have elicited such a harsh fine.\textsuperscript{21} The ordinances were as strict as they were diverse.

Funeral processions were occasionally described in great detail in the beginning pages of printed Leichenpredigten under the heading "Pro\- cession und Ordnung." For example, the funeral for Friedrich, Duke of Württemberg (d. 24 March 1682), began at seven o'clock in the morning with the preceptors and students singing in the courtyard.\textsuperscript{22} The procession was led by torch-bearers followed by the musicians. The attendant mourners were assigned specific positions in the funeral procession, usually depending on their familial relationship to the deceased or their rank in society. These descriptions can go on for pages, identifying each of the principal mourners by name and status. Often accompanying these Processionen und Ordnungen in the Leichenpredigten are detailed illustrations of the procession, often depicting processions of such length that they consist of several pages glued together and carefully folded into the book.

The descriptions and illustrations found in the Leichenpredigten

\textsuperscript{19}Reich, "Die deutschen gedruckten Leichenpredigten," \textit{op. cit.}, p. 75.


\textsuperscript{21}Reich, "Die deutschen gedruckten Leichenpredigten," \textit{op. cit.}, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{22}Reutlingen, Stadtbibliothek, Rt. 467.
are invaluable sources of musical information. From them we find what compositions were used before and during the funeral procession to the church, and what specific works and musical styles were used and where they were used in the course of the funeral service. Furthermore, we learn that the students, alumni and preceptors were not the only ones responsible for music in the procession. For instance, the funeral procession for Johann Friderich, Duke of Würtemberg (d. 15 October 1693) had three musical groups: the fourth section in the procession consisted of "zwey Trompeter von ermeldten Regiment," the seventh was the preceptors and their students, and the thirteenth section the "6 Trompeter Ferdinand Schmidlin / Johann Bolch / Balthasar Leichtlin / Marcell Kerbs / Friderich Engel & Georg Melchior Fenckel." Also from these descriptions we acquire some sense of the manner in which these works were performed.

When the funeral procession had arrived at the church or chapel, the coffin was placed directly beneath the pulpit, in the case of Johann Friderich, the body was positioned between the altar and the open crypt. The congregation, as one would expect, was traditionally clad in black, and in the "Procession und Ordnung" of the funeral of Friderich, Duke of Würtemberg (d. 1682), the chronicler reports that the

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23 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
26 Reutlingen, Stadtbibliothek, Rt. 467.
pulpit, the organ and church pews were all draped with black cloth.\(^27\) This seems not to have been too uncommon a practice, for it was also the custom in the Schlosskapelle in Dresden.\(^28\) The coffin itself was similarly draped in black and was often surrounded by lit candles. The body was most often dressed in white.

The order of the actual funeral liturgy in the seventeenth-century Lutheran Church may have existed as follows: Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Salutatio, Collect, Epistle, Gradual and Tract (?), Gospel or substitute, Credo, Sermon, the Lord’s Prayer, Collect, Benediction.\(^29\) The chief liturgical difference between the standard Sunday Gottesdienst and the funeral service would seem to be the absence of the Eucharist in the case of the latter. A second difference would be the optional insertion of the personalia or curriculum vitae at some point after the funeral.


\(^{28}\) Ibid.

There is no doubt that the Mass was integral to the funeral liturgy in the seventeenth-century. In Heinrich Schütz's own prefatory comments to the *Musikalische Exequien*, he writes of having composed the music "in the form of a German Missa, according to the type of the Latin Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie Eleison. Gloria in excelsis. Et in terra pax & c." Following the Kyrie, Gloria and the Salutatio, the priest would turn towards the altar for the Collect, a short de tempore prayer -- i.e., on the theme of death and resurrection -- after which the choir would sing a four-part "Amen, amen." The priest, or the deacon as was the case in Leipzig, would then approach the lectern and read the Epistle for the service in a simple recitational tone. According to Luther, this was to be read in the eighth tone and at the same level as that used in the Collect.

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30 H. Schütz, *Musikalische Exequien*, ed. by Georg Schumann, Veröffentlichungen der Neuen Bachgesellschaft, Jahrgang 29, Heft 1. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1982), n.p. "...in Form einer Teutschen Missa, nach art der Lateinischen Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie Eleysen. Gloria in excelsis. Et in terra pax & c." But see F. Kalb, Grundriss, op. cit., p. 275. Kalb omits the Gloria from the funeral liturgy, though he does not specify the period to which he is referring. Kalb does detail the Lutheran funeral liturgy, but his description is probably of a contemporary service, and much of what he says has little bearing on seventeenth-century practices. It may be additionally noted here that Schütz also points out in the preface that the music of the *Musikalische Exequien* could "an statt einer Teutschen Missa vnd vielleicht in Festo Purificationis oder Dominica XVI post Trinitatis, auch nicht übel gebrauchen," which provides further evidence in support of the assumption that the seventeenth-century funeral service did not differ significantly from the Sunday or other de tempore divine services.

31 Liliencron, op. cit., p. 122.

32 Ibid., p. 159.

33 Luther, "Deutsche Messe," op. cit., p. 87; Luther, "The German
Friedrich Blume, in *Protestant Church Music*, discusses the instability of the Gradual and the Sequence within the Protestant liturgy in general, and mentions that its position in the liturgy continued to weaken throughout the sixteenth century, eventually disappearing from the liturgy altogether in most places.\(^3^4\) However, since the Protestant Church did in fact retain the Tract, used in the Requiem Mass of the Catholic Church to replace the Alleluia, it is reasonable to assume here that something similar may have been practised in the Lutheran funeral liturgy. Blume goes on to point out that this entire section of the Mass could be, and often was, replaced by a congregational hymn.\(^3^5\)

The Gospel was the next item of the Mass. Standing at the lectern and facing the congregation, the priest sang the Gospel in a simple recitational manner -- in the fifth tone, according to Luther.\(^3^6\) Under normal circumstances, the Gospel reading served as the basic material for oratorical elaboration in the Sermon. The relationships between the Gospel and the Sermon within the context of the funeral ceremony will be discussed in greater detail presently.

The reading of the Gospel was followed by the *Apostolisches Glaubensbekenntnis* or Credo sung in Latin by the choir or in German by


\(^3^4\) Blume, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

\(^3^5\) Ibid.

\(^3^6\) Luther, "Deutsche Messe," *op. cit.*, p. 90; Luther, "German Mass," *op. cit.*, p. 74.

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the congregation as "Wir glauben all an einen Gott." Luther additionally writes that the German creed could be sung by the congregation at the graveside or while departing from the grave. Following the singing of the Credo in the church, the priest would proceed to the pulpit from which the Sermon was delivered. Because the coffin was directly beneath the pulpit, the body was thus situated between the priest and the members of the congregation. This Protestant custom differed fundamentally from the liturgical practice at that time in the Catholic Church, which prescribed that the body be placed instead directly before the altar.

The funeral sermon was almost always given in German, and was preceded by a short votum. The sermon in the Sunday divine service custom-

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37 Liliencron, op. cit., pp. 122, 159.


40 Kalb, Grundriss der Liturgik, op. cit., p. 271. "Der Sarg wird so vor dem Altar aufgestellt, dass bei der Leiche eines Nicht-Priesters die Füsse zum Altar gerichtet sind, bei einem Preister aber umgekehrt zum Volk hin, 'als ob er Dominus vobiscum sagen wollte' (Müller-Umberg, Zeremonienbühlein)." ("The coffin is so positioned before the altar that, with the body of a non-priest, the feet are directed towards the altar, but with a priest turned about towards the people, 'as if he wanted to say the Dominus vobiscum'....")
arily served as an exegesis of the Gospel verse which had been intoned immediately before the Credo. This detail, however, must have differed substantially in the case of funeral sermons. Themes for funeral sermons, as one would expect, dealt invariably with the topic of death and the resurrection. In one sense, it would be possible to associate the reading of the Gospel and the theme of the ceremony: in the late sixteenth century, for instance, Andreas Pancratius, a student of Melanchthon, favoured Luke 13:1ff as a scriptural base for his funerary orations in instances pertaining to accidental death. Valerius Herberger, known for his important collection of 147 funeral sermons published in *Geistliche Trauerbinden* (1612-20), also made occasional use of verses from Luke. But numerous other biblical books, from both the Old and New Testament, were as important (if not more so) to the funeral as sources of relevant sermonic themes. Though many biblical books could conceivably produce suitable funerary texts for sermonic elaboration, by far the most fruitful book in this respect, and the one to which priests most often turned for appropriate verses, was the Book of Psalms. Whether the Gospel was replaced by a Psalm or some other scriptural reading, or whether the Gospel and Sermon remained unrelated


42 See Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
Within the funeral liturgy is unknown.

Luther writes that the Sermon was to be followed directly by a paraphrased version of the Lord's Prayer, which could be said either from the pulpit or from the altar according to the wishes of the priest.\(^4\) To what extent this practice was followed in the seventeenth-century funeral liturgy is unknown, for a large portion of the printed Leichenpredigten examined for this study concluded with the simple rubric "Vater unser u." At the end of the Peter Limburger's Leichenpredigt for Wilhelm and Jobst Kressen von Kressenstein in 1640, the text of the closing votum concludes with "... / sprechen wir auss Andacht ein heiliges Vatter vnser / u," that is, a literal rendering of the Lord's Prayer together with the congregation.\(^4\) Throughout the seventeenth century in Dresden, and likely in other places as well, the Lord's Prayer was said immediately before the Sermon,\(^4\) and occasionally after the Sermon as well.\(^4\)

In the funeral liturgy, the personalia or curriculum vitae often followed the Sermon, as in the case of Duke Wilhelm Ludwig of Württemberg

\(^4\)Luther, "Deutsche Messe," \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 95-96; Luther "The German Mass," \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 78-79.


\(^4\)Schmidt, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 119.

\(^4\)\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 113-14.
(d. 1677) and Duke Friderich. It could be read by someone other than the priest as part of the Abdankung "either before the door of the house of mourning, after the return from the grave, or at the site of the burial."

The church ceremony concluded with a Collect and Benediction. It was also possible to read the Collect and Benediction after the interment as was the practice in Stuttgart for the burial of the Dukes of Würtemberg. Since they were buried in the chapel and because the mourners were to remain seated until the body was interred, the later reading of the Collect and blessing may have been decided upon in order to give the church ceremony a stronger sense of finality, signaling to the congregation to leave the church in the same order in which the procession had entered. The following Collect recommended by Luther was adopted by nearly all the church orders as an Easter or funeral Collect, and was still in use in Saxony at the end of the sixteenth century according to the "Des Durchlauchtigsten, Hochgebornen Fürsten U. Herrn, Herrn Augusten, Herzogen zu Sachsen, Ordnung" of 1580. It reads as follows:

[R.] Der Tod wird hinfurt uber in nicht herrschen, Haleluia.

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47 Reutlingen, Stadtbibliothek, Rt. 467.
48 Reutlingen, Stadtbibliothek, Rt. 468.
49 Weissenborn, op. cit., p. 1. "...entweder vor der Thür des Trauer=Hauses / nach der Rückkunft vom Grabe / oder an der Stelle des Begräbnisses."
50 Sehling, op. cit., p. 275. The two paired verses and responses, however, are not mentioned in the Kirchenordnung, and there is some slight alterations in the text of the Collect itself.
[V.] Ich weis das mein erloser lebet, Haleluia.
[R.] Der wird mich hernach aus der Erden aufferwecken, Haleluia.

Almechtiger Gott, der du durch den Tod deines Sons die Sünd und Tod zu nicht gemacht, Und durch sein aufferstehen Unschuld und ewiges Leben widerbracht hast, auff das wir von der Gewalt des Teufels erlöset, in deinem Reich leben. Verleihe uns, das wir solches von gantzem Hertzen gleuben, und in solchem Glauben bestendig dich alle Zeit loben und dir dancken, Durch denselbigen deinen Son, Ihesum Christum, unsern HErrn, Amen.51

After the Collect, Luther used the following Benediction to conclude the German Mass of 1526:

Der Herr segene dich und behutte dich.
Der Herr erleuchte sein angesicht ubir dir und sey dir gnedig.
Der Herr hebe seyn angesicht auff dich und gebe dyr frid.52

This same Benediction, with only slight variation, was also printed at the end of Paul Martin Alberti's funeral sermon for Sigmund von Birken in 1681.53 That this Benediction survived more than 150 years

51Luther, Werke, op. cit., 35:553-54; Luther, "The Collects," in Luther's Works (translated by Paul Zeller Strodach; revised by Ulrich S. Leupold), op. cit., p. 134:

V. Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more. Alleluia:
R. Death hath no more dominion over him Alleluia [Rom. 6:9].
or:
V. I know that my Redeemer liveth. Alleluia:
R. Who shall at the latter day wake me from the earth. Alleluia: [Job 19:25].

"Almighty God, who by the death of thy Son hast brought to naught sin and death and by his resurrection hast brought again innocence and everlasting life so that, delivered from the devil's power, we may live in thy kingdom: Grant us that we may believe this with all our heart and, steadfast in this faith, praise and thank thee always; through the same thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

52Luther, "Deutsche Messe," op. cit., p. 102; Luther, "German Mass," op. cit., p. 84:

The Lord bless thee and keep thee.
The Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee.
The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.

53Cited in M. Fürstenwald, ed., Trauerreden des Barock, Beiträge
with virtually no change to the text would seem to suggest that it was also accepted as a standard formula for concluding funeral services, as well as supporting the earlier suggestion that funeral and Sunday services were liturgically closely related.

Finally a de tempore versicle was to be sung, which was frequently the Canticum Simeonis, "Herr nun lassest du deinen Diener in Frieden fahren," which was simply a German translation of the Nunc Dimittis from the Roman Requiem, or a version of "Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben." During the singing of the latter hymn, the body could actually be buried.54 Other songs that were recommended by Luther as being suitable to be sung by the congregation on returning from the cemetery include "Wir gleuben all an einen [Gott]," "Nu bitten wir den heiligen [Geist],," and the Latin songs, "Iam moesta Quesce," "Si enim credimus," "Corpora Sanctorum," and "In pace sumus."55

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54 Reutlingen, Stadtbibliothek, Rt. 467 and Rt. 468.

CHAPTER III

PROSOPOPOEIA: MUSICAL-RHETORICAL PERSONIFICATION

OF THE DEAD

Rhetorical and Musical Background

Recognition of personification as an effective oratorical device appears to date back to rhetoric's formative years. We can see this to some degree in Heinrich Lausberg's overview of the trope in his Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik, where he discusses oratorical personification under the general heading fictio personae. Upon examining Lausberg's brief survey, one is immediately struck by the diversity of appellations and the range of corresponding definitions ascribed to the basic concept. Referring to twelve classical texts,¹ Lausberg gives no fewer than eight names for the trope: sermocinatio, conformatio, ethopoeia, dialogous, fictio personae, prosopopoëia, eidolopoeia, simulacri factio.² Some of these labels are synonymous with one another (sermocinatio = ethopoeia, fictio personae = prosopopoëia, simulacri factio = eidolopoeia), while others are interrelated but distinguished by denota-


²Lausberg himself is citing his information from two other secondary sources: C. Halm, Rhetores Latini minores... (Leipzig, 1863), and L. Spengel, Rhetores Graeci, 3 vols. (Leipzig: vol. 1 edendum curavit C. Hammer 1894; vol. 2 1854; vol. 3 1856).
tive shadings (prosopopoeia vis-à-vis simulacri factio and eidolopoeia, see below). It might be well to note here that Lausberg's list can be supplemented with personificatio and conformatio mentioned in the Rhetorica ad Herennium, and one could go further still, bringing in such coterminous tropes as mimesis, apostrophe and even hypotyposis. There is a point to be made in listing these terms: all of them -- and there are others -- are representational tropes, many of which were not only current in an abstract sense in rhetorical and philological writings in the Baroque, but were regularly applied in oratorical and musical composition.

The specific mimetic trope which is of most importance in the present study is that which, by definition, rhetorically enables the dead to speak. Edward P. J. Corbett concisely defines prosopopoeia (=prosopoeia) in its general sense as a rhetorical trope or topic whereby one invests "abstractions or inanimate objects with human qualities or abilities." With this definition Corbett upholds what most of the classical literary theorists cited as being the distinction between prosopopoeia (fictio personae) and ethopoeia (sermocinatio). Though only implied in Corbett's definition, the classical writers make it explicitly clear that ethopoeia generally pertained to the living, while prosopopoeia, on the other hand, referred specifically to the personification of inanimate objects -- including, of course, the dead.

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Quintilian, commending the considerable rhetorical possibilities offered by this trope, writes of prosopopoeia: "Nay, we are even allowed in this form of speech to bring down the gods from heaven and raise the dead, while cities also and peoples may find a voice."\(^5\) Similarly, the author of *Aquilae Romani de figuris sententiarum et elocutionis liber* has this to say of *fictio personae* (i.e., prosopopoeia): "when we raise the dead, as it were, and, placed within sight of the judge, we provide them with speech."\(^6\) Finally in this respect, prosopopoeia is discussed in the same sense in the *Apologetum* as follows: "Prosopopoeia is the formation of a visage which either never was alive or was alive once but is no longer."\(^7\)

Other sources broadened the definition of prosopopoeia to encompass not only the dead, but also imaginary people. Further blurring of the taxonomical borders between prosopopoeia and *ethopoeia* came about as some theorists included as part of their definition the mimetic portrayal of living, but absent, people. Thus *ethopoeia* became at least in some cases a subcategory of prosopopoeia, a matter to which Quintilian also draws the reader’s attention. An attempt to re-establish the rhetorical distinctions between the personification of animate and inanimate objects failed.
animate objects resulted in the formulation of yet another term, *eidolopoeia* or its Latin cognate *simulacri factio*, ascribing to the dead the faculty of speech. In the present study, the term prosopopoeia will be used in its most general sense.

Of all the classical rhetorical manuals Quintilian's was unquestionably the most influential in Germany -- indeed, in all of Europe -- throughout the Renaissance and Baroque. Until a complete copy of Quintilian's *Institutio* was found at the monastary of St Gall in 1416, medieval philologists studying Quintilian were forced to rely on fragments of the work. No doubt promoted by the cultivation and growth of Humanism in the Renaissance, more than one hundred editions of Quintilian's work were published between the time of the exemplar's discovery and the beginning of the seventeenth century. The *Institutio* exerted considerable influence on, and is directly referred to in, Johann Matthäus Meyfart's *Teutsche Rhetorica oder Redekunst* of 1634, which figures as the most important book on rhetoric in the German language to be published in the first half of the seventeenth century, and just over a century later, in 1738, Johann Matthias Gesner chose an edition of Quintilian in which to pen his eulogistic description of J. S. Bach's prowess as organist and conductor. Indeed, Bach himself has

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10. H. T. David and A. Mendel, eds, *The Bach Reader: a Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, rev. ed. (New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1966), pp. 22, 231. One might note that not only was Quintilian still current well into the eighteenth century, but so too was rhetorical personification, as seen here in Gesner's apostro-
been credited in recent years with being intimately acquainted with Quintilian's *Institutio.* It might be added that Quintilian was also cited in Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* in 1732 for his discussion of music in the *Institutio oratoria.*

More specifically, the Baroque manuals in Germany, in their definitions of personification, compare more closely with the *Institutio* than with any other classical source. In the *Triumphus Bibliorum Sacrorum* (Frankfurt, 1625) by rhetorician, composer, and champion of Calvinism, Heinrich Alsted, it is suggested that prosopopoeia "in serious matters, for instance in admonitions and vehement reproaches, is a remarkable figure." Meyfart's conception of prosopopoeia is even more closely phizing.


12 J. G. Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon oder Musikalische Bibliothek,* facs. repr. ed. by R. Schaal (Cassel and Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1953; originally published, Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732), p. 509. Walther refers the reader to the *Institutio oratoria,* 1. 17, for Quintilian's discussion of music. However, there are only ten chapters in the first book. Quintilian's most extensive treatment of music in the *Institutio oratoria* is in 1. 10, 9-33.

aligned with Quintilian’s work. Like Quintilian, Meyfart writes at the outset of his chapter on personification (Chapter 40) that dialogismus constitutes a kind of prosopopoeia, prefacing his discussion with the following definition of the term:

Prosopopoeia is, if one wants to render it clearly, a Representation-Figure, whereby the orator assumes the charge of another person and speaks as that person; or also possibly introduces inanimate objects and speaks for them.14

However, it is more through Meyfart’s examples, drawn as they are from the pseudo-Cicero’s Rhetorica ad Herennium and Savonarola, than through his less than lucid definition of the figure, that we see the close similarity of his idea of personification to that of Quintilian’s: Sorrow, Rome, and the dead Lucius Brutus are each invested with the power to speak. In the Compendium Rhetorices of 1682 by Christoph Caldenbach, prosopopoeia is defined as follows: "What is prosopopoeia? To inanimate objects we attribute personality and discourse, or we introduce the dead, speaking just as the living."15 Caldenbach, who at that time was active not only as a composer but as a professor of rhetoric at the University in Tübingen, illustrates the trope by using one of Meyfart’s examples, taken from the Rhetorica ad Herennium, in

\[\text{of appropriate persons.}\]


which the dead Lucius Brutus is given the ability to speak.\textsuperscript{16}

Prosopopoeia, as a persuasive device, lost none of its effectiveness in the seventeenth century. Indeed, personification thrived in what Ferdinand van Ingen calls the \textit{Augenkultur} of Baroque Germany.\textsuperscript{17} In using the term "\textit{Augenkultur}," van Ingen stresses the importance in the Baroque of connecting the here and now with the hereafter by means of the literary and visual arts. By way of example, van Ingen mentions the celestial scenes so frequently depicted in the ceiling frescoes found in Baroque architecture.\textsuperscript{18} More than just decoration, the paintings, especially those in churches and chapels, were in part meant to provide the contemplative Christian with visual stimuli to stir the imagination towards sublime thoughts of resurrection, eternal life and freedom from worldly woes. On the literary side, through the application of prosopopoeia, one achieved a hypotypotic effect by evoking with words comparable prophetic images in the minds of the audience. The clearer, the more vivid -- in the true sense of the word -- the images conjured up by the orator, the easier it was for him to move the affections of his audience. Through the poetic force of prosopopoeia as used contextually in the seventeenth-century funeral ceremony, the effect was not that of the orator himself speaking directly, but rather of the orator acting in the capacity of a medium and, as it were, transmitting to the congregation messages from beyond the grave, giving the mourners

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{17}F. van Ingen, \textit{Vanitas und Memento Mori in der deutschen Barocklyrik} (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1966), p. 299. \\
\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 275.
a consolatory and transcendent vision of the afterlife.

Like the art of rhetoric in general, prosopopoeia was not intended to be used as an end in itself. Rather, it was a persuasive tool, a rhetorical means by which the orator could more easily achieve a rhetorical end. Since antiquity, one of the three principal goals of rhetoric was to teach (docere, the others being delectare and movere), and the aim of sermonic rhetoric in the Baroque Church -- including, of course, funeral oratory -- was to instruct the congregation according to the theological principles of the Church. Of primary importance was the consolatory lesson of death and the resurrection, and second was the admonitory lesson exhorting the members of the congregation to ensure their salvation by leading a Christian life and by preparing for their own death.19 This is an attitude which differed fundamentally from the beliefs of the Catholic Church in that Luther refused to recognize any manner of intercessional prayer as a means of obtaining God's mercy on the souls of the deceased. Instead, Protestants had to assure themselves of their salvation before death. We must remember that prosopopoeia, and rhetoric in general, were undoubtedly used for dramatic effect, but never for dramatic effect alone. Rhetoric in the Church served the theological ends of the Church.

Prosopopoeia enabled the funeral orator simultaneously to employ,

to varying degrees, the three Aristotelian means of persuasion: (1) by an appeal to the listener's ability to reason (*logos*); (2) by an appeal of the personality or character of the orator (*ethos*); and (3) by an appeal to the emotions of the listener (*pathos*). In order better to appreciate the rhetor's application of this trope, it may be worthwhile at this point briefly to consider prosopopoeia in terms of these three lines of persuasion.

Through the prosopopoeial evocation of the dead, whether or not this occurs in the context of the funeral ceremony, the orator assumed the persona of the deceased, thus playing fully on the sympathies of the congregation. Though the orator may in these instances be voicing his own beliefs and opinions, the congregation was psychologically led to believe that the ideas expressed were those of the departed, in turn giving more credence to the words of the orator. Since one of the primary goals of the orator was to convince the congregation of the resurrection, prosopopoeia allowed for an implicit enthymematic argument which, though untenable in terms of strict syllogism, was nonetheless a considered and effective one. For instance, if the voice of the deceased is heard attesting to salvation, resurrection and eternal life, then one can only reason that the statement must be true. This brand of posthumous testimony was common in Baroque funeral literature, as seen, for example, in the assuasive verse written in the seventeenth century by Johann Sand:

*Weint nicht, jhr meine Lieben,*  
*Weint nicht, es ist nicht Noht,*  
*Wolt jhr euch so betrüben?*  
*Ach! bin ich doch nicht todt,*  
*So kläglich niemand thue,*  
*Ich lebe jimmerdar,*  
*Worauff ich jetzund ruhe*  
*Ist keine Todten-Bahr*²⁰

55
Weep not, my beloved,
Weep not, there is no need,
Do you wish to grieve so?
Alas, I am not really dead,
So do not act so piteously,
I live for ever and ever,
On what I now rest,
Is not a corpse's bier.

In 1670 Sigmund von Birken includes the following personifying lines in the Leichenpredigten for his wife, which again is a repudiation of death and an affirmation of the resurrection:

Ich lige in der Ruh
ich Schlaffe / sonder Sorgen /
Ich schlaffe sicher zu /
bis an den letzten Morgen...21

I lie in rest
I sleep without concern,
I sleep securely,
until the judgement day.

By adopting the identity of the deceased while writing and delivering a funeral sermon, the rhetor-pastor had at his disposal the potential to strengthen the ethical side of the oration, that is, to enhance his own character in the eyes of the congregation. By speaking as the deceased, even through brief quotation, the congregation would immediately associate the speaker with the deceased.22 Since the congregation would have been made up chiefly of mourners, one naturally would expect this psychological association to have been a favourable

20Cited in van Ingen, op. cit., p. 277.


one. As a result of the heightened ethical status of the orator, the congregation would have been more receptive to attitudes and dogma expressed by the speaker, attitudes which were perhaps not entirely characteristic of the deceased. Even if the personification was totally fictitious, if everything said by the orator were his ideas alone but were nevertheless expressed by him as the worldly representative of the deceased, the congregation, unwilling to dispute the voice of the person whom they mourned, still would have been inclined to give credence to the orator.

Although prosopopoeia argued persuasively by both logical and ethical means, it was undoubtedly most persuasive as a pathetic form of argument. Quintilian remarks in the *Institutio* that personification was used to increase the persuasiveness of a speech, for though bare facts themselves were no doubt capable of moving a listener towards assent, the ring of a familiar personal note, in combination with the facts, was known to be even more effective.23 The speaker not only animated the deceased by putting words into his mouth, he was also expected to mimic the patterns of the deceased's voice and gestures, when appropriate.24

23 *Institutio oratoria*, 6. 1. 25. "Nudae tantum res movent; at cum ipsos loqui fingium, ex personis quoque trahitur affectus." ("The bare facts are no doubt moving in themselves; but when we pretend that the persons concerned themselves are speaking, the personal note adds to the emotional effect.")

24 See *Institutio oratoria*, 1. 8. 3 and 11. 1. 41-42 and van Ingen, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300. See also Meyfart, *op. cit.*, 2:23. "In der Prosopopei muss der Redener der Person / welcher er die Rede auffdichtet / auch die Stim auffdichten / vnd zuschawen / was sonsten die Rede leydet." ("In prosopopoeia, the orator must also ascribe the voice to the person to whom he ascribes the oration, and consider whatever else the oration can use.")
When we read sections employing prosopopoeia in Baroque funeral sermons we must assume that the effective preacher would have feigned the emotion expressed in the text. In the Trauer-Rede written in 1693 for Sigismund Heinrich, Freiherr von Bibran, to whose funeral music we shall be returning shortly, the preacher personifies, at different times, the bereaved widow, the brother, and the children of the deceased. Where the members of the family are represented, the text is laden with lamentive pathos. The following is a personification of the widow, whose lament is a conflation of appropriate scriptural passages:

Alas! I see now before me the tears of a deeply grieving widow who sadly weeps..., she cries to the Lord her God whatever she can: See, LORD, how sorely I am distressed. My bowels writhe in anguish: at home there is as death [literally, at home Death has made me a widow]. Lam. 1:20. the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me. Ruth 1:20. For these things I weep; mine eye, mine eye runneth down with water, because the comforter that should relieve my soul is far from me. Lam. 1:16.  

Certainly the emotional level of the voice assumed by the skilled preacher would be modified significantly when personifying the reassuring voices of the angels or the consolatory voice of the deceased.
Taken from the same funeral as the above jeremiac, the following rhymed verses personifying Sigismund Heinrich are soothing in rhythm and tenor, an emotional antithesis of the widow's plaint.

I die now, it is true; nevertheless I shall not perish,
Not I; my despair dies, my misery, fear and need,
Through death dies my death. Therefore I am happy to die,
For whoever dies in Jesus, dies without death.26

Death often came without warning in the seventeenth century. The fatality rate among infants was extraordinarily high; outbreaks of plague and other epidemics were frequent, widespread, devastating and indiscriminate of age or station. Hardly less discriminating than diseases were the armies that sacked and plundered Germany in the course of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). In that age when even a slight chill could soon be followed by obsequies, Death, much more so than today, was never far away and seldom out of mind; it occupied the thoughts of the society to a point which we can only see as obsessive.

Because the people were aware, or were made to be aware, that "the final hour comes like a thief,"27 the Protestant clergy expended a great deal of energy upon teaching their congregation to prepare for death's unan-


Ich sterbe zwar izund / doch darff Ich nicht verderben /
Nicht Ich / mein Jammer stirbt / mein Elend / Angst und Noth /
Durch sterben stirbt mein Tod. Drum freu Ich Mich zusterben /
Denn wer in JEsu stirbt / der stirbet ohne Tod.

27Zeller, op. cit., p. 71. "...die letzte Stund kommt als ein Dieb." It is quite possible that this maxim has biblical origins (2 Peter 3:10).
nounced arrival. The large number of Leichenpredigten published and bound as anthologies during the seventeenth century offers graphic evidence of this preoccupation with death. It was expected that, in health and especially in illness, one would familiarize oneself with funeral sermons such as those found in Valerius Herberger's Geistliche Trauerbinden (Leipzig, 1618/1619), and the four volumes by Johann Heermann: Schola mortis: Todes Schule (Leipzig, 1628), Christianae Euthanasias Statutae (Leipzig, 1630), Parma contra mortis arma (Rostock, 1650), Dormitoria (Rostock, 1650). Reflecting on the contents of collections such as these, the reader in effect came into a kind of communication with the hereafter, not dissimilar to the associations mentioned earlier by van Ingen. Based on the experiences of others who had gone before, one learned in this way how to prepare for death, how to die a proper Christian death, how successfully to make that most peaceful transition from this world to the next.

By leaving one's worldly affairs in good order, the deceased posthumously presented the living with a strong case for the assumption that his or her spiritual affairs were likewise in order. In preparation of the material and spiritual sides of death, it was not uncommon for a person to dictate his or her own curriculum vitae, which could be read at the funeral either following the sermon or at the graveside as part

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of the Abdankung. It was also common practice for individuals to select the biblical scriptures or some other appropriate text to be used as the theme upon which the pastor was to write the funeral sermon. If the person did not have a favourite biblical scripture, the anthologies of funeral sermons provided an ample selection of suitable verses from which to chose. Other documents show that some went further to request in advance that their funeral sermon be based on a particular chorale text, as mentioned in this notice from a Wittelsberg Kirchenbuch in 1665:

Elisabeth, Henchen Preisen, blessed posthumous widow in Beltershausen was buried on 3 February in her eighty-fifth year; and true the funeral sermon, on her request, was delivered from the Christian chorale: Herzlich tut mich verlangen nach einem seligen Ende, through the entire verse l.p.

Still others had the presence of mind to write their own funeral sermon, which would then be read for them at the ceremony. One instance of this

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is the funeral sermon on Psalm 116:7, "Sei nun wieder zufrieden, meine Seele; denn der Herr tut dir Gutes," written by Superintendent Balthasar Klein of Weissenfels and delivered on 2 February 1580, and was later published in Leipzig with a preface by Nikolaus Selnecker. This particular case comes under discussion in the Mansfeld pastor Caspar Titius's "Theologisches Exempel-Buch" entitled Loci Theologici Historici. Comprised of a large number of older and contemporaneous writings, most of the material for the book had already been compiled by Titius by 1633, but, owing to the savaging effects of the Thirty Years' War, the collection was first published in a revised version in 1684, after Titius's death. Clearly, Titius too recognized the power of pathetic argument as presented in this didactic anthology; in his discussion in the chapter on funeral sermons ("Von Leichenpredigten") Titius acknowledges the fact "that they [funeral sermons] affect more and stir more the heart." It is in connection with his writing on funeral oratory that Titius mentions the custom of placing the body of the deceased directly beneath the pulpit, that is, at a point more or less between the orator and the audience. By giving this kind of visual prominence to the body, it assumed a status that, although neither orator nor audience, was nevertheless an inextricable component of the


33 Cited in Zeller, op. cit., p. 67. "...dass sie mehr afficiren und näher zu Hertzen gehen."
rhetorical process. Thus, according to Titius, as the funeral oration was given by the pastor, the congregation of mourners did not necessarily hear the priest comforting and admonishing them, but rather "the deceased himself preaching per prosopopoeian from the coffin, as it were."\textsuperscript{34} In the most unexceptional, prosaic cases the combined audial and visual sensations would have been moving; where the pastor ornamented his sermon with the occasional prosopopoeial passage, the effect would have stirred deep emotions; where the orator read a sermon written by the deceased, personally addressing the mourners in the congregation, perhaps going so far as to mimic the deceased's speech and gestures,\textsuperscript{35} we can hardly begin to imagine the impact on a seventeenth-century congregation.

Musicians likewise suggested an active personal presence at their funerals by prearranging certain aspects of the ceremony. Johann Hermann Schein on his deathbed asked Heinrich Schütz to compose for him a funeral motet on the text "Das ist je gewisslich wahr" (Timothy 1:12, SWV 277),\textsuperscript{36} and Schütz in turn requested that his student Christoph Bernhard compose for him a five-part Palestrinian motet on the text "Cantabiles mihi erant justificationes tuae" (Psalm 119:54), a work which Schütz actually had opportunity to check and approve well in

\textsuperscript{34}Ibid. "...gleichsam per prosopopoiian den Verstorbenen selbst aus dem Sarge herfürpredigen."

\textsuperscript{35}See footnote 24 above.

advance of his death in 1672.\textsuperscript{37} Bernhard's motet plus three other works by Schütz were performed at the funeral.\textsuperscript{38} In the case of both Schütz and Schein, the biblical texts correspondingly served as themes for their respective funeral sermons. It might be added that other composers, among them, Seth Calvisius, Tobias Michael and Zachäus Faber, had occasion to compose their own swan songs. Although these works did not function purely as true prosopopoeia, it can hardly be denied that the congregation's knowledge of the origins of the works would have significantly affected the way in which they experienced the music.

It is not mere chance that brought personification into the music of the funeral, and there is little doubt that German composers were familiar with the concept of prosopopoeia in its theoretical and practical sense. Having obtained a solid linguistic foundation in the Lateinschulen, most of the composers in seventeenth-century Germany subsequently had studied either theology or jurisprudence at university, disciplines which required a complete mastery of rhetoric. No matter what rhetorical texts and literature were studied at the lower and upper levels of education, it is inconceivable that they would not have come to understand prosopopoeia as a rhetorical device. Especially as well-

\textsuperscript{37}H. Schütz, Gesammelte Briefe und Schriften, ed. by E. H. Müller (Regensburg, 1931), p. 383. Cited in S. Köhler, Heinrich Schütz: Anmerkungen zu Leben und Werk (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1985), p. 185. Schütz, after examining the work, wrote to Bernhard in Hamburg, saying, "Mein Sohn, er hat mir einen Grossen Gefallen erwiesen durch Übersendung der verlangten Motette. Ich weiss keine Note darin zu verbessern." (My son, you have [literally, he has] done me a great favour by sending the desired motet. I know of no note in it that could be improved upon.)

educated Lutherans, steeped in the classical rhetorical tradition of the German schools and universities, and eventually employed either by the Church or in an aristocratic chapel, they certainly would have been well-acquainted with the anthologies of funeral literature which were so popular throughout the seventeenth century, and they would have viewed funeral oratory with a critical eye for its rhetoric. It was also generally expected of composers as literary men to demonstrate some ability to write poetry for various occasions, which of course included funerals, and they would surely have read through the often lengthy sections of epicedia or funeral odes usually included in printed versions of the funeral sermons.

The epicedia were frequently written as a consolatory personification of the deceased, and sometimes bore the simple heading "Prosopopeia." Just how conscious were composers of the concept of prosopopeia can be seen in a single published work by Johann Kemp (Kempe, Kempius). In 1985 the author discovered three epicedia in the Gotha Forschungsbibliothek, FIII 34(5), two written by Constantin Christian Dedekind (1628-1715) and the third by Schütz's best-known pupil Christoph Bernhard (1627-88). The poems are found among other epicedia written on the occasion of the death of Dedekind's son, Stephan Christian, who died in 1672. The poems by Dedekind are nowhere mentioned in Fritz Hermann Stege's "Constantin Christian Dedekind: ein Dichter und Musiker des 17. Jahrhunderts," (Ph.D. diss., Friedrich-Wilhelm-Universität zu Berlin [Humboldt], 1922) which is still referred to by John H. Baron in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians as the authoritative list of Dedekind's poetic works. Neither is Stege able to identify any of Dedekind's children (p. 8). This finding, though inappropriate to discuss at length in this study, contributes to the biographical information on C. C. Dedekind, brings to light two poetic works by an important German poet of the seventeenth century, attests further to the close personal and artistic relationship that existed between Dedekind and his teacher Bernhard, and provides a literary work for consideration by Bernhard's biographers.

40 J. Kemp, 2. Moteten, Auff den trawrigen vnd Unverhofften Todes-
Kemp had been cantor in Wingzig in 1619 and became Hofcantor and imperial poet laureate in Güstrow around 1634. As court cantor, Kemp composed two motets on the death of Anna Maria, Duchess of Machlenburg, etc. Although neither of the motets, one for eight voices the other for six, is written in a manner which personifies the Duchess, the last page of the publication is a prosopopoeia poem written by Kemp:

**Prosopopoeia**

Qua pié defuncta Princeps Conjugem Illustrisimum & moestisimum alloquitur

ACH allerliebster Schatz / es mag zwar auff der Erden
Kein grösster Hertzens Schmertz jemals gefunden werden /
   Alls wann zwey Lieb / die stets gelebt in Freundigkeit /
   Zertrennet werden durch des Todes Grawsambkeit.
Drumb kan ich auch bey mir leicht schliessen vnd gedencken /
   Wie schmerzt: vnd bitterlich Euch mein Abschied muss kräncken /
   Jedoch weis Ich / dass Ihr mit dem geplagten Mann
   Hiob / des Höchsten Raht Euch werd gefallen lan.
Hat der nicht Macht / der Mich an Ewre Seit gegeben/
   Mich abzufodern / wann Er wil / ins Frewden Leben?
   Ihr wist ja wie meine Seel nach dem lieben GOTT /
   Bey dem ich nun auch bin / gedürst in meiner Noth.
   Betrawt Mich nicht / dass Ich bin von der bösen Erden /
   Sondern Euch / dass Ihr nicht habt solein mein Gleitsmann werden /
   Meins Leibes Pf'ände last Ewrn Trost vnd Frewde seyn /
   An welchen Ihr werd sehn vnd spühren die Tugend mein.
Nach trübem Wetter / vnd nach harten Donnerschlagen /
   Nach Blitz vnd Sturm / thut sich die liebe Sonn bewegen;
   Nach Frost vnd Kälte kompt der Lentz / nach Creutz vnd Leyd
   Frewd / nach trawren / lachen / vnd Fried kompt nach dem Streit.
Gesegn Euch Gott mein Schatz / vnd alle liebe Meinen!
Trawt Ihm in aller Noth / vnd lasset ja das weinen /


Ich komm nicht mehr zu Euch / zu Mir werdt kommen Ihr / An den Orth da lieblich Wesen ist für vnd für.

In Tempus Mortis

SERENISSIMAE PRINCIPI

Cronostichon

Nomina, Annum, Mensem & Diem felicissima migrationis complectens:

QVInta DIes FebrVI nostrates Verbere CoepIt:
Anna Maria pI§ VergIt In astra VIä.

Observ. & in Comm. hoc luctu declar. an. affect. gratiä fecit

JOHANNES KEMP IUS
P.L.C. & A.C.

Prosopopoeia

With what piety the dead Princess addresses her most illustrious and most tearful Husband

Alas sweetest treasure, there could be found it is true
On earth no greater heart ache,
Than when two loves, who continually lived in amity,
Become separated by death's cruelty.

For that reason, I too can easily sympathize and consider,
How painfully and bitterly my parting must wound you,
However, I know that you, with the tormented man
Job, submit yourself to the highest council.

Has He not the power that put me by your side,
to claim me, when He wishes, for the Life of Joy?
You know how my spirit thirsted in my need
For the beloved God, with Whom I too am now.

Mourn me not, that I am gone from the wicked world,
Rather yourself, that you could not have been my escort,
Let the forfeits of my body be your consolation and joy,
In which you can see and perceive my virtue,

After cloudy weather and after harsh peals of thunder,
After lightning and storm, the dear sun stirs itself;
After frost and cold comes spring, after affliction and grief
Joy, after sorrow laughter, and peace comes after conflict.

God bless you my treasure and all my loved ones!
Trust Him in need, and abandon the weeping,
I come no more to you, to me shall you come,
To the place where the lovely soul is forever and ever.

In Time of Death
of the Most Serene Princess
Chronostichon

Comprising the Names, Year, Month and most happy Day of migration

Fifth Day of February
Anna Maria PIA turns towards the path to the stars

Johann Kemp, Imperial Poet Laureate and Court Cantor, performed the service out of gratitude and, at a time of common grief, with a soul that was touched, made the exposition

Of the numerous authors of treatises on the Figurenlehre in the seventeenth century, the only one to address the term prosopopoeia in his writings was Athanasius Kircher, in Book V of his Musurgia Universalis (Rome, 1650). His application of the term, however, appears to be the result of a misunderstanding. In borrowing material from Joachim Thuringus's Opusculum bipartitum (Berlin, 1624) to incorporate in his own book, Kircher uses Thuringus's definition of the musical-rhetorical figure pathopoeia, which Thuringus calls parthopoeia [sic]. Confused perhaps by the irregular orthography, matters of transliteration, certain affective similarities between the actual


45 J. Thuringus, Opusculum bipartitum (Berlin, 1624), p. 126. "Quid est Parthopoeia? Est, quae dictiones affectuum, doloris, gaudii, timoris, risus, luctus, misericordiae, exultationis, tremoris, terroris, & similies ita ornat, ut tam Cantores quam auditores moveat." ("What is parthopoeia? It exists when the [musical] oration is ornamented by feelings of pain, joy, fear, laughter, lamentation, pity, exultation, dread, terror and similar affections of that type, so that it moves the singers as well as the listeners.") Cited in Bartel, op. cit., p. 235. Musical-rhetorical pathopoeia is generally understood as the semitonal movement of a melodic line outside the established harmony or scale in order to express such affections as sorrow, fear, and the like.
figures, or possibly a combination of these and other reasons, Kircher mistakenly applies the new label prosopopaeia [sic].

The musical-rhetorical figure which comes closest in meaning to the rhetorical prosopopoeia is hypotyposis. Joachim Burmeister is the first to use this term in its musical-poetical sense, and defines it in 1599 in his Hypomnematum musicae poeticae as "the interpretation of a text, whereby inanimate objects appear animate, placed before the eyes or described." He defines it a second time in 1606 in his Musica poetica:

Hypotyposis is that ornament whereby the meaning of the text is so described that these things, which are hidden in the text and do not have a spirit or life [i.e., inanimate], appear to be endowed with life. This ornament is most common among true artists. Would that the same were skillfully applied by all composers!

In musical rhetoric, hypotyposis most often serves as a general heading for a variety of related figures. The role of this group of figures was to suggest musically particular descriptive passages in the text as vividly as possible. Included among these taxonomical subtypes are fuga (Kircher), anabasis and catabasis (Kircher), and hyperbole and hypobole (Burmeister), to name a few. For instance, fuga consists of fast passages of short notes used to represent such actions as flight or

46 J. Burmeister, Hypomnematum musicae poeticae (Rostock, 1599), n.p. Cited in Bartel op. cit., p. 197. "...textus illa explicatio, qua quae έγνώρισται sunt, videantur ἐγνωρίσματα ad oculos statuta, vel deumbrata."


fleeing, while the ascending and descending scale passages which constitute anabasis and catabasis, respectively, were used to depict texts concerned with, say, heavenly ascent and infernal descent. (These two figures will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.) The names were principally devised by composers as a means of verbally identifying what are now commonly referred to simply as madrigalisms.

The relationship between rhetorical and musical-rhetorical hypotyposis is very close. The similarities can be readily seen by comparing Burmeister's first definition of the figure with the following definition of oratorical hypotyposis from the Rhetorica ad Herennium. The pseudo-Cicero defines the term in the following way:

The figure [hypotyposis] so explains things with words that we apprehend them as though before our eyes. We bring this about by describing what the thing has done, does and will do, the circumstances and consequences of its existence.49

The relationship between hypotyposis and prosopopoeia is also quite close, especially with respect to Burmeister's second definition. But the principal characteristic that differentiates the two is noteworthy. Essentially, the rhetorical purpose of both figures is to suggest the presence of someone or something that is not present. Whereas hypotyposis permits the orator to achieve this sense of presence through a vivid narrative portrayal, prosopopoeia is the actual personification of that person or thing, which demonstrates its own rhetorical presence through its ability to speak. We may thus continue thinking of these two figures as being fundamentally related, but we shall presently see that

musical-rhetorical prosopopoeia clearly transcends the category of madrigalisms.

Cantional-Style Compositions

The simplest application of prosopopoeia in funeral music can be readily seen in the newly composed and traditional hymns and chorales as represented in seventeenth-century cantionals. Compositions of this type, by far the most commonly performed at funerals, were sung either homophonically by the choir alone, or monophonically by the congregation with the harmonic support of the choir. Usually written for four (SATB) or five (SSATB) parts, these compositions are characterized by their syllabic settings of strophic texts in a simple homophonic style.

One of the most enduring and influential seventeenth-century collections of sacred music written in the cantional style was Johann Hermann Schein's Cantional oder Gesangbuch Augsburgischer Konfession. First published in Leipzig in 1627, Schein's collection enjoyed such popularity in Lutheran Germany that an expanded version of it was reissued in 1645 by Schein's successor at the Thomaskirche, Tobias Michael. The 1627 edition of the Cantional contains a proportionately large number of compositions (approximately a quarter of the total) which were composed specifically for, or were favourably suited to, performance at funerals. Under the heading "Bey Begräbnissen" (At

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Funerals) in the prefacing Kirchenordnung, seventy-one compositions are mentioned: five of them by name, forty-six under the subheading "Vom Tod vnd Sterben" ("Of Death and Dying," nos. 216-63), and twenty under the subheading "Psalm." Additionally, at least two other works from the Cantional served as funerary compositions, and are included under the heading "Am Tage Mariæ Reingiung" ("At Candlemas"): "Herr, nun lasst du deinen Diener" (no. 28) and "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" (no. 29). The 1645 edition of Schein's Cantional was supplemented with an additional twenty-two funerary works by Schein himself, as well as five by Tobias Michael. Because of Schein’s far-reaching musical and poetic influence on Lutheran church music in the seventeenth century, his Cantional will serve here to demonstrate the manner in which personification was applied to Baroque funerary compositions in

51 Schein, op. cit., pp. XV-XVI.

52 "In dich hab ich gehoffet Herr" (no. 151), "Wer Gott vertraut, hat wohl gebaut" (no. 187), "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein" (no. 188), "Wenn dich Ungluck tut greifen an" (nos. 196a-b), "Mag es denn je nicht anders sein" (no. 190).

53 The cantional settings of the versified Psalm texts are identified by reference to the Psalm itself rather than by location in the Cantional. Those settings in Schein's Cantional said to be suited to performance at funerals are: "Kehr dich, ach Herr, von deinem Zorn" (no. 139), "Herr, wie vergisst du mein so lang" (no. 143), "Herr, wer wird wohnn und sicher sein" (no. 145), "Der Herr der ist mein Hirt" (no. 148), "Ach Herr, nach dir verlanget mich" (no. 149), "Dich für dein Wohltat preise ich" (no. 150), "In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr" (no. 151), "Kein Sünd, hab ich mir fürgesetzt" (no. 153), "Ein müd und mattes Hirschelein" (no. 154), "Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott" (no. 157) and "O Herre Gott, begnade mich" (no. 158), "Wie lieblich sind die Wohnung dein" (no. 164), "Herr Gott, mein Heiland fromm" (no. 165), "Herr Gott, du unser Zuflucht bist" (no. 166), "O wie wohl ist dem immer doch" (no. 171), "Wohl mir, das ist mir lieb" (no. 172), "Ich heb mein Augen sehnhlich auf" (no. 174), "Wenn Gott der Herr Zion erlösen wird" (no. 178), "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir" (no. 181), "Ich schrei zu meinem lieben Gott" (no. 184), "Ach lob den Herrn, o Seele mein" (no. 185).
the cantional style.

Despite the inherent musical restrictions of these works, there is extensive use of personification in diverse ways by Schein. Works in which the deceased is personified account for the largest number of prosopopoeial compositions in the Cantional. While the music closely conforms to the so-called cantional style, the texts display considerable poetic imagination. Several of the pieces portray the deceased addressing God or Jesus (nos. 29, 216, 223, 289, 303). Though the deceased addresses his Saviour in these works, the texts are designed to depict the deceased's passing as an example of a proper Christian death. The deceased in these instances is made to petition the Lord, thereby allowing him or her to give expression to church doctrine regarding death, salvation, resurrection and eternal life. The congregation of mourners, made party to these petitions, is meant to find consolation in their sorrow and renewed confirmation in their faith in the Church.

Typical of these compositions, the following two verses taken from "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist" (no. 223) aptly demonstrate the didactic manner in which the personified deceased addresses the Lord.

4. Weil du vom Tod erstanden bist, 
   werd ich im Grab nicht bleiben; 
   mein höchstes Trost dein Auffahrt ist,
   Tods Furcht kann sie vertreiben.
   Denn wo du bist, da komm ich hin,
   dass ich stets bei dir leb und bin;
   drum fahr ich hin mit Freuden.

Because you are risen from the dead, 
I will not remain in the grave; 
Your ascent is my greatest comfort 
It can drive away fear of death. 
For where your are, there come I, 
That I might always live and be with You; 
Therefore I die with happiness.

54"Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" (no. 29), "Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o mein Herr" (no. 216), "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist" (no. 223), "Lass dir, o mein Herr Jesu Christ" (no. 289), "Machs mit mir, Gott, nach deiner Güt" (no. 303).
5. So fahr ich hin zu Jesu Christ, Thus I go to Jesus Christ, mein Arm tu ich ausstrecken, I reach out my hands, ich schlafe ein und ruhe fein, I go to sleep and quietly rest, kein Mensch kann mich aufwecken. No mortal can wake me.

Denn Jesu Christus Gottes Sohn For Jesus Christ, Son of God der wird die Himmelstür auftun, Will open heaven’s gate, uns führen zum ewigen Leben. And lead us to eternal life.

Elsewhere in the cantional, the deceased addresses the Lord as in the pieces just mentioned, but then also turns his attention towards the mourning congregation and family (nos. 224, 259, 288, 295) or specifically towards members of the family (no. 222). In these compositions, the personifying text consoles the congregation both vicariously through the deceased’s supplication to God, and immediately by directly addressing the mourners. A good example of this type of prosopopoeia is "Klagt mich nicht mehr, ihr lieben Leut" (no. 259), a work originally composed for the funeral in 1620 of a certain Katharina Pose. Mentioned in the Cantional as being suitable "For the Funeral of a Spouse," the text of the composition begins with the deceased addressing the congregation in verses 1-3, God in verse 4, the husband (alternatively the wife) in verses 5-6, the surviving children in verse 7, and the general assembly of mourners in verse 8. The text concludes with an invocation for the congregation to join in the singing of the

55"Hie lieg ich armes Würmelein und ruh" (no. 224), "Klagt mich nicht mehr, ihr lieben Leut" (no. 259), "Ach Herr, erzeige Gnade mir" (no. 288), "Christe Jesu, Gottes Sohn" (no. 295).

56"Herzlich tut mich verlangen" (no. 222).


58"Bey Begräbnis eines Ehegatten."
German Sanctus.

The deceased does not petition the Lord in all the hymns of Schein's Cantional. There are numerous instances where the deceased speaks directly to the congregation (nos. 235, 251, 254, 297)\(^{59}\) and others in which the deceased addresses the assembly of mourners, with special remarks directed towards the members of the surviving family (nos. 246, 247, 253, 255, 256).\(^{60}\) "Ihr lieben Trauerleut" (no. 297), for example, was composed by Schein in 1629 for the funeral of Johannes Elfeld, and was incorporated by Michael into the 1645 edition of the Cantional. In the course of the nine verses of text, the deceased informs the mourners that he was victorious in his spiritual battle and no longer desirous of the vain and transitory pleasures of a temporal existence. For these reasons, based as they are on his own experience, the animate Elfeld adjures the congregation to put an end to their mourning, admonishes them to keep their faith, and concludes his final address with a blessing and farewell:

8. So weint doch nun nicht mehr, So weep now no more,
euch bass besinnen Remember well
und gerne gönnet And happily grant
mir solche Freud und Ehr. Me such joy and honour.
Halt Gott nur still, ihr werd Abide by God, you will likewise
dergleichen Join me in a short time.
in kurzer Zeit mit mir erreichen.

9. Eia, Gott gsegne euch, Now, God bless you,
all mein Verwandte, All my family,
all mein Bekannte; All my friends;

\(^{59}\)"O Welt, ich muss dich lassen" (no. 235), "Ich hab mein Lauf vollendet" (no. 251), "In Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" (no. 254), "Ihr lieben Trauerleut" (no. 297).

\(^{60}\)"So fahr ich hin mit Freuden" (no. 246), "Seligkeit, Fried, Freud und Ruh" (no. 247), "Die Zeit nunmehr vorhanden ist" (no. 253), "Nun schied ich ab in Fröhlichkeit" (no. 255), "Mit Freuden fahr ich hin zu Gott" (no. 256).
ich bleib im Himmelreich. I remain in the heavenly kingdom.
O Gott, erhalte dein Wort Oh God, keep Your word here on
[allhie] auf Erden,
lass deine Feind zu Schanden let your enemies go to ruin. Amen.
werden. Amen.

It has been mentioned that the application of prosopopoeia and its effectiveness in cantional-style compositions were restricted to a purely textual level. With several of these compositions, however, Schein strove to impart as much as possible a perceived presence of the deceased. Some pieces, which originally had been composed for the funeral of a particular person, were thought by Schein to be better suited than others for performance at later funerals. For instance, "Die Zeit nunmehr vorhanden ist" (no. 253) and "Klagt mich nicht mehr, ihr lieben Leut" (no. 259) are identified as being especially appropriate "bey Begräbnis eines Ehegatten" because the personified deceased in each case addresses the surviving spouse and children. Similarly, "Nun schied ich ab in Fröhlichkeit" (no. 255) and "Mein Zeit nunmehr vorhanden ist" (no. 287) were recommended for performances "at the funeral of a minister" and the diminutive forms of words in "Hie lieg ich armes Würmelein" (no. 224) made that work most appropriate "at the funeral of small children." In "Mit Freuden fahr ich hin zu Gott" (no. 256), which was best suited for performance at the funeral of a school teacher, the text closes with the deceased blessing and admonishing his colleagues and students:

10. Mein liebste Herrn Kollegen all, My dearest colleagues all,
seid eurem Gott nur treu, Be true to your God,
er wirds vergelten gwiss einmal He will certainly reward you
mit Segen mancherlei. One day with many blessings.

61"bey Bestattung eines Seelsorgers."
62"bey dem Begräbnis der kleinen Kinderlein."
Und, o du zarte Jugend,
gwöh'n dich von Kindheit auf zu Gottesfurcht und Tugend,
folg nicht dem bösen Hauf.

And, Oh you tender youth
Accustom yourself from childhood on To virtue and fear of God,
Do not follow the wicked multitude.

11. Christ meinem Herrn ich nun befehl
die ganze Schul zusamm
und all darin mit Leib und Seel,
blüh't, wachst in Gottes Nam.
O allerliebste Kinder,
nehmt eure Zeit in Acht,
Gott macht eur Arbeit linder.
Hiermit zu Guter Nacht.

To Christ, my Lord, I now commend
The entire school together
And all therein with body and soul,
Blossom, and grow in God's name
Oh dearest children,
Be attentive of your time,
God makes your work easier.
With these words, good night.

Schein did not limit his application of prosopopoeia exclusively to the dead, for it is apparent in a number of the hymns that it is in fact the congregation that is personified. Most of the texts in these compositions are penitential in character, as in "Herr Jesu Christ, ich schrey zu dir" (no. 228), "Ach Gott und Herr" (no. 240), or "Mitten wir in Leben sind" (no. 239), which is actually a Kyrie trope. Others, including "Auf mein lieben Gott" (no. 226) and "Herr Jesu Christ, ich weiss gar wohl" (no. 227), are consolatory expressions of faith. One of the most frequently performed funerary pieces in the seventeenth century was "Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben" (no. 241), which served doubly as a means of consoling the mourners and of signalling both the removal of the body and the conclusion to the ceremony itself.

The rhetoric of personifying the congregation, if different in approach to animating the dead, was nonetheless an effective persuasive device. With these compositions, the poet/composer was able to employ the choir to personify the congregation. By abstractly representing a living congregation in this way, he was able to present to the congregation an eloquent Christian model worthy of emulation. On the other hand, these compositions could sometimes be sung by the real congrega-
tion, thereby personifying themselves, so to speak. The mourners in these circumstances were imbued with the spirit of an idealized congregation, collectively giving voice to personal sentiments which they in fact felt or should have felt. Needless to say, melded with these congregational expressions of penitence and consolation was no small amount of church doctrine; indeed, church doctrine was the very essence of these texts. Through the personification of the congregation in the cantional hymns, the mourners were persuaded to console themselves from within and one another from without, simultaneously reinforcing their faith in the Church.

Dialogue

Compositions in dialogue constitute a second major category of funeral music in which composers employed musical-rhetorical prosopopoeia. In literary rhetoric, dialogue has always been integral to the discussion of literary prosopopoeia. Quintilian's treatment of rhetorical dialogue is found together with the rest of his discussion of prosopopoeia, and is considered by him to be the Greek equivalent to the Latin sermocinatio. In the course of his discussion of personification, Quintilian describes dialogue as follows: "...or without sacrificing credibility we may introduce conversations between ourselves and others, or of others among themselves, and put words of advice, reproach, complaint, praise or pity into the mouths of appropriate persons." As examples of this type of personification,

63 *Institutio oratoria*, 9. 2. 31.
64 *Ibid.*, 9. 2. 30. "...et nostros cum aliis sermones et aliorum inter se credibiliter introducimus, et suadendo, obiurgando, querendo, laudando, miserando personas idoneas damus."
Quintilian refers the reader to the Socratic dialogues of Plato.\footnote{Ibid., 5. 7. 28.} In this respect it is of interest to note that, although Quintilian does not identify specific works by Plato, two of Plato's Socratic dialogues, namely the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedrus*,\footnote{See Plato, *Gorgias*, trans. by W. C. Helmbold (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1952) and *Phaedrus*, trans. by W. C. Helmbold and W. G. Rabinowitz (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Educational Publishing, 1956).} are in fact among the earliest extant rhetorical tracts.

Because of the great the flexibility of rhetorical dialogue, the approaches to it are virtually limitless, and occasionally, owing to many similarities and shared elements between the various approaches, the dividing lines between types of dialogue can easily become blurred.\footnote{See Lausberg, *op. cit.*, 1:409. The denotative and semantic problems of this type are also largely responsible for the many current terms used to identify the trope of personification.} At one end of the dialogic spectrum is actual dialogue in which the orator rhetorically evokes multiple real or fictitious speakers. In order to sustain a clear distinction between the personified characters, it is necessary for the speaker always to be mindful both of the character being personified and of the rhetorical situation into which the dialogue is introduced. Lausberg remarks that the vividness of the characters can be enhanced through the speaker's imitation of the stronger affections through such oratorical devices as pathopoeia.\footnote{Ibid., 1:408.} As a corollary to Lausberg's statement, it would naturally follow that greater distinction between personified characters

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would result from the orator's use of oppositive or antithetical affections. The other extreme form of dialogue is inner or meditative reflection, whereby one engages in a dialectical process of mentally posing and answering questions.  

Quintilian's view of oratorical dialogue was adopted by German rhetoricians in the seventeenth century. This is clearly demonstrated in the title to Meyfart's chapter on prosopopoeia in the Teutsche Rhetorica: "What the noble prosopopoeia is. Likewise, what dialogue is to the orators." To Meyfart's mind, dialogue is so closely related to prosopopoeia that he makes no attempt whatsoever in this chapter to discuss it independently. Judging from Meyfart's treatment of these devices, it would seem that, to him, dialogue was thought merely to be a multiple application of prosopopoeia. Dialogue was used throughout the Baroque as a didactic device which conveniently allowed the writer to present lucidly both sides of any argument. The study of the *ars colloquendi* was already evident early in the Protestant education systems through the dialogic *Colloquia* of Erasmus (1518) and the *Paedologia* of Petrus Moseallanus (1518), both works which were widely read throughout Protestant Germany in the seventeenth century. The *Progymnasmata latinitatis sive dialogi* (1588-94) by Jacobus Pontanus were still in use in Germany well into the eighteenth century, as were

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70 Meyfart, *op. cit.*, p. 387. "Was die Edle Prosopopoeia sey. Item was Dialogismus bey den Redernen sey."
the classical dialogues of Cicero and Terence.\textsuperscript{71} The educational relevance of rhetorical dialogue was still acknowledged in mid-eighteenth-century rhetoric manuals such as Carl Gotthelf Müller's \textit{Die Weisheit des Redners} (Jena, 1748).\textsuperscript{72}

The application of dialogue in funerary sermonic oratory of the Protestant Church dates back to none other than its founder -- Martin Luther. Luther recognized dialogue as a powerful rhetorical device, and though only two funeral sermons by Luther have come down to us -- both of them were written on the death of Johann I of Saxony in 1532 --, we are able nonetheless to see a good example of sermonic dialogue in the following excerpt:

\begin{quote}
But when some keep coming with the law and arguing: Now my dear, who knows whether God will consider you to be good? This is the dismal devil himself.... Therefore, it was a very good thing that happened with our prince, that he was not drawn into this dispute, otherwise the devil would doubtless have assailed him: Listen to me; how have you lived, how have you reigned? ...so that finally you...say: Devil, rage as much as you please, I do not boast of my good works and virtues before our Lord God at all.... Therefore, devil, begone with both my righteousness and my sin. If I have committed some sin, go eat the dung.\textsuperscript{73}
\end{quote}

\textit{Interrogatio}, or the rhetorical question, was also popularly used


\textsuperscript{73}M. Luther, \textit{Works}, 51:240-41. "Das man aber viel mit dem Gesetz komen wil und disputiren Lieber, wer weis, ob dich Gott auch für from halten wil? Das ist der leidige teuffel... Darumb ist unserm Fürsten recht wol geschehen, das er nicht jn die disputation komen ist, Der teuffel solt jn sonst wol angriffen haben: Hörest du, wie hast du gelebet, wie hast du regiret... das man doch endlich... sagen mus: Teuffel, sey so zornig du immer wilt, Ich rühme meine gute werck und tugent gar nicht für unserm Herr Gott... Darumb Teuffel, fare hin, beide mit meiner gerechtigkeit und sunde, Habe ich etwas gesundigt, so fris du den mist da von." (M. Luther, \textit{Werke}, 36:250 ff.)
in funeral sermons to introduce dialogue on a more abstract level. As mentioned above the rhetorical question is simply an abstraction of the dialogic process whereby the speaker provides both parts of the question-and-answer sequence, or puts forth a question which itself implies an obvious answer. As an aspect of dialogue, interrogatio has the potential for virtually endless variation, as shown below in three different examples taken from seventeenth-century funeral orations:

What can men do to one when the Lord is with him? asks the magnanimous King David. It is yet good to trust in the Lord and not to rely on men. It is yet good to trust in the Lord and not to rely on princes.74

... ...

Now what should I still add, ladies and gentlemen? Nothing but what we all knew already; I should only guess your thoughts and express your heart.75

... ...

But alas! Where did it go? and where did the ornament stay? Are art and science also annihilated by death? No, although the beloved maiden and her delicate body succumb, the beautiful resonance of her virtue nevertheless remains in the world.76


76 G. Neumark, Poetische Leichrede von der Sterblichkeit... der Freulein Wilhelminen=Eleonoren Herzoginn zu Sachsen (Jena, 1653), in Trauerreden, p. 98.
Dialogue and music had already enjoyed a long association with one another prior to the seventeenth century. As early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, dialogue was used in the composition of sacred tropes. The effectiveness of the musical dialogue, as well as the number of possibilities for employing it, increased substantially during the sixteenth century. This increase was due to the development of polychoral music for *chori spezzati*, as first heard in Venice and Florence in the works of Adrian Willaert and his followers.

The dialogue received renewed impetus in the early years of the Baroque with the development of *basso continuo* and the monodic style. With the aid of continuo accompaniment, it became possible in performances to distinguish clearly and easily between narrative and dialogic sections of polyphonic works: soloists could sing the sections of dialogue with the full harmonic support of the *basso continuo*, while the full choir could be employed to provide the narrative sections of the text.

The seventeenth-century musical dialogue in German church music was an essential forerunner of the eighteenth-century cantata as exemplified

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77 D. Nutter and J. Whenham, "Dialogue," in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (1980), 5; 417. See Lausberg, *Elemente der literarischen Rhetorik*, p. 120. Lausberg mentions the dialogic *jeu parti* and the *tenzone*, in addition to the *Lehrgespräch* and eclogue, in their strictly literary sense.
Musical dialogue is defined by Michael Praetorius in the *Syntagma musicum III* in 1619 as "a conversation, as when one answers the question put by another, or similarly when one alternates with another in chorus," and adds further to this definition that the Echo could also be included as an aspect of dialogue. The term is still current in the first third of the eighteenth century as seen in J. G. Walther's *Musikalisches Lexikon* in 1732:

Dialogue...is a composition of at least two voices, or as many instruments, which are heard alternately, and when they come together at the end, make a trio with the basso continuo; there are also compositions for 2, 3 and 4 choirs, which alternate conversationally. Organists also imitate those same exchanges on organs when they have more than one keyboard.

Most of the early influence on the Baroque development of the dialogue in Germany was exerted directly and indirectly by Italy. In addition to the music of Gabrieli and his school, an early seventeenth-century influence on the development of the dialogue in Germany was Ludovico

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78 For an extensive discussion of sacred dialogues in German music of the seventeenth century, see H.-O. Hudemann, "Die protestantische Dialogkomposition im 17. Jahrhundert" (Ph.D. diss., Kiel University, 1941).


Viadana’s widely disseminated Cento concerti ecclesiastici of 1602. Musical dialogue was readily accepted by German composers of the late sixteenth century for musical and textual reasons. Musically, it suggested a style that was well-suited to the tastes of Baroque Germany; sectional forms and contrastive features of madrigal and motet composition, which naturally lent themselves to setting textual dialogues, would have appealed to German composers. Textually, the dialogue, when employed in a sacred context as was often the case, was an extremely effective dialectical method of presenting Church dogma and stressing doctrinal points.

Dialogue was used in single compositions by composers such as Johann Hermann Schein in the sacred collection Opella Nova (Leipzig, 1626) and by Samuel Scheidt in "Kommt her, ihr besegneten" from the Neve geistliche Concerten (Halle, 1634) in which the conversation is held between the personified Christ (bass), the Elect (soprano and bass) and the Damned (tenor and bass). Other dialogues on sacred subjects between allegorical characters include Johann Erasmus Kindermann’s Des Erlösers Jesu Christi und sündigen Menschen heylsames Gespräch (Nuremberg, 1643),

81 Book I of Viadana’s Cento concerti ecclesiastici was published by Nikolaus Stein in Frankfurt-am-Main as early as 1609. The complete edition was later published by Stein (Frankfurt, 1620). Some of Viadana’s comments from the Cento concerti were translated by Michael Praetorius and included in Syntagma musicum III (Wolfenbüttel, 1618). The concertato style of Viadana was also quickly taken up by composers in Germany, first by Gregor Aichinger in his Cantiones ecclesiasticae trium et quatuor vocum...cum Basso Generali et Continuo in usum Organistarum (Dillingen, 1607) and by Adam Gumpeltzhamer in Book II of his Sacri concentus (Augsburg, 1614). See H. F. Redlich, "Early Baroque Church Music," in The Age of Humanism 1540-1630, The New Oxford History of Music, vol. 4, ed. by G. Abraham (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 536-37, 544-49.
Augustin Pfleger's *Dialog zwischen Adam, Eva und der Schlange* (Hamburg, 1661), and Kaspar Förster's *Congregantes Philistei: dialogi Davidis cum Philisteo* (Danzig?, 1667). Such was the popularity of the sacred dialogues in seventeenth-century Germany that collections of dialogic compositions began to appear around the middle of the century, beginning with Andreas Hammerschmidt's *Dialogi, oder Gespräche zwischen Gott und einer gläubigen Seele* (Dresden, 1645), followed by Johann Rudolf Ahle's *Geistliche Dialoge* (Erfurt, 1648), Hammerschmidt's *Musikalische Gespräch über die Evangelien* (Dresden, 1655/56), Wolfgang Caspar Briegel's *Evangelische Gespräche* (Gotha, 1660) and Christoph Bernhard's *Geistliche Harmonien* (Dresden, 1665). Among the noteworthy composers who also contributed significantly to dialogic works of this period are Johann Rosenmüller, Sebastian Knüpfer, Johann Philipp Krieger and Thomas Selle.  

There are two principal types of dialogue employed in seventeenth-century funeral music: one is strictly textual, the other both textual and musical. Compositions belonging to the first type are strophic works for chorus in which two or more persons, invariably including the deceased, are textually personified. A typical example of the application of this kind of choral dialogue can be found in a work by Severus Gastorius (1646-82) of Jena written for the funeral in 1679 of a certain Herr Wilken von Berglasen. (See Appendix, p. 198) We know for

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83 S. Gastorius, *Klag- und Trauer-Gespräch bey Leich-Begängnuss dess... Herrn Wilken von Berglasen... den 18. Augusti des 1679sten*
certain that the work is written as a dialogue between the mother and her dead son not because of the music, but because verses 1, 3, 5, 7 and 8 are labelled "Mutter" and each of the remaining verses bears the heading "Sohn." The music, printed in score format, is written in a simple, four-part (SATB) homphonic style with basso continuo and is used unchanged for each of the eight verses. The text, on the other hand, is a clear example of the approach to funerary dialogues of the Lutheran church in which the deceased and the mourners are represented. Because the text to Gastorius's composition is typical of this particular kind of dialogue, in both form and content, it will be of use to give it here in full and to comment briefly on it.

Mutter
0 Trauer=Fall! Der mich fast
gantz entseelet /
Ach! was empfind ich doch vor
bittern Schmertz!
Muss denn also mein Leben seyn
gequalet /
Und ängsten sich mein
Jammer=volles Hertz;
Mein Trost und Stab / mein
gantz Verlangen /
Ist durch den Tod dahin
gegangen.

Sohn
Was hör ich doch für Weh= und
Jammer=Klagen /
Dass mich der Tod entrissen
von der Welt /
Was wolt ihr Euch umb mich so
hefftig plagen /
Bedenckt / dass es dem
höchsten so gefällt /
Ich bin in Himmel auf-
genommen /

Mother
Oh death that all but kills me,
Alas! Yet what I feel of bitter pain!
Must my life then be thus tormented,
And my wretched heart be afraid;
My comfort and staff, my complete desire,
Has, through death, departed this life.

Son
What kind of lamentation and wailing do I hear,
That death tears me from the world,
Why torment yourselves so passionately for me,
Remember that it pleases the Most High,
I have been taken up into heaven,

Jahres... in einer Arie gesetzt (Jena: Johann Werther, 1679). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Slg. Her 0 238/5.
Zu allen Ausserweltlgen
Frommen.

Mutter
Ach wie so unverhofft wird nun
entzogen
Mir meine Lust und gantze
Zuversicht!
Es wallet mir mein Hertz wie
Meeres=Wogen /
Soll dieser Hintritt mich
betruben nicht?
Mein Hertz / ach Schmertz! ist
weg gerissen
Hat diese Welt verlassen
mussen.

Sohn
Die Welt leg ich durch diesen
Tritt Zurückke /
Und alles diss / was
Sterbliche betrübt /
Wer es bedenckt / missgönnt
mir nicht mein Glükke /
Wenn er mich noch für andern
hat geliebt;
Der Tausch ist gut / und noch
wohl getroffen /
Die Seele findet den Himmel
offen.

Mutter
Mein Geist thut nichts / als
stetig sehnlich klagen /
Ich steh gantz einsam und
verlassen hier /
Was soll ich thun / als
seuffzen / kläglich sagen:
Gefallen ist die Krone / meine
Zier;
Ach rinnet / fliesset meine
Zehren!
Weil niemand meinen Schmertz
kan wehren.

Sohn
Gehabt Euch wohl / und stillet
eure Thränen /
Ich bin ja wo man ewig sicher
bleibt /
Es ist umsonst all/ euer
sehnliches Sehnen /
Befriedget euch / und dieses
to all the elected pious.

Mother
Alas how unexpectedly now are
my joy and
all confidence stripped from
me!
It rocks my heart like ocean
waves,
Should not this departure
grieve me?
My heart, o grief! has been
torn away,
has had to leave this world.

Son
With this step, I lay aside
the world,
and all this that grieves
mortals,
Who bears it in mind does not
envy me my luck,
If he still loved me for
another;
The exchange is good and
opportune,
The soul finds heaven open.

Mother
My spirit does nothing but
constantly longingly lament,
I stand here completely alone
and abandoned,
What should I do but sigh
[and] piteously say:
Fallen is the crown, my
delight;
Alas, run, flow my tears!
Because no one can subdue my
pain.

Son
Farewell, and stay your tears,
I am where one stays safe
forever,
It is all in vain, your ardent
longing,
Be content, and believe this
feste glaubt:
Die / so in Christo seelig
sterben /
Die können nimmermehr
verderben.

Mutter
So ruht denn wohl ihr
eingesenkten Beine /
Biss der Erlöser euch aus
schwarzer Gruft /
Am jünnsten Tag zur himmlischen
Gemeine /
In seine Himmels=Burg zu sich
beruft:
Wo Jesus selbst die
Himmels=Sonne /
Bestrahlt die Frommen stets
mit Wonne.

Die Seele leb' in ungekränkten
Freuden /
Sie ist von aller Angst und
Schmerzen loss /
Sie fühlt nicht / was wir
noch müssen leiden /
Sie ruhet sanfft bey Gott in
Abrams=Schoss:
Wir wollen einst nach diesen
Leben /
Ihr ewig da Gesellschaft
gehen.

firmly:
Those who die blessedly in
Christ
Can never perish.

Mother
So then, sleep well you sunken
bones,
Until the Redeemer on
Judgement Day
Calls you from the black crypt
to the heavenly community,
To him in his heavenly citadel

Where Jesus himself, the
heavenly sun,
Constantly shines with bliss
upon the pious.

The soul lives in undiminished
joy,
It is free of all fear and
sorrow,
It does not feel what we must
still suffer,
It rests in peace with God in
the lap of Abraham:
One day after this life, we
will
Be its company there for
eternity.

At the beginning of the composition, the grieving mother laments
the loss of her son. Through the text ascribed to the personified son
in verses 2, 4 and 6, the mother is consoled through her son's
assurances that his death was God's will and that his soul was in
heaven. Unable as a Christian to refute theological or doctrinal argu-
ments of this type, the personified mother of the dialogue accordingly
abandons her sorrow and accepts consolation in the knowledge that her
son has achieved salvation and eternal life. In the performance of this
work at the funeral, the real mourners would be expected to associate
themselves with the personified mother of the dialogue and would
correspondingly be affected by the solace offered by these arguments.

The number of personified characters represented in dialogues of this type is not restricted, as can be seen in Adam Krieger's *Trauer-Gesprächs-Ode* which was performed after the sermon at the funeral of a Frau Dietzschin.⁸⁴ Here, the first two verses are written as the "Klage des Wittibers" (lament of the widower) in which the personified husband of the deceased calls upon his parents for comfort. The text of verses 3 and 4 is attributed to the "Eltern" (parents) as they, in their ineffectual worldly capacity, attempt to console their son. The voice of the personified wife, identified in the composition as "Die Selig-Verstorbene" (the blessed deceased), appears in the fifth verse and addresses her grief-stricken husband. Subsequently identified in the text simply as the "Wittiber" (the suggestion of lamentation having been notably removed), the widower bids his wife "gute Nacht", acknowledging that despair in the presence of death is purposeless and that death is but a necessary step towards the attainment of eternal life.

Composers were able to highlight the greater distinction between personified characters of dialogic funeral music by employing either real or implied polychoral effects. Although the persons depicted in the music were still represented chorally by several voices, the application of opposing bodies of sound was a more effective means of suggesting multiple characters than the chorus alone in cantional-like works, where persons were only textually identified. As an example of

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this type of composition, one can cite "Ach Gott wie ist mein Hertz betrübt" composed by the Eisenach cantor Theodor Schuchardt (1601-77) in 1656 for the funeral of Johann Heinrich Weisse, who died at twenty-two weeks of age.\textsuperscript{85} (See Appendix, pp. 199-200) In this work for two four-voice choirs, the \textit{chorus primus} identified as the "Quereus" represents the father, and the \textit{chorus secundus} called the "Respondens" personifies the infant son. Schuchardt appropriately assigns the text of the father to the first choir comprised of lower voices (ATTB), and the text of the responding son is given to a choir of higher voices (SSAB). Throughout this work, the two choirs perform in alternation. The bereft "father" laments his loss, while the "son" comforts his father with church doctrine and furthermore chastises him for the value vainly placed on worldly things. Following the sixth verse is an additional musical section labelled "Conclusio" which is derived musically from the material of the \textit{chorus secundus}. In the \textit{Conclusio} the two choirs alternate at much shorter intervals, with the cadence of each textual and musical clause of the \textit{chorus secundus} being quietly echoed by \textit{chorus primus}. We can see, at this point, the father gradually moving towards rhetorical assent with the son. Instead of textually and musically contesting the point with his personified son, the father begins to echo his words and music. Assent is ultimately achieved in this work as the personified father and son are united textually ("wenn

\textsuperscript{85}T. Schuchardt, \textit{Christliches Gespräch eines betrübten Vaters mit seinem abgeleibten Söhnllein. Auff den... Hintritt... Johann-Henrici, des... Herrn M. Johannis Weissen... Söhnieins Welchens... anno 1656... entschlaffen. Mit 8. Stimmen zu 2 unterschiedenen Choren gesetzt} (Gotha: Johann Michael Schall, 1656). Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 2 in Ee 700-3882.
wir zusammen kommen”) and musically when, for the first time in the composition, the two choirs join forces and there is a change from duple to a joyful triple metre.

Similar in approach to Schuchardt’s composition, the Quedlinburger Michael Wagner’s polyphonic “Ach! Ach! wie wird mein Herz” goes further still in its attempt accurately to personify the late Frau Hedwig née Busche, who died 11 September 1671 and was buried 29 December. Wagner’s composition is written for a five-part choir (SATTB) which, according to the composer’s instructions, could be effectively performed by two or even three choirs. As it exists in the score, Wagner has the piece arranged for two choirs. The chorus primus is made up of alto, first and second tenor, and bass voices, the cantus part bearing Wagner’s instructions: "Tacet h. V. usq; ad Vers. 6." The chorus primus, presumably representing the disconsolate husband, performs the first two verses of the text in which the death of the woman is mourned. The comforting text of verses 3 and 4, sung by the chorus secundus, is intended to represent the deceased woman offering solace to her husband. Although the music is performed chorally, Wagner

comes closer to lending feminine characteristics to his personification of the dead woman by adding the Cantus voice to the choir and furthermore draws the performers' attention to the importance of this part by labelling it as the "vox principalis." Verses 5 through 7 are once again sung by the chorus primus with the tacit soprano part. The lamentation, this time representing the entire family of mourners, continues in these verses. We see in these verses where the multiple choirs could possibly have been employed: Wagner simultaneously uses three different texts the better to represent the mourning husband, children, and brothers and sisters as they address the deceased:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Der grimme Tod hat sich gerochen} \\
\text{unser Mutter} \\
\text{Und meiner liebste Hertz gebrochen.} \\
\text{unser Schwester}
\end{align*}
\]

As the mourners are eventually persuaded by the deceased to replace their sadness with joy, the music and text undergo a change from duple to triple metre. The composition concludes with the two choirs joining forces as the various personified figures sing first to one another in verse 11, and finally in a collective supplication to Jesus at the end of verse 12:

\[
\begin{align*}
11. \text{Ach} \quad \text{wäreten} / \text{ach} \quad \text{wäreten wir alle zugleich} / \\
\text{In JEsus versüssetem himlischen Reiche.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
12. \text{Hilff JEsu dass aller} \quad \text{sie zugleich} / \\
\text{Bald komen zum ewigen himlischen Reiche.}
\end{align*}
\]

In 1651 Simon Brancovius, cantor in Raniss, composed a polychoral composition for nine voices and basso continuo on the death of Frau Agna
Elisabeth von Breitenbauch. The composer points out on the title page of the work that the work was written "... for two choirs, as if the Most Noble deeply distressed Herr von Breitenbauch in the first choir, in the second however the Most Noble Frau von Breitenbauch, on parting, as it were, thus spoke...." Representing the widower, the first choir is written for Alto, Tenor and Bass voices with accompanying basso continuo. The second portraying the dead Lady is made up of Soprano I and II, Alto, Tenor, Bass and basso continuo. Appropriate to a realistic if abstract musical depiction of the widowed husband and the deceased wife, the two choirs emphasize, respectively, the lower and higher voice types.

Brancovius did compose a soprano part for the chorus secundus and comments on it at the beginning of the part book as follow:

The first choir, when it alternates with the second choir, always proceeds without the Discant. At the end, however, the following Discant is added to it, and not without special Effect; for such a


88"... uff zwey Chor / als wenn im ersten Chor der Hoch Adel. hochbetrübte Herr von Breitenbauch / Im andern aber die H. Adl. Fraw von Breitenbauch zum Abschiede gleichsam also redeten...."
Discant can also represent, as it were, in addition to the Most Noble Lord of Breitenbauch, other attending Most Noble mourners...

The composer goes further to say that, in order to keep the sopranos of the chorus primus from becoming bored because of the long period of silence, he included the full text of the work for them that they might at least follow along. As each of the personifying choirs enters, the text bears such headings as "The Most Noble Lord of Breitenbauch speaks here...," which is followed by "The Most Noble, now blessedly disembodied Lady of Breitenbauch thus responds, so to speak, to her... distressed widower in the following way...." In the second entrance of the chorus secundus, the personified woman "renounces this transitory world," and concludes with a "Valediction to the gathering of Most Noble friends." The work concludes with the two choirs addressing a petition to God.

The next work to be discussed is the second of two works written in 1672 by Nuremberg organist Heinrich Schwemmer for the funeral of Amalia, Herrin von Stubenberg. (See Appendix, pp. 215-22) The deceased woman


90Ibid. "Der Hoch Adel. Herr von Breutenbauch redet hier...."

91Ibid. "Die Hoch adeliche numehr seel. abgeleibte Fr. von Breuttenbauchin / respondiret gleichsamb Ihrem... betrübten Herren Witber / nachfolgender massen also...."

92"...vernichtet diese vergangliche Welt,..."

93"...Valediction an die sämtliche Hoch Adel. Freundschaft."
is personified in this composition in a manner which approaches a more accurate and vivid representation of the deceased than seen in the previously mentioned works. The work begins with a five-part "sonata" for four viole da braccia and basso continuo, which in fact functions throughout the work as a unifying instrumental ritornello. The members of the congregation are represented in this work by the alto, tenor and bass voices, lamenting the loss of their beloved Amalia. Following the three-part choir’s first four lines of text and a brief instrumental interlude, the soprano enters in a clear personification of the deceased woman, singing comfortingly to the accompaniment of the instrumental ensemble. Whether Schwemmer intended this prosopopoeial text to be sung by one or several sopranos cannot be ascertained from the music, but there can be no doubt that the composer intended to invest the text with musical qualities which would most closely correspond to the voice of a living Amalia.

Whereas Schwemmer’s application of musical-rhetorical prosopopoeia fittingly depicted the voices of the congregation of mourners and the deceased, Kaspar Förkelrath, organist at St Marien in Flensburg, set music to an allegorical dialogue in a work composed in 1671 for the funeral of Sibyl a Ursula, Duchess of Brunswick, Lüneburg, etc. (See


95K. Förkelrath, Christliches Sterb-Lied... der... Sibyllae Ursulae... verfasset von Heningo Petersen... und Anno 1672 den 6. Febr. gesungen und musiciret (Hamburg: Georg Rebenlein, 1672). Wolfenbüttel,
Appendix, pp. 223-26) The dialogue takes place between Jesus, "Die siegende Seele" (the victorious soul) -- i.e., the late Sibylla Ursula -- and a third group identified as "Der Engel Chor" (the choir of angels). More so than in the previously mentioned composition, the application of prosopopoeia in Förkelrath's composition represents as closely as possible the actual voice-types of all the characters being personified. The part of Jesus, as was customary, is sung by a bass, the voice of the woman's soul is assigned to a soprano, and the angelic choir is given to a four-part chorus (SATB). In the course of the composition, Jesus offers entry into heaven to the deceased woman. Upon her acceptance of the offer, the metre of the music changes from duple to triple, and the angelic choir enters welcoming the victorious spirit into heaven.

The overall design of this funeral composition by Förkelrath differs considerably from that of the other dialogic works mentioned thus far. First, the characters represented in the music are wholly allegorical, that is, a personification of the mourners is noticeably absent. Secondly, as a consequence to this, the tenor of the text had necessarily to assume a quite different literary direction. Förkelrath's composition is in fact a musical representation or magnification of the text upon which the subsequent funeral sermon was based (Revelations 3:5).96 What the congregation heard was a most persuasive,  

Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Gn. 4° 1592 (2).  

96 In the description of the funeral ceremony at the beginning of the published Leichenpredigt of 1672, the unidentified author writes that Förkelrath's music was performed, followed by the singing of the Duchess's beloved "Herr Jesu Christ wahr Mensch und Gott," and the
almost dramatic realization of a narrative biblical text -- an exemplary case of a composer exploiting the Augenkultur of the period.

The texts of the dialogic compositions are clearly didactic in nature, comparable in their intent to the principles voiced in Baroque funeral sermons. Christoph Weissenborn states near the beginning of his Politischer Leich¬Redner of 1707 that the purpose of the Abdankung, a type of funerary oratory, was to praise the deceased (Lob, laudatio), to lament the death of the deceased (Klage, lamentatio), to console the mourners (Trost, consolatio), and to thank the congregation for attending the service (Danksagung, gratiarum actio). 97 Honouring the deceased and lamenting his or her death are in effect the same act, 98 and thanking the congregation for their attendance is a matter more of formality than of necessity. Thus, we are able to see that the two basic elements of dialogic funeral music and sermonic oratory are essentially the same: lamentation and consolation. Through prosopopeial dialogues the mourners, in one sense, are given a direct line of communication with the hereafter in that they, the living, are personally addressed by the dead. At the beginning of the dialogic compositions, the personified mourners give voice in music

sermon. Ibid., p. 4.

97C. Weissenborn, Politischer Leich¬Redner welcher die practicabelsten Kunst¬Regeln von der Invention, Disposition und Elocution derer nach der heutigen Mode eingerichteten Abdankungen bey öffentlichen Trauer¬Solennien zur Beförderung feiner Oratorischen Collegiorum durch deutliche Exempel erleutert (Jena: Heinrich Christoph Cröker, 1707), p. 6.

to emotions which would reflect the emotional state of the real mourners. In the course of the composition, like a funeral sermon reduced to its essence, the soul persuades the survivors to abandon their sorrow and to replace it with joy in the knowledge that the deceased, according to his or her personal testimony, was safely and happily in heaven. It was hoped by the composers of the text and music that the individual and collective mourners in this way — and a more persuasive method can scarcely be imagined — would allow themselves to feel vicariously consoled.

Solo Arias

A third type of funeral music in which prosopopoeia was employed is the solo aria. Compositions of this type were most frequently written for solo voice with basso continuo accompaniment, less frequently for solo voice with an accompanying instrumental ensemble.

There are several possible approaches to prosopopoeial settings of this type. The first is characterized by the representation of one of the mourners. One example in which one of the mourners is personified is the second of two works for Cantus and continuo written by Heinrich Schwemmer for the funeral of Johann Sigmund Haller von Hallerstein in 1670. 99 (See Appendix, p. 227) In this composition, "Nun ist alles überstanden," which was performed directly after the funeral sermon, the text was sung as a personification of Haller's son. The consolatory tone of the text is much the same as that of other works that have been

examined: the son bids the deceased farewell thereby providing the
congregation with words of consolation. Because we are given no
indication as to the age of the son, it is impossible to know exactly
what degree of realism Schwemmer has hoped to achieve in this setting:
if Haller's son portrayed in the work was still a young child at the
time of Johann Sigmund's death, Schwemmer's choice of a soprano voice
would have contributed to the accuracy of the representation; if not,
the effectiveness of the prosopopoeia would have been limited to the
elements of number and text.

A similar application of personification in another work by Schwem­
mer is an aria from 1661 for the funeral of Maria Magdalena Winckler.100
(See Appendix, p. 228) Written for soprano, viol consort and basso
continuo, the composition begins with a brief instrumental introduction
followed by the entry of the soprano. The eleven verses of text,
beginning "Hie lieg ich überhäufft mit Schmertzen," characteristically
display the gradual affective change in the mourner from lamentation to
consolation. As in the case of Schwemmer's "Nun ist alles überstanden,"
it is not possible to determine whether or not he was attempting to
infuse into the work a greater sense of realism by selecting a high
voice. Since the personifying voice part is not ascribed to any person
in particular, acting rather as a kind of abstraction of a single or
even of a group of mourners, the rhetorical effect of the prosopopoeia

100 H. Schwemmer, Text-Lied über den seligsten Hintritt und bey
Christlicher Bestattung der Edlen und Tugendreichsten Frauen Marien=Mag-
dalenen / gebornen PELLERINNEN / Des Edlen und Vesten Junckherrn Bene-
dict Winckler... Eh=Schatzes... (Leipzig: C. Michael, 1661). Nuremberg,
Stadtbibliothek, Will II 1208.4°.
is not diminished.

Although the personification of mourners in the solo aria was a common and persuasive application of musical-rhetorical prosopopoeia, the representation of the deceased was more frequently employed. As in solo arias where a mourner was depicted, there are two possible means of personifying the deceased. The first is characterized by compositions in which the deceased is personified textually by a solo singer, but where the quality of voice does not correspond to that of the deceased -- for example, a soprano or alto voice incorporated to personify an adult male. One example of this kind of prosopopoeia is found in a work by Gottfried Ernst Brechthold, the school rector in Neustadt.\(^{101}\) (See Appendix, p. 229) The aria was written for the funeral of Brechthold's father in 1668. We know from the title of the work that it was in fact written as a personification of Brechthold's father as he "takes his leave of this world from his remaining wife and children, and thus addresses them from the grave."\(^{102}\) Appended to the end of the nine verses of text is a short note in which the composer informs the reader that he portrayed his father in this work as a way of offering consolation both to himself and to the grieving family. Although this composition for solo voice and (unfigured) basso continuo is a clear example of musical-rhetorical prosopopoeia, the composer, for some reason, chose to

\(^{101}\) G. E. Brechthold, Trauer=Musica, Der Selig=verstorbene H. Johann Brechthold von seinem hinter=lassenen Eheweib und Kindern den Abschied aus dieser Welt nimmet / und sie gleichsam aus dem Grabe also anredet (Coburg: Johann Conrad Mönch, 1668). Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, RII 10(32).

\(^{102}\) Ibid. "...von seinem hinter=lassenen Eheweib und Kindern den Abschied aus dieser Welt nimmet / und sie gleichsam aus dem Grabe also anredet."
write the vocal line for a soprano voice. Why would Brechthold deliberately portray his father with a soprano voice? Perhaps there was no available adult male at the time to sing the aria, or perhaps finding a voice to correspond to that of the deceased was not an important consideration for the composer. A third and plausible performance alternative is that the vocal line, though written for soprano voice, could have been sung comfortably an octave lower by a tenor voice. While this latter alternative may not have been the case at all, it would certainly make musical and rhetorical sense, and such a proposition can be further supported by historical evidence, as we shall now see.

In the same year that Brechthold published his composition, 1668, another composer, identified in the print only by the initials I. F., wrote a solo aria for the funeral of Dr Johann Valentin Majer of Crailsheim.103 (See Appendix, p. 229) As was Brechthold’s composition, "Ich habe das Thränenthal der Welt" is ostensibly written for soprano voice and basso continuo. It is noted in the piece by I. F., however, that the vocal line could be performed by "Cantus sive Tenor solus." One would expect a tenor voice to have sung the prosopopoelia text if the musicians in this performance sought to portray realistically the deceased physician as an animate spirit. Assuming that the composition by I. F. is not anomalous for that time — indeed, it is typical of

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vocal and instrumental substitution as practised in the Baroque -- it would be reasonable to assume that this alternative performance possibility was likewise available to the performers of Brechthold's work and to other works of this type in the seventeenth century.

German composers of funeral music generally appeared to be mindful of the sex of the deceased when setting solo vocal music to prosopo-poetical texts. The late Anthonius Schott, for instance, is personified in an anonymously written funeral composition from 1684 entitled "Nimm mein Jesu meine Wonne."\(^{104}\) (See Appendix, p. 230) The composition was originally written for tenor voice, a consort of three viols (the string parts are lost) and basso continuo. In the course of the eight verses, the personified Schott first petitions Jesus and then bids the temporal world a final farewell. A second example of the funerary solo aria in which the voice of the deceased is accurately represented can be found in Heinrich Albert's *Siebender Theil der Arien*, an anthology of occasional music published in 1648.\(^{105}\) One of the arias in this collection, "Gedenkt wie mich der Tod" (no. 81), written for soprano and basso continuo, is identified as the "Letzer rede Einer vormals stoltzen und

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Characteristic of Albert in many of these compositions, the aria is written more in a spirit of admonition than of consolation, as can be seen in the opening lines:

Gedenkt wie mich der Tod.
So scheusslich hat gemacht
Ich tanze nur vor an
ihr werdet folgen müssen.

Consider how hideous
death has made me
I only lead off the dance
you will have to follow.

Interestingly, on the word "tanze," there is a change in the score from duple to triple metre in a rare musical reference in Baroque funer
al music to the Totentanz.107

Hans Joachim Moser, in his biography of Heinrich Schütz, writes that Albert's prosopopoeial compositions of the more graphic type "were often in rather bad taste"108 -- possibly in reference to such arias as Albert's setting of Robert Roberthin's "Wie lieg ich hier!", no. 32 in the Siebender Theil der Arien. This composition, presumably of funerary origin, is described as the "Rede einer verstorbenen Jungfrau auss dem

106Ibid. "...last address of a once proud and now dead maiden."
107See R. Hammerstein. Tanz und Musik des Todes: die mittelalter
lchen Totentänze und ihr Nachleben (Bern und Munich: Francke Verlag, 1980). Although Hammerstein has rather little to say about the Toten
tanz in the seventeenth century, he does mention that references in funeral sermons to the dance were common (p. 14), and that, generally speaking, the Totentanz was most often depicted musically through triple metre (p. 49).
Grabe," in which the personified corpse becomes a decaying but animate haven for worms. In these instances at least, van Ingen demonstrates greater sympathy than Moser for the world view of Protestant Germans in the seventeenth century: for the Baroque poet, the theological ends, in this case effective admonition, justified the poetic means:

But that is exactly what the poets wanted to achieve! In order to work at any cost, no method was too crass, no place too vile. The Baroque helped itself to all things, animate as well as inanimate, to explain them emblematically. Therefore, man must suffer at every stage of his life. For the Memento mori, he becomes all the more useful as a dying or dead man: his final hours, his final resting place and his decaying, putrefied body provide this genre with the most effective means of intensification.... He paid no attention to taboos; also, he was probably unaware of any. 109

In the same way that graphic extremes pervaded much of the prosopopoel funerary literature in the seventeenth century, composers, too, used every artistic means at their disposal to portray as vividly as possible the animate presence of the deceased.

Physical Personification of the Dead

The last type of musical-rhetorical prosopopoeloeia to be considered here is characterized by textual personification of the deceased, by representation of the deceased by a solo voice, and by an added physical dimension through the spatial displacement of the personifying voices.

109 "Address of a dead maiden from the grave."

110 Van Ingen, op. cit., p. 299. "Aber das wollten die Dichter gerade erreichen! Um zu wirken um jeden Preis, war kein Mittel zu krass, kein Ort zu garstig. Das Barocke bediente sich aller Dinge, lebendiger wie lebloser, sie sinnbildlich auszudeuten. Dazu muss auch der Mensch, auf allen Stufen seines Lebens, herhalten. Für das Memento mori wird er erst recht als Sterbender oder als Toter brauchbar: Seine letzten Stunden, seine letzte Ruhestätte und sein zerfallener, verfaulter Körper führen dieser Gattung die effektreichsten Steigerungsmittel zu.... Um Tabus kümmerte er sich nicht; er kannte sie wohl auch nicht."

105
The two works to be examined here are Heinrich Schütz's *Musikalische Exequien* (SWV 279-81) of 1635 and three funerary compositions written in 1693 by Michael Wiedemann.

The *Musikalische Exequien* of Heinrich Schütz represents one of the most striking instances of musical-rhetorical prosopopoeia. The circumstances surrounding the occasion for the *Musikalische Exequien* are often recounted, and the work itself has been the subject of considerable musicological scrutiny. Count Heinrich II von Reuss (named Posthumus because he was born three months after his father's death), Sovereign over Plauen, Gretz, Cranichfeld, Gera, Schleiz, Lobenstein, etc., was born 6 July 1572. He was an educated man (having studied rhetoric in Strasbourg) and able ruler, well travelled, diplomatically

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skilled, and socially adroit. A generous patron of the church, education and the arts, he himself was a proficient instrumentalist and singer capable of singing "the bass in many fine motets and anthems." Heinrich Posthumus’s love of music was such that even his servant’s were hired primarily for their musical qualities and only secondarily for their domestic skills. Though an aristocrat, he did not hesitate to cross several class barriers to partake in music-making with lowly Musikanten, and would act at times as Capellmeister, to use his own term, during church services at the court chapel. As regards the latter, Christoph Richter mentions in the obsequies for Heinrich Posthumus that "it was a particular source of joy to His Grace when everything went smoothly and in an orderly fashion in the church.


113 Graulich, op. cit., pp. viii, xxv (trans. of Graulich’s preface by Derek McCulloch). "...vielen künstlichen anmutigen Motetten und Concerten den Bass...."

114 Ibid.

115 Schütz praises this aspect of Heinrich Posthumus’s character in the elegy which prefaces the published version of the Musikalische Exequien of 1636. According to the "Kursächsische Landeskleiderordnung" of 1612, the aristocracy belonged to the first class, whereas court Musikanten were designated as members of the fifth class. See D. Krickeberg, Das protestantische Kantorat im 17. Jahrhundert: Studien zum Amt des deutschen Kantors, Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, ed. by A. Adrio, vol. 6 (Berlin: Verlag Merseburger, 1965), pp. 79-80; and Köhler, op. cit., p. 45.

116 C. Richter, Gott vber alles. Das ist: Frommer Christen liebster Schatz... Bey des Weyland Hochwolgeboren Herrn / Herrn Heinrich dess Jüngern... Leich Predigt... gezeigt (Gera, [1636]). Cited in Graulich, op. cit., p. ix, xxv (trans.).
and at services."  

Because Schütz was born in Köstritz in the area of Gera, he was by birth a subject of the Reuss family. He enjoyed a long-standing personal and professional relationship with Heinrich Posthumus, which spanned some twenty years up to the Count's death in 1635. During that period, Schütz had cause to meet with Heinrich Posthumus on numerous occasions, their first documented encounter taking place as early as 1617, when Schütz was entrusted with the reorganization of the musical affairs in the court, school and town of Gera.  

As did all conscientious Protestants in seventeenth-century Germany, Heinrich Posthumus spent time in private contemplation and spiritual preparation for death. Nor did he neglect the material preparations: he chose the texts for the three funeral and burial sermons, selected assorted chorales to be sung during the services, and had an active hand in the recording of his curriculum vitae which was read at the funeral. Part of these preparations also included the

117 Ibid., "Eine Wunder-hertzliche Freud war es Ihr Gn. wann es alles in der Kirchen vnd beym Gottesdienst / fein ordentlich vnd zierlich / vnd also zugieng."

118 The actual ties between the Schütz and Reuss families date back at least another two years, at which time Schütz's brother, Georg, was installed as tutor to Heinrich Posthumus's sons. See H. R. Jung, "Ein neuaufgefundenes Gutachten von Heinrich Schütz aus dem Jahre 1617," Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 18 (1961): 241-47; and Jung, "Ein unbekanntes Gutachten," op. cit. For additional information on Schütz's personal and familial ties to Gera, see E. P. Kretschmar, "Schütz in Gera," in Festschrift zur Ehrung von Heinrich Schütz, ed. by G. Kraft (Weimar: Buchdruckerei Uschmann, 1954), pp. 57-60.

119 Moser, op. cit., p. 156.

120 Graulich, op. cit., p. viii. (Mention of the "Lebenslauf" is omitted by McCulloch from the English translation.)
clandestine construction of a copper coffin,\textsuperscript{121} which he then had painted and engraved -- the four sides and top of the lid, and the two sides of the case -- with a selection of biblical and chorale verses of his choice. Although the coffin had been prepared a year in advance of his death, its existence was kept secret by Heinrich Posthumus until just a few days before he died.\textsuperscript{122} The inscribed verses were in turn used variously in the sermons and also served as the texts to which Schütz set the music. The texts were employed in such a manner as to give a sense of cohesion to all aspects of the ceremony: for instance, the text from Psalm 73:25-26, "HErr / wenn ich nur dich habe / so frag ich nichts nach Himmel vnd Erden," which was engraved on the upper right-hand side of the coffin, served as the biblical text for the sermon at the burial service on 4 February 1636, was quoted by Schütz in the first section of the Musikalische Exequien (Concert in Form einer teutschen Begräbnis-Missa) performed before the sermon, and was the text for the eight-voice motet (SWV 280) which was performed immediately following the sermon.

Conflicting reports exist as to who commissioned the music of the Musikalische Exequien and when it was actually written. Appended to Richter's sermon is a listing of the scriptural verses and hymn texts which had been chosen for the decoration of Heinrich Posthumus's coffin, and the title of the appendix says in part:

these, also at the behest of of Their Most Noble Graces, Her Lady-

\textsuperscript{121}But see Gregor-Dellin, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 216. Gregor-Dellin suggests that the coffin was made of pewter, contrary to Christoph Richter's statement in the \textit{Leichenpredigt}.

\textsuperscript{122}C. Richter, Cited in Graulich, \textit{op. cit.}, p. ix.
ship the Countess Widow and her two sons, were set to music and sung by the choir to the organ before the Sermon at the solemn burial service....

On the other hand, on the title page of the published version of the *Musikalische Exequien* Schütz writes that the work was "...sung for His late Grace, at repeated request during his lifetime to a discreetly registrated organ." In this case it is most tempting to take Schütz at his word. First of all, Schütz already had been taken into the confidence of Heinrich Posthumus as early as 1617, when he was given charge of the reorganization of the various musical affairs in Gera. Secondly, it was no secret that Heinrich Posthumus was driven by protestant practices and by his own personal inclination for organization, to assure that all arrangements relevant to his valediction were in order. Thirdly, there appears to be no reason for Schütz's changing the facts, for he had little to gain. As Hofkapellmeister in Dresden, he already possessed the most enviable musical appointment in the most prestigious German court. It is possible Heinrich Posthumus's wife tried to commission Schütz to write music for the funeral, unaware that it had in fact already been prepared; her husband, after all, had successfully kept her in the dark with regard to the arrangements for and construction of the coffin. It is conceivable too that Richter, in


writing the sermon and the appendix to it, wrongly, but quite understandably, assumed that the members of Heinrich Posthumus's immediate family were the only ones in a position to make the necessary arrangements for the music, underestimating the conscientious and methodical Count.

When it was that Schütz composed the Musikalische Exequien is unknown, though it was probably in the summer or fall of 1635. In 1633 Schütz had been named Royal Danish Kapellmeister at the Court of King Christian IV, and was resident there from early December 1633 until 4 May 1635, when he returned to Germany because of the death of his mother, Euphrosyne. It seems most likely, then, that the music was composed in the period following the death of Schütz's mother and preceding the death of Heinrich Posthumus on 3 December 1635.

There has been a considerable amount of discussion about the degree to which Heinrich Posthumus supervised the composition of Schütz's musical obsequies or, indeed, if he was actively involved at all. One remark suggesting that there was outside influence is made by Schütz himself in the ordinance to the performance of the work. Here, in reference to the conflation of chorale texts and modes, he writes:

Since I have had to bring together in one body verses of German hymns in a variety of modes, I hope discerning musicians will forgive me, where I have had on occasion to transgress the Ninth Mode in order to follow these hymn tunes.125


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Presumably Schütz would not have felt the need to write an apologia for his music had he had free reign of the composition: he instead would have written the work differently, for surely these modal transgressions offended his ear as much as those of the "verständige Musici" he addresses. Furthermore, if we consider the layout of the texts as inscribed on Heinrich Posthumus's coffin, and the order in which Schütz, in turn, incorporated each of these texts into the composition of the *Musikalische Exequien*, we see that the ordering of the texts in Schütz's *Missa brevis* are correspondently represented on the coffin. It is clear, then, that Schütz either collaborated with Heinrich Posthumus on the text of the *Musikalische Exequien*, or at least the Count provided Schütz with a specific ordering of the text for him to set to music.

Upon his death, Heinrich Posthumus's body was embalmed, a practice, as was mentioned earlier, common among those who were born into the upper classes and could afford it. His body was then laid in state in the chapel of Schloss Osterstein, where it remained until February 1636. The first of the three sermons was held by Pastor Bartholomäus Schwarz on 2 February 1636, at which time the numerous inscriptions on the coffin were referred to. Subsequently, the coffin and body were transferred to the Pfarrkirche St Johannis, where the family crypt was located, and the final burial ceremony was executed on 4 February, interestingly and certainly intentionally, the burial day of Simeon. It was in the course of this latter ceremony that Schütz personally directed the performance of the *Musikalische Exequien*.

We must bear in mind how heavily the death of Heinrich Posthumus weighed upon the mourners among the family and friends. From the de-
scriptions we have of Reuss, he appears to have been a gregarious and sociable person loved by his family, friends and subjects, and his sudden absence -- in every sense but the corporeal -- was sure to have been deeply felt as a personal loss by those at the Gera Court. These doubtless intense feelings were given little chance to abate, for the immediate family and courtiers could hardly put out of mind the fact that throughout the Christmas season the Count's body was in state in the court chapel. During the lengthy period of official mourning, which lasted at least the two months between Heinrich Posthumus's death and eventual burial, the family constantly would have been reminded of their loss, and they no doubt would have reminisced in the meantime about happier days. Since vigils such as those practised in the Roman tradition had been denounced by Luther, it is difficult to know what kind of behaviour was expected of the family with regard to the deceased. Did they still spend time in prayer and devotion in the chapel? Did they or were they expected periodically to pay their respects to the deceased? Were de tempore services (especially intriguing considering the time of year) still held in the chapel during this period?

Following the ceremony in the chapel at Schloss Osterstein on 2 February, the body was transported, probably in a lengthy funeral procession similar to those depicted in contemporaneous engravings, to the St Johannis church for the burial ceremony. Throughout this final ceremony, the body of Heinrich Posthumus presumably lay beneath the pulpit. Whether or not the coffin was open during the ceremony is unknown, though published seventeenth-century Leichenpredigten in general frequently included illustrations depicting closed as well as open
coffins, and sermons also made occasional reference to the body, which suggests that it was exposed to the congregation. (Naturally an open-casket funeral would prove to be emotionally more moving owing to the additional visual impact.) The ceremony began with the first section of Schütz's *Musikalische Exequien*. Following the sermon based on Psalm 73:25 ("HErr / wenn ich nur dich habe"), the choir performed the second section of Schütz's work, the setting of the same text as a motet for two four-part choirs. Rather than drawing the ceremony to a close with a Collect and Benediction after the performance of the motet, which would have been the customary procedure, the choir immediately commenced with the third portion of the work.

The setting of the movement and Schütz's directions for its performance are amply described in the "Special Index of the Musical Items contained in this slight work together with the Ordinances for the gracious reader." The relevant ordinance is the third and bears the heading "III. Ordinantz des Gesanges Simeonis: HErr nun lässetu deinen Diener in Friede fahren," and it will prove useful to quote it here in full.

1. It is to be noted that this concerted motet is for two choirs, each choir singing its own text. *Chorus Primus* is in five parts and *recites* the words of Simeon: Herr, nun lässet du deinen Diener. *Chorus Secundus* is in three parts, for two trebles and a baritone or high bass, singing the following text and others: Selig seind die Toten, die in dem Herrn sterben. With the *invention of this second choir* the Author has attempted to intimate and convey something of 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 the *Secundus Chorus* is to be set up at a distance, according to the way that

seems most practicable. 3. By making another one or two copies of this Second Choir, 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. 127

Introduced by the tenor’s intonation of the Canticum Simeonis (Luke 2:29-32), "Herr nun läßest du deinen Diener," the five-part Chorus Primus (Mezzo-Soprano, Alto, Tenor I-II, Bass) continues fortiter with a homophonic statement of "in Friede fahren." This choir, according to Schütz’s directives, was to be positioned close to the organ, an arrangement which in itself was in no way extraordinary. After the first four breves and a drop in the dynamic level from fortiter to submisse, the voices of the Secundus Chorus (Soprano I-II, Baritone) enter in imitative succession, from highest to lowest voice, with a completely different text taken from Revelations 14:13, "Selig sind die Toten, die in dem Herren sterben," later incorporating additional text from the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon (3:1).

We can see from the ordinance that Schütz composed this work with conscious consideration of its rhetoric. The task he set before him-

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self, with the *inventio*, was his wish to represent in music the joy of the disembodied spirit in the company of angels. Schütz was unquestionably employing a musical prosopopoeia at this point, implying as much in the ordinance. First of all the textual differences contribute to the perception of disembodiment. The *Primus Chorus*’s text from the *Canticum Simeonis* had long been employed *choraliter* to accompany burials at Lutheran funerals and, in this case, is clearly a representation of the mourners. The text, petitionary in nature and remindful of promised resurrection, is addressed to God. The text of the three-voice *Secundus Chorus*, on the other hand, is a consolatory response in that it is an affirmation of a covenant of death and resurrection that exists between God and Man. Interestingly, though, it seems to lack the almost questioning emotional charge of the *Canticum Simeonis*; rather it is much more a distanced, somewhat apathetic statement of fact, made in what was an extremely pathetic situation.

Secondly, Schütz thoughtfully selected the particular voices to be used in the *Secundus Chorus*. The voices of the angels, appropriately bearing the labels Seraphim I and Seraphim II, are assigned to two sopranos. It was common at that time to have boy sopranos represent seraphic figures; Hans Joachim Moser writes that people would travel long distances to hear Christmas matins at Reuss’s Court, and that in 1623 Heinrich Posthumus personally directed a performance for which the choir boys were dressed as angels wearing green wreaths and holding

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128 The five steps in writing according to classical rules of rhetoric are *inventio*, *distributio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, *pronuntiatio*.
burning torches. Schütz states in the ordinance that the third voice, significantly, was written for "einen Baritonum oder hohen Bass." Convenient though it was that a bass part would provide the necessary harmonic foundation for the concertato choir, Schütz was undoubtedly thinking of Heinrich Posthumus's reputation as a capable musician, and specifically as a singer who could handle "the bass in many fine motets and anthems." Schütz clearly makes every effort in this work to establish the fact that this low voice is in fact a personification of the Heinrich Posthumus, and one is tempted to conclude from the evidence that the Count was a baritone. This supposition would seem to be supported by the statement in Reuss's "Lebenslauf" where he is credited with being able to sing the bass part in many -- but not all, one should note -- motets and anthems: in Baroque funerary personalia, it was a much greater, and widely acknowledged, tendency to exaggerate the deceased's qualities than to diminish them, as would otherwise be the case here.  

Thirdly, the spatial displacement of the concertato Secundus Chorus figures prominently in Schütz's personification of Heinrich Posthumus. Since the time of his studies in Venice with Giovanni Gabrieli, Schütz

129 Moser, op. cit., p. 156.

130 See R. Lenz, "Gedruckte Leichenpredigten (1550-1750)," in Leichenpredigten als Quelle, op. cit., pp. 43-44. Because of the growing tendency in Leichenpredigt towards excessively hyperbolic descriptions of the attributes and achievements of the deceased, Leichenpredigten came increasingly to be referred to in the seventeenth century as Lügenpredigten.
was well-acquainted with the acoustic and dramatic possibilities of chori spezzati, a device which he uses to good effect in the Musikalische Exequien. In his personification of the Count, Schütz achieves the effect of the disembodied soul by placing the Secundus Chorus off in the distance, most likely in the gallery. Since the music is written sectionally to allow for the alternating concertato effect between the two choirs, Schütz saw additional prosopopoeial possibilities. He takes advantage of the ample pauses between entries in the Secundus Chorus, suggesting that the trio be duplicated or even triplicated. The additional choirs were then to be placed in other parts of the church, again probably in the gallery. Most likely the singers representing the seraphim and Heinrich Posthumus were not visible to the congregation, an effective ploy Schütz had been aware of as early as 1623. If Schütz himself replicated the voices of the Secundus Chorus, as he prescribes in the ordinance, the congregation would have heard not only the personified voice of Heinrich Posthumus comfortably singing from above, they would have heard the voices, incorporeal and migrant, emanating from different but indeterminate parts of the church.

Schütz composed the last section of the Musikalische Exequien with full intentions of making a powerful emotional impact on the assembly of mourners. This is made quite clear when he writes at the end of the

131 H. Schütz, "Preface to Historia der Auferstehung Jesu Christi," in Readings in the History of Music in Performance, trans. and ed. by C. MacClintock (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), p. 142. After a detailed description of how a performance of the Historia was to be executed, Schütz concludes the preface with the following statement: "It should be kept in mind that this History will be performed with better grace or effect if only the Evangelist is seen, the other personages and others remaining hidden."
relevant ordinance that, through the application of prosopopoeia, he hoped the "effect des Werkes" might be greatly increased. The emotional power of personification must have had a strong effect upon the congregation of mourners. During the preceding two months, the body of Heinrich Posthumus lay lifeless, first in state in the court chapel and later in the Johanniskirche. During the two-month period, from the day of the Count's passing until the time of his interment, the idea of death must have been ubiquitous in the Gera Court, manifested by the presence of Heinrich Posthumus's remains. Although there was the theological guarantee that a Christian death was always followed by resurrection and eternal life, present in the church where those concepts were proclaimed lay the body of Heinrich Posthumus, concrete evidence that death was the reality, resurrection a promise. Minutes before the interment which ended a prolonged, stressful and exhausting emotional period, it must have come as nothing less than a shock to the unprepared and unsuspecting congregation to hear Heinrich's incorporeal voice uttering valedictory words of assurance to his family and friends. Through the prosopopoeia, Schütz offered the mourners tangible evidence of the resurrection, as concrete and incontrovertible as Reuss's corpse was of death. The actual act of interment was accompanied by the congregation singing the old burial hymn "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin," followed by the closing Collect and the hymn "Hört auf mit Weinen und Klagen," all of which appears to be little more than a dénouement. But the congregation could rest assured that only an empty vessel was being interred, for they had just heard the living spirit singing from above in the heavenly company of angels.
As an example of prosopopoeia effected by spatial deployment of the performing forces, a more striking example than Schütz's *Musikalische Exequien* can be found in two of three works by Michael Wiedemann written in 1693 for the funeral of Sigismund Heinrich, Freiherr von Bibran und Modlau.

Rather little is known about the composer. Wiedemann was born of peasant stock in Geilsdorf or Geibsdorf in Oberlausitz on 13 April 1659. After what must have been a university education in theology, Wiedemann worked as pastor in Ossig near Liegnitz and subsequently in Schweidnitz. Better known for his literary than his musical output, Wiedemann was the author of *Fido, der unbesorgte Musikant* (s.l., n.d.), and later published another literary work entitled *Historisch-poetischer Gefangenschaften, bestehend in Erzählung von 12 auserlesenen Geschichten* (Leipzig, 1690). Owing to the Jesuits' perceived calumny in this latter work, Wiedemann was consequently removed from his pastoral post. He was still there in December 1693, however, for he is identified, in the *Christliche Gedenck-Predigt* for Heinrich Sigismund, as the pastor in Ossig. In 1702 Wiedemann was appointed Superintendent by the Count of Stolberg-Wernigerode, where he also served as senior (Oberprediger) and court preacher. He died in Stolberg 1 September 1719.

Sigismund Heinrich, Freiherr von Bibran und Modlau, according to the curriculum vitae published with the *Leichenpredigt*, was born in 


133 Gerber identifies Wiedemann's birthplace as Geilsdorf, and Eitner, on the other hand, gives Geibsdorf as the name of the town.
Liegnitz on 26 February 1640, and was baptized five days later on 3 March. Although we do not know very much about his earliest years, it is known that he spent five years, most likely in the mid 1660s, travelling throughout Europe. From Liegnitz, he travelled first to Leipzig and Dresden, subsequently to the Rhineland and the Netherlands. He also spent time in France and northern Italy, eventually crossing the Alps into Germany and finally returning home. This itinerant time was used as grooming period intended to prepare him, through immersion in foreign customs and languages, for his accession to the baronetcy. He married on 14 November 1669, and in the next twenty-three years fathered twelve sons and six daughters. After a short illness Sigismund Heinrich died on 14 September 1693 at the age of fifty-three, survived by two sons, four daughters and his wife. His funeral was held on 9 December 1693.

Funeral procedures for Sigismund Heinrich were probably not significantly different from those for Heinrich Posthumus von Reuss. Since there were approximately two-months between the Baron’s passing and his burial, it should be safe to assume that the body, according to custom, was embalmed at death. Considering his station in life, this period was likely a time of official mourning during which the body of the Baron

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134 The biographical information on Sigismund Heinrich is derived from the Lebenslauf which was published with the other sections of the Leichenpredigt from 1693. The Leichenpredigt, which consists of more than one hundred pages of sermon, an eight-page Abdankung, a nine-page curriculum vitae, a six-page prosopopoecial poem, various title pages, an engraving of the coffin and seventy pages of music, is in Berlin, Berliner Stadtbibliothek, Grauenklostersammlung VII.

lay in state. As in the case of Heinrich Posthumus, where there was a short service in the court chapel before the body was moved to the church, the obsequies for Sigismund Heinrich began with a thirty-three-page "Trauer-Rede," a funerary oration, held in the "Trauer-Zimmer," presumably at the court. Following this first oration, the body was carried in procession to the Evangelische Kirche in Ossig for the funeral service proper.

Before the funeral sermon, which was based on Psalm 118:17 (Ich werde nicht sterben / sondern leben / und des Herrn Werck verkündigen u.), the first "Begräbnis-Concert" composed by Michael Wiedemann was performed.136 Because this particular composition exhibits no prosopo-poetical characteristics, it is not necessary here to discuss it in detail.

Following the funeral sermon, the second "Begräbnis Concert" was performed.137 The composition is a polychoral piece written for three


separate performing groups. The first is labelled "Der Lehr Chor" and is written for alto, tenor and bass voices, and for two obbligato recorders. The texts for four of the five verses sung by this choir are direct scriptural quotations from the Old and New Testaments. The second choir is identified as "Der Glaubens Chor," presumably representing the congregation, and is comprised of two sopranos and three viola da gamba. The text for the second choir is derived from the funeral sermon, beginning with the text of Psalm 118:17: "Ich werde nicht sterben / sondern leben." The third group is called the "Seelen Stimme," which consists of a solo soprano and an accompanying lutenist. The text and music sung by the personified voice of the soul in augmented note values is the chorale "Herzlich thut mich verlangen." The organ provides the basso continuo accompaniment for the first two groups, and an additional figured bass part is provided for the third ensemble, with indications in both continuo parts to suggest to the performers where they were and were not to play.

The three groups perform in alternation with one another, beginning first with the "Lehr Chor," followed by the entrance of the "Glaubens Chor" and finally the "Seelen Stimme." The alternating choirs sing the verses in fragments rather than in complete statements of the texts. The texts of the corresponding verses are thematically similar, and the apposition of the scriptural, sermonic and chorale textual fragments allows for a three-fold magnification of their content. At the end of the piece, the "Lehr Chor" and the "Glaubens Chor" share the same text for the last verse, the last two lines of which (Das[s] ich mag fröhlich singen das Consummatum est) being echoed by the "Seelen Stimme."
alternation of material also allows for greater musical variety because of the more frequent contrasts between the music of the concerting ensembles: the main musical contrasts are provided by the varied vocal and instrumental makeup of each of the three choirs, and additional concertato elements are prominently heard between the vocal and instrumental bodies within each of the individual choirs.

That Wiedemann meant to use personification is evident from the title page of this particular work. The "Lehr Chor," with its text based as it is entirely on scriptures, represents an abstract, metaphysical entity which proclaims the Word of God. The sense of the scriptures is reflected in the text sung by the "Glaubens Chor," which is written in such a way as to represent the members of the congregation. The prosopopoeial congregation collectively represented in the music no longer laments the death of the Baron, finding instead consolation in its professed acknowledgement of salvation, resurrection and eternal life. It is worth noting that some of the text through which the representational congregation of the "Glaubens Chor" expresses its state of consolation is actually derived from consolatory statements previously made in the sermon by the personified Baron. Perhaps it was Wiedemann's wish that, if the "Glaubens Chor" could be depicted as having been consoled by the words attributed to the Sigismund Heinrich in the sermon, the real congregation of mourners would similarly allow themselves to feel consoled.

Wiedemann, unlike Schütz, did not compose the prosopopoeial part of the "Seelen Stimme" in order for it to correspond to the voice-type of the deceased; rather he decided to express the voice of the spirit with a soprano voice. One can only speculate as to the composer's criteria
for choosing not to depict more accurately the voice quality of the
Baron. First, there is nothing in the Baron’s curriculum vitae or in
any other parts of the lengthy Leichenpredigt to suggest the kind of
affinitive association between music and the deceased that existed in
the case of Heinrich Posthumus von Reuss. (This suggestion may be
supported in part by the fact that it was the court pastor and not a
court Capellmeister or cantor that composed the seventy pages of music,
in addition to most of the funeral oratory.) If this is the case,
Wiedemann may not have felt the same compulsion as did Schütz to
personify the deceased to such a degree. As mentioned earlier, it was
common practice in the Baroque to depict seraphic voices with the voices
of boy sopranos, and it may be possible that Wiedemann was trying to
project to the congregation less the living flesh-and-blood image of the
Baron than the image of the seraphic or apotheosized spirit. Were this
the case, we would be dealing then with a transformation rather than
animation. It is also quite possible that Wiedemann was governed by
strictly musical considerations, realizing that in this particular per­
formance context, of the possible voice types, a soprano voice would
stand out as being most clearly heard as soloist. Without knowing more
precisely what were the musical conditions at the Baron’s Court at the
time of his death, it is difficult to say to what degree, if any, the
availability of musical forces affected the composition and performance
of the funeral music. Finally, one must also consider the musical-
rhetorical skill of the composer and his inventiveness and discretion in
selecting whatever musical means were rhetorically most suited to the
situation.

What is most noteworthy about Wiedemann’s application of musical-
rhetorical prosopopoeia is the physical element of placement of the
three performing ensembles. Because Wiedemann does not specify a parti-
cular location in the church for either the "Lehr Chor" or the "Glaubens
Chor," it is most reasonable to assume that they were both positioned
near the organ, as was generally practised at that time. What is most
striking about this piece are Wiedemann's directives for the positioning
of the soprano voice of the "Seelen Stimme" and the accompanying
lutenist: Wiedemann states on the title page that this third ensemble
was to perform while "hidden behind the coffin." Before commenting
on the placement of the "Seelen Stimme" and the lutenist, however, let
us briefly mention the last of Wiedemann's three funeral works.

The third and final composition written by Wiedemann for Sigismund
Heinrich's funeral was the German translation of the Consummatum est,
"Es ist vollbracht." Throughout this work of three verses, the solo
soprano, harmonically supported by a lute, presumably continues to
represent the voice of the Baron's soul and sings the opening section of
the text. The choir, with the organ realizing the continuo accompani-
ment, subsequently echoes this statement in a homophonic, five-part
setting (SSATB). This type of alternation continues phrase by phrase
through each of the three verses, concluding finally with the solo
soprano's final utterance of "es ist vollbracht." As in the preceding

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138 Ibid. "hintem Sarge verborgen."

139 M. Wiedemann, Kurtzes Beschluss=Liedgen auff das CONSUMMATUM
EST. von 8 Stimmen auff zwoy Choren (1.) Ein Discant nebst der Laute (in
der Grufft verdecket) intoniret welches (2.) Der gantze Chor hernach
wiederholet (Lauban: Johann Gottfried Dehnen, ca. 1693/94).
"Begräbnis-Concert," it is the physical displacement of the personifying voice of the soul that is most significant in the concluding composition. Whereas the soprano and the lutenist had previously performed concealed behind the Baron's coffin in the second composition, Wiedemann's instructions on the title page of the last piece require that, this time, the soprano and the lutenist be "hidden in the crypt." There is no written description of the Baron's funeral ceremony, though it is evident that the encoffined body was conveyed to the family crypt sometime between the performances of the second and final pieces.

Wiedemann's graphic musical depiction of the Sigismund Heinrich's animate soul would undoubtedly have made a strong emotional impression on the congregation, just as Schütz's personification of Heinrich Posthumus did on his audience. Although physical displacement of the personifying voices is the most striking characteristic of both Schütz's and Wiedemann's use of prosopopoeia, one might well compare the rhetorical results and levels of success of the respective applications of the trope. Schütz's funeral music for Heinrich Posthumus has already been discussed in sufficient detail, demonstrating both the profundity and facility with which Schütz depicted the living spirit of the Count. There can be little doubt that Wiedemann's assignment of the personifying voice to a position behind the coffin and later in the crypt must have had a powerful dramatic effect on the congregation, but the composer in this instance seems to have failed to use this musical-rhetorical effect to achieve a suitable theological end. In the case of the Musikalische Exequien, the congregation heard the prosopopoeial voice of Heinrich.

\[140\] Ibid. "...in der Grufft verdecket."
Posthumus singing from the heavens, whereas the personified voice of Sigismund Heinrich was heard always in close proximity to the body, first, where the coffin was placed for the ceremony and finally after the body had been carried to the crypt. Wiedemann was no doubt successful in suggesting to the congregation the concept of life after death, but seems to have been far less successful in depicting the spirit's leaving of the body, especially since the text itself of the final composition clearly states that "the spirit is now with God, the body in this crypt," a statement clearly inconsistent with what Wiedemann was expressing through the musical prosopopoeia. Although both Schütz and Wiedemann produced extremely vivid images of the deceased through their applications of musical-rhetorical prosopopoeia, there can be no question that Schütz was the superior musicus poeticus.

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141 "Die Seel' ist nun bey G0tt / der Leib in dieser Grufft...."

142 The manner itself in which Wiedemann simultaneously applied scriptural and chorale texts in the first composition, scriptural and other non-scriptural texts in the second composition, as well as the prosopopoeial representation of the deceased in the second and third compositions, suggests that the similarities between Schütz's and Wiedemann's music are more than mere coincidence.
CHAPTER IV

AFFECTIVE ELEMENTS OF COMPOSITION: FIGURENLEHRE AND METRE

The Figurenlehre, the doctrine of figures, has been one of the main focuses of modern studies of musical rhetoric in the Baroque. Historically, the relationship between musical and oratorical figures was first codified in the theoretical works of Joachim Burmeister in 1599, 1601 and 1606. A practice cultivated primarily in Germany, the application of musical-rhetorical figures in musical compositions was an important consideration both for composers and theorists throughout the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth century. The number and currency of discussions of musical rhetoric declined during the first half of the eighteenth century, caused in part by changes in musical styles and concepts of musical structure in combination with the general deterioration of philological studies in the schools. By the time of Johann Adolf Scheibe's and Johann Nikolaus Forkel's writings in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Figurenlehre as a

1The first of Burmeister's treatises to deal with musical-rhetorical figures is Hypomnematum musicae poeticae (Rostock, 1599). The initial list of twenty-two figures was supplemented and developed two years later in his Musica autoschediastike (Rostock, 1601) and Musica poetica (Rostock, 1606).

2Scheibe's writings on musical rhetoric appeared over a number of years in Critischer Musicus (Leipzig, 1737-90). Forkel's discussions of musical rhetoric are found in his Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik
practical compositional and analytical system was effectively at an end.

Beginning with Arnold Schering's study of musical-rhetorical figures from 1908, a varied assortment of books, dissertations and articles dealing with the subject have appeared in the twentieth century. Some of these are chiefly reference works, while others are primarily comparative or catalogic in nature. A number of the studies have treated musical rhetoric in a fairly general sense, and a relatively large portion have focused on the works of specific theorists and composers. Still other studies have concentrated mainly on specific

(Göttingen, 1788).


5 See, for example, D. Bartel, Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1985).


compositions, compositional procedures and even specific figures.\textsuperscript{8}

There have yet to be any musicological studies of the application of musical-rhetorical figures in a specific genus of occasional music. Such an undertaking would of course be a formidable task, for in order for the results of an examination of a single type to be of much value, the scholar would need a valid means by which the data could be critically assessed. Comparison with the musical rhetoric of another genus would be the most likely method of evaluation, but this would require a comprehensive understanding of at least one other genus. With

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regard to the present study, for example, the true significance of the role of musical-rhetorical figures in seventeenth-century German funeral music could best be seen in the light of another, preferably contrasting yet contemporary, body of ad hoc literature -- such as wedding, inaugural or coronation music -- and even then only if the rhetorics of the two genres should prove to be at variance with one another.

A possible alternative method of evaluation might be the comparison of figures used in funerary compositions and the music's oratorical counterparts, that is, the funeral sermon and the *Abdankung*. But this would again involve detailed rhetorical analyses of a large number of orations in order to ascertain whether or not there was indeed a demonstrable tendency towards favouring certain figures over others. The Baroque rhetorical treatises themselves offer little assistance in this respect. Christoph Weissenborn, in his discussion of *elocutio* in his *Politischer Leich=Redner*, simply advises the novice parentator to study and imitate the works of the best German orators, and to refer to the various rhetoric manuals of the day.

In spite of these inherent difficulties, it is possible to view in

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9 C. Weissenborn, *Politischer Leich=Redner welcher die practicabelsten Kunst=Reguln von der Invention, Disposition und Elocution derer nach der heutigen Mode eingerichteten Abdanckungen bey öffentlichen Trauer=Solennien zu Beförderung seiner Oratorischen Collegiorum durch deutliche Exempel erleutert.* (Jena: Heinrich Christoph Cröker, 1707), pp. 177-84. Weissenborn begins this third section on *elocutio* (p. 177) by defining it as the "mit geschickten Worten und Redens=Arten ausgeschmückten Ausarbeitung derer disponirten Thematum." ("...elaboration of the ordered subjects, decorated with skilful words and manners of speech.")


a limited capacity the role of a small number of musical-rhetorical figures used in funerary compositions. Because the texts of most funeral music depict a spiritual transition from this world to the next, the authors' choice of words would have to demonstrate the opposite natures of the two realms. The figures that come under the general heading of hypotyposis seem to be most effective in this regard.

**Catabasis and Anabasis**

The hypotyptotic representation of temporal and heavenly worlds is best achieved through the rhetorical figures *catabasis* and *anabasis* in that they are descriptive and antithetical to each other. Catabasis is defined by Athanasius Kircher in his *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650) as follows:

> Catabasis or descent is a musical period, whereby we express the opposite affect of the preceding [i.e., anabasis], as of servitude, insignificance, depression, and moreover of most infernal things, as in Massainus's 'I am however very insignificant' and Massentius's 'the living have descended into hell.'

Mauritius Johann Vogt, in his *Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae* (Prague, 1719), sheds a little more light on the musical nature of the figure: "Catabasis or descent exists when one descends with the voice, as with the text 'he descends into hell'." The figure is also treated in much the same manner in the writings of Thomas Balthasar Janowka,

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Johann Walther and Meinrad Spiess.\textsuperscript{14}

Musical-rhetorical anabasis or ascensio, as Kircher indicates, is the opposite of catabasis. He describes anabasis as "a musical period through which we express something exalted, something lofty, or noble and eminent things, as in moral matters (Christ ascending into heaven, etc.)."\textsuperscript{15} The term is again defined in its more musical sense in Vogt's Conclave thesauri: "Anabasis is an ascent, whereby we ascend in voice and text, as in 'he ascend into heaven'."\textsuperscript{16} As with catabasis, anabasis is dealt with in the writings of Janowka, Walther and Spiess.\textsuperscript{17}

When considering the treatment of texts which may suggest the application of anabasis or catabasis, it should be kept in mind that composers did not slavishly apply these figures to every text that was suggestive of ascent or descent. It was possible, for example, to achieve similar musical sensations by instituting appropriate contrasts in dynamics, metre, rhythm, or tempo. These elements could be treated either independently or in conjunction with one or more of the others, possibly including, of course, anabasis and catabasis. Depending on the circumstances, considerations of phrasing and melodic shape, or of

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{14}For the definitions of catabasis given by Janowka, Walther and Spiess, see Bartel, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 115-16.

\textsuperscript{15}A. Kircher, \textit{op. cit.}, 50. 8. p. 145. "...periodus harmonica, quam \textsuperscript{sic} exaltationem, ascensionem vel res altas & eminentes exprimimus, ut illud Moralis (Ascendens Christus in altum etc.)." Cited in Bartel, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 84.


\textsuperscript{17}See Bartel, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 115-16.
\end{footnotesize}
keeping the melody within the ambitus of the mode and the range of the singers, often overruled a strict adherence to a continuing ascending or descending melodic line otherwise implied by the text. In the opening measures of Johann Pezel's four-part canon, for example, written on the death of Stephan Christian Dedekind in 1672, the catabatic melodic line should ideally have continued its descent for the duration of the entire phrase "Es schallt die gantze Welt von lauter Eitelkeit," the lowest note corresponding to the final syllable of text. (See Example 1.) However, in order to keep within the ranges of the voices as well as to shape the melodic line, Pezel allows a concluding ascent of a minor third on "Eitelkeit."


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The degree of persuasiveness of anabasis and catabasis was also governed by the form of composition in which the figures were used. As one would expect, the application of such figures was most restricted in compositions written in a cantional style — i.e., strophic. Because the music itself did not change from verse to verse, the composer customarily focused his attention on setting the text of the first verse. Thus the catabasis used as simple word-painting in Johann Hermann Schein's music written in 1625 for the funeral of Anna Maria Corvinus was conceived for the opening text, "Herr dein Ohre zu mir neige."\(^{19}\) (See Example 2.) Any further correspondence between the melody and text in subsequent verses would most likely have been totally coincidental.\(^{20}\) However, musical-rhetorical solecisms, pure and simple, did occur in the use of these two quite straightforward figures. An excellent example of this can be seen in the anonymously composed aria "Fleug mein Seelgen auf zu Gott" from 1664, a prosopopoeial composition in which the solo soprano voice portrays the deceased Maria Elisabeth Thomas.\(^{21}\) (See Example 3.) The key evocative words of the text — Fleug ("fly"), auf zu Gott ("up to God") — unconditionally require some

\(^{19}\) J. H. Schein, Čupressus luctus acerbioris... pro capulo... Annae Mariae, puellulæ supra aetatulam... Dn. M. Andreae Corvini... filio- làe... 4. Aprilis, anno M.DC.XXV. mortuae... emblematis musicis vermicu- lata... (Leipzig: s. n. [F. Lanckisch], 1625). Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek, M. 6. 6. 32.

\(^{20}\) Exceptions would be those works in which the tenor of the textual rhetoric remains more or less the same in each verse. An example of this is Friedrich Funcke's "Ach Hertzeleid!" (See full reference footnote 25 below.)

\(^{21}\) Anon., Die ruffende Stimm des himmlischen Bräutigams...zu... Ehrenagedächtnus der...Frauen Maria Elisabetha des...Herrn Johann Thomasen... Ehefrauen, als dieselbe...dieses...1664. Jahrs...verschieden (Regensburg: C. Fischer, 1664). Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 4 in Ee 651.

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sort of musical-rhetorical anabasis, either as an ascending melodic line or least some intervallic intimation of upwards motion. Contrary to common practice and good taste, the composer ineptly sets the text to a steadily descending line.


Example 3. Anon.: "Fleug mein Seelgen auf zu Gott," measures 1-2.

Musical-rhetorical catabasis in funeral music is most often associated with two general types of text. One concerns personal suffering and sorrow; the other deals with matters of death and our transitory earthly existence. In the first instance, catabasis is used to enhance the textual portrayal of the mourners' laments on the loss of the deceased. One example of this can be seen in the Cantus of Severus Gastorius's "O Trauer-Fall! Der mich fast gantz entseelet" (SATB), where the third and fourth phrases of the first verse, "Mein Trost und Stab, mein gantz Verlangen, ist durch den Tod dahin gegangen," are set to a
winding but clearly descending melodic line.\(^{22}\) (See Example 4.) An even clearer example can be seen in Martin Seidel's treatment of the Cantus for the phrase "Ja alles Lebenslust verdorben" in his four-part "Ach Traurigkeit! Ach Leid und Schmertzen!" (SATB), where the catabatic line, which covers a full octave, begins precipitously with downward leap of a perfect fourth before continuing its descent.\(^{23}\) (See Example 5, measures 9-10.)


\(^{22}\) S. Gastorius, Klag- und Trauer-Gespräch bey Leich-Begängnuss dess... Herrn Wilken von Berglasen... den 18. Augusti des 1679sten Jahres... in einer Arie gesetzet (Jena: Johann Werther, 1679). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Slg. Her 0 238/5.

\(^{23}\) M. Seidel, Klag- und Trost-Lied in welchen...Des Herrn DanDechants...als...Wittber seiner Eheliebsten tödlichen Hintritt hertz- und schmerzlich beklagt; dargegen aber aus Gottes Wort sich kräftig- lich wiederumb tröstet und auffrichtet In einer geringfügigen Poesie und Melodia verfasset (s.l., s.n., s.d.). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Slg. Her. 0 238/12.
Specific words expressive of an anguished emotional state are typically set to some sort of catabasis. Schmertz ("pain"), for instance, appears rather frequently in these laments and is commonly set to a descending melodic line, as can be readily seen in the second phrase of Severus Gastorius’s "O Trauer-Fall! Der mich fast gantz ent-seele.") (See Example 6.) For the most part, the lamentive text "was empfind ich doch vor bittern Schmertz!", with only slight deviation, is set to a steadily descending melodic line in the Cantus from e” to e’, the general pattern of which is paralleled to lesser degrees in the Altus and Bassus. Of course, these descending melodic passages are rhetorically appropriate to any texts expressing grief, such as the

24Gastorius, op. cit.

25Similar musical-rhetorical treatment of "pain" can be found in works by other composers, among them Friedrich Funcke, Heinrich Schwemmer and Martin Seidel. See "Works Cited" for F. Funcke, Klag-und Trost=Zeilen... (Lüneburg, 1665); H. Schwemmer, Text-Lied über den seligsten Hintritt... (Leipzig: C. Michael, 1661); Seidel, op. cit.
first and final phrases of the opening verse of Friedrich Funcke's music for the funeral of Leonhard von Dassel in 1665.26 (See Example 7.)


The second application of catabasis shows that the figure was in no way restricted to depictions of the mourning congregation. Of greater rhetorical and theological importance in these compositions, judging by the relatively large number of cases, was the use of this figure as a means of portraying life and death on earth. In his reference to transitory life, with varying degrees of descending melodic motion in all voices of the five-part "Was hat der Mensch auff dieser Erden?" (SSATB), Johann Rosenmüller writes that it is "Nur Elend, Jammer, Angst und Noth."27 (See Example 8.) Earth, in this context a literary symbol of transitory life, is also a word which composers saw as being suitable for settings with catabatic melodies. The opening interrogative in this composition is also set to a primarily descending melodic line, depicting at once the baseness of this earth/life while musically implying an answer to the rhetorical question itself. Contributing to the effect of this figure is Rosenmüller's decision not to employ the rising melodic inflection usual to musical settings of textual questions. Similarly Johann Pezel applies catabasis to the beginning of his four-part canon "Es schallt die gantze Welt von lauter Eitelkeit,"28 while Johann Georg Leibnitz, writing somewhat more freely though no less effectively, protracts his catabasis over two phrases of text, "Weg mit Dir, du falsche Welt! Du falsches Heergetümmel."29 (See Example 9.)


28Pezel, op. cit.
Example 8. J. Rosenmüller: "Was hat der Mensch auff dieser Erden?", measures 1-3.


Musical-rhetorical catabasis was most often applied to passages of text in which death or dying is mentioned. The figure is particularly appropriate here in that the descending line can be readily understood as being representative of physical and spiritual weakness and infirmity; dying, death and interment; hell and damnation. A fine example of this is to be found, once again, in Rosenmüller's "Was hat der Mensch auff dieser Erden?" (See Example 10.) Immediately following a brief melodic ascent on the words "So bald wir nur geboren werden,"

the melodic line reverses direction and descends to the text "da geht es an biss in den Todt." In this instance, the change of melodic direction emphasizes both the inevitability of death and the proximity life and death. Other compositions which in this way mention the inevitability of corporeal death include works by Jakob Scheiffelhut and Heinrich Schwemmer. Catabasis is applied by Schwemmer to suggest corporeal death and burial with the text "Es gräbet allgemach der Todt" in his consort song "Hie lieg ich überhäuft mit Schmertzen." (See Example 11.)

Example 10. J. Rosenmüller: "Was hat der Mensch auff dieser Erden?", measures 4-6.


In contrast with catabasis, musical-rhetorical anabasis was used in Baroque funeral music mainly to portray textual aspects of joy and consolation, salvation and transcendence, God and Heaven, Christ and resurrection. The gradual quickening and vitalizing effect of musical-rhetorical anabasis can be easily seen in Friedrich Funcke's setting of the text "schönes Klingen hören wir, O Wonn und Freud." (See Example 12.) Contributing additionally to the joyous affect in Funcke's work is the presence of triple metre, the thickening vocal texture and increasing dynamic level. Anabasis on a smaller scale is used similarly in Johann Hermann Schein's "Das ist meine Freude," where he employs short anabatic figurations on the word "Freude" and, later on in the reference to God, "und meine Zuversicht." (See Example 13.)

32Funcke, op. cit.

Textual references to God are often set to anabatic melodies. The figures may appear as brief ascending motives for the word itself, or the anabasis may unfold over a longer period of time as in Melchior Franck's four-part (SATB) funeral composition of 1614, "Ist Got für uns." (See Example 14.) In this particular case the melodic ascent

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34 M. Franck, Trostreicher Text, aus dem achten Capitel der Epistle Pauli an die Römer, so bey Christlicher Leichbestattung der... Frauen Hellenen...Hackens gepredigt...mit vier Stimmen...componirt (Coburg: Justus Hauck, 1614). London, British Library, C. 193. 2.
develops over a period of three textual repetitions of "Ist Gott für uns," each of the two repetitions ending a third higher than the preceding statement. It might be noted additionally that the threefold statements of the text may have been used intentionally by Franck as a symbolic reference to the Holy Trinity. In a similar vein to the Franck composition is the reference to Jesus in Rosenmüller's "Was hat der Mensch auff dieser Erden?" (See Example 15.) The anabasis begins in duple metre with the text "Ich bin zur sanften Ruhe kommen," followed by a downwards rounding-off of the phrase together with a slight extension of the harmonies at the cadence to convey the idea of "gentle rest." This moment of repose is interrupted by the resumption of the melody's upwards ascent, this time accelerated or compressed by disjunct rather than conjunct motion and also by a change to triple metre. The triple metre, significantly, first becomes perceptible to the listener on the words "Herr Jesu." Coincident with the change of metre on the word "Jesu" is the highest pitch (f''') of the composition.

Because of our largely linear perception of music -- a perception that may conceivably have been more pronounced in the polyphonic age of the seventeenth century -- anabasis by its very nature suggests direction and motion. For this reason anabasis was frequently employed in funeral music to represent migrant states of the transcendent spirit as it passed from this world to the next. In this respect, two types of texts were available to the composer. The first portrays the spirit as it departs this life. A very clear example of this is Simon Brancovius's music written in 1651 for the funeral of Agna Elisabeth von Breitenbauch.35 (See Example 16.) The phrase "obs euch bringt Schmerz"
und Leiden, dass ich so bald musst scheiden" steadily rises from a' to g" in semiminimae in Cantus I, rounding off the ornamented cadence on d". Two points should be made here. First, the application of an ascending melody to the words "Schmertz und Leiden" in this instance should not be thought of as musical-rhetorical solecisms; the anabasis is meant to depict the departing spirit and not the emotional state of the mourners. In fact, the ascending line would almost seem to demonstrate the futility and vanity of mourning in light of the deceased's inevitable and irrevocable rapturous departure. Secondly, the ensuing brevis rests in the two cantus parts, a notable textural change from the surrounding musical material, strongly imply to the listener that the spirit's passage from this world to the next was complete. Similar to Brancovius's treatment is Samuel Scheidt's concerted setting (SSB) of the text "Drumb eilt er [God] mit ihm aus dem bösen Leben."\(^{36}\) (See Example 17.) Again the spirit of the deceased in the company of God is represented as it leaves this world. At this point in the composition Scheidt quickens the rhythmic pace the better to express the sense of "eilt."


A slight variation on the idea of departure are texts in which the emphasis is upon the transcendent soul striving or moving towards, or even arriving in, Heaven. An example of anabasis being applied to this kind of spiritual transition can be found in Leibnitz's "Weg mit Dir, du falsche Welt!" (SATB).³⁷ (See Example 18.) Framed by renunciations of this life set to catabatic lines, the heavenward ascent of the spirit is

³⁷Leibnitz, op. cit.
depicted by Leibnitz with "Ich nunmehr nach Dir streb, Du schön gezierter Himmel!" set to a steadily rising melody in the Cantus.


Because heaven and earth are held to be antithetical concepts, the communication of which was essential to funeral oratory and funerary music, composers used anabasis and catabasis in close proximity in order to demonstrate this antithesis to greatest effect. One example of this treatment can be seen in Samuel Scheidt’s "Der Gerechte ob er gleich zu zeitlich stirbt." (See Example 19.) Immediately following the numerous repetitions of anabasis for the text "Darumb eilt er mit ihm," Scheidt employs several contrastive catabatic figures to the text "auss dem bösen Leben." Scheidt sharpens the musical distinction by replacing the fleeting, predominantly consonant figuration with slower, frequently dissonant movement (striking melodic and harmonic tritones, augmented harmonies, suspensions).

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38 Scheidt, op. cit.

Hyperbole and Hypobole

The musical-rhetorical figures hyperbole and hypobole are closely related to anabasis and catabasis. Burmeister, in his *Musica poetica*, defines hyperbole as follows: "Hyperbole is the crossing of a melody above its highest boundary." Its counterpart hypobole is subsequently defined by him as "the crossing of a melody below the lowest boundary of its ambitus." Judging from Burmeister's musical example of hyperbole, written in the bass clef with a range of C to c, and from his definition of hypobole, it is possible for the reader to arrive at two denota-
tive interpretations of these figures. In the first instance, it would seem that any note of a melody that ascends above the top line of the staff would be considered an example of musical-rhetorical hyperbole. Conversely, based on that definition, one would naturally expect that a melodic extension below the lowest line of a staff would constitute musical-rhetorical hypobole. If this in fact had been Burmeister's intention, hyperbole and hypobole would be so pervasive in Baroque music as to be rhetorically ineffectual. It would seem most reasonable to assume, that Burmeister's hyperbole, based on his definition of hypobole, pertained more to an actual melodic transgression of the ambitus of a mode rather than the lines of a staff. While hyperbole and hypobole would seem to be most effective if understood primarily as modal transgressions, it is still possible to see that these two figures would quickly lose relevance in the course of the Baroque as composers increasingly turned away from the church modes, and as extended melodic ranges became part of a standard musical vocabulary.

Although transgressions both of staff line and modal ambitus are common occurrences in this body of music literature, it is possible nevertheless to see exaggerated extensions of this kind used to good effect in funerary music. Two striking examples of hyperbole can be found in Brancovius's "Ach Gott ich muss in Trawrigkeit." In the first instance, an anabatic melody in the Cantus I of the chorus secundus reaches its apogee with the text "meiner Frewd und Wonne hoch." This short section of music is rhetorically effective, first, because of the symbolic significance of the anabasis and, secondly, because of the

42 Brancovius, op. cit.

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hypotypotic setting of the word "hoch." Brancovius extends the range of the Cantus past the g" (an octave above the finalis), to a" and then b^b". Thus the melody is hyperbolic on both counts according to Burmeister's definitions. However, the true hyperbolic effect is attained through the extraordinarily high range of the voice; a" is very sparingly used in the choral music of this period, and the b^b" is rare enough to be classed as an anomaly in this repertory. (See Example 20.) Brancovius again employs this unusually high or hyperbolic range later in the composition in setting the text "und mit den Engeln singen fein," appropriately to depict the angels in heaven, and to suggest their "fine singing" with the rapid passaggi including the novel b^b". (See Example 21.)


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43 One might argue that the b^b" could have been accommodated by
An example of hypobole can be seen in a Jakob Scheiffelhut's "Ach Herr! Lehre uns bedenken." (See Example 22.) The text "dass wir sterben müssen" is aptly set to a catabatic melodic line in the bassus, which is then repeated twice in sequence, each repetition beginning a fourth lower than the preceding statement. Thus, in the course of five breves, the bass melody steadily descends from a to E, a perfect eleventh. While the congregation no doubt would have noticed the signi-

performing the work at a lower pitch. That notion can be countered to some degree by noting the presence in the same composition of the occasional D in the Bassus, which in itself is already uncommonly low.

44 Scheiffelhut, op. cit.
ficance of the descending bass line as a portrayal of "to die," the composer further emphasizes the idea texturally, isolating the bass line from the upper three parts by an interval of a twelfth.


Exclamatio

The last rhetorical figure to be mentioned here is exclamation. In his Teutsche Rhetorica, Meyfart discusses exclamation in Chapter 36, "On the figures which have to do with speaking sharply and, to begin with, what Exclamatio is." Meyfart informs the reader that the figure of exclamation is the most common in this type of speech, and defines it as the figure whereby "the orator reveals the nature of his feeling, and employs such with a considerably and nicely audible tone in joyous and sorrowful matters." He states in addition that "this figure is easily

45 Meyfart, op. cit., 1:347. "Von den Figuren / welche in scharffen Sprüchen bestehen / vnd erstlich / was Exclamatio sey." The chapter itself (pp. 347-60) is made up mostly of quotations exemplifying the figure.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid., 1:348. "...der Redner seines Gemüths Beschaffenheit ent-
Exclamatio was often employed in funeral oratory to express feelings of sorrow. As such it is usually found in the first part of the oration where the deceased is mourned. A clear example of the funerary application of this figure can be seen in the introduction to the *Abdankung* for the funeral of Johann Erhard Michael, written by Christoph Weissenborn and appended as a model oration to his *Politischer Leich=Redner*:

Alas! I the unfortunate speaker, I do not know whether I should remain silent or speak; for I stand by the open coffin of the late Herr Johann Erhard Michael, meritorious pastor...at Sieglitz and Schleusckau.... But alas! I the unfortunate speaker, how shall I comfort others, since this loss itself so painfully stirs my heart?  

Musical-rhetorical exclamatio, because of its dramatic quality, was a very popular and effective figure in Baroque music. In spite of its popularity in compositions, however, the figure was curiously ignored in the musical-rhetorical treatises of the seventeenth century. Moreover, the few composers and theorists who did discuss the figure seemed unable to reach an agreement as to what precisely constitutes musical-decket / vnd mit einem zimlichen vnd zierlichen lautbarn Thon solches thut / in frölichen vnd trawrigen Sachen."

48 Ibid. "Diese Figur wird leichtlich erkennet an den Wörten / O / Ach / Sihe / wolte Gott / Leyder / Ey Wehe vnd dergleichen."

rhetorical exclamatio. Michael Praetorius, for instance, in Part Three of his *Syntagma musicum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619) describes the exclamatio as follows:

Exclamatio, which must occur with the raising of the voice, is the correct means to move the affections; and descent, in dotted minims and semiminims, can be brought in and used. And the following note, which proceeds somewhat quickly, especially moves the affections and is also better regarded, more than the semibreve which occurs more often in raising and lowering the voice without exclamation.  

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the figure was defined in several writings on music. One hundred years after Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum*, Mauritius Vogt vaguely defines the figure under its Greek name *Ecphonisis* as "an exclamation as in 'O what pain' and so forth."  

Exclamatio or ecphonisis is defined in Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732) as "a rhetorical figure when one exclaims something movingly, which in music can occur quite well through the upwards leap of a minor sixth."  

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Capellmeister (Hamburg, 1739), Johann Mattheson divides exclamatio into three separate categories. The second of these, which includes musical settings of petitions, invocations and lamentations, is most pertinent to this study. For exclamatory expressions of this type Mattheson recommends that "now large (but not common), now small and extraordinary intervals must be introduced according to circumstances."  

The array of musical expressions of textual exclamations in funeral music shows that the precepts of Praetorius, Walther and Mattheson were anything but immutable. Indeed, not a single musical-rhetorical exclamatio seen in the course of this study conforms fully to any of the foregoing definitions. For example, it was possible for the composer simply to ignore the musical-rhetorical implications of the textual exclamatio. This is evident in Theodor Schuchardt's strophic setting of "Ach Gott wie ist mein Hertz betrübt." (See Example 23.) The composer does nothing of a musical-rhetorical nature that would distinguish the exclamatory "Ach" from other, less significant words appearing on the first beat of subsequent measures.


54 Ibid. "...müssen, nach Befinden der Umstände, bald grosse, doch nicht gemeine, bald kleine und ausserordentliche Intervalle angebracht werden."

55 T. Schuchardt, Christliches Gespräch eines betrübten Vaters mit seinem abgeleibten Söhnllein. Auf den...Hintritt...Johann-Henrici, des Herrn M. Johannis Weissen...Söhnlins Welches... anno 1656...entschlaffen. Mit 8. Stimmen zu 2 unterschiedenen Chören gesetzt (Gotha: Johann Michael Schall, 1656). Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 2 in Ee 700-3882.

Two works, one each by Simon Brancovius and Heinrich Schwemmer, show more effective treatments of exclamatory texts. The opening invocation in Brancovius's "Ach Gott ich muss in Trawrigkeit" is effected through the syncopated entry and ascending semifusae in parallel thirds of the Altus and Tenor.56 (See Example 24.) While the same musical figuration is in fact used on rather insignificant words later on, the opening invocation on the first beat and the prolongation of the harmony on the word "Gott" does serve, though subtly, to enhance the textual exclamation. The second, more pronounced example to be mentioned here is Heinrich Schwemmer's "Siehe der Gerechte kommet umb."57 (See Example 25.) Following an instrumental introduction played with three viole da braccio and basso continuo, the three singing voices (SSB), accompanied by the string ensemble, enter with a broadly stated invocation "Siehe, siehe." The homophonic invocation is repeated twice

56Brancovius, op. cit.

to changing harmonies, with semiminim rests introduced between each of the statements. After the third statement, the Cantus I and II fall silent while the Bassus proceeds with the text "Siehe der Gerechte kommen umb." Schwemmer achieves the exclamatory effect in his music partly through the contrast between the purely instrumental ensemble and the precipitous, full-voiced entry by the vocalists. This forceful opening then gives way to the new text, a thinner texture, and contrasting melodic figurations sung by the solo Bassus.


Sustained harmonies of the type seen in Schwemmer’s work were generally considered to be an effective expression of textual exclamations. The technique can be seen in more dramatic contexts in two other funerary works, one by Friedrich Funcke, the other by Jakob Scheiffelhut. In Funcke’s treatment of exclamatio in the first three breves of his "Ach Hertzeleid," the composer gives the impression of uncontrollable
emotional outbursts. He achieves this effect through a successive lowering of the dynamic level in each of the first three exclamations of "Ach!", from an unmarked but implied mezzo forte to a written piano followed by a pianissimo. Corresponding to the drop in dynamics from piano to pianissimo is a melodic descent in five of the six voices, most striking in the descent of a perfect fifth in the Cantus I and II and of a minor seventh in the Tenor II part. Each of the first two chordal exclamations is followed by a minima rest. Rather than conforming to the precedent of the first two exclamations, the pause after the third exclamation is shortened to a semiminima rest followed directly on the anacrusis by the full exclamation of "Ach Hertzeleid." The effect of the unexpected, syncopated entry is magnified by the abrupt dynamic change from pianissimo to forte. Funcke also uses an abbreviated version of this technique to conclude the first section. (See Example 26.) The threefold invocation on the words "Ach Herr!" is boldly stated at the beginning of Scheiffelhut's "Ach Herr! Lehre uns bedencken." (See Example 27.) Like Schwemmer and Funcke, Scheiffelhut treats the four voices (SATB) homophonically in minims and semibreves, separating each exclamation with a minim rest. The opening invocation stands in considerable contrast with subsequent musical material. Adding to the gravity of the introductory exclamations, Scheiffelhut scores the voices in the Altus, Tenor and Bassus so that they descend together against the more steadfast Cantus.

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58 Funcke, op. cit.

59 Scheiffelhut, op. cit.
By examining each of the various musical treatments of the textual exclamatio in these funeral compositions, and comparing them with each other and with the definitions provided by Praetorius, Walther and Mattheson, it is easy to see that approaches to musical-rhetorical exclamatio were limited only by the imagination of the composer. The large number of possible approaches to the figure may help to understand the reasons for Vogt's noncommittal definition of exclamatio (ecphonisis) and why the seventeenth-century theorists (with the exception of Praetorius) avoided dealing with the term altogether. In any event, exclamatio can clearly be seen as a rhetorical figure whose affective
properties were valued highly by parentators, poets and composers alike.

**Duple and Triple Metre**

The vast majority of funeral compositions examined in the course of this study are written in duple metre throughout, indicated in the score or parts as either C or }. In compiling a representative sampling of the literature for this study, not a single funerary work was seen in which triple metre was pervasive. This is not to suggest for a moment that such music was not written in the seventeenth century, for a much more extensive examination of the repertoire would be required before that kind of assertion could be made. However, triple metre is introduced occasionally into funerary works in duple metre. Because the practice deviates from the norm, because a composer's reasons for doing so may have been motivated in part by musical-rhetorical considerations, it would seem worthwhile at this point to focus critically on the subject of triple metre.

Triple metre in the Baroque was frequently used as a type of musical-rhetorical hypotyposis. In moderate tempi, for example, the introduction of triple metre could be used to suggest a gentle undulating or rocking motion. This is notably the case in Schütz's chorale motet for New Year, "Gib unsern Fürsten ein geruhig und stilles Leben" (SWV 373) from the *Geistliche Chormusik* (Dresden, 1648).\(^{60}\) The metre changes from duple to triple for the text "geruhig und stilles Leben"

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\(^{60}\) An interesting study of Schütz's application of triple metre in the compositions of the *Geistliche Chormusik* was undertaken by Johannes Mittring: see J. Mittring, "Der Dreiertakt -- Ausdruck der Freude? Zu Heinrich Schützens 'Geistlicher Chormusik' von 1648," *Musik und Kirche* 34 (1964): 271-84.
thereby evoking the "quiet and tranquil life." Years later, in his Historia von der freuden- und gnadenreichen Geburt Jesu Christi (Christmas Oratorio, SWV 435) of 1664, Schütz uses triple metre again to an ostinato bass pattern, which the composer declares is intended to represent the rocking motion of the Christ child's cradle. Though largely dependent on tempo and internal rhythms, it is interesting to note that a composition employing triple metre to achieve a certain rhetorical effect may use it on the one hand to evoke feelings of peace and tranquility and those of exhuberance or excitement on the other. Both applications -- the gentle ebb and flow, and the evocations of the Sprungtanz -- are relevant to the composition of seventeenth-century funeral music.

Another consideration for a rhetorical study of this sacred repertoire is number as symbol. The number three as a symbol of the Holy Trinity appears to have lost none of its force in seventeenth-century German thought. In music, triple metre or tempus perfectum had been associated symbolically with the Holy Trinity as early as the thirteenth century by Franco of Cologne. The numerological reference to three was of course in no way confined to treatment of metre; in fact, statements made in writings on music in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries seem to refer most frequently to trinitarian


symbols as they pertain to matters of tertian harmony — trias musica or figura trinitatis.63 Perhaps this was partly the result of the greater amount of attention being focused at that time on constant developments of tertian harmony rather than on long-established principles of metre. At any rate, the evidence available to us amply shows that the concept of triple metre as a trinitarian symbol, if not foremost in the minds of the theorists, was nonetheless important to composers of certain types of funeral music. Before looking at the use of triple metre at this level, though, other, more direct uses of it ought to be considered.

An anomalous application of triple metre as a type of musical-rhetorical hypotyposis has already been mentioned in the preceding chapter in regard to Heinrich Albert's continuo aria, "Gedenkt wie mich der Tod."64 In that particular case, the change from duple to triple metre was rhetorically required by the text "ich tanze nur voran, ihr werdet folgen müssen." If the change of metre was intended by Albert to portray anything more concrete than the verb "tanzen" in its most abstract sense, it is most likely in reference to the Totentanz.65

In what is perhaps its most simple application, triple metre can be


65 For a detailed examination of the Totentanz see R. Hammerstein, Tanz und Musik des Todes: die mittelalterlichen Totentänze und ihr Nachleben (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1980).
employed in funeral music as a direct means of conveying the basic affect of joy. This can be clearly seen in Johann Hermann Schein's "Das ist meine Freude," a five-part motet (SSATB) with basso continuo. (See Example 28.) Schein composed the work in 1628 for the funeral of Vincentius Schmuck, the Superintendent in Leipzig and professor of theology at the University. In the motet, duple and triple metre alternate at regular intervals in accordance with the text: the opening "Das ist meine" is written in three (3/2), and the following "Freude" in two (4). Although triple metre alone is most often associated with the lighter affections, the joyous feeling in this example is enhanced by the invigorating changes of metre on one level and, on another, the consequent effect upon the internal elements of rhythm. The exuberant quality that Schein sets out to communicate through the alternating metres is characterized further still, first, by adding the ascending passagi or anabasis on the word "Freude" and, secondly, by instituting the quasi-sequential ascent for each of the following two textual repetitions.


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66Schein, Symbolum oder Täglicher Trost=Spruch, op. cit.
A slightly more complex treatment of triple metre can be found in Theodor Schuchardt's setting of "Gott wie ist mein Hertz betrübt" for double chorus, a work which was earlier discussed as an example of musical-rhetorical prosopopoeia. The dialogic text of the composition is strophic, with verses 1, 3 and 5 representing the bereft father in the *chorus primus* or "Quereus," while verses 2, 4 and 6 portray the deceased child in the *chorus secundus* or "Respondens." Typical of compositions written in dialogue, the bereft father grieves over the untimely loss of his beloved son, while the personified child, in the alternating verses, gently chastises him for placing such vanishing worth on the transitory rather than the eternal. The sixth verse of the composition is followed by a new section labelled "Conclusio." The musical content of the *Conclusio* is little more than an extension of the preceding *chorus secundus*. Here, however, the *chorus secundus* sings six short phrases of text, while the *chorus primus*, singing in subdued tones, quietly echoes the ending of each phrase. Textually at this point, the child advises his father to keep the resurrection and eternal life foremost in his mind; the father, at last showing clear signs of abandoning his feelings of despair, appears to accept the counsel of his son. Following the last of the six phrases, "O Wie wird da ein Freude seyn," and its corresponding echo is a brief coda sung by both choirs in triple metre, set to the text "Wenn wir zusammen kommen." (See Example 29.)

67 Schuchardt, *op. cit.*

68 "O such a happiness there will be there, when we come together."
Example 29. T. Schuchardt: "Gott wie ist mein Hertz betrübt."
In its most figurative sense, the ultimate change to triple metre can clearly be seen as a hypotypotic or musical-rhetorical depiction of the "joy" proposed by the text, similar to the effect employed by Schein in "Das ist meine Freude." The particular happiness imparted in the text refers to the joyful reunion of a father and his son after a period of separation. Thus the joy expressed at this point refers to a strong human emotion in the most worldly sense. Although such an application -- that is, laying stress upon what is otherwise construed in funeral literature as worldly vanity -- seems in many ways to stand in contradiction to the intended message of the composition, it may have been intentional in order to provide the mourners with a concrete affective means by which they could conceptualize heavenly rapture. The change to triple metre would serve effectively to focus the listeners' attention on the fact that the reunion was to be in heaven. The joy that is expressed is not intended primarily to be understood as a mundane happiness of the here and now but rather as a joy that is yet to be, an anticipated joy, the joy of Christian salvation and eternal life. In fact, it is not uncommon in this literature to find heaven and the imminent joy of the hereafter to be in many ways synonymous with one another; for the son even says that there, in the company of the Holy Trinity, "leb ich jetzt in Freuden." We begin to see now that triple metre is not simply a type of

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69 See J. Mittring, "Der Dreiertakt -- Ausdruck der Freude? Zu Heinrich Schützens 'Geistlicher Chormusik' von 1648," Musik und Kirche 34 (1964): 271-84. This is one of the principal conclusions arrived at by Mittring in his convincingly argued study of Schütz's application of triple metre in the Geistliche Chormusik.

70 "...I now live in joy."
musical-rhetorical hypotyposis used by composers to depict joy through its exclusive association to skipping or dancing. Rather, a closer understanding of its rhetorical significance requires that triple metre be thought of more in metaphoric terms, that is, as a musical-rhetorical trope rather than a hypotypotic figure. Of course the significance of the number three as a symbol for the Holy Trinity can also be seen as a significant musical-rhetorical consideration for composers of funeral music.

Continuing with Schuchardt, we can appreciate even more the metaphoric nature of triple metre through his choice of setting for his composition. The division between the son and father -- i.e., heaven and earth -- is emphasized at the outset of the piece by the use of the two representative choirs to distinguish between the anguished state of the father and the tranquil state of the son. As long as the father insists on selfishly lamenting his loss instead of finding comfort in his son's gain, the absolute separation between the father/chorus primus/ephemeral and the son/chorus secundus/eternal is maintained. In the Conclusio, as the father finally moves towards rhetorical assent with the son whose speech naturally reflects Lutheran church doctrine, the choirs begin for the first time to share texts, and cadential overlaps between the choirs are heard, which may be perceived as a kind of symbolic assimilation of earthly and heavenly spheres. The full tutti occurs only with the concluding change to triple metre, allowing the attendant mourners (including the father) to see to the future when the two spirits would at last be reunited in heaven. Thus triple metre
can be seen here as depicting both worldly joy in a figural sense and heaven in a metaphoric sense.

The rhetorical reasons for the changes of metre in the next two funeral compositions to be discussed are best understood in a metaphoric or symbolic sense. The first is Johann Rosenmüller's "Was hat der Mensch auff dieser Erden." (See Example 30.) In this strophic composition for five voices (SSATB), Rosenmüller makes a clear distinction between the mundane and the heavenly, both through the textual content and through the musical differences of metre. The text of the first verse begins with the rhetorical question posed by the deceased, followed by the expected answer:

\[\text{Was hat der Mensch auff dieser Erden?} \]
\[\text{Nur Elend, Jammer, Angst und Noth.} \]

What does man have on this earth?
Only misery, despair, fear and sorrow.

And this, we are additionally told, is all there is in life, from the moment of birth until death. The concluding lines of the verse, however, leave no doubt in the listeners' mind that the deceased has successfully made the transition from this world to the next with the text:

\[\text{Herr Jesu, dir sey ewig Preiss,} \]
\[\text{Durch dich leb ich im Paradeis} \]

Lord Jesus, praise be eternally unto You
Through You I live in Paradise.

The poet's choice of words make clear the distinction between this life (\textit{Erden, Elend, Jammer, Angst, Noth, Todt}) and the afterlife (\textit{Herr Jesu, ewig, leb, Paradeis}). In Rosenmüller's composition, the existen-

\[71\text{Rosenmüller, Letzter Abschied, op. cit.} \]
Example 30. J. Rosenmüller, "Was hat der Mensch auff dieser Erden?"
tial polarity is expressed with comparable vividness through the change of metre from the opening C to the concluding 3/1. It is interesting to note that the change of metre is by no means a directly figural depiction of "happiness." Certainly a joyous affect is implied here, but the explicit use of triple metre is entirely metaphoric or symbolic of Christ and heaven.

A similar application of triple metre can be seen in the previously mentioned work by Samuel Scheidt, "Der Gerechte ob er gleich zu zeitlich stirbt."72 (See Example 31.) Written for the funeral of the infant son of Thomas Andreas Reinhold, himself a clergyman in Glaucha, the composition is based on the Wisdom of Solomon (4:7,14). As in the preceding composition by Rosenmüller, the change to triple metre, appearing this time in the middle of the composition, is symbolic of God and heaven, whereas the surrounding text and music in duple metre signify the mundane. The final return to duple metre is indicated as ¶ instead of the opening C, certainly to depict simultaneously the wicked world and the haste with which the deceased was removed from it.73

C Der Gerechte, ob er gleich zu zeitlich stirbt, 
ist er doch in der Ruhe. 
3 Denn seine Seele gefellet Gott, 
¶ Darumb eilt er mit ihm auss dem bösen Leben. 

But the good man, even if he dies an untimely death, 
Will be at rest. 
His soul was pleasing to the Lord, 
Who removed him early from a wicked world. 

72 Scheidt, op. cit. 

73 The English translation of this verse is taken from The New English Bible, Standard Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972). A literal translation of the last line of German text would read: Therefore He hastens with him from the wicked world.
Example 31. S. Scheidt: "Der Gerechte ob er gleich zu zeitlich stirbt."
The practice in funeral composition of signifying the separation between heaven and earth through contrasting metres was still current at the end of the seventeenth century. In the "freudiges Welt-Valet" of the late Jacobina Thurmin in 1693, Jakob Scheiffelhut employs the same musical-rhetorical principles of metaphor as did Rosenmüller and Scheidt in the preceding works. (See Example 32.) Scheiffelhut uses the contrast between duple and triple metre to accentuate the two different worlds portrayed in the text. The piece opens with the choir's prayerful entreaty to the Lord, with the invocation "Ach Herr!" written in duple metre as a threefold rhetorical exclamatio. The text at this

74"...joyous farewell to the world..."


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Example 32. J. Scheiffelhut: "Ach Herr! Lehre uns bedencken."
point suggests the supplication of the congregation in petitioning the Lord to teach them to be mindful of their mortality. Thus in the opening section of the composition we see duple metre implicated with the transitory world with its mortal acts of prayer and dying.

The second, and concluding, part of the composition is marked by the change to contrasting triple metre set to Romans 14:8. The musical emphasis is placed mainly on the words "Leben wir, so leben wir dem Herren; sterben wir, so sterben wir dem Herren, darumb wir leben oder wir sterben...."^ The change of metre, once again, assists the listener in making the conceptual transition from earth to heaven or, more precisely in this case, from the physical to the spiritual. This is particularly noticeable in the way the physical and spiritual connotations of the word "sterben" are treated. Duple metre in the first portion of the work, as a metric representation of this transitory world or mortal life, suggests "sterben" as the physical process of dying. Treatment of "sterben" in the section set to triple metre, on the other hand, transports the meaning of the word into the spiritual realm. Here, the metre, through its associative or symbolic evocation of a joyous affect, helps to illustrate that living and dying in the Lord are rewarded with eternal life. The sense of a spiritual death is implied through the textual proximity of references to eternal life and also through the use of the buoyant metre and rhythms set to "sterben."

Perhaps suspecting that this subtle approach might lack the desired didactic effect on his audience, or wishing simply to add an ornamental touch to the otherwise esoteric treatment, Scheiffelhut singles out key

^"If we live, we live for the Lord; if we die, we die for the Lord. Whether therefore we live or die, we belong to the Lord."
words for special treatment -- namely, "leben" and "sterben." When a textual phrase concludes with the word "leben," Scheiffelhut prolongs the note values, occasionally adding a slightly animated melismatic flourish. In phrases ending on "sterben," the note of the cadence given to the second syllable is shortened and followed by silence to convey to the audience the sense of nihility. At each of these cadences, at least one of the voice parts will have a catabatic or descending motion of a fifth or octave on the first syllable of the word "sterben." And finally, the tone quality darkens noticeably at these points as Scheiffelhut scores the voices in a lower tessitura.

These first examples have shown clearly enough that triple metre is capable of portraying or implying an unspoken, perhaps unspeakable, heavenly joy, unspoken in that the texts suggest joy only through implication. It also serves to accentuate musically, through contrast, the textual dichotomy in these works that exists between mortality and immortality. Thirdly, triple metre, as the tempus perfectum, can be seen to symbolize heaven in the same way that duple metre or tempus imperfectum is symbolic of the material world.

The symbolic or metaphoric qualities of duple and triple metre and their use to contrast in seventeenth-century German funeral music are reduced to their essence in Joachim Jordan's Gespräch und Gesang eines armen angstleidenden Sünders mit Christo.\(^\text{77}\) (See Example 33.) Jordan,...

\(^\text{77}\)For an edited version of this piece see W. Reich, ed., Threnodiae Sacrae: Beerdigungskompositionen aus gedruckten Leichenpredigten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, Das Erbe Deutscher Musik, Band 79 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1975), p. 1. A reduced photographic reproduction of the original may be found in the appendix of: R. Lenz, ed., Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften (Cologne, Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1972), n.p. The reproduction is included there as a
pastor at St Catherine in Brunswick, composed the musical dialogue between Christ and the sinner for the funeral of Ludolph Garss in 1635. Written in six verses, the text is set syllabically to an unaccompanied tenor voice. In terms of the melodic character, the only significant difference between the two personified figures is that of metre. Unlike the majority of dialogues, the alternation between the personified characters -- the "poor, fear-suffering sinner" and Christ -- occurs in each of the verses, instead of the usual alternation from verse to verse. What is most significant here is the fact that the wretched sinner is portrayed through the tempus imperfectum of duple metre whereas the immaculate Christ is represented through the tempus perfectum. Although we have seen the potential for incorporating triple metre in a metaphoric capacity in the preceding compositions by Rosenmüller, Scheidt and Scheiffelhut, it would be extremely difficult

Example 33. J. Jordan: "Ach weh und pein, das Hertze mein."

supplement to Gerhard Schuhmacher's article, "Musikbeigaben in Leichenpredigten und selbständig veröffentlichte Sterbekompositionen," pp. 408-25. For his brief discussion of the work, see Schuhmacher, p. 421. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Ee 710-165 (6).
to surpass the directness of Jordan's simple and unequivocal application of metre as metaphor.

Now that it is better understood that the application of triple metre in this repertoire is capable of rhetorical "meaning" on a number of levels, it is possible for one to appreciate more the persuasive or rhetorical force of the music. Having looked at works in which triple metre is used figuratively in setting such evocative words as Freude, and compositions where the metre signifies the hereafter or merely implies an intangible but anticipated joy, other pieces can be cited in which triple metre is evidently employed on both figural and metaphoric levels. Kaspar Förkelrath's "Wer überwindet sich", which was examined in the preceding chapter, comes under this latter category. (See Example 34.) In the first verse, the victorious spirit (die siegende Seele) concludes the section in duple metre, anticipating acceptance "im Freuden=Saal, wo alle Quaal, wo alle Noth und Leiden versiisset wird mit Freuden." The subsequent change to triple metre figuratively satisfies the anticipation of joy and metaphorically creates a heavenly ambience for the entry of the angelic choir (Der Engel Chor).

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78 K. Förkelrath, Christliches Sterb-Lied... der... Sibyllae Ursulae... verfasset von Heningo Petersen... und Anno 1672 den 6. Febr. gesungen und musiciret (Hamburg: Georg Rebenlein, 1672). Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Gn. 4° 1592(2).

79 "...in the hall of joy, where all torment, where all need and suffering is sweetened with joy."
Example 34. K. Förkelrath: "Wer überwindet sich," measures 36-54.
In another work by Johann Rosenmüller, the popular "Welt ade ich bin dein müde,"\textsuperscript{80} the composer portrays musically the separation between heavenly joy and worldly misery mainly through the change of metre. (See Example 35.) The affective character of the text, representing the deceased, remains the same from verse to verse: the tone of the first four lines of each of seven verses are soothing and consolatory; two contrasting lines follow, focusing entirely on the sins and miseries of the world; the concluding two lines refer to the eternal peace and happiness found in heaven. The composition begins in duple metre, which is not at all unusual in view of the funerary repertory, since duple metre is the rule and triple metre the exception. What is very interesting, however, is Rosenmüller's handling of the affective changes between lines 1 to 4, 5 to 6, and 7 to 8. Typical of the period in which it was written, the composition begins with no specific tempo or dynamic indications. Since the metre is already decidedly duple, Rosenmüller succeeds in altering certain elements of the music in order still to make the distinction clear between the changing tenor of text from consolatory to proscriptive. This he manages by indicating in the score precipitous drops in the dynamic level (pian [sic]) and tempo (adagio). The composer reverses the procedure for the concluding two lines by

Example 35. J. Rosenmüller: "Welt ade ich bin dein müde."
using the markings "forte" and "allegro [sic]." The latter change works in conjunction with the simultaneous change to triple metre to depict heaven, eternity, peace, joy and blessedness. Thus the text of the first verse and these changes can be simply shown as follows:

| C | Welt ade ich bin dein müde  
   | Ich will nach dem Himmel zu  
   | Da wird seyn der rechte Friede  
   | Und die ewig stolzte Ruh  
---|-----------------------------------
| piano, adagio                     | Welt bey dir ist Krieg und Streit  
| 3/1, forte, allegro                | Nicht denn lauter Eitelkeit  
---|-----------------------------------
|                                  | In dem Himmel allezeit  
|                                  | Friede / Freud und Seligkeit.  
---|-----------------------------------

Farewell world, I am weary of you  
I long for heaven  
There will be the righteous peace  
And eternal, noble rest  
World, with you is war and conflict  
Nothing but pure vanity  
In heaven eternal  
Peace, joy and blessedness.

The last composition to be considered here is Friedrich Funcke’s six-part setting of "Ach Hertzeleid" of 1665 for the funeral of Leonhard von Dassel in Lüneburg. (See Example 36.) The text comprises eight strophes of eight lines each. The first four verses are fraught with pathos as the death of von Dassel is lamented. Between the opening and closing remorseful exclamations (see above) that mark each verse are unremitting expressions of suffering and self-pity. Appropriately, Funcke sets these four verses in duple metre. The complete section is then repeated three more time for verses two through four.

The second section of the composition, which serves for verses five through eight, commences with a change to triple metre as an expression of joy on the text "O Wonn' und Freud'!" The change of metre

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81 Funcke, op. cit.
at this point can be understood simultaneously in a number of ways based on the text: as a figurative representation of the text, as a metaphoric reference to eternal heavenly joy, and as a symbolic signification of heaven itself. Funcke, like Schein in "Das ist meine Freude" and with the same animating effect, also incorporates a small subsection in duple metre. Unlike Schein, the melodic movement in the duple metre portion of the second part is twice as fast as in the first section so as not to lose the momentum initiated by the preceding change to triple metre.

Funcke's music shows an unambiguous delineation between the worldly and the heavenly conditions. A cursory look at the text in this instance can show the parallel but antithetical relationship between the physical and spiritual realms. In the original publication, the verses are printed in two columns to allow the seventeenth-century reader to compare and cross-refer the misery of his earthly existence to the anticipated joy of his eternal existence. The division can be readily seen below in verses one and five which are initially set, respectively, to the first and second parts of the music.

1. Ach Hertzeleid!
In diss Leben=lose Leben
Heg´t nur Hertzens=herben Schmertz /
Diser hat uns all´ umgeben /
Diser naget unser Hertz
Weinen / Klagen /
Tausend Plagen /
Qveelen uns. Ach Hertzeleid!

5. O Wonn´ und Freud´!
Dort is Freuden=volles Leben
Und kein Zehren=voller Schmertz /
Dort kan man in Freuden schweben
Wonn´ ergetzet unser Hertz.
Süsses Singen
Schönes Klingen /
Hören wir / O Wonn´ und Freud´!

1. Alas heart-ache
In this lifeless life
Is only heart´s bitter pain
This has surrounded us all
This gnaws our heart
Weeping, lamenting
A thousand torments
Torture us. Alas heart-ache!

5. Oh bliss and joy!
There is joyful life
And no tearful pain
There can one float in joy
Bliss delights our heart
Sweet singing
Beautiful playing
Do we hear, Oh bliss and joy!
Example 36. F. Funcke: "Ach Hertzeleid."


\begin{music}
\begin{musicnotes}
\addStaff
\addStaff
\addStaff
\addStaff
\addStaff
\addStaff
\addStaff
\end{musicnotes}
\end{music}
What then can be said about the rhetorical aims of Baroque composers who incorporate changes from duple to triple metre in German funeral compositions? Persuading the congregation of mourners to embrace unquestioningly the existence of an afterlife was one of the principal rhetorical goals of Lutheran funeral oratory; and eternal life in heaven, as the congregation knew, could be attained only by living Christian lives and dying Christian deaths. (As regards the latter, it has already been mentioned in preceding chapters that the contemplative study of the *ars moriendi* and the practical preparations for one's death were matters of great importance in the Lutheran Church.) Corporeal life and death, as distinct from the eternal spirit, were thus oddly equated with each other. Through the active, lifelong preoccupation with dying and death, this parity could properly be understood in one sense as the elevation of the condition of death to the status of corporeal life. In another sense, physical death could be understood merely as an integral element of life, that is, as the final act of a biological process which begins with birth. Yet in another sense, the sedulous preoccupation with the *ars moriendi* may also be seen, ironically, as a denial of death's existence.82

Through their regular attendance of church services Lutherans were made fully aware that corporeal death was inevitable as punishment for mankind's innate guilt for Adam's commission of original sin. Consequently, one of the principal tasks of the Church was to promote and instil in its members the dualistic perception of the states of the body

and the soul -- the one transitory, the other eternal. The actual act of dying was to be understood by the congregation only as the cessation of physical life, the corollary of which being the simultaneous transcendence of the soul. Whether the soul was to be taken into heaven or consigned to eternal hell was entirely dependent on how one's life had been led. Funeral ceremonies, of course, provided the ideal rhetorical platform from which these theological doctrines could be most effectively professed. In the hands of the pastor, skilled in rhetoric, the subject of corporeal transitoriness and spiritual perpetuity could be variously manipulated to lament the passing of the deceased and to console the bereft congregation, all the while imbuing the mourners with a more acute sense of their own mortality -- i.e., *memento mori*.

In the types of funeral music that have just been examined, characterized as they are by changes from duple to triple metre, one can see the same doctrinal features rhetorically presented on both textual and musical levels. The same ontological dualism of the ephemeral and the eternal that is perceived between the body and the soul -- or earth and heaven as the case may be -- is demonstrated, first, in the texts to the funeral music and, secondly, by the clear metrical differentiation between *tempus imperfectum* and *tempus perfectum* -- imperfect for transitoriness and perfect for transcendence and eternity. The nature of this dualism could be pursued yet further on a more abstract level. Literally supported by the text and enhanced by perceptible contrastive musical changes of texture, voicing and especially metre, some of the compositions mentioned above -- perhaps most remarkably in Kaspar Förckelrath's "Wer überwindet sich" -- can be heard as a kind of musical eschatological allegory. The audience actually "hears" the progression
of life and passage of time in duple metre, followed by the instantaneous moment of spiritual transcendence marked by the change to triple metre. While the objective treatment of alternating metre in these compositions may lack the grandiloquent romanticism of Richard Strauss's Tod und Verklärung, the musical message of death and transcendence is nonetheless clearly communicated.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The rhetoric of funeral music seen in the course of this study is itself best appreciated in the context of the funeral ceremony. This is clearly the case in the discussion in Chapter Three of prosopopoeia or the personification of the dead. Although one can certainly appreciate the composers' use of prosopopoeia simply as an approach to composition, its true purpose and dramatic effect are best understood when one bears in mind the original context: the shadowed interior of a church draped in black; the bereft family and friends, clergy, musicians and attendants likewise in black; the opened coffin draped in black; the deceased in white, softly illuminated by surrounding candlelight. Musical-rhetorical prosopopoeia was indeed powerful: it could console the mourners, it could likewise admonish them, it vividly exemplified church doctrine. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that composers, having witnessed the effectiveness of prosopopoeia in funeral sermons, transferred the trope directly from sermonic oratory to musical oratory. The popularity of this trope among Baroque composers is undeniable, and it may well be seen as the cardinal rhetorical device of funeral music.

Musical-rhetorical figures are to be found in Baroque funeral music, just as they are present in other music of this time. The
dominating figures in this repertory seem to be of a hypotypotic or antithetical nature, used as they are to illustrate in music the traditional conceptual contrasts of this world and the next. No doubt these figures were employed with comparable persuasiveness by orators in the delivery (pronuntiatio) of the funeral sermon. The rhetorical exclamatio was found to be a pathetic figure that was commonly employed both in funerary oratory and funeral music. It is impossible to say at this point whether there is in fact a select group of figures that were felt by composers to be more appropriate than others for funerary compositions; and without comparable studies of other types of occasional music, we may never know.

The versatility of the composers in their rhetoric is at once suggested in the use of triple metre in funeral music. On the one hand, triple metre could be employed as an ingenuous representation of joy, associating the jubilant emotion with the metre and rhythms of a robust proportz or Nachtanz. Elsewhere, contrasted with duple metre, triple metre was employed metaphorically to delineate sharply between the physical and spiritual world, an application which most likely has its origins in the medieval signification of three as a symbol of perfection, two as imperfection.

The main purpose of the present study is to examine the rhetorical content of seventeenth-century Protestant funeral music in Germany. Although there are indications that there may in fact be a funerary musical rhetoric, a rhetoric distinguishable from the rhetorics of other occasional music, the question of its distinctiveness must remain, for the time being, unanswered. It has been demonstrated, certainly, that the musical rhetoric employed in funeral music was an extremely
persuasive force. Indeed, rhetoric in funeral music was as effective as, and at times more effective than, its literary model.

The funeral music of seventeenth-century Protestant Germany is, and will continue to be, a subject worthy of musicological investigation -- from commercial considerations of commissions, performance and publishing to philosophical speculation of the rhetoric and theology of the music and text; from ecclesiastical considerations of the liturgical and extra-liturgical role of the music to matters of the many intriguing questions regarding performing practice; from critical evaluations of the as yet unassessed epicedia by musicians found in the Leichenpredigten to investigations of the accompanying musical iconography. Since Arno Werner's inaugural study of the funeral music listed in the Stolberg-Stolberg catalogue, most subsequent studies, and this one as well, have reiterated Werner's call for further investigation into this body of music literature. It is hoped that the present thesis may provide yet another starting point for studies into this little-known and little-understood repertory.
APPENDIX

PROSOPOPOEIAL FUNERAL COMPOSITIONS CITED IN CHAPTER III

Important examples of prosopopoecial funeral compositions discussed in Chapter Three have been transcribed and included in their entirety in the Appendix. Because discussions of the application of personification in these works involved the compositions as a whole, it is most appropriate to include them here rather than in the text, where the length of some of them would have proved disruptive.

Editing in the transcriptions has been kept to a minimum. Modern clefs are used, incorrect clefs in the originals have been corrected, modern note values reflect the Baroque notation (i.e., whole note = semibreve, half note = minim, etc.), transposed parts or lines in the originals have been corrected, wrongly notated rhythmic values have been adjusted. Questionable matters of pitch, with regard to both notation and ficta, have not been addressed.
Severus Gastorius, "O Träuer-Fall! Der mich fast gantz entseelet:"

Cantus
Altus
Tenor
Bassus

Man Test und Stab/mein gantz Verlangen Ist durch den Tod dahin ge-gangen.
Theodor Schuchardt, "Ach Gott wie ist mein Hertz betrübt."
Michael Wagner, "Ach wie wird mein Hertz."

Chorus primus

Tenor I
Tenor II
Bassus

Chorus secundus

Tenor I
Tenor II
Bassus
Simon Brancovius, "Ach Gott ich muss in Trawrigkeit."
Bei

ly

ist Gott der
Herr

zechth!

Bei

ly

ist Gott der
Herr
Heinrich Schwemmer, "O wie manchen Berg."
Anderes Abschiedslied.
Kaspar Förkelrath, "Wer überwindet sich."
Heinrich Schwemmer, "Nun ist alles überstanden."
Heinrich Schwemmer, "Hie lieg ich überhäufft mit Schmertzen."
Gottfried Ernst Brechthold, "Ihr liebsten Freunde ihr!"

I. F., "Ich habe das Thränenthal der Welt."
Anon., "Nimm mein Jesu meine Wonne."

Heinrich Albert, "Gedenkt wie mich der Todt."
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Toft, Robert. "Musicke a sister to Poetrie: Rhetorical artifice in the


Wolf, Herbert. "Parentationen des 16. Jahrhunderts in germanistischer Sicht." In Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissen-


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Anon. Die ruffende Stimm des himmlischen Bräutigams...zu...Ehren-gedächtnus der...Frauen Maria Elisabetha des...Herrn Johann Thomasen... Ehefrauen... als dieselbe...dieses...1664. Jahres...verschieden (Regensburg: C. Fischer, 1664). Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 4 in Ee 651.


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 Franck, Melchior. Trostreicher Text, aus dem achten Capitel der Epistel Pauli an die Römer... so bey Christlicher Leichbestattung der... Frauen Hellenen...Hackens gepredigt...mit vier Stimmen... componirt. Coburg: Justus Hauck, 1614. London, British Library, C.193.2.


 I. F. Music Dess seelig verstorbenen Herrn. D. Majers letzte Valedication So nach gehaltener Leich=Predigt in der Stattkirchen zu


Cupressus luctus acerbioris...pro capulo...Annae Mariae, puel-
luiae supra aetatulam...Dn. M. Andreae Corvini... filiolae...4.
Aprilis, anno M.DC.XX. mortuae...emblematis musicis vermicula-
ta.... Leipzig: s. n. [F. Lanckisch], 1625. Zwickau, Rats-
schulbibliothek, M. 6. 6. 32.

Symbolum oder Täglicher Trost=Spruch / Psalm 73. vers. 28.
Mit welchem / auff seinen langwierigen Creutz- und Stechbettlein /
sich getrorestet / ... Herr Vincentius Schmuck...Mit 5. Stimmen
sampt dem General-Bass.... Leipzig: Georg Ritzsch, 1628. Göttin-
gen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 4° Conc.
fun. 252/27.

Schuchardt, Theodor. Christliches Gespräch eines betrübten Vaters mit
seinem abgeleibten Söhnelein. Auff den... Hintritt... Johann-
Henrici, des... Herrn M. Johannis Weissen... Söhneins Welches...
anno 1656... entschlaffen. Mit 8. Stimmen zu 2 unterschiedenen
Choren gesetzt. Gotha: Johann Michael Schall, 1656. Berlin,
Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 2 in Ee 700-3882.

Schütz, Schütz. Musikalische Exequien. Op. 7., Stuttgarter Schütz-

Schütz, Schütz. Musikalische Exequien. Edited by Georg Schumann. Leipzig:
VEB Breitkopf & Härtel Verlag, 1982.

Schwemmer, Heinrich. Letzter Zuruff / welcher nach gehaltener Predigt
abgesungen und aufgesetzt worden durch Obennanten [i.e. Heinrich
Schwemmer]. Nuremberg: M. Endter, 1670. Zwickau, Ratsschul-
bibliothek, M. 105, 1j; Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, Will VII, 1308.4°.

Text-Lied über den seligsten Hintritt und bey Christlicher
Bestattung der Edlen und Tugendreichsten Frauen Marien=Magdalenen
/ gebornen PELLERINNEN / Des Edlen und Vesten Junckherrn Benedict
Winckler... Eh=Schatzes.... Leipzig: C. Michael, 1661. Nurem-
berg, Stadtbibliothek, Will II 1208.4°.

Zwey Klag= und Abschieds=Lieder / über den Leich=Text und
Titul / Der Hoch=Wolgeborenen Frauen / Frauen Amaliae / Herrin von
Stubenberg / Gebarner Herrin von Liechtenstein / und Murau u.
ufgesetzt von Tobia Francken: in die Noten aber versezet / und
bey Hochansehlicher Beerdigung musiciret von Heinrich Schwemmer /
Direct. Mus. Nuremberg: C. Gerhard, 1665. Nuremberg, Stadtbib-
liothek, Will II 1121.4°.

Seidel, Martin. Klag- und Trost-Lied in welchen...Des Herrn
DanDechants...als...Wittber seiner Eheliebsten tdlchen Hintritt
hertz- und schmertzlich beklagt; dargegen aber auss Gottes Wort
sich kräftiglich wiederumb tröstest und auffrichtet In einer
geringfügigen Poesie und Melodia verfasset (s.l., s.n., s.d.).
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Slg. Her. 0 238/12.

Wagner, Michael. Aria in Dialogo i.e. Traur= und Trost=Gespräch / Auff
seliges Absterben Der Hoch=Edelgeborenen / und mit Christ=Adelichen
Tugenden begabten Frauen / Frauen Hedwig / Geboren dem Busche / aus
dem Hause Ippenburg / u. Des hoch=Edelgeborenen Gestrengen und
Vesten Herrn / Hn. Christian Wilhelm Hahnen / ... u. Weiland
Hertz= Ehegeliebtesten / Nachdem Dieselbe am 11. Septemb. Anno
1671. nach Mittage um 2. Uhr selig in dem HERRN entschlaffen / und
darauf den 29. Novembri selbigen Jahres mit Hoch=Edelcher / ansehnlchter und volckreicher Begleitung in die Kirche Seeburg
beigesetzt wurde : Angestellt und auffgesetzt von M. GEORGIO
SICELIO, Pastore in Bessenstet / Und auf Begehren in einem
fünfstimmigen Contrap. S. eylfertigst versetzt / und nach
Belieben auff 2. oder 3. Chore anzustellen eingerichtet von
MICHAELE WAGNERO, Musico und Cantore Ord. in Quedlinburg.
Leipzig: J. Bauer, 1672. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, 2 in
Ee 658 4°.

Der Lehr=Chor allerhand Biblische Texte in Alt[,] Tenor und Bass
nebst 2. Flöten vorsinget / 2. Der Glaubens Chor mit einer Arie
aus dem Leichen=Text in 2. discänten nebst 3. Viol di Gamb. ein-
stemmet 3. Die Seelen Stimme den Choral: Hertzlich thut mich
verlangen in einem Discant nebst einer Laute (hinterm Sarge ver-
borgen) nachsinget bey dem Freyherrlichen Leichbegängniss welches
Dem hochwohlgeborenen Herrn Herrn Sigismund Heinrich / Freyherr
von Biebran und Modlau... den 9. Decembris des 1693 Jahres in
Oszig gehalten wurde Nach der Predigt zu musiciren gesetzt von
Michael Wiedemann. Lauban: Johann Gottfried Dehnen, ca. 1693/94.
Berlin, Berliner Stadtbibliothek, Grauenklostersammlung VII.

Begräbnis=Concert von zehen Stimmen unter denen Alt, Tenor und
Bass etliche Biblische Texte vorsingen / welches Zewe Discänte mit
einem Trost= und Bet=Choral aus geistlichen Kirchen=Gesängen
beantworten. Dabey 2 Violinen und 3 Violen mässig darzwischen
spielen bey dem Freyherrlichen Leichen=Beängniss Welches Dem
Hochwohlgeborenen Herrn / HERRN Sigismund Heinrich Freyherren
von Biebran und Modlau... Den 9. Decembris des 1693sten Jahres in
Ossig gehalten wurde / Vor der Predigt zu Musiciren gesetzt von
Michael Wiedemann. Lauban: Johann Gottfried Dehnen, ca. 1693/94. Berlin,
Berliner Stadtbibliothek, Grauenklostersammlung VII.

Kurtzes Beschluss=Liedgen auff das CONSUMMATUM EST. von 8
Stimmen auff zwey Chören (1.) Ein Discant nebst der Laute (in der
Gruuft verdecket) intoniret welches (2.) Der gantze Chor hernach
wiederholet. Lauban: Johann Gottfried Dehnen, ca. 1693/94. Ber-
lin, Berliner Stadtbibliothek, Grauenklostersammlung VII.