A Hidden Agenda: Universality in the *Musikalische Exequien* of Heinrich Schütz

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I hereby recommend that this document prepared under my direction

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Rembrandt: "Portrait of a Musician," 1633
(probably Heinrich Schütz at age 48)
Source: Sagittarius 3: p. 53

Portrait of Prince Heinrich Posthumus von Reuss
Source: Preface to Musikalische Exequien,
I. Background

This document is really a tale of two Heinrichs. The first is the famous seventeenth-century German musician, Heinrich Schütz (1585-1672), composer of the *Musikalische Exequien* (SWV 279-281). The second is Prince Heinrich Posthumus von Reuss (1572-1635), for whose funeral the *Exequien* was written. Portraits of both men appear on the opposite page.

Posthumus, so named because he was born a few weeks after his father died in 1572, truly deserved his later appellation “Heinrich the Great” (Graulich XXV). At a time when most German princes were crude, hedonistic brutes (Köhler 145, Schrade 397),1 Heinrich Posthumus was cultured and well-educated, having studied at the universities in Straßburg and Jena with a specialty in rhetoric. This prince among princes transformed his country of Gera into a thriving, peaceful place even in the midst of the Thirty Years’ War. He lifted his bankrupt state to prosperity, built roads, brought order to the church, established courts of justice and founded schools (Gregor-Dellin 215). Posthumus’s advice was sought by many rulers beyond his realm, including the three Holy Roman Emperors he counselled. The well-rounded Prince was also an excellent athlete, being a master at fencing and tilting-at-the-ring (Moser 155). His social skills, sense of humor, heroic appearance,2

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1 Many rulers in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Germany were heavily materialistic, intemperate, vain and superstitious. Many dabbled in astrology, alchemy and Rosicrucianism (Moser 6).

2 In his sermon at Posthumus’s funeral, Bartholomäus Schwarz described the Prince as possessing a “beautiful, heroic stature” (Trumpff 120).
and love of life made him a popular and frequent guest at court functions, royal weddings, hunts, tournaments, and masked balls throughout the Holy Roman Empire, Bohemia, Austria and Denmark (Trumpff 120).

Even with such diverse talents, Prince Heinrich’s major interest lay in the arts, especially music. His own skill in music was very strong, as he was able to sing the bass part of the fine motets his court choir sang. He was always seeking to upgrade the excellent musical establishment at Gera. In 1608 he established a Gymnasium Ruthenum that employed a Cantor Figuralis and a Cantor Choralis (Trumpff 120). The latter one, Jüterborg Peter Neander, put on famed, elaborate Christmas Matins services that Posthumus himself supervised.³

Musicians naturally thought highly of Posthumus, as is evidenced in Samuel Scheidt’s dedication to the Prince in his Pars Prima Concertum Sacrorum (1622), where the composer said that he would

...always remember with what pleasure you listened to the late Michael Praetorius, Heinrich Schütz and me. ...as we sang the praises of Almighty God at the assembly of princes and potentates in the illustrious court of Bayreuth (Rifkin 6).

The occasion to which Scheidt referred was an organ dedication at the Bayreuth Stadtkirche on August 15, 1619, one of several documented meetings between Posthumus and Heinrich Schütz. Schütz may have even travelled to Bayreuth with Posthumus, who departed from Gera August 12.

³Posthumus saw to all costs, logistics and costumes in these programs, even to the detail of directing that the boys in the roles of angels should wear white robes and green wreaths while carrying torches (Moser 156).
Posthumus may have known Schütz for years, as the musician was born in 1585 into a prominent family in Köstritz, only one mile from Posthumus’s court in Gera (Moser 22). Posthumus was certainly well acquainted with the Schütz family since the composer’s older brother Georg tutored Posthumus’s sons beginning in 1615 (Graulich XXVI). As early as 1617 Posthumus sought Heinrich’s help in reorganizing court and church music at Gera (Jung 241-247). The two also met August 17, 1627. On that day Elector Johann Georg I, Schütz’s employer in Dresden, brought Schütz and several other musicians along with him to Schloß Osterstein, Posthumus’s castle near Gera. Posthumus probably also encountered Schütz at a royal wedding at Torgau in April 1627, for which the first German opera, Schütz’s now lost Dafne, was performed. Finally, in October of the same year the two men likely attended the Electoral Conference at Mühlhausen, where Schütz conducted his massive “Electoral Motet,” “Da Pacem Domine/Vivat Moguntinus ”(SWV 465) (Graulich XXIV).

While maintaining a professional relationship, Heinrich Schütz the musician and Heinrich Posthumus the Prince shared a friendship that transcended their class difference. A measure of their mutual affection can be seen in the poem of sixty Alexandrine couplets Schütz penned in honor of Posthumus at the beginning of the published version of the Musikalische Exequien. Schütz praises Posthumus in this dedicatory poem as a great defender of music comparable to King David. He even throws in a pun concerning his relationship to Posthumus (Schütz 5):

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4A libretto for Dafne has been found in the library of Posthumus’s castle in Osterstein (Rifkin 7).
Der Ihr den Musen wart ihr Schirm/Schutz/Freud und Wonne [O Thou, who for the Muses was their shelter, protection, joy and delight].

A prolonged illness in 1632 made Posthumus more mindful of his mortality (Trumpff 207). At this time he began to make detailed plans for his funeral, in keeping with the tradition of the day (Wessely 61; Smallman 46). It was typical in Germany from about 1580 to 1750 for people of all classes to have their funeral sermons printed. The nobility would also have their tin or copper coffins inscribed with Bible passages, vita, pictures, coat-of-arms, etc. (Henning 44). Posthumus had his copper coffin built and inscribed in secret a full year before his death in 1635. In his sermon for Posthumus’s funeral on February 4, 1636, the Superintendent of Gera, Christoph Richter, described Posthumus’s preparations:

A year beforehand His Grace had a copper coffin made and in the meantime had it painted and adorned, not allowing his Gracious Lady to know anything about it, until about three days before his blessed end, when he brought up the matter of his own accord, as if he had known and felt that the time had come, and that he should and could no longer keep the secret quiet (Graulich XXVI).

Not surprisingly, Posthumus’s coffin was distinguished from the typical practice by the remarkably complex, thoughtful selections and order of the texts inscribed on it. The coffin inscriptions of his contemporaries generally consisted of a hodge-podge of a few favorite Bible verses and a long, flattering, poetic vita of the deceased (Henning 45). Posthumus, on the other hand, dispensed with a vita and instead had inscribed a series of Bible verses

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5The deceased usually lay in state next to the family chapel for one to several days, then was enbalmed and placed in a wooden coffin fastened together with a rope. Eventually this wooden coffin was placed in the metal sarcophagus (Henning 44).
Photographs (1921) of Posthumus's sarcophagus in the Reuss family crypt in Gera.
Source: Sagittarius 4: pp. 56ff.
and (atypically for the time) chorale stanzas; each of the eight chorale strophes acted as an exegesis of the preceding Bible verse in a pattern that proclaimed the story of salvation in Christ.

Schematic: Position of texts inscribed on Posthumus's coffin. Arabic numerals indicate the order of the texts as they appear in Schütz's *Musikalische Exequien*. Photographs of the coffin are on the opposite page.6

6The coffin lay in the Reuss family tomb at the parish church of St. John in Gera from 1636 to 1922. The church burned down in 1780, and the ruins were razed in 1824. When a road was to be built in 1922, the grave contents had to be transferred to the Salvatorkirche in Gera, where they remain to this day. The Gera Stadtarchiver, Kretschmer, took photographs and made a diagram of the coffin text layout in 1921 (Henning 45). Kretschmer also discovered a
Facsimiles of three pages of the brochure printed for Posthumus's funeral service (February 4, 1636).
Source: Graulich ed., preface pp. xlvi, xlvii, 1
Since the coffin texts were also to be the basis of Posthumus’s funeral music, it was necessary to relate the textual structure to musical considerations. Posthumus’s structure of diverse texts in alternation may have been inspired by hearing a similar pattern in Schütz’s 1627 “Electoral Motet,” “Da Pacem/Vivat Mogentinus.” In dialogue fashion, both the motet and Posthumus’s text present a message of peace in the face of strife.

It was customary to have the sarcophagus texts printed in a brochure along with the funeral sermon text. Often this pamphlet was attached to the coffin as the deceased lay in state (Henning, 44). Posthumus’s six-page brochure describes its contents:

Copy/ of the sayings from Holy Scripture and Christian Hymns/ which . . . Lord Heinrich the Younger and Eldest of the Reuss family . . . had marked on the coffin he had made in readiness. These, also at the behest of Their Most Noble Graces, Her Ladyship 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 held on the 4th of February this year, 1636, in accordance with repeated requests made earlier by His late Grace. Also included sacred hymns, such as were chosen by His late Grace to be sung before, during and after his solemn interment . . . Gera 1636 (Graulich XXVI).

Posthumus’s brochure in fact acted as a bulletin for his funeral service (Henning 48). It included directions for the order of service, congregational hymns, all of the coffin texts (with indications of their placement on the sarcophagus), plus a Pro Introitu title, Job 1:21, and the German Nunc Dimittis (partial facsimile on opposite page). With the exception of the broken sword in the coffin. Placing a broken weapon in a sarcophagus was a common practice in the seventeenth century, symbolizing the end of the fight for life here on this earth. The sword was found directly behind that section of the lid on which the chorale, “Es ist allhier ein Jammertal,” was inscribed (Henning 53).
congregational hymns and incidental directions, all of these texts appear in the musical composition commissioned for Posthumus’s funeral: the *Musikalische Exequien* of Heinrich Schütz.
Musikalische Exequien

Bedruckt zu Dresden/ bey Wolff Seysert/Im Jahr/ 1636.

Title page of original 1636 publication of Schütz's Musikalische Exequien
Source: Graulich ed., p. LI
II. Commission and Composition of the Exequien

The Musikalische Exequien takes its title from the Latin word, exsequiae, meaning funeral procession. The Germanic spelling, Exequien, indicates a broader meaning, i.e., the entire funeral rite itself. The title thus suggests that the work is a musical setting of a funeral service (Wiebe 31). This piece is in fact the largest and most important of a fairly sizable genre in Schütz’s output, the funeral or memorial composition. Schütz himself considered the work important enough to give it a separate opus number (7), one of only thirteen publications he numbered.

The title page of the original 1636 publication of the Exequien (facsimile on opposite page) describes its first performance:

MUSICAL OBSEQUIES such as were used at the solemn and splendid Interment of His late Most Noble Lordship, LORD HEINRICH . . . performed recently on the 4th day of the month of February in Gera before and after the Funeral Sermon, as frequently requested during the lifetime of His Blessed Grace, arranged and sung to a quiet, discreet organ with 6, 8, and more voices. Including a duplicate Basso Continuo part, one being for the organ, the other for the Conductor or the Violone, in which a special Index of the Musical Items contained in this slight work is to be found, together with Ordinances or Instructions for the gracious reader. As a last humble act of Esteem and Remembrance, and upon request, set to music and presented for publication by Heinrich Schütz, Electoral Saxon Director of Music. Printed in Dresden by Wolff Seyffert in the year 1636 (Graulich XXXVIII).
Absonderlich Verzeichnus deren in diesem Wercklein befindlichen Musicalischen Sachen / nebens die Ordinanzen an den Günstigen Esfer.


I.
Ordinanzt des Concerts oder der Teutschen Begräbnis Misja:
Nacht bin ich von Mutter Kreibe kommen.

II.

III.
Ordinanzt des Gesanges Simeonis: HErr nun lässetu denen Diener in Friede fahren.

Schütz's preface to the 1636 edition of the Exequien

Source: Graulich ed., preface p. lxii

+: references to Schütz's textual additions
The work is then dedicated to Posthumus's widow and two sons. The 1636 publication continues with Schütz's sixty line elegy to Posthumus, followed by the "Special Index of Musical Items." A facsimile of this index from Spitta's edition, which was based directly on the 1636 first impression, appears on the opposite page (Graulich LXII). The first person voice of this preface proves it was written by Schütz himself, as he lays out the three part structure7 of the work (underlining by present writer):

Special Index of the Musical Items contained in this slight work together with the Ordinances for the gracious reader. This slight work consists of only three pieces or concerted works. 1. All those quotations from Holy Writ and verses from Christian hymns which His late Grace had had recorded and engraved upon the outside of the lid and along both sides, at the foot and the head of the coffin which he had made in secret during his lifetime, all brought together and set to music in one concerted work, in the form of a German Missa, in the fashion of the Latin Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie Eleison, Gloria in excelsis, Et in terrapax, etc. 2. The words or text chosen and ordered by His late Grace for his Funeral Sermon: Herr, wenn ich nur dich habe etc. 3. The Song of Simeon: Herr, nun lässet du deinen Diener in Friede fahren etc. decreed by His late Grace to be sung during the act of interment. During this a separate choir singing a different text is introduced, beginning with the words: Selig sind die Toten etc. Now follow the Ordinance and Instructions for each of these concerted items.

I. Ordinance for the concerted motet or German Burial Missa: Nacket bin ich vom Mutterleibe kommen. fol. 1
1. This Concerted motet, set out in the fashion of a Latin or German Missa, is actually performed in six parts or by six singers, to the organ, and calls for two trebles, one alto, two tenors and one bass. 2. In the alto part, however, two

7Complete texts and translations of the Exequien are in Appendix B. Appendix C is an analysis of the structure of Part I.
passages for a bass voice are included (at times when the alto has nothing to sing)—which is intended to give greater variety to the work and therefore must be included and sung. 3. Where the word Capella is found, the six obbligato vocal parts can be copied out as far as the end of that section, to provide six more parts, so that an additional Choir or Capella can be set up and used. 4. For the benefit of the singers I have written out the basso continuo part, with the chords I have in mind to be played on the organ, a fourth lower, even though I am well aware that a fifth lower would be more natural for the organ, and would have made things easier probably for the inexperienced organist. 5. Since I have had to assemble together verses from German hymns written in a variety of modes, I hope understanding musicians will forgive me where occasionally I have had to transgress the Ninth Mode in order to accommodate the chorale tunes. 6. Anyone liking this work of mine may find that it can be used to good effect, as laid down above, as a substitute for a German Missa, and possibly for the Feast of the Purification or on the 16th Sunday after Trinity.

II. Ordinance for the Motet: Herr, wenn ich nur dich habe. fol. 14

This is in eight parts, for two equal choirs, and if so desired can also be arranged and sung without the organ.

III. Ordinance for the Song of Simeon: Herr, nun lässet du deinen Diener im Friede fahren. fol. 16

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 Todten, 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 the Heavenly Spirits and holy Angels. 2. Primus Chorus is to be placed in close proximity

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8Posthumus's chapel at Gera seems to have included a male alto who was able to double as a bass soloist (Graulich XXVIII).
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 round the church, according to the possibilities that present themselves, the Author hopes that the effect of the work might be greatly enhanced (Graulich XXXIX-XL).

The underlined passages above (see bracketed lines in facsimile) point to several items of the *Exequien* that do not appear in Posthumus’s pre-ordained coffin/brochure texts: 1) The designation of Part I as being “in the form of a German *Missa*, in the fashion of the Latin *Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie eleison, Gloria in excelsis, Et in terra pax etc.*”; 2) A three-fold trinitarian German *Kyrie* (“Herr, erbarm dich über uns”) inserted at the opening of Part I; 3) In the Part III Song of Simeon, “...the invention of [a] second choir”, “singing the following text and others: Selig seind *sic* die Todten *sic*, die in dem Herrn *sic* sterben”; sie ruhen von ihre Werke folgen nach (Revelation 14:13) and “Sie sind in der Hand des Herren und keine Qual rühret sie” (Wisdom of Solomon 3:1, with the general pronoun “Sie” substituted for the actual words, “Der Gerechten”). These added items are noted with asterisks (*) in the complete texts of Appendix B.

Were these additions made with Posthumus’s advice and consent? The answer depends on the extent to which Schütz and Posthumus collaborated in choosing the texts and writing the music for the *Exequien*. Many scholars (Ehmann, Gerber, Moser, Schöneich, Trumpff) would answer, “Yes,” claiming the *Exequien* was performed for Posthumus during his lifetime. This view is based primarily on a brief passage from the title page of the 1636 *Exequien*:
und ihrer wohlsehligen Gnaden/bei dero lebzeiten wiederholten begehren nach/in einer stille verdackte Orgel angestellet und abgesungen worden,

which has been interpreted as meaning that the *Exequien* was:

sung for His Late Grace, at repeated request during his lifetime to a discreetly registrated organ (Graulich XXVII).

This passage could, however, be interpreted differently. The original title page includes key slash marks (/ , circled on the facsimile), which could be viewed as commas. Given this punctuation and the context in which it occurs, the reference to Posthumus’s lifetime requests become parenthetical; they refer to wishes concerning his funeral which he expressed while still alive. George Buelow’s (19) translation reflects this alternate interpretation:

/and in accordance with the Wishes/ often expressed by his late Highness during his Lifetime/ sung to a Soft and Concealed Organ

Such an understanding corresponds to the clear statement in the funeral brochure that the music to the *Exequien* was commissioned not by Count Posthumus, but

...at the behest of Their most Noble Graces, Her Ladyship the Countess Widow and her two sons (Graulich XXVI).

This supports the view that Schütz wrote the music to Posthumus’s texts after the Prince died on December 3, 1635 (Rifkin 9). It could explain the unusually large number of chorales (eight) in the *Exequien.* Schütz, who

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9I am indebted to Dr. John Boe of the University of Arizona for pointing this out to me in spring 1987.

10I have added the second two slash marks (/) to match the original marks on Schütz’s title page (see facsimile). While Buelow’s translation captures Schütz’s meaning, a more literal translation of the passage would be: “and according to His Grace’s wishes/ which during his lifetime many times were expressed/ to a softly registered organ was composed and sung” [on February 4, 1636].
usually chose to set Biblical texts (Rifkin 20), exhibited little interest in using chorale texts or tunes (Alwes “Chorale” 24); he would hardly have chosen to include eight of them in the Quasi-Gloria of Part I. Working independently, Posthumus, whom Rudolph Henning (54) maintains was completely capable of choosing the texts for his funeral music without Schütz’s help or collaboration, would have been free to select as many hymn texts as he liked.

It is certainly still possible that Schütz and Posthumus worked together at some point on the Exequien text and music. Martin Gregor-Dellin argues convincingly that Posthumus, who so carefully planned all of his funeral arrangements, would have had some sort of contact with the composer of his funeral music prior to his death. He supports this view by pointing out that Posthumus sought to have his funeral on a specific date, February 4 (Gregor-Dellin 217). This was the traditional burial date of St. Simeon (Henning 55), to whom the Exequien’s Part III Nunc Dimittis text is attributed (Luke 2:29-32). Posthumus apparently chose this date in order to communicate that he, like Simeon in the Nunc Dimittis, had “seen [God’s] salvation” and could “depart in peace.” In order to insure that his funeral music would be ready for this particular day regardless of when he might die, Gregor-Dellin holds that Posthumus must have consulted with Schütz about his funeral music.

Günther Graulich (XXVII) suggests that Schütz wrote part of the Exequien at Posthumus’s request and the rest after Posthumus died. I agree

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11Schütz similarly made careful plans for his own funeral two years before he died (Leaver 4-5).
12Elector Johann Georg I, Schütz’s employer in Dresden from 1617-1656, also chose this date for his funeral for the same reasons (Henning 56).
that the two Heinrichs may have collaborated at some level in the early stages, but several things make it clear that the additions to the coffin/brochure libretto originate entirely with Schütz. First, Schütz's additions stand out obviously amid his otherwise faithful rendering of Posthumus's text and order (compare Appendix B texts with coffin schematic). Second, if Posthumus had chosen these extra texts when he had his coffin built, he could have included them there; the coffin schematic shows there was room for a few more texts on the bottom of the head and foot of the sarcophagus. Third, if Posthumus had decided to add these texts after the coffin was inscribed, he could have included them in his funeral brochure; the brochure does in fact include a title, Pro Introitu, followed by Job 1:21, "Nacket bin ich vom Mutter leibe kommen. . .", neither of which appear on the coffin (compare coffin schematic and page 2 of brochure facsimile). Fourth, the actual commission for the work came not from Posthumus but from his widow and sons, who were kept in the dark about Posthumus's funeral plans until three days before his death (see Richter's sermon above). Fifth, Schütz's construction of Part I "in the form of a Latin or German Missa" was certainly not Posthumus's conception. Had that been the Prince's intention, a person of his great learning and literary sensitivity would certainly have found texts that made a clearer connection to the Mass. There is little in the texts themselves to suggest any attempt at a true vernacular mass compilation by Posthumus (Schöneich 182, Smallman 48); attempts by previous scholars to construct a mass out of the texts have required considerable interpretative gymnastics (Gerber 6, Moser 158). Instead, the Pro Introitu title in the brochure might indicate that Posthumus intended the
musical setting of the coffin texts to serve as an extended introit for the
funeral service.

Based on these observations, I speculate that the genesis of the
Musikalische Exequien occurred something like this: One year before his
death, Posthumus had his coffin inscribed with the Bible/chorale verses he
had so carefully chosen for his funeral, either with or without the help of his
friend, Heinrich Schütz. Sometime after the coffin was inscribed, Posthumus
had second thoughts and decided to add the Pro Introitu title and Job 1:21 text
at the beginning. Since it was easier to print a corrected brochure than it was
to change an already inscribed coffin, these additions could appear in the
traditional funeral brochure. After Posthumus died on December 3, 1635, his
widow and sons contacted their highly respected musician friend, Heinrich
Schütz, to set Posthumus's carefully selected coffin/brochure texts to music.
The setting was to be for soli, chorus and a softly registered organ, “...in
accordance with the Wishes/ often expressed by His late Highness during his
lifetime. ...” (see above). Realizing that Posthumus's quasi-liturgical Pro
Introitu would occupy the usual position of the Kyrie and Gloria in a worship
service, Schütz was inspired to add words and set all of the coffin texts, to use
his own words, “in the form of a Latin or German Missa.” Certainly Schütz
invoked the powerful liturgical association of the Latin mass. Why?
III. Universality: Precedents and Motivation

It is possible that Schütz's reference to the mass represents a hidden ecumenical agenda. In other words, when Schütz added the words, "Selig sind die Toten, die in dem Herrn sterben," to the Nunc Dimittis in part III, he may have been referring to all the dead, regardless of religious denomination or nationality. This is suggested even more by the other text Schütz added to Part III: a generalized paraphrase of Wisdom 3:1 ("Sie sind in der Hand des Herren, und keine Qual rühret sie"). He placed this text immediately after the Nunc Dimittis phrase, "ein Licht zu erleuchten die Heiden." By juxtaposing these verses, it is as if Schütz were saying that the nations-at-large ("die Heiden") "are in the hand of the Lord" (see Appendix B). Schütz even emphasized this juxtaposition by suddenly shifting from the predominantly duple meter of the work to a triple time signature at the moment these texts occur (Schütz Exequien, 67). In light of this, consider the following hypothesis: In adding to Posthumus's texts, Schütz deliberately sought to go beyond the stated commission to make a work of art with a more universal, humanitarian statement of peace, hope and comfort that would speak to a troubled time.

Other than general statements about the Exequien's eclectic musical style, none of the literature on the Exequien explicitly discusses this admittedly subjective hypothesis of universality. Gerhard Mittring (63) approaches it in calling the work a Christocentric German Lutheran Requiem based on the Missa Brevis rather than the Catholic Requiem Mass. Ottomar Wessely (64-65) argues a non-universalist view of the work as a specific
composition for a state occasion; he bases this on the *Exequien*'s proliferation of polychoral writing, the usual style for politically commissioned works. Only in his final sentence does he hint at a broader purpose in the *Exequien*. Rudolf Henning and Günter Graulich are the only scholars to even mention Schütz's textual additions to Posthumus's coffin/brochure program, but neither of them delve into their significance *per se*, let alone any recognition of universality.

While conclusively proving a universalist agenda in the *Exequien* is well-nigh impossible, there is much evidence that Schütz often sought to accommodate a broad audience. Many of his publications attempted to bridge gaps of nationality, religion and/or ability. His Latin *Cantiones Sacrae* collection of 1625 included devotional texts popular in Roman Catholic Southern Germany and was dedicated to the prominent Catholic Prince Ulrich of Eggenberg (Grote VIII); Schütz did so in the midst of the religious conflict of the Thirty Years' War while working in Lutheran Dresden. The homophonic cantional style of his *Becker Psalter* of 1626 was, like many Lutheran Psalter collections of the day, indebted to the simple Calvinist Psalter style (Gerold 450). This widely distributed work remained popular for decades; J.S. Bach may have even known it (Schrade 396). In the preface to the 1639 *Kleine Geistliche Konzerte* collection, Schütz stated that he purposely employed miniature forces to give the work greater practical currency in the atrocious musical climate of the Thirty Years' War. His addition of German texts to his Latin *Symphoniae Sacrae* collections showed an obvious willingness to accommodate the public. Finally, the didactic prefaces in most of
his works clearly sought to broaden the musical understanding of a wide audience (preface translations in Buelow).

The *Musikalische Exequien* follows these precedents for accomodation. Schütz had the work, his largest of the decade, published almost immediately by Wolff Seyffert of Dresden (see title page facsimile). He offered several suggestions in his preface for other non-funeral usages for the work (see "Index" facsimile). As with the *Kleine Geistliche Konzerte*, the *Exequien*'s subdued scoring also could have increased its accessibility; in keeping with the normal funeral music practice of the day, no obbligato instruments beyond the continuo are called for. Unquestionably, Schütz wanted a broad audience for the work.

While these publication accomodations could simply be construed as marketing ploys, the depth of Schütz’s music and the integrity of his character suggest that he had a higher purpose in mind besides mere commercialism. If that purpose was to make a universal statement in the *Exequien*, it would have fit well with his humanitarian tendencies. While Schütz was a committed German Lutheran, his broad education and wide travels led to an outlook exceptionally broad-minded for the day. He studied law and languages at the cosmopolitan University of Marburg, which attracted students from

. . .all parts of Europe, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Poland, Russia, Hungary and Scotland. . .[there] Schütz made himself first of all a humanist (Schrade 399).

Schütz’s exposure to other cultures and attitudes was further augmented by his two study trips to Italy (1609-1613; 1628-1629), extended sojourns in
Copenhagen in the 1630's, and a possible visit to the Netherlands in 1633 (Rifkin 8, Petzoldt 5).

That Schütz put his humanist philosophy into practice is evidenced by the high regard in which he was held by his contemporaries. Martin Geier's sermon for Schütz's funeral in 1672 concluded with a biographical sketch of the composer. This eulogy, notable for its lack of flattering hyperbole, offers a straightforward assessment of Schütz's personality:

[Schütz's prospective in-laws] gave their dear daughter to the mentioned Herr Schütz in view of his godfearing conduct, his gentle heart and spirit, his splendid erudition, and other especially commendable qualities . . . He showed much kindness toward his friends and others in need, rendering them assistance so far as was in his power. In return, on account of his upright conduct, his keen understanding, his peculiar skill, and his simple candor, he was greatly beloved and honored, praised and esteemed, by high and low to his old age (Leaver "Sermon III" 16, 18).

Schütz's compassion for his fellow man is borne out by an incident at the Dresden electoral court in the summer of 1651:

In the summer of that same year the pay of the musicians had actually ceased. Therefore Schütz . . . had to appeal to the elector's son, Duke Christian, as the inspector of the chapel (Capellinspektor) at the time. Schütz describes 'the running-about by the hour, the very great lamentation, distress, and wailing of the entire company of poor, deserted relatives of the singers and musicians, who live in such misery that it would move even a stone in the earth. Now I testify before God that their distress and their pitiful lamentation so touch my heart that I do not know how I can give them sufficient comfort and hope of any improvement.' . . . Schütz begs that they be given at least a quarter of their back pay . . . He himself had finally advanced to the poor people cash in the amount of 300
Taler derived from ‘securities, portraits, and silver cups’  
(Moser 196).

Schütz’s humanitarian compassion may have even embraced an ecumenical viewpoint. This is hinted at by the high regard in which Schütz, a firm Lutheran, held his first patron, the Calvinist Landgrave Moritz of Hesse. The admiration was mutual, as Moritz funded Schütz’s first trip to Italy (Rifkin 3). The musician’s open-mindedness towards Catholics is indicated not only by his dedication of the Cantiones Sacrae to the Catholic Prince Ulrich, but also by Geier’s sermon for Schütz’s funeral. This sermon, which Schütz commissioned and most likely heard before he died (Leaver “Sermon I” 4), contains several references to Roman Catholic scholars:

As a favour to the papists, we cite here the words of their man, Drexilius. . .[there follows a lengthy discourse on this Catholic writer’s texts]. . .If that is not enough, we present no less than a Cardinal, namely Bellarminus, who expresses these thoughts. . . We might add to the Cardinal’s words those of Johan. Bapt. Casalius, who in his book on ancient usages of the church. . . The Jesuit Inchofer (named. fol. 41b) is cited as having expounded this topic (Leaver “Sermon II” 27-28).

These citations are significant not only for the fact that they probably were approved by Schütz, but also because they indicate that several Catholic friends (“As a favour to the papists”) came to pay their respects at his Lutheran funeral service in Dresden. All of these instances of open-mindedness and compassion in Schütz’s career and character suggest that he was at least capable of making an ecumenical, universal statement of peace and comfort.

At the time Schütz wrote the Exequien, there were several specific factors that could have spurred him to make just such a universal statement
The horrors of the Thirty Years' War continued unabated.

Source: Richard Petzoldt, Heinrich Schütz und seine Zeit in Bildern, Kassel: Barenreiter, 1972, p. 67
beyond the coffin/brochure commission for Posthumus’s funeral. One impetus may have been the deaths of many of his loved ones in the previous decade (Köhler 144; Leaver “Sermon III” 17; Wiebe 3):

1625  --his wife, Magdalena, at age 24
     --his sister-in-law, Anna Maria Wildeck,
         while still a young bride
1630  --his friend and colleague, Johann Hermann Schein
1631  --his father, Christoph Schütz
     --his father-in-law, Christian Wildeck
1632  --his brother, Valerius Schütz
     --his first patron, Landgrave Moritz of Hesse
1633  --his mother-in-law, Madame Wildeck
1635  --his mother, Euphrosyne
     --his friend and patron, Prince Heinrich Posthumus

The Exequien may have acted therapeutically for Schütz, just as his earlier Becker Psalter had consoled him on the loss of his wife (Buelow 15).13

Another tragedy that could have motivated Schütz to reach out was the utter desolation and carnage of the Thirty Years’ War in Germany from 1618 to 1648. This dirty conflict, in which the warring parties roughly split along religious lines (that is, Calvinists and Lutherans vs. Catholics) is one of the darkest chapters in human history. The contemporary pictures of the War on the opposite page portray the nature of the struggle. There is a biting irony in seeing the Cross held out as people are slaughtered in its name. Such

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13Similarly, Monteverdi’s “Lamento di Arianne” was his therapy for the loss of his wife (Arnold, “Schütz in Venice” 35).
hardships suffered at the hands of opponents were often not even as bad as the misery inflicted by allies. After Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony (Schütz's employer) allied with King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden in 1631, the so-called friendly Swedish troops entered the electorate and were free to pillage the Saxon countryside along with the Catholic enemy forces. The brutal burning of cities and villages, rampant plague, and starvation because of fields left fallow created a scene of abject distress. A novel written in 1669 by Johann von Grimmelshausen entitled Mother Courage, tells the story of a prostitute during the Thirty Years' War who made a parasitic living off the bad times. I quote from Mother Courage's summary of the state of affairs:

And so we awaited the sack of the town by the Imperial troops, my nurse, indeed, with fear and trembling, but I looking forward eagerly to whatever strange and terrible events were to ensue. Nor did I have long to wait, but will not tarry here to tell how in a vanquished city the men are butchered, the women ravished and the town itself plundered; for there matters became so common and widely known during the late interminable war that all the world can tell a tale of it (Grimmelhausen 28).

An official Swedish report of the sacking of Magdeburg by the Catholic League in 1631 corroborates Grimmelhausen's fictional account:

The clergy were most terribly treated. They were first massacred in their library and then burnt along with their books. Their wives and daughters were tied behind the horses, dragged into camp, raped and terribly molested. The church of St. John was full of womenfolk, whom they locked in from the outside, thereafter throwing burning torches through the windows. The Croats and Walloons behaved mercilessly, throwing children into the fire and tying the more beautiful and well-off women citizens to their stirrups, made off with them behind their horses out of town. They spiked small children onto their lances, waved them around and cast them into the flames. Turks,
Tartars and heathens could not have been more cruel (Benecke 35).

Conditions in Catholic Germany deteriorated as well, as this squalid 1639 propaganda flysheet describing the 1638 famine in Breisach graphically recounts:

On 24 November a soldier under arrest in the prison died, and before the warder in charge could order his burial the other prisoners had taken the body, cut it up and eaten it. The prisoners even picked holes into the walls of their prison with their fingers and ate what they found. Two corpses were dug up and cut open. The innards were taken out and eaten. In one day three children were consumed.

The soldiers promised a pastry-cook’s boy a piece of bread if he followed them to camp. But when he got there, they cut him up and ate him. On 10 December eight well known burghers’ children alone disappeared in the fishers’ district, presumed eaten, since they could never be traced, not to mention all the the children of beggars and strangers whom no one knew anyway. In the town square alone ten corpses were found, not counting all those found in the alleys and on the dung heaps (Benecke 56-57).

The Christian humanist Schütz, who had later anguished that his starving court musicians’s “distress...so touch my heart that I do not know how I can give them sufficient comfort and hope of any improvement” (see above, Moser 196), could not have helped but be stirred by such horrible affairs. Confronted with the suffering of the Thirty Years’ War, Schütz may have tried to offer “sufficient comfort and hope” in the Musikalische Exequien by aiming its message of the Resurrection to a wider audience than just Posthumus’s mourners. In light of the agonizing times and Schütz’s great compassion, his additions to Posthumus’s text program take on new significance. The Exequien’s concluding combination of Revelation 14:13
(“Blessed are the dead, which die in the Lord”) with the Nunc Dimittis (“Thy salvation. . .which Thou hast prepared for all people”) lends itself very easily to a universalist interpretation. Perhaps Schütz sought to go beyond a mere tribute to Posthumus to create a memorial to all of the War dead and a source of comfort for their survivors.
IV. Musical Indications of Universality

If Schütz had been seeking to make a universal statement, he could hardly have found a more effective musical vehicle than the extraordinarily eclectic *Musikalische Exequien*. In it Schütz combines conservative choral writing from the North and progressive solo elements from the South, encompasses both sacred and secular genres, and takes from both the Protestant and Catholic traditions. Yet, in spite of its diversity of musical styles, the *Exequien* represents a cohesive whole.

**Conservative Elements**

The movements designated for the full choir display the conservative side of the *Exequien*. These “Capella” sections beautifully display the contrapuntal integrity of Schütz’s music. Schütz learned this sense of craftsmanship at an early age when he sang Franco-Flemish motets as a choirboy (Moser 27). Counterpoint is especially evident in several of the eight chorale motets of the *Quasi-Gloria* section in Part I. These pieces fulfill a truly Lutheran function: to preach the Biblical Word through textual and musical exegesis. By setting Posthumus’s chorale strophes to traditional chorale melodies, Schütz evoked a strong association with Lutheranism. This is somewhat atypical of Schütz, who often rejects the tune of a chorale even when its text is prescribed (Marshall 326), as in several pieces of the *Kleine Geistliche Konzerte*, *Geistliche Chormusik*, and *Becker Psalter* (Alwes “Chorale” 25).
There are several possible reasons why Schütz often avoided using chorale tunes. First, the progressive influence of his Venetian studies (1609-1612, 1628-1629) left little room for German chorales. Second, his work in a cosmopolitan court did not demand reliance on the chorale, which was the bulwark of music in small parish churches. Third, an overview of his output, which includes no strictly instrumental music, proves that his over-vaulting artistic ambition was to create his own musical expression of the text unfettered by any prescribed musical material.\textsuperscript{14}

In spite of all of this, the Musikalische Exequien contains the most consistent application of chorale tunes in Schütz’s entire output (Alwes “Chorale” 25). With so much augering against the use of the traditional chorale melodies, Schütz must have employed them for a specific reason. Perhaps the familiar melodies were a means to increase the universal appeal of the work. Even so, Schütz still possesses too much declamation integrity to simply accept the chorale tunes as sacrosanct. He alters most of the tunes with slight pitch changes and often drastic rhythmic variation. For example, compare the tune, “Es ist gewißlich,” with the opening of one of the two chorale motets based upon it, Chorale I of the Quasi-Gloria:

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{chorale_tune.png}
\caption{Chorale Tune (Bernick 55)\textsuperscript{15}：“Es ist gewißlich” (Zahn #4429)\textsuperscript{16}}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{14} Leo Schrade (417) states: “Schütz in his eighty-seven years never departed from the once-accepted purpose of his art: the interpretation of the text.”

\textsuperscript{15} Each chorale motet example is preceded by the chorale tune upon which the motet is based. All chorale tune examples are copied directly from Bernick’s article on the Exequien.
Tunes are given in the original, untransposed modes. Notes and letters above the staff refer to changes Schütz made in the interval structure of the original chorale.

16 This tune first appeared in Klug Gesangbuch of 1529 with a German paraphrase of the Dies Irae sequence text.
Musical Ex. 1: Chorale I, Schütz Exequien, pp. 18-19, mm. 8-16

Some features typical of Schütz's style can be seen in Example 1: Vorimitation (imitation in the lines based upon and preceding the main melody), Stimmtausch (or voice exchange on repeats), antiphonal voicing and changes in rhythm to match word stress.

17 All musical examples from the Exequien are taken from volume 4 of the Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Page and measure numbers refer to this edition of the work.

Schütz’s variety and skill in setting chorales can also be seen in Chorale V. This motet opens with a delicate choral SSA trio that gives way to tenor acclamations of “Der Preis” echoed by the rest of the chorus:

Chorale Tune (Bernick 56): “Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin” (Zahn 3986)

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Musical Ex. 2: Chorale V, Schütz Exequien, p. 36, mm. 176-178

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This tune by Martin Luther first appeared in Johann Walther’s 1524 publication, Geystliche gesangk Buchlein.
The imitative expressiveness of Chorale VI\(^20\) carries near-Brahmsian overtones:

\[\text{Chorale Tune (Bernick 57): "Herr, wie du willst" (Zahn 4438a)}^{21}\]

Musical Ex. 3: Chorale VI, Schütz Exequien, p. 36, mm.202-204

It is possible that Schütz, in an effort to achieve universality, tried to balance the strong Lutheran association of the eight chorale motets with

\(^{20}\)Interestingly, Schütz does not use the chorale tune (Zahn 4562a) usually associated with the Chorale VI text, “Ach, wie elend.” Instead he uses the melody (Zahn 4438a) generally linked with a paraphrase of Psalm 40:8, “Herr, wie du willst” (The Lutheran Hymnal 406). This text carries a more trusting, hopeful message than the despairing “Ach, wie elend” words Schütz had to set. By melodically referring to a more positive chorale, Schütz symbolically negates the pessimism of the Chorale VI text. Perhaps he did so to allow a more smooth affective transition into the confident tenor solo that follows, “Ich wieß daß mein Erlöser lebt.”

\(^{21}\)This tune is also listed in The Lutheran Hymnal as an alternate for Luther’s “Aus tiefer Not.”
references to Roman Catholic practice. The most obvious is Schütz’s preface designation of Part I as being in the form of a Latin mass. While Lutherans took over much of the Ordinary of the Mass (especially the Kyrie and Gloria for a Missa Brevis) immediately after the Reformation, there is an extreme scarcity of any Latin masses written in Lutheran Germany from 1620 to about 1650 (Alwes, “J.S.Bach’s” 5; Leaver/Bond 368; Steinitz 562), i.e., during the partisan Thirty Years’ War. For Schütz to directly imitate and refer to the Latin mass of the Catholics at a time when other Lutheran composers were specifically avoiding it could be viewed as a conciliatory gesture.

Also rooted in Roman Catholic musical practice are the Gregorian-like intonations that open the Kyrie, Quasi-Gloria, and Nunc Dimittis of the Exequien. The end of the intonation to the Quasi-Gloria is quite similar to the German version of the Tonus Pergrinus, a chant tone frequently used for the Magnificat canticle (Liber Usualis 117). This could be a subtle extension of Schütz’s Latin mass association in Part I; by melodically referring to Mary’s annunciation song (which is part of the propers for the fourth Sunday of Advent), Schütz may have tried to connect the opening of his Quasi-Gloria with the Christmas song of the angels at the opening of the mass Gloria.

Musical Ex. 4: Tenor intonation, Schütz Exequien, p. 17

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22Chant formulae continued to be used in Lutheran music long after the Reformation. Examples include Walther’s responsorial St. Matthew Passion, Scandello’s and Schütz’s Easter historiae, Schütz’s “Nicht uns, Herr,” from the Psalmen Davids of 1619, and Schütz’s three Passion settings. Many chorale melodies were also derived directly from Roman plainchant (e.g., “Christ ist erstanden” is based on the medieval Easter sequence, “Victimae paschali laudes.”

23Bach used this so-called “ninth tone” in the oboe part of the “Suscepit Israel” of his Magnificat in D (BWV 243).
Schütz's choice for the tune of the first and last chorales in the Part I Quasi-Gloria could also be a cryptic reference to Catholicism. The tune most traditionally associated with the Chorale I/VIII texts is Martin Luther's, "Nun freut euch," from the 1524 Wittenberg hymnal, Etlisch' Christlich Lieder (The Lutheran Hymnal #387). Schütz rejected that tune and instead used a melody usually sung with a German paraphrase of the Dies Irae, "Es ist gewisslich."24 This Dies Irae chorale tune occurs precisely where the Dies Irae sequence would occur in a Roman Requiem mass, i.e., immediately after the Kyrie in place of the Gloria.

Another possible Roman/universalist allusion is in how Schütz deals with the text, "Der Gerechten sind in Gottes Hand. . ." (Wisdom of Solomon 3: 1-3). This Apocryphal text from the Catholic Vulgate had been excised from the Lutheran Biblical canon in 153425. Rather than downplaying Posthumus's choice from this source, Schütz highlights the Roman Catholic text by building a chain of four solo ensembles around it. This chain, the only place in the Quasi-Gloria where the Biblical text solo/chorale verse capella pairing is broken (see Appendix B), forms the centerpiece of Schütz's Gloria

24 The "Es ist gewisslich" tune was not associated with the Chorale I text, "Nun freut euch lieben Christen g'mein," until 1533, the latest of the four melodies to be associated with that text (Jenny 155).

25 The intertestamental Apocryphal literature has been a part of the Roman Biblical canon of inspired scripture ever since St. Jerome translated Hebrew and Greek texts into Latin for the Catholic Vulgate Bible in the fourth century. At the time of the Reformation and Counter-reformation, all denominations re-examined the canon of inspired scripture. The Council of Trent upheld the canonic status of the Vulgate Apocrypha in 1546. Luther and his circle instead based their Old Testament list on the Jewish canon, which did not include the Apocryphal books. Luther held that these books were not inspired because they did not lead to Christ, but he did allow that they could be helpful in private meditation. His edition of the Bible (1534) placed all of the Apocrypha after the Old Testament with this remark: "Apocrypha: these books are not to be held equal to the Sacred Scriptures, and yet are useful and good for reading" (Lueker 38-39).
Even more telling is the fact that Schütz repeated the first verse of this passage in his addition to Posthumus's Part III "Song of Simeon." It is particularly significant that Schütz changed the text in this instance from "Der Gerechten sind in Gottes Hand," to "Sie sind in der Hand des Herren," a paraphrase with a broader perspective (see Appendix B).

A final correspondence to Catholic practice is the similar affect of the closing portions of the *Exequien* and the *Requiem* mass. The *Exequien* ends with the words, "Selig sind die Toten," promising the blessing paradise for the deceased. The Roman *Requiem* mass similarly ends with just such a beatific vision in its conclusion, "In paradisium" (Mittring 61).

It is not impossible that Schütz also tried to accommodate the third major religious affiliation of seventeenth century Germany, Calvinism. He was quite familiar with Calvinist music; his first patron, Landgrave Moritz of Hesse, published a quasi-Calvinist Psalter in 1602 (Gerold 447). These Psalters were simple four-part chordal settings of vernacular paraphrases of the Psalms. The homorhythmic, syllabic text-settings often shifted between note groupings of two and three to match word accents, as in Claude Goudimel's setting of Psalm 25 below:

![Musical notation](1565) (Melody in the tenor)

\[\text{A toi, mon Dieu, mon coeur mon te, En}\]

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26 The central position of this Wisdom 3:1-3 text was specified to some degree by its placement on the coffin. The passage runs all the way around the middle of the coffin in large capital letters. It is not paired with a chorale verse (see coffin schematic).
This homophonic style was gradually adopted by most Lutheran composers in the late sixteenth century to complement their previous contrapuntal style (Gerold 437). The Lutherans did, however, make an important change by moving the melody from the tenor voice, where it usually resided in the sixteenth-century Calvinist psalter settings, up to the soprano part to promote easier congregational singing with the organ (Marshall 324). Schütz imitated the Calvinist style in Chorales II and IV of the Quasi-Gloria not only by writing in a strict homophony, a texture very untypical of him (Smallman 23), but also by moving the melody (bracketed in the example below) from the usual Lutheran position in the highest sounding voice to a lower part:

Musical Ex. 5(Gerold 444): Claude Goudimel, Calvinist Psalter setting of Ps. 25

27It is noteworthy that Schütz turns to this congregationally oriented harmonization for these chorale verses, which stress more than any other texts in the Exequien the ‘we’ and ‘us’ of the Communion of all believers.

28This tune by Ludwig Helmhold was first found in Christliche Psalmen, Liedern, und Kirchengesängen, a 1587 Leipzig publication edited by Nikolaus Selnecker (Wiebe 115).
S.I. Durch ihn ist uns vergessen die Sünd, geschenkt das Leben.

Musical Ex. 6: Chorale II, Schütz Exequien, p. 23, mm.47-55

29 Schütz’s setting of this same tune in Chorale IV is virtually identical to Chorale II, except that the Soprano I and II parts are exchanged, as are the Tenor I and II lines. This wholesale Stimmtausch on repeats of sections of music is a common practice in Schütz’s music, as in SWV 387, “Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, O Herr,” of the Geistliche Chormusik.
A final conservative choral element in the "Capella" sections is the frequent usage of polychoral textures, which Schütz learned from Gabrieli in his first trip to Venice. Parts II and III of the Exequien are completely polychoral. In Part I, several chorales employ the Venetian *cori spezzati* style. The antiphonal pairing of the men's and women's voices is quite obvious in Chorale III:

Chorale tune (Bernick 56): “Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt” (Zahn 1678)\(^{30}\)

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\(^{30}\)This tune appeared under this title in a 1589 Frankfurt-am-Main hymnbook, but it originally was associated with the sixteenth-century folksong, “Ich weiß mir ein Röslein hübsch und fein” (Wiebe 132).
Musical Ex. 7: Chorale III, Schütz *Exequien*, p. 26, mm. 75-81

Chorale VII offers a somewhat more sophisticated polychoral texture. Here Schütz varies the voicing of the antiphonal groups in a manner reminiscent of Lassus (Echols 6):

Chorale tune (Bernick 57): “Herr Jesu Christ, du hochstes Gut” (Zahn 4486)31

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31 This tune was associated first with “Herr Jesu Christ” in a 1587 Görlitz publication. It was bound to the Chorale VII text, “Wenn mein Stündlein ist” in a 1593 Dresden hymnbook edited by Schütz’ predecessor there, Rogier Michael (Bernick 57).
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Capella

S. I

Weil du vom Tod erstan-den bist,

S. II

Weil du vom Tod erstan-den bist,

Alt

Weil du vom Tod erstan-den bist,

T. I

Weil du vom Tod erstan-den bist,

T. II

wird ich im Grab nicht blei-ben,

Baß

wird ich im Grab nicht blei-ben,
Progressive Elements

In contrast to the preceding conservative features, the Musikalische Exequien is filled with musical styles that were on the cutting edge of the German musical art in 1636. These progressive elements originated in the secular solo genres of Italy, to which Schütz was exposed in his second Venetian trip of 1628-1629. The very structure of the Exequien, with its alternation of solo groups with choral pieces, owes much to the early oratorio and opera in Italy. German composers of sacred music in the seventeenth century molded these southern structures into a sacred genre called the Actus Musicus, or dialogue. This quasi-dramatic musical form employed two or more soloists as speaking characters (either real or allegorical) in Biblical scenas. Dialogues also usually included a chorus, an ensemble of instruments, and the basso continuo (generally with organ). A key element in the sacred
dialogue was the deployment of spatial separation to heighten the drama. This typically involved a character in hell or on earth singing from the ground level chancel and a persona in heaven singing from an upper balcony off in the distance. (Smither 42, 60).32

Schütz employed this dramatic format in Part III of the Exequien. The five-part “First Choir” sings the German Song of Simeon text, while the SSBar soli “Second Choir” sings the added Revelation 14:13/Wisdom 3:1 texts. Schütz called this trio the “Beata anima cum Seraphnis” (the blessed soul [of the departed]33 with [two] seraphim). Schütz’s dramatic intent is clear in George Buelow’s translation of the 1636 Exequien preface:

. . . By means of this invention, that is, by means of the Second Choir, the author has wished to suggest to some degree the joy of the disembodied soul of the blessed in heaven, in the company of the heavenly spirits and holy angels.

2. The First Choir should be close to the organ, while the Second is in the distance—or however it seems best on each occasion to arrange them.

3. Anyone who wishes to make one or two copies of this Second Choir and set up such groups at various places in the church would, the author hopes, increase the effect of the work not a little (Buelow 21).

32 A great number of dialogues were written in the middle third of the seventeenth century by composers such as Hammerschmidt, Pfleger, and Fromme (Bukofzer 96). Schütz made several contributions to the genre in the middle of his career, notably the dialogue, “Vater Abraham” (SWV 477). This dramatic piece extracts from the Biblical story of Dives and Lazarus the conversation between the rich man in hell and Father Abraham in heaven (Luke 16:24-31). Schütz specifies spatial separation between these two conversants. He also wrote in a tonal separation; sopranos in the role of angels escort Lazarus to heaven in the g dorian mode, while Dives is stuck in the temporal key of e aeolian. In the Exequien, Part I passes through the despair of earthly life in e aeolian, only to give way to g dorian and the two soprano seraphim angels in Part III!

33 Incidentally, the “role” of the baritone solo as the blessed soul in the Part III dialogue may be a direct reference to Posthumus, who was himself a bass singer (see page 2 above).
Another style Schütz derived from Italian practice was that of the madrigal. Schütz’s first published collection was a set of Italian Madrigals in 1611. The rhythmic shift from duple to triple groupings found in one of those madrigals, “Ride la primavera,”

Musical Ex. 9: “Ride la Primavera,” Schütz Madrigals, p. 48, mm. 37-38

is strikingly akin to something Schütz did in the final sext of the Exequien, “Herr, ich lasse dich nicht“:
Musical Ex. 10: SSATTB Sextet, Schütz Exequien, pp. 47-48, mm. 267-273
The above example also illustrates Schütz’s use of Italianate madrigalisms, or musical/pictorial depictions of the text (Newton 4). However, in contrast to the lightness of the Venetian canzonetta madrigalisms he copied, Schütz’s pictorialism is always embedded in a more serious, learned, Germanic contrapuntal texture. Example 10’s tenacious counterpoint and chromatic ascent of the bass in duple meter shows the wrestling with God in the text, “Ich lasse dich nicht” (Genesis 32:37). The contrasting homophonic, diatonic dance rhythm of the triple meter, “Du segnest mich denn,” vividly portrays the joy of being blessed. Schütz continued to include such madrigalisms in his music even after the practice went out of fashion in avante-garde Italy (Arnold, “Schütz in Venice” 31).

Dozens of these text painting examples occur in the Exequien. For instance, the Alto/Bass vocal concerto, “Leben wir, so leben wir dem Herren,” paints the words, “leben” (to live), with quick ascending notes and “oder sterben” (or to die) in a slow descending line:

Musical Ex. 11: A/B duet, Schütz Exequien, p. 15, mm. 37-39
The echoing slow notes on "so ist es Müh und Arbeit" (even so it is all trouble and toil), in the concerto for two basses, "Unser Leben währet siebenzig Jahr," express the weariness of the text well:

Musical Ex. 12: B/B duet, Schütz Exequien, p. 38, mm. 190-194

The centerpiece SSB trio concerto, "Der Gerechten Seelen," is a complex of madrigalisms. The rising chromaticism of the Bass on "Pein" (pain) is followed by the calm, diatonic half notes of the sopranos on "Frieden" (peace). On the heels of this comes the Bass's rising line on "Hinfahren" (departure, here implied to heaven):

Musical Ex. 13: SSB trio, Schütz Exequien, p. 32, mm. 139/3 - 142/1
Madrigalisms continued, albeit to a lesser degree, in the more advanced solo concerti of the *Exequien*. These vocal concerti grew out of the early seventeenth-century Italian opera in Italy (Radice 9). The alto recitative below uses the free rhapsodic rhythm and bare continuo accompaniment of Monteverdi’s early operatic writing (e.g. *Orfeo*). The picturesque full rest in the continuo and voice after “Augenblick” (blinking of an eye) is a typically Schützian stroke. This monody also includes a diminished fourth, one of the few unusual intervals in Schütz’s style (Smallman 20), on the words, “verbirge dich,” (hide yourself), to heighten the textual expression:

![Musical Ex. 14: Alto monody, Schütz Exequien, p. 31, mm. 119-127](image)

34 The chamber (“Kammer”) of this passage refers to the houses of the Israelites in Egypt protected by the Passover Blood of the Lamb painted over their doorposts (Exodus12:12-13, 21ff). Here the meaning of the word is extended also to Posthumus’s coffin, his tomb, and to the shelter for all Christians at the communion altar (Henning 51).
This speech-oriented monodic solo style gradually gave way in Italy to more virtuosic concerti. The duet was the most popular format for these pieces, pointing the way to the trio sonata texture of the later Baroque. Schütz's duet for two tenors, "Wenn eure Sünde," is a good example of this more virtuosic style. The word "Wolle", or wool, is set in rapid melismas that fairly billow off the page:

Musical Example 15: T/T duet, Schütz Exequien, p. 29, mm. 106-110
Melismas also highlight the word, "verklärten" (transfigured) in the virtuosic Soprano/Bass concertato duet, "Unser Wandel ist im Himmel":

![Musical Ex. 16: S/B duet, Schütz Exequien, p. 25, mm. 66-67](image)

Another vocal style present in the eclectic Exequien is the highly progressive solo song Schütz encountered in his second Venetian trip in 1629. This song type turned away from the above virtuosic manner for a more simple, melodic style (Roche 1074). Called "arie," they typically featured lyrical, homophonic textures in a lilting triple meter (Arnold "Schütz in Venice" 34). These tuneful, strophic songs were frankly popular in appeal. While the great master, Monteverdi, was not above writing such tunes (e.g. "Chiome d’oro"), most of these arie came from his pupils; younger composers such as Grandi, Berti, and Rovetta were the "pop-tune" writers of 1620s Venice (Arnold, "2nd Visit" 362). These popular lyrical tunes furthered the division between recitative and aria that led to the number opera of the High

---

35 Much like the Tin Pan Alley of Gershwin's New York, . . . or in Venice would it be Tin Pan Canal?
Baroque (Grout 76-77). The opening of Grandi’s “Lilia Convallium” (with Schütz’s ornamentation!) demonstrates the style:

Musical Ex. 17: Grandi Arie, Roche p. 1075

Schütz adopted the genre in the tenor arie, “Ich weiß daß mein Erlöser lebt.” Just as Part III shifted to triple meter to highlight the redemptive text, “ein Licht. . .” (see p. 16 above), the change to triple here stresses the message of salvation as well:

Musical Ex. 18: Tenor arie, Schütz Exequien, p. 42, mm. 218-225
A final progressive element in the *Exequien* appears frequently in the basso continuo part: a walking bass line. The concertato quartet below exhibits this forward-looking Baroque trait:

**Musical Ex. 19: Walking Bass, Schütz *Exequien*, p. 34, mm. 158-164**
Unifying Elements

In spite of this extraordinary mixture of diverse styles, Schütz managed to create a unified whole. Several factors contribute to this unity, among them the repetition of several texts and musical ideas. The similar intonations at the opening of the *Kyrie*, *Quasi-Gloria* and *Nunc Dimittis* certainly help tie the entire work together. The three repetitions of the German *Kyrie* ("erbarm dich über uns") obviously unite the beginning of Part I. Less apparent is the repetition of a phrase from this *Kyrie* at the start of Part III, the *Nunc Dimittis*. The bracketed music in the example below shows this return of the opening musical material at the end, a unifying device employed in liturgical music from Palestrina to Britten:

**Musical Ex. 20a:** Sl of *Kyrie* 1, Schütz *Exequien*, p. 12, mm. 10-13

**Musical Example 20b:** Sl of *Christe*, Schütz *Exequien*, p. 14, mm. 29-31

**Musical Ex. 20c:** Sl of *Kyrie* 2, Schütz *Exequien*, p. 16, mm. 44-47

**Musical Ex. 20d:** SlI of *Kyrie* 2, Schütz *Exequien*, p. 16, mm. 47-50
III. Canticum B. Simeonis „Herr, nun lässest Du Deinen Diener“

Musical Ex. 20e: Mezzo of Nunc Dimittis, Schütz Exequien, p. 60, mm. 1-4

Several repetitions in and from the Quasi-Gloria also lend unity to the Exequien. The most obvious are the repeated chorale melodies that act as structural pillars to the Gloria. The opening and closing chorales (I and VIII) are nearly identical musically, and two of the chorales in the first half (II and IV) are exactly the same except for the exchanging of the soprano and tenor parts. Another repetition occurs with the Psalm 73:25 sermon text, “Herr, wenn ich nur dich,” which appears twice in the work: once as a tenor monodic recitative in the Quasi-Gloria and later as the basis of the Part II double choir motet. These two settings also both use the same melodic material for the first phrase:

Musical Ex. 21a: Tenor monody, Schütz Exequien, p. 33, mm. 146-149
Chart 1: Basic form of the Quasi-Gloria in the Musikalische Exequien


Chart 2: Large-scale modal/tonal structure of the Musikalische Exequien

Part I
\[ \text{e aeolian/} \]
\[ \text{g dorian} \]
(Tonic)

Part II
a aeolian
(Dominant)

Part III


Chart 3: Golden Mean Proportion of the Quasi-Gloria

\[
\frac{\text{smaller part } (b)}{\text{larger part } (a)} = \frac{\text{whole } (a + b)}{61}
\]

\[
\frac{b (114 \text{ measures})}{a (180 \text{ measures})} = 0.633
\]

is approximately equal to

\[
\frac{a (180 \text{ measures})}{a + b (294 \text{ measures})} = 0.6125
\]

***N.B.: Tonalities and measure numbers based on Barenreiter edition of the Exequien, ed. Friedrich Schöneich***
Finally, Schütz set the Wisdom 3:1 text as a SSBar solo trio both times the passage occurs: at the centerpiece of the *Quasi-Gloria* and paraphrased in the added second choir of Part III.

Another means of unity discovered by the modern theorist Thomas Bernick, is the use of a large-scale tonal structure in the *Quasi-Gloria*. Bernick has laid out the beautiful symmetry of tonal movement and musical forces in his *Quasi-Gloria* diagram (Chart #1) on the opposite page. Bernick (65) states:

Schütz has imposed an overall tonal scheme on these eighteen sections that helps to fuse them into a single unified artistic whole. In doing so he creates a high structural level of tonal events that is not typical of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century music. Apparently he believed that this progressive feature of the Gloria—a feature present only in this part of the work—required some sort of comment in his instruction to the reader. The high-level manipulation of tonal areas and modes in the Gloria are, of course, restricted to the techniques and resources of modal polyphony. Those of functional harmony are exploited primarily at lower structural levels. But the recognition of the fact that lengthy compositions demand the cohesive qualities of
well-planned tonal designs and the attempts by Schütz and others to construct them through modal means inevitably prompted later composers to extend the use of functional harmonic procedures to higher structural levels.

Bernick (52) uses the seventeenth-century criterion set down by Schütz’s star pupil, Christoph Bernhard, for determining mode in his analysis: the mode is established by the placement at the beginning of a piece of the intervals of the fourth and the fifth in relation to a modal scale. Thus Bernick finds a variety of modes, even though most of the movements conclude in the “tonic” mode of e aeolian.36

Bernick’s analysis of the music by the symmetry of performing forces is particularly significant. This analysis breaks the Quasi-Gloria into two unequal parts: part “a” (the larger part from the beginning through Chorale V) and part “b” (the smaller remainder of the Gloria). This division makes complete textual and affective sense, as Chorale V is a bright, buoyant setting of the German paraphrase of the Nunc Dimittis, while the bass duet that follows represents a complete change to a thinner texture and text of desolation. By counting the measures in each part, I discovered that in so dividing the Quasi-Gloria, Schütz instinctively approximated the pleasing balance of the Golden Mean proportion: the relation of the smaller part to the larger part is approximately equal to the ratio of the larger part to the whole (see Chart 3 opposite page 52). This natural proportion, which also occurs

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36George David Wiebe posits a large-scale dominant-tonic relationship in the work, which I have summarized in Chart 2 opposite the previous page. Anachronistically endowing a work rooted in modality with a tonal structure, however, is a rather pointless proposition.
instinctively in Mozart, may explain why the work presents such a satisfying whole in spite of its diversity.

It also could have been a means for Schütz to further a quest for universality. By placing the major internal climax of the piece on the Chorale V, a paraphrase of the Nunc Dimittis, he highlighted the idea that the Savior was "to be a light to enlighten the nations, and to be the glory of Thy people Israel." Perhaps Schütz was even reaching out in some small way to the original tree to which Christianity was grafted, (Romans 11:17-26).
V. Conclusions

In this document I have repeatedly suggested that Schütz had a hidden agenda of universality in the *Musikalische Exequien*. Was Schütz successful in this program with which I have posthumously endowed him? Certainly this work combines more of his stylistic features in one setting than any other single work in his entire output. Indeed, the *Musikalische Exequien* includes nearly every vocal genre of the Early-Middle Baroque in Germany, utilizing as we have seen the chorale motet, Gregorian plainchant, Calvinist Psaltery, Venetian polychoral writing, monodic recitative, vocal concerti, *arie*, and sacred dialogue.

I would like to be able to say that the *Exequien* achieved the wide currency in his day that Schütz so greatly desired, but that does not seem to be the case. While other works by Schütz are found scattered from Venice to Sweden, the few surviving copies\(^{37}\) of the *Exequien* indicate it was not frequently performed (Graulich XXVII). Perhaps the work was simply too large for most choirs to mount in the midst of the Thirty Years’ War.

Possibly the *Exequien* exerted an influence on later generations. Bach’s Cantata 106, “Actus Tragicus,” employs a similar structure of brief

\(^{37}\)Three copies of the 1636 first impression are known. The first was in the Gottholdsche Bibliothek in Königsberg and served as the basis for Philipp Spitta’s 1892 edition of the work. The second copy was an organ continuo part-book in Schloß Österstein in Gera. Both of these copies were lost or destroyed in WWII. The third copy is a Quintus part-book in the Marien-Bibliothek in Halle, which confirms the reliability of Spitta’s edition, and bears out the statements in this document concerning the title page, preface, and additions to Posthumus’s text. Other copies include a handwritten copy of the Part III continuo part in the Biblioteka Gdansk and a hand-copied score in German letter tablature of Parts I and II of the *Exequien*. These two manuscripts also support the reliability of the sources cited here.
solo/chorus sections alternating on Biblical and chorale texts, but there is no evidence that Bach knew the Exequien. Handel’s 1737 Funeral Anthem for Queen Carolina, “The Ways of Zion Do Mourn,” may well have been influenced by the Exequien (Wessely 65). Herbert Reich finds a similarity between Handel’s Funeral Anthem setting of the words, “If there was any virtue, and if there was any praise,” and the first three measures of Schütz’s “Ich lasse dich nicht,” in the Exequien:

Musical Ex. 22a: Funeral Anthem, Handel, p. 40
The nineteenth century rediscovery of Schütz's music left an impact on such giants as Liszt and Brahms (Pfatteicher preface in Moser, XII). Brahms, who maintained a large collection of early music, conducted some of the early revival performances of Schütz's music, most notably "Saul" in 1864 (Hancock 127-128, 210). He may well have been aware of Schütz's Exequien when he set his own Deutsches Requiem; the works have many texts in common. Schütz's influence has continued to be felt among German composers in this century. This is especially true of Hugo Distler, who was actively preparing a performance of the Exequien shortly before he killed himself in 1942 (Palmer 70).

Schütz's Exequien is certainly as deserving of performance today as many of the more well-known works from the Baroque. Its compilation of texts from the Bible and fairly objective (i.e., non-pietistic) Reformation chorale texts give it much more textual currency than most of Bach's frequently performed cantatas. In fact, the Exequien has sections in it that are as extractable as many of the solos and choruses in Handel's Messiah.
From a personal standpoint, I find that the Exequien speaks very powerfully to the present. I frankly stand in awe of what Schütz accomplished in this piece. Only after prolonged study have I begun to get an inkling of what the work really is. Schütz has this effect on most musicians upon close examination. He usually prefers the subtle nuance to the flashy effect; his is connoisseur's music. This makes it even more significant if he consciously sought to reach a broad audience in this work, to construct a "Hidden Agenda" of universality.

The final test of whether Schütz succeeded in broadly communicating his artistic/spiritual message lies not in any arguments I or anyone else put forth, but in the performance of the music. My experience has been that the work is even more rewarding in performance than in study; it teaches constantly and expresses deeply. Heinrich Schütz's Musikalische Exequien achieves the timeless universality of the masterwork it is.
Appendix A:
Lecture Recital Program
on the
*Musikalische Exequien*
The audience and performers are invited to a reception in the parish hall following the recital.

SOPRANO
Barbara Clark*
Kathryn Haggans*
Heather Herrmann
Magda Silva
Rhonda Smith
SOPRANO II
Paula Cobb
Kathy DeJardin*
Linda Macy
Barbara Madden
Dina Romero

ALTO
Sarah M. Bleasdale

TENOR I
Jay R. Elmquist
Jeffry A. Jahn*
Linda D. Frye

TENOR II
Jay R. Elmquist

BASS
Timothy Woods*
Kelly Sear

Contemporary Choir Personnel
Christopher Kaynes
Allan R. Simon

Rehearsal Accompanist: Loren C. Veigel

Cathy Davidson, double bass
continuo: Michael Weber, organ

This recital is presented in partial fulfillment of the
Doctor of Musical Arts degree.

The University of Arizona Contemporary Choir

with

A DOCTORAL LECTURE RECITAL

conductor

DAVID L. MENNICK

presents

SCHOOL OF MUSIC

ST. PAUL'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH

3:00 PM

THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1989

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA
"A Hidden Agenda: Universality in the Musikalische Exequien of Heinrich Schütz"

I. Background
   A. Prince Heinrich Posthumus von Reuss
   B. Sarcophagus
   C. Funeral Brochure
   D. Brief Structure of the Exequien
      1. Concerto in the form of a Latin or German Mass (Kyrie, Quasi-Gloria)
      2. Sermon Motet (Double Choir)
      3. Nunc Dimittis (Dialogue)
   E. Additions to Coffin/Brochure texts
      1. Kyrie, Gloria, "Selig sind"
      2. With Posthumous Advice (Kyrie, Christus, etc.)
      3. "Nunc Dimittis (Dialogue)"
      4. Sermon Motet (Double Choir) (Kyrie, Christus, etc.)
      5. Oratorio formal Dialogue in III
      6. Overture homophonic secular solo
   C. Utilizing elements
      1. Text/music repetitions
      2. Large-scale tonal structure
      3. Madrigal
      4. Vocal Concert
      5. Monodic text
      6. Arias (Grandi, Berti, Rovetta)
   B. Progressive elements
      1. Northern contrapuntal sacred choral
      2. Lutheran purpose, genres
      3. Roman Catholic references
      4. Calvinist accommodation
      5. Polychoral (Gabrieli)
   A. Conservative elements
      1. Text/music repetitions
      2. Large-scale tonal structure
      3. Madrigal
      4. Vocal Concert
      5. Monodic text
      6. Arias (Grandi, Berti, Rovetta)

Rhetorical Questions:
- Thirty Years War
- Personal Legacy
- Impetus for "Hidden Agenda"
- Precedents in Schütz
- A new claim

II. Hypothesis: "To enlighten all people"
   A. A new claim
   B. Precedents in Schütz
   C. Impetus for "Hidden Agenda"

III. Musical Evidence: Eclectic-Universal
   A. Consistency of Schütz and Early Baroque
   B. Distribution
   C. Utilizing elements
      1. Text/music repetitions
      2. Large-scale tonal structure
      3. Madrigal
      4. Vocal Concert
      5. Monodic text
      6. Arias (Grandi, Berti, Rovetta)
   B. Progressive elements
      1. Northern contrapuntal sacred choral
      2. Lutheran purpose, genres
      3. Roman Catholic references
      4. Calvinist accommodation
      5. Polychoral (Gabrieli)
   A. Conservative elements
      1. Text/music repetitions
      2. Large-scale tonal structure
      3. Madrigal
      4. Vocal Concert
      5. Monodic text
      6. Arias (Grandi, Berti, Rovetta)

IV. Conclusions: Was Schütz successful?
   A. Representative of Schütz
   B. Distribution
   C. Followers
   D. Distribution

V. Performance of Part I of Musikalische Exequien
   A. Representative of Schütz
   B. Distribution
   C. Utilizing elements
   D. Progressive elements
   E. Conservative elements

PROGRAM
Appendix B:

Texts and Translations for the

Musikalische Exequien38

38Items Schütz added to Posthumus's coffin/brochure texts are indicated by an asterisk (*).
Part I: “Concert in Form einer Lateinische oder Teutschen Missa”*

Pro Introitu

T solo intonation
Text: Job 1:21a

Nacket bin ich vom Mutterleibe kommen,
Naked did I from my mother’s womb come,

TTB concertato trio
Text: Job 1:21b

Nacket werde ich wiederum dahin fahren.
Der Herr hats gegeben, der Herr hats genommen; der Name des Herren sei gelobet.
Naked shall I again to there go.
The Lord has given, the Lord has taken away; let the name of Lord be praised.

Kyrie*

SSATTB choral Capella
Text: Martin Luther Fürbittgebet (based on Latin Kyrie eleison)*

Herr Gott, Vater im Himmel,*
erbarm dich über uns.*
Lord God, Father in heaven,
have mercy upon us.

SS concertato duet
Text: Philippians 1:21

Christus ist mein Leben,
sterben ist mein Gewinn.
Christ is my life,
to die is my gain.

T concertato solo
Text: John 1:29

Siehe, das ist Gottes Lamm,
das der Welt Sünde trägt.
Behold, that is the Lamb of God,
who the sins of the world bears.
SSATTB choral Capella
Text: Luther Fürbittgebet (Christe eleison)*

Jesu Christe, Gottes Sohn*
erbarm dich über uns.*

Jesus Christ, Son of God,
have mercy upon us.

AB concertato duet
Text: Romans 14:8

Leben wir, so leben wir dem Herren;
Sterben wir, so sterben wir dem Herren.
Darum, wir leben oder sterben,
so sind wir des Herren.

If we live, we live in the Lord;
If we die, we die in the Lord.
Therefore, if we live or die,
we are the Lord’s.

SSATTB choral Capella
Text: Luther Fürbittgebet (Kyrie eleison)*

Herr Gott, heiliger Geist,*
erbarm dich über uns.*

Lord God, Holy Ghost,
have mercy upon us.

Quasi-Gloria*

T solo intonation
Text: John 3:16a

Also hat Gott die Welt geliebt,
daß er seinen eingebornen
Sohn gab,

For God the world so loved,
that he his only begotten
Son gave,

SSATTB concertato sextet
Text: John 3:16b

auf daß alle, die an ihn glauben,
nicht verloren werden, sondern
das ewige Leben haben.

that all who in him believe,
should not perish, but
everlasting life have.
**Chorale I: SSATTB Capella**  
**Text:** Martin Luther, "Nun freut euch," vs. 5 (1523)

Er sprach zu seinem lieben Sohn:  
"Die Zeit ist hie zu erbarmen,  
fahr hin, meins Herzens werte  
Kron,  
und sei das Heil der Armen  
und hilf ihn aus der Sünden  
Not,  
erwürg für sie den bittern Tod  
und laß sie mit dir leben."

He spoke to His beloved Son:  
"The time is here for mercy,  
Go forth, my heart’s worthy  
crown,  
and be the salvation of the poor  
and help them out of sin’s  
trouble,  
Suffer for them Thy bitter death  
and let them with Thee live."

**ST concertato duet**  
**Text:** I John 1:7

Das Blut Jesu Christi, des  
Sohnes Gottes  
machet uns rein von allen.

The blood of Jesus Christ, the  
Son of God,  
makes us clean of all [sins].

**Chorale II: SSATTB Capella**  
**Text:** Ludwig Helmhold, "Nun laßt uns Gott," vs. 6 (1587)

Durch ihn ist uns vergeben  
die Sünd, geschenkt das Leben.  
Im Himmel solln wir haben  
O Gott, wie große gaben.

Through Him we are forgiven  
all our sins and granted life.  
In heaven we shall receive,  
O God, such great gifts.

**SB concertato duet**  
**Text:** Philippians 3:20-21

Unser Wandel ist im Himmel,  
von dannen wir auch warten des  
Heilandes Jesu Christi, des Herren,  
elicher unsern nichtigen Leib,  
verklären wird, daß er ähnlich  
werde seinem verklärten Leibe.

Our change is in heaven,  
where we surely await the  
salvation of Jesus Christ, Lord,  
in whom our perishable bodies  
shall changed, to be like  
His own transfigured body.
**Chorale III: SSATTB Capella**  
Text: Johann Leon, “Ich hab' mein Sach Gott heimgestellt,” vs. 3 (1582)

Es ist allhier ein Jammertal,  
Angst, Not, und Trübsal überall;  
des Bleibens ist ein kleine Zeit,  
voller Mühseligkeit,  
und wers bedenkt, ist immer  
ist immer in Streit.

- **TT concertato duet**  
Text: Isaiah 1:18

Wenn eure Sünde gleich blutrot wäre,  
soll sie doch schneeweiß werden;  
Wenn sie gleich ist wie rosinfarb,  
soll sie doch wie Wolle werden.

**Chorale IV: SSATTB Capella**  
Text: Helmhold, strophe 5 (same source as Chorale II)

Sein Wort, sein Tauf, sein  
Nachtmal  
dient wider allen Unfall;  
der Heil'ge Geist im Glauben  
lehrt uns darauf vertrauen.

- **Alto monodic recitative**  
Text: Isaiah 26:20

Gehe hin, mein Volk, in eine Kammer  
und schleuß die Tür nach dir zu;  
verbirge dich, einen kleinen Augenblick,  
bis der Zorn vorüber gehe.

- **SSB concertato trio**  
Text: Wisdom of Solomon 3:1-3

Der gerechten Seelen sind in Gottes  
Hand, und keine Qual  
rühret sie an.  
Für den Unverständigen werden sie

Here is all a vale of tears  
Anxiety, misery and sorrow all;  
Our time here is brief,  
full of bitter hardship,  
and whoever ponders it,  
is always struggling.

Though your sins be blood-red,  
They shall yet be white as snow;  
Though they be as red as scarlet,  
they shall certainly be as wool.

His Word, his Baptism, his  
Communion  
serves us against all evil;  
the Holy Ghost, by faith  
teaches us to trust in them.

Go, my people, into a chamber  
and close the door behind you;  
Hide yourselves for a bit,  
Until the wrath has past over.

The righteous souls are in God’s  
hand and no pain  
touches them.  
To the unwise it had
angesehen, als stürben sie, und
ihr Abschied wird für,
eine Pein gerechnet
und ihr Hinfahren für
Verderben;
aber sie sind in Frieden.
appeared as if they had died, and
their departure was taken for
a pain to be judged
and their departure as
destruction;
but they are in peace.

**Tenor monodic recitative**
Text: Psalm 73:25 (Text for sermon at Posthumus’s funeral)

Herr, wenn ich nur dich habe,
so frage ich nichts nach
Himmel und Erde.

Lord, if I have only you,
then ask I for nothing else in
heaven nor earth.

**ATTB concertato quartet**
Text: Psalm 73:26 (Text for sermon at Posthumus’s funeral)

Wenn mir gleich Leib
und Seele verschmacht,
so bist du doch, Gott,
allezeit meines Herzens
Trost und mein Teil.

And even if my body
and soul should fail,
Yet you are truly God,
in all times my heart’s
strength and my portion.

**Chorale V: SSATTB Capella**
Text: Martin Luther, “Mit Fried und Freud ,” vs. 8 (1524)
(German paraphrase of the Nunc Dimittis)

Er ist das Heil und
selig Licht
für die Heiden, zu erleuchten,
die dich kennen nicht,
und zu weiden;
er ist seines Volks Israel
der Preis, Ehr, Freud und Wonne.

He is the salvation and
blessed light
for the nations, to enlighten,
those who know Thee not,
and to shepherd;
He is for His people Israel
the prize, glory, joy and delight.

**BB concertato duet**
Text: Psalm 90:10

Unser Leben währet siebenzig Jahr,
und wenns hoch kömmt,
so sinds achtzig Jahr,
und wenn es köstlich gewesen ist,
so ist es Müh und Arbeit gewesen.

Our life lasts seventy years,
and if it goes well,
then eighty years,
and even with some sweetness
it is still in sorrow and labor.
Chorale VI: SSATTB Capella  
Text: J. Heune of Gigas, "Ach, wie elend ist unser Zeit," vs. 1 (16th C.)

Ach wie elend ist unser Zeit  
allhier auf dieser Erden,  
gar bald der Mensch darnieder leit,  
wir müssen alle sterben.  
Allhier in diesem Jammertal  
ist Müh und Arbeit überall,  
auch wenn dirs wohl gelinget.

Ah, how wretched is our time  
here on this earth.  
All too soon man lies down,  
we must all die.  
Here in this vale of tears  
is sorrow and labor always,  
even if we prosper.

Tenor concertato arie  
Text: Job19:25-26

Ich weiß, daß mein Erlöser lebt,  
und er wird mich hernach aus der  
Erden auferwecken, und werde  
darnach mit dieser meiner Haut  
umgeben werden, und werde in  
meinem Fleisch Gott sehen.

I know that my Redeemer lives,  
and that he will later out of the  
earth raise me up, and even  
after my body  
has decayed, yet in  
my flesh I will see God.

Chorale VII: SSATTB Capella  
Text: Nikolaus Herman, "Wenn mein Stündlein ist," strophe 4 (1562)

Weil du vom Tod,  
erstanden bist  
werd ich im Grab nicht bleiben;  
mein höchster Trost dein  
Auffahrt ist,  
Todsfurcht kannst du vertreiben;  
denn wo du bist, da komm ich hin  
daß ich stets bei dir leb und bin;  
rum fahr ich him mit Freuden.

Since you from death  
have arisen  
I shall in the grave not remain;  
my great comfort is your  
Resurrection,  
The fear of death you can dispel;  
For where you are, I shall come,  
That I may always be with you;  
Therefore I go to you with joy.

SSATTB concertato sextet  
Text: Genesis 32:37

Herr, ich lasse dich nicht,  
du segnest mich denn.

Lord, I will not let you go,  
unless you bless me.
Chorale VIII: SSATTB Capella
Text: Luther, “Nun freut euch,” strophe 7 (same source as Chorale I)


He spoke to me: “Hold to me, and it will go well with you; I gave myself wholly for you, Yea, for you will I do battle. Death has been destroyed by my own life, My purity shall bear your sins, so that you may be blessed.”

Part II: Motette, “Herr, wenn ich nur Dich habe”

SATB/SATB motet: Capella (Choir)
Text: Psalm 73:25-26


Lord, if I have only you, then ask I for nothing else in heaven nor earth. And even if my body and soul should fail, Yet you are truly, God, in all times my heart’s strength and my portion.
Part III: Canticum B. Simeonis, “Herr, nun lässet Du Deinem Diener”

MezzoATTB /SSBar Dialogue: Capella (Choir)/Soli


Herr, nun lässet du deinen Diener

Solo intonation

Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant

Choir

in Frieden fahren,

in peace depart,

Soli*

Selig sind die Toten, die in* dem Herren sterben.*

Blessed are the dead, which in the Lord die.

Soli*

wie du gesagt hast.

as you have said.

Choir

Selig sind die Toten, die in* dem Herren sterben.*

Blessed are the dead, which in the Lord die.

Soli*

Denn meine Augen haben deinen Heiland gesehen,

For mine eyes have Thy salvation seen,

Choir

Selig sind die Toten, die in* dem Herren sterben.*

Blessed are the dead, which in the Lord die.

Soli*

welchen du bereit hast für allen Völkern,

which Thou hast prepared for all peoples,

Soli*

Sie ruhen von ihrer Arbeit,*

They rest from their labor,
welchen du bereit hast für allen Völkern,

und ihre Werke folgen* ihnen nach.*

für allen Völkern,

und ihre Werke folgen* ihnen nach.*

ein Licht, zu erleuchten die Heiden

Sie sind in der* Hand des Herren und keine* Qual rühret sie.*

ein Licht, zu erleuchten die Heiden und zum Preis deines Volks Israel.

Selig sind die Toten, die in* dem Herren sterben.*

und zum Preis deines Volks Israel.

Choir

which Thou hast prepared for all peoples,

Soli*

and their works follow after them.

Choir

for all peoples,

Soli*

and their works follow after them.

Choir

a light, to enlighten the nations

Soli*

They are in the hand of the Lord and no torment touches them.

Choir

a light, to enlighten the nations and to be the glory of Thy people Israel.

Soli*

Blessed are the dead, which in the Lord die.

Choir

and to be the glory of Thy people Israel.
Appendix C:
Analysis for Performance
of Part I of the
Musikalische Exequien

39All measure numbers and modalities in the following charts refer to the Schütz Neue
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>measures</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Texture</th>
<th>Forces</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-7^3</td>
<td>vocal trio concerto</td>
<td>mostly homophonic part-writing</td>
<td>TTB soli w/ mostly sequente basso continuo</td>
<td>Job 1:21b</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>e aeolian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7^4-13^2</td>
<td>old style motet</td>
<td>slow homorhythmic, slightly imitative at &quot;erbarm dich&quot;</td>
<td>SSATTB Capella, doubling^40 basso continuo (b.c.)</td>
<td>German paraphrase of Kyrie eleison (to &quot;Vater&quot;)</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>e aeolian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13^2-20^2</td>
<td>vocal duet concerto</td>
<td>SS soli duet, b.c. essential</td>
<td>Phil. 1:21</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td>e aeolian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20^3-25^2</td>
<td>solo monodic recitative</td>
<td>T solo w/ b.c.</td>
<td>John 1:29</td>
<td>c^2</td>
<td></td>
<td>e aeolian (ends half cadence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25^3-31^2</td>
<td>old style motet</td>
<td>mostly block white notes w/ some rhythmic displacement, imitative &quot;erbarm dich&quot; (VOICE EXCHANGE [V.E.] from B)</td>
<td>SSATTB Capella doubling b.c.</td>
<td>German paraphrase of Christe eleison (to &quot;Jesus Christi&quot;)</td>
<td>B'</td>
<td>begins e, moves to a aeolian picardy 3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31^3-42^1</td>
<td>vocal duet concerto 1 m. b.c. intro.</td>
<td>imitative duet, b.c. mostly half-note chords diff rhythm than bass voice</td>
<td>AB soli duet ind. b.c.</td>
<td>Romans 14:8</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>modulates by sequence through a-G-C-F-E-A-D-G, ends in e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42^1-50</td>
<td>old style motet</td>
<td>dense half note motion, rhythm more broken up &amp; imitative, massive Gabriel-like drive to cadence</td>
<td>SSATTB Capella doubling b.c.</td>
<td>German paraphrase of Kyrie eleison (to &quot;Heiliger Geist&quot;)</td>
<td>B''</td>
<td>e aeolian, ends w/ picardy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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^40Praetorius (Syntagma Musica III,) Schütz (Psalmen Davids) and most other early Baroque composers welcomed the use of unspecified instruments to double the Capella.
### Analysis of Part I: *Quasi-Gloria*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Forces</th>
<th>Texture/Chorale</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- - - - -</td>
<td>intonation</td>
<td>solo tenor voice</td>
<td>monophonic chant</td>
<td>John 3:16a</td>
<td>in² G Ionian (see <em>Kyrie</em> &amp; <em>Nunc</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1¹-8³</td>
<td>Vocal sextet madrigal/concerto hybrid</td>
<td>SST, SSAT, then SSATB soli w/ b.c.</td>
<td>imitative, syllabic quarter, eighth note motion</td>
<td>John 3:16b (VERSE I)</td>
<td>e e aeolian modulate by seq. to G ends e, picardy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8⁴-22²</td>
<td>Chorale motet I (texture changes w/ text)</td>
<td>SSATTB Capella doubling b.c.</td>
<td>points of imitation to each chorale phrase, high vs. low groupings, some homophony</td>
<td>&quot;Er sprach zu seinem lieben Sohn,&quot; Luther (CHORALE I)</td>
<td>F G Ionian last phr. repeated to end in e, picardy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22³-47²</td>
<td>Vocal duet concerto,</td>
<td>SII/TII soli duet w/ ind. b.c.</td>
<td>imitation between voices and (occasionally) b.c. in mostly white notes, much sequencing, text repetition</td>
<td>John 1:17 (VERSE 2)</td>
<td>g e-a-G, ends in e w/ half cadence on B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47³-55²</td>
<td>Cantional chorale harmonization (simple Calvinist Psalter-style setting, melody slightly altered)</td>
<td>SSATTB Capella doubling b.c.</td>
<td>homophonic, homorhythmic (half/quarter) syllabic</td>
<td>&quot;Durch ihn ist uns &quot;- &quot;Helmhold (CHORALE II)</td>
<td>H G Ionian (last line repeated to cadence on e w/ picardy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55³-74⁴</td>
<td>virtuosic vocal duet melismas on &quot;verklären&quot;</td>
<td>SI/BI soli duet w/ b.c.</td>
<td>imitative duet, through-comp. (little repetition) b.c. often ind. of bass voice</td>
<td>Phil. 3:20-21 (VERSE 3)</td>
<td>i starts e-a-C-G-a-C last phrase repeated to cadence e aeolian, picardy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75¹-91²</td>
<td>polychoral chorale motet</td>
<td>SSATTB Capella doubling b.c.</td>
<td>mostly homo. syllabic in antiphonal (high/low) and tutti deployment, some text repetition</td>
<td>&quot;Es ist allhier ein Jammertal,&quot; Leon (CHORALE III)</td>
<td>J mostly e aeolian, w/ bits of G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Part I**

- **Measures 1-8**: Vocal sextet madrigal/concerto hybrid
  - Form: Solo tenor voice
  - Texture: Monophonic chant
  - Text/Chorale: John 3:16a
  - Mode: G Ionian
- **Measures 8-22**: Chorale motet I
  - Form: SSATTB Capella doubling b.c.
  - Texture: Points of imitation to each chorale phrase
  - Text/Chorale: "Er sprach zu seinem lieben Sohn," Luther
  - Mode: G Ionian
- **Measures 22-47**: Vocal duet concerto
  - Form: SII/TII soli duet w/ ind. b.c.
  - Texture: Imitation between voices and occasional b.c. in mostly white notes
  - Text/Chorale: John 1:17
  - Mode: G Ionian
- **Measures 47-55**: Cantional chorale harmonization
  - Form: SSATTB Capella doubling b.c.
  - Texture: Homophonic, homorhythmic
  - Text/Chorale: "Durch ihn ist uns" - "Helmhold
  - Mode: G Ionian
- **Measures 55-74**: Virtuosic vocal duet melismas on "verklären"
  - Form: SI/BI soli duet w/ b.c.
  - Texture: Imitative duet, through-composition
  - Text/Chorale: Phil. 3:20-21
  - Mode: G Ionian
- **Measures 75-91**: Polychoral chorale motet
  - Form: SSATTB Capella doubling b.c.
  - Texture: Mostly homophonic
  - Text/Chorale: "Es ist allhier ein Jammertal," Leon
  - Mode: Mostly e aeolian

---

**Harmonization**

- **Simple Calvinist Psalter-style setting**
- **Melody slightly altered**
- **Cantional** SSATTB Capella doubling b.c.
- **Homophonic**, homorhythmic (half/quarter) syllabic
- **Text repetition**
- **Notes of imitation**
- **Melodies slightly altered**
- **Harmonization**
  - **Simple Calvinist Psalter-style**
  - **Setting**
  - **Melody** slightly altered
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Form</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>91³-110⁴</td>
<td>Virtuosic duet</td>
<td>TT soli duet w/ b.c.</td>
<td>opens slow close imitation, harsh suspensions to quicker melismas, Pattern repeated for parallel 2nd half of verse</td>
<td>Isaiah 1:18 (VERSE 4)</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>mostly e aeolian, some motion to A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111³-118⁴</td>
<td>Cantional chorale</td>
<td>SSATTB Capella doubling b.c.</td>
<td>homo- phonic, rhythmic (half &amp; quarter) syllabic</td>
<td>“Sein Wort, sein Tauf, sein Nachtmal,” Helmholt (CHORALE IV)</td>
<td>H'</td>
<td>G Ionian (last line repeated to cadence on e w/ picardy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119³-127⁴</td>
<td>Monodic recitative</td>
<td>Alto solo, slow essential b.c.</td>
<td>declamatory, mostly syllabic, chordal b.c.</td>
<td>Isaiah 26:20 (VERSE 5)</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>e aeolian picardy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128³-144⁴</td>
<td>Vocal trio concerto</td>
<td>SSB soli w/ b.c.</td>
<td>opens homo., then is contrast of Bass w/ diff. text &amp; music to SS imitative, parallel 3rd duets above</td>
<td>Wisdom 3:1-3 (VERSE 6)</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>a dorian, ends on half cadence of e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146³-153⁴</td>
<td>Monodic recitative</td>
<td>T solo w/ b.c.</td>
<td>declamatory mostly syllabic, chordal b.c.</td>
<td>Psalm 73:25 (VERSE 7a)</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>G Ionian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154³-164²</td>
<td>Vocal quartet concerto</td>
<td>ATTB ensemble w/ b.c. (Walking bass line at end)</td>
<td>opens in paired groupings of 3rds in imitation, then two solo passages answered by tutti</td>
<td>Psalm 73:26 (VERSE 7b)</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>starts F, ends e aeolian, picardy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164³-179²</td>
<td>Chorale concerto/motet</td>
<td>SSA Capella, ends SSATTB Capella b.c. essential</td>
<td>opens w/ imitative SSA chorale trio-cinium + b.c., ends tutti w/ rhythmic displaced homophony</td>
<td>“Er ist das Heil” Luther paraphrase of Nunc Dimittis (CHORALE V)</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>starts e dorian, ends e aeolian picardy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178³-201⁴</td>
<td>Vocal duet concerto</td>
<td>B/B soli, w/ b.c. often ind. of lowest bass</td>
<td>through-comp. mostly ind. b.c., much sequence, text repetition &amp; painting</td>
<td>Psalm 90:10 (VERSE 8)</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>e aeolian w/ many cadences to other, esp. G, D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measures</td>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Forces</td>
<td>Texture</td>
<td>Text/Chorale</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Mode</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>202(^1)-218(^2)</td>
<td>Chorale motet</td>
<td>SSATTB Capella w/ doubling b.c.</td>
<td>through-comp., points of imi. on tune for each phrase of text mostly in various 4-voice groupings</td>
<td>“Ach, wie elend” R J. Heune (CHORALE VI)</td>
<td>G Ionian last phr. repeated to end in e aeolian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218(^3)-241(^2)</td>
<td>Vocal Arie</td>
<td>Solo tenor, independent b.c. accomp.</td>
<td>1st triple meter of the piece, lyrical, Grand-style melody, through-composed, syllabic much sequence, text repetition, tunefulness</td>
<td>Job 19: 25-26 s (VERSE 9)</td>
<td>starts e aeolian, moves to a plagal dorian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242(^1)-260(^4)</td>
<td>Chorale motet w/ varied antiphonal groupings</td>
<td>SSATTB w/ b.c. doubling</td>
<td>Continues triple meter, homoph. syllabic, no text repetitions until last phrase. Mostly in various 3 or 4 voice antiphonal groupings, tutti at end</td>
<td>“Weil du vom Tod” T Hermann (CHORALE VII)</td>
<td>a dorian, last phr. repeated to end in e aeolian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261(^1)-273(^2)</td>
<td>Vocal sextet concerto/ madrigal hybrid</td>
<td>SSATTB soli w/ b.c.</td>
<td>Duple meter, text repetition, contrary chromaticism, in antiphonal 3-voice groupings Ends homophonic tutti at text change (suggests triple meter by word stress)</td>
<td>Genesis 32:37 u (VERSE 10)</td>
<td>a dorian, ends e aeolian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273(^3)-293(^4)</td>
<td>Chorale motet</td>
<td>SSATTB Capella w/ b.c.</td>
<td>Points of imitation for each new line of text. Opening musical material revoiced at end to match original barform of chorale tune (AABA), last imi. repeated to end in main mode</td>
<td>“Er sprach zu mir” F’ Luther (CHORALE VIII)</td>
<td>G plagal Ionian, ends e aeolian picardy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Selected Bibliography

This list includes all of the works cited in this document. It also is comprehensive for literature whose primary focus is the *Musikalische Exequien*.


The Lutheran Hymnal. St. Louis: Concordia, 1941.


