

REWORKING THE CONFSSIONAL SOUNDSCAPE
IN THE GERMAN COUNTER-REFORMATION

by ALEXANDER J. FISHER

The notion of ‚reworking‘ is potentially rich for early modern musical culture, and brings immediately to mind the manipulation of a *cantus firmus* through repetition, segmentation, and inversion; the ways in which an existing composition can be adapted, especially in the imitation Mass and Magnificat of the 16th century; or the contrafacture of monophonic songs, stripped of their original texts and provided with new texts that suited them for new social or religious environments. In post-Reformation Germany, the concept of reworking can usefully be broadened to encompass the soundscape, the field of potentially significant sounds that shaped the experience of space.¹ The Reformation led to fundamental alterations to the organization and meaning of sacred space, especially in that the immanent sacrality of holy sites like churches and pilgrimage shrines was now contested. For Protestants as well as Catholics, the formation and maintenance of confessional space, produced and reshaped by sight, sound, smell, and even touch, was the means by which religious identity was made manifest. The range of sounds that could express the notion of confessional space was wide indeed, and ranged from polyphony to Latin chant, vernacular song, sermons, bells, gunfire, and all manner of public speech and noise.

Early Lutheran reformers naturally reworked the soundscape by cultivating vernacular chorales and limiting traditional paraliturgical sounds, although traditions of Franco-Flemish polyphony in Latin persisted through the century, particularly in court contexts and in well-appointed urban parishes. The rise of Calvinism, with its strict limits on polyphonic worship music and emphasis on congregational psalmody, led to even more radical reworkings of the confessional soundscape. The present essay focuses on the changing soundscape of post-Tridentine Catholicism, drawing selectively on recent research in the southern German orbit and focusing on three broad facets: first, the increasing composition and publication of Catholic polyphony embracing Marian, eucharistic, and sanctoral themes by the beginning of the 17th century; second, the role of sound in the cultures of Catholic processions and pilgrimage, which traced and defined sacral space in cities and the countryside; and third, regimes of bell ringing that marked time and space. The immediate presence of the confessional frontier makes this region of central Europe especially suitable for exploring changing soundscapes and confessional space in the decades leading up to the Thirty Years War.

¹ The notion of „soundscape“, first popularized by R. Murray Schafer in such writings as *The Tuning of the World*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977, has been defined in a variety of ways, and the definition offered here is more of heuristic than absolute value. For a survey of various approaches see Ari Kelman, „Rethinking the Soundscape. A Critical Genealogy of a Key Term in Sound Studies“, *Senses & Society* 5/2 (2010), 212–224.

Changing Textual Emphases in Catholic Polyphony, ca. 1600

A crucial element of musical reworking around the turn of the 17th century was a marked shift in textual preferences for liturgical and devotional polyphony, particularly in the southern German orbit. To a degree this was anticipated in the late sacred music of Orlando di Lasso (1532–1594) in Munich, who remained committed to the traditional genres of Mass and motet, but also responded in concrete ways to Tridentine liturgical standardization and modern devotional trends. Duke Wilhelm V's formal introduction of the Roman Rite in his court chapel in 1580 spurred Lasso to compose a new cycle of Vespers hymns, a series of Offertories for Advent and Lent, and sets of Lamentations and Responsories for the Holy Week Triduum.² But the rise of the official Marian cult during Wilhelm's reign (1579–1597) also encouraged Lasso to expand the court's repertory of Magnificats and litanies significantly: this period saw the composition of 66 of his 102 extant settings of the Magnificat, as well as 16 litanies, the majority of which set the Loretan text that was so prized in Bavarian pilgrimage.³ Moreover, Lasso helped to counter the influence of Protestant vernacular psalm translations by setting, together with his younger son Rudolph, fifty psalms by the Rhenish Jesuit Caspar Ulenberg in 1588 – the *Teutsche Psalmen, geistliche Psalmen mit dreyen Stimmen* (Munich, 1588) and produced as his swansong the deeply penitential *Lagrime di San Pietro* (Munich, 1594) in the year of his death, dedicating the lavish folio-sized print to none other than Pope Clement VIII.⁴

The confessionalist trend in Munich only strengthened after Lasso's death, as a new generation of musicians embraced both explicit Catholic symbols and a modern, musical idiom derived from Roman and northern Italian models. A key collection is the *Virginalia Eucharistica* (Munich, 1615) by Orlando's son Rudolph, scored for one to eight voices and organ, and containing 43 settings of Latin texts praising Mary and her Son.⁵ The presence of antiphons and other liturgical texts appropriate to Marian feasts was not unprecedented in a music print, of course; but the volume's lack of a coherent liturgical

² This repertory is preserved in a series of choirbooks copied for the use of the court chapel and preserved today in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München (hereafter: BSB). For a survey of these manuscripts see Martin Bente et al. (eds), *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Katalog der Musikhandschriften. 1. Chorbücher und Handschriften in chorbuchartiger Notation*, München: G. Henle Verlag, 1989 (Kataloge Bayerischer Musiksammlungen 1).

³ David Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats for Counter-Reformation Munich*, Princeton/NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994, 214–217. [Dissertation: University of Princeton, 1991].

⁴ For a study of the *Lagrime's* connections to contemporary Jesuitical devotion see Alexander J. Fisher, „Per mia particolare devotione“. Orlando di Lasso's *Lagrime di San Pietro* and Catholic Spirituality in Counter-Reformation Munich“, *JRMA* 132 (2007), 167–220.

⁵ Rudolph di Lasso, *Virginalia Eucharistica, quae magnae Virgini, Virginisque filio vocibus singulis II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. octonis, cum basi continua memor gratusque concinuit* (Munich, 1615; RISM A/I, L1040). Modern edition in Rudolph di Lasso, *Virginalia Eucharistica (1615)*, ed. by Alexander J. Fisher, Madison/WI: A-R Editions, 2002 (Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque 114).

plan and its Marian paratexts – note especially Lasso's fervent dedication to the Virgin of Loreto, whom he credits for healing him of a serious illness – points to a devotional, and indeed confessional purpose. An effort to reshape the traditional soundscape of sacred music, furthermore, may be seen in the application of a *basis continua* for organ throughout, almost a total novelty in German-speaking lands at this time and one that enhanced the ultramontane character of the print. Lasso would go on to publish more volumes of sacred concertos on Marian and Eucharistic themes – *Ad sacrum convivium* (Munich, 1617), *Alphabetum Marianum* (Munich, 1621) – and he was joined by Italian and German colleagues such as Bernardino Borlasca and Anton Holzner in crafting a repertory, still little known today, that exploited new sonic resources from Italy and also reflected the Bavarian court's militant confessional politics in the years leading up to the Thirty Years War.⁶

In the nearby imperial city of Augsburg, the biconfessional organization of religious and cultural life may have encouraged even more explicit attempts to rework the confessional soundscape in the spirit of Catholic reform. By the 1590s an influential Catholic minority, led by Jesuit fathers, sympathetic patricians of the Fugger and Welser dynasties, and a reform-minded episcopate began to assert itself against the city's Lutheran majority, founding confraternities, mounting pompous processions for Good Friday and Corpus Christi, cultivating pilgrimage to regional shrines, and promoting explicitly confessionalist cultural products. Among the specifically Marian volumes of music is the *Rosetum Marianum* (Dillingen, 1604), an anthology of polyphonic settings of the venerable tune *Maria zart* by thirty-three different composers, compiled by the cathedral *Kapellmeister* Bernhard Klingenstein (1545–1614) and dedicated to the confessionally militant bishop of Augsburg, Heinrich V von Knöringen (r. 1599–1646).⁷ But far more prolific was the cathedral vicar, composer, and organist Gregor Aichinger (1564–1628), who issued a lengthy series of music prints with explicitly confessional themes between 1598 and 1626. In contrast to older anodyne collections of Masses and *cantiones sacrae* – Aichinger himself issued three books of the latter between 1590 and 1597

⁶ Borlasca's music during his Munich tenure as vice-chapelmaster includes the *Cantica divae Mariae Virginis* (Venice, 1615; RISM A/I, B3756), the *Scala Iacob* (Venice, 1616; RISM A/I, B3757), and the *Ardori spirituali* (Munich, 1617; RISM A/I, B3758). Among the works of court organist Anton Holzner are the small-scale sacred concertos of the *Viretum pierium cuius flosculi et moduli una, II. III. et V. vocibus* (Munich, 1621; RISM A/I, H6393); see modern edition in Alexander J. Fisher (ed.), *Anton Holzner, Viretum pierium (Munich, 1621)*, Madison/WI: A-R Editions, 2009 (Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era 156). For a general discussion of this repertory see Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda. The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, esp. 106–130.

⁷ Bernhard Klingenstein, *Rosetum Marianum. Unser lieben Frawen Rosengertlein von drey und dreyssig lieblichen schönen Rosen oder Lobgesangen* (Dillingen, 1604; RISM B/I, 16047). On Klingenstein's partially-lost *Triodia sacra* (Dillingen, 1605; RISM B/I, 16051) see also Christian Thomas Leitmeir, „Bernhard Klingensteins Triodia Sacra (1605). Ein rekonstruierter Sammeldruck als Schlüsselquelle für das Musikleben der Spätrenaissance in Süddeutschland“, *Musik in Bayern* 63 (2002), 23–55.

– we now find prints with clear confessional orientations: for example, the *Tricinia Mariana* (Innsbruck, 1598), a collection of vocal trios setting Marian liturgical texts; the five-voice Magnificat settings of the *Virginalia* (Dillingen, 1607); or the *Corolla eucharistica* (Augsburg, 1621), containing Marian and Eucharistic settings for two and three voices with organ continuo.⁸ This music embraced the modern, ultramontane Italian forms of the canzonetta, spiritual madrigal, and sacred concerto, but also left little doubt about its confessional commitments, celebrating Mary, the Eucharist, and the saints in its texts and paratexts. Much of it may have been intended for the Catholic confraternities that were founded or revived in Augsburg around the beginning of the 17th century, groups that redefined confessional space by asserting themselves through public devotions, processions, and pilgrimages. Explicit evidence for such a connection is found, for example, in Aichinger's *Solennia Augustissimi Corporis Christi* (Augsburg, 1606), a collection of liturgical music for the eponymous feast dedicated to the newly-founded Corpus Christi Confraternity of Augsburg and its prefect, Marcus Fugger (1564–1614), a leading figure in the local Catholic revival.⁹

Further afield in Franconia and the Main valley, dominated by episcopal sees that directly adjoined Protestant cities and territories like Nürnberg, Brandenburg-Ansbach, Württemberg, and the Calvinist Palatinate and Hessen-Kassel, new trends in church music resonated strongly with currents of Catholic reform. At the archepiscopal court of Mainz, Johannes Le Febure (d. ca. 1612), a contributor to Klingenstein's anthology, issued his own *Rosetum Marianum* (Mainz, 1609), a collection discussed in some detail by Klaus Pietschmann.¹⁰ Rejecting the composition of secular music in his preface, the composer commended his „praiseworthy melodies for Godly contemplations“ [*hochlöbliche Melodi zu Gottseeligen Betrachtungen*], the three-voice texture of which was meant to more easily address the needs of musical amateurs and thereby to increase „Catholic zeal“ [*Katholisch Eiffer*]. While Rudolph di Lasso in Munich was dedicating music to the Virgin of Loreto, Franconian composers directed at least two publications to the Virgin of Dettelbach, a Marian shrine in the Würzburg diocese that became an intense focus of pilgrimage and Counter-Reformation propaganda during the episcopate of Julius Echter

⁸ Cited here are RISM A/I, A521, A539, and A548. For further discussion of Aichinger's music and Catholic devotional polyphony in Augsburg more broadly, see Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, esp. 129–149, 154–225.

⁹ Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg* (see n. 7), 144–49, 185.

¹⁰ Klaus Pietschmann, „Hochlöbliche Melodi zu Gottseeligen Betrachtungen. Mainzer Kirchenmusik um 1600 und die katholische Reform“, in Anna Esposito et al. (eds), *Trier – Mainz – Rom. Stationen, Wirkungsfelder, Netzwerke. Festschrift für Michael Matheus zum 60. Geburtstag*, Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013, 149–172, 160–165. Le Febure's *Rosetum Marianum* does not appear in RISM.

von Mespelbrünn (r. 1573–1617).¹¹ Such dedications appear in the *Flosculus vernalis*, a collection of Marian concertato music issued by Le Febure's successor, Gabriel Plautzius, in 1621; and in the second book of motets by Heinrich Pfendner, organist and *Kapellmeister* at Würzburg, in 1623.¹² In all such cases it is difficult to tell whether these composers' stated devotion to the Virgin reflected personal commitment, official propaganda, or some combination of both, but the explicit confessional frame of such prints reflected a clear effort to reshape the religious soundscape.

Large-scale anthologies printed in Catholic regions after the turn of the 17th century also show confessional markers in their organization, paratexts, and contents. A striking index to this may be found in the four large volumes of *Promptuarium musicum* issued at Strasbourg beginning in 1611, collections of Latin motets of mainly Italian provenance.¹³ The *Promptuarium* series was initially compiled and edited by the Protestant school rector at Speyer, Abraham Schadaeus (1566–1626), who maintained a confessionally neutral profile in the two volumes that he directly supervised. His motets, organized loosely according to the liturgical year, could find a home in both Catholic parishes and Lutheran civic churches where the performance of Latin polyphony had a long tradition. Schadaeus resigned his post in 1612, leaving the completion of the series to his collaborator Caspar Vincentius, the Speyer cathedral organist who had provided rudimentary organ continuo parts for the collection. Vincentius raised hackles with Speyer's city council for publicly denouncing a Lutheran preacher in the city, and was forced from his post in 1615, but not before dedicating a third volume of the *Promptuarium* to the dean of Speyer cathedral.¹⁴ It was the fourth and final volume, dedicated in 1617 to Vincentius' new employer, the Catholic Andreaskirche in Worms, that shows the shift in confessional emphasis most clearly. Large portions of the volume are given

¹¹ On the Dettelbach pilgrimage see esp. Hans Dünninger, *Maria siegt in Franken. Die Wallfahrt nach Dettelbach als Bekenntnis*, Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1979.

¹² Gabriel Plautzius [Gabrijel Plavec], *Flosculus vernalis, sacras cantiones, missas, aliasque laudes B. Mariæ continens* (Aschaffenburg, 1621; RISM A/I, P2602). This collection has been edited by Tomaž Faganel, Ljubljana, 1997 (Monumenta Artis Musicae Sloveniae 33). See also Heinrich Pfendner, *Motectorum binis, ternis, quaternis, quinis, senis, octonisque vocibus concinendorum, liber secundus, cum basso ad organum* (Würzburg, 1623; RISM A/I, P1750).

¹³ Abraham Schadaeus and Caspar Vincentius, *Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias sive motetas V. VI. VII. ☉ VIII. vocum, e diversis, iisque clarissimis hujus ☉ superioris ætatis authoribus* (Strasbourg, RISM B/I, 16111, 16123, 16132, 16171). I am grateful to Erika Honisch for sharing with me her unpublished research on Schadaeus' anthologies.

¹⁴ On Vincentius' conflicts with the Speyer town council, see Klaus Finkel, *Musikerziehung und Musikpflege an den Gelehrten Schulen in Speyer vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Freien Reichsstadt*, Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1973 (Mainzer Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 5), 222.

over, firstly, to the feast of Corpus Christi, which was increasingly an occasion for strident Catholic demonstrations of faith and polemic; also significant here is a section of „Prayers, Sighs, Praises, and Canticles, with Psalms and Spiritual Consolations“ [*Preces, suspiria, laudes, et cantica, cum Psalmis ac Spiritualibus consolationibus*], many of which set Psalmic texts that could be read as denunciations of the Church’s enemies and as appeals for divine protection.¹⁵ The volume concludes with a *Sylva Marialis* or „Marian Garden“ containing Marian devotional texts, antiphons, a Magnificat, and motets in honor of St. Christopher and even Ignatius of Loyola – an eight-voice setting of the recent hymn text *Ave Ignati pervium* is in fact the work of Vincentius himself.

Vincentius seems to have had a distinctly Catholic market in mind, but he was not alone. A Bavarian analogue may be found in three anthologies issued by Georg Victorinus, music director for the Munich Jesuits: two collections of Latin-texted sacred concertos, the *Siren coelestis* (Munich, 1616) and *Philomela coelestis* (Munich, 1624), and the *Thesaurus litaniarum* (Munich, 1596), the largest collection of polyphonic litanies of its age, dedicated to the Jesuit-organized Marian Congregations of southern German orbit.¹⁶ Further to the west, Johannes Donfrid, rector of the Catholic school in the Habsburg-controlled town of Rottenburg am Neckar, capped his own three-volume series of *Promptuarii musici* (Strasbourg, 1622, 1623, 1627) – containing hundreds of modern sacred concertos on Latin texts for Catholic liturgical and paraliturgical use – with the *Viridarium Musico-Marianum* (Trier, 1627), a vast anthology of over 200 sacred concertos emphasizing passages from the Song of Songs that were mainstays of the Virgin Mary’s allegorical representation.¹⁷ While space does not permit further exploration of these anthologies here, Vincentius, Victorinus, and Donfrid together issued a great deal of music that

¹⁵ For instance, this section of 51 motets begins with settings of the following texts, which generally call upon God to strike down the enemies of God’s people: *Exurge et intende iudicio* (Ps. 34:23) by Crisostomo Rondino; *Multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me* (Ps. 3:2) by Gregorio Zucchini; *Maligni declinate a me* (Ps. 118:115 [Vulg.]), also by Zucchini; *Domine Deus qui conteris bella ab initio* (Judith 9:10) by Guglielmo Arnoni; and *Nos alium Deum nescimus* (Judith 8:19), also by Arnoni.

¹⁶ Georg Victorinus, *Thesaurus litaniarum, quae a praecipuis hoc aevo musicis [...] collectae* (Munich, 1596; RISM B/I, 15962); *Siren coelestis duarum, trium et quatuor vocum* (Munich, 1616; RISM B/I, 16162); and *Philomela coelestis, sive suavissime, lectissimaque cantiones sacrae* (Munich, 1624; RISM B/I, 16241). For discussion of these anthologies see Alexander J. Fisher, „Celestial Sirens and Nightingales: Change and Assimilation in the Munich Anthologies of Georg Victorinus“, *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 14/1 (2008), <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v14/n01/fisher.html> (02.02.2016).

¹⁷ Johannes Donfrid, *Promptuarii musici concentus ecclesiasticos* (Strasbourg, RISM B/I, 16222, 16232, 16271); and *Viridarium musico-marianum* (Trier, RISM B/I, 16272). On the *Promptuarii musici* volumes and the vocal concertos of Urban Loth in particular, see Rainer Schmitt, „Untersuchungen zu Johann Donfrids Sammeldrucken unter besonderen Berücksichtigung der geistlichen Konzerte Urban Loths“, Dissertation: Universität Bonn, 1974.

was packaged in an explicitly Catholic frame, even if individual works could cross the confessional divide with relative ease.¹⁸

Processional Sound and the Reworking of Urban Soundscapes

The existence of confessionally-oriented polyphony represents only a sounding potential for reworking a soundscape. We are seldom certain of the performance of this music, which certainly coexisted with older traditions of Renaissance polyphony. Conversely, archival and documentary accounts of Catholic rituals rarely indicate the identity of composers and compositions, but they can provide more concrete examples of how soundscapes were refashioned in the spirit of Catholic reform. The most strident example may be found in the expansion of processions, ritual phenomena that defined and projected Catholic space in cities close to the confessional frontier. The most impressive examples were certainly the great Corpus Christi processions in the Bavarian capital of Munich, spectacles that attracted thousands of foreign visitors and inspired other eucharistic processions elsewhere in the German orbit.¹⁹ As the public celebration of the transsubstantiated host, the Corpus Christi procession was a provocative demonstration of Catholic fidelity and militancy; in Munich its polemical intent was underlined by militaristic sounds, including the fusillades of hundreds of musketeers, the report of cannon fire, the blaring of trumpets and the beating of military drums. Although there was also a wide range of music performed throughout the lengthy procession, including that of the ducal cantorate under Orlando di Lasso, the military sounds made the procession's effect inescapable, even for those residents removed from its direct sightlines.²⁰

The effect was all the greater in cities of mixed confession like Augsburg, where by 1600 Catholic processions began to push into majority Protestant neighbourhoods with unaccustomed sights and sounds.²¹ Spurred by the Jesuits and sympathetic Catholic patricians and confreres, processions on Good Friday and Corpus Christi temporarily reshaped the city's sacral space, in part through Catholic hymns, litanies, polyphony, bells, and the more strident sounds of trumpets and military drums. The Good Friday evening proces-

¹⁸ The cultivation of Canticles texts in Lutheran as well as Catholic areas is discussed in Robert L. Kendrick, „*Sonet vox tua in auribus meis*. Song of Songs Exegesis and the Seventeenth-Century Motet“, *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 16 (1994), 99–118. More recent discussion of devotional trends in 17th-century Lutheran music may be found in Mary E. Frandsen, „Music and Lutheran Devotion in the Schütz Era“, *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 33 (2011), 41–74; and idem., „*Salve Regina/Salve Rex Christe*. Lutheran Engagement with the Marian Antiphons in the Age of Orthodoxy and Piety“, *MD* 55 (2010), 129–218.

¹⁹ On the Munich Corpus Christi processions see Alois Mitterwieser, *Geschichte der Fronleichnamsprozession in Bayern*, München: Knorr & Hirth, 1930.

²⁰ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda* (see n. 6), 249–266.

²¹ For discussion see Alexander J. Fisher, „*Alls wie mann inn krieg pfllegt zue thuen*. Music and Catholic Processions in Counter-Reformation Augsburg“, in: Glenn Clark et al. (eds), *City Limits. Perspectives on the Historical European City*, Montreal and others: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010, 254–272.

sion triggered special scorn on the part of Protestant elites, who recoiled at the torchlit spectacle featuring the bloodied backs of marching flagellants. The Lutheran superintendent and pastor at the church of St. Anna, Melchior Volcius, gave fiery sermons to his flock denouncing the Catholics for their deceitful seductions, and admonishing his own flock to avert their eyes and ears: the Catholics, he writes,

„forbid their people to visit our church, hear our sermons and attend our services, in which they would hear nothing but God’s pure, unsullied word, along with pure Psalms and sacred songs [...] But you run to this blasphemous, abominable event in night and fog, where you see nothing but sheer atrociousness and idolatry; you hear nothing by which you can better yourself.“²²

For Volcius the soteriological risk to his flock was simply too much to bear. Similar reworkings of the sacral landscape unfolded in other towns of mixed confession, or which were subjected to recatholicization campaigns in the early 17th century. Among them were the Lutheran towns of the Upper Palatinate, awarded to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria in the wake of the decisive Catholic victory at White Mountain in 1620. In towns like Amberg, Neumarkt, and Tirschenreuth, the introduction of Catholic processions with militaristic sounds were a striking part of recatholicization efforts on the part of Maximilian and his Jesuit allies.²³ We are less precisely informed about the sounds of Catholic processions in the imperial city of Donauwörth, but here the penetration of Catholic processions into Protestant neighbourhoods led to episodes of outright violence. In particular, a Lutheran assault on a St. Mark’s day procession in 1606, a ritual that had been traditionally accompanied by the singing of Catholic litanies, led to a Bavarian military occupation in the following year and the formal stripping of the city’s imperial status.²⁴

²² Melchior Volcius, *Zwo Christliche Predigten, von der abscheulichen Geisselungsprocession, welche jährlich im Papstthumb am Charfreytag gehalten würdt*, Tübingen: in der Cellischen Truckerey, 1607, 52.

²³ For examples in Neumarkt and Tirschenreuth, respectively, see Wilhelm Gegenfurtner, „Jesuiten in der Oberpfalz. Ihr Wirken und Beitrag zur Rekatholisierung in den oberpfälzischen Landen (1521–1650)“, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bistums Regensburg* 11 (1977), 137–138; and Philipp Schertl, „Die Amberger Jesuiten im ersten Dezennium ihres Wirkens (1621–1632)“, *Verhandlungen des historischen Vereins von Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 103 (1963), 288.

²⁴ Reginald Möhner of the Benedictine abbey of SS. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg writes that litanies would have been an expected part of the traditional Catholic processions in Donauwörth: „Donawertenses quoq[ue] qui Evangelici videri volebunt, contra expressam Religionis pacem notebant pati, ut Catholici in eo urbe constituti dieb[us] Rogationu[m], iuxta antiquissimum Ecclesiae veræ ritum cu[m] Crucib[us] et vexillis Litanias decantantes publicè procederent.“ [Möhner, „Annales Augustani“, *Archiv des Bistums Augsburg*, Hs 52, II, 1268]. A later chronicler of the Benedictine monastery of the Holy Cross in Donauwörth, Cölestin Königsdorfer, wrote that the procession was accompanied by a „Schaar junger Musiker in Linnen gekleidet.“ See his *Geschichte des Klosters zum Heil. Kreuz in Donauwörth [...] Zweiter Band. Vom Jahre 1518 bis 1648*, Donauwörth: Sebastian Sedlmayr, 1825, II, 271. On the Donauwörth conflict more generally see Felix Stieve, *Der Kampf um Donauwörth im Zusammenhänge der Reichsgeschichte*, München: M. Rieger, 1875.

New Regimes of Bell Ringing

Processions like these temporarily reworked confessional soundscapes, but these were altered on a more routine basis as well. Daily and seasonal cycles of bell ringing were among the keynotes of the urban soundscape, and changes in the regime of bell sounds marked Catholic efforts to appropriate and redefine sacred space. Lutherans living in recatholicized towns were stripped of their access to bells, which not only marked time and space but represented political and spiritual authority. For example, in the Lutheran town of Gerolzhofen, subject to the diocese of Würzburg, Bishop Friedrich von Wirsberg (r. 1558–1573) refused to allow Lutheran funeral processions with bells as early as 1573; local Lutherans who were found participating in funeral rites outside the city were to be punished with several days in jail.²⁵ In the Upper Palatine capital of Amberg, the Bavarian electoral commissars initially conceded the use of bells for Lutheran funerals in 1626, but by 1628 they insisted that „bells will no longer be rung at the burials of those dead who have not previously accepted the Catholic religion or who have not at least had the clergy called out to them while they were sick.“²⁶ Catholic authorities deployed bells as aural cues for new or revived devotional practices. Of central importance was the so-called *Angelus* or *Ave Maria* bell. In Protestant areas the routine ringing of the *Angelus* at morning, noon, and nightfall was desacralized by local authorities and intended to mark secular time only; but for Catholic officials it was a specific signal for collective prayer of the *Ave Maria* with its appeal for the Virgin’s intercession („ora pro nobis peccatoribus“).²⁷ In Cologne, the papal nuncio Ottavio Frangipani awarded indulgences for kneeling and praying at the sound of the *Angelus*; in areas under the control of the duke of Bavaria, this practice was mandatory in both public and private, with transgressors facing punishment.²⁸ Other bells marked beginning of Rosary devotions on Saturday evenings in the recatholicized towns and villages of the Upper Palatinate.²⁹ In the nearby diocese of Bamberg, where Lutheran communities

²⁵ Hanna Brommer, *Rekatholisierung mit und ohne System. Die Hochstifte Würzburg und Bamberg im Vergleich (ca. 1555–1700)*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014, 159–160.

²⁶ Trevor Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles. The Counter Reformation in the Upper Palatinate*, Farnham and Burlington/VT: Ashgate, 2009, 49–54.

²⁷ On the history of the *Angelus* see Ansgar Hense, *Glockenläuten und Uhrenschlagen. Der Gebrauch von Kirchenglocken in der kirchlichen und staatlichen Rechtsordnung*, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1998 (Staatskirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 32), 39–42.

²⁸ Frangipani’s directive is in the *Directorium ecclesiasticae disciplinae, Coloniensi praesertim Ecclesiae accommodatum*, Cologne: In Officina Birckmannica, sumptibus Arnoldi Mylij, 1597, 312–313. On his insistence on the Catholic regime of bells more generally, see also Hansgeorg Molitor, *Das Erzbistum Köln im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe, 1515–1688*, Köln: J. P. Bachem, 2008 (Geschichte des Erzbistums Köln 3), 663. On the Bavarian mandate for the *Angelus* see Dieter Albrecht, *Maximilian I. von Bayern 1573–1651*, München: Oldenbourg, 1998, 294. In the Würzburg diocese a specific mandate for the *Angelus* is dated to 1636; see Winfried Romberg, *Die Würzburger Bischöfe von 1617 bis 1684*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011 (Das Bistum Würzburg 7), 291–292.

²⁹ Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles* (see n. 26), 241.

were widespread, bishop Johann Philipp von Gebsattel (r. 1599–1609) renewed the older practice of ringing bells on Friday mornings to commemorate the Passion, to be followed by an Office and a Mass; those unable to appear at the church were required to fall to their knees at the sound of the bell, doff their hats in public, and pray.³⁰ The enforcement of such directives must have been difficult: we have, for example, a written grievance made in 1615 to the Landshut town council by Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria, who complained bitterly that when the *Ave Maria* is rung, „almost no one kneels and shows his devotion, as would be fitting [...] some only remove their hats, and continue in their conversation or business.“³¹

The traditional thaumaturgical properties of bells were also a topic of controversy, meaning that changes in confession were accompanied by disenchantments and reenchantments of the soundscape created by bell signals. A typical example of Evangelical critique may be found in the *Predigt vom dem leuten* (1556) by the Lutheran pastor and polemicist Thomas Rorer, a convert from Catholicism. Rorer conceded that storms were in fact God's punishment for human sinfulness, but were simultaneously natural phenomena. Therefore ringing bells, blowing horns, shooting guns, and so forth, to drive away the demons that were said to stir up storms, could be nothing but idolatrous and set the power of dead objects against God's will.³² The Catholic response was largely to acknowledge and reinforce traditional beliefs about the thaumaturgy of bell sounds. Especially influential was the *De campanis commentarius* issued at Rome in 1612 by the papal sacristan Angelo Rocca, drawing on venerable arguments by the medieval liturgist Guillaume Durand and others,³³ but this was anticipated in the German theatre by the nuncio Frangipani in Cologne, whose comprehensive ordinance for that archdiocese in 1597 insisted that bells sacrally charged the space around them:

„Similarly, and from ancient and praiseworthy church custom, bells should be rung when storms are stirred up. For our powerful adversaries, hearing the trumpets of God and of our Savior Jesus Christ, flee in terror, and refrain from stirring up storms; and people of faith are admonished and incited to prayer, that they should be liberated from imminent danger.“³⁴

It was not only the so-called „storm bell“ or *Sturmglöcke* that had such power. Johann Bartholomäus Schreckenfuchs, a Catholic pastor from Könghausen in the Swabian diocese of Augsburg, wrote in his *Unser Lieben Frauen Floramor* (1612) that

³⁰ Dieter J. Weiss, *Das exemte Bistum Bamberg. Teil 3. Die Bischofsreihe von 1522 bis 1693*, Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000 (*Germania sacra. Neue Folge* 38), 335–336.

³¹ Maximilian I to the Landshut town council, May 28th, 1615, BayHStA, GR 1254/1/19.

³² Thomas Rorer, *Ein Predigt von dem Leuten gegen das wetter, sampt einer feinen unterricht, Warumb die wetter komen, und wie sollen one schaden vertrieben werden*, Regensburg: Hans Kohl, 1556.

³³ Angelo Rocca, *De campanis commentarius*, Roma: Apud Guillelmim Facciottum, 1612.

³⁴ Frangipani, *Directorium ecclesiasticae disciplinae* (see n. 28), 358.

„It is a wonder to behold, and clear and evident from the confessions of witches and magicians, that their devilish practices and apparitions can have no purchase while the evening bell is rung; and when in morning the *Ave Maria* bell is rung, all of their deeds and being must have a quick end. We read such things in various stories, as when the Devil is leading a [soul] through the air, and the *Ave Maria* bell is rung at the same time, he will let his quarry fall to the ground and flee far away.“³⁵

The Upper Palatinate provides an instructive example of how changes in confessional regime could trigger a reworking of the soundscape created by bells. Lutheran church ordinances banned the ringing of storm bells as early as 1556; but visitations conducted in 1579 and 1580 found that weather ringing was still practiced in over half of the examined parishes.³⁶ After the Battle of White Mountain, the Bavarian government imposed a new regime of bells in the capital of Amberg and in other towns that restored the Catholic marking of time and space. The *Ave Maria* or *Angelus* was now to be rung thrice daily; on Thursdays the final *Angelus* was to be preceded by the striking of a large bell, the so-called *Todesangst Christi* or simply the *Angst*, as a commemoration of the Passion; and on Fridays all of the bells were to be rung at eleven in the morning to remember Christ's passing, a signal known as *das Verscheiden Christi* or simply *die Scheidung*.³⁷ The reworking of the urban soundscape through the Catholic regime of bells may have incited less resistance than one might expect. The Bavarian elector and his Jesuit allies pursued recatholicization with great cunning, exploiting the Lutheran majority's distaste for the ritual austerity of Calvinism, which had previously been imposed by Electoral Palatine governors. While there is indeed compelling evidence for the persistence of Lutheran conventicles well into the late 1620s, it is at least possible that the thaumaturgy of bells was at least tolerated, if not welcomed.

³⁵ Johann Bartholomäus Schreckenfuchs, *Unser Lieben Frauen Floramor. Das ist: Tausent schöne Exempel, Wundergeschichte, und mancherley Beschreibung von der aller seligsten Jungkfrau und Mutter Gottes Maria*, Augsburg: Chrysostomus Dabertzhofer, 1612, 256–257. For a dissenting Catholic view on the thaumaturgical power of bells, see Eucharius Sang, *Der Allerseeligsten Jungfrauen MARIE Alte und Neue zu Dettelbach geschehene Wunderzeichen*, trans. by Johann Victor, Würzburg: Georg Fleischmann, 1608, 56–57.

³⁶ Johnson, *Magistrates, Madonnas and Miracles* (see n. 26), 220–221, citing Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Konfessionsbildung. Studien zur Reformation, Gegenreformation und katholischen Reform*, Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1985, 159–160.

³⁷ Philipp Schertl, „Die Amberger Jesuiten im ersten Dezennium ihres Wirkens (1621–1632)“, *Verhandlungen des historischen Vereins von Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 102 (1962), 148, citing Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Amberg, OpRRA 560.

These aspects of polyphonic music, processions, and bells are mere examples of the reworking of soundscapes in the wake of Tridentine reform in the north. A more complete picture would include the music of Jesuit theatrical productions, some of which adopted the modes of contemporary opera and oratorio; and changes in popular hymnody, as Jesuits and Franciscans, especially, issued a rising number of Catholic songbooks meant to displace Lutheran chorales and Calvinist psalms. The notion of reworking, moreover, can be profitably extended to specific genres of music implicated in Catholic reform, notably the imitation Magnificat, studied admirably by David Crook in the case of Orlando di Lasso;³⁸ and in the Catholic, often Jesuit, contrafacture of popular and inflammatory Lutheran hymns like *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*.³⁹ The notion of reworking, then, is useful not only for aspects of composition and transmission, but also for describing broader transformations in the aural environment wrought by social and religious change.

³⁸ Crook, *Orlando di Lasso's Imitation Magnificats* (see n. 3).

³⁹ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda* (see n. 6), 182–183.