



Foretastes of Heaven in Lutheran Church Music Tradition

Johann
Mattheson
and
Christoph
Raupach on
Music in
Time and
Eternity

Joyce
Irwin



Foretastes of Heaven in Lutheran Church Music Tradition

Contextual Bach Studies

A series of monographs exploring the contexts of Johann Sebastian Bach's life and music, with a particular emphasis on theology and liturgy.

Series Editor: Robin A. Leaver

Music has its own distinctive characteristics—melody, harmony, rhythm, form, etc.—that have to be fully appreciated if it is to be effectively understood. But a detailed comprehension of all these musical elements cannot reveal the significance of all the compositional choices made by a composer. “What?” and “how?” questions need to be supplemented by appropriate “why?” and “when?” questions. Study of the original score and parts, as well as the different manifestations of a particular work, have to be undertaken. But if such study is regarded as an end rather than a beginning, then the music itself will not necessarily be fully understood. One must go further. There are various contexts that impinge upon a composer's choices. Music is conditioned by time, place, and culture and therefore is influenced by particular historical, geographical, and social contexts; music written in fulfillment of a contractual agreement has an economic context; and so forth.

The music of Johann Sebastian Bach has been the object of intensive study and analysis, but in the past many of these studies have been somewhat narrow in focus. For example, the received view of Bach's music was to some degree incomplete because it was largely discussed on its own terms without being fully set within the contextual perspective of the musician's predecessors, contemporaries, and successors. It is only in fairly recent times that the music of these other composers has become accessible, allowing us to appreciate the nature and stature of their accomplishments, and at the same time giving us new perspectives from which to view a more rounded picture of Bach's genius.

The monographs in this series explore such contextual areas. Since much of Bach's music was composed for Lutheran worship, a primary concern of these monographs is the liturgical and theological contexts of the music. But Bach's music was not exclusively confined to these specific religious concerns. German culture of the time had more general religious dimensions that permeated “secular” society. Therefore, in addition to specific studies of the liturgical and theological contexts of Bach's music, this series also includes explorations of social, political, and cultural religious contexts in which his music was composed and first heard.

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Foretastes of Heaven in Lutheran
Church Music Tradition

*Johann Mattheson and Christoph
Raupach on Music in Time and Eternity*

Translated and Edited by
Joyce L. Irwin

ROWMAN & LITTLEFIELD
Lanham • Boulder • New York • London

Published by Rowman & Littlefield

A wholly owned subsidiary of The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc.
4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200, Lanham, Maryland 20706
www.rowman.com

Unit A, Whitacre Mews, 26-34 Stannary Street, London SE11 4AB

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Information Available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Irwin, Joyce L.

Foretastes of heaven in Lutheran church music tradition : Johann Mattheson and Christoph Raupach on music in time and eternity / Joyce Irwin.

pages cm. — (Contextual Bach studies ; 5)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4422-3263-1 (cloth : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-1-4422-3264-8 (ebook) 1.

Mattheson, Johann, 1681-1764. Behauptung der himmlischen Musik aus den Gr?nden der Vernunft, Kirchen-Lehre und heiligen Schrift. 2. Raupach, Christoph, 1686-1744.

Veritophili Deutliche Beweis-Gr?nde, worauf der rechte Gebrauch der Music beydes in den Kirchen und ausser denselben beruhet. 3. Church music—Lutheran Church. 4.

Church music—Germany—18th century. I. Mattheson, Johann, 1681-1764. Behauptung der himmlischen Musik aus den Gr?nden der Vernunft, Kirchen-Lehre und heiligen Schrift. II. Raupach, Christoph, 1686-1744. Veritophili Deutliche Beweis-Gr?nde, worauf der rechte Gebrauch der Music beydes in den Kirchen und ausser denselben beruhet. III.

Title.

ML3168.I76 2015

781.71'41—dc23

2014036076

♻️ The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992.

Printed in the United States of America

For my husband, Bob (“R. V.”) Smith

“And let all the people say ‘Amen’”
Psalm 106:48

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Series Editor's Foreword

The name Johann Mattheson is synonymous with eighteenth-century music: its theory and practice, its forms and genres, its vocal and instrumental manifestations, its secularity in the opera house, and its sacredness in the church. In most of his around ninety publications—issued in the fifty years between 1713 and 1763¹—Mattheson offers an astonishingly encyclopedic survey of almost all aspects of the music of his day. He is therefore among the most quoted of authors in our day when our concern is, first, to understand the music of the eighteenth century, and then, second, to perform it in appropriate ways. However, our use of Mattheson's invaluable publications is somewhat selective. This is understandable when our first concern is usually performance practice. The writings of Mattheson—along with others of his contemporaries—are ransacked for practical information that will give us pointers as to how a particular piece or genre should be performed, or how figured bass should be realized, or some other practical issue. But in the process those passages that are irrelevant to our immediate practical concerns—such as ventures into philosophy, theology, or biblical minutiae—are simply ignored. Yet these occur frequently in Mattheson's writings on music and were clearly important to him. They are neither peripheral nor simply the preoccupation of his old age—even though his very last publication was a brief article on his belief in God as the source of all harmony.² Such philosophical and theological concerns are evident throughout his life, as this volume makes abundantly clear.

Mattheson was an avid student of Scripture, obvious from the biblical references that occur in his writings, as well as from the note he made in 1759 that he had just begun reading through the complete Bible for the 22nd time.³ Much of his concern was to understand the biblical perspectives with regard to music, in common with other contemporary musicians who were responsible for music in the worship of the church, including Johann Sebastian Bach, whose personal Bible commentary is marked by his underlinings and marginal comments.⁴ For these musicians in the first half of the eighteenth century the relationship between earthly and heavenly music was of significant interest. A first concern was the appreciation of the role of music in worship as recorded in the Bible. A

second preoccupation was with the understanding that the music of heaven would only be experienced after death, thus the music of worship on earth, with its imperfections, was a preparation for the perfect music of heaven which has yet to be experienced. A third dimension was the belief that when worship and its music took place on earth it was echoing the worship music of heaven that was then taking place at that moment. Thus the relationship between the music of worship on earth and the music of worship in heaven had three simultaneous tenses: past, future, and present. These three tenses are given visual expression in the frontispiece to Hector Mithobius, *Psalmodia Christiana* (Jena: Berger, 1665).⁵ Another visual representation of heavenly and earthly music is the engraving that occurs in Heinrich Müller's *Himmlischer Liebes-Kuß oder Göttliche Liebes-Flamme* (Nuremberg: Endter, 1722), an edition that may well have been in Bach's personal library.⁶ Here the music of the heart is depicted as musicians gathered round an organ as one would see them in the west gallery of a church. Above them is the heavenly host, similarly depicted as musicians surrounding an organ, thus implying that earthly church music coincides with, as well as prepares for, the music of heaven. There is also the woodcut title page border found in a number of Michael Praetorius's publications where groups of instrumentalists and singers are shown in galleries of a church while above is depicted the musicians of heaven, similarly singers and instrumentalists. Both the angels and redeemed in heaven, and the polychoral music-makers of the church on earth, simultaneously present their musical praise which includes the Gloria in excelsis Deo, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei of the liturgical Ordinary.

There are numerous references to the "upper" and "lower" choir in hymns,⁷ sermons, and devotional writings—where the music of heaven is the upper choir and the music of earth is the lower choir. Similar contrasts can be found in the libretti of Bach's cantatas: for example BWV 25/5, BWV 30/2, BWV 91/5, 122/3, 248/11. The 17th-century Strassburg theologian, Johann Conrad Dannhauer, illustrates the difference by likening earthly worship music to simple unaccompanied chant and the music of heaven in contrast to complex figural music.⁸

Bach's double-choir motet *Nun ist das Heil* (BWV 50) has either been dismissed from the canon of his works, or thought to have been expanded to 8 voices from a 5-part original, a revision by someone other than the composer, because of the unusual way homophony and polyphony are combined. But the difficulties become explicable when, as seems likely, Bach was thinking of the two choirs as representing the music of heaven (Choir I, above in the score) and the music of earth (Choir II, below in the score). The upper choir of the permutation fugue always has the theme in counterpoint, whereas the lower choir begins mostly homophonically. However, as the two equal sections of the fugue are worked out the voices of the lower choir gradually lose their homophony and become incorporated into the counterpoint of the upper choir. Thus in the structure of the musical form the simpler homophonic music of earth is gradually transformed into the counterpoint of the music of heaven.⁹

The subject matter of the two documents translated here appears to have been known to Bach. This is hardly surprising since neither contains highly original material but are in essence two different summations of common knowledge that had been expressed in different ways in a variety of publications over a long period of time. However, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Bach may have known the treatise of “Veritophilus” (a.k.a. Christoph Raupach). It appears that Bach used the first volume of Friedrich Niedt’s *Musikalische Handleitung* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1710) in his teaching,¹⁰ so it is possible that he may also have had access to the subsequent two volumes, the last being edited by Mattheson after Niedt’s death in 1717, the volume in which Raupach’s treatise on heavenly music appears—the first of the two documents appearing here in translation.

Whether or not Bach knew of the second document translated in this volume is certainly an open question—and probably an unnecessary one given that the subject matter concerns an old debate that was then being given a new airing.¹¹ Mattheson’s 1747 treatise on heavenly music endorses much of Raupach’s earlier treatise that he had edited some thirty years before. Taken together the two documents witness, on the one hand, the consistency of Mattheson’s thinking about heavenly music, and on the other hand, the continuity of such thinking among his predecessors and contemporaries, which in the context of the emerging Enlightenment of those times perhaps looks to us to be surprisingly traditional.

Joyce Irwin is to be congratulated and thanked for producing readable and clarified translations of these two documents, no mean feat when at times Mattheson can be prolix, bombastic, and unreasonable!

If we are to understand the music of the eighteenth century, we need to know not only how it was composed and how it was performed. We also need to know how composers and performers understood the nature and purpose of their art.

Robin A. Leaver
Series Editor

Notes

¹ See the critical annotated bibliography (which includes music and manuscripts as well as printed material) of Beekman C. Cannon, *Johann Mattheson: Spectator in Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947; reprint, [Hamden]: Archon, 1968), 156–216.

² “Non est harmonice compositus, que Harmonia non delectatur,” *Die Hamburgischen Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit* 56 (15 July 1763): 443–447; see Cannon, *op. cit.*, 216.

³ Cannon, *op. cit.*, 219.

⁴ See Howard H. Cox, ed., *The Calov Bible of J. S. Bach* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985); Robin A. Leaver, *J. S. Bach and Scripture: Glosses from the Calov Bible Commentary* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1985).

⁵ Reproduced here on page 92.

⁶ Robin A. Leaver, *Bachs Theologische Bibliothek* (Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1983), 156.

⁷ Often in doxological stanzas. Examples include: "Christum wir sollen loben schon," st. 7; "Frölich soll mein Herze springen," st. 1; "Gottes Sohn ist kommen" st. 6; and "O daß ich tausend Zungen hätte," st. 15.

⁸ Johann Conrad Dannhauer, *Catechismusmilch, Oder Der Erklärung deß Christlichen Catechismi Part I* (Strasbourg: Sporr, 1642), 379.

⁹ Robin A. Leaver, "Bach and the Bicentenary of the Reformation, 1717." *Im Klang der Wirklichkeit: Musik und Theologie. Martin Petzoldt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Norbert Bolin and Markus Franz (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2011), 49–62, esp. 59–62.

¹⁰ See *J. S. Bach's Precepts and Principles For Playing the Thorough-Bass or Accompanying in Four Parts, Leipzig, 1738*, trans. with commentary by Pamela L. Poulin (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

¹¹ However, there is likely to have been at least some formal connection between Mattheson and Bach, to judge from the repeated requests (beginning in 1719) the former made for a brief biography of the latter suitable for publishing (see *Bach Dokumente II: Fremdschripte und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs 1685–1750*), ed. Werner Neuman and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), 75, 200 (Nos. 98 and 303, respectively). But there are other possible connections between the two. The primary dedicatee of Mattheson's *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* (1747) was the lawyer and poet Ludwig Friedrich Hudemann (1703–1770), whom Mattheson had earlier described as "a great connoisseur and musician" (*Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, 139; see the references below). In 1727 Bach had dedicated his puzzle canon (BWV 1074) to the same "Monsieur Houdemann," which Mattheson reprinted in *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* (see *Bach Dokumente II*, 376–378 (No. 466); Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, *The New Bach Reader*, ed. Christoph Wolff [New York: Norton, 1998], 329–330 [No. 329]). Then there is the intriguing information that while Mattheson's *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* was published in Hamburg by Christian Herold in 1739 it was not printed in the city. It was "under the press" in Leipzig at the printing house of August Samuel Cruciger towards the end of 1738. Lorenz Christoph Mizler appears to have known the content of the work then in process, and it is likely that Bach was similarly aware of this important theoretical work then being printed in Leipzig. See Gregory Butler, "J. S. Bach's 'Hudemann' Canon, BWV 1074: A Note on the Engraving and Printing History," *Bach. The Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 25/1 (1994): 5–10, esp. 5–7; Gregory Butler, "Der Vollkommene Capellmeister As a Stimulus to J. S. Bach's Late Fugal Writing," *New Mattheson Studies*, eds. George Buelow and Hans Joachim Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 293–305, esp. 293–295.

Preface

When I first encountered Johann Mattheson's *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*, I was fascinated. I had an image of Mattheson as an Enlightenment thinker, and this work did not fit my image. Believing that others needed to have their image of Mattheson enriched, I resolved to translate the work. Not everyone has agreed that the work is worthy of translation; indeed, it may strike some as tedious and others as theologically benighted. My relatives of a scientific bent thought that I was setting out to discover the truth about music in heaven. While I admit to being inspired by the image of glorious music that never ceases, my effort here is an attempt to better understand an individual and the century in which he lived. Too often the study of history involves identifying the antecedents of contemporary ideas or practices, but such a search can lead to a distorted picture of the past. It is just as important to recognize the ways in which historical figures are unlike us and to understand their differences, in the same manner that one might seek to understand a person of another culture today.

Mattheson has a reputation for writing difficult German. This is especially true of his more polemical writings where sarcasm and biting wit dominate, but these elements are never completely missing from his writings. In my attempts to uncover his and Raupach's meaning, I have had assistance from Dominik Stoltz, Karl Reichl, and Karlfried Froehlich, but none of them should be blamed for any misinterpretations or shortcomings that remain.

As an aid to the reader, I have inserted biblical verse numbers in brackets where our authors provided only the chapter. When the citations in the texts were incorrect, I have so indicated either in brackets or in endnotes. In certain instances, the chapter divisions and verse numbers in German Bibles differ from those of English Bibles; where this is so, I have sometimes given both verse numbers and explained other discrepancies in the notes. More disturbing to those who know their English Bibles well may be that the quotations are not usually identical with any published English translation. Frequently the author's point rests on wording that is specific to Luther's German translation or to another version being cited. For this reason I have generally translated directly from Mattheson's or Raupach's German.

The footnotes are those of the 18th-century authors except where I have added material in brackets. Frequently I have also included an endnote at the same point to expand on the original notes. Where there are words in boldface, I have retained these emphases from the original, as they are important to the understanding of the author's meaning.

Both works in this volume had lengthy dedicatory prefaces which were deemed to be of limited interest to the readers of this volume. The few specialists who are interested in Mattheson's relationship to Maria Aurora, Countess of Königsmarck, to whom he dedicated both the *Beweis-Gründe* and his *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* (1713), will be able to find the preface in digital form online. Similarly, literary historians interested in poets Ludewig Friederich Hudemann and Bernhard Riecke, to whom *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* was dedicated, will likely be capable of reading the original. Also omitted in this translation is the content summary of each of the 150 sections of the *Behauptung*. An alphabetical index was thought to be of more use to the modern reader.

In this digital age, it is possible to do much historical research online, and thus I have fewer librarians to thank than would have been the case in decades past. Nevertheless, I am grateful for the helpful assistance of librarians and staff of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Princeton University Library, and the Princeton Theological Seminary Library. Karen Reeds, a colleague in the Princeton Research Forum, read parts of the manuscript and offered useful suggestions.

Finally, I am very grateful to Robin Leaver for encouraging me in this project, advocating for its publication, providing editorial advice and assistance, and answering all my queries.

Abbreviations

- KJV King James Version of the Bible, first published in 1611.
- LW *Luther's Works: American Edition*. 53 volumes. St Louis: Concordia and Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955-1986.
- NRSV New Revised Standard Version Bible. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1989.
- PL *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina*. Edited by J. P. Migne. 221 volumes. Paris, 1844-1864.
- WA *Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. 65 volumes. Weimar: Böhlau, 1883-1993.
- WA BR *Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Briefwechsel*. 18 volumes. Weimar: Böhlau, 1930-1985.
- WA DB *Luthers Werke Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Deutsche Bibel*. 12 volumes. Weimar: Böhlau, 1906-61.
- WA TR *Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden*. 6 volumes. Weimar: Böhlau, 1912-1921.

Introduction

To those of us who struggle to maintain high standards of church music today, the age of Johann Sebastian Bach seems to represent the pinnacle of Protestant church music, the golden age to which we would like to return. Upon closer examination, however, it is evident that church musicians of his time felt themselves embattled by some of the same forces that 21st-century musicians face: an increasingly secularized society, utilitarian values, social divisions resulting in differing musical tastes, and insufficient financial compensation.

The texts presented here were written as a defense against the perceived decline of musical standards in the early eighteenth century, though it must be recognized that Christoph Raupach's efforts would not have had much impact if Johann Mattheson had not introduced them to the public. What ties these texts together, therefore, is not just their common themes but Mattheson's identification of Raupach's manuscript as bolstering his own cause. Mattheson's preface places the work he is introducing into a more polemical context than was perhaps originally intended. Raupach's work in itself is a fairly typical German Lutheran presentation of the value of music. Mattheson published it as part of his campaign against those he deemed to be undermining music.

Mattheson's opening attack is not directed at outside forces but at those church musicians who have, in his view, failed the profession. They may carry out their duties but do not exert themselves more than the minimum expected of them. Ignoring the usual Christian exhortation to humility, Mattheson urges church musicians to be more ambitious and strive for greater recognition through successful accomplishments. On the other hand, while some of them are not showing themselves worthy of their compensation, the profession as a whole is insufficiently recompensed and overburdened. The arguments of Reformed theologians have also undermined the standing of music in the Lutheran church. What is needed is a reminder of the value of music through the testimony of ancient writers, biblical authority, and Christian teaching, demonstrating its importance for this life and the life hereafter.

Raupach and Mattheson were indeed inheritors of a tradition of promoting church music that had developed over the course of Lutheranism. Luther's own comments on music, sprinkled throughout these texts, are crucial as endorse-

ments of church music, but much more was needed for a systematic exposition of music's value. Not only the authority of Scripture but also classical philosophy and mythology provided the necessary evidence for music's power, reflecting the humanist and scholastic influences within Lutheranism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Much of this material was drawn together by Michael Praetorius (1571–1621) in his *Syntagma Musicum* (1614–19),¹ which served as a resource for the history, theory, and practice of music, especially that of the church. Later in the century, Athanasius Kircher (1602–80), the Jesuit polymath, published *Musurgia Universalis*, which, in spite of his non-Lutheran cosmology, became an authoritative source for Lutherans and others on all musical matters. Toward the end of the century, Andreas Werckmeister (1645–1706), known today primarily for his systems of musical temperament, blended Baroque cosmology with Lutheran theology in writings where he advocated high standards and integrity in matters of church music. Mattheson's opening reference to Werckmeister indicates that he identifies himself as belonging to this broad tradition, even though in other contexts he may have been critical of some elements of Werckmeister's philosophy.²

On the theological side, the Lutheran position on music was given direction in the early seventeenth century by Wittenberg professors Balthasar Meisner and Frederick Balduinus, who were strongly motivated by their opposition to the spread of Calvinism. Because Calvinists opposed the use of organ music in worship, these Lutheran thinkers defended instrumental music all the more staunchly. In another part of Germany, Conrad Dieterich, church superintendent in Ulm who had previously been displaced from Marburg when it turned Calvinist, preached and published a sermon in 1624 that would become something of a Lutheran manifesto on the subject of church music.³ The source material gathered by these writers was passed along and used for maintaining the Lutheran musical tradition when dissenting voices were raised.

All of these writers and more provided material for Raupach's work. His is not a result of original thinking but a well-organized presentation of the Lutheran view of music in the early eighteenth century. His references to Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Plutarch and even to Augustine and Luther are likely drawn from the authors above or other compilations of writings about music rather than from his own reading and research. Nevertheless, the fact that Johann Mattheson, a major figure in eighteenth-century music theory, found it worthy of publication gives the work added value, and it is evident that it served as a resource for Mattheson's own writings, including his *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*.

Mattheson and Raupach

Most of what we know about Raupach, and, for that matter, about Mattheson's early life, comes from Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (Hamburg, 1740), a collection of biographies of important musicians of the era based on information they themselves had submitted. (J. S. Bach did not respond to Mattheson's request for information and was thus not included in the book.)

Mattheson's admiration for Raupach is evident not just in the *Ehrenpforte* but also in his major work, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), where Raupach's advice for conveying the differing affects of hymns is quoted.

Born in 1686 in Tonderen in Schleswig, Raupach was the son of organist Georg Raupach, who was closely associated with Andreas Hammerschmidt, probably the most beloved Lutheran composer of the mid-seventeenth century. As Christoph showed early aptitude for music, his father instructed him in harpsichord, organ, and violin as well as in music theory. Through participation in his father's Collegium Musicum, Christoph learned the music of the great composers of the day—Kuhnau, Buxtehude, Pachelbel, Corelli, and Froberger, to mention a few—and was reported to be skilled in figured bass and playing of preludes and fugues by the age of 13. After his father died the following year, his mother having died 5 years prior, Christoph made his way to Hamburg, where he studied with Georg Bronner, organist at the Heilig-Geist Kirche. He also benefitted from the rich cultural life of the city, attending operas and concerts, learning Italian and some French, and, through opera, gaining knowledge of how to combine poetry with musical composition. Mattheson does not make clear whether he knew Raupach at that time, but certainly Raupach heard Mattheson sing in the opera and knew his compositions.

Indeed, during the opening years of the eighteenth century, Mattheson, who was five years older than Raupach, was heavily involved in writing operas and performing major roles. He had learned the appropriate skills for being a church musician but was also drawn to opera and played his first role in 1690 at the age of 9. By the time his voice changed at 16, he was well experienced and able to take on leading male roles. Both young men needed to move to another phase of life, however: Raupach ran out of money in Hamburg and managed to secure a position as organist in Stralsund; Mattheson realized that neither opera composition nor performance could provide a stable income, and he took a position in service to the English Resident in Hamburg, Sir John Wich.

Both men retained these positions throughout their careers, though Mattheson managed to combine his diplomatic responsibilities with musical and literary activities. From 1715 until 1728, he was director of music at the Dom, or Cathedral, in Hamburg, where he was able to compose and direct many oratorios on various biblical and liturgical subjects. During these years and beyond, he wrote numerous works on various aspects of music and also translated several English novels and historical works into German. Raupach was not nearly as prolific except in producing offspring: whereas Mattheson, though happily married, had no children, Raupach fathered 14 children, of whom four sons and two daughters survived. Two of his sons, Gerhard Christoph and Hermann Friedrich, became musicians, the latter serving in the court of Russian Empress Elizabeth in St. Petersburg. Sources differ on whether Raupach died in 1744 or in 1758, but in either case he was outlived by Mattheson, who, in spite of writing a book about death when he was 65, continued writing and publishing until his death in 1764 at the age of 82.

***Veritophili Deutliche Beweis-Gründe* or The Truth-lover's Clear Reasonings**

In 1717 Johann Mattheson published the third part of Friedrich Erhart Niedt's musical guide to figured bass, *Musicalische Handleitung*, as the author had died before completing it. To this work Mattheson appended the *Deutliche Beweis-Gründe* under the author's pseudonym *Veritophilus*. In his preface Mattheson will say only that the work was sent to him by Christoph Raupach, and that the author was hesitant to identify himself, lest he be subjected to unfair criticism. By 1722, when Mattheson published his *Critica musica* and included Raupach's response to certain questions, there was no further attempt to conceal Raupach's authorship. When Johann Gottfried Walther published his *Musicalische Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec* in 1732, a detailed account of the *Beweis-Gründe* and of the published response constituted nearly the entire entry under "Christoph Raupach." The only other information provided was that he was "organist at the Church of St. Nicolaus, or the main church, in Stralsund, well-experienced in music theory."

A hint at Raupach's motivation in writing his work is found in Mattheson's *Ehrenpforte* where, following the list of composers whose works Raupach had studied, there is the statement, "All these and other encouragements, counting among them especially the writings of Lorber and Beer, brought about finally his intention to stay with music and, toward that end, to study composition thoroughly."⁴ Never is the name Gottfried Vockerodt mentioned by either Raupach or Mattheson, but he was surely one of the "amusical" people they had in mind, for it was he who provoked the responses from Johann Kristof Lorber and Johann Beer that inspired Raupach. As rector of the prince's school at Gotha, Vockerodt observed that students were participating in musical activities outside of school in unwholesome contexts such as public bars, clandestine orgies, and disorderly town gatherings. He organized a school program from his vantage point as classics instructor that placed blame for the failings of emperors Caligula, Claudius, and Nero on their fascination with music and theater. Although Vockerodt later defended himself against the charge of hating music, he did represent the position that there is no morally neutral human activity.

The question of the moral legitimacy of opera and theater had come to the fore particularly in disputes in Hamburg in the late seventeenth century. Pietist preachers, believing that nothing was outside the realm of faith, charged that the operas being performed were not morally uplifting. Denying the category of neutral activities, or *adiaphora*, the Pietists did not allow for mere recreation. Yet music itself, if it could be considered in the abstract, was an *adiaphoron*, a "middle thing," something neither good nor evil apart from its application. Vockerodt argued that, while music had the potential for powerfully good effects, it could also be used for ill and could thus only be evaluated in the context of faith. The motivation of the person performing the music was more important than the music itself in determining its benefit.

Vockerodt's writings brought forth strong defenses of music by various writers. Lorber first wrote a lengthy poem, *Lob der edlen Musik* (*Praise of Noble Music*), a lengthy poem with equally lengthy annotations in explanation of his many references, published in Weimar in 1696. This was followed the next year by a much more polemical *Verteidigung der edlen Music wieder einen angemäßen Musik-Verächter außgefertigt* (*Defense of Noble Music drafted against a presumptuous Music-Scorner*). Focusing on "Sing-Spiele," Lorber drew on statements from theological faculties declaring them permissible pleasures. Ironically, he stresses the point that they are in themselves not sinful nor forbidden but may only be sinful in a concrete instance, which was very much the same as Vockerodt's position. Johann Beer, in his two critiques of Vockerodt, *Ursus murmurat* (Weimar, 1697) and *Ursus Vulpinatur* (Weißenfels, 1697), more effectively targeted the major point of division, which was the musician's inner motivation. For Vockerodt, a musician who is led by the Holy Spirit may use any kind of music to his benefit, but an unregenerate person is likely to abuse music. Beer responded that musical abuse is a matter of playing music unsuited to a particular occasion, not a matter of the moral status or intention of the musician. Rejecting the adiaphorist stance, Beer contended that music in the abstract "is always pure, always good, always praiseworthy, always a gift of God."⁵ It is this unequivocal view of music as a good gift of God that pervades the writings of Raupach and Mattheson.

Another theological issue that is important for understanding Raupach is the Reformed (Calvinist) position that the musical practices of the Old Testament were not normative for Christians. This position goes back to the time of the early Christian Fathers, who wanted to distinguish Christian from pagan worship. Objecting to the association of musical instruments with cultic rituals and feasts, Clement of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzus, and John Chrysostom rejected the use of instruments in Christian worship. Yet the obvious fact that instruments had been used in Old Testament worship required an explanation. For Chrysostom, and for Reformed theologians who later appealed to his authority, temple music was a concession to the Hebrews because of the immaturity of their faith, an appeal to their senses in the effort to draw them toward greater understanding. Christians, having received a more complete revelation, are held to a higher, more spiritual understanding and practice. As Calvin wrote in his commentary on Psalm 71:22:

In speaking of employing *the psaltery* and *the harp* in this exercise, [David] alludes to the generally prevailing custom of that time. To sing the praises of God upon the harp and psaltery unquestionably formed a part of the training of the law, and of the service of God under that dispensation of shadows and figures; but they are not now to be used in public thanksgiving. We are not, indeed, forbidden to use, in private, musical instruments, but they are banished out of the churches by the plain command of the Holy Spirit, when Paul, in 1 Corinthians 14:13,

lays it down as an invariable rule, that we must praise God, and pray to him only in a known tongue.⁶

Any references in the texts to “shadows,” “prefigurings,” or “types,” which are generally a translation for “Vorbilder,” should be understood as an allusion to this position, which stood in stark contrast to the position our writers, and most Lutherans, represent.

Another approach to explaining the many musical references in the Old Testament was to allegorize them. If musical instruments can be seen as symbolic, their literal reality can be given spiritual significance without endorsing their actual use. One of the first to take this approach was the early church theologian Origen, though the psalm commentary where the allegorical interpretation is expressed is now attributed to Evagrius of Pontus:

The cithara is the practical soul set in motion by the commandments of God; the psaltery is the pure mind set in motion by spiritual knowledge. The musical instruments of the Old Testament are not unsuitable for us if understood spiritually: figuratively the body can be called a cithara and the soul a psaltery, which are likened musically to the wise man who fittingly employs the limbs of the body and the powers of the soul as strings. Sweetly sings he who sings in the mind, uttering spiritual songs, singing in his heart to God.⁷

This allegorical tradition dominated ancient and medieval interpretations of the psalms⁸ but was generally rejected by the Reformers. Nevertheless, the 17th-century Reformed theologian Johannes Cocceius, noted as a major exponent of covenant theology, turned to a spiritual rather than literal view of the Old Testament to support his view of salvation history. One of the sources cited by Mattheson in his preface to Raupach charges Cocceius with founding an exegetical sect that appealed to those seeking deeper piety. The author credits Cocceius and his presumed follower Friedrich Adolph Lampe with great learning but makes clear he does not agree with their approach.⁹ The presence of Calvinistic pietism in Germany in the person of Lampe was a source of concern, even if Mattheson pretended to “let the Reformed be Reformed.”

Thus, even if the Lutheran view on music had been expounded numerous times, it needed to be repeated for each new generation. Raupach approached the subject in orderly fashion, first demonstrating its biblical authority, then the historical practice of Jews and Christians, and next its practical utility, first in church music, then in daily activities. The healing potential of music for both mind and body received considerable attention, and finally its benefit in preparation for the joyous music of heaven.

Raupach’s tone was not combative nor his material highly controversial, and thus we would not expect, nor do we find, that it aroused much criticism. There were, however, two questions raised which he felt obliged to defend in a

subsequent article: (1) Whether for the church fathers who lived prior to Gregory of Nazianzus the word *psalmody* connoted merely singing or singing with instruments; (2) whether the early Christians used musical instruments in their religious gatherings. Mattheson published Raupach's response to these questions in his *Critica musica* (1722), indicating that it resulted from correspondence with a rural pastor ("Landprediger").¹⁰

The material presented in this response is fairly repetitious of the material Raupach had already presented in the second chapter of his treatise. The same sources from Basil the Great, Clement of Alexandria, Hilary of Poitiers and Justin Martyr are brought to bear, though with more Greek words, beginning with the argument that the word *psalmody* itself is a composite word made from ψάλλμός and ᾠδή, the first designating instrumental, the second vocal music. Again Raupach appeals to Conrad Dieterich's references to the church fathers, an indication that he has not engaged in original research.

Raupach does concede that early Christians may not at all times have used instruments nor approved of them indiscriminately. In times of persecution, as under Julian the Apostate, when Christians went underground to worship in secret, they may not have been able to use instruments, though Raupach does not recognize that as certain. He does admit that in times of war music often suffers, but this does not negate the norm. Just as when there are extended periods of cloudy weather, sunlight will return, so after deprivation of music during war, peace will allow it to emerge again.

Somewhat trickier is Raupach's task of explaining why, if instruments were the norm in the early church, there are so many negative comments about them by the church fathers. But, as he sees it, the very fact that they were criticizing instrumental music demonstrates its existence. Even Gregory of Nazianzus, who was perhaps chosen by the questioner because of outspoken statements against flutes and tambourines, is used as evidence that at this time some were using instruments in Christian gatherings. Gregory is addressing their misuse, but if they were not in use, they could not have been misused.

A new defense in Raupach's arsenal comes by way of a hymn of Aurelius Prudentius—a contemporary, as he notes, of Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil the Great. A writer of hymns, some of which are still sung in our day, Prudentius made reference to musical instruments in a long poem on the Divinity of Christ, or *Apotheosis*:

The trumpet's blare from hollow horn of brass,
Sweet hymns the potent breath pours from the heart,
The vibrant notes of sacred harp and lyre,
The blended harmonies of organ reeds,
And songs of shepherds rival glens repeat,
All join in praising Christ, in singing Christ,
And mute things speak of Christ, moved by these strains.¹¹

Even if this harmony of voices and instruments was more a poetic vision than a reality, it serves for Raupach as the expression of an early church ideal. Recognizing that because of persecution, early Christian worship did not achieve the musical heights of later, more peaceful years, Raupach is nevertheless convinced that music, both instrumental and vocal, had widespread and strong support in the New Testament and the early church.

***Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* or Affirmation of Heavenly Music**

In reflecting on his life as he approached old age, Mattheson, who had lost his ability to hear earthly music, expressed his hopeful expectation of hearing far more excellent music in the life to come:

Ultimately a mortal can be mindful of nothing more salutary than the harmonic pleasure of paradise, of which I cannot cease to speak and am always full, or than the unspeakable joy of eternal blessedness, where none of us will lack the delight of excellent singing and playing, if the degree of one's glory extends this far.¹²

Indeed Mattheson had spoken of heavenly music since his earliest writings, and it was a recurring theme throughout his lifetime. The 1747 work *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* is his most complete exposition of his beliefs concerning the reality of music in the life to come.

This work may surprise those who think of Mattheson primarily as a music theorist and an advocate of Enlightenment thinking. His most famous work, *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister*, is a thorough exposition of music theory and practice in his time and is recognized as a foundational work in the history of music. Although Mattheson lays the groundwork for the more practical elements of music theory with a philosophical/theological introduction establishing the divine origins of music, little attention has been paid to this aspect of his thinking. Thomas Christensen has noted the need for more attention to Mattheson's religious thought and cites Heinrich Schmidt's 1897 work as one of the few exceptions.¹³ In recent years, the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft has supported a project entitled "Johann Mattheson als Vermittler und Initiator" that has shed greater light on Mattheson's wide-ranging activities and interests, including philosophy and religion.¹⁴ Still, for English-language readers, little that deals with Mattheson's theology is available.¹⁵

In his biography of Mattheson, Beekman Cannon places *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* in the category of spiritual writings of Mattheson's old age that demonstrate "a fundamental change in his psychological attitude."¹⁶ Other works published in this period were a treatise on death, *Inimici Mortis, verdächtiger Todes-Freund* (1747); an explication of the meaning of the word "Selah" as used in the Psalms, *Das Erläuterte Selah* (1745); and a lengthy endorsement of a joyful approach to faith, *Die neuangelegte Freuden-Akademie* (1751, 1753). Cannon sees all the works Mattheson published between 1745 and

1752 as concerned with “explaining and proving the spiritual significance and necessity of music.”¹⁷

While it is surely true that Mattheson thought more about death and eternity as he grew older, there is no evidence of a fundamental shift in Mattheson’s theology. The belief that music is eternal both in its divine origin and in the heavenly destiny of the redeemed was present in Mattheson’s earliest writings and was consistently defended throughout his lifetime.

As early as 1713, Mattheson addressed the questions and introduced some of the citations that would reappear in *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*. In the supplement to *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre*, Mattheson asserted that music should be more highly regarded than painting because it is of divine origin and eternal:

For my part I am certain that right at the beginning when God created heaven and earth—indeed in that moment when the almighty *Fiat* resounded—, music by the same token also flowed into and was imparted to created beings and humans...Further, the thought that harmony is something uncreated and from eternity to eternity is by no means incorrect, considering that our strongest idea of eternal life refers to the singing and resounding praise of God as our esteem and service to him.¹⁸

He then raises the question that will become central to his stance. Quoting Sylverius’ commentary on the book of Revelation, he asks “Whether in the heaven of the blessed ones such instruments as organs, pipes, etc., will really be encountered?” The answer is affirmative: “Because we have to enjoy the great blessedness with our bodies; thus these same bodies will without doubt be present in the condition and with the same means and materials as are not unbecoming such a great court.” Next Mattheson introduces the quotations from Anselm and Augustine that we encounter again in paragraph 54 of *Behauptung*, where the authors express joyful expectation of the beautiful music of heaven.¹⁹

The quotation above figured prominently in the controversy between Mattheson and Johann Heinrich Buttstedt, who was also a defender of the eternity of music but from a different perspective. Buttstedt took offense at Mattheson’s rejection of the mathematically based music theory of Athanasius Kircher, whose massive *Musurgia Universalis sive Ars Magna Consoni et Dissoni* (1650) had become a major reference work for music theory and practice. Buttstedt does not understand why Mattheson is so critical of Kircher when it seems that they are in agreement about the uncreated and eternal nature of music. The difference in perspective is revealed, however, when Buttstedt gives as the proof for music’s eternity the trinitarian nature of God in whom the perfect consonances inhere in perfect harmony.²⁰ Mattheson rejects this image partly because it would seem to imply that one part of the Trinity is the fundamental and therefore more important, as in a triad one tone is the foundation upon

which the chord is built.²¹ Furthermore, it implies that prevailing concepts of musical harmony are valid for all eternity.²²

In fact, this was precisely Buttstedt's position. It is apparent, according to Buttstedt, that God likes proportions. His instructions in Exodus 25 for building the tabernacle were mathematically precise, and our own bodies demonstrate proportionality. From such evidence Buttstedt concludes that the musical harmonies that are in use on earth will not change in the next life:

The reasons presented above should be enough to assert that for heavenly harmony and music we will use the tones that are customary here in the world and which Guido Aretinus named as *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*. The melody, however, will be composed by God.²³

Buttstedt's title page depicts this heavenly harmony in the form of two overlapping triangles (*ut-mi-sol* and *re-fa-la*) that form a six-sided star with flames representing the Father, Son and Holy Spirit in the middle of the star. The star is surrounded by a circle of twelve angels, and in the four corners are four angels representing the ends of the earth. The two lower angels hold a banner with the citation from Job 38: "Where were you when I laid the foundations of the earth...when the morning stars sang together and all the children of God shouted for joy?"

Mattheson, whose response to Buttstedt parodied his title as "Todte Musica" (dead music) rather than "Tota Musica" (the whole of music), regarded this hexagonal depiction of God as sinful and blasphemous.²⁴ Granted, the divine essence must be in perfect harmony, but that is not to say that this is a musical or sonorous harmony.²⁵ In his first work in this interchange, Mattheson had mentioned that certain theologians had regarded harmonic triads as an image of the Trinity; at that point he merely left such speculations to others, remarking that "to the pure all things are pure."²⁶ Now that Buttstedt wanted Mattheson to provide proof for his assertion of music's eternal nature, Mattheson retorted that Buttstedt should have left well enough alone: through faulty logic he had made this connection of Trinity and triads into an article of faith. God is not to be measured mathematically or divided by numbers.²⁷

Whereas Buttstedt had considered mathematical symbolism and biblical teachings to be in accord, writing, "The sayings of our Savior cannot be against reason,"²⁸ Mattheson found here a tension and opted for the words of Scripture, regarding human reason as too limited in its ability to conceive of divine matters. God, for instance, could create "a hundred thousand times thousand other sounds" than merely the Guidonian syllables.²⁹ To assert that these tones will be the basis of heavenly music is to limit God's omnipotence. Our earthly music bears no comparison to that of heaven:



Figure 1 Frontispiece to Johann Heinrich Buttstedt, *Ut, mi, sol, re, fa, la, tota musica et Harmonia Aeterna, Oder Neu-eröffnetes, altes, wahres, eintziges und ewiges Fundamentum Musices* (Erfurt, 1717). Courtesy of the Library of Congress

Our miserable arts will surely hide themselves, the mouths of the best singers, male and female, will go dumb, all strings of our instruments will break in amazement, no valves will hold air anymore, and our 32-foot Principal, along with the Posaune, will gladly and willingly refrain from emitting any sounds when one day our ears hear how God wants to be praised in heaven. Our pitches by comparison will turn out like the humming and buzzing of a jaw harp against a bright harpsichord, our voices will sound like the drone of locusts against the song of a nightingale, and, though they are the best we have, our paltry expedients for musical temperament will look like a tattered dress against a royal purple robe in comparison with the celestial system.³⁰

Against Buttstedt's assertion that Jesus' teachings cannot be against reason, Mattheson launches into a discussion of the mystery of the gospel and the hidden wisdom of God. Neither the wisdom of the Greeks nor the law of the Jews grasps the secrets that are revealed by God, for the truths of these mysteries "are not only beyond human invention but also beyond our comprehension."³¹ While human reason can attain some knowledge of God, the saving knowledge of Jesus Christ can be known only by revelation. Quoting Luther, Mattheson notes that this revelation "lies hidden beneath foolishness and the cross and does not appear in honor and riches."³²

At issue, then, is not, as has been implied by most interpreters of this controversy, a conservative, theologically grounded defense of tradition (Buttstedt) versus a worldly, enlightened innovator (Mattheson).³³ Rather, two different theological approaches were in conflict: Buttstedt represented a rationalistic stance that saw no dichotomy between reason and revelation, whereas Mattheson believed reason to be limited and even in conflict with revelation. Looking solely at their theological stances, we would have to recognize that Mattheson better represents Luther's thought than does Buttstedt.³⁴

To be sure, Mattheson had also been influenced by more recent thinkers and was au courant in the literature and philosophy of his own day. His employment as secretary to the English Resident in Hamburg provided opportunity to keep abreast of British publications. His accomplishments as a translator of English novels, historical writings, and journalistic publications are noteworthy. In relation to his stance on heavenly music, his familiarity with the philosophy of his age is of particular interest. Noteworthy in the third work in his *Orchestre* series, *Das Forschende Orchestre*,³⁵ are his citations from the highly influential British philosopher, John Locke.

While modern scholars may debate whether Mattheson truly incorporated Locke's ideas into his own thinking,³⁶ there can be no doubt that he used Locke to buttress his position. The core point of agreement is the rejection of the concept of innate ideas. Arguing that all understanding emerges from experience, Mattheson quotes Locke's statement, "I suppose the mind to be white paper, void of all characters, without any ideas."³⁷ Through the senses the paper, or,

using another metaphor, the cabinet begins to be filled: “The senses at first let in particular ideas, and furnish the yet empty cabinet.”³⁸ From the information gained through the senses, the mind begins to form abstractions, a process Locke calls “internal sense” or “reflection.”³⁹ Against those who contend that the soul has thoughts independent of bodily experiences, Locke, quoted by Mattheson, concludes, “I see no reason to believe that the soul thinks before the senses have furnished it with ideas to think on.”⁴⁰

Mattheson is aware that the senses have been treated with suspicion by many thinkers because of their association with the body and its tendency toward sin. This view, he says, reduces the senses to their external instruments (ears, eyes, etc.) rather than their actual characteristics of seeing, hearing, etc. The latter, according to Mattheson, are not functions of the body but of the soul. As such, they are inseparably linked to the understanding and are as immortal as any other aspect of the person:

It is certain that by senses we do not mean the bodily machines of eyes, ears, etc. but rather the powers of seeing and hearing, which are indeed qualities of human beings but not of their bodies. Rather they are qualities of their souls and are to that extent unceasingly and eternally joined to them.⁴¹

This then is the epistemological basis for Mattheson’s conviction that the ability to perceive music endures beyond earthly life.

Aware that he might be accused of innovation, Mattheson drew on Augustine’s *De musica*, Aristotle’s *De anima* and other ancient writings to demonstrate that the senses are faculties of the soul.⁴² In addition, he engaged in exegesis of certain biblical passages to show that this same view of the senses is reflected in Scripture.⁴³ “If the ancients already spoke in this way,” he argues, “my opinion certainly cannot be new or strange.”⁴⁴ In this early work, then, just as in his later writings such as *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*, Mattheson draws on the authority of Scripture and ancient tradition to legitimate his position.

It was, in fact, a provocation from thinkers more representative of the “Age of Reason” that led him to write the work before us. First it should be noted that German early Enlightenment thought was more strongly rooted in Lutheran theology than English or French Enlightenment thought was tied to the theology of their countries. One strain of German theologians followed the philosophy of Christian Wolff, leading German philosopher of the time, and applied his methods to the defense of Christian theology against atheists and naturalists. In this vein Johann Gustav Reinbeck, church official in Berlin, attempted a proof of the immortality of the soul in his work, *Philosophische Gedancken über die vernünftige Seele und derselben Unsterblichkeit* (1739). About the same time, Israel Gottlieb Canz, professor in Tübingen and also a Wolffian, published his academic exercises on the same topic in Latin, *Exercitationes Historico-Philosophicae de Immortalitate Animae* (1740), with a German version coming

out the following year.⁴⁵ In the preface to the third German edition in 1746, Canz affirmed that he and Reinbeck held the same position, even though their methods were different.

From another philosophical school came a response to these devotees of Wolff. Georg Friedrich Meier, a follower of Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, who is known for his philosophy of aesthetics, was not convinced that Reinbeck and Canz had proven the immortality of the soul. Indeed, Meier did not think that it was provable through reason, yet neither was its opposite provable. He emphasized that such a philosophical stance did not mean that he doubted the immortality of the soul or that he had any intention of denigrating Christian faith. In fact, he made an effort to dissociate himself from those who found reason and Scripture to be in conflict. Nevertheless, he irritated Mattheson by mentioning him as an example of one who imagines eternal life as he would like it to be, and Meier made matters worse by giving as another such example a young noblewoman who was convinced that the nobility would not have to consort with lower classes in heaven.⁴⁶

Another provocation came from Lorenz Christoph Mizler (1711-78), editor of the *Musikalische Bibliothek* and founder of the Korrespondierende Societät der musicalischen Wissenschaften, a select group of musical scholars. Even allowing for the fact that *Wissenschaft* in German has a broader connotation than the English word *science*, it is fair to translate the name of the organization as “Corresponding Society of the Musical Sciences,” for Mizler did hold that music was at its core a mathematical science. While this in a general way places him in the same camp as Buttstedt, Mizler was of a younger generation and much better educated in the philosophy of the day. His purpose in publishing the *Musikalische Bibliothek* was to make writings on music available along with his commentaries on the writings.

Mizler did not set out to aggravate Mattheson; in fact, he showed his admiration of Mattheson’s work by dedicating his first work to him (and also to J. S. Bach).⁴⁷ Furthermore, he used Mattheson’s *Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* as a basis for lectures at the university in Leipzig and later published large portions of Mattheson’s *Vollkommene Capellmeister* in the *Musikalische Bibliothek*. A recent study of the two men’s writings on the philosophy of music from the early 1730s concludes that at this time their thinking was closer than has been recognized, as Mizler had absorbed some elements of Lockean philosophy that are not evident in his later period as a follower of Wolff.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, his mathematical approach to music, as outlined in his *Anfangs-Gründe des General-Basses nach mathematischer Lehr-Art abgehandelt* (Leipzig, 1739), was sufficiently inimical to Mattheson’s way of thinking that no amount of appreciation by Mizler of Mattheson’s accomplishments could avert Mattheson’s satiric attacks.⁴⁹

Indeed, Mizler did not need to endorse everything that he published. In 1739 he included in his *Musikalische Bibliothek* a work by the 17th-century cantor Johann Quirsfeld, entitled *Breviarium musicum oder kurzer Begriff, wie ein*

Knabe leicht und bald zur Singekunst gelangen und die nöthigsten Dinge dazu kürzlich begreifen und erlernen kann, first published in 1683, then reprinted in 1688, 1702 and 1717. The title page of this last edition was reprinted in Mizler's publication, but before proceeding to the work itself, Mizler took the opportunity to criticize Quirfeld's ideas of music in heaven. Some of the arguments that Mattheson sought to counter in *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* are advanced in Mizler's commentary.

Mizler admits that the opinion that there is music in heaven is very ancient and untraceable, but biblical imagery in both Old and New Testaments has given occasion to such thinking. A specific image is that in Revelation 5 of the twenty-four elders falling before the Lamb with harps in their hands, singing a new song. Mizler thinks one can learn very little from this concerning the reality of music in heaven, as it is known that very little of the book of Revelation can be understood literally: "The Spirit of God would have spoken more clearly if we were to believe that one day we should make music before the throne of the Lamb."⁵⁰ Music in heaven is unlikely, Mizler thinks, as there would need to be air in heaven, and the process of transformation into heavenly bodies would have to leave the ears intact; but this is impossible, and thus one cannot say that there will be music in heaven. Particularly ridiculous to Mizler is Buttstedt's belief that the Guidonian syllables will be used in the next life. Rejecting the idea that musical knowledge provides a special advantage for life in heaven, Mizler asserts that, even if the elect in heaven praise God in a manner that might be called music, it will be completely unlike the music we know: "Assuming that in heaven there should also be a form of music and that the name of music is attributed to it, nevertheless the greatest musical intellectuals will not know more than a peasant who never heard music."⁵¹

As the reader will observe, Mattheson took great pains to answer Mizler's objections, but another writer entered the fray first. Johann Christoph Ammon, pastor at Enheim in Franconia, had written a short work on the topic in 1741, but it was his 1745 entry in the *Regensburger wöchentliche Nachrichten von gelehrten Sachen* that gained attention. This was reprinted in the same year in Hamburg in the *Freye Urtheile u. Nachrichten zum Aufnehmen der Wissenschaften und der Historie* and then in the following year in Mizler's *Musikalische Bibliothek* with the title "Gründlicher Beweis, daß im ewigen Leben wirklich eine vortreffliche Musik sey" (Thorough Proof that there is actually Excellent Music in Eternal Life).

In his article, Ammon charged Mizler with inconsistency for seeming to say that music in heaven is impossible and yet positing something that could be called music, even if it is completely different from music on earth. Ammon defends the existence of air in heaven as necessary to carry the sound of voices, though it may indeed be of a very different nature than the air we know: "Air is an outstanding and highly important creature of God and can be changed by God in a thousand ways, if not according to its essence, yet according to its nature or accidental characteristics."⁵² Ammon does not profess to understand how spirits

without ears or tongues could make or hear music, but he does not consider his inability to grasp this as a reason to deny it. Without addressing the general problem of interpreting the book of Revelation, Ammon asserts that there is no reason not to take literally the description in Revelation 14:2 of John hearing voices like the sound of harps.

Initially, Mizler did not consider this debate worth his time and designated his pupil G. L. Schneider to write a response for the *Regensburger wöchentliche Nachrichten*, which appeared under the title “Beweis, daß eine zukünftige Musik im ewigen Leben höchstunwahrscheinlich sey” (Proof that future music in eternal life is highly improbable). Schneider spent considerable time defending Mizler against the charge of inconsistency, comparing Ammon’s arguments to earlier disputes about how many angels can occupy the tip of a needle. As for the assertion that all possible forms of joy would undoubtedly be present in heaven, Schneider suggested that bowling is also a source of joy, and if God can transform air to make audible music possible in heaven, surely he can also transform wood to enable heavenly spirits to bowl.

When Mizler came to reprinting the debate in his *Musikalische Bibliothek*, he could not refrain from adding his own footnotes. He expanded on his metaphorical interpretation of the disputed passages in Revelation. Also, he offered his confession of faith, in which he laid out his belief that heaven will be free of sensual pleasures. Because these issues are so central to Mattheson’s work, these sections of Mizler’s footnotes are included here in an appendix. That these issues are *not* so central for Mizler, however, is expressed in his chiding remark that a pastor would do better to prepare his congregation to enter eternal life than to speculate on that life.⁵³

When Mattheson finally published his *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* in 1747, he noted that he had already in 1744 announced his intention to respond to Mizler. Although his comment in *Die neueste Untersuchung der Singspiele*⁵⁴ does not specify which passages of the *Musikalische Bibliothek* Mattheson feels compelled to write about, the cross reference in *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* verifies that it is Mizler’s comments on music in heaven.

Summary of *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*

In the preface to his work, Mattheson writes against those of his day who dispute with twisted cleverness and mathematical dogmatism, venturing too far into otherworldly matters. We can presume that he had in mind Meier, Mizler, and others of their intellectual bent. Syllogistic logic is unnecessary, according to Mattheson, and it is even disrespectful to the Holy Spirit, whose words in Holy Scripture are clear enough. Although Mattheson makes a nod to the watchword of his day by entitling his first section “Investigation of heavenly music according to purified reason,” his is not a methodology of pure reason. Whether he actually thought he was starting from reason or was using the term mainly to appear to meet his critics on their own ground, his approach is that of *fides quaerens intellectum*, faith seeking understanding. As he explains, “reason pro-

ceeds most securely when it lays down Holy Scripture as a basis and constructs its conclusions thereon.”⁵⁵

Mathematical certainty was, for Mattheson, not even a goal to be sought, and he had harsh words for those who would set aside the 1700-year history of the Christian church in favor of what he called “unbridled reason.” Those who regard divine revelation as mere speculation and seek mathematical certainty follow the method of the fallen angels.⁵⁶ Such thinkers should beware of following this path beyond the point of no return! Even though Mattheson set forth in his work to prove the reality of music in heaven by reason, tradition, and Scripture, his understanding of reason, at least in this work, was not that of the philosophers of the Enlightenment.

Nevertheless, his first section is an effort, following his own standards of reason, to counter arguments against the possibility of actual music in heaven. Some, he says, mock the idea of angels or blessed souls playing instruments because they cannot imagine how musical instruments such as violins, oboes, horns, etc., would be designed to be adapted to spiritual bodies. These same thinkers do not reject the thought of angels singing, according to Mattheson, who then points out that the one is no more incomprehensible than the other. If God can make glorified bodies with tongues to sing, then he can design glorified instruments that these glorified bodies can play. Let there be no doubt that the materials for making such instruments will be available, for gold, silver, diamonds, and many other precious resources will be in God’s workshop, Mattheson asserts, citing Philip Nicolai’s work *Theoria Vitae Aeternae*.

Later in his work Mattheson confronts the objection of those who question whether there is air in the afterlife. Again, basing his arguments on rather literal readings of scriptural passages, Mattheson points out that spirits consist of air and fire (Psalm 104), the fallen angels are called “princes of the power of the air” (Eph. 2:2), and at the last day we will be taken up in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air (1 Thess. 4:17). God will create a New Heaven and a New Earth, which means that the light and air that is necessary for seeing and hearing will be available with far more purity and strength than we can imagine. No environment of pure spirit or pure ether would suffice for cultivating the lovely gardens of the New Earth.

This demonstrates Mattheson’s adherence to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body in contrast to the belief in the immortality of the soul. For those who did not accept this point of the creed, none of Mattheson’s arguments would carry any weight. Similarly, anyone who did not accept the authority of Scripture would not be persuaded.

Still, there could be different methods of interpreting Scripture. Against the objection that scriptural images of heavenly music-making should be understood as metaphors, Mattheson refers to the principle that a mystical or allegorical interpretation should not be invoked if the simple, actual meaning can satisfy. To be sure, the biblical references to music in heaven use the terminology of earthly music, but this shows merely the limitations of our comprehension and

vocabulary. It does not mean that the earthly is a metaphor of the heavenly, for the two still belong to the same genre. They are two species within the same genre, not analogies from one genre to another.⁵⁷

There is a place for allegorical interpretation of biblical passages, but it cannot be utilized as a way of explaining away something that is not comprehensible according to reason. Those who do not submit their reason to obedience to Christ, those, that is to say, with “unbridled reason,” sometimes even allegorize the stories of Adam and Eve’s Fall, of the crossing of the Red Sea and the institution of the Lord’s Supper. Mattheson is ashamed to think of such misguided “scripture-less reason, or rather un-reason.”⁵⁸

In some cases the allegorical interpretation can provide an additional level of meaning while still respecting the literal meaning. The prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, for example, did literally happen, but the deeper point was to predict the last judgment and the end of the old world. David’s prophecy of the Babylonian Captivity and the eventual release of the captives refers at the same time, and more importantly, to the heavenly freedom and eternal joy that will be experienced when the world is made new.⁵⁹

Because much of Mattheson’s case for actual music in heaven rests on the book of Revelation, the question of allegorical interpretation is particularly crucial in dealing with this book. For the most part, respected theologians took an allegorical approach to the work, while those who tried to interpret it literally often posed a threat to the established order of society. Mattheson admits that some parts of the book need to be given an allegorical reading, as in the case of the sixth angel and the red dragon, but in cases where music is described he finds no cause for allegory. A common interpretation of Revelation 5 plays into a frequent failing of Lutheran theology, in Mattheson’s view: to regard the elders with harps as metaphors for preachers of the Gospel is to improperly elevate preachers above musicians. Mattheson’s view of heaven is that preaching is superseded by joyful musical expressions of praise from those who no longer need sermons.⁶⁰

The first section of the work, then, is really scriptural reasoning or commentary, not, as critics will point out, rational argument from a philosophical perspective. In the second section, Mattheson buttresses his position by lining up Christian authorities ranging from early theologians to recent hymn writers. Citations from Augustine and Basil, Luther and Dannhauer, Milton and du Moulin, hymns by Ambrose, Philip Nicolai, Paul Gerhardt, and Johann Rist all depict the joy of blessed souls singing praise to God in heaven. However much these theologians and poets used the imagery of heavenly music, though, even those such as Philip Nicolai who wrote long volumes on eternal life spent far less energy discussing the music of heaven than did Mattheson.

Similarly, in the third section, where he scans the Bible looking for references to music, his single-minded focus sometimes leads to idiosyncratic interpretations. His insistence on the importance of instrumental music, for instance, leads him to distinguish terms of praise in the psalms according to whether they

involve vocal or instrumental music. Yet there seems to be no clear linguistic basis for his distinctions, nor are they typical of other Lutheran writers.

Furthermore, Mattheson's claim of the existence of music from the first day of creation is not firmly supported by his referenced sources. This claim rests on the further claim that angels were created on the first day, which Mattheson appears to think is generally recognized. "Every somewhat well-read Christian will know," he says, "that the morning stars and children of God [Job 33] can be no other creatures than the countless hosts of angels...who received their existence on the first day of creation, before all other creatures."⁶¹ For support he cites the prominent Lutheran theologian of the seventeenth century, Johann Gerhard. A check of Gerhard's treatment, however, reveals less certainty on his part. Noting that people have found biblical warrant for claiming the first, second, or third day as that of angels' creation, Gerhard concludes that it is better to remain ignorant of that which the highest teacher has not willed to teach.⁶²

Mattheson goes further to depict music as existing even prior to the creation of the angels, supporting this by his interpretation of Proverbs 8, where heavenly wisdom, or the Ober-Kapellmeister, was present before creation playing and dancing before God.⁶³ Tying together Proverbs 8, Job 33, and Revelation 22, Mattheson calls the second person of the Trinity the leader of the choir and the third person the leader, as it were, of the orchestra.⁶⁴

He assembles all the testimony of church tradition and Scripture to give evidence to those who consider heavenly music an uncertain or indifferent matter or, worse yet, deny its existence. It would seem that he has reversed roles from the time of the controversy with Buttstedt, when Mattheson was the one who insisted that claims to knowledge of angelic music could not be proven. In *Das Beschützte Orchestre*, for instance, Mattheson had dealt harshly with Buttstedt's use of Ignatius of Antioch's vision of angelic choirs singing antiphonally as evidence of the manner of angelic heavenly performance practice.⁶⁵ Yet in the present work Mattheson himself refers to Ignatius in his exposition of Isaiah 6, where alternating choirs sang around the heavenly throne. With his strong convictions and accumulation of references, Mattheson does not seem to leave any place for uncertainty. His defense against the charge of inconsistency here would surely be that his is not a philosophical proof, for his exposition is scripturally based, whereas Buttstedt had drawn on Pythagorean philosophy and the natural magic of Athanasius Kircher, whom Mattheson called a charlatan.⁶⁶ In this respect there is indeed a clear difference between the two and a consistency in Mattheson's position; viewed from our perspective, however, Mattheson was all too ready to pick a fight and too unwilling to admit any validity in the position of his opponents.

Aftermath of the work

Given Mattheson's polemical nature, we would hardly expect him to let matters rest when his work received critical responses. Already in the April 18, 1747, issue of *Hamburgische Berichte von Gelehrten Sachen*, a notice of Mattheson's

publication appeared with a skeptical reaction to the supposed rationality of his argument: “Our philosophers will not consider this section to be any proof of the above statement drawn from reason.”⁶⁷ The anonymous writer also criticizes Mattheson for appealing to Ammon’s journal article as evidence rather than presenting his own argument. More substantively, the author finds the second section of Mattheson’s work unconvincing because it depends on poetic imagery derived from the Bible. The truth value of the images has not been determined, even though a number of the writers cited may believe in them. It is up to the third section, then, to offer persuasive evidence from the Bible, but the reviewer concludes agnostically, “Whether or not these arguments demonstrate that which they are supposed to demonstrate, I leave to each person’s own judgment.” His final patronizing comment is reminiscent of that of G. F. Meier: “Meanwhile one can allow the lovers of music this pleasure, just as some philosophers also flatter themselves, that through their present philosophy they will have a special use and a little advantage over the other elect in the world to come.”

Mattheson’s response to the charge that he had not proven his case appeared the next year in the preface to an unrelated work, *Phihongologia Systematica. Versuch einer systematischen Klang-Lehre*. He included in this “Vor-Erinnerung wegen der behaupteten himmlischen Musik” some of the praise he had received for his work but spent most of his efforts to demonstrate the validity of his argument. Here we see more clearly than in the *Behauptung* itself how he understood his argument to qualify as rational proof.

He distinguished three levels of demonstration: *Erweislichkeit* (*probabilitas*), *Beweis* (*probatio*) and *Behauptung* (*demonstratio*). The first, provability, he defines as when the reasons for believing are stronger than those that raise doubts. For the second, proof, there are strong reasons to believe and none to doubt. The third, which may be translated as “affirmation” or “exposition,” is, according to Mattheson, the case in which the opposite cannot possibly be verified. He finds that all three conditions come together in his treatise on heavenly music. His understanding of the term “purified reason” now becomes somewhat clearer: in heavenly matters, reason must be grounded in the Word of God, but this does not prevent an *Erweis* as a rational proof, for in the main goal of salvation there is no conflict between Scripture and reason.⁶⁸

Syllogistic reasoning is just as valid in heavenly matters as in worldly wisdom, but just as there are forces such as magnetism that cannot be observed through the senses, so there are divine truths that can only be known through Scripture. For those who like syllogisms, Mattheson presents the following, based on reports of angelic activity in the Bible:

Angels make use of all kinds of human tools;
Musical instruments are human tools;
Therefore, angels make use of musical instruments.

The real proof, however, rests in the testimony of the whole Christian church. In spite of differences in various dogmatic and practical matters, there is unanimity of belief about heavenly music. The testimony of “outstanding teachers, Davidic hymn writers and all Christian communities” from time immemorial has not been contradicted, nor can it be. Therefore, these testimonies, based on Scripture, provide a fully valid proof of heavenly music, not only because some believe in it but also because there are strong reasons to believe and none at all to doubt. Expressed as a syllogism:

Undisputed testimonies provide a valid proof.
Church testimonies of heavenly music are and remain undisputed.
Therefore they provide a fully valid proof thereof.⁶⁹

In support of this syllogism, Mattheson states that divine and worldly justice corroborate the major premise. Rather curiously, he states that only children and old people know the minor premise. Thus the conclusion is incontrovertibly true, drawn from reason itself.

Ultimately, however, it must necessarily derive from Scripture, even if this offends the great masses of the worldly wise, who may place little value in it. A final syllogism draws together all three levels of Mattheson’s logical system:

What God himself reports in his Holy Word is sufficiently probable (*erwiesen*), proven (*bewiesen*) and affirmed (*behauptet*).
He reports much about the actual singing and music-making of the angels and blessed ones.
Therefore heavenly music, both vocal and instrumental, is sufficiently probable (*erwiesen*), proven (*bewiesen*) and affirmed (*behauptet*) through correct conclusions derived from firm principles.⁷⁰

Although this argumentation was not likely to persuade the skeptics, Mattheson did have his defenders. In October of 1747 there appeared a response from one of the men to whom Mattheson had dedicated his *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*, the poet Ludwig Friederich Hudemann.⁷¹ In his preface Mattheson had praised several of Hudemann’s works, which exhibited his knowledge and love of music, and now Hudemann rose in defense of Mattheson. Raising the questions whether it is reasonable to think that music in heaven is not only possible but highly probable, Hudemann appeals to God’s omnipotence and perfection. As God can make transfigured bodies capable of producing audible music, both vocal and instrumental, so his perfection requires that he be praised with all possible means, both inward and outward.

Most persuasive, according to Hudemann, is the argument from Scripture. The coming of the Lord in glory is described in 1 Thessalonians⁷² as accompanied by the voice of the archangel and the sound of a trumpet. This, Hudemann declares, is an essential dogmatic statement and may not be interpreted symboli-

cally or metaphorically.⁷³ Granted, the trumpet may not be like those we know, but surely it will be similar enough to merit the use of that designation. If the archangel's voice and the sound of the trumpet were unmusical noises, they would strike fear in both the righteous and the godless; as music, however, they offer a glorious preview of eternal jubilation. Against those who take the passages of Paul's writings in Ephesians 5 and Colossians 3 as indicating that audible music is superseded by the devotion of the heart, Hudemann responds that the ideal is not mute praise but the joining of the community of saints in loud and lovely audible praise of the Almighty as their hearts are raised to God.

A few weeks later a new character entered the conversation in the same publication.⁷⁴ Pastor Henkel of Groß Baynitz in the Neumark wrote that he had read the articles defending instrumental music in heaven and wanted to express his doubts, even though he did not have the articles in front of him and might miss some of their points. Also, he either did not remember Hudemann's name or only found it useful to mention "the famous Mattheson." In any case, the defenders of heavenly instrumental music were all surely lovers and connoisseurs of earthly music. Henkel, on the other hand, professes not to have been granted a musical ear by nature and thus to have a different perspective on heaven, which, after all, one imagines according to one's inclinations. He is willing to admit that vocal music is the most natural manner for the blessed ones to join in praise of God, but he would certainly not assent if an advocate for opera tried to persuade him that we would be praising God in the Italian operatic style. This exaggerated and affected artistry hinders rather than furthers devotion, and the same, he feels, applies to instrumental music. He, especially as a non-musician, cannot imagine a heaven in which the majority of the blessed would be engaged in making instruments, teaching, or practicing to become virtuosos. Scripture assures him that being like angels means being freed from all earthly duties, not just from physical needs such as eating and drinking but also from all kinds of occupations, including the arts. Finally, Henkel suggests that the logical principle, *talia sunt praedicata, qualia permittuntur a suis subiectis* ("such are predicated as are permitted by their subjects"), could offer a more probable explanation of images such as harps and trumpets than the literal one advocated by Mattheson and friends. Henkel does not attempt such an explanation himself, but in the original application of the principle by Boethius to the problem of the Trinity, it served to distinguish ordinary descriptive categories from their use in relation to God, where "the substance in question is not a true substance, but beyond substance."⁷⁵ Henkel concluded his comments by paying his compliments to the learned musicians, "for whose great art and other areas of knowledge I otherwise harbor all appropriate respect."⁷⁶

Mattheson's response to Henkel appeared in a footnote to his 1750 *Bewährte Panacea . . . Erste Dosis (Tried and True Cure-All . . . First Dose)*.⁷⁷ He felt that Henkel had shot himself with his own arrow by admitting that he had no musical ear and then saying one imagines heaven according to one's own inclinations. He proves thereby that his inclinations are unharmonic, writes

Mattheson. Why shouldn't one with harmonic inclinations imagine heaven accordingly if the inclinations redound to the glory and praise of God? Granted, the intention of the heart is primary, but we learn from the examples of David, Bezalel, and Aholiab that God is pleased by the use of those artistic skills that he has granted. There is no reason to prevent the use of those skills in the eternal life of joy, but, assuaging Henkel's concerns, Mattheson assures the reader that the skills of praise can be carried out in heaven without further instruction and study.

The Second Dose of Mattheson's *Cure-All*⁷⁸ contained further responses to objections that had been raised against his *Behauptung*. There were three very specific criticisms of Mattheson's interpretations of three biblical passages. No names were attributed to the critics. Because the discussion is restricted to paragraphs 6, 19, and 64 of the *Behauptung*, the interchange will be reported in footnotes to the translation of those paragraphs.

Again in the supplement to the Third Dose, or *Seven Conversations between Wisdom and Musik*,⁷⁹ Mattheson returned to questions about heavenly music, this time pressing his critics to clarify their understanding of the terms "heaven" and "soul." There are, he points out, three different uses of "heaven." The first comes from those who speak of a kingdom of heaven on earth, referring to the realm of grace where believers in Jesus Christ already live. This, according to Mattheson, is a figurative use of the term that has no literal basis in Scripture. The second is the external heaven that we see with our eyes, the astronomical heaven. Taking 1 Thessalonians 4:17 literally, however, Mattheson believes that Christians will one day be taken up into this heaven. The third heaven is that of the Godhead, a realm of immeasurable, incomprehensible glory, where, as Mattheson reads in 1 Timothy 6:16, God, whom no one can see or ever has seen, dwells in unapproachable light. Paul referred to this third heaven in 2 Corinthians 12 where he refers to an experience of being taken up into this heaven while still in this life, but he is unable to describe it. Thus Mattheson finds John's Revelation more helpful, as it informs us that this heaven, to which we cannot attain, will come down to us on the new earth.

The question is then raised, how does this fit with the belief that we will be raised up to the astronomical heaven to be forever with the angels? Mattheson now appears to blend the second and third uses of "heaven" by saying that the heaven in which all angels and elect live eternally with God is the same as that which Scripture calls "the glory of God," which the glorified Christ will bring down with himself into the new world, according to John's vision of the holy city Jerusalem descending from heaven (Rev. 21:10–11). As John provided dimensions for this new Jerusalem, Mattheson set about to reconcile the apparent spatial limitations of even so large a city as this with the idea that all our resurrected bodies will reside there. Using German miles, a measurement that was not standardized throughout German territories but that was equivalent to about 7.5 kilometers, Mattheson calculated that the area could encompass all of Spain, Portugal, Italy, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Germany and Denmark.

The implication here is that this is a large enough territory to accommodate us, but then Mattheson emphasizes that for God it is merely a *Hütte*, a hut or cabin, as Luther translated Revelation 21:3. If this area that is nearly as large as all Europe is for God just a cabin, then surely our spatial concerns are unwarranted from a divine perspective. The Greek original is, in another New Testament verse, a better clue to the vastness of God's dwellings than the German translation. Where the German translation of the Lord's Prayer in Matthew 6:9 reads "Unser Vater in dem Himmel," indicating one heaven, the Greek has a plural: ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, "in the heavens." Then, as if to deny any localization of God's dwelling, Mattheson says that this heaven which is God's glory is not bound to this or that place but is everywhere at the same time.

Satisfied that he had clarified the meaning of "heaven," Mattheson moved on to explain what is meant by "soul." Here he admits that the Bible has so little to say about the condition of souls after death that he must turn to apocryphal writings. Most helpful is the passage in Wisdom 3:1: "They are in God's hand, where no torment touches them." He does find two relevant verses in the canonical portions of Scripture: from Isaiah 57:2 he draws, "They come to peace and rest in their chambers" and from Revelation 14:13, "They rest from their labors." Without explicitly mentioning the belief in soul sleep that was held by a variety of thinkers and sects, Mattheson points out that this rest is not to be understood as sleep. Rather, the soul is able to experience peace, while the body, which is indeed sleeping, has no sensations.

This is not, however, the status that interests Mattheson, for it is only after the body is reunited with the soul in a transformed state that the blessed can join in the angelic music and their eternal hallelujahs. The major part of this supplement, then, is devoted to a defense of his belief that music will be an essential heavenly activity, whereas all other human occupations will be unnecessary. As in the *Behauptung*, he rejects the charge that he is imagining heaven according to his own interests and preferences.

Conclusion

Clearly Mattheson was personally convinced that his belief in the reality of heavenly music was well grounded and in accordance with biblical teaching. It is difficult to conceive that he would have spent so much effort in presenting and defending his opinion if the sole underlying motivation was to promote instrumental and choral music in the church on earth. Nevertheless, he did believe that musical skills developed here are transferrable to heaven. For anyone who has been drawn to the idea of praising God eternally with joy and delight, Mattheson has no better advice "than that he make a solid start in this world and make many honest efforts with all his heart, soul and strength in honor of the Trinity."⁸⁰

Immediately following this, Mattheson offers his earnest wishes for a reform of school and university curricula that would include music as an academic field of knowledge with all its connections to theology, metaphysics, physics,

mathematics, philology, law and medicine. It would be possible to regard all Mattheson's arguments for heavenly music as a means of providing divine justification for increasing the respectability of an art that was perceived to be in decline. A disinterested reader would have to recognize that Mattheson interpreted the Bible to fit his foregone conclusions, and it would be easy to look cynically on the faith claims of a man who engages in such ruthless polemics.

In his First Dose of *Panacea*, on the other hand, we see a more human, even vulnerable Mattheson as he reflects on his life. While expressing great satisfaction with his situation, he feels he has been the object of scorn from some. Whether he is as capable as he professes of rising above resentment and desire for retaliation, it is the expectation of future blessedness that keeps him truthful and fair in his current life.

With good reason I look forward to the new heaven and new earth that God will prepare for us so much that—lest I run the danger of not entering that rest—I do not complain and do not act in the least against truth and fairness, namely against the will of the Highest. The greatest incentive toward a conscientious life...is that on the renewed [verneuerten] heavenized earth we will see and hear God with these very eyes, though they will have been transfigured, and these very ears, though they will have been refined; without a school or teachers we will sing to God, play for him, praise him and exalt him with these very tongues, voices, hands, fingers, feet, etc., though they will be angelically pure; we shall eternally enjoy his most gracious company and his indescribable divine and brotherly love, indeed his actual direction and harmonic joining in voice to the glorification of the one to whom he hands over the kingdom and to whom he will then be subjected with us (1 Cor. 15:24, 27).

Belief in the music of heaven was not for Mattheson a matter of curiosity, of intellectual speculation, but rather a fundamental certainty that lay at the core of his being. No objections could shake this belief, which was his greatest source of hope as he faced the declining years of his life.

Notes

¹ Michael Praetorius (1571–1621) was an important composer and organist who served at the court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. His *Syntagma Musicum* consisted of three volumes: 1: *Musicae artis analecta* (Wittenberg, 1614–15); 2: *De Organographia* (Wolfenbüttel, 1618); 3: *Termini musici* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619). For understanding the development of a Lutheran theology of music, volume 1 is of most interest.

² See David Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 56–58.

³ Conrad Dieterich, *Ulmische Orgel Predigt: Darinn von der Instrumental-Music inns gemein/ sonderlich aber von dero Orgeln Erfindung vnd Gebrauch/ in der Kirchen Gottes/ von Anfang der Welt biß hieher/ kürztlich discurreret, zugleich auch die schöne herzliche Ulmer Orgel beschrieben wirdt* (Ulm: Meder, 1624).

⁴ Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte, woran der Tüchtigsten Capellmeister, Componisten, Musikgelehrten, Tonkünstler, etc. Leben, Wercke, Verdienste etc. erscheinen sollen*, ed. Max Schneider (Berlin, 1910), 283.

⁵ Johann Beer, *Ursus Vulpinatur, List wieder List, oder Musicalische Fuchs-Jagd* (Weißenfels, 1697), 28. For more on this controversy, see Joyce Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 117–126.

⁶ John Calvin, *Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, trans. James Anderson (Christian Classics Ethereal Library: <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/calvin/calcom10.vi.vi.>), 3:117.

⁷ James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 38.

⁸ James W. McKinnon, “Musical Instruments in Medieval Psalm Commentaries and Psalters,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 21/ 1 (Spring, 1968): 3–20.

⁹ *Neue Bibliothec Oder Nachricht und Urtheile von neuen Büchern Und allerhand zur Gelehrsamkeit dienenden Sachen*, 42nd piece (Frankfurt, 1715), 95–100.

¹⁰ Mattheson, *Critica musica, d.i. Grundrichtige Untersuch- und Beurtheilung Vieler... Musicalischen Schrifften*, Vol. I (Hamburg, 1722), 53.

¹¹ *The Poems of Prudentius*, vol. 2, trans. Sister M. Clement Eagan (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1965), 18 (*Apotheosis*, lines 386–392).

¹² Johann Mattheson, *Bewährte Panacea, als eine Zugabe zu seinem musikalischen Mithridat, überaus heilsam wider die leidige Kacherie irriger Lehrer, schwermüthiger Verächter und gottloser Schänder der Tonkunst. Erste Dosis* (Hamburg: [s.n.], 1750), 71–72.

¹³ Heinrich Schmidt, *Johann Mattheson: ein Förderer der deutschen Tonkunst im Lichte seiner Werke* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1897), cited in Thomas Christensen, “*Sensus, Ratio, and Phthongos: Mattheson’s Theory of Tone Perception*,” *Musical Transformation and Musical Intuition: Eleven Essays in Honor of David Lewin*, ed. Raphael Atlas and Michael Cherline (Roxbury, Massachusetts: Ovenbird Press, 1994), 21n62.

¹⁴ The proceedings of a conference held in Hamburg in 2009 have been published as *Johann Mattheson als Vermittler und Initiator: Wissenstransfer und die Etablierung neuer Diskurse in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, eds. Wolfgang Hirschmann and Bernhard Jahn (Hildesheim: Olms, 2010). A volume of previously unpublished manuscript material from Mattheson’s hand is now available as *Johann Mattheson, Texte aus dem Nachlass*, eds. Wolfgang Hirschmann and Bernhard Jahn (Hildesheim: Olms, 2014).

¹⁵ I have made a start in “The Orthodox Lutheranism of Mattheson and Bach,” *Bach: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 42/1 (2011): 70–83.

¹⁶ Cannon, *op. cit.*, 99.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹⁸ Mattheson, *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre, Oder Universelle und gründliche Anleitung/ Wie ein Galant Homme einen vollkommenen Begriff von der Hoheit und Würde der edlen Music erlangen...möge* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1713), 302–303.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 303–304.

- ²⁰ Johann Heinrich Buttstedt, *Ut, mi, sol, re, fa, la, tota musica et Harmonia Æterna, Oder Neu-eröffnetes, altes, wahres, einziges und ewiges Fundamentum Musices* (Erfurt: Werther, 1717), 169.
- ²¹ Mattheson, *Das Beschützte Orchestre, oder desselben Zweyte Eröffnung* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1717), 469–471.
- ²² *Ibid.*, 473–475.
- ²³ Buttstedt, 175–176.
- ²⁴ *Das Beschützte Orchestre*, 335.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 457–458.
- ²⁶ *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre*, 110.
- ²⁷ *Das Beschützte Orchestre*, 469.
- ²⁸ Buttstedt, 176.
- ²⁹ *Das beschützte Orchestre*, 480.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 478–479.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, 483.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 485.
- ³³ Cannon (p. 137) writes, “Whereas the latter [Mattheson] sought an enlightened realism for music, Buttstedt conceived of music as the handmaiden of theological teaching and as the mirror and picture of true knowledge.” In a summary that does not focus on theology, Ernst Ziller contrasts the conscientious organist Buttstedt, whose perspective was limited to Erfurt, with the sophisticated, astute Mattheson, who was familiar with all the musical developments of his time. Ernst Ziller, *Johann Heinrich Buttstädt (1666-1727)* Diss. Halle/Wittenberg (Halle, 1934), 118.
- ³⁴ See Irwin, “The Orthodox Lutheranism of Mattheson and Bach,” 70–83.
- ³⁵ Mattheson, *Das Forschende Orchestre, oder desselben Dritte Eröffnung* (Hamburg: Schiller and Kissner, 1721).
- ³⁶ Alexander Aichele, in “Sinnurteil, Mode und Erfolg: Empirismus und Sensualismus in Johann Matthesons Orchesterschriften,” in Hirschmann and Jahn, *op.cit.*, 354–361, demonstrates how Mattheson’s selective use of citations from Locke results in a re-working and even distortion of Locke’s thought. Aichele thus takes issue with a statement by Laurenz Lütteken (“Matthesons Orchesterschriften und der englische Sensualismus,” *Die Musikforschung* 60 [2007]: 209) that Mattheson’s views on the senses are attributable to the English empirical tradition, especially to Locke.
- ³⁷ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Bk. 2, ch. 1, par. 2, cited by Mattheson, *Das Forschende Orchestre*, 82–83.
- ³⁸ Locke, Bk. 1, ch. 2, par. 15, cited by Mattheson, *ibid.*, 32–33.
- ³⁹ Locke, Bk. 2, ch. 1, par. 4, cited in Mattheson, *ibid.*, 110–111, 126.
- ⁴⁰ Locke, Bk. 2, ch. 1, par. 20, cited in Mattheson, *ibid.*, 127.
- ⁴¹ Mattheson, *ibid.*, 91.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 95–104.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, 93–95.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 95.
- ⁴⁵ Israel Gottlieb Canz, *Überzeugender Beweis aus der Vernunft, Von der Unsterblichkeit* (Tübingen: Cotta, 1741).
- ⁴⁶ Georg Friedrich Meier, *Gedancken von dem Zustande der Seele nach dem Tode* (Halle: Hemmerde, 1746), 17.
- ⁴⁷ Lorenz Christoph Mizler von Kolof, *Dissertatio quod musica scientia sit et pars eruditionis philosophicae* (Leipzig, 1734).

⁴⁸ Karsten Mackensen and Oliver Wiener, eds., *Johann Matthesons und Lorenz Christoph Mizlers Konzeptionen musikalischer Wissenschaft: De eruditione musica (1732) und Dissertatio quod musica scientia sit et pars eruditionis philosophicae (1734/1736)* (Mainz: Are Musik, 2011), esp. ix, 44.

⁴⁹ For an account of specific differences in matters of music theory, see Hellmut Federhofer, “Johann Joseph Fux und Johann Mattheson im Urteil Lorenz Christoph Mizlers,” in Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach, eds., *Speculum Musicae Artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann zum 60. Geburtstag* (Munich: Fink, 1970), 112–123.

⁵⁰ Lorenz Christoph Mizler von Kolof, *Musikalische Bibliothek oder Gründliche Nachricht nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von alten und neuen musikalischen Schriften und Büchern* (Leipzig, 1736ff), 1/38 (1739): 30.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁵² Mizler, *Musikalische Bibliothek* 3/52 (1746): 584.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 588.

⁵⁴ Aristoxenus der jüngere [Johann Mattheson], *Die neueste Untersuchung der Singspiele nebst beygefüger musikalischen Geschmacksprobe* (Hamburg: Herold, 1744), 3.

⁵⁵ Johann Mattheson, *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik/ aus den Gründen der Vernunft, Kirchen-Lehre und heiligen Schrift* (Hamburg: Herold, 1747), par. 7.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, par. 68.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, par. 12.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, par. 26.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, par. 21.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, par. 22.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, par. 108.

⁶² Johann Gerhard, *Locorum theologicorum cum pro adstruenda veritate...II* (Jena: Steinmann, 1611), 22 (Vol. 2, ch. 8, par. 40).

⁶³ *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik.*, par. 58.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, par. 109.

⁶⁵ Mattheson, *Das Beschützte Orchestre*, 300.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 294.

⁶⁷ *Hamburgische Berichte von Gelehrten Sachen* 30 (April 18, 1747): 237–238. Other quotations in this same paragraph are from page 238.

⁶⁸ Mattheson, *Phthongologia Systematica. Versuch einer systematischen Klang-Lehre* (Hamburg: [s.n.], 1748), 15.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 21–22.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁷¹ *Hamburgische Berichte von Gelehrten Sachen* 83 & 84 (October 24 & 27, 1747): 657–661, 665–667.

⁷² The reference is to 1 Thessalonians 4:16 but was printed incorrectly as 3:16. Hudemann also refers to the comparable passages 1 Corinthians 15:52 and Matthew 24:31 (incorrectly printed as Matth. 14:31).

⁷³ The Augsburg Confession, art. XVII, affirms the belief in the return of Christ in judgment, but it does not mention the voice of the archangel or the sound of the trumpet.

⁷⁴ *Hamburgische Berichte von Gelehrten Sachen* 96 (December 8, 1747): 763–765.

⁷⁵ Boethius, *On the Holy Trinity*, trans. Erik C. Kenyon, ch. 4, lines 147–148. Copyright

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⁷⁶ *Hamburgische Berichte* 80/765.

⁷⁷ *Bewährte Panacea*, 52–53.

⁷⁸ Mattheson, *Wahrer Begriff des Harmonischen Lebens. Der Panacea Zwote Dosis. Mit beygefügter Beantwortung dreyter Einwürffe wider die Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* (Hamburg: Martini, 1750).

⁷⁹ Mattheson, *Sieben Gespräche der Weisheit und Musik, samt zwo Beylagen; als die dritte Dosis der Panacea* (Hamburg: Martini, 1751), 145–173.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 172.

Veritophili
Deutliche Beweis=Gründe/
Worauf der rechte Gebrauch der MUSIC,
beydes in den Kirchen/
als ausser denselben/ beruhet;
Aus der heil. Schrift/
denen Zeugnüssen der heil. Väter/
und aus der Theorie
der Music selbst/ mit alt= und neuen/
sowol geist= als weltlichen Exempeln/
nebst der müglichen Pflicht eines jeden Christen
im Gebrauch dieser Göttl. Gabe erörtert/
Und
Mit ungemeinen bißher versteckt=gewesenen
doch nöthigen Erinnerungen/
Samt einer Vorrede
heraus gegeben
Von
Mattheson

Hamburg
Bey sel. Benjamin Schillers Erben im Dohm / 1717

**A Truth Lover's
Clear Reasonings
On which the Correct use of Music is based,
both within the Church and outside it;
Discussed from Holy Scripture/
the Testimonies of the Holy Fathers/
and from the Theory of Music Itself
with Old and New,
both Sacred as well as Secular Examples,
Along with the Duty of Each Christian, as Able,
in the Use of this Divine Gift
And
With Extraordinary, Previously-Hidden
Yet Essential Recollections
Edited
Together with a Preface
by
Mattheson**

**Hamburg
The Heirs of the Late Benjamin Schiller
at the Cathedral/ 1717**

Preface

Dear Reader,

Par. 1

Praise God! Not all truth-loving defenders of priceless music died out with zealous Luther and sincere Werckmeister! It seems, rather, that some who were sleeping have awakened again. Let this preface be a trumpet blowing into the ears of professional musicians (not to mention others): Sleepers, awake!¹

Par. 2

I will pass over those who must squander their pretty penny with mere vain worldly pursuits, as if in a busy dream, because no one is interested in elevating them to a more praiseworthy occupation commensurate with their merit and dignity *ob defectum genitivi vel dativi* [on account of the missing genitive or dative, i.e. for lack of a title]. “Musical creations for the theater nowadays are much too pretty and ingenious in comparison with the place; it is to be wished that either the matter were better or the music worse. It offends me that the most noble art has to suffer so.” These are not my words but those of Mr. Collier, an Englishman, from his book entitled *A short view of the stage*, p. 276.²

Par. 3

Just let anyone observe how few of those who occupy actual lucrative church offices take the slightest step by which the world could conclude that they are not *civiliter mortui*³ and that musically festive worship is so glorious a thing as it truly is. Many of them are of the opinion that when Sunday is finished off with the customary intonations and a little fugue in canon, everything is all correct; then for the whole week they can go laze about and seek their pleasure or else pursue their gains with pitiful instructions for six shillings. Indeed, this last is surely fitting for the fewest, because, like cats, they like to eat fish but do not want to get their feet wet. So they lie around on their couches and eat themselves sick from lack of activity and let not a single gray hair grow; music may drop off or even go to ruin, worship may be lukewarm or cold, it is enough that they have their livelihood and are not concerned about anything else. It cuts me to the quick when I have to see, for example, that cantor and organist are irreconcilable enemies and thereby hinder everything good that they could accom-

plish if they were united. But egos take precedence; whoever is well-intentioned and does these people no harm is himself hardly left in peace but is willfully thwarted in his attempts. That is how they occupy themselves.

Par. 4

The strangest thing yet is that when once a few ἀμουσοί [unmusical people] have fooled such comfortable gentlemen into thinking their vespers are really witchcraft, they think they have already climbed to the pinnacle of all art, all wisdom, and all fame. The course has reached its end, and there is nothing more in the world for them to learn or do. They are already apotheosized, and everyone, out of respect, affection, and admiration for their great knowledge must henceforth not hanker after music (for all music is just chaff next to their *hocus pocus*) but must accord them personally the rank of Parnassus, even if they have only glimpsed it once on a map from afar and merely beheld the illumination on it.

Par. 5

In Holland it pleased me especially that the organists there, in addition to their regular professional duties, are also bound to hold weekly concerts on the organ in order to demonstrate and increase their proficiency in composition as well as their skill in figured bass. Oh, how many would come up short if this good ordinance were introduced elsewhere, or they would adorn themselves with borrowed plumes until they had grown some of their own! If I were a big-city organist and had been given the strength from God to do it, I could not possibly hide as many do. And while I may not want to be seen at operas (although scruples are unnecessary), nothing should prevent me from appearing on occasion—out of curiosity or love of music or even to assist—at the excellent concerts and oratorios of which a noble society here has privately sponsored so many.⁴ In my opinion everyone could learn a very great deal from this. But intolerance is much too great, and it is said, “Let not sin o’ercloud this light.”⁵

Par. 6

Each person may have sound reasons, and it is not becoming for anyone to concern himself with why this or that person in his town keeps to himself and rarely shows off his skills. There may certainly be many valid reasons, which I could easily state for the most part to justify some of my so-called good friends, if I knew that they would be well served thereby. But perhaps very few such musicians will read this little book; instead, when they hear something about it, they will look down their noses and screw up their mouths with their usual callousness, so that I could expect little thanks in that case. If they ask, “Of what use is this discourse?” I will tell them in two words: (1) to report to the world that most organists take the lazy approach though they have the means to put themselves forward; (2) to wish that each person seek to make himself famous

in this town in order that music thereby become even more famous.^a One thing only I will report in defense of a few, namely that some who otherwise seem willing to do more lack encouragement, as a great deal of ardor is needed in order to put oneself out into the world when it is not really necessary and there is no strong requirement to do so. What is missing for necessity and ambition is a pair of sharp spurs; most riders who lack these do not usually gallop so far.

Par. 7

Now a person comes forward who is riding at a nice trot and in whom we see on all pages a strong zeal for unbiased reception, impartial promotion, proper arrangement, provision, respect, and esteem for beloved church music, such a zeal as rightly should and must be present especially in every upright servant of the church, in his own way and according to his respective office. Veritophilus, one will say, is a made-up name, so what may the real name of the author be? Truth to say, Mr. Christoph Raupach, the upstanding organist in Stralsund, through whose correspondence I have received this manuscript, writes to me that the real author at first had some misgivings about providing his name, as he could not know whether a cobbler would have something more to say about his painting. But once the short work is judged to be *ultra crepidam*, then the author could let himself be seen with his *ne sutor*.⁶ Thus far goes my report, and beyond this I am unable to satisfy the reader in this matter.

Par. 8

No matter what the author's name nor when he feels like telling us, it is certain that the man's intentions were good and sincere. If the reader brings a good supply of attentiveness along with untainted judgment, and if he carries his heart in his eyes as well as the author held it in his quill, then he will without doubt receive from these few pages (in case he has not previously been so fortunate) a concept of well-arranged church music and its extraordinary heavenly and enrapturing powers that will please both God and people. This benefit in the midst of much disparagement ought to be worth an imperishable inheritance in relation to one's own edification and devotion. See appendix to this book, §5.

Par. 9

The remark that Crousaz, the famous professor of philosophy and mathematics at the University of Lausanne, made in his book on beauty right at the beginning of chapter XI is not only well-put but also true: "Il y a peu de sujets surquoi les hommes soient plus partagés que sur celui de la Musique. S'il y en a qu'elle enchante, il s'en trouve aussi qui ne la peuvent pas souffrir."⁷ That is, "there are few subjects on which people have such different opinions as con-

^a There is nothing more irresponsible than to bury the coins that God entrusted to a person to be put to good account and to stubbornly let them grow mildewed and tainted out of laziness. [Wolfgang Caspar] Printz in Part 2 of his *Satyrischen Componisten [Phrynidis Mytilenaei Oder des Satyrischen Componisten]*, p. 19.

cerning music. If one finds people who are enraptured by it, one also finds those or whom it is unbearable.” The latter will scarcely be seen at a musical occasion; the more beautiful the music, the greater is their abstention, even if they miss church because of it. Perhaps they know the verse of Orpheus (of which we have no more than 60 in all), “I sing only for the faithful; godless people must not come to my gate.”^{b8} Or from Gaudentius, as translated by Meibom: “Indoctis non canto, fores occludo prophane.”^{c9} “Get out! why should anyone sing much for the uneducated if they understand nothing of such matters?” It is not good that such people read this kind of warnings, for they learn to be on their guard and speak in time before they are turned away, saying they are no devotees. *C'est justement le langage des Demons*. Demons talk just like this.^d

[Par. 10]

Anyone who is so hypocritical that he doesn't want to speak (i.e., sing) the glorious songs of praise with Christ and Mary^e or at least listen to them with pleasure and who also doesn't want to attest to the ordinance of God in the Old Testament or its confirmation in the New Testament^f is in a bad way. “For the most part it is confused and restless folks who do not like to hear music, for through lovely Harmony they do not get anything like themselves from which they might derive pleasure, namely from the good order that music brings with it. On the contrary, they are more amused by the howling of dogs and the crying of cats and any number of kinds of perverted and disorderly activities, because their minds are similarly proportioned.”^g For many it is all the same whether one is pounding the keys or a kettle, making music or chasing dogs together. Who knows whether the first would be of less value to an Antaeus than the latter.¹⁰ As was said to me once, a bull baiting must have served as a reprisal for a Reventher's^h music,¹¹ which we would gladly take as slander.

^b Φθέγγομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί. θύραξ δ' ἐπίθεθε βέβηλοι πάντες ὁμῶς. Justin Martyr in *Orat. admon. ad Graecos*.

Lange translation: Solis canto piis, omnes procul esto profani.

^c Αεῖδω ξυνετοισι, θύραξ δ' ἐπίθεθε βέβηλοι. Gaudent. in *Intro. Harm.*, p. 1.

^d *Scimus Musicam daemonibus etiam invisam esse* [For we know that music is detested by the demons]. Luther in his letter to Senfl.

^e See our author in ch. 1, par. 4 where he cites from Erasmus that to **speak** a hymn of praise according to the Greek word ὑμνήσαντες means to **sing**.

^f Matt. 26:30, Mark 14:26, Luke 2:14, Eph. 5:19-20, Col. 3:16, Rev. 5:9 and 14:2. See also Johann Schmid, *De cantoribus ecclesiae Veteris et Novi Testamenti* [Helmstedt, 1708].

^g[Andreas] Werckmeister in Hodegus [*Musicae mathematicae Hodegus curiosus, oder, Richtiger musicalischer Weg-Weiser* (Frankfurt, 1687)], ch. VIII, p. 10.

^h Reventher is a corruption of the word *refectory* in cloisters and convents.

Par. 11

God's honor suffers under this, but who is bothered by that? It is just a shame that the enemy of all harmony has not been able to banish the last remainder of music completely from the Christian church. Here and there a start has been made when some theologians want to impose the view that not only all of Levitic music but also in particular the instruments themselves were mere foreshadowings of the spiritual worship of the New Testament.¹ For as with Midas, who turned everything to gold by touching it, so for many the entire Holy Scripture turns to purely mystical understanding. But, as one has said, "*Viri ingenio quàm judicio feliciores*; people are happier with clever inventions than with reasoning." "One can easily consider," says an unnamed author concerning the mystical thoughts just referenced, "that clever things must come out here: for example, the fact that music could be heard also outside the forecourt of the temple means that the gospel would be preached in *Ecclesia externa* in order that those who are outside would also be called; similarly, that an ordinance of the musicians that they must continue for seven days in a row would be a type of the seven periods of the New Testament."¹² And with all these interpretations is a reader supposed to appear respectful? All of the nitpicking leads to this: in the New Testament one can dispense with the foreshadowings and thus also with beloved music.

Par. 12

I will let the Reformed be Reformed^k (although they got their rebuff on this from the blessed Meisner in *Colleg. Adiaphor.* Disput [XI] Thesis 72¹³ and from the honorable Pipping in *Exerc. de Saulo per Mus. curato*¹⁴), and I do not question it when someone wants to put me among the "Musicos solertes & ambitiosos Baconi" (of whom he does not speak well in his *Opera*, 1399).¹⁵ If only Crypto-Calvinism did not bare itself here and there among us Lutherans in this matter also, with the result that those who would like it [music] are put through plenty of trials. Are not all kinds of artifices used, all sorts of hollow excuses sought, sexual improprieties invented with the goal of at least hampering or thwarting church music, if not eliminating it altogether? So much so that to die, which otherwise is gain, here brings with it only loss.¹⁶

Par. 13

Our esteemed church music sustains no light blow when it must be silent for a whole year or longer at the death of royal or princely persons. Such is only fitting for secular music (which meanwhile goes ahead) and should in no way be demanded of vocal and instrumental church music. It should and could remain undisturbed to the glory and honor of God and also for the singular uplifting of

ⁱ See [Friedrich Adolph] Lampe, *Exercitationum sacrarum Dodekas quibus Psalmus XLV. perpetuo commentario explanatur* [Bremen, 1715].

^j *Neue Bibliothec*, 42nd piece.

^k Mr. Lampe is a learned Reformed preacher in Bremen.

the bereaved survivors, for the encouragement of the subjects, for consolation, for a balm at a time when they most need it, and also for the edification and benefit of the congregation. This regulation is more important than one thinks, and it above all others is in need of a Reformation, considering not only that through such halting of church music the organists and other people belonging to the choir are idle, regress in their learning, get out of practice and become lazy, but also that great detriment occurs primarily to the praise of God, which should resound in all serenity and not merely for show at the demise of faithful princes more than at any other time. Furthermore, the originators of this perverted ordinance must not have considered or known that one can play and sing in a sad, mournful and moving manner; perhaps they think that music is made just for dancing, for pleasure, or for indulgence, and cannot express any lament, draw any tears, arouse any sorrow or bring about any fear of God's justice, any loathing of sin, any stirring of conscience, any contemplation of human misery or the like.¹ Oh, the great ignorance! Oh, the mistaken judgment! If only a person stuck in such prejudices could feel what the blessed Rosenmüller felt so often in preparation of his penitential hymns and motets,¹⁷ or what for the likes of us, whose hearts the Titan fashioned from a better clay (*quibus è meliore luto Titan praecordia fecit*),¹⁸ often moves the heart so vigorously during a piece of sacred music. Then other ordinances would be crafted, and church music would not be saddled with such irresponsible restrictions and limitations that conflict with the word of God. It says indeed, "The Lord has given, the Lord has taken away, the name of the Lord be praised forever and eternally."¹⁹ How then should one keep silent concerning the *Magnalia Dei*, the mighty works of God, and grieve or virtually grumble about them by ceasing all singing and playing of music. Surely no one can claim that there could be a greater work than when a soul has endured the suffering of this age and has attained the eternal contemplation of God. Thus no occasion is worthy of greater thanksgiving and praise than the death of a faithful person, for it is precious before God.²⁰

Par. 14

I for my part hold fast to the command of the Lord through his prophets in the Old Testament and to Christ's example along with the decrees of the Apostle in the New Testament. And the whole world can depend on this, that those who maintain the least thing contrary to these incomparable reasons, this command, this example, and this ordinance are not from God, nor do they speak from his Spirit. If, however, someone were to ask whether those are on the right path "who sing to please people more than God," as an ancient church father says, this question would have to be answered negatively. "If you sing in order to strive for praise from others," the same author writes, "you are selling your

¹ Herodotus teaches in his *Euterpe*, p. 52, that the Egyptians had a song called "Linus," or "Maneros" in their own language, with which to bewail and mourn the death of the only son of their first king. These Egyptians already knew better how music is useful.

voice, and you make it no longer your own.”^{m 21} It is lamentable that someone would have to search with Diogenes’ lantern²² if he wanted to find many musicians who primarily and honestly held God’s honor as their purpose above all and not rather, if they were to test their conscience, their own vain fame only, or something still more depraved. Weaknesses we can reasonably overlook, for we do carry this treasure of music only in earthen vessels;²³ but I will swear that a tenth unfortunately do not even think with devotion during worship on the one who is to be praised with mouth and hand. This may be the reason why so little blessing and good fortune is to be found in the whole profession.

Par. 15

Despite what is said, the necessary desire for honor, as long as it is praiseworthy, is not to be taken away from anyone,^{n 24} since where the striving to excel ceases, one cannot expect much skillfulness. Meanwhile some obstinate sophists stretch this *placitum Deo* so far that they have the audacity to exclude people completely from this; just as if God’s pleasure in this matter were not compatible with that of humans. If a person wants to please God uprightly, he can do this even if he is less learned, without singing or playing an instrument, for God looks at the heart. For this reason it reads: “Sing and play to the Lord in **your hearts**,” namely, you that have no voice nor can play an instrument. You who are more learned, however, sing and play so that it goes from the heart and to the heart, not above and beyond the heart. This is the opinion and command of the Apostle. The English translation of this passage, Ephesians 5:19, which is considered to be the best and closest to the original, reads thus: “singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord.” And Colossians 3:16: “Sing with devotion of your heart (or in your heart) to the Lord.” But if I in carrying out my office am to move the listeners in public worship to devotion, to spiritual joy, to repentance, to sadness, etc., I must truly take the *Dic cur hic* [Say why you are here]²⁵ better into consideration and make it so that God is glorified also in his best creatures, in his likeness, and the pleasure of the Highest is visibly sensed through the movement of human spirits. For how can God take pleasure in music by which the congregation is not edified but rather irritated, indeed for which the listeners take to their heels?

Par. 16

On the other hand, skilled people must also be brought forth, generously salaried, rewarded and encouraged, in order that the trouble of daily bread not dominate, the good flame be extinguished or all creative efforts that are so utterly indispensable to music more than anything else be suppressed or stifled. Music is like the halcyon bird that must have good weather if it wants to produce

^m Bernard, *De interiori Domino*, ch. 51[sic].

ⁿ A dissolute mind does not seek after honor/ a miser delights in the expression of the poet Palingenius, Bk. VIII, p. 195: *Cognata fami dulcissima Fama* [Honor most sweet is related to greed].

offspring. If each one had his entire subsistence, most of the abuse in music would quite certainly be prevented, and this divine gift (of which a famous man^o wisely said *qu'Elle a seul l'avantage d'etre eternal*, that it **alone**, above other arts and sciences, has the advantage of remaining eternal) would not need to resort to many worldly deals, base demands, despicable prostitutions and incidental jobs.

Par. 17

But would someone tell me how a musician here (not to mention other places) is supposed to subsist if he doesn't have the operas, which yet still offer a slippery income? In the churches, if I exclude the parochial services (at one of which only recently the salary has commendably been increased on the occasion of a new organ), there are truly, as far as singers and orchestras are concerned, meager bites and hard work,^p so that it is impossible for music ever to flourish on this footing, which in such a great and widely renowned city as this is to be lamented. If then one is not to starve, he must surely on occasion *vocem suam vendere*, sell his voice, which he would stop doing if he otherwise could be confident of a Levitic livelihood.

Par. 18

Now our dear gracious God, to whom so many hundred thousand antiphonal choirs unceasingly sing the *Sanctus*, who takes pleasure in musical harmony, who indeed himself is the origin of each and every harmony, who would not allow any part of music, especially church music (as its proper purpose), to be scorned by those who do not understand or want to listen to it: may he grant rather that the example of his Serene Highness, Honorable and Devout Saxon and other Imperial Princes, and also of certain Republics, may shine into the eyes of other authorities toward the promotion of this necessary and beneficially edifying worship of God. May they have fewer misgivings about carrying out good reforms, providing well for the choirs, supporting capable musicians well so that they do not fall into indolence, ignorance, dissolute living, despair, misery, and affliction, causing scandal for the church.

^o Chapel master Telemann in Frankfurt am Main in the dedication of his recently published violin sonatas, which he dedicated to "Your Serene Highness of Saxe-Weimar" as a special patron of the muses.

^p Penury makes the spirit depressed, greedy, morose, sick and weak; how then can the mind work? It must be *mens sana* [healthy mind]. Where then? *in corpore aegroto* [in a sick body]? No, *in corpore sano* [in a healthy body]. It cannot be healthy, however, when the body is lacking in honor, as Paul renders it [Col. 2:23]. It is now noticed in the other ranks that the low salaries give rise to great abuse, and for that reason they are being improved here and there. But no one thinks about music anymore.

Par. 19

My esteemed readers can be assured, however, that for my part I, as well as the unnamed praiseworthy author of the present pages, wish for nothing so greatly and strive for nothing in the world so keenly as, first of all, to honor God in all seriousness and with full strength, next, to advance the cause of music and of the musicians themselves, and, finally, also to invest my money so that I might enjoy a bit of praise and advantage from it. Help me do this, dear reader, be of good cheer, and expect from me next a work that has been lying ready except for a clean copy since February 21 of this year with the title: *The Orchestra Defended, or its Second Overture, wherein is offered not only for a veritable gallant homme, but also for many a musician himself the most candid and clear presentation of musical knowledge as it actually stands, ably cleansed of school dust; in passing a complete, dry rejection of all contrary interpretations and wrangled impositions is imparted; then finally the dead (not complete) music of the long since banished ut re mi fa sol la is brought to the grave accompanied respectably by the twelve Greek modes as honorable relatives and mourners, and it is honored with a monument.*²⁶

Written in Hamburg
Easter, 1717

I am your servant
MATTHESON

Chapter One

Concerning the Commands of God that Deal with Church Music, Vocal as well as Instrumental

Par. 1

God, the actual source of all good harmony and concord, commanded church music through his prophets in the Old Testament and through his apostles in the New Testament. There is surely no one who will disagree that everything good that comes from God must also return back to him and be applied in gratitude to his honor. But Holy Scripture shows us the will of God concerning music now and again in many places more clearly and precisely than such a very general exhortation. In the tenth chapter of Numbers, verse 10, we find a clear command concerning trumpets, which is recorded for instruction and imitation for the Christians of the New Testament, who have been provided by God with the gift of all kinds of sounding instruments that are well and pleasingly handled by blowing and by wind. In II Chronicles 29:25 it is said explicitly of string instruments: "For this was the command of the Lord through his prophets." In the Psalms, God the Holy Spirit also left us many commands which he holds out to us earnestly through the royal prophet David on the topic of music, especially in Psalms 33, 147, 148, 149 and 150. In this last psalm our entire instrumental music is commanded in the words of the fourth verse: "Praise him with strings and pipes!" This leaves out, for the sake of brevity, the many commands about singing that are encountered frequently in the psalms of David and other places in Holy Scripture.

Par. 2

The New Testament also has no lack of commands from God concerning music. For the holy apostle Paul commands in the name of his and our head, Jesus Christ, that we should sing and play to the Lord both outwardly and with inner devotion of the heart (Ephesians 5:19, Colossians 3:16). Tilesius, a teacher of our church, says, "Those who reject these clear sayings, Eph. 5:19 and Col. 3:16, [by speaking] against the use of music give witness that they are not of God nor do they speak from his Spirit." It is not necessary to make an Old Testament prototype out of the music of the Jews at that time. The blessed Dr.

Selnecker writes in his exegesis of Psalm 104 thus: “We have no need for allegory; music must be retained in worship.”²⁷ See Werckmeister, *On the Use and Abuse of Music*, p. 3.²⁸

Par. 3

Some do say that church music is a Levitic ceremony that belongs only to Old Testament sacrifices and slaughter of animals. But one can recognize that there is no basis at all for this by noting that music was used in the community of the Lord for the praise of God long before the Levitic law. This can be seen with the prophetess Miriam, sister of Moses and Aaron, who, together with the Israelite women, played to the Lord with singing and drumming while dancing (Exodus 15:20). The command still stands: “Sing and play to the Lord” (Eph. 5:19). For the holy men of God have also “spoken, driven by the Holy Spirit” (2 Peter 1:21)²⁹ concerning the art of singing and making music in the church. And “what was previously written is written for our instruction and imitation” (Romans 15[:4]).³⁰ Paul prescribes in the name of the Lord: “Let the Word of God dwell richly among you in all wisdom” (Col. 3:16); this wisdom consists in understandable and edifying speaking, singing, playing and making music, i.e., in theology and music. In the same place cited, it says further: “Teach and admonish yourselves with psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, and sing to the Lord in your—or from your whole—heart.”

Par. 4

We are to praise God and serve him with all our strength, in accordance with the first table of his law, Deuteronomy 6:5, Matthew 22:37, Luke 10:27. And according to the second table we are obligated to accede to our neighbors, each with the gifts and calling that he received from God. For this reason we are to ponder whatever is lovely, whatever sounds pleasant and thus is a virtue or an act of praise (Phil. 4:8). Through this the beams of divine wisdom, which are hidden in organ, choral, and figural music,³¹ shine more clearly, such that their effect is perceived so much more powerfully through the resulting skilled execution; because of this, we are moved all the more easily to devotion. We are to rejoice and be perfect (2 Cor. 13:11), be fitted to every good work (2 Tim. 3:17), increase in the work of the Lord (1 Cor. 15:58) in order to play well on the strings (Psalm 33:3) and pipes (Psalm 150:4) either ourselves or, because we are not all able to play music pleasingly, through other persons designated for this, who arouse us with organ or figural music for the other parts of the worship service, so that the praise of God may be pleasant and lovely (Psalm 147:1). Our Savior Jesus himself not only pointed us to the Psalms of David but he also, after the institution of the Lord's Supper, sang a hymn with his church, who were his disciples. The Greek word ὑμνήσαντες can bear witness to this, which Erasmus translated into Latin as “cum hymnum cecinissent.”³² From this it is clear that our Savior through his example introduced and endorsed music in the Christian church. It is enough that the many commands of the Old Testament

concerning music are confirmed various times in the New Testament and require our duty to praise and exalt the Lord of all Lords as highly as we are able, because he is still higher. We are pleasing to God in Christ when, from heartfelt inclination, in order to spread his honor and increase our neighbor's welfare knowingly or intentionally in our devotion, we do not cease to praise and exalt him with all our strength of body and soul, as often as we have occasion to do so (Sirach 43:30).³³ Even though in our mortal life we will never be able to bring our praise of God to full completion, nevertheless we are obligated to strive thereto and to do as much as is possible for us, keeping in mind the saying of the apostle James, where he says, "Whoever knows to do the good and does it not, to him it is sin" (James 4:17). Therefore we must give attention among ourselves to spur one another to love and all good works that occur in Jesus Christ to the honor and praise of God (Phil. 1:11; Hebrews 10:24). May we as children of God let our light shine before the people, according to the command of God in Matthew 5, also through the good work of the musical praise of God, that our neighbor may be edified by the stimulating and encouraging example of another.

[See additional comment §1, page 49.]

Chapter Two

Of the Examples of Jews and Christians

Many examples of obedience in carrying out the aforementioned commands of God may be found among Jews as well as Christians. They are recorded partly in the Holy Bible, partly in the printed writings of distinguished reliable men. For reasons of brevity I will make reference to them later. But the following I cannot leave unreported, namely that the first Christians praised and exalted God our Lord and spread his honor and glorified him both with singing and with musical instruments. Although it cannot be disputed that their heartfelt intention, as well as that of the Jews, was often interrupted and prevented by the horrible persecutions of the heathens, it is easy to prove from writings of the church fathers and indeed from the Holy Bible itself that they used both vocal and instrumental music. Let us listen first to the Fathers concerning this. Clement of Alexandria, who lived in 200 A.D., says this in *Christ the Educator*, book 2, ch. 4: *Etsi ad lyram vel citharam canere & psallere noveris, nulla in te cadet reprehensio. Hebræum justum Regem imitaberis, qui Deo est gratus & acceptus*. That is: “If you can sing with a musical instrument, you are not to be blamed, for you imitate the devout King David, who was dear and pleasing to God.”³⁴ And Justin Martyr, who was still alive in 160 A.D., uses these words about church music as of a theological science, translated thus out of the Greek: *Verbum Dei est, sive mente cogitetur, sive canatur, sive pulsu edatur*. That is, “God’s Word is and remains God’s Word, whether it is thought in the mind, or sung and spoken aloud, or struck, indicated and made to be understood on musical instruments.” See the *Meditations on the Psalms* of Dr. Salomon Gesner, chapter 27³⁵ and also the new preface by Dr. C. T. Rango to J. Crüger’s hymnal.³⁶ Paul, as mentioned above, alludes to singing and playing of psalms, hymns and spiritual songs. By singing he understands that which is sounded vocally with the human voice and expressed at the same time with words. By playing Paul understands that which is treated with musical instruments in the community of God. Also in Basil one reads that at his time singing and instrumental music was used for the praise of God, for when he describes the difference among psalms, hymns, and songs, he writes: “The psalms are such music as consist only of instruments without the accompaniment of human voices.” By hymns and songs of praise [Lob-Gesänge], however, he understands a purely human song without addition of

instruments. "Odes or songs [Lieder]," he writes, "include a short and well-written contemplation or discourse about God and divine matters." Hilarius, an even earlier church father, writes in his Prologue to the Psalms: "A psalm is when one does not sing along, and only the striking of the musical instrument is heard. *Canticum* is when one sings alone without instruments. *Canticum Psalmi*, however, is when a musical organ or instrument is struck and afterward there is singing. *Psalmus Cantici*, on the other hand, is when there is singing along with the striking of the instrument."³⁷ And Euthymius says in the preface to the Psalms: "A psalm is actually the song that is expressed with a musical instrument and a lovely singing voice at the same time. But an ode or *canticum* is a musical voice or melody that is harmonic, that is, brought forth only orally through pleasant-sounding intervals and concord." A. Kircher, *Musurgia*, p. 561.³⁸

Par. 2

Even in the time of the holy apostle Paul, vocal and instrumental music was used. This may be demonstrated not only from the words of Eph. 5:19, "Sing and play to the Lord," but also from his first epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 14, verse 7. For in that place, after he admonished the Corinthians together with all Christians that proceedings in the congregation of the Lord should be comprehensible and edifying, he then immediately thereafter offers a metaphor of instrumental music and says in the above-cited verse 7: "In these matters it is like those things that make sound but yet are not alive, whether a pipe or a harp, when they give off various voices or tones: how can one know what is being piped or struck on the harp?" Without doubt the Holy Apostle held out this metaphor in such detail for the Corinthians as born Greeks because that nation excelled above other peoples in music as well as other studies. Hardly any solemnities were performed by them without music, but mainly this art was used in their temples for honoring their idols, as is sufficiently known from the Greek histories. What then had been abused by the pagan Corinthians for honoring their empty gods, the Christian Corinthians applied to the honor of the true triune God, for which reason they used their music only for the purpose of praising the true God. The blessed Wittenberg doctor and professor Balduinus writes in his *Comment. Quest. 4*,³⁹ p.742, concerning the words of the Apostle in 1 Cor. 14:7 cited above that Paul was looking **at the use of pipes and harps in the assembly of the church**. That these were in use also in the first years of the New Testament is apparent also from the following words of the punishment announced in the Revelation of St. John, 18:22, where it reads, "And the voice of the **singers and string players, pipers and trumpeters** shall no more be heard among you." This may also be derived from the 26th verse of the first letter of Paul to the Corinthians in chapter 14, when he says: "How is it then, dear brethren? When you come together, each has (namely, his gifts received from God) a psalm, one has a teaching, one has tongues, one a revelation, another an interpretation. **Let everything happen for improvement.**" The Reformed

theologians recognize and affirm the way G. Pasor puts it in his *Lexicon Novi Testamenti*, that the word ψάλλειν, which the Apostle used in Eph. 5:19, actually means to strike the strings or to play on a musical instrument.⁴⁰ One can read several things about this in the *Psalmodia Christiana* of Mr. H. Mithobius, which was approved by the theological faculty in Wittenberg in 1662:⁴¹ the second sermon on the music of Christians concerning the 18th and 19th verses in the 5th chapter of the letter to the Ephesians offers an extensive account of this. We have no proper report of how the melodies for singing and playing by Jews and early Christians were actually arranged; thus we cannot show with notation a single melody or tune of the songs and psalms they used. **We set no store by that. It is enough** that we know from Holy Scripture concerning their music that worship was often observed and celebrated with singing and playing of instruments. We also know that they were eager, in accordance with their means, to make the praise of God as beautiful and appealing as they were able. Psalm 147:1, Psalm 33:3. Accordingly, we are also obliged to follow the reported examples of this kind to institute and further our singing and instrumental playing in every good, beautiful, appealing, and edifying manner, each according to his means, which does happen in many Lutheran Christian congregations.

Chapter Three

Concerning the Powerful Usefulness of the Whole of Church Music and also Concerning its Necessity

The words of God the Holy Spirit, which he spoke through his instrument, the kingly prophet David in Psalm 92, bear witness to the beautiful use that church music has: “**It is a precious thing** to give thanks to the Lord and sing praise to your name, O Most High. To proclaim your grace in the morning and your truth in the night on the ten strings and the psaltery with playing on the harp.” In which biblical saying both instrumental and vocal music are called a **precious thing** by the Holy Spirit himself. That which is precious, however, is also useful and worthy of love. What the church teacher Justin Martyr writes about church music is also wonderful where he says: “Through charming playing and singing of psalms the spirit is cheered on to desire those things about which one is singing. The evil desires of the flesh are thereby stilled, the promptings of the devil pushed away, the disposition to bring forth godly works is refreshed, Christian fighters are encouraged to fortitude, and medicine is directed at all troubles that people are facing. Paul calls this a sword of the Holy Spirit when he instructs Christian fighters to arm themselves with the weapons of holiness against invisible spiritual enemies. For God’s Word is and remains God’s word, whether it is thought in the mind or sung or played, intimated and to a certain extent made to be understood on musical instruments.” So far Justin Martyr. See the Meditations of Sal. Gesner on the Psalter, ch. XXVII.⁴² By rights what blessed Dr. Luther wrote about church music in his *Table Talk*, p. 411, belongs here, along with many other words of praise: “Music is a beautiful and glorious gift of God and next to theology.”⁴³ In a letter to chapel master Senfl this dear man of God writes thus: “Non pudet me asserere, post Theologiam artem esse nullam quæ possit Musicæ æquari, ipsa præstat, quod alioquin Theologia præstat, quietum & animum lætum.” That is, “I am not hesitant to confess that next to theology there is no art that equals music, in that it accomplishes just that which theology does, namely rest and a cheerful heart.”⁴⁴ Further he writes in his praise of music the following: “Therefore the holy fathers and prophets have not in vain brought the Word of God into many sorts of songs and string music, so that music may always remain in the church; there-

fore we have many sorts of precious songs and psalms which move the hearts of people both through the words and through the sound and melody."⁴⁵ Augustine, the outstanding teacher of the church, writes about himself in the 9th book of his *Confessions*, ch. 6, as well as in Book 10, ch. 33, that when he heard the church music in Milan (where he had gone just out of curiosity to hear bishop Ambrose preach), it so affected him that he could not hold back the tears of joy. This is considered the first driving cause of his conversion. His own words concerning the emotion that he felt through the spiritual music have been translated as follows:

When I recall the tears which I shed at the song of the Church in the first days of my recovered faith, and even now as I am moved not by the song (i.e. only)⁴⁶ but by the things which are sung, when sung with fluent voice and music that is most appropriate, I acknowledge again the great benefit of this practice.⁴⁷

In the place cited he speaks to God further in the humility of his heart thus:

What tears I shed in your hymns and canticles! How deeply was I moved by the voices of your sweet-singing Church! Those voices flowed into my ears and the truth was distilled into my heart, which overflowed with my passionate devotion. Tears ran from my eyes and happy I was in those tears.⁴⁸

Moreover he writes thus in the 33rd chapter as cited:

The Christian church considers singing and making music to be right and proper so that the wavering mind may be encouraged and renewed to the desire for godliness through the delight of the ears.⁴⁹

Nowadays church musicians as well as their other fellow Christians do what obedience to God's commands and the love of neighbor entail when each, according to the abilities and strengths he received from God, directs his efforts and intentions that he may soften, win, and stir to devotion his own and his fellow Christians' hearts in many a pleasant way. Joseph Hall in his *Seelen-Gespräch* LXXVII, p. 238,⁵⁰ and from the same Christian von Stöcken in his *Heilige Hertzens-Seuffzer* [Lübeck, 1668], p. 288, report that all the masters of the singers and choirs in the Old Testament directed their efforts toward winning hearts through the ear. From this we can conclude that Jewish worship music at that time was used not only for joyful thanksgiving, praise, and acclaim of God

but also for sorrowful and solemn devotion, as we can observe in the lamentations of Jeremiah and the penitential and reproving psalms of David.

Par. 2

Here we also want to consider the necessity of church music and to state in advance that the commands of God are the primary basis for the necessity of church music. Next to these it should be kept in mind that because of the miserable and inconsistent condition of the human spirit resulting from original sin, church music may properly be regarded as necessary. This is reinforced by the ancient church father St. Basil with the following notable words:

What did the Holy Spirit do when he saw that the human race was not led easily to virtue, and that due to our penchant for pleasure we gave little heed to an upright life? He mixed sweetness of melody (the appealing modes of singing and instrumental sound)⁵¹ with doctrine so that inadvertently we would absorb the benefit of the words through gentleness and ease of hearing.⁵²

For this reason it is necessary that humans, who are by nature so slothful toward the Word of God and the teachings of Holy Scripture and so quick to grow weary of the good, be encouraged to devotion and kept interested by delightful, good, and instructive variety, namely sometimes through prayers, sometimes through singing, sometimes through organ, vocal, and instrumental music, and sometimes through several of these elements of worship at the same time, but only as often as one can and should have such edifying alternations. Through this we can become very fervent and eager of spirit to receive the divine truth and teaching that is presented clearly in the sermon that follows and to preserve it in our heart and memory. God has foreseen from eternity through his providence and omniscience that human beings can be incited and encouraged to many other good works through the proper use of music and its countless good variations; otherwise he would not have instituted it for praising him in his service and for furthering the devotion of the neighbor through its salutary use, nor would he so explicitly and repeatedly have given us orders in Scripture for the same. Why has God allowed the gifts of music over the centuries, but especially in the century just past, to come to such superb strength that today it thrives splendidly in many places, notwithstanding all the demonstrated persecutions against it? Why has that happened? Answer: In order that the Creator and Giver of these gifts may be praised through them all the more gloriously and powerfully without abuse, and then also for the benefit of people in its salutary use. Quite correctly and in accord with Holy Scripture, one hears that philosophers speak thus: *Deus & Natura nil frustra faciunt*. That is, God and nature do not produce anything in vain; they do not act uselessly. Rather, whatever good springs forth from them has its power and must be useful for something. For this reason, mu-

sic, which first came from the Creator and afterward stems from nature, is not given by God to people in vain. Its manifold power must necessarily be used out of gratitude toward God as an excellent medicine for the spirit, and it must be protected against every abuse insofar as possible. Mainly, however, it is necessary that music be used to praise and exalt God in public assembly and to further the devotion of the neighbor more and more. **For hearing and our devotion are delicate things, so quickly tired out and plucked away.**

Par. 3

Now that we have, I hope, sufficiently treated the necessity of the whole of church music, it seems to me not inappropriate to introduce the following noteworthy points which are to be taken into consideration. One must indeed confess that outward worship in service of devotion cannot be established equally well and pleasingly in all locations. Yet unfortunately in many places there is no serious inquiry how far the capability stretches for increasing and expanding the praise of God and the benefit of the neighbor and whether more can be done than previously. Also there is no dispute that in case the ability is insufficient and many people have too weak a talent to receive the various lovely musical gifts with thorough information or there are other weighty causes preventing it, God then is satisfied with mere singing of chorales when they are sung properly and with devotion. Indeed God is also satisfied when those who by nature do not have a good voice—and cannot by practicing achieve any improvement in it nor hold a pitch—keep quiet during the singing of chorales and foster the inward devotion of their heart by listening, through which God is also praised. But we must keep in mind that this graciousness of God in being satisfied is not to be abused as a cover for laziness or malice. This would happen (and unfortunately does happen) when God gives us the power and means to increase his praise and the benefit of the neighbor and yet we would willfully refrain from doing so, for example, when we could build organs or have them renovated, support vocal and instrumental music, or employ capable persons who perform their duties well and give them a respectable salary. Be not deceived; God is not mocked. He wants his commands to be kept and set into action when at all possible. Music is a means of fostering devotion and a gift whereby God can and should be honored. Whoever scorns and prevents such means and commands of God does not love his Creator, and whoever does not love him is no child of God. See A. Werckm. *Dedicat. Harmonologiæ Musicæ*.⁵³

Chapter Four

Concerning the Powerful Usefulness of Music in Alleviating and Sweetening other Daily Affairs

In order that the excellent power of church music be all the more recognized and that we may arrive at a clear conception of it, we want to show in a few chapters both from secular as well as sacred examples, and even from the nature of music itself, that music through its manifold good and powerful effects accomplishes much in human beings. We make a start in this when we now consider its alleviating and sweetening of other daily affairs. No work is so burdensome and bitter that it may not be carried out with pleasure when one accompanies or alternates it with well-trained pleasant singing and playing of musical instruments. It is this respectable field of knowledge that lightens and sweetens the work of each person, whatever the age or status. It is an aid to sailors in their sea voyages, to porters and day-laborers in their heavy burdens, to miners in their great danger to life and limb as they search for ore, to travelers in their hardships, to merchants and artisans in their bitter daily work and affairs, to scholars and those devoted to the arts in their daily speculations and meditations, to kings, princes and other persons in authority in their burdens of governing, to warriors in their travails and dangers, etc.

Par. 2

The Pythagoreans, when they wanted to give themselves over to rest in the evening, were accustomed to play a pretty song on strings in order that they might fall asleep the more easily. In the morning when they arose again they did the same to drive away sleep and weariness and to make themselves lively and cheerful for other affairs. The ancients had different sorts of songs that were suited to different skills and trades. The bakers had their *himæon*, the mariners their *paracelesticon*, the weavers their *ælimon*, the tailors their *julion*, and others had other songs to drive away the tedium of work. See W. C. Printz's German *Musica Historica*, p. 192, where he reports from Aristophanes and Callimachus.⁵⁴

Par. 3

In our own times also, very few persons are found who cannot lighten and motivate their work especially with such music as best conforms and is in proportion to their humor. This is almost not to be believed and is surely something quite surprising. Plato described the agreement of music with human nature briefly and neatly when he wrote: "Everything that lives takes pleasure in music." Indeed, irrational animals take a liking to musical sound (which could be demonstrated with many examples if time did not forbid it). Therefore, as can be asserted from experience, those who do not take a liking to any form of good music have truly ill-tempered, odd, mulish and unruly heads inhabited by the coarsest temperament or a most unfriendly frame of mind. By contrast, those who take pleasure in the musical arts are by disposition good people and suited to many virtues. *Multa semina virtutis insunt iis, qui delectantur arte Musici.* (Thomas Schmidt's *Geschichte über das Lutherische Gesang=Buch*, p. 37, and Matth. Hammer in *Histor. Rosen=Garten*, ch. 6, p. 73.)⁵⁵ It is known, moreover, that the Dutch and East Indians carry out their work both on land and on water with a collective hand by pulling or pushing according to a certain song so that they perform their task all together to the same beat with collective might. In other countries one experiences the same thing now and then when paying attention to it.

[See additional comment §13, page 52.]

Par. 4

Aristotle puts forth two components without which human life cannot exist, much less be considered happy. There should, he says, not only be an honorable manner of living but also a pleasant one that is appealing in the opinion of all wise people. A happy life consists of these two parts. Hippocrates likewise teaches that, as work is beneficial to the members, food to the flesh and sleep to the bowels, so also pleasure is highly necessary and useful to the tired senses. Now music is surely one of the things that brings the highest delight to the heart, for as Musaeus⁵⁶ says, it is the most cheerful and charming thing. For this reason people use it fittingly in most all respectable and serious gatherings as well as in ordinary life, because it brings about an inner cheerfulness along with other effects. The sensible tutor Sirach admits this also when in the 41st chapter of his lovely book of morals he suggests that music gladdens peoples' hearts. And that which brings joy without misuse should be pursued, loved, studied, and used. For God, the all-wise Lord, graciously endowed human beings with the art of music in order to revive their flagging spirits. And although the hellish serpent, the devil, brought it about that God imposed heavy burdens and care on our first parents and on us in them, nevertheless he arranged a glorious relief in the dear music with which, after our hardships are accomplished, we may be refreshed again in appropriate measure and without sinful misuse. We must also not ne-

glect it but instead we are obligated to esteem it as a necessary means ordained by God for our rejuvenation and to use it gratefully. See Laur. Schröder's *Tractätlein vom Lobe Gottes oder der Musica*, pp. 126, 127, 157.⁵⁷

Par. 5

Since, then, a piece of secular music has the power to make work light and sweet, how much more so does a piece of domestic spiritual music, especially in a soul that has been submitted to God! The Christians of the first churches understood this, which is why they did not forget spiritual songs even in the midst of their official duties. Jerome recalls in a letter that he sent to Marcellus' surviving widow that at his time the farmers in the Jewish country, when they worked the plow in the field or cut down the fruit, joyfully sang the psalms of David, which resounded in the fields.⁵⁸ Augustine reports likewise concerning manual laborers that they sang Christian songs while carrying out their work and thereby consoled themselves as with a divine shout of joy. Thus it happened that people traveled through the streets with pleasure because through the singing of the manual laborers and workers there was a joyful sound resounding in all the lanes. Chrysostom, in the 21st sermon to the people of Antioch, carefully reminds the craftsmen that they should read and sing the Psalter when they sit at work in their workshops in order that the door of their hearts be locked to the disagreeable evil spirit.⁵⁹ They should use the Psalter as an agreeable companion for passing the time, so that they can alleviate the troubles and cares of this earthly journey (because we are not yet home with the Lord but still on the way) and travel with that much less care into the heavenly fatherland.

Par. 6

The late lamented Duke August of Braunschweig and Lüneburg had a musical clock invention in his chamber that played for him mostly Christian funeral hymns such as *Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist* and *Ich soll fahren* in the morning as he resumed his ducal work (Th. Schmidt, *Geschichte über Lutheri Gesang-Buch*, p. 141).⁶⁰ Johann Philipp, Duke of Saxony, of Christian memory, often took pleasure in a musical instrument, playing many a spiritual hymn morning and evening. Indeed, in order to steer away dark thoughts when he experienced gloom, he called for the organist several times a week and instructed him to play *Von Gott will ich nicht lassen*, *Auf meinen lieben Gott*, *Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt*, *Was mein Gott will gescheh allzeit*, along with many more (Misander, *Deliciis Biblicis*, 1698).⁶¹ In Silesia a few years ago there was a godly pastor to whom God had granted five daughters one after another in his marriage; he himself also gave instruction in figural music to all five simultaneously in order to sing and play praise to God with them as a quartet or quintet at home in his little house-church after dinner and on other occasions, such that it was a pleasure to hear and see. A journeyman baker in the old city of Brandenburg sang the hymn *Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten* every day devoutly and often as he carried out his tasks; thus this hymn became so familiar afterwards

that there was almost no one in that place who did not sing it for diversion. In Wittenberg it is so common (as Mr. Georg Schimmer reports) that one can hear it daily in every passageway. See Thomas Schmidt's *Geschichte über das Luth. Gesang=Buch*, p. 546ff.

Par. 7

Finally, peoples' various inclinations (by which one person and his ear is accustomed to and has greater fondness for one kind of music and another person for another kind) bear witness that many who are adorned with the loveliest gifts of musical ability or, lacking that, are mere lovers of the same, having their ears most accustomed to it, are able to lighten their daily work most happily and pleasantly and encourage themselves thereto in the most uplifting way through such musical gifts combined with God's Word. This may be quite nicely put into practice through well-composed and skillfully executed sacred oratorios, cantatas, concertos, arias, motets, etc. This occurs also through sacred songs played on positive organs, clavichords and other instruments; alongside the familiar and simple melodies, the tunes may be set and presented well in such preludes, fugues and variations as match the joyful or sad, cheerful or serious mood of the text.

[See additional comment §1, page 49.]

Chapter Five

Of the Various Powerful Effects of Music on the Hearts and Minds of People

The sound of music, which is more spiritual than material, becomes indirect as it is disseminated along with the air that it moves and is led to the hearing. It also penetrates firm bodies, but much more our human bodies, which are very porous and full of passageways. It goes not only into our ears but also to the heart itself, which is the workplace of the life spirits that are scattered through the brain, in and around the heart and through the remaining parts of the body. These life spirits, which consist of a very delicate and nimble blood vapor, are also quite easily moved by the air that is moved by harmony or music. This movement, because the soul feels it, confers different movements of the mind or heart following different movements of such spirits. See Kircher's *Phonurgia*, p. 127, and Gaspar Schott, *Magia Univers.*, Pt. II, p. 196.⁶²

Par. 2

In order now that we may prove insofar as possible that musical intervals contribute greatly through their different mixings to the different effects in the mind and heart, let us consider that the actual foundation (basis) of the movements of the heart is the sensual desire or inclination which is served by the instruments of the senses. Further, that sovereignty over the movements of the heart can arise from nothing other than a certain disposition of the four qualities or temperaments, namely the hot and dry choleric, the warm fluid sanguine, the cold and slimy phlegmatic and the cold and dry melancholic. From this we can conclude that if the sovereignty of one or two of these temperaments is the cause of sovereignty over the movements of the heart, it is necessary that the essential form, which keeps the temperaments united in one subject, dispose them also according to proportion, similar to the way one number behaves toward another. Therefore, although all four temperaments are in each person, nevertheless one person has more and greater inclination to anger because cholera is dominant in him; another inclines mostly to pleasure and joy because he is of a sanguine complexion; again the third mostly drags around with sadness because melancholy predominates in him, etc. But it is impossible to sketch out all mixtures

and variations of these. One can indeed advance far and increase in the knowledge of the same through experience; but never will a person, as long as he lives, get to the bottom of another person's heart and inclination, which falls to God alone, who is perfection itself. Meanwhile, as it has long since been perceived that sovereignty over the movements of the heart or the passions stems from the greatest and strongest inclination, and the various mixtures of the above-named four qualities are the cause of so many various mixtures of musical intervals and harmonies, or in brief, of all musical inventions, it is easy to conclude that these very same proportions which are found in the four temperaments or qualities can also be usefully presented to the hearing in harmonies and melodies if no effort is spared beforehand in working out the composition. Thus it happens that when someone hears a well-arranged piece of music that accords with his dominant inclination or temperament, that same inclination is thereby increased; indeed the complete movement of the heart even follows frequently, and this is because **like attracts like**. From this arises then this conclusion: namely, that such harmonies and melodies as have no parity with the dominant temperament of a listener, but rather are contrary to it, silence the dominant movement of his heart against his will⁶³ and can awaken completely different and adverse movements. Thus it happens, for example, that the sluggishly flowing blood of a sad melancholiac is brought into rapid movement through a piece of music consisting of cheerful meters, and the result is a good-humored being. By contrast a happy, sanguine person allows himself to be brought to moderate seriousness and sadness by mournful sounding harmony arranged with slow solemnity. *Quia contrariorum contraria sunt medicamina*. Accordingly, it is firmly established and demonstrable through experience that by a thing that presents a close resemblance to the constitution of a human mind, the dominant inclination of the person is stimulated and increased. On the other hand, a thing that is further removed from similarity effects a contrary impression in the mind and stimulates or brings the person to another affect. Through the hearing and through sensitivity this conclusion itself is solidified. In addition, it is well known that the life spirits are the instruments through which the soul sends the forms of things to the senses. Therefore, when the aforesaid spirits have more to do with these or those intervals and tones than with others, whether it happens through an alteration or through the movement from one place to another, the result, for example, is that through anger they swell up and immediately come to a boil, through fear or through pain they draw together, and through joy and pleasure they expand and spread out. In the following something of the power of intervals themselves and their accompanying properties will be reported.

Par. 3

The two consonances, namely the octave and the fifth, cause a certain expansion of the life spirits, and this happens to a greater extent through the first than through the second. This results from the size of their proportions, which have the form 1:2 and 2:3; along with other intervals, these can be distinguished

both by sight and by hearing on the mathematical instrument, the monochord. The first of the two consonances mentioned expands the life spirits more than the other because half of a whole is greater than a third of a whole. The smaller the proportions become, the more is lacking in the expansion. So when the two intervals of a third known as major and minor are sent to the hearing in the proportion 4:5 and 5:6, one will sense that the latter brings with it something sad, the first something expansive and joyful, because a sixth of the whole is smaller than a fifth. The smaller intervals of the following proportions, 8:9, 9:10, 15:16, 24:25, etc., cause the hearing to sense aversion and also the life spirits to draw together more. The strongest impression in exciting or quieting the affections through music, however, is made especially through a skillful or well-performed melody; through tempo; meter; appropriate repetitions and restatements; a high, medium, or low voicing; the slowness or rapidity of the notes or the beat; many words from rhetoric giving occasion to allusion and lovely expression; the observance of what is decent, honorable, and useful from ethics;⁶⁴ a careful consideration of time, place, circumstances, and persons; and also a good selection of human voices and instruments, sometimes one, sometimes another.

Par. 4

When, then, an inventive Melotheta, or so-called composer, gains the ability and experience to present with a very close approximation the characteristics of anger and seriousness, of happiness and magnanimity, of sorrow and compassion, as well as of a moderately sweet pleasure and joy, and to bring these skillfully to the ear in an instrumental composition; when he also considers beforehand whether he should convey the impressions of the affections mentioned to the heart of the listener by degrees or suddenly; then he will bring about the effect he intends in all their hearts (though according to the nature of their temperaments and in some not so strongly as in others), even if they have not prepared themselves to receive the impression and even if the person who receives it does not know why or how. *Qui eos numeros (sc. sonores) non noverunt, nec possunt dicere, non negant tamen ex his se voluptate aliqua perfrui* [“And those who don’t know them and can’t identify them admit, nevertheless, they get a certain pleasure from them”]⁶⁵ (Aurelius Augustinus, *De Musica*, Bk. I, ch. 13). See also Ab. Steffani’s letter translated by Werckmeister, p. 60–69.⁶⁶ This may be enough for now concerning the various effects of instrumental music.

Par. 5

Since now the well-executed presentations of the mental characteristics named above possess and can indisputably impart their force and impression by instruments without necessity of words, how much more can and does this happen by the aid of a poet conversant with music and the conjunction of a good piece of vocal music with instrumental music? For, when both of these put all their energies together, either with a poetic or prose text, not only will the vocal music enable its special charm to be heard in singing, since the words are pre-

sent, but at the same time the instrumental music that is added will give double force to many emphatic words that the vocal music contains through such vigorous expression as cannot be brought out by voices singing. All this will be of even more use to us in what now follows.

Par. 6

M. Ficino says concerning Plato's dialogue on Law: "Music should be constituted in such a manner that, after all confusion and occasion for vices is lifted, it tempers the body, spirit and mind."⁶⁷ With these very words he lets it be clearly understood that music is useful in the formation of good manners or virtues and therefore does not allow one to be wild and rough. The Cynethenes in Arcadia who abstained from music became in a short time the wildest and most wicked people; for this reason the wisest people have applied themselves to this field of knowledge and made her their sister. Blessed Dr. Luther confesses expressly in his *Praise of Music* that, according to the Holy Word of God, "nothing on earth is more powerful to cheer the sad, to sadden the cheerful, to encourage the discouraged, to humble the proud, to quiet and subdue passionate and excessive love, to diminish envy and hatred." He says further: "There is nothing more powerful than music to reign in and govern all movements of the human heart that rule people and drive or stir them to virtue or to vice."⁶⁸ On p. 411 of his *Table Talk* he calls music "one of the most beautiful and glorious gifts of God, which is very much an enemy of Satan; through it many temptations and evil thoughts are driven away, and the devil does not endure it."⁶⁹ Without doubt this is because [Satan] is the fiercest hater and persecutor of all good arrangements; he cannot tolerate the beams of divine wisdom that shine forth for people's benefit from beautiful, orderly harmonies and melodies. For the music that is directed to a good purpose and expresses the *motus animi* well is especially repugnant to him. A madly raving confused sound, a disordered and horrible-sounding racket as well as such verses where vices are winningly described and even recommended by the abusers of musical poetry, along with other abuses—these are the music that Satan, that unharmonic spirit, can tolerate. But to avoid prolixity in this digression, some more pieces of historic evidence will be introduced now which are of use in proving the power and manifold use of music that is well applied.

[See additional comment §14, page 52.]

Par. 7

Through string music Clinias calmed his anger, Achilles his indignation, and Pythagoras all his strong emotional impulses.⁷⁰ By playing slowly on a flute, or, as others would have it, on a trumpet, Pythagoras also diverted an indignant young man from setting fire to a house (Boethius in the preface to his *De Musica*). Empedocles prevented another from murder; Terpander, who had been brought from Lesbos to Sparta on the command of the prophesying Apollo, kept the crowd from an uprising through singing and playing. Timotheus was able

through musical skill to move Alexander the Great either to zeal in waging war or to let go of warlike thoughts. The ancient inhabitants of Candia [Heraklion] roused themselves for battle by playing the lute and other musical instruments (*Alex. ab Alexand. 1.3., c.2*).⁷¹ The Lacedemonians had soft and moving music played on the flute before battle in order that all stirrings of fury might be abated in the soldiers (Plutarch, *de cohib.ira*).⁷² The former imperial general against the Turks, Lazarus von Schwendi, quieted his ill-timed impetuosity by listening to pleasing and serene music. It is this to which blessed Dr. Luther also referred: "Music makes people serene and kind."⁷³ Mr. Misander reports in his *Deliciis Biblicis* that he had seen a young noblewoman weep for joy and at the same time laugh sweetly during the singing of an incomparable treble singer. Another person who applied for a post but was refused drove away the resulting sadness by playing on the harp. Mr. Printz, in his German *Musica Historica*, p. 192f, testifies from his own experience that once when his 14-day-old little son cried so fiercely that he could not be quieted, he first gained the attention of the child by playing pleasant and moving music on the guitar and then brought him into a sweet state of sleep. Shrill sounding instruments, on the other hand, were not able to produce this effect because their sound was not proportioned to such delicate hearing. Plato, in book 2 of the *Republic*, says that nothing can be more easily introduced into the hearts of children and youth than by singing the various modes.⁷⁴ Among older adults who have been put to sleep by music there is an example in Mecorna, a Roman nobleman: when Emperor Augustus enticed his beloved Terentia from him, he spent nearly three whole years in sorrow without rest or sleep; he was finally lulled to sleep in the same way by lovely, soft-sounding music coming from a distance. Likewise King Charles IX of France, whose troubled conscience and terrifying dreams resulting from the Parisian bloody marriage allowed him no rest, was brought again to a gentle sleep by the pleasant playing of his court musicians, as Thuanus, book 57, and, from him, W. C. Printz, *l.c.*, report.⁷⁵

Par. 8

Why is music used at weddings and other respectable feasts? Does it not happen partly in order to make the spirit happy and also partly, as Plutarch said in *de Musica*, in order, through its orderliness and charm, to soothe body and mind and deter them from excessive use of wine? I am certain, and all reasonable people will also affirm this with me: whoever listens attentively during dinner music (excluding those who behave to the contrary with continuous conversation) can moderate his appetite in eating and drinking through pleasant alternation in listening to music as well as with good discourse. It is also well known that in our day music is used in war to arouse sluggish spirits, to redouble those already aroused, and to moderate wrath that is too impetuous. And who could not be aware that refined dance melodies provide an incentive to adopt refined and appropriate mannerisms? Likewise after a banquet meal is completed, guests are aroused to the comfortable movement of the dance in order to ease in

a genial manner the digestion of the food just consumed. Blessed Dr. Luther introduces these words about dance in volume 4 of the Jen. Germ. f. 133: "Because dancing is also the custom of young people, it is not to be condemned when it occurs chastely, without shameful words or gestures and only for pleasure; for a Christian gives the world its due and does not let proud holy people make a sin of it, so long as it is not brought into misuse."⁷⁶

Par. 9

Now we want to turn again, in accordance with the intended order, to church music as that which has the greatest power especially in well-bred and Christian-minded natures. The highly renowned church father Augustine testifies in *Confessions*, Bk. 10, ch. 33, from his own experience that "our souls are more piously and earnestly moved to the ardor of devotion by these sacred words when they are thus sung."⁷⁷ The reason he gives for this is that "all the affections of our soul...have their proper measures (*modos*) in voice and song, which are stimulated by I know not what secret correspondence."⁷⁸ Blessed Dr. Jacob Andreae witnesses likewise to the power of church music in *Colloquio*, p. 733, with these words: "I can in truth say of myself that, while I mostly delight in figural and organ music, I not only receive the sound or peal in my ears, but my spirit and soul is also marvelously moved and awakened through such lovely harmony so that I pray all the more fervently and earnestly or listen and attend to the sermon with a more ardent spirit; this occurs when a hymn (or text) is played with many lovely voices on the organ or sung by singers before the preacher steps up to the pulpit, as is the custom in our churches. Thus I truly feel in myself this divine power given to music for moving people's hearts. Many faithful, devout people and common folk who are not educated and have not studied music also experience this in themselves in the same way."⁷⁹ Luther, in his *Encomium Musices* reminds us forcefully when he writes: "Indeed the Holy Spirit himself praises and honors this noble art as an instrument of his own office, as he bears witness in Holy Scripture, in that his gifts, that is, the movement and stimulus to all kinds of virtue and good works were given to the prophets through music. We see this in the prophet Elisha who, when he was to prophesy, commanded that a minstrel be brought to him, and when the minstrel played on the strings the hand of the Lord came upon him."⁸⁰ (The "hand of the Lord" is understood to be the Holy Spirit, who is named thus in Luke 1:[66-]67 and 11:20.) From this it is evident that this prophet was not able to bring forth the divine prophecies until his spirit had been cleansed and freed from all disquiet and distress that afflicted it through the power that God placed in music. When King Saul came to the hill of God where the camp of the Philistines was, he encountered a crowd of prophets who were prophesying and having psaltery, drums, pipes, and harps played for them; then, behold, the spirit of the Lord suddenly came upon King Saul so that he prophesied together with them (I Sam. 10: 5,6,10). When the apostles and disciples of the Lord Christ let their voices resound after enduring great danger and with one accord sang Psalm 2, as we

read in Acts 4:24ff, it states expressly in verse 31 that the building where they were assembled shook and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit.

Par. 10

Just as devout music draws the Holy Spirit, and thus the whole Most Holy Trinity, to us so that we may become full of the Holy Spirit (Eph. 5:18) if we do not wantonly resist him, so, on the other hand, music drives away the devil or hellish spirits, for they cannot stand sacred songs of praise or harmonious music directed toward a good end. Satan, the evil spirit of sadness, had to retreat whenever David, the shepherd anointed with the Holy Spirit, sounded his extraordinarily pleasing harp music, which was made even more powerful through the hidden collaboration of unmediated divine inspiration. In I Samuel 16:14, we find: "The spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord disturbed him greatly." Verse 23 of the same chapter reads: "Now when the spirit from God came over Saul, David took his harp and played it with his hand; then Saul was refreshed and got better, and the evil spirit departed from him." Presumably at these times David played familiar sacred songs of praise and joy drawn from God's Word and either sang along or, with a closed mouth, bore witness outwardly to the joyous devotion of his heart solely through playing. This opinion can fairly rest on its own merit, but it is not contrary to the same if one concludes the following upon approaching closer to the meaning of the biblical passage cited: both through the extraordinary power with which God blessed David's harp-playing and through the prayer which he confidently alternated with it, the evil spirit was made to flee, even though afterward he returned and finally brought Saul to complete desperation. "The devil is a spirit of sadness," says Luther in his *Table Talk*, p. 712; "therefore he cannot stand happiness. This is why he flees far away from music and does not remain when there is singing, especially of spiritual songs."⁸¹ When this blessed man of God was at the castle of Coburg and three fiery torches like great beams flew into his bed-chamber at night unexpectedly, he was at first quite frightened, but he recovered soon and spoke to those around him: "Come, let us sing to spite the devil the four-voice setting of 'Aus der Tiefe ruf' ich Herr zu dir.'"⁸² To an organist who also had vexation from the devil, he wrote thus: "Dear Matthew, when you are sad and want to prevail, say, 'Get up! I must play a hymn to our Lord Christ on the organ' (whether it is *Te Deum laudamus* or *Benedictus*, etc.), for Scripture teaches me that he likes to hear a cheerful song or string music. And touch the keys anew and sing along until the thoughts pass, as David and Elisha did. If the devil comes again and gives you cares or sad thoughts, defend yourself anew and say, 'Away, devil! I must now sing and play to my Lord Christ.'" This is to be found in the sixth German volume of his writings.⁸³ In Nicephorus, and also in Sozomen, book 7, ch. 23, we read that the Roman emperor Theodosius, when he was fiercely enraged against the citizens of Antioch, was moved to mercy through the music of the boys whom bishop Flavian instructed to sing sad songs

calling on God for mitigation of the punishment. The emperor himself shed tears and was reconciled with the city.

Par. 11

At banquets and wedding feasts of the beloved ancients, songs were played that were moral and edifying for Christians and that stimulated virtue and fear of God, according to Athenaeus, book 14, ch.11.⁸⁴ This sort of thing happens today in many places at weddings. And what other purpose does funeral music based on hymns and biblical texts serve at burials other than to comfort the bereaved survivors and lighten their grief? For many sad Christians and those preparing for death have had the experience that all their fear and tribulation can be greatly reduced, if not removed, by devout music and harmonious songs. A rather large directory could be drawn up here if I had not set out to avoid long-windedness on this point.

Par. 12

The idea from Basil was introduced in ch. 3, par. 1 above that God the Holy Spirit had his salutary teachings set to harmonious and pleasant songs in order that virtue and piety be instilled in our hearts through pleasant, lovely, joyous musical melodies. Experience shows us also how gloriously and durably true religion can be instilled, conceived, implanted, and maintained in human beings through the stirring spiritual singing of choral and figural music. To this end Christians in the early churches after the time of the apostles immediately instituted worthy schools in order that tender youths might be instructed and trained right from their earliest years in the Psalms of David and other spiritual songs that contain the most important portions of Christian teaching. Because of the pleasing melodies and delight to the ears, young boys and girls learned these songs easily and quickly and retained them thereafter to the end of their lives, according to Basil. Experience also confirms this concerning figural music, namely that through the frequent repetition of glorious biblical texts, as is common in motets, concertos, oratorios, and arias, and also through the various devotional expressions or depictions of holy and good movements of the heart, God's Word is repeatedly implanted deep in the hearts of people all the more emphatically and delightfully. The organ also plays its part here, for whoever has learned the common hymns of the church accurately and thoroughly in his youthful years and has also become accustomed to singing along and meditating on the first verse during the organ chorale prelude is able, whenever he hears the alternation of the diligent organist's apt inventions of toccatas, fugues, variations, etc., with the simple melody following—he is able, I say, not only to be sensibly moved or animated in his heart but also at the same time to meditate on the words of the hymn in an edifying way and thus to carry out his devotions. In sum, through choral, organ and figural music (each in its own measure) one can be prepared, led, and stimulated to joyfulness in God, to afflicted thoughts of repentance, to the purifying and increasing of the dim light of faith, to constancy

in Christian life and walk, to recalling the joy of eternal life and many other godly things. If, then, these forms of devotion are combined with one another, such that a hymn is played on the organ with pathos, that is, movingly, while the congregation sings, or that during the figural music a two-part chorale verse is intermixed and can be heard, devotion is powerfully sustained and increased by such edifying variations. Just as “all things work for good, particularly for those who love God” (Romans 8:28), so they also make use above all and as much as possible of the manifold power of the entirety of church music, in which everything has to do with and is directed toward God’s Word. Here I must yet introduce the following two noteworthy examples: when a Chinese emperor had a Jesuit named Adam Schalle teach him music, the latter meanwhile inserted the story of Christ and our salvation gradually into the songs and finally brought the emperor to the Christian religion. Similarly, Father Didacus Pantoya, after he had received a command from the Chinese emperor to teach the imperial court musicians to play the clavichord, gradually taught them songs dealing with all kinds of good virtues and customs and, at their earnest insistence, made them familiar with the texts of the melodies they had learned to play by translating them into Chinese. See Erasmus Francisci, *ausländischer Sitten-Spiegel*, p. 1318.⁸⁵

[See additional comments §§10 and 15, pages 51 and 53.]

Par. 13

From everything that we have treated so far, it is clear that we are obliged to give heartfelt thanks frequently to the Most High for the manifold powers of his gracious divine gift of music and to use it to his honor as well as for encouragement and edification in our devotion. For anyone who has not truly felt the power of church music, however, but is merely accustomed to listen to it rather casually, there is no better advice than that he plead and sigh to God for his blessing that inward devotion may be promoted and increased through all outward listening. Further, he should earnestly undertake to listen attentively and often, from beginning to end, to well-ordered church music⁸⁶ and the organ playing of an experienced organist whose goal is devotion. He should also make an effort to sing along with the congregation nicely and properly on the hymns of Luther as well as of other eminent men, and he should not be led astray through his own inconsiderateness to disturb his fellow Christians in their devotion by rushing ahead or bawling unreasonably. Thus with time his soul cannot fail to be moved and stimulated by such well-arranged church music that he will gain all the greater desire, which was previously only tepid, toward many Christian virtues. These effects of music will finally lead him also to the thankfulness that a Christian owes to God for this gift of grace, so that he will endeavor uprightly and without hypocrisy to increase the praise of God through music as his ability permits and thereby also to serve his Creator as well as his neighbor without misuse. Indeed, such an upright Christian, who can speak from his own experi-

ence about the power he senses⁹ in sacred choral, vocal, and instrumental music, will, as often as conversation paves the way, spur his neighbor in a friendly manner to make good use of this divine gift and, insofar as he finds it necessary, to advise him against misusing it. Oh, we surely have cause to protect ourselves against scorn and misuse, because the Holy Spirit prophesies and announces the future punishment from God by taking music away from the people, as in Amos 8:3: "The songs in the church shall be turned into wailings." Verse 10: "I will change your feast days into mourning and all your songs into laments." Jeremiah 25:10: "I will take away all cheerful singing." Ezekiel 26:13: "I will make an end to the sound of your singing, and the music of the harp shall no more be heard." If we look up chapter 18 of the Revelation of St. John, it says this in the 22nd verse concerning the destruction of Babylon: "And the voices of the singers, pipers and trumpeters shall be heard in you no longer." Several passages about this are found in Jeremiah 7:34, Isaiah 16:10, Ezekiel 7:7, Job 30:31, Micah 6:16, Jeremiah 16:9, 48:33, Isaiah 24:7, Lamentations 5:14, Jeremiah 51:14. Such punishments have often been carried out not only among the Jews but also frequently among Christians. For if one willfully and intentionally misuses the gifts of God, does not thank God for them, does not use them properly to his honor and for our needed renewal and encouragement, then the righteous judgment of God will not fail in the end, and his gifts will either be taken away completely so that we fall into barbaric ignorance or their proper use will be noticeably hindered in many respects. The current miserable times of war unfortunately attest that in some places houses of God have been ransacked and burned, people have been robbed of public worship, and the exercise thereof is prevented in most respects. The result is that many upright Christians have had to complain about the withdrawal of the resources that serve devotion and lead to joy in God, such as the art of the organ, singing in parts according to notes, which is both artistic and edifying, and also choral singing and the art of musicians (in sum, everything that is heard before and after the sermon according to the order of musical notes).

[See additional comment §11, page 52.]

Par. 14

Because, then, it is a sign of God's wrath, and he has already poured out his wrath on a land when he has withdrawn from it the most joyous and useful art of music through war and insurrection, it will be all the more necessary to guard against disdain or disregard and misuse of music. As long as we are still blessed by God with music, we need: to use it in the church to his honor above all and to diligently study, practice, and pursue it with such intent; to prefer capable musicians over blunderers, the best that can be found in the areas of composition, organ, and other instruments as well as in singing; to provide them a respectable

⁹ *Aliud etiam sentire vim aliquam, & aliud, artem ipsam l. elementa scire.* [It is one thing to feel a certain power and another to know the art itself or the elements.]

livelihood for their profession and calling; to have respect for them and protect the liberties graciously granted them by the ruling authorities. Also, the organs and positives that in some places have fallen into disrepair should be renovated by a good organ builder for encouraging the congregation, for thorough-bass, and for leading pure-sounding and orderly singing of chorales; or, according to the circumstances, new organs should be built in their place and examined at least once a year to see whether there are defects that need to be corrected. All this in order that justice be done to the commands of God and the praiseworthy example of our ancestors in the greatest degree possible. The time may otherwise come when we would like to do this but are not granted so much peace.

[See additional comment §12, page 52.]

Chapter Six

Of the Use of Music in Bodily Illness

In the previous chapter we dealt with the power that music can exert on the disposition in both its sacred and its secular usage. Now, however, it strikes me that a separate chapter would be worthwhile, as concise as possible, in which it is shown according to the same method that God's mercy is also powerful through music in bodily illnesses. It is indeed natural that illnesses sometimes can be completely cured through music, and sometimes the accompanying pains are also thereby reduced and alleviated. For when the lovely and fitting harmonic orders of music penetrate the human senses, they bring the confused *spiritus* of the sick people and, consequently, their disposition again into order and harmony, so that health can be restored. (Werckmeister in the translation of Abb. Steffani, *Sendschreiben*, p. 39f.⁸⁷) Galen, in *De valetudine tuenda*, Bk. 1, ch. 2,⁸⁸ testifies from his own experience that he quieted pains with music and with its help brought many sick people back to an orderly moderation of the disposition and, following that, to a state of health. Aesculapius, the originator of medicine, taught the Greeks that "one should prescribe songs and melodies for those whose impetuous and disorderly movements of their souls cause too great an inflammation in the temperament of their bodies," as reported by Diodorus Siculus in *Biblioth.*, Bk. IV., c. 23.⁸⁹ All well-experienced physicians affirm still today that bodily illnesses are most easily and quickly cured when the soul of the patient is in good order and repose, to which music can contribute a great deal, as will be explained further in what follows.

Par. 2

In order to get closer to the objective in this subject, let us introduce the shrewd observation of Mr. Vigneul-Marville⁹⁰ from his *Melanges d'Histoire & de Litterature*, vol. I, p. 157f. He writes thus: "La Musique & les sons des instruments contribuent à la santé du corps & de l'esprit, aident la circulation des humeurs, purifient le sang, dissipent les vapeurs, & dilatent les vaisseaux & les pores, la transpiration si necessaire pour se bien porter se fait plus facilement." In translation: "Music and the sound of instruments contribute to the health of body and spirit, aid the circulation of the humors, cleanse the blood, scatter the vapors and enlarge the vessels and pores in order that the perspiration so neces-

sary for well-being may very easily be brought about." After this the aforesaid author brings an example, among others, of a refined person who, when hit by a serious illness, had violinists come instead of doctors, "qui lui donnerent si bonne aubade, que les visceres etant emües, & les humeurs venant à se fondre, etc." That is, "who brought him such a good morning-song that his intestines were moved, the humors were excreted, and he was soon perfectly healthy."

Par. 3

In addition, Mr. Mission reports in his *Voyage d'Italie*, vol. III, p. 59f.,⁹¹ on the topic of the tarantula (concerning which more later) that a French lady known to him was 106 years old and availed herself of no medicine other than music; thus she had her own instrumentalist come to her regularly and called him her doctor. Happel, in Vol. IV, P. II, p. 51⁹² also mentions the same woman and says that in her advanced age when she was severely afflicted with arthritis, she found relief immediately upon listening to instrumental music but had to endure great pain in its absence. The previously mentioned Mr. Mission adds in the place cited that Aullus Gellius and Theophrastus wrote that music can cure arthritis. Dr. Shelhammer treats this subject in his recently completed treatise *De animi humani affectibus*, ch. 14, ¶¶17–24, pp. 223ff.⁹³ and proves that music can alleviate pain, giving the example from Bechlin, *Obs. Medico-Phys.*, Pt. III, Obs. 27,⁹⁴ of the famous Peirescius, who suffered greatly from arthritis; he was cured by the pleasant song of a virgin on a swan and by the letter to him from Thuanus. Another example is that of Charles IX, king of France, who found that nothing brought greater relief in his illnesses than music. Laurence Schröder, in his treatise *Vom Lobe Gottes* (Copenhagen, 1639), p. 180, writes of a distinguished citizen of Güstrow who for a while was laid up with a fever; the patient himself later reported to the author that when he heard lovely instrumental music outside the door at the hour that he had a paroxysm, his heart was so refreshed that the fever left him from that point on and by God's grace has not returned. A dancing master in Alais who got overheated in dancing and thereby fell into a high fever and even became deranged was brought back to his senses simply through pleasant music, as reported in the *Histoire de l'Academie Royale des Sciences* in 1707. Likewise, the famous master of music, the late Johann Beer, writes in his apology entitled *Ursus murmurat* that in his youth he himself had seen a man who had completely lost his wits, having been put into a state of confusion by a wanton strumpet with a love potion; as soon as he took in hand his violin, of which he was an eminent master, and played it, he came back to his senses and the full use thereof. That *melancholia hypochondriaca* or mania, i.e., an attack of madness and insanity, can be cured with music is shown by Happel, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 51, with the example of the wife of the Marquis of Gueret in Limousin: when the news was brought to her that her husband was making out with other women, she fell into such a frenzy that she always wanted to throw herself into the fire, out the window or into the water; she had already been rescued twice from the water. For this reason certain persons were assigned

to her as guards. Not a single doctor could think up a remedy. Finally a lute player was ordered who would be around and with her constantly and also had to play and sing by her bedside during the night. After this therapy had hardly been continued for three months, she regained her health to the great joy of her husband and thereafter she has had no further onsets of this illness. The example that occurs through the power of music annually in Apulia, a province of Italy, to patients bitten by tarantulas is known worldwide: for when someone is stung by these poisonous spiders, the person cannot be cured by anything other than music. The famous professor of anatomy in Rome, Georgius Baglivus, writes about this in detail in his *Dissertation de Tarantula*, published in 1696, for which reason his words concerning this follow, in translation: "All other remedies are in vain as long as the primary antidote, namely music, is not applied; after hearing it, even if the patients are lying down ailing, as if struck by apoplexy, they gradually begin to move hands and feet and finally their other members until, upright on their feet, they begin to howl, sigh and dance, which they often continue for two or three hours. After they wipe away the sweat and rest in bed a little to regain their strength, however, they pluck themselves up and go out to dance with just as much intensity; for almost 12 hours they turn around one another in the appointed dance until finally they find themselves rid of all attacks of illness, which frequently happens in three or four days. Thus they live free from the onset of this awful illness throughout the whole year. But when the time of year returns in which they were bitten by the tarantula and they do not forestall this serious illness through the usual dances, the paroxysm that strikes gains the upper hand so quickly that they fall down speechless wherever they find themselves, as if struck by apoplexy; they appear blackish in the face and on other outward parts of their bodies. If they do not dance then, they will be miserably tormented for the whole year."⁹⁵ The afore-named author therefore judges that in other respects music has the power to separate the poisonous blending of life spirits and humors. This is because the air that is moved by the instruments strikes forcefully at the composition of spirits, humors and membranes, and from this powerful attack there arises in the humors a more forceful expansion, fermentation, and the so necessary restoration of flow, etc. See *Acta Eruditorum Lips.*, January, 1698.⁹⁶ In the *Medico-Politico*, Bk. IV, ch. 16, by the world-famous Rodericus à Castro one finds many proofs exhibiting the power of music in physical illnesses, which the reader who is inclined can pursue there. If, then, music is prudently arranged and applied according to the temperament of the sick person, it can prove very powerful in promoting health. This should not be at all surprising, **because illnesses are nothing other than the human body being out of tune.**

Par. 4

But when god-fearing souls afflicted by spiritual trials in their bodily illnesses hear music that is combined well with the saving Word of God, the sensitivity of their hearts is made even stronger and their holy affects are moved with

greater tenderness. From this then the health of their bodies can follow the more easily. For such music is the best comfort by which the heart is made content again and is effectively revived and refreshed. Our lovely chorales, as well as the skillfully and effectively arranged artistic figural church music of today's capable composers and genuine virtuosos, bring with them, both from text and music, such powerful revitalization that a patient, after hearing them, really feels the relief or alleviation of pain and the quieting of his otherwise restless mind. As a result other medicines that are also to be used can achieve their effect more easily than they otherwise would.

Chapter Seven

Of the Use of Church Music

by Which One Experiences a Foretaste of Heavenly Life

When one sings and plays most beautifully and gloriously according to the best musical art (excluding any much too fast mishmash), we are all the more able to envision in this a foretaste of heavenly music. The blessed Dr. Luther argues this in his *Encomium Musices* on this matter: “But where natural music is sharpened and tested by art, one first sees and recognizes in part (for it cannot be grasped or understood fully) with great amazement the great and perfect wisdom of God in his marvelous work of music. Of all that is curious and surprising about it, the greatest is when one person sings a simple melody or tenor line and three, four or five other voices sing along, playing and jumping around this tenor as if exulting around a simple, unadorned melody; with many kinds of sound they decorate and adorn this melody marvelously, as if carrying out a heavenly round dance, meeting one another in friendly manner, virtually hugging and lovingly embracing.”⁹⁷ With these words the artistic and cheerful sacred counterpoint receives the praise it is due. When this highly enlightened teacher had listened to some lovely music with great pleasure, he said finally with a cheerful spirit: “because the Lord God gave us such a noble gift of music in this life, which is just a vale of tears, what will happen in that life where everything will be most perfect and happy? Here is only formless matter, the beginning.”⁹⁸ Oh, how can one fail to be enraptured when one hears a well-executed, cheerful-sounding and edifying sacred composition performed with precision by 20 to 24 persons, both vocalists and instrumentalists; or when the familiar melodies of psalms of joy are presented clearly for our hearing and with good diversity of variations on the organ in order to foster devotion; or when one hears a whole congregation sing these melodies as nicely and properly as possible? Indeed, many a heart that has been yielded to Jesus is moved thereby so sensitively that it bubbles up and leaps from great desire, longing to taste the eternal music of joy, of which it receives here such a powerful foretaste and reminder. The verse that stands on the organ in the church of San Pietro in Perugia, Italy, is well expressed and reads thus: *Hæc si contingunt terris, quæ gaudia cœlis?* That is

If there is such joy on earth,
what joy will there be in heaven?⁹⁹

St. Augustine, as cited by Stegman in *Christognosia*, p. 415,¹⁰⁰ writes: *Nihil ita proprie in terris repræsentat statum cælestis habitationes, ut alacritas laudantium Deum.* That is, “Nothing in the world leads us to imagine the heavenly dwelling as aptly as does the joyfulness of those who praise God.” And St. Basil also writes thus concerning this heavenly foretaste in his letter to Gregory the theologian: “*Quid beatius esse poterit, quam in terra tripudium Angelorum imitari?*” That is, “What can be more blessed than to imitate on earth the rejoicing of the angels?”¹⁰¹

Par. 2

Now although no thorough report exists of how angelic music actually is arranged or what countless forms it has taken from the beginning until now and will take further into all eternity, still it is known through Holy Scripture and in accordance with our Christian faith that the joy of eternal life is the greatest, most perfect, and most significant of all, since it consists both in the highly gratifying contemplation of God and in singing and playing praise aloud, about which we can read from Isaiah in ch. 6, v. 3, from Paul in 2 Cor. 12:4, of the Bethlehemite shepherds in the Gospel of Luke, ch. 2, as well as in the Revelation of St. John 5:8, 14:2, 15:2, 22:8 and more elsewhere. A piece and glimpse of angelic music was revealed to these holy persons mentioned in particular, and in such a way that they actually saw, heard and experienced something of it. The examples of Christians who have experienced this angelic happiness and joy here on earth in their ears and hearts are indeed few and far between, but real and noteworthy. To introduce just one, Mr. Johannes Herbinus tells of his grandfather on his mother's side, Christopher Süssenbach, who was a faithful pastor in Silesia: “When, in church at six in the morning on the day of his death, he briefly explained Psalm 2 concerning the eternal birth of the Son of God, he said at the conclusion, ‘Today I will die.’ At the same time he exhorted his congregation to steadfastness in the faith of Jesus Christ, to heartfelt love and godliness, and then he bade each one farewell. When he came home, accompanied by his tearful listeners, he began to become weak and he lay down in bed. As word spread of this everywhere, the city authorities and some clergy living in the surrounding countryside came and asked him, their senior pastor, how he was. He did not answer them but repeated the admonition he had given in the church and began to offer them his hand to bid them farewell. While this was happening, music resounded in the city that was supremely lovely, lasting about a quarter of an hour without anyone being able to determine precisely where or at what place it was occurring. Some thought it was in the tower, some at the city hall, and to others it seemed as if this music was coming from the city walls. The organist of the city church, who was present and also heard it, tried several times to write down this beautiful piece of angelic music that had never been heard, but he

failed each time. Meanwhile, the sick preacher called to his wife, whose name was Eve, and said, 'Do you see, my dearest Eve, how godliness is useful in all things and holds the promise of this life and the life to come? Do you not hear how beautifully the holy angels sing? Just so will they sing at your departure if only you remain in the faith and love of the Son of God until your end.' Having said this, he turned toward the wall and breathed his last." (Martin Bräuer, *Biblisches Lust-Haus* [Königsberg, 1703], p. 1068.) What outstanding and exceptionally joyful music it must have been that the 24 elders produced for the Lamb with their harps, as we read in the mysterious Revelation of St. John, ch. 5, v. 8.

Par. 3

Music in its highest glory, joy, perfection and blessedness should and will be the eternal occupation of the elect. One indication of this among others is that St. John calls the instruments of the elect the **harps of God** (Rev. 15:2). When Holy Scripture applies this name **of God** to earthly things, scholars interpret that as the *causa efficiens* or efficient cause and commonly understand by it something divine, exalted, great, and mighty. Therefore, those harps or instruments are denoted as "harps of God" which are given to them by God himself and serve especially for his glory in order that "God may thereby be praised most gloriously." (Glass, *Philolog.* Pt. 2, Bk. 3, Tract.1; Gerhard, *Annotationes ad Apocalypsin*, p.116 on ch. 15, v. 2.)¹⁰² In the same manner it was said of the paschal joy of the godly king Hezekiah in 2 Chronicles 30:21: "And the Levites and priests praised God each day with the mighty **string playing of the Lord**." That is, with such penetrating string playing as God himself had commanded to be used and performed for worship. The holy Anselm says in his *Elucidario*: "O what pleasure they experience who unceasingly hear the harmony of heaven, the songs of the angels, and the sweet melodies of all the blessed."¹⁰³ And St. Augustine speaks of this in *Medit. ch. XXVI in hymno paradiso*: "The hearing is constantly occupied with listening to the sound of the instruments that are being played out of joy. If then the victors who have conquered the world and the devil praise their king and exalt their savior, this is the only cause of their joy."¹⁰⁴ Therefore the musical instruments will be far more precious, valuable, better looking and better sounding than our instruments are. Indeed, it is fair to say that there is as great a difference between such heavenly and our earthly music as there is between these perishable and those transfigured, eternally enduring bodies.

Par. 4

Because, then, it is certain from Holy Scripture that the holy angels and elect do God's will when they praise and honor him without end in the most joyous and glorious manner, singing and playing one cheerful Hallelujah after another, therefore we here on earth are also obligated by this to let ourselves be driven to promote and practice happy, jubilant, and exultant church music. This

is in order that, as much as is possible for each person in this imperfect state, the will of God may be done on earth as in heaven. If one desires to join hereafter with the joyous angelic and heavenly music in the joy of heaven, then one must strive already here to praise God in the church as well as one can and to serve him with joy. It is true that it is impossible to make everyone into a musician, because there are many who are not capable of this; still, Christian obligation demands of each Christian that he praise and exalt God with all his strength of body and mind and spread God's honor abroad. From this it proceeds naturally that in youth one should become accustomed through time to learning as much of this lovely and great art as one can grasp; one should practice diligently under the instruction of faithful music teachers and keep alternating this at the proper time with other activities that are also to be observed. Whoever does this shows thereby that he is no brute but rather desires to praise God with his gracious gift of music and to respect and use it for the sake of the Giver, keeping in mind that the will of God must be observed in this also as much as possible.

[See additional comment §2, page 49.]

Par. 5

How much misery, danger and distress, how many crosses must we unfortunately endure on this earth? How often must we groan about these and bring our troubles humbly to God with mournful sounding music and singing? But when we are released from our spiritual or physical tribulations, we do what is right and pleasing to God if we offer him heartfelt thanks and let the resulting inward joy spring forth and be expressed in many good kinds of ways outwardly through singing and making music, as Sirach 40:20 reminds us. Not only is God praised thereby but my neighbor also receives edifying encouragement for joy in the Lord so that he too is all the more stimulated to thank God with joy, as well as he can, for the benefits he has received. Who has a greater cause to rejoice over the great salvation in Christ and his favors than the believers of the New Testament? Jesus says in John 16: "Your heart shall rejoice and no one will take your joy from you." The stronger the faith, then, the more fervent and heartfelt is the inward joy. When the heart is full, the mouth overflows,¹⁰⁵ singing and speaking thereof. Indeed, even the hands and feet of Christians who are used to handling the organ artfully and completing a good improvised fantasy on the words of a hymn often make the joy of the souls concerning God and his gifts powerfully recognizable with joyful-sounding harmonies, leaps and modulations on that instrument. This can also be experienced through a well-composed piece of figural music and its skillful, unaffected execution. Everything good that is brought forth and presented to the hearing by capable ecclesiastical musicians who love God and his Word should flow not solely from art but also from an upright heart if it is to move fellow Christians to joy in God and to fervent devotion. In this way it produces so much greater an effect in the heart of the listeners than otherwise happens. As the wonderful and true proverb states, "What comes from the heart, returns back to the heart."

[See additional comment §3, page 49.]

Par. 6

In 2 Samuel 6:5 we read how heartily the kingly prophet David rejoiced when he got the ark of the covenant back from the hands of the Philistines. There it is stated expressly, "David and the whole house of Israel played before the Lord with all kinds of string instruments, etc." Again in verse 14 it reads, "And David danced (or leaped) with all his might before the Lord." Further in verse 15 it says, "And David along with all Israel led the ark of the Lord up with jubilation and trumpets." If then David leaped and shouted with all his might before the Lord, without doubt he also witnessed to the joy of his heart outwardly with fast-moving and joyful, frolicking melodies and harmonies on his stringed instrument. For Holy Scripture says of him in I Samuel 16:18¹⁰⁶ that he was skillful in playing and sensible in speech. He commands through God's urging that strings be played skillfully with a loud sound (Ps. 33:3), that all peoples rejoice with their hands and shout to God with a glad sound, serve the Lord with joy and come into his presence with rejoicing (Ps. 100:1-2). "Sing joyously to God, who is our strength; shout for joy to the God of Jacob," it reads at the beginning of Psalm 81. And in Psalm 33: "Rejoice in the Lord, you righteous." Our Savior encourages his dear faithful especially when he says to them in the Gospel of Luke 6:23: "Rejoice and leap for joy, for behold, your reward is great in heaven." Further, we are reminded of the beautiful and lovely worship of God also in Ps. 27:4, Ps. 147:1, Ps. 150:4-6, Paul's letter to the Colossians 3:16 and more places in Holy Scripture.

[See additional comment §4, page 50.]

Unfortunately there are mean-spirited people who amuse themselves and make fun of today's solemn, well-tempered rejoicing and shouting for joy in our church music pieces; they do not want to listen to it for the purpose of deriving joyful devotion concerning God's grace and blessings, much less to be reminded of the joy of eternal life. Instead they wrest from this a reminder of their worldly desire that they are accustomed to abusing sinfully like spiders that suck delightful juice from sweet flowers and afterward turn it into poison. Such ill-mannered scoffers may fairly be compared to Michal, the daughter of King Saul, who scorned David in her heart and was disdainful when his inward joy in the Lord broke out into outward leaping and harp playing, as we read in 1 Chron. 15:29¹⁰⁷ and 2 Samuel 6:16 and 20. David, however, paid no attention to this but kept to his good intention to play and take delight before the Lord. Look at the 21st verse of the last chapter cited. Accordingly, all upright, competent and Christian-minded church musicians are not to pay attention to the scorn and twisted judgment of vicious listeners and must not let themselves be deterred by them, because they are assured in their conscience that they are respecting the command of God: they happily sing and play as well as they can with the heartfelt intention of promoting their own joyous devotion, as well as that of listeners

who are favorably disposed, together with the indispensable assistance of God the Holy Spirit.

[See additional comment §5, page 50.]

Upright and competent composers also know to keep within bounds and make a distinction between the style of dancing or leaping that the world uses for wantonness and one by which the human heart can be stimulated to godly matters and made ardent and exultant. In the end everything is pure to the pure. Therefore, in so far as possible, they make use of everything for good, and the good that they do not understand or grasp, they do not for that reason criticize, because they think to themselves that it serves a greater use for others who have an understanding of it. In whatever manner they are brought to devotion, they always think of it fondly. If now and then they do not understand every word that is performed (just as one cannot hear and understand all sermons word for word), nevertheless they receive such wonderful encouragement to cheerful devotion from such happy and jubilant music that a powerful foretaste and reminder of the joy of eternal life or of heavenly music overtakes them, and they proceed to sing and speak thus from the depths of their hearts:

When in my troubles I pray and sing,
 then my heart is filled with good things.
 Your spirit confirms that this is truly
 A foretaste of eternal life.¹⁰⁸

Driven by the Holy Spirit, they urge each other toward joy in the Lord, and they challenge one another to use the musical gifts they have received, e.g., with the well-known hymn verse:

Pluck the strings on the harp
 And let the sweet music
 Most joyously resound!
 Let me with dear Jesus,
 My beautiful bridegroom,
 Well up in constant love.
 Sing, leap,
 Exult, triumph, give thanks to the Lord!
 Great is the King of Glory!¹⁰⁹

Or like David in Psalm 98:¹¹⁰ “Sing to the Lord a new song, for he does marvelous things” (vs. 1). And further in verse 6 & 7: “Shout for joy to the Lord, all the earth; sing, exalt and praise. Praise the Lord with the harp, with harp and with psalms. With trumpets and horns make a joyful noise before the Lord, the King.” Or with Psalm 150:4: “Praise him with timbrel and dance; praise him with strings and pipes.”

[See additional comment §6, page 50.]

Par. 7

When we strive, consequently, with the help of God the Holy Spirit, to arrange church music according to the best art and cause it to be heard in a holy, comprehensible, and pleasing manner appropriate to the moment—sometimes humble and serious, sometimes happy and jubilant—, we can, in listening to it, attain a better and stronger foretaste of the eternal joyous music of heaven. Through the unpretentious musical presentations of holy affections that flow from the heart, one draws near to angelic and heavenly music, for thereby a fervent longing is already kindled here on earth for the blessed contemplation of God, for the fullness and source of joy, and for the eternal precious being who is at God's right hand. Therefore all well-arranged godly musical performances aimed at elevating devotion may with good justification be called **preludes to eternal joy**. Whoever truly fears and loves God, then, will surely consider, following Matt. 25:15 and I Peter 4:11, how far his ability stretches to increase the praise of God with singing, playing, and making music in the church; or he will also weigh how much of his temporal goods he can contribute toward promoting and maintaining the glorious, beautiful, lovely, and devotional worship of God (Ps. 27:4). If he then has diligently deliberated with such considerations, he will actually also attest thereafter that he sincerely loves the commands of God concerning church music and strives freely with gladness to carry them out and pursue them as much as possible in this mortal life. He will pay no attention to the distorted judgment of mean-spirited people on this matter but will take comfort in his own conscience that reassures him that his good works proceed from sincere faith in Christ, which alone can save, and from the true love of God and neighbor.

[See additional comment §7, page 51.]

With this I come to the conclusion of this little work and beseech all upright lovers of the Word of God, and of the vocal and instrumental music that is linked to it, that they not wane in their zeal and their laudable Christian resolve to spread the praise of God more and more through music and to assist in doing this for the sake of the cross and adversity; instead, let them continue faithfully to apply all that they can to the defense of God's honor against the wicked world. In childlike fear of God, consider and keep in your hearts the admonition of the holy apostle James in his epistle, ch. 4, v. 17, "Whoever knows what is right to do and does not do it, for him it is sin." May God grant his continued blessing and grace for his name's sake. May he listen to all who sigh thus from their hearts:

Thy will be done the same, Lord God,
On earth as in thy high abode
In pain give patience for relief,
Obedience in love and grief;

All flesh and blood keep off and check
That 'gainst thy will makes a stiff neck.¹¹¹

May we all exalt and praise God and rejoice in him all the days of our life, here
and in the eternal kingdom of joy.

O sweet delight of heaven!
Happy is the one who knows you.
If we taste just a little drop
We can be refreshed;
How great will be our joy
When we drink of the full stream!¹¹²

SOLI DEO GLORIA

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS¹¹³

§1. Skillful and accurate execution of church music pieces was advised on pages 3 and 18 [ch.1, par. 4 and ch. 4, par. 7], which is an occasion for this reminder. An accurate performance and direction of a good sacred work depends greatly on the sound judgment and authority of the director. For if this person has solid knowledge of good compositions, he will regulate the fast and slow tempos in all sections of the work to be performed. Also, before starting the music, he will distribute the parts judiciously according to the capabilities of the musicians. Sufficient authority also is required, for otherwise many disagreements and annoyances would be inevitable.

§2. To p. 44 [ch. 7, par. 4]. “Young people,” says Luther on p. 570 of the Altenburg edition, vol. [8],¹¹⁴ “should and must be educated in music and other proper arts.” One can indeed learn as much thereof as one’s natural disposition is able to grasp and other circumstances allow. And, expressing my humble opinion about this, the start could be made with the easiest and simplest melodies of church hymns, using an instrument with fixed and pure tuning, e.g., a clavichord, positive, etc., in order that in singing the tones be pitched properly one after another and not sink with the voice in the absence of an instrument, missing the proper tone and thus falling into complete confusion. If it is found, however, that one or more persons have made such outstanding gains in vocal, organ, or instrumental music that there is hope that they could be capable of making a profession of one part or another of such a large musical discipline, then Christian duty demands that they be spurred on more and more to continue this study, be warned against misuse, and shown its proper beneficial use for the glory of God. God wants to have competent people to make this a profession and excel above others therein with fine gifts (which God truly did not impart to them in vain). This we can know because he distributed musical gifts so marvelously, giving one person fewer but another many and more excellent gifts. Surely it is also the case that we cannot all do everything.

§3. To p. 45 [ch. 7, par. 5]. If God’s Spirit guides the heart and art of church musicians, so that they present a conformity between music and cheerful words that penetrates to the heart, then a well-intentioned Christian listener will without doubt experience his innocent, edifying pleasure at such powerful music. I say “his innocent and edifying pleasure” because he is not impeded by such cheerful music-making in the understanding of the text, as some allege, but is led to it and very much drawn to an uplifting reflection on the words. In this way he does not let it rest with entertainment and stimulation for the ears only. Just as when a person hears that other good friends, who are at some distance, are in a jovial conversation and show themselves happy through their voices, he also becomes cheerful and aroused thereby to listen to what it is that they are happy about in order that he may take part fully in their joy.

§4. To p. 46 [ch.7, par. 6]. Christian-minded church musicians, whatever rank they hold, all have good cause to beseech God from the heart, whenever they are preparing to carry out their office and whenever they are actually doing so, to send his blessing down on them from above in order that the whole congregation be moved to fervent devotion through their singing and playing.

§5. To p. 47 [ch. 7, par. 6]. In this connection the contrary must be noted, that many a godless person comes to church solely because of the uplifting music and it turns out so marvelously that he is first moved by the lovely melodies and harmonies as well as by the spiritual words included therein, and then he is converted by the powerful sermon on the law that follows (which he inevitably must listen to). I remember reading in one place in blessed Christian Scriver's *Seelen-Schatz*¹¹⁵ that a reprobate person who did not want to convert was led by god-fearing people one night under the open sky; by regarding the brightly shining stars he was guided to consideration of the unfathomable wisdom of God and thereupon was moved to repent. Thereafter he was always observed to be living a Christian life. In the *Sing= und Siegs B*, part II, p. 89f., of the same Mr. Scriver¹¹⁶ one finds the detailed account of the episode when a Jewish woman was moved by the lovely sounding morning hymn, "God of heaven and earth" ["Gott des Himmels und der Erden"], which she had heard a Christian journeyman singing devoutly and pleasantly; she had herself instructed in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus, which also bore so much fruit that she, disregarding all persecution from her relatives, nevertheless let herself be incorporated through baptism into the Lord Jesus and his holy communion. Thereafter she too, as is reported with certainty, remained steadfast in her holy baptismal covenant. See Th. Schmidt's *Geschichte/ so sich über das Lutherische Gesang=Buch zugetragen*, p. 596ff. Cf. p. 24 above.¹¹⁷

§6. To p. 48 [ch.7, par. 6]. Abuse is unfortunately found in all classes and thus also in much music. But if required, it would be easy to demonstrate with sufficient evidence that today's skillful composers and upstanding virtuosos apply their flourishes and coloratura to the words with precision in such a way that devotion is fostered intensely. The instruments must alternate well with the singing voices and then join together again. Excessive mannerisms that are all too frequent in singing or playing will be avoided, and no break, or just a small one, will occur in the meaning of the text. It is another matter when some singers are not capable of expressing the words clearly and strongly enough in singing. Upstanding virtuosos and organists who are well versed in composition also know how to alternate their fugues and variations properly with the simple chorale melody; before or after the prelude that squares well with the words of the hymn, they do not neglect the simple playing of the basic chorale melody. In this way the devotion of a simple listener as well as one of more refined hearing can be furthered pleasurably. Yet this is not to deny that even listeners who have not

learned anything more about music than the simple church hymns can be unknowingly affected by the beautiful variations of organ and figural music, which I have shown in sections 4 and 9 of the 5th chapter of this short treatise.

§7. To p. 49 [ch.7, par. 7]. When David says in Psalm 98, “Sing to the Lord a new song,” the theologians understand by this not only the new gospel or the joyous message of Christ but also new tunes. They include in this all well-written new sacred musical works and melodies that are already in use or that may yet be conceived through the grace of God and that deal with the holy gospel together with other passages of Holy Scripture. Was not King David “the sweet psalmist of Israel”? (II Samuel 23:1) Indeed, this man after the heart of God was without doubt diligent in inventing new melodies and sacred works, for the wise teacher Sirach gives him in ch. 47, v. 9¹¹⁸ the excellent testimony that before every action he gave thanks to the Highest with a lovely song. *Omnis variatio, quæ bona, delectat, & Deo grata est, si ad laudem eius & ædificationem proximi rectè dirigatur.* [Every good variation delights and is pleasing to God if it is properly directed toward praise of him and edification of the neighbor.]

§8. To p. 29.¹¹⁹ **Sensuality** (*Wollust*) is first to be taken with a positive meaning as the respectable and moderate entertainment of the spirit (*Belustigung des Gemüths*) that one encounters among virtuous people. Second is the negative meaning as a disorderly and insatiable entertainment chosen mainly by dissolute people. It is necessary to include here this double meaning, which applies to all internal and external senses, because there are people who consider all sensuality to be dissolute, imagining that they see the splinter in their neighbor's eye but are not aware of the beam in their own.

§9. To p. 63.¹²⁰ The devil can also to a certain extent endure a piece of music that is in itself pleasant as long as, like wheat, it is thoroughly mixed up with the tares of misuse:¹²¹ for example, when a spiritual text strewn with harmful heretical teachings is set to pleasing music; or when the text of a drinking song is set to the melody of a church hymn. Satan likes such things simply because music that in itself is good is misused in a sinful way and shamefully defiled. May God protect every upright Christian, however, as in everything, so also especially against such abuse of beloved music.

§10. To page 30 [ch. 5, par. 12]. Figural music is divided into three sectors, namely organ, vocal, and instrumental music. While the many kinds of invented artistic devices of notes, beats, etc., are common to all three, nevertheless figural music is above all complete when all these three—vocal, organ, and instrumental parts—sound together as one body at the same time.

§11. To pages 33 & 34 [ch.5, par. 13]. For leading and maintaining orderly and good-sounding choral singing, the following is needed:

1. A strong-sounding organ equipped with many voices that can be drawn to play along either loudly or softly after the congregation has gathered either in greater or lesser numbers.

2. Well-instructed singing-school pupils whose hearing has been sharpened by means of a musical instrument with fixed tuning so that they can sing the church hymns correctly according to choir and organ pitch.¹²²

3. An ear with good attention to choir or organ pitch in each of the hymns that one has learned to sing in tender youth. This is not lightly neglected by hearts that love order, since they are mindful of the admonition from the Apostle to the Philippians (1:11) and to the Hebrews (10:24) that we must discern for ourselves how to urge one another to love and all good works that happen in Christ Jesus to the honor and praise of God. In consideration now that God is a God of order and unity (I Cor. 14:33, 40), it is not irksome but pleasing to them to follow a unison melody when singing along with the choir and organ, since they often intentionally stop at the end of a line until the choir or organ provides a new reminder of the pitch that is to be resumed, as I have heard with pleasure from various large congregations and have found profitable in my devotion.

There are other matters that I intentionally omit here.

§ 12 To page 34 [ch. 5, §14]. It is irresponsible and unfair, however, when, as happened in a place not far from here, a good organist is caused to be so piqued at reductions of his salary and incidental fees that he is forced to scratch and scrape together his subsistence with far too many worries. As a result, such a musician, lacking desire and creativity, causes annoyance to himself and to many listeners by the same old slog almost every Sunday, because they seldom notice much variety in his playing.

§ 13 to p. 15 [ch. 4, par. 3]. Everyone who distinguishes between virtues of the intellect and virtues of the will can easily observe that what is meant here is a good mind and not the innate will. I would add this: because the mind of a music-lover who was previously uninformed about music is awakened and all the more sharpened by receiving sufficient information and practicing diligently himself, one can with good reason say what blessed Dr. Luther said in his *Table Talk*: “youth should be constantly familiarized with this art, for it produces refined, skillful people.”¹²³

§ 14 to page 24 [ch. 5, par. 6]. Here the abuse of musical poetry is rightly contrasted with virtuous cantatas and arias that carry an honorable declaration of love or congratulations and also with innocent and wittily written comic arias by which a person may at the same time be taught an edifying moral lesson. Honorable music lovers are also well aware how pleasantly the hearing is affected by good sonatas, overtures, and suites composed for keyboard and other instru-

ments, as a result of which many sorts of good effects are brought about for the spirit. See above, ch. 5, par. 4.

§ 15 to page 31 [ch. 5, par. 12]. This is an occasion to be reminded that one should not let oneself be disturbed in devotions by careless and always fast-driving performers¹²⁴ who are more than ready to let a happy-sounding prelude be heard before a penitential hymn. Just as incongruous is when one plays the prelude to a joyous hymn so slowly it sounds as if he had lead in his fingers. There is no need to prove that such things run contrary to the preparation and promotion of devotion.

Part I Notes

¹ The German here is “Wachet auf!”, a clear allusion to the well known hymn by Philip Nicolai.

² The full quotation reads, “But this I must say, the Performances of this kind are much too fine for the Place. ’Twere to be wished that either the Plays were better, or the Musick worse. I’m sorry to see Art so meanly Prostituted: Atheism ought to have nothing Charming in its Retinue. ’Tis great Pity Debauchery should have the Assistance of a fine Hand, to whet the Appetite, and play it down.” Jeremy Collier, *A Short View of the Immortality and Profaneness of the English Stage*, 2nd ed. (London: Keble, 1698), 278. Whether Mattheson used an edition where the citation appeared on page 276, or whether he meant to cite 278, I have not been able to determine.

³ Literally, “civilly dead,” i.e., dead in the eyes of the law; a legal term indicating the outlaw status of a person who has committed a felony and thus lost his civil rights.

⁴ Mattheson may be referring here to the Collegium Musicum of Hamburg, founded by Matthias Weckmann in 1660. See John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution, 1650–1815* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 239–242.

⁵ “Dunkel muss nicht kommen drein” (literally, “darkness must not come in”) is stanza 7, line 4 of “Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland,” Luther’s paraphrase of the 4th-century hymn “Veni, redemptor gentium” by Ambrose, bishop of Milan. The English translation is by William Morton Reynolds (1812–76) and appears in the fourth verse as published in *The Presbyterian Hymnal: Hymns, Psalms, and Spiritual Songs* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990), no. 14.

⁶ In these last two sentences, Mattheson is playing with the Latin proverb *Ne sutor supra* (or *ultra crepidam*, which corresponds to the English saying, “Let the cobbler stick to his last.” Mattheson’s reference to a painting is an allusion to the story told by Pliny where a shoemaker had approached a painter to point out a defect in the artist’s rendition of a sandal (*crepida*). After the artist accepted this correction, the shoemaker was emboldened to make other suggestions to improve the painting, leading the artist to respond, *ne super crepidam sutor iudicaret* (a shoemaker in his criticism must not go beyond the sandal), meaning people should not make judgments beyond their expertise. See Book 35, section 85 of Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952), IX, 322–325.

⁷ Jean Pierre de Crousaz, *Traité Du Beau: Où l'on montre en quoi consiste ce que l'on nomme ainsi, par des Exemples tirez de la plupart des Arts & des Sciences* (Amsterdam: L'Honoré, 1715), 171.

⁸ The *Exhortation to the Greeks* was long attributed to Justin Martyr, though its authenticity was questioned as early as the seventeenth century. Recently, Marcellus of Ancyra (c. 280–c. 374) has been suggested as its author by Christoph Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?) Ad Graecos de Vera Religione* (bisher “*Cohortio ad Graecos*”) (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1994). The Latin translation by Johann Lange was published among Justin's *Opera* in Basel in 1565. An English translation is found in Thomas B. Falls, *Saint Justin Martyr, The Fathers of the Church VI* (New York: Christian Heritage, 1948).

⁹ Marcus Meibom, *Gaudentii, Philosophi, Introductio Harmonica*, 1. This work is part of Meibom's major work, *Antiquæ mvsicæ avctores septem. Græce et latine* (Amsterdam: Elzevier, 1652). For more on Gaudentius, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 498–508.

¹⁰ In ancient mythology, Antaeus was a giant, the son of Poseidon and Ge, who challenged all who came through his territory to wrestle with him and spared them no mercy. He was said to have built a temple to Poseidon out of the skulls of those defeated. He met his match in Hercules, however; the two struggled mightily until Antaeus dropped to the ground, but then he regained his strength. After this happened more than once, Hercules realized that it was the earth that was providing Antaeus his strength, and he held him aloft long enough to defeat him. The story was applied by some to mean that the vices of greed arising from the earth and the flesh have to be fought with lengthy and difficult struggles. Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses Vollständiges Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Leipzig and Halle, 1732–50; online version: <http://www.zedler-lexikon.de/>), 2: 260.

¹¹ As Mattheson indicates, the word *Reventher* originally referred to the refectory of a cloister, but by his time this was the designation specific to Hamburg for a large room in which public gatherings were held. Elsewhere the word *Rempter* was used, according to Johann Georg Bock in *Idioticon Prussicum: oder Entwurf eines Preußischen Wörterbuches* (Königsberg: Woltersdorf, 1759), 50. In the early 18th century, many concerts, including the *Brockes Passion* settings of Telemann and Händel were held in the Reventher of the Hamburg Dom (Cathedral).

¹² *Neue Bibliothec Oder Nachricht und Urtheile von neuen Büchern Und allerhand zur Gelehrsamkeit dienenden Sachen*, 42nd piece (Frankfurt, 1715), 99–100. This is a review of Lampe's work just cited; the quote attributed to Lampe is on p. 99 just prior to the reviewer's critique. Concerning the reviewer, it is stated that “this whole article was submitted to us by an outside source (‘von fremder Hand’),” p. 95.

¹³ Balthasar Meisner, *Collegii Adiphoristici Calvinianis oppositi* (Wittenberg: Gormann, 1620). The text gives *Disp. II* but can only mean *Disp. XI: De Festis et Lectionibus Dominicalibus, de Musica Figurali, et Organis*. The section on music begins with paragraph 72 but continues through paragraph 84. Meisner's work was important in shaping the Lutheran insistence on the necessity of music in worship.

¹⁴ Heinrich Pipping's *Dissertatio-Historico-Theologica De Saule per Musicam Curato* appeared in more than one edition after its initial publication in 1688. The exact reference cited here (“p.m. 62. fl.”) is unclear, but in each edition the last section, or *porisma*, ad-

dresses the Calvinist objections to instrumental music. In the second edition (Wittenberg: Schrödter, 1699), this is pages 65–68.

¹⁵ In a treatment of Anglican controversies, Francis Bacon raised the question of how to sing psalms, taking the position that all things should be done for edification. He considered elaborate music inappropriate: “Those things which expert and ambitious musicians introduced have no connection with the reasonable worship of God but were added in those times when Christians were striving for ostentation.” Francis Bacon, “Notae in controversias Anglicanae,” *Opera omnia, cum Novo eoque insigni Augmento Tractatum hactenus ineditorum, & ex Idiomatico Anglicano in Latinum Sermonem translatorum* (Leipzig: Erythropilus, 1694), col. 1399.

¹⁶ An allusion to Philippians 1:21: “For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain.”

¹⁷ Johann Rosenmüller (1619–84) was one of the most popular composers of sacred music in his day. His hymn, *Welt, ade, ich bin dein müde*, was used by J. S. Bach in Cantata 27, *Wer weiss, wie nahe mir mein Ende*. Raupach is probably referring here to Rosenmüller’s expressive setting of Latin texts from the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

¹⁸ A quotation from Juvenal’s *Satires*, XIV, 34–35, “quibus arte benigna et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan.” See the full sentence in *Juvenal and Persius*, ed. and trans. Susanna Morton Braund (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004), 461: “One or other young man may reject this behaviour, if his heart is fashioned by the Titan with generous skill from a superior clay.” The reference is to a creation story according to which Prometheus made humans from clay. Juvenal’s comment follows examples of children learning bad behavior from their parents.

¹⁹ A citation of Job 1:21, except that the verse does not include the concluding phrase, “forever and eternally” (“immer und ewiglich”).

²⁰ An allusion to Psalm 116:15: “Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints” (KJV).

²¹ The *Tractatus de interiori Domo* was included among the inauthentic works of Bernard of Clairvaux in PL 184: 507–552. The passage cited is found in ch. 28, par. 59, col. 557.

²² Diogenes of Sinope, ancient Greek Cynic philosopher, was said to have lit a lantern in broad daylight to go about searching for an honest man.

²³ An allusion to II Cor. 4:7: “But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us” (KJV).

²⁴ Marcellus Palingenius, *Zodiacus vitae* (Basel: Bryling, 1557), 195: Et placeat cognata fami dulcissima fama.

²⁵ This phrase was used in ethics and moral philosophy to encourage reflection on one’s motivation and life goals. Mattheson could have encountered it from a sermon published in the previous century by the pastor of St. Nicolai in Hamburg: Nicolaus Hardkopf, *Dic, cur hic! Das ist/ Bedencke O Mensch/ wozu du geboren und in die Welt gekommen seyst/ als nemlich Gott zu preisen: Nach dem ewigen Leben zu trachten/ und in deinem Beruff Gott treulich zu dienen* [Say why you are here! That is, Consider, O Man, Why you Were Born and Came into the World: Namely to Praise God, to Strive for Eternal Life and to Serve God Faithfully in Your Calling] (Hamburg: Hering, 1628).

²⁶ The title of his *Beschützte Orchestre* as given here was different in some minor points of wording from the title page of the printed book, which did appear in 1717. The play on words which is impossible to render in English is a reference to Buttstedt’s claim to present *tota musica*, which Mattheson regards as *todte Musica*.

²⁷ While favoring music in church, Selnecker’s position was stated rather moderately, as he did not choose to debate those who chose an allegorical approach to music. Nikolaus

Selnecker, *Das Dritt Buch und Letzte Theil des Psalter Davids* (Nürnberg: Heußler, 1566), fol. 54: "Und wir dürffen hie kein allegoriam/ Was Harpffen oder Psalter bedeute. Denn wiewol bey den Christen das Evangelium mit sampt den Sacramenten / Seitenspiel genug ist/ so lassen wir doch die schöne Musicam bey iren ehren billich in der Kirchen bleiben/ und wöllen allhie mit den Stoicis nicht disputieren / welche alle Musicam verachten. So aber jemandt des Clementis Alexandrini außlegung uber diese wort behalten wil / der mag es one gefahr wol thun."

²⁸ Andreas Werckmeister, *Der Edlen Music-Kunst Würde/ Gebrauch und Mißbrauch* (Frankfurt: Calvisius, 1691), 3. Werckmeister strengthens Selnecker's position, changing Selnecker's wording from "we let music remain" to "music must be retained": "Wir dürffen keine allegoriam, die Music muß bey dem Gottesdienste behalten werden." Raupach takes the quote from Werckmeister, not from the original.

²⁹ Erroneously 2 Peter 1 v. 31 in the printed text.

³⁰ The word *Nachfolge* translated here as "imitation" does not appear in the biblical citation.

³¹ The term "choral" for German writers of the early modern period referred to unison singing of unmetered chants or hymns by choir and congregation. The term was contrasted with "figural," which designated metered music with multiple parts moving independently, whether of voices or instruments or a combination.

³² Desiderius Erasmus, *In Novum Testamentum Annotationes* (Basel: Froben, 1535), 102 on Matthew 26:30: "Cum dixissent, sive cecinissent laudes, ut intelligas apostolos dixisse hymnos non tantum Christum." Erasmus' emphasis here is that all the disciples, not just Jesus, sang the hymn.

³³ The reference in the text is Sirach 43:32, which is the versification according to Luther's Bible.

³⁴ Clement of Alexandria, "Paedagogus," II, iv. James McKinnon, in *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 33, comments that this oft-quoted passage contradicts other statements by Clement and concludes that this passage should be understood allegorically. In his *Protrepticus*, Clement had singled out the lyre and cithara as "lifeless instruments." Interestingly, Raupach's translation generalizes the quotation to include all musical instruments, perhaps because cithara and lyre were not relevant to his circumstances. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, trans. Simon P. Wood (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1954), 132: "This Eucharistic feast of ours is completely innocent, even if we desire to sing at it, or to chant psalm to the lyre or lute. Imitate the holy Hebrew king in his thanksgiving to God."

³⁵ Salomon Gesner, *Meditatio Generalis Psalterii* (Wittenberg: Meissner, 1597), 475. The Justin source, which Gesner cites in Greek and then translates into Latin, is now thought to have been by Theodoret of Cyrus. See McKinnon, *op. cit.*, 107. As Robin Leaver points out in *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2007), 286–87 and 338–39, the original meaning of the text was misinterpreted by some Lutherans, perhaps because of a transcription error, as providing support for instrumental music. Other Lutherans, however, knew that the source was not authentic and used that knowledge to reject Calvinist arguments against instrumental music. See Irwin, *Neither Heart nor Voice Alone*, 60.

³⁶ Conrad Tiburtius Rango wrote a preface to the 1675 Stettin edition of Johann Crüger's *Praxis pietatis melica*, a hymnal which was published numerous times in numerous locations.

³⁷ Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315–367) in his *Instructio psalmodum*, 19. See McKinnon, *op. cit.*, 124. Cf. par. 75 in *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*.

³⁸ Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650; reprint: Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970), 561. This part of the book has numerous printing errors, resulting in two pages numbered 561 and two chapters labelled “Caput III” of Book VII. The chapter with this quotation is entitled “Quomodò Psalmus, Canticum, hymnus differant.”

³⁹ The edition available to me was edited by Johann Olearius: Fridericus Balduinus, *Commentarius in Omnes Epistolas Beati Apostoli Pauli* (Frankfurt: Wust, 1691), in which Question IV to 1 Cor. 14 appears on 498–499. Balduinus was answering the objections of Pareus, whom he calls an ἀμουσόν, who had expressed the Reformed position that instruments were used to indulge the weakness of the Hebrews but are not appropriate to spiritual worship.

⁴⁰ Georg Pasor, *Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum*, 6th ed. (Herborn: [s.n.], 1654), 717.

⁴¹ Hector Mithobius, *Psalmodia christiana* (Jena: Berger, 1665).

⁴² Gesner, *op. cit.* The original is given in Greek by Gesner and then translated into Latin. For Raupach to read it as applying to instrumental as well as vocal music depends on his understanding of the word ψαλμώδία as a composite term. Gesner’s heading “Psalmorum cantatio,” however, clearly puts the emphasis on singing.

⁴³ WA TR I: 490 (no. 968, line 41).

⁴⁴ On Ludwig Senfl and his relationship to Luther, see Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 49–54. Leaver also provides on p. 65 the translation of this passage from Luther’s letter to Senfl from the American edition of Luther’s works (LW 49:427–428) and in the footnote on p. 373 the Latin from the Weimar edition (WA BR 5:639). It may be seen that Raupach’s Latin version differs somewhat from the critical edition; my translation is based on his German version.

⁴⁵ Raupach follows Johann Walter’s translation of Luther’s preface to *Symphoniae jucundae* as given in WA 50:371 except that the phrase “damit bey der Kirchen die Musica allezeit bleiben solte” is not found in the Weimar edition.

⁴⁶ The parenthetical “only” is an addition by Raupach, obviously intended to bring Augustine into alignment with the Lutheran position. Luther had recognized that Augustine had qualms about the sensual appeal of music, but he thought that if Augustine had “lived in our century, he would be of our opinion” (WA TR 4:313, no. 4441). After Luther, defenders of church music selected only those portions of Augustine’s *Confessions* that were favorable to music.

⁴⁷ Augustine, *Confessions*, Bk. 10, ch. 33, cited in McKinnon, *op. cit.*, 155.

⁴⁸ *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, trans. Rex Warner (New York: Mentor-Omega, 1963), 193–194 (Bk. 9, ch. 6).

⁴⁹ This is a clear case of selective citation. In context, Augustine’s position is ambivalent: “So I fluctuate between the danger of pleasure and my experience of the good that can be done. I am inclined on the whole (though I do not regard this opinion as irrevocable) to be in favor of the practice of singing in church, so that by means of the delight in hearing the weaker minds may be roused to a feeling of devotion” (Warner translation, 242–243).

⁵⁰ Joseph Hall, *Susurrium cum Deo soliloqvies, or, Holy self-conferences of the devout soul upon sundry choice occasions* (London: Hunt, 1651), Soliloquy LXXVI, pp. 281–285.

⁵¹ Again Raupach inserts a parenthetical commentary that unjustifiably expands the meaning of the original.

⁵² Basil the Great, *Homilia in psalmum* as translated in McKinnon, *op. cit.*, 65.

⁵³ Andreas Werckmeister, *Harmonologia Musica Oder Kurtze Anleitung zur Musicalischen Composition* (Frankfurt: Calvisius, 1702), dedicatory preface.

⁵⁴ Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Historische Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Kling-Kunst* (Dresden: Mieth, 1690), 192. The sentence naming the trades and their songs is an exact quote from Printz, but there is no reference to Aristophanes or Callimachus in this context.

⁵⁵ Thomas Schmidt, *Historica et memorabilia d. i. Merckwürdige Sachen und Geschichte so sich über das Lutherische Gesang-Buch Und dessen meisten Lieder und Versicul begeben und zugetragen* (Altenburg: Richter, 1707), 37; Matthaeus Hammer, *Rosetum Historiarum. Das ist: Historischer Rosen-Garten* (Zwickau: Gögner, 1657), 73. In the context of this quotation, Hammer credits John of Damascus with inventing musical notations and rules as well as writing melodies. Schmidt derives his material from Hammer in this point.

⁵⁶ Musaeus was a legendary figure of ancient Athens known as a poet, singer, healer, and source of oracles. His name was often associated with that of Orpheus.

⁵⁷ Laurentz Schröder the Elder, *Ein nützliches Tractätlein vom Lobe Gottes oder der Hertzzerfrewenden Musica* (Copenhagen: Martzan, 1639). The first portion of Raupach's paragraph is a direct citation from p. 157 and the ending section is from p. 127 of Schröder's work.

⁵⁸ See McKinnon, 140–141.

⁵⁹ Cf. the excerpt from St. John Chrysostom's "Exposition of Psalm XLI" in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1965), 67–70.

⁶⁰ Thomas Schmidt, *Historica et memorabilia*, 141.

⁶¹ Misander [Peter Paul Nitzschka/ Johann Samuel Adami], *Deliciae Historicæ; Oder: Historische Ergötzlichkeiten* (Dresden: Mieth, 1698).

⁶² Athanasius Kircher, *Neue Hall- und Thon-Kunst, Oder Mechanische Geheim-Verbindung der Kunst und Natur/ durch Stimme und Hall-Wissenschaft gestiftet* (Elwangen: Heylen, 1684), 127. Raupach cites the Latin title, *Phonurgia Nova*, which was published in 1673, but the page number indicates that he used the German translation. Gaspar Schott, *Magia universalis naturæ et artis, sive, Recondita naturalium & artificialium rerum scientia* (Würzburg: Schönwetter, 1657–59).

⁶³ The text has "wider Wissen" (against knowledge), but I regard this as a printing error for "wider Willen" (against will), a more common phrase in German and one that makes more sense in context.

⁶⁴ The Latin words *honestum*, *decorum*, and *utile* appear here, which are important concepts in Cicero's *De Officiis*, but with the nonspecific phrase "aus der Ethica," Raupach seems to be making a more general reference to the moral philosophy of his day.

⁶⁵ Augustine, "On Music," trans. Robert C. Taliaferro in *Writings of Saint Augustine* in *Fathers of the Church*, Vol. 4 (New York: CIMA Publishing, 1947), II: 203. Latin text in PL 32:1081–1100.

⁶⁶ Agostino Steffani, *Sendschreiben darinn enthalten, wie grosse Gewissheit die Music aus ihren Principien und Grundsätzen habe*, trans. Andreas Werckmeister (Quedlinburg: Struntz, 1700).

⁶⁷ Marsilio Ficino, *Opera Omnia* (Basil [d.?]; reprint Torino: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1959), II/1, 1492: "Hæc quidem omnia ita in civitate composita esse debent, ut omni

perturbationum vitiorumque incitamento sublato corpus, & spiritum animumque contemperent.”

⁶⁸ WA 50: 371.

⁶⁹ WA TR 4: 490 (no. 968, lines 6–8).

⁷⁰ These stories and others to follow were commonly cited in treatments of the efficacy of music. While I have endeavored to document the ancient sources, it is unlikely that Raupach was reading them directly. He may well have used Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, 1: 204–205, or other readily available synopses.

⁷¹ Alessandro Alessandri (1461–1523) was a lawyer in Naples who turned his attention toward antiquities and published his *Alexandri Ab Alexandro Genialium Dierum Libri Sex* in Rome in 1522. It was republished with added commentaries several times over the next two centuries in different countries. In Book IV, ch. 2, he distinguishes the differing musical practices of ancient armies in their preparations for war.

⁷² *De cohibenda ira* (“On the Control of Anger”) is one of 78 essays in Plutarch’s *Moralia*, trans. W. C. Helmbold, Loeb Classical Library 257 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957), VI: 127 (458E).

⁷³ WA TR 1: 490 (no. 968): “Musica ist eine halbe Disciplin und Zuchtmeisterin, so die Leute gelinder und sanftmüthiger, sittsamer und vernünftiger machet.”

⁷⁴ In Book II of *The Republic*, Plato discusses music in terms of tales and emphasizes the importance of molding children with good tales. In Book III he treats the other two components of music, harmony and rhythm: “‘So, Glaucon,’ I said, ‘isn’t this why the reading in music is most sovereign? Because rhythm and harmony most of all insinuate themselves into the inmost part of the soul and most vigorously lay hold of it in bringing grace with them; and they make a man graceful if he is correctly reared, if not, the opposite.’” *The Republic of Plato*, trans. Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1968), 80 (401d).

⁷⁵ Thuanus, or Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), wrote in his *Historia sui temporis* of the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre, which occurred following the wedding of Charles IX’s sister Margaret to the Protestant Henry III of Navarre. The king is erroneously identified in Raupach’s printed text as Carolus IV.

⁷⁶ From Luther’s 1527 sermons on the book of Genesis, ch. 24; the quotation here is mostly from p. 419 of WA 24, but the phrase “Darumb mus man der welt yhr recht lassen” is taken from p. 418 and substitutes for the phrase “Das hat Gott hie mit angezeigt, das ers also lesset schreiben.”

⁷⁷ McKinnon, *op. cit.*, 154. The printed text erroneously gives 13 as the chapter number in Augustine’s *Confessions*.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Colloquium Mompelgartense Gespräch In Gegenwart des Durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten unnd Herrn/ Herrn Friderichen/ Graven zu Württemberg und Mümpelgart* (Tübingen: Gruppenbach, 1587), 733. The colloquy at Mümpelgard (Montbéliard) was an important encounter between Andreae and Reformed theologian Theodore Beza that influenced much subsequent writing on music among Lutherans.

⁸⁰ WA 50:371.

⁸¹ WA TR 1:86 (no. 194).

⁸² Johann Christoph Olearius, *Evangelischer Liederschatz* (Jena: Bielcke, 1707) 4: 52–53, citing Johann Manlius, *Locorum Communium, Der Erste Teil...* (Frankfurt/M: Schmidt, 1565), 52. Olearius refers to the hymn as “Aus tieffer Noth schrey ich zu dir.”

⁸³ This may refer to the Jena edition of 1555–58 or to the Altenburg edition of 1661–64; in either case the letter appears in volume 6. The excerpt is from a letter written on Octo-

ber 7, 1534, to Matthias Weller, organist at the court of Duke Heinrich. The full text is in WA BR 7: 104–105 (no. 2139).

⁸⁴ Athenaeus, an ancient Greek of the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries of the Common Era, wrote a lengthy work entitled *Deipnosophistae*, a vast store-house of information on Greek culture and customs. The work was translated in the 19th century by C. D. Yonge and published in three volumes as *The Deipnosophists, or Banquet of the Learned* (London: Bohn, 1854).

⁸⁵ Erasmus Francisci, *Neu polirter Geschicht- Kunst- und Sitten-Spiegel ausländischer Völcker* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1670), 1318.

⁸⁶ The term used here, “eine wolangeordnete Kirchenmusik,” is similar to the phrase “wohlzufassende Kirchnmusik” from J. S. Bach’s 1708 Mühlhausen resignation letter and also to the phrase “wohlbestellte Kirchenmusik” from Bach’s 1730 memorandum to the Leipzig city council. See *The New Bach Reader*, 57, 145. While the meaning of Bach’s words has been much discussed, he was expressing a concern shared by other musicians that high artistic standards be maintained in the churches and supported by governing authorities.

⁸⁷ Steffani, *op. cit.* The reports of music’s healing power are on pages 69–78, not 39f.

⁸⁸ John Caius, English physician, naturalist, and historian, translated the works of Galen into Latin and published his *De tuenda valetudine* in Basel in 1549.

⁸⁹ Diodorus of Sicily, a Greek historian, wrote his lengthy universal history, *Bibliotheca historia*, in the first century BC. I have not been able to verify the citation.

⁹⁰ Vigneul-Marville was the pseudonym of Bonaventure d’Argonne, a Carthusian monk (ca. 1634–1704). The *Melanges d’Histoire & de Litterature* consisted of three volumes and was published in several editions between 1700 and 1725. See Benjamin Rountree, *Bonaventure d’Argonne: the Seventeenth Century’s Enigmatic Carthusian* (Geneva: Droz, 1980).

⁹¹ François Maximilien Misson or Mission (c. 1650–1722), *Nouveau Voyage d’Italie*, 4th ed. (The Hague: van Bulderen, 1702), III: 59–60.

⁹² Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–1690), *Grösseste Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt Oder so genandte Relationes Curiosae, Vierter Theil* (Hamburg: Viering, 1689), 51–52.

⁹³ Günther Christoph Schelhammer and Johann Valentin Bützer, *Dissertationem De humani animi affectibus et speciatim de interiori rerum perceptione illorumque* (Kiel: Reuther, 1710).

⁹⁴ I have not been able to identify this work or its author.

⁹⁵ Georgio Baglivi, *Dissertatio I. De Anatome, Morsu, & effectibus Tarantulæ* (Leiden: Haring, 1704), 34–36. The quotation is excerpted from a somewhat longer account. Raupach was correct in giving the 1696 date, as the dedicatory letter was written in October 1696, though the preface was dated November 13, 1695. The published edition of 1704 was included in a volume with other works on medicine by Baglivi.

⁹⁶ *Acta Eruditorum Anno M DC XCVIII publicata* (Leipzig, 1698), 45. The article is a review of Georgio Baglivi’s *De Praxi Medica ad priscam observandi rationem revocanda* (Rome, 1696). A marginal note in the copy at Princeton University Library attributes the article to Martin Knorr, mathematics professor in Wittenberg.

⁹⁷ Robin Leaver, in appendix 3 to *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, calls attention to the different versions of Luther’s *Encomion Musices*, also known as the preface to Georg Rhau’s *Symphoniae iucundae* of 1538. The version given by Raupach follows the German rendition by Johann Walter (1564) in WA 50: 372 except for the last phrase (“freundlich

einander begegnen/ und sich gleichsam hertzen und lieblich umfangen") that is included in the German version published by Wolfgang Figulus in 1575 (Leaver, 323–324).

⁹⁸ WA TR I: 490 (no. 968, lines 26–30).

⁹⁹ Girolamo Diruta refers to this organ in his important work of 1593: "[An organ] brings about the good blend of all other instruments, which represents the sweetest earthly harmony of the blessed spirits in heaven who praise the blessed God. This is shown by a beautiful verse on the organ of San Pietro in Perugia which says, '*Haec si contingunt Terris, quae gaudia Caelo?*'—as if one were to say, 'If on earth one enjoys such sweet harmony afforded human ears by so much artifice, what joy and delight ought there to be in heaven over the angelic choirs and blessed spirits?'" Girolamo Diruta, *The Transylvanian (Il Transilvano)*, edited by Murray C. Bradshaw and Edward J. Soehlen (Henryville, Pennsylvania: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1984), I, 38.

¹⁰⁰ Josua Stegmann, *Studii Pietatis Icon Christognosia ad Præcipua Totius anni Festa, de Persona et Officio Christi agentia, accommodata* (Marburg: Chemlin, 1630), 415.

¹⁰¹ See fn. 61 to par. 50 of *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*.

¹⁰² Salomon Glass, *Philologia Sacra* (Jena: Steinmann, 1623). Johann Gerhard, *Adnotationes in Apocalypsin D. Johannis Theologi* (Jena: Saher, 1643), 116. On the term κίθαρὰς τοῦ θεοῦ, Gerhard writes: "1. quas Deus ipsis dederat 2. quae divinis laudibus inservire debebant 3. quibus Deo laudes cantabant ob victoriam ab Antichristo reportatam."

¹⁰³ In *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*, Mattheson gives a slightly different translation of this citation along with a reference to his source. See fn. 65 to par. 54 of that work.

¹⁰⁴ The work known as St. Augustine's *Meditations* was a popular devotional work compiled in the Middle Ages, perhaps inspired by Augustine's writings but actually derived from other sources. It was copied by hand and reprinted many times in various languages from the beginning of printing through the seventeenth century. The textual variations make it difficult to identify the source used by Raupach. A recent modern translation of this passage is quite different:

The tuneful voice produces harmonies ever new,
and instruments caress the ear with exultant song.
The saints sing praises to the King who made them victors.
Happy the soul that sees the King of heaven face to face.

John E. Rotelle, ed., *Meditations of Saint Augustine*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Villanova: Augustinian Press, 1995), 77.

¹⁰⁵ The words quoted here are those of Matthew 12:34 or Luke 6:45, translated in the NRSV as "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks."

¹⁰⁶ The text erroneously cites chapter 15.

¹⁰⁷ Erroneously printed as chapter 16.

¹⁰⁸ Wenn ich in Nöthen bet' und sing/
So wird mein Hertz recht guter Ding/
Dein Geist bezeugt/ daß solches frey
Des ewgen Lebens Vorschmack sey.

Strophe 15 of "Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid," written by Martin Moller (1547–1606) as a paraphrase of the Latin hymn "Jesu dulcis memoria" by Bernard of Clairvaux. According to John Julian, ed., *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, 2nd ed. (New York: Dover, 1907), 1: 19, Moller's hymn first appeared in his second edition of his *Meditationes Sanctorum Patrum* (Görlitz, 1587).

109 Zwingt die Sayten in Cythara
 Und laßt die süsse Musica
 Gantz Freuden-reich erschallen/
 Daß ich möge mit Jesulein/
 Dem wunderschönen Bräutigam mein
 In steter Liebe wallen.
 Singet/springet
 Jubiliret/ Triumphiret/ danckt dem Herren.
 Groß ist der König der Ehren

This strophe from Philip Nicolai's hymn *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* was frequently cited as confirmation of the joy awaiting the believer. Mattheson quotes it in *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*, par. 149, and also paraphrases the text at the conclusion of his oratorio, *Der liebevolle und geduldige David*, where David is depicted as prefiguring Christ.

¹¹⁰ Erroneously given as Psalm 89.

¹¹¹ Translation by George MacDonald in LW 53:296. This is stanza 4 of Luther's *Vater unser im Himmelreich*:

Dein will gescheh Herr Gott zugleich
 Auf Erden wie im Himmelreich;
 Gib uns Geduld in Leidens-Zeit/
 Gehorsam seyn in Lieb und Leid;
 Wehr und steur allem Fleisch und Blut/
 Das wider deinen Willen thut.

¹¹² This is strophe 10 of the hymn *Ade, du süße Welt* by 17th-century devotional writer Heinrich Müller. The familiarity of this particular strophe is seen in the report of Müller's death as found in Eduard Emil Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs der christlichen, insbesondere der deutschen evangelischen Kirche* I/1, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Belser, 1852), 332:

Am selbigen Tage noch, 23. Sept. 1675, entschlief er unter Anrufung seines Erlösers sanft und selig. Hatte er doch lange zuvor in seinem Liede: "Ade, du süße Welt" mit Himmelssehnsucht gesungen:
 O süße Himmelslust! So kann es uns erlaben.
 Wohl dem, dem du bewußt! Wie wird mit großen Freuden
 Wenn wir ein Tröpflein haben, Der volle Strom uns weiden!

¹¹³ The "Additamentum" section follows immediately after the preceding and was presumably written by Raupach, as it lacks Mattheson's polemical tone. Whichever author is responsible, the comments are randomly presented, not following the clear organization of the main text. At times the subject matter seems only loosely connected to the pages cited; at other times, as indicated below, the page references are either erroneous or refer to some other work. While I have provided cross-references in the text, the reader may be well advised to ignore these as distractions.

¹¹⁴ From preface to the Wittenberg Gesangbuch of 1524, WA 35: 474 and LW 53: 316. The Altenburg edition of Luther's works was published in 1661–1664, but the volume number was omitted in our text.

¹¹⁵ Christian Scriver (1629–1693) was pastor in Stendal, Magdeburg and Quedlinburg and the author of devotional works, of which his five-part *Seelenschatz* (Magdeburg, 1675–1692) was the most widely read and republished.

¹¹⁶ The title is misquoted here and should be *Gottholds Siech- und Siegs-Bette* (Nürnberg: Hofmann, 1694), of which part 1 was completed in 1687 and part 2 was still in process at the time of his death. As Raupach was taking the story from Schmidt's book of stories about hymns, he was presumably trying to make sense of Schmidt's equally incorrect "*Sieg- und Siegs-B.*"

¹¹⁷ Schmidt, *Historica et memorabilia*, 596–598. It is not clear what is intended with the reference to p. 24; other stories from Schmidt's work are found in ch. 4. par. 6, which is in the original printed volume on pp. 17–18.

¹¹⁸ Ecclesiasticus or Sirach 47:8 in English translations.

¹¹⁹ There is no apparent connection of this note with the material on p. 29 (ch. 5, par. 10). Furthermore, this paragraph ends with "Cf. above §3, p. 137f.," but there is no equivalent in Raupach's text.

¹²⁰ There is no page 63 in the printed volume. The closest this comment comes is to p. 29 (ch. 5, par. 10).

¹²¹ A reference to the parable of the tares, Matthew 13:24–30.

¹²² Pitch was not standardized at this time, and different instruments were tuned at different pitches. The most commonly used designations were *Kammerton* (chamber pitch), used by strings and woodwinds, and *Chorton* (choir pitch), used by organ, choir, and trumpets. The latter was generally a whole step higher than the former, but there was considerable variation from place to place. See Arthur Mendel, "Pitch in Western Music since 1500. A Re-Examination," *Acta Musicologica*, 50 (1978): 1–93.

¹²³ WA TR 1: 490 (no. 968). Cf. WA TR 3: 636 (no. 3815).

¹²⁴ The word used here is *musicastris*, evidently a Latin dative form of a derogatory term for musician. The word does not appear in available dictionaries, however.

**Behauptung
der
Himmlischen Musik
aus den Gründen
der
Vernunft, Kirchen=Lehre und
heiligen Schrift.**

Coelum, quid quaeremus ultra?
Lucian. Antioch



**Hamburg,
zu finden bey Christian Herold,
1747.**

**Affirmation
of Heavenly Music
on the Basis
of
Reason, Church Teachings, and
Holy Scripture.**

**Heaven, What More Shall We Seek?
Lucian of Antioch**



**Hamburg,
Available from Christian Herold,
1747.**

[Introductory Remarks]

Par. 1

To sing and make music knowledgeably is ascribed not to any bird but rather, next to the angels, only to humans, by divine will.*¹ These gifts that have been imparted to us for employing the knowledge of sound are originally to be ascribed, after the giver of all good things, to the angels rather than to other creatures; consequently, along with those named first and foremost, both vocal and instrumental music came forth on the first day of creation^{†2} and in the beginning were communicated to the angels, but soon thereafter to humans, for the everlasting joyous glorification of the Most High. This is in full agreement with well-ordered reason, the best foundations of the Christian church, and the revealed Word of God. Still, various oddballs, out of a lack of better insight, shake their heads at this heavenly harmony and do not agree to it at all. Some of them deny it outright; some pass it off as an uncertain matter or, ultimately, mere speculation. It is with these people, then, that we want to speak a little more in detail. At the same time we want to make a start toward the publication of the works mentioned on page 3 of our *Untersuchung von den Singspielen*.³

Par. 2

To be sure, the adversaries should be obligated to present properly the opposite of the thesis they dispute and before that to prove the impossibility of complete heavenly music from the Holy Scriptures. But since such is entirely impossible, everything they have thus far brought forth in this matter amounts not to proper reasons but only to miserable anecdotes, mere satire and vain quibbles—indeed, to a sharp contradiction of their own position. And that is no wonder, since those who have a losing cause are accustomed to proceed by gladly cloaking it a little bit. In their indiscretion, this probably cannot happen without forced sophistry, ludicrous deviations and the often dangerous confusions

* “Scienter cantare non avi, sed homini, divina voluntate concessum est.” On Psalm 8 [actually 18].

† On the first day of the world, as a Sunday, the heaven was complete, together with all heavenly spirits and hosts. Gen. 1 and Job 38, Psalm 104, Hebrews 1,1 Col 1. J. J. Schmidt, *Biblical History*, p. 339.

that result therefrom. It is one thing to make fun; it is another solidly to prove its negation.

Par. 3

Neither the origin nor the age of the **shouting with joy** and **praising** that was created by God and designated for his honor has the slightest need to be proved by the chainlike efforts of artificial academic syllogisms. Under these two names both kinds of music are fully included, as will be shown below plainly and clearly from Holy Scripture in paragraphs 76 and following.⁴ This desire to demonstrate with twisted cleverness and to dispute with mathematical dogmatism is in vogue too abusively in our present day and strays all too often and indeed much too far into otherworldly matters. One scarcely shows the Holy Spirit proper respect by laying out his important and correct words onto syllogistic weighing scales. If only we do not intentionally ignore the senses of the heart, a Christian who loves truth does not need such pathetic debating techniques in matters where the clear letter, along with common sense, controlled reason and incontrovertible authority, lays out the divine understanding of the words of Scripture clearly before our eyes. We are accordingly willing, without the assistance of formal methods of argumentation, solely with God and his powerful Word, to assert that the most glorious singing and music making has been in heaven from the beginning, is also still there and will remain there constantly for all eternity.^{*5} If it pleased the most gracious and benevolent God to be served by voices and instruments already before the world and in the world, so it will be highly pleasing to him also after this old world is wrapped up, in a new world and in a new manner. For he then makes all things new. Revelation 21[:5].

* Frid. Balduinus comment. Ad Col 3. p. 209 sqq. Also Wolffg. Franzius de interpret. SS.

Section One

Investigation of Heavenly Music According to Purified Reason

Par. 4

In general all those who want specifically to deny the **music making** or **playing** of the angels and blessed ones more than their actual **singing** have no other pretext than the supposed inconceivability of heavenly instruments along with the manner of manipulating them, for that goes beyond their circle of understanding. So they write mockingly thus: “With instrumental music it must be difficult if the violins, bass viols, oboes, trumpets, horns and flutes have to be designed so that they are suited to spirits and transfigured bodies.” This is as much as to say that it would be much more difficult for the all-powerful God to make a transfigured instrument than a transfigured body. Yet at the same time our mockers are for the most part so gracious as to fully admit the **shouting with joy** and **praising**, without even correctly understanding it,^{*} because their counterargument for this would seem too mathematically foolish. So their supposed proof reflects right back on themselves, since they can no more represent the actual manner in which angel tongues are used than they can clearly comprehend how simple speech and articulation of words occur in these spirits’ voices without bodily organs. Consequently, if Holy Scripture attributes instruments as well as tongues to angels, the one can no more be denied on the basis of incomprehensibility than the other, insofar as one considers the issue only rationally. But concerning the material of these heavenly instruments no controversy should or could be stirred up if we consider correctly that even the completely new heavenly Jerusalem is to consist of pure gold, of many kinds of noble gems, of costly pearls, etc. “God will also have his workshop in or under the new earth in order to produce not only its healthy water, etc., but also gold, silver, diamonds, etc., by many hundreds of thousands, in far more glorious bounty than now.”^{†6}

^{*} Scripture always uses “Jauchzen” [to shout with joy] for bodily members, just as it uses “Loben” [to praise] for playing instruments; indeed the playing itself is often called singing, as we will clarify below.

[†] Phil. Nicolai, in *theoria vitae aeternae*, L.V. c. 10.

Par. 5

But when it comes right down to it, the supposed inconceivability, even on such footing, is not as great as many would like to make it. Do we believe that Christ is God and man in an undivided person? (Phil. 2[:6–7]). Did he walk around with all his disciples for forty whole days after his resurrection in a transfigured body in visible and tangible manner (Acts 1[:3])—first entering through closed doors, then disappearing again? (John 20[:19, 26]). Did he eat, drink and keep the meal with them in this state after he was raised from the dead and had a transfigured body? (Luke 24[:30], Acts 10[:41], John 21[:13]). Did he go up bodily and visibly to heaven? (Acts 1[:9]). Does our flesh and blood really sit, since that time, at the right hand of the Father? (Col. 3[:1]). Are we to be lifted up in incomprehensible manner not only to be like the angels but—and this is far more—to be like even his own transfigured body, and above the angels? (Hebrews 2[:16–17], Phil. 3[:21], 1 John 3[:2]). Do you grasp this? No! Do you therefore deny it? No! Why do you nevertheless want to deny the angels those bodily forms in which they have often appeared as beautiful people, just because you do not grasp how it happens with that or with their instruments? The servants must necessarily clothe themselves in the courtly color of their Lord Jesus Christ, who clothed himself in our flesh and blood; they also do it out of love for us humans, for in heaven we shall be their comrades and they in turn ours, with everything that goes along with that. Why, then, shouldn't glorified bodily members not also manage glorified bodily voices and instruments to God's unending honor? Why should they be permitted only on the flammable earth and not in heaven or in the imperishable new world to provide themselves with these and even far more perfect means of praise? In that case they would surely be far worse off there than here. Also, what use would angels and the elect have of eyes, ears, mouth, tongue, throat, hands, fingers, etc., and how else than with the use of members and instruments bestowed for this purpose could we more effectively perform on both sides our eternal and only joyful service of praising God? It is toward this service that all creation, salvation, and sanctification direct their steady aim.

Par. 6

Insofar as this is the order and will of God, for whom nothing is impossible, it can all be grasped a little easier than, for instance, a so-called monad or some mathematical mental construct or even than other secrets of Christian doctrine, not excluding the precious incarnation itself. Not to say that heavenly music in itself is such an article of faith, without which there is no hope of salvation; rather, to reject and scorn it could easily lead to a damnable sin, because that runs diametrically in opposition to God's Word, by means of which everything that is required [for salvation] may be sufficiently understood. There is no cause to be anxious, after the manner of reason, that angels and blessed ones, irrespective of their spiritual properties, could, may, or will lack any corporeal members or organs in that heaven and new earth, even though they be

transfigured, glorified, incorruptible; for this is otherwise certain, and the old divine truth that commands us to praise God with our body and spirit (1 Cor. 6[:20]) remains. Further, we partake in blessedness not only spiritually but also corporeally; surrounded by this skin of ours, we shall see God with our eyes, in our flesh, and also be like him and the angels (Job 19[:27]). For even this human body is already honored on earth with a beautiful name, being called a temple of the Holy Spirit; what advantages that seem incomprehensible will it not have after its transformation and glorification?

When Dr. Watts, in his *Future World*,⁷ gives the opinion that our body after the resurrection will not be a body of flesh and blood (of what then?), he appears⁸ to support himself with 1 Cor. 15[:50] κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύναται: consequi nequeunt: “they are not capable of attaining it.” That is surely an undeniable point. But to be and to inherit are not the same. Flesh and blood signify human nature as it is constituted, according to both its essence and its corruption. Because of the latter condition, humans are, to be sure, completely incapable of inheriting heaven. But when we are all changed, then our bodies will put off this corruption and with their flesh and blood will resemble the body of Christ. Paul deals with very different kinds of flesh, of natural and spiritual bodies. Now then, if there are spiritual bodies, there are surely other spiritual organs, like the spiritual flesh that Christ manifested in his own body after the resurrection, when he was thought to be a spirit. “It is sown a natural body and raised a spiritual body” [1 Cor. 15:44]. These words are interpreted thus: “A natural body is one that eats, drinks, sleeps, digests, grows and declines, produces children, etc., out of necessity. A spiritual body is one that has no need of any of this and yet is a true body living from the spirit.” Luther writes this at the place above;⁹ and at yet another place*: “The body is not called a spiritual body because it does not live in a body or have flesh and blood—otherwise it could not be called a true body— but rather because it is not an eating, sleeping, digesting body. Not spiritual in its essence but in its power. Non essentia, sed potentia, as Augustine nicely says.”^{†10} If then it is a true body and proper material, who would want to deny it glorified, heavenly senses, enlightened eyes, clarified ears, etc.? The Savior did not pour out his blood for my soul alone but also likewise for my body and its eternal preservation. Rebirth applies to both by means of the two-fold resurrection. God’s Word does not deceive.

Par. 7

In this manner reason proceeds most securely when it places Holy Scripture as its foundation and constructs its conclusions thereon. This must always be observed; otherwise, left to its own devices, it loses itself all too easily. We want to give an example. It would seem to be reasonable that departed souls could not

* Tom VI Ien. [*Der Sechste Teil aller Bücher und Schriften des theuren seligen Manns Gottes/ Doct. Martini Lutheri Vom XXXIII Jar an /bis uber den anfang des XXXVIII Jars geschrieben.* Jena: Rödlinger, 1557.]

† Manual c. 34.

exist completely before they again receive their bodies, without a certain subtle kind of bodily housing and very fine, thin, delicate encasing; but Scripture says nothing of this to us. Therefore it is better to be silent about this and similar philosophical speculations rather than to reason too subtly about them. (See Par. 144.)

Par. 8

Touching on visions, they are merely prophecies confirmed through clear pictures, i.e., such words as are reinforced by distinct outward visible signs.^{*11} These signs and pictures, however, are not such as appear to open waking eyes as consisting of empty imagination; rather, they have a real existence and a true form that catches the senses, so that one can at least see and hear them in bodily manner, even if, because of the distance of the objects and other hindrances they cannot always be smelled, tasted, or felt. Divine dreams appear to some extent to be excluded from this, and the pictures of their faces are not so clear. Genuine prophetic revelations, however, have always demanded true instruments for their clear representations, namely, bodily voices, audible words, essential persons and things—no tricks of shadows or wind. A few examples to begin with will illustrate this a little.

Par. 9

Abraham heard God's Word and command in such a vision, without sleeping and dreaming, with the result that he placed the offering pieces he had cut up over against one another (Gen. 15[:10]). He did it at dusk, when usually no bird of prey can be seen, but still these came flying along and fell on the carcass. Abraham scared them away, evidence that they were true, natural birds. Afterward there actually appeared to him, after the sun had gone down, a smoking oven, from which a flame of fire passed between the offering pieces and consumed them beyond a doubt. Whoever would now say that the oven and the flame had not in fact burned could just as easily consider everything—cow, goat, ram, turtle-dove and pigeons—as pure fantasies. God relates to his holy ones as to children who must be instructed with pictures and images. How a child would cry if, for example, it reached for a picture it had been shown of a gilded crown and it was only molded sugar, or for an image of a horse and caught nothing more than a handful of air. Pictures and images, consequently, have to be present in nature, however that may happen. One more:

Par. 10

Peter saw in deed and truth a table set with all sorts of provisions that came down to him from the open heavens in bright daylight (Acts 10[:11–12]). This was no blinding of the eyes, no mirage by which there would actually be nothing

* *Adde verbo divino elementum, et habes sacramentum* [Add a substance to the divine word, and you have a sacrament]. Augustine.

to slaughter nor to eat. The large linen cloth, with its specially noted four corners, that was ceremoniously let down to the earth, the four-legged tame and wild animals, together with the birds and crawling things themselves, cannot possibly have been images of wind and color: for along with these the apostle actually heard the voice and the serious divine command that he should stand up, slaughter, and eat of them. What an ill-timed joke that would have been—repeated three times and unbecoming the Most High Being—, if the poor hungry man had wanted to bite down and had gotten nothing into his mouth? Thus it is with the other appearances of this sort, some of which will be presented later as further evidence of their reality.

Par. 11

To be sure—moving closer to the main question—the frequent appearances of so many angels with trumpets,¹² harps, and other instruments of sound occurred not merely in order that we may deduce their musical skills and those of the elect in heaven and in the new world but primarily that we may attain a clearer and more pleasant concept of the kingdom of God by actually envisioning it. Abraham's birds and Peter's vessels also had, to be sure, another purpose than merely to scare them away or to quiet hunger, but one can nevertheless not exclude the secondary intentions on account of the primary matter. Even more does the actual singing and music-making of the angels and blessed ones belong necessarily to the heavenly kingdom in the world beyond, as a very great, important work of their office, just as fire belongs to burning and eating to the nourishment of the body.

Par. 12

Meanwhile, that we should not seek any flowery, much less mystical understanding of Holy Scripture in those places where the actual and natural meanings, even if they are various, can reach the intended goal—this, we are aware, is an irrefutable hermeneutical guideline. And what Seckendorf said here and again in his *Christen-Staat*¹³ against those who do not stay with the literal understanding of the Word, but constantly seize upon an allegorical or mystical sense, deserves to be read at length in this connection. To be sure, harping, trumpeting, fingering, and blowing, etc., are only images, characteristics and properties of a bodily earthly music; they are, however, appropriately attributed with the same terminology to the spirits, because we have no other supply of expressions for such concepts except these from the senses, and because angelic and human playing of music, as two actual and neighboring species, must, according to reason, belong to one and the same genre of instrumental music. Thus the term borrowed from the earthly manner and transferred to the heavenly action, even if it were purely spiritual, does not lift it completely out of the whole genre or make it instantly metaphorical; it shows at most only the limitations of our concepts and the deficiencies of our expressions without derogating or prejudicing the matter itself in the least.

Par. 13

One may object simply: “Heavenly music will not be performed at all like earthly; it does not need string or wind instruments, for these would not be necessary in eternal life.” But where in the whole Bible is there a single, negating little word concerning these three objections? Where has reason, with its calculating insight into the heaven of the blessed and into the new world, ever come so far that it can boldly deny the manner of this music, according to the standards of our own, and yet can indicate no other?

Par. 14

In the above objections that are made in much too cavalier a manner, issues and questions are so entangled that they cannot possibly be unraveled from one another. First of all, there is as yet no person in this mortal life who can determine precisely the disputed manner of heavenly music, and especially how in detail its sounding instruments are equipped. We can, however, most certainly verify that they both, the former as well as the latter, are really maintained and are present to the highest perfection. Is it not enough, then, that we are most strongly assured that this glory will be so indescribably great that no one on earth, even if he had heard it, would be able worthily to express or describe it? From this it does not follow in the least that musical instruments should be excluded, either from such lack of detail or from supposed lack of necessity. Otherwise everything either in heaven or on earth that could not be determined precisely, or that was not demanded indispensably by the greatest need, would for that reason lose its existence and completely cease to be. In this fashion the whole work of creation would be considered dispensable, as we know nothing of how it happened, and the best world of all could be passed off as something for which God has no regard, because he does not need it. On the other hand, it is indisputably true that he paid the price of his most Beloved, just to save this sinful world (John 3[:16], 1 Tim. 1[:15]), even if the world may have seemed useless to him. Also, no stronger foretaste of eternal, unmerited happiness may be given to us imperfect, weak humans to serve as a consoling instruction and a strong anchor of hope, than, for one, the outstanding works of creation as a whole—, works of his hands that he will not forsake (Psalm 138[:8])—, and, for another, the special heartwarming songs and sounds of his creatures, both angels and humans. Therefore Luther calls music—without excluding that of heaven—a wonderful creature of God; and indeed the more spiritual, incorporeal, and imperishable are sounds and songs in their essence, the greater is their justification or preference.

Par. 15

God’s unlimited delight, having no need of any object, could, in and of itself, dispense with both angels and human beings. He holds his paradise in his own bosom, his perfect blessedness in the eternity of his fullness. God does not

need for us to praise and honor him, but that in no way relieves us of our duty. In his immeasurable majesty he would need one creature as little as another; but does it follow from this that they should not or must not exist? In Psalm 50[:13], God did not want to eat the flesh of oxen or drink the blood of goats; and yet prior to that he wanted to have such sacrifices (Exodus 20[:24]). Our most loving friend of people did not need to have himself circumcised or to pray, because he was without any impurity or personal sin. He did not need to sing, and yet he prayed and sang daily for our benefit as an example. Indeed, after his resurrection he did not need to eat, and yet it truly happened. Humans and angels are supposed to be like one another in that life (Matthew 22[:30], Mark 12[:25], Luke 20[:36]),¹⁴ and humans will even judge over angels (1 Cor. 6[:3]). If, then, that almighty *Fiat* of his Word orders that humans should learn the proper obligations of praise from the angels—here in this world imitating merely as pupils but there fully as masters, as paragons—, who will criticize his secret wisdom that holds sway here below? His will be done—also in the great purpose of praising him with music—on earth as it is in heaven (Matth. 6[:11], Luke 11[:2]). There is no doubt that the Savior, in prescribing these words of prayer, turns his eyes to the holy angels as well as to the elect when he places before us a worthy example for carrying out God’s will in lauding and praising.

Par. 16

In order to make a reasonable judgment concerning this matter, it follows from the circumstances that are still incomprehensible to us that there is in heavenly vocal and instrumental music no decline at all, no lack, no deprivation, no exclusion, no lack of availability of the appropriate tools; instead, one can infer their supernatural perfection, which is unfamiliar to humans, as all the more believable. For it is far less incomprehensible that there is music in heaven that is excellent beyond all measure than it would be if only half were present, if there were singing but unaccompanied by instruments, even if the instruments may, like tongues and throats themselves, seem to us incomprehensible in respect to their material. Again it should be noted that because we shall be like the angels, so they must also necessarily be like us. Consider it correctly and seriously! To think that, in our ministrations as a community serving together, it will all proceed many hundred thousand times more sublimely, more excellently, more perfectly, more divinely and gloriously than what we in this old world can conceive as most exquisitely lovely with our earthly voices and instruments! In this understanding, where reason still has some little validity, we will consider heavenly music as by no means so plain as earthly music; and this, precisely from the juxtaposition, we can grasp to a certain extent rather well.

Par. 17

The highest, most beneficent originator and foundation of all concords so often and earnestly commands, esteems and loves the service of praise to himself that he refers to it with pride in Job 38[:7]. From the beginning he also

wanted the creatures who adore and festively celebrate him—both angels and people—never to lack the most convenient, treasured means and tools for this end. Rather, after leading his chosen people, he himself commanded the holiest and dearest servant in the whole house of God verbatim, just like a master teacher, expressly prescribing not only the costly materials but also the strangely different manner of playing. With preference to this before all other matters that belonged to his service, he caused a report to be written down in detail through God the Holy Spirit how and in what form the first musical instruments instituted on earth by his divine majesty should be maintained to his honor. Those who now know that the whole history of the people of Israel represents a prefiguring of eternal life can easily make the further application.

Par. 18

The human singing voice is certainly to be esteemed far more and higher than all external instruments that imitate it. If we have received the excellent specimen of music gratis from the almighty, most kind God, why should we be deprived of the necessary but greatly inferior things that go along with it, whether here on earth or there in heaven? If the angels, like us, are provided with tongues and singing voices, which are surely the true model of each and every instrument—indeed are actually the best and most enduring instruments themselves—, why should the far poorer copies or imitations be lacking to them or us? No reason can grasp this; it runs counter to everything. If God is the archetype of all created being, for in his image he created us (Gen.1[:27]), then the likenesses, even if poorer, are dear to him and not to be repudiated. This can serve as an answer to the clever ones who may think that when one has the original one does not need copies.

Par. 19

Let us at this point mention further, considering what was said thoughtfully about the Davidic Feast of Tabernacles and afterwards about the Passover celebration of King Hezekiah (1 Chron. 17,¹⁵ 2 Chron. 30[:21]), that Heman and Jedithun, together with the priests of the Lord, praised him every day with **loud string music of the Lord**, namely with such playing of strings and other musical instruments as the great God himself had told his most beloved holy ones to do. He had a hand in this, and he took special pleasure in it, just as he still does and will do for all eternity. Where in Scripture does it say that God gave the same honor to any other instruments than musical ones? In Revelation 15, therefore, John names the instruments of the elect at the same time **harps of God**.¹⁶ When Scripture assigns this name of God to earthly things, all scholars interpret it as the efficient cause (see par. 131); accordingly, through **string music of the Lord** and **harps of God** such actual instruments as God Himself brought forth are to be understood. And it is understood that he himself commanded them to be used for his unending honor and that he himself handed them over into the hands of the happy inhabitants of heavenly paradise so that

they should above all serve especially for his ever-enduring praise of himself.*¹⁷ What does reason say to this? Will the **stringed music of the Lord** and the **harps of God** be expelled or banned from heaven? Is it comprehensible that anything that has been ordained by God, that he has given to us and that belongs to him and even carries his name clearly as the owner, should not be present where he is?

Par. 20

Without a doubt, therefore, the holy angels and elect people—to judge only by reasonable insight into the source material we have advanced—received certain divine instruments, **string music of the Lord** and **harps of God**, from God himself or at his command. For instrumental music was also in the temple as a foretaste of eternal life; in fact, long before the building of the temple, it was commanded by God through his prophets (2 Chron. [20:27–28]).¹⁸ This command has never been lifted; rather, the longer it is in effect the stronger it becomes. It cannot by means of reason be turned into ceremonial law or to a matter of indifference.¹⁹

Par. 21

The metaphorical expressions in the Bible cannot always be understood literally, and one may or must with good reason interpret them also in reference to other, sometimes more important matters. Nevertheless, they are always based on true and real events; neither in their proper meaning nor in the figurative exegesis are they to be disparaged as empty shadows or fabrications. Even though some want to dispute that the parables have the ability to prove anything, they are derived from such things as are visible, audible, palpable or at least plausibly present. The proclamation of the destruction of Jerusalem, for example, came to pass literally; yet at the same time—indeed primarily—it pointed to the last judgment and the end of the entire old world. David’s prophecy of the Babylonian captivity, that would follow much later, and of the release from captivity deals at the same time, and mainly, with heavenly freedom and eternal joy in the new world, “when our mouths will be full of laughter, and our tongues truly full of his praise” (Psalm 126[:2]). From the words of this same royal prophet—“We see, God, how you process in, how you, my God and King, process in; the singers go first, after them the minstrels, etc.” (Psalm 68[:25-26])—, we know that they refer not only to the magnificent temple worship but also primarily to the whole kingdom of Christ, both as a vision and in faith, and to God, when he will be all in all. As Jerusalem prefigures heaven, however, both of these foreshadow that indescribably great glory in which the Son delivers up the kingdom to the Father and he himself, as human being, becomes subordinate. That goes further and is the true, last, highest end purpose without end, toward which all other matters are directed.

* Glass, *Philol. Sacr.*, P. 2, also Gerhard in *not. Ad c. 15 Apocal.*

Par. 22

It can be therefore quite fitting to interpret angels, figuratively speaking, as some good teachers of the church, the harps of the elders as today's pulpit discourses on obscure passages, and the bowls of incense as prayers in this world of woe. But because, unfortunately, even the best of all churchly heavens can be at most only a very poor forecourt to the new Jerusalem, toward which each and every revelation is nevertheless directed, therefore every reasonable person can easily see that something far more and more essential than an allegory lies at the basis of the angels, harps, and bowls of incense that are interpreted in this way: namely such a life where neither teacher nor sermon nor *kyrie eleison* but only a loud sung, played, and harped Hallelujah, that is, "joy that will be the fullness and delightful existence at the right hand of God forevermore."^{*}

Par. 23

In such a manner, then, the actual meaning of the words, which must indeed keep the upper hand, can still be quite compatible with the figurative meaning, if only the times and issues are clearly distinguished. God himself interprets the first vision of John concerning the seven angels and lamps as relating to church fathers, and specifically to particular early Christian congregations in such manner as they were to be explicitly addressed. With the other visions, however, this is not the case, least of all with the sixth vision; from this the mark of distinction is to be noted, after the manner of reason, that these are completely different angels than previously, as even the red dragon himself brings forth his own. For this reason one might say to an inordinate admirer of the so-called churchly angels:

And if you imagine too much with your angels,
just know also that there are white ones and black ones.²⁰

Par. 24

Why, then, would anyone using good reason proceed so rashly as completely to deny the good holy angels their musical instruments, even if they could in part be interpreted as symbols of other things? A well organized concerto is indisputably an excellent image of unity; and yet it retains its essence. If singing voices, harps, and trumpets are not considered to be reputable and respectable enough for the dear sacred spirits, one can encounter many other far inferior physical things clearly enough in Scripture. All sorts of weapons and armaments are ascribed to them, such as swords, steeds, chariots, breastplates and so forth. These might in the end be considered equipment for heroes if the most common sentry did not also need them. But to which of the more noble

^{*} Psalm 16[:11].

ranks, then, do the following belong: tongs, glowing coals, waistbands, keys, vials, linen clothes, ladders, reins, censers, booklets, pruning knives, chains, surveyors' rods, sticks, staves, whips, etc.? These have in fact been handled by the heavenly spirits in a real, physical and often very tangible manner. Who would also question that they could continue to do so? Heliodorus may say whether his angel tested him with figurative or allegorical blows (2 Maccabees 3[:26]). The king of angels himself, as an endless spirit, made use of a sharp staff at Gideon's sacrifice (Judges 6[:21]), even though he could just as easily have brought about the fire without its assistance in a completely different manner. Yet it is quite unbelievable, even incomprehensible that a mere finite spirit could accomplish or bring about the least thing without instruments. Whole legions of devils are not capable of carrying out their evil unless, for instance, they also have people or at least swine and such (Matt. 8[:28–32]). One should think diligently about this matter; it is surely worth it ten times over. Without bodies or bodily things a mere spirit may think and feel; but for real actions he must have something physical, whether rough or fine, for example, horses and chariots, or flames of fire (Judges 13[:20], Psalm 68[:17], etc.).

Par. 25

The good-hearted angels gladly let their feet be washed; they say, "Do as you have said" (Genesis 18[:5], 19[:2–3]). They rest under the trees, are content with calves' meat, bread, butter, cake, and milk at the homes of both Abraham and Lot. At Lot's house they also simply wanted to go to sleep. In whatever manner all this may have happened, whether needlessly or not, one can surely say this much is certain and true: necessity did not drive them to such things. They did not need either nourishment or rest; nevertheless, it in fact happened in this way and not in another way. Where then is the reasonable person who could dispute these and other physical means or glorified instruments, especially for the direct praise of God?

Par. 26

Consequently it is completely impermissible to deny belief in things and functions whose circumstances and modes of operation seem incomprehensible to many, especially in divine and heavenly revelations. Musical instruments, along with other more common or lesser instruments, should not, out of unbiblical reason, or rather unreason, be made straightway into allegories, much less into absurdities. We know, unfortunately, what offensive allegorical treatments this ungoverned reason—that does not want to submit to obedience to Christ—has made of the story of the fall of our first parents, the crossing through the Red Sea, the institution of the Lord's Supper and so on. It is almost embarrassing to think about this.

Par. 27

What is the situation with the high, exalted throne? (Isaiah 6). With the six

wings of each seraphim? With their faces? With their feet? And so on. Was it then no true throne? Were there no actual wings? No true faces? No feet capable of walking? What does mere reason say to this? Does it place the hidden meaning in direct opposition to that which is visible and obvious, completely suppressing it? The awakening rod (Jeremiah 1[:11–13]),²¹ the boiling pot (Ezekiel 1[:15–18]), and the fig baskets²² must undoubtedly be mere imagined things like the single wheel in which there were four wheels and the rims were full of eyes. The four large monarchical animals climbing out of the sea (Daniel 7[:3]), the locusts, the consuming fire, the plumb line, and the basket with fruit (Amos 7–8), the fast-growing and quick-withering gourd plant along with the worm that attacked it (Jonah 4[:6–7]), the son of God with a large host of angels on horseback; the four horns and four smiths; the measuring line, the high priest Joshua, the two olive trees, the flying scroll, the barrel weighed down by a slab of lead and a woman yet carried by two winged women; the four chariots, the silver and gold for crowning Joshua, the implement of a foolish shepherd, etc. (Zechariah 1–11)—all these things are incomprehensible to reason and existed perhaps only in a prophetic vision without having anything of substance to them. No one has seen them, as they say, except for these madmen (2 Kings 9[:11]). They are pure absurdities, doubtless just like the heavenly stringed instruments.

Par. 28

Did not Christ visibly see Satan fall from heaven like lightning (Luke 10[:18])? But it is probably not to be understood as the corporeal devil or a true lightning strike but only as metaphorical, for no one else saw it. Paul saw Christ after the Ascension; who would understand that to be a bodily vision? His companions did not see anyone (Acts 9[:7]). Said apostle, when he was caught up to the third heaven, heard inexpressible words that no one can speak and no other person has heard (2 Cor. 12[:4]). Are they then, because they are unutterable, not true or audible words but only called words in a metaphorical sense? And was it not rather the music of angels? (See Par. 63.) “God lives in a light which no one can approach” (1 Tim. 6[:16]). Should it, therefore, not be true light but only metaphorical? John really had to swallow an open scroll (Revelation 10[:9–10]); but who can grasp such book-swallowing with mere reason? If it were an allegorical or spiritual scroll, how could it have turned sour in his stomach but tasted like honey in his mouth? But in fact that happened; consequently, neither the colic nor the honey taste was metaphorical. And the fact that this scroll nevertheless is taken to indicate human precepts does not prevent the pains from being real or the sweetness from being tasted. The former may be the case, and yet the latter was also true. No one has ever seen or heard the evil spirits in the heavens (Eph. 6[:12]); should they therefore consist of imagination or conjectures and their existence be denied? The Incarnation, Resurrection, Ascension, indeed all the great deeds of God together are, according to their actual manner, incomprehensible to the natural person and his understanding. In more than twenty scripture passages we are told that **God and**

everything that is divine—accordingly also the stringed instruments and harps of the Lord—may not be recognized by human reason without revelation. What would finally result, following irrational reason, if such a lack of knowledge or such incomprehensibility were sufficient for doubt or denial?

Par. 29

To treat God's trumpets, harps and other stringed instruments of the Lord with derision because we, with our obstinate and fearful hearts, can have no clear concept of their actual nature in the heavenly choir, is already an imperceptible beginning and a concealed yet long stride toward godlessness. The honor and praise of God suffer most palpably under this weighty error; these are the most exalted part of worship, which, to be sure, is at present transitory and imperfect but afterward will be eternally enduring, perfect, and greater than faith and hope, which will cease. There is, then, reason for concern that most of those who argue against heavenly music make little of eternal life or of the time of restoration (Acts 3[:21]). It is very offensive when even so-called religious persons, out of love for some pointed or witty remark, rashly make fun of heavenly joy and delight, as did that abbot* who tells of a certain preacher who remained at the pulpit and made every effort to bring his listeners **to eternal glory** (namely to the usual conclusion of a sermon).²³ To many it appears much too unreasonable that the angels should play elsewhere than on the carved organ decorations playing mute instruments in depictions made of wood. With such and similar insipid thoughts they put on airs and have great fun; but in this matter they will not always have the last laugh. A foolish minor painting could easily be utilized in the intention of ridiculing upright Christians who believe nothing without a good basis in Holy Scripture; indeed, ten such paintings could be used as retaliation, but this would not decide the matter in a reasonable manner at all. Laughing or joking does not prove or edify, especially when it is done too coarsely.

Par. 30²⁴

As long as God's word
 In high and heavenly matters
 Does not go against reason, but rather above it;
 So long as howling there †
 And blessed singing here ‡
 Is therein solidly described by the Holy Spirit;
 Also Christian congregations
 Nevermore deny it;
 So long one will ask:
 People, why do you carry doubts?

* Bellegarde, *Art of Pleasing*, p. 107; it does not please me.

† Matthew 8[:12]; 13[:42 & 50]; 22 [:13]; 24 [:51]; 25 [:30]; Luke 13[:28].

‡ Revelation 14, 15, 19, etc.

Section Two

Investigation of Heavenly Music According to Doctrines of the Church and Its Teachers

Par. 31

A faithful-minded Christian who loves God and his eternal kingdom in his heart (for heavenly music also witnesses to pure love and unity), should rightly rejoice greatly every time he, without superstition or certainty, finds the least cause to imagine his blessedness as being as pleasant as could be possible—and indeed all the more so the less this happens among the best-known writers. They like to present all imaginable and gruesome torments of hell in the most horrible manner rather than to present a single heavenly joy with fitting clarity and attractive charm. In this they generally call upon their ignorance, which is just as great in one of these areas as in the other. Anyone who knows the books of the zealous Francisci will be sufficiently convinced of this without needing to set many others of his ilk by his side. When, for example, we hold his *Weal* and *Woe* of eternity opposite one another, we see how inordinately the second outweighs the first.²⁵ Fear and terror play a much larger part in them than true love and strong trust. The former are (unfortunately!) always stronger than the latter for people in their natural and depraved ways. That comes from the fact that human beings left to themselves know very well that they are not at all worthy of such blessedness; with their unspiritual manner of life they cannot possibly believe that Christ's merit stretches so far. For "without the Holy Spirit," for whom very few ask, "no one can call Jesus Lord" (1 Cor. 12[:3]). Others, by contrast, who imagine that they are made from a better clay, always act confidently as if they want to leave things to chance. They concern themselves as little about their salvation as about the heavenly music bequeathed to it. In the valley of Josaphat, they say, we will see one another.²⁶ But as much as they pride themselves in their affected strength, it is nothing more than disguised anxiety. True fear of God is good. "We shall be saved by fear and trembling" (Phil. 2 [:12]), but it must be childlike and loving, not servile and anxious. Trust must surely retain the upper hand and the victory; otherwise it is of no value. Fear—that kind of fear—does not bring love; trust does. God does

not give us a spirit of fear but of “power, love, and self-discipline.”* Indeed, in his Word, heaven, “where our conversation shall be” (Philippians 3[:20]), is mentioned ten times more than hell. There are always three angels to every devil, which is extremely noteworthy. Just to give a small example, consider, for example:

| | References to Hell | | References to Heaven |
|-------------------------------|--------------------|---|----------------------|
| Matthew | 9 | | 46 |
| Mark | 2 | | 17 |
| Luke | 4 | | 62 |
| Blessed John | | | |
| In his gospel and epistles | 0 | } | 70 |
| In his Revelation | 4 | | |
| Paul | 1 | | 35 |
| Peter | 1 | | 9 |
| James | 1 | | 2 |
| Total | 22 | | 241 |
| | | | More than 10:1 |

Par. 32

It is hard to believe how this firm trust in the eternal harmonic life of joy awakens courage and at the same time prudence so that this indescribable glory is not forfeited through folly. Anyone who has a deep longing for it will be little or not at all infected by diseases of ambition, wealth or passion. A future treasure that is assured, to the extent that one conducts oneself well, drives one ten times more powerfully and willingly to do good than all fear of punishment, which only causes resentment and compulsion. The more strict it is, the worse, and yet it is fortunate when some are kept back from evil by threats when they do not act correctly from the heart. Apparently it must be easier to depict something horrible and gruesome than something pleasant and charming. The former grips the heart more intensely and makes a deeper impression. Herod’s massacre of the innocents drew much greater attention in the world than did the angels’ concert in Bethlehem. Most minds are often far more captivated, engaged and excited by the frightening thunder of cannons, by bullfights and other animal fights or by startling fireworks burning brightly on a dark night, even when many of them fall into the trenches of bridges, than by a green

* 2 Tim. 1[:7], Σωφρονισμός, sanitas animi, healthy reason. See Titus 1 & 2. Luther says he may not use the word “reason” and has to replace it with “self-discipline.” That is very strange.

meadow, by a cheerful forest and softly rustling brook, by bright sunshine and clear skies. The latter often stand completely empty and deserted in the warm summer; with the former, on the other hand, no apple can fall on the ground [because of the crowd] even if there is a hard freeze. Whether something is rare or common does indeed play a big part; but frightening spectacles touch us thoroughly in the most sensitive manner as long as we think we are out of gunshot or danger.* What is naturally beautiful is too outmoded for us; it must be artificial, then it has style! Painters will know whether it takes more skill to make a perfectly lovely and smooth face or a very ugly and wrinkled face. Warts, scars, moles, pimples and such are usually most successful with their paintbrushes. Anyone who is richly provided with such markings can firmly count on getting a good likeness.

Par. 33

Proceeding to the application of this discourse: we have a blessed multitude of the most beautiful, heartwarming hymns,[†] but we pay little attention to them, which is regrettable. Meanwhile, that which so many million members of Christian congregations have brought together into these most expressive and

* *Suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis
E terra alterius magnum spectare laborem
Suave enim belli certamina magna tueri
Per campos instructa, tui sine parte pericli.
Non quia vexari quemquam est jucunda voluptas;
Sed quibus ipse malis careas quia cernere suave est.*

How sweet, to watch from the shore the wind-whipped ocean
Toss someone else's ship in a mighty struggle;
Not that the man's distress is cause for mirth—
Your freedom from those troubles is what's sweet;
And sweet, to see great lives of soldiers marched
In the plains of war, when you are free from peril.

Lucretius [*On the Nature of Things (De rerum natura)*, ed. and trans. Anthony M. Esalen (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 57 (Book 2, lines 1-6). Mattheson's Latin gives lines 1-2, 5-6, then 3-4.]

[†] The familiar Serpilian Hymn Concordance extends over only 600 hymns and is now already 50 years old. [Georg Serpilius, *Neuerfertigte Lieder-Concordantz über 600 Kirchen- und andre geistreiche Gesänge* (Dresden: Mieth and Zimmerman, 1696).] Perhaps a new and expanded edition has appeared since then; at least a continuation would be desirable. In our present Hamburg hymnal there are also not more than 632 pieces in all; by contrast, not only does the Crüger hymnal [Johann Crüger, *Praxis Pietatis Melica*, numerous editions] recently contain 1260, and thus a greater number than Solomon had, but in the Lüneburg hymnal, for the last 46 years, there are even 2100. Not to mention other rich collections, such as *Andächtiger Seelen geistliches Brand- und Ganz-Opfer* in eight volumes by Johann Günther (Leipzig, 1697). [J. S. Bach owned a set of these volumes; see Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek*, 188-190.]

charming melodies for now almost 1800 years under the leadership of their orthodox church angels—which all devoted Christians, however small their number, may to this day hear resounding publicly with discernible edification and joy in all houses of God—these should also serve as a fitting validation for the affirmation of heavenly music. They can still do so to the extent that everything is completely in accordance with the divine Word and has done its most glorious service to spread the Word. For on this foundation—namely, the authority of the church and its teachers—must not only all that is called reason but also the greatest human renown be built.

Par. 34

It is hard to conceive how someone who wants to be an upright Christian, who knows—or just wants to know and recognize—what an unspeakable value the hymns of the church have always had for improvement in faith, can nevertheless hold them in low esteem. Even if here and there the hymns exhibit an outdated simplicity, still they are without error, holy, praiseworthy, and noble. But people especially make fun of those hymns that actually deal with heavenly music, because they are not written according to today's critical—often very unsingable—poetic style. They would rather hear the rumbling of a half dozen drums while miserable soldiers run the gauntlet than have to sing along with a pleasant hymn of praise in the nearest church. Certainly such a person can basically harbor neither a heroic nor a blind faith, but least of all can it be the former. Indeed, when a poor criminal is drawn, quartered, burned, or hanged, such people are little interested in food or drink—they leave it untouched—until they have first enjoyed their barbaric feast for the eyes and also taken pride in being seen. By contrast, they wouldn't be caught dead coming to the assembly of the Lord and his holy ones before the singing and playing is past, and they make sure that they hurry out again and go to dine or to the fields before it starts up again. The biggest part of the crowd does this.²⁷ How, then, can anything stick when one evades every opportunity for improvement? **In this matter** Grossgebauer was truly not far off the mark in his *Wächter-Stimme*.²⁸

Par. 35

One would think that today's proper and dignified upper classes would not behave as badly as the more common man, but they are lacking in the opposite way: they are, for the most part, so excessively gallant that they are almost embarrassed to open their mouths to sing religious songs in church, not to mention at home. Nor will they stretch out their hands to play uplifting music, least of all when it may concern hymns about heaven. A Christian should, however, be ashamed to let a day elapse without singing and making music in praise of God, because it is obvious that even the smallest little birds cheerfully come out before morning light with their festive manner of whistling (for they sing according to the way their beak grows).²⁹ Indeed, they often make use of

the late night—from which the nightingale gets its name—to bring a sacrifice of joy to their creator in their own manner. In this case, as in other circumstances, they are teachers for lazy humans. Is it not then much more fitting that we should praise God the Lord in every imaginable way, in all circumstances, in all places, and in all our works, especially in the most important and great work of furthering our eternal and enduring heavenly joy?³⁰ In the old days one occasionally encountered some chorale melody or other at the back of apprentices' lesson books when they were turned around, even though at the front, turned correctly, there was nothing but masquerade dances. Nowadays such a person would be ridiculed for this and would in short be denied the label "gallant." So why should anyone talk much about singing and playing to the honor of God? Where are there social gatherings nowadays where Christians just talk about Christ or even make mention of him just once? Anyone who does this does not have to look for a laughing-stock, as the one who writes this has actually experienced. But enough of this, because it can never be enough!

Par. 36

One must nevertheless recognize that those hymns that mention heavenly music, when they receive the appropriate attention, generally move, delight and wonderfully strengthen the faithful hope of the congregation far, far more than all others. Ten sermons have often not accomplished what a single such chorale has done. From my own experience I could present various examples, even from hospitals, penal, and correctional institutions, if it were demanded and if it would be useful for hardened hearts. Lamenting, mourning, longing, confessing, repenting, weeping and such can all be represented in a most acute way in music and song; one can design the most moving works of music about dying and death, about Christ's descent to hell, about the last judgment, about eternity in general; hymns about heaven still are and remain the best of all. But what should one say of hymns about hell that make one's hair stand on end? Hell and its hymns do not square with one another at all. One can reflect well in reading and, as a warning, tell threateningly of howling, gnashing of teeth, a thousand torturers, miry pitch and brimstone, devil's spittle, devouring of dung, wretchedness, torment, affliction, and the fire of eternal damnation; but never can these things be sung or played well, especially to the prescribed sweetest and most gentle melodies "Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein!" or "Nun ruhen alle Wälder," etc.³¹ One cannot imagine anything in the world more absurd than that. The one who is writing is a friend of heaven and an enemy of hell.

* "Erubescat Christianus diem transire sine modulatione, cum minutissimae aves ortum diei solenni decantatione praevenerint. Lusciniae ad dicendas laudes dies sola non sufficit, nocturna spacia pervigili cantilena decurrit. Ita & nos Deum canamus semper, et in omni sorte, ubique & in omni opere." Ambrose, as cited by Stegmann in *Christogn.*, p. 380.

Par. 37

Thousands upon thousands of human voices, organs, and other resounding instruments make our large and small churches ring and resound at the celebration of the birth of Christ by means of the song, “From heaven above I come to you,” in the words:

My heart for very joy now leaps;
 My voice no longer silence keeps;
 I too must join the angel-throng
 To sing with joy his cradle-song:
 ‘Glory to God in highest heav’n,
 Who unto us his Son has giv’n.’
 with angels sing in pious mirth:
 A glad new year to all the earth!³²
 (Martin Luther, No. 80 of the Hamburg hymnal.)³³

If it is false, or a mere speculation and nothing more, that angels make music, oh why has all of Christendom, together with their chosen teachers and servants of the church, been allowed to play, sing, speak, and write of this for such a long time without the least contradiction? And why have they been allowed to publish this and more in countless books with extraordinary public commendation? Was this all for the supposed purpose of seducing the simple-minded? We are indeed—praise God!—since the time that the above and other similar songs were completed, no longer from the same crowd as those who believe blindly what their church or gracious lords believe; we have, rather, a strong, prophetic word that we use for a guide.

Par. 38

What unvarnished Christian does not feel his heart leap in his body when, with lively devotion, he hears the sound of the lovely Christmas hymn according to the tune “Warum solt ich mich denn graemen?”³⁴ He sings along with the opening words of the hymn,

Once again my heart rejoices
 As I hear, far and near,
 Sweetest angel voices:
 ‘Christ is born,’
 their choirs are singing,
 till the air ev’rywhere
 Now with joy is ringing.³⁵
 (Paul Gerhardt, no 87, Hamburg hymnal.)³⁶

Par. 39

Some people, out of distaste, no longer want to allow the half Latin, half German song “In dulci jubilo” of the sincere Peter of Dresden,³⁷ they make a mocking adverb out of it, which is called “indulcjubiloicè” and is used when writing or speech is distorted by foreign words.* For the same song another version is now available without any mixing of languages, rendered thus: “Where is the place of joy? Nowhere more than there, where the angels sing to the dear little Jesus and the psalms resound loud and clear in heaven. O that we were there!” (Paul Gerhard in Lüneburg hymnal, no. 192.)^{†38} Or according to another author: “Where is the joyous crowd? Nowhere more than there, where the angels sing, etc.”³⁹ An anonymous author begins his hymn of heaven with these words, “O, if one could already be in heaven,” and carries out the seventh verse, to the melody “Wie nach einer Wasser-Quelle” thus: “How lovely will it sound, when I sing the Alleluia with all the angels. O, if one could only be there already!” Whoever takes the hymn concordance in hand will encounter more of the same, especially also about playing instruments. The last words quoted are also in the Lüneberg hymnal, no. 1892.⁴⁰

Par. 40

To the melody, “Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herrn” one finds, among others, a song with these opening words: “Cheer up and let us sing!” (“Frisch auf, und laßt uns singen!”) The ninth setting in the *Himmels-lieder* takes this form: “O joy! O lovely singing! O sweet song! O shouts of pleasure! O wonderfully happy sound! O never silent choir! The angels and quick spirits of heaven stand there, as the music directors let nothing be silent, performing the great Alleluia with us on violins, lutes and bandoras, alto, bass, treble and tenor.”⁴¹ Whoever is without sin here, let him throw the first stone at Rist.

Par. 41

How devoutly, how earnestly and longingly have our Protestant forefathers and good teachers petitioned God to give his special grace to such musical contemplations directed heavenward? Just listen how it sounds to the melody “Von Gott will ich nicht lassen”: “Lord Christ, grant me your Spirit that I may sing, to give me heartfelt pleasure, of that which is heavenly and is called a heavenly paradise; the Lord will save me from all evil, of this I am certain.” And how will it then happen in that place? “There will be heard the playing of heavenly stringed instruments; the choir of heaven will bring much joy in God.” Further: “With all the angels, we will sing joyfully to our God, ‘Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts.’” (Joh. Nicolai, Hamburg hymnal, no. 596.)⁴²

* This comparison fits very poorly here.

† The caesuras or marks of separation here are guided by the singing, not the grammar.

Par. 42

Our godly elders called the new heaven and new earth “the dear summertime of happy eternity.” Indeed, where is the reflective person who does not look forward with all his soul to such a pleasant change if he, with believing hope, rightly considers the winter of this world. From this one naturally proceeds to singing and playing instruments: “God will one day awaken all who have ever been born, together with our flesh, with the sound of a trumpet, to great glory in Jesus Christ our Savior and will reveal the eternal blessedness to us clearly. There we will hear the real sound of stringed instruments; music will bring much joy in God; the saints will sing, like the angels of God, with pure heavenly tongues, in God’s kingdom of joy. We will all continuously echo the new song, singing with joy before God’s throne.” (Johann Walther, Lüneburg hymnal no. 1906.)⁴³

Par. 43

From the gospel for the sixth Sunday after the Epiphany, Matthew 17, a hymn is prescribed to the melody “Singen wir aus Herzens-Grund,” in which we find the following conclusion: “With the throngs of the elect, I will forevermore joyfully sing my song of praise to honor and thank the Lord while my body and soul take pleasure in living eternally in the glory of heaven.” (Hamburg hymnal no. 223.)⁴⁴ And when in our spiritual gatherings the topic is the Last Judgment, what is any more common than the hymn, “Sleepers, wake, a voice is calling”? And what is more in accordance with Scripture than the third verse of the same: “Let *Gloria* be sung to thee with tongues of humans and angels, with harps and cymbals.”⁴⁵ (Phil. Nicolai, Hamburg hymnal, no. 587.)* Were all these men irrational, illiterate fantasists and mere conjecturers? The last-named, the former head pastor at St. Catharine’s in Hamburg, conveys in his *Theoria vitae aeternae*, Book V, the following remarkable account: “This world, when it has been burned up and cleansed through fire will also, like our bodies, be renewed and changed into an incomparably more beautiful form. There will be a new heaven and a new earth. The moon will shine like the sun, and the sun will be seven times brighter than now. The tempestuous sea and the wild ocean do not belong to the future world—only fine, quiet air, beautiful country with pleasant trees, brooks, streams, etc. Even the birds will also praise God in that place with lovely chatter.” (Why not humans with perfect knowledge of musical art? For everything will be new.) “When our blessed journey home out of heaven into the new earth occurs, its inhabitants will be human beings, just as human beings now live in today’s old world; they will perform everything with righteousness and holiness and will rule and guide with true hearts. They will not be different human beings than those who previously lived on our old earth, who have been reborn here to eternal life. With Christ they will come down out of the higher heaven into the new earth, and in the high air the angels will be heard playing

* See his *Beschreibung des ewigen Lebens*, 4. Hamb. 1609. Lübeck 1611.

stringed instruments and the whole heavenly choir singing. It will be like a wedding celebration where harps, cymbals, organs, tympani, pipes, trumpets, and strings are played for dancing. The angels will then join with us in their hymn of joy. The singers go in front, after them the minstrels among the maidens playing drums. Then will be said with greatest perfection: ‘with trumpets, psalteries, harps, tympani, dancing, strings, pipes, loud sounding cymbals, let everything that has breath praise the Lord.’ Furthermore, outward eating and drinking will not be forbidden to anyone there; for the new healthy fruits, new fields, gardens and beautiful trees on the new earth will not stand there in vain but will serve for our delight. We will eat of them not out of hunger but to enjoy them with pleasure whenever we want. We will eat as often as we are inclined, not when we need to. *Potestas non egestas edendi ibi erit. Edemus, cum volemus, non cum indigebimus.* (Augustine)⁴⁶ Thus far the shortened excerpt from the above-named author, who powerfully supported everything he put forward from Holy Scripture.⁴⁷

Par. 44

When we treat heaven and blessedness, we must look at the hymn “Wie lieblich sind dort oben” and the following lines in it: “The angel choir will bring us much pleasure; the song of thanksgiving and victory will sound far better than any string music, etc.” Namely, far better than today’s earthly instruments. (Hamburg hymnal, no 598.)⁴⁸ If we are to describe the heavenly Jerusalem, it is written, among others: “There I hear the servants of God sing, and their lips bring sacrifice; there the whole citizenry of heaven extols the power of their king.” (Lüneburg hymnal no. 1920.)⁴⁹ And then, for the feast of St. Michael the archangel: “Where everything resounds to your praise, Lord, and sings ‘Holy, holy, holy’ without ceasing etc.”⁵⁰ “Therefore rejoice, you heavens and those who are inscribed therein for eternity. Awaken the senses to singing and resounding, etc.” (*Ibid.*, nos. 709 and 712.)⁵¹

Par. 45

Not the least of the lovely songs of the church is the one that begins, “Seligstes Wesen, unendliche Wonne” (“Most blessed reality, endless delight”) by Abraham Hinkelmann (Hamburg hymnal no. 595), where it reads, “Let me praise you until one day up there where the angels and humans sing to you, my glorified tongue will sound.”⁵² Likewise also the glorified string music: “When we shall hear in their ranks, voices, and instruments, the heavenly harpists who, like the stars, surpass one another in clarity of sound, then will we ‘play in a new heavenly manner, ornament the notes quite artfully and delicately, sing the psalm beautifully, all with joyful heart, for God will renew all of music.’”⁵³ The reader is reminded not to pay attention to the poor form of rhyme or sentence structure but to look at the basic matter itself.

* Hector Mithobius, *Psalmodia Christiana* [Jena, 1665], p. 327.



Figure 2. Frontispiece to Hector Mithobius, *Psalmodia Christiana* (Jena, 1665). British Library reproduction.

Par. 46

And who does not know, who does not sing the great, world-famous hymn of praise by Ambrose and Augustine (no. 529 in the Hamburg hymnal), where it

reads, “The cherubim and seraphim sing always with loud voice*...the holy twelve apostles and all the dear prophets, together with the beloved martyrs, praise you, Lord, with a great sound”⁵⁴ Now the prophets especially were God’s cheerful string players along with whole choruses, and they remain so for all eternity. “For their deeds follow after them also in this” (Revelation [14:13]):⁵⁵ their deeds must inevitably follow after them and each person primarily to the extent that they contribute in the least to the praise of God. They, the prophets, also accompany the cherubim and seraphim; David, Isaiah, Habakkuk and so on are certainly and truly included among them in their works; that stands firm until the opposite is demonstrated from reason, from doctrine and from Holy Scripture. The one who denies this must bring the proof. David long previously had already affirmed this of himself with these clear words: “That my glory,” that is, as Luther writes regarding this, my tongue and my stringed instrument with which I glorify you, “may sing praise and not be silent; Lord, my God, I will give thanks to you eternally.” (Psalm 30[:12]; see Par. 94.) That no one should doubt this, he also repeats such a thing in more than a dozen places.[†] Even if all other theologians I have cited or will yet cite, along with their whole congregations, had not at all known the accepted rules for interpreting Holy Scripture, one should still consider that David and Luther would by all means be exceptions to that.

Par. 47

This short list of hymns drawn from the general index of those approved by the entire Christian world, as well as the following record of particular teachers, could clearly be expanded if it were not already long enough for the irresponsible amusement of professional scoffers. O how they will delight in this! They will cry out: “Nice tidbits! Heaven hangs full of violins!” and such like. But when they turn quiet about their joy, we will be playing. Let them sharpen their teeth on this anyway; a genuine Christian will just enjoy it all the more.

Par. 48

We proceed now from the great authority of countless whole communities that agree with one another and have never been contradicted in this matter to the solid and weighty testimonies of particular respected writers. Thus St. Augustine asked very nicely in his time: “What kind of accommodations will we have in heaven?” And answered: “Our whole business will be to sing Alleluia without fail, without ceasing and without interruption.”^{‡56} We celebrate then an eternal Sabbath with the holy angels, to the honor of God. That is the sole office

* It actually states, *incessabili voce*, that is, with unceasing voice. Cf. Revelation 4 and par. 132.

[†] Psalms 16, 44, 45, 52, 57, 61, 72, 79, 86, 89, 104, 108, 145, 146.

[‡] “*Quid acturi sumus in vita aeterna? Hoc erit totum negotium nostrum, sine defectu Halleluja.*” Augustine on Psalm 83.

which remains when no one may any longer be sent out to the service of “those who are to inherit salvation” (Hebr.1[:14]). And from this musical Sabbath situation of the church triumphant, which David pointed out sufficiently in Psalm 92, it follows necessarily that the Most High God looks especially on such a harmonic being both in heaven and on earth with gracious delight. And therefore the whole function of the blessed will be just that. For the angels also, who have previously provided service to humans in this world, will then find nothing else to do; yet this will be their unending, joyful, and complete work, because the praiseworthy attributes of God are themselves endless. The very same writer, the first and most thorough investigator of nature and grace, writes in a different place: “Nothing in the world leads us to imagine the heavenly dwelling as aptly as does the joyfulness of those who praise God.”^{*57} Would Augustine have drawn this conclusion from crucifix paintings from the time of Mary, or from the depictions where the angels hold harps in their hands or trumpets to their mouths? That would work well, just like the Dutch fleet with Amsterdam pennants on the Nile where Moses was still lying in his basket! “Next to the most holy and most worthy Trinity,” writes our Aurelius further, “the heavenly hosts will also rejoice with the redeemed and blessed people amidst triumphant jubilation with singing and sounding of instruments. And then will be fulfilled, what the Psalm says: ‘Blessed are those who dwell in your house, who praise you evermore.’ [Psalm 84:4] And the singers, as in the dance, will all sing to you, one after the other.”^{†58} “Do you like a beautiful, pleasant-sounding music? There the dear angels will undertake this for our dear God without ceasing.”^{‡59} Thus far Augustine for now.

Par. 49

No one, to be sure, should argue strictly on the basis of authority; it usually matters little or not at all. But where such authority of very enlightened men is based firmly on God’s express Word and is affirmed by well-informed reason, there it gains triple strength and produces a cord of the sort that is not easily torn apart. We recognize on this footing also the correctness of that saying which St. Bernard uttered regarding this matter with these words: “that the holy angels like to find themselves among and mix together with those who play worthily to God the Lord.”^{§60} Who would not like to lend a helping hand when one could enjoy the company of angels in their concert? But it must happen in such an excellent manner as is most befitting the divine majesty; this may doubtless be the meaning of the somewhat unusual word *dignanter*, namely, as the English say, “with harp and heart.” Accordingly, if Christ said in his friendly promise,

* “Nihil ita proprie in terris repraesentat statum coelestis habitationis, ut alacritas laudantium Deum.” Cited by Stegman. In *Christogn*, p. 415.

† Id. De spiritu et anima, c. 58.

‡ Id. In Manuali c. 34

§ “Psallentibus dignanter admisceri sancti Angeli solent.” S. Bernard, Sermon 7 super cantic.

“Where two or three are gathered in my name, I am in the midst of them” (Matthew 18[:20]), how would one have any doubts about the presence of the angels under the existing circumstances? Servants like to be where their masters are. Do they hold an exam on whether we qualify here such that we can become masters with them there? One may also observe very well that, when heartwarming pieces that draw tears of joy are performed, it must be the special work of the Holy Spirit and the angels.

Par. 50

Likewise Basil the Great presents to us no other model to follow than heavenly hosts making music. From them we are not only to observe and learn the singing and playing but also the circle dance that goes along with it. “What can be more blessed,” he says, “than to imitate on earth the playing and singing dance of the holy angels.”⁶¹ How through his letters this good former archbishop was able in this manner to justify encouraging Christians to dance and also to make the angels into leaders of the dance, I leave aside. Miriam with her drumming and David with both words and deeds also sanctify dancing. And as long as Exodus 15, Psalms 149 and 150, and 2 Samuel 6; as long, further, as Luther’s exhortation in the hymn “Nun freut euch lieben Christen gemein und laßt uns fröhlich springen” (“Now rejoice ye, dear Christians all, and let us leap joyfully”); so long, finally, as Philip Nicolai’s hymn “Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern” (“How brightly shines the morning star”) with the words “sing, leap, rejoice” (Hamburg hymnal, nos. 363 and 523)[†] remain undisputed and not declared heretical according to pure evangelical teaching: so long may the full defense of this dancing be respectable. In the meantime, singing and dancing are hardly a hand’s width apart, if one considers both in a certain manner.

Par. 51

A small attempt can do no harm. At weddings, at harvest time, and at the feast of tabernacles, for example, the pleasures of the people from whom our salvation comes (John 4[:22]) were never without the dance of religion.^{‡62} Now the One who does not lie (Titus 1[:2]) has prepared and promised for people in the splendor to come the most perfect wedding of all, the marriage of the Lamb, the divine bridegroom, and the adorned bride (Revelation 14, 19, 21) with the richest harvest and merriest tabernacle. How then could it be possible, given the enormous agility of angelic and glorified bodies, to exclude that single pleasure of heavenly dancing from such an indescribably perfect and blessed existence where nothing that brings delight is missing? In the city of God the singers will

* “Quid beatius esse potest, quam in terra tripudium Angelorum imitari!” *Basil Epist. 2 ad Greg. Theol.*

† See Nos. 80 and 87.

‡ Judges 9, Psalm 65. See [Johann] Lund, [*Die Alten Jüdischen Heiligthümer, Gottesdienste und Gewohnheiten* (Hamburg: Johann Wolfgang Fickweiler, 1722)] Bk I, ch. 3 etc.

surely sing all around one another, as in a round dance (Psalm 87[:7]). “They will rejoice there,” says Isaiah 9[:3], “as one rejoices at the harvest.” And least of all should the angels be excluded from this, for they themselves are the reapers (Matthew 13[:30]) and are also said explicitly to praise God with drums and dancing (Psalms 149[:3], 150[:4]; see par. 115). There we will, as it says in Isaiah 30[:29], rejoice in our hearts as in the night of a holy feast, as when one goes out with the playing of the flute to the mountain of the Lord. Israel, cries Jeremiah 31[:4], you should still beat the drums joyfully and go out to the dance. Then the young women will happily enter into the dancing, together with the young men and the elderly. These are important prophecies, as they are not directed merely at temporal release from Babylon only or from the papacy, but primarily and ultimately at eternal life. May we see from these few examples how God also honors dancing when it honors him.

Par. 52

When Joannes de Silveira^{*63} puts forward the question whether such instruments as pipes, harps, organs, etc., are really to be found in the heaven of the blessed, he is indeed able to affirm it, and Gregorius Ferrarius^{*64} also wants to assert this, to say nothing of other scholastics of the same ilk. Let no one laugh about this, for the argument of such people is sound, as follows: “Because,” they say, “we are to enjoy that great blessedness in heaven also with our bodies, so we will without doubt be present there in a changed yet bodily condition, as will those glorified means and real things which are by no means improper for such a beautiful city of God and such a great court at its marriage feast. Already not just a few but many saints (Matthew 27[:52]) are present there in a glorified bodily manner; not only those who were resurrected with Christ witness sufficiently to this, but also Moses and Elijah in their appearance (Matthew 17[:3], Luke 9[:30–31]).” They continue, and we say with them very confidently in this case, “Now musical praise of every sort is not inappropriate either to that place or to the new Jerusalem, nor to the condition of heavenly paradise as described in divine revelation; rather it is most appropriate and necessary. Therefore....”

Par. 53

All this is quite true if only one makes the proper distinction, in the words of Paul (1 Cor. 15[:40]), between earthly and heavenly voices, consequently between earthly and heavenly instruments, as well as between earthly and heavenly bodies. Since now the angels have frequently demonstrated that they can take on the loveliest glorified bodies instantaneously and then put them aside again as they please, who would deny them and us the ability to take on such sounding instruments as agree with such bodies, and thus deny the

* In Apocal. T. I. c. 5 quest. 14. The abbot Steffani mistook this name and wrote Sylverius, and A. Werckmeister followed him in this. See note to par. 54.

† In *Vita Angelica* and *Comment. Ad Apocal.*

authority that is based on the above-cited scriptures and is also in accordance with reason? Why are we not satisfied in knowing there really are heavenly, angelic instruments? Must we know all the particulars about the material and form they actually consist of or how they are used? We do not even know how our own bodies are constituted: will each and every member that we now have actually go with us to heaven in transformed yet bodily form and from there into the new world, or will it be just the most noble parts? May God allow us to perceive this by grace and full of joy! If in a city of 375 German square miles the walls are of precious gems, the gates of whole pearls, the lanes of pure gold like transparent glass; and if the woods there grow with leaves and fruits, how much more will one have in the way of instruments of all sorts? To be sure, all this can be interpreted as completely spiritual; in particular, the loss of the temple, the sun and the moon can be interpreted as the elimination of the obscure word and the office of preaching. Yet in addition, the visible new world shall serve as an outward bodily residence, just as our parents occupied both the earthly paradise and the divine image, the one as an actual pleasure palace, the other as a temple of the creator.

Par. 54

Anselm, the former scholar of Canterbury, called out in his time, in true faith: “Oh, what pleasure do they enjoy who attend unendingly to the harmony of heaven, the angelic songs and the sweet hymns of all the blessed.”^{*65} And when St. Augustine, who was just cited, was inflamed by the fire of God’s love to meditate on heavenly glory, he expressed the fervent desire: “Oh how happy I would be, and truly blessed for eternity, if, after the resurrection of this humble body, I should be deemed worthy to listen to the hymns that the citizens of the upper fatherland cause to resound to the praise of our heavenly king.” And further: “One hears always in the heavenly paradise the sound of the sweetest voices with new symphonies. The sense of hearing is constantly occupied with the sound of instruments that are being played so joyfully.”^{†66}

Par. 55

Many will perhaps hold these testimonies in low regard because they do not (and also, because of their age could not) come from Protestants. But this is not at all reasonable. For we must not ask only, “Who said this?” but above all “What was said?” And in any case we have (praise God!) a large number of such pure evangelical teachers before us who are of one mind with the older church fathers and other profound authors. Of them there is such an inventory that it is difficult to choose and name just a few without slighting the rest.

* In *Elucidario*, cit. Steffani, in the libretto: Quanto certezza hà la Musica etc., p. 68.

† St. Augustine in *Meditat.* c. 24. 26.

Par. 56

Faithful, unforgettable Luther! Onward, lead the troops, as is proper and fitting! This chosen instrument of God's armor once had singers as guests, listened attentively to them and finally broke forth with the following noteworthy comment: "Dear God! We are now still in this life that is nothing but a vale of tears, and you give us, along with other gifts, lovely music for refreshment! What will there be in the next life, where everything will happen in the most perfect and most cheerful manner?"* The blessed man of God thus knew and recognized music in heaven, both vocal and instrumental, and asserted this sufficiently at various other places in his immortal writings. Yes, holy Luther! You have still said too little about this important matter; your present heavenly experience with pleasure will convince you of that. Possibly the dear man, in his *Table Talk*, had in his mind's eye the verse that is written in the so-called Patrimony of Peter on an organ in Perugia: *Haec si contingunt terris, quae gaudia coelis! If there is such joy on earth, what will there be in heaven!*⁶⁷ But let one consider how one's desires for the music of the New Jerusalem must grow, and how one's yearning must become greater daily when one practices the art of music, loves it fervently, and almost becomes part of it to the highest degree on earth; must then this temporal happiness be completely pointless? Because of its uncommon rarity, this kind of inward longing cannot be described with any pen. Who can blame such champions of heavenly music? Should we not rather wish that each person, in the middle of other busy activities, would feel just the same desires, even though without the same pressing cause? For, whatever one may say, everything finally is directed toward this end. We have a special example and model of this above-mentioned reasoning—from the smaller to the larger—in a powerful king of our times, who, after he had waged war long enough, made conquests, and mediated some of the most difficult matters of the world, right away took his flute in hand to be refreshed.⁶⁸

Par. 57

"The whole Christian church, both militant and triumphant, is divided into two choirs, namely the upper and the lower. The former makes music in heaven, the latter here on earth. Our earthly music is, to a certain extent, nothing other than an echo or reverberation of the heavenly." These are the words of Dannhauer.^{†69} "Since the Most High God," he writes elsewhere, "has given the command to praise Him, He at the same time gives the command to praise Him with all possible means that one can praise and honor Him (Sirach 43[:30]), such as with simple and artistic songs, with harps, viols, organs, strings and flutes, and whatever else may be named."^{‡70} (Here as well as there.) What may be called an echo is always in respect to that which precedes, which is higher, better and original, that is to the upper choir. This author also expands on this by

* Colloq. mens Tit. 68 [WA TR 1:490 (No. 968)].

† *Hodom. Calvin.*, p. 1244.

‡ *Lact. Catechet.*, P. I. Conc. 27.

saying that music in paradise had its origin immediately at the creation of the world. “For who would question,” he asks, “whether humans in a state of innocence sang and made music to the honor of their God? And who would deny that human beings, if they had remained in this state, would also have praised God the Creator with instruments? And indeed this would have been much lovelier and more beautiful than any music that may be employed after the Fall.”^{*71} Let us remember here the echo and consider the angelic origin. Adam could not have known any teacher other than God and the holy angels. The former rector of the university in Paris, who can never be praised too highly, agrees with that which we have cited from Augustine in par. 1. In words that fit here very well, he writes, “Human beings did not have the birds as instructors but a much more excellent instructor in music, and to him they must dedicate all their knowledge: for music is a divine gift.”^{†72} God promises, accomplishes and imparts everything through Christ and his servants, the praising and rejoicing morning stars, whose prince he is; and from the very beginning he led their whole heavenly round dance, and he will do this for all eternity.

Par. 58

Here we have good reason to introduce the important declaration that heavenly Wisdom, the divine head music director of all angels and blessed ones, gave in Proverbs 8 [22, 30–31] with the following words: “When he, God the Father, laid the foundations of the earth, there was I, Christ, the master workman beside him, and I took pleasure daily and played before him always and played on the earth, and my pleasure is with the human race.” (See par. 128 below.) What kind of *playing* this actually was will indeed not be so easily determined. But this much is certain and also sufficient, that both in Hebrew and in Greek the words belong to those expressions that indicate actual musical singing and playing (“to play the lyre”), yes, even dancing, as are to be found, for example, in the following manners of speaking: “David played before the Lord” (2 Sam. 2). That is surely not to be understood as a metaphor. Further: “I will play before the Lord.” Similarly: “All Israel played before God when they saw David play” (1 Chron. 14:16). Whoever can do better, let him interpret this better still. At the four places mentioned, one finds in Hebrew each time קנש, *psallo*, and in the Greek three times the same, ψάλλω. That stands firm. Only in the second place does the Greek text have ὀρχέομαι, *salto* (I dance). Now the twofold *playing* that appears in the Proverb text mentioned above leads back likewise to the same original Hebrew word; but in the Greek translation, there is a more general word εὐφραίνομαι, *laetor* (I rejoice). The former Superintendent in Goslar, Heinrich Bunting, had an Oration concerning music published in which he reportedly[‡]

* Dannhauer in “Orat. De Spir. S. Poesi,” also *Hodom. Caluin* l. c. and *Lact. Catech.* P. I. Conc. 36. See also his “Homil. de júbilo angel.”

† Rollin, *Hist. Anc.* T. 2, p. 160.

‡ Cf. M. Hector Mithobius, *Psalmodia Christiana*, p. 193, with the approval of the theological faculty of Wittenberg.

treated this scripture passage extensively.⁷³ Anyone who has this at hand could perhaps find it useful.

Par. 59

“Do we marvel here on earth when, say, a beautiful maiden with a delicate, clear voice sings in such a lovely and artistic manner that we forget everything else and want to listen ever after only to her? In the next life we will all be pure maidens whose beauty will be completely perfect and whose voices will far, far exceed all worldly music when we sing the songs of Moses and of the Lamb. Here we consider ourselves fortunate if we are able to hear a famous, outstanding, skilled musician; for his sake we travel a great distance and go to a great deal of trouble. In eternal life, however, we ourselves will be the most perfect of all musical artists and singers and will hit all notes exactly, bring forth all musical modes purely, and play on all instruments competently: for we will lack nothing (Psalm 23). We will be like angels, as they will be like us, whose tongues will surpass all those in the world (1 Cor. 13). Just as everything else will be many thousand times and incomprehensibly higher and more glorious in eternal life; so also the music there must be by unimaginable degrees more excellent than all the loveliest songs and instruments on earth....”*

Par. 60

Milton—permit me to cite the great poet here. If Watts in his so-called *Future World* provides from him a description of the haunts of the devil,⁷⁴ why should I have misgivings about letting his lovely thoughts about heaven likewise be considered? For Milton, even if he was no teacher of the church, describes the harmonic joys for us in his *Paradise Lost* with poetic pen, to be sure, but yet in accordance with Scripture, by means of the following words:

Then crowned again their golden harps they took,
Harps ever tuned, that glittering by their side
Like quivers hung, and with preamble sweet
Of charming symphony they introduce
Their sacred song, and waken raptures high;
No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
Melodious part, such concord is in Heaven.^{†75}

Pierre du Moulin, the younger, writes in a Thursday meditation thus:

It is the eternal office of the glorified souls in heaven that they praise God because of his holiness and say, “Salvation be unto our God who sits on the throne and unto the Lamb!”

* Mithobius, *Ibid.*, p. 365f.

† *Paradise Lost*, Book V etc. [*sic*].

Whereupon the hosts of angels answer them: “Amen! Praise and honor and wisdom and power and strength be to our God forever and ever, Amen!” Come, now, my soul, let us join in these heavenly songs of praise and from this time forward take part in this music of the angels.⁷⁶

This, along with the previous, is a good statement by two Reformed writers, the latter of whom is known as a great theologian.

Par. 61

It has also greatly pleased the sworn friends of music,⁷⁷ as they are mockingly called, that a former famous and devout director of music in Frankfurt am Main* made bold to claim that “even if all arts came to an end and completely ceased, music then would spring up, flourish and be practiced by the angelic choir with the highest perfection (as both science and art) for the praise and glory of God for all eternity.”⁷⁸ That is also completely in accord with common sense, the teaching of the church and the revealed will of God. Permit me a short but necessary explanation because of certain words used here. Among **knowledge, science and art**, which are all too often confused and mixed up with one another, one must observe well a distinction: γνώσις, *notitia*; ἐπιστήμη, *cognitio per causam, l. scientia perfecta*; and τέχνη, *ars*, seeing that the last is actually just a practical realization of the second. Art, to be sure, cannot exist without science, but one can have science without art. (See Par. 30 above.) All science is eternal, not all art. In the world, indeed, science has knowledge to its right and art to its left; in eternal life, however, these adjunct subjects are unnecessary. The blessed spirits will surely have no need for arts and crafts, but the souls that are so practiced in all kinds of science cannot possibly be so empty of these as that of a simple day laborer. Through wisdom, understanding and sciences, which God’s Word commands us to strive after so earnestly, souls become not only more reasonable, but better. Should their separation from the cumbersome body make them worse? Erudition in history, law, and medicine, to the extent that they are concerned only with this life of the lower world, will be partly lost, because the practice of them as well as the incomprehensibility of language will cease. But the perfection of the concepts of understanding will still extend out from all of them so much the longer and farther and will climb higher with immeasurable pleasure into eternity.⁷⁹ The noble scientific **observations** of divine works will have no end, but all **action** will consist only of loving and praising God. Where there are tongues, there can be no lack of either heavenly languages or musical sound.

* Joh. Andr. Herbst, in *Musica moderna practica*, preface.

† P. Du Moulin, *de la Paix de l’ame*, L. 2, c. 17.

Par. 62

But—to approach ever closer to our own times—the astute Rector Venzky in Prenzlau⁸⁰ deserves praise here that, in his clever talk about feathered musicians, he let these words flow forth: “In that life angels and blessed ones will sing the most glorious songs of praise with the purest voices and instruments in the higher choir and with the most perfect harmony.”

Par. 63

Above all others, however, Mr. Johann Christoph Ammon has shown, with a thorough and clear proof, that there is actually excellent music in eternal life.^{*81} He so forcefully deals with the opponent who contradicts him to his face, who in short wants to be called a learned musician, and yet is not, that the latter will completely fall away with his alleged impossibility of heavenly singing and playing. Let him resist and bark as long as he wishes, since he, from his own scholastic conclusions, will have to be convinced of something completely different if he still has the slightest degree of reason. “God,” says Pastor Ammon, “has equipped the blessed spirits altogether with such ability that among themselves they produce the most excellent musical voices and can be heard in the loveliest harmony. This will be indeed such indescribable music (2 Cor. 12[:4], where the apostle may have pointed especially to this), against which our music on earth is just child’s play.” The notion of interpreting the apostle’s rapture as referring to heavenly music is as lovely as it is new and demonstrable. And further he writes: “As now all possible kinds of joy will, without question, be encountered in eternal life, should not then also fine music by all rights (indeed, with all its possible styles) be counted among them as the first of all?” But from Mr. Adversary come the following words: “He obviously contradicts himself and willingly admits that which he previously wanted to quash; namely, he writes there: *It may be that God will one day let himself be praised by the elect through their transfigured voices in a musical manner, etc.* He says *It may be*. Therefore it is neither improbable nor impossible.” The great thanks that follow from this to Mr. Ammon can be read in the 52nd part of the *Freye Urteile* cited. And at the same time one will recognize what kind of learned musician it must be who even invalidates his own conclusions.

Par. 64

The purported improbability and impossibility should, if I may say so, be based on the question that is not yet proven, *whether in eternal life there is also air?* Such an objection that belittles God has probably never come into the heart of any skeptic who desires to be informed; in any case it would be his obligation first to prove that *in eternal life there is no air*. Even if we do not mention that all spirits consist of air and fire (Psalm 104[:4]) and that the fallen angels are

* See *Freye Urteile u. Nachrichten*, 1745, p. 180f.

called *princes who rule in the air** (Eph. 2[:2]), still Paul says clearly in 1 Thessalonians 4[:17] how it will happen at the last day, instructing us: “We will be taken up *into the clouds* to meet the Lord *in the air* (*in aërem*) and so we will always be with the Lord.” When earth and heaven grow old, are burned up and are transformed as new (Hebr. 1[:12]), so also the air that belongs indispensably thereto will necessarily experience a like beneficial change, renewal, and transformation. For, along with the new heaven and the new earth (Rev. 21[:1]), there must quite certainly arise *a new purer air*. It is the unanimous judgment of all natural philosophers and our experience that without air and its beaming little parts neither sight nor hearing could obtain their result. Thus neither sound nor light, in which God lives (1 Tim. 6[:16]), could take place. Instead all would be deaf, mute, blind, dark, and without movement, and it would be ungodly to think in this way concerning blessedness. Indeed, mainly because the one who sits on the throne speaks the true words, “See, I make ALL THINGS new” (Rev. 21[:5]), this consequently also has to be said of the air, which no one may exclude. For these words, it is written, are *true and certain*. It is indeed the time when EVERYTHING must be brought forth (Acts 3[:21]).^{†82} To deny this—or just to place it in doubt—would be nothing other than to dispute in the most extreme, most offensive and most sinful manner with the very essence, words, and works of God. Whoever wants to harbor or nourish such airless concepts of the eternal life of joy must either fear that he cannot endure the air itself at all or else flatter himself that there is, because of the departure of the air, also no burning lake, which likewise demands air, although of a different, suffocating sort. God protect everyone from such wrong paths of irrational reasoning. Preserve us, Lord, in your word, that we make music to you both here and there.⁸³ “In that air,” writes Philip Nicolai, “under the material sky, evil spirits will no longer dominate: for the new air will be purified and cleansed of all poisonous vapors and fogs, of all storms and unhealthy winds.”^{‡84} But for that reason it is not yet pure ether, or simply an absolute spirit-air; for we humans shall live with the body as well as the soul in the new world and enjoy such new healthy air there in a human manner. Whoever therefore wants to talk about pure spirits in eternal life must truly know just as much about the new heaven and new earth, indeed of his own resurrection and blessedness, as the cow knows of a new gate. “The new earth will be like a lovely pleasure garden, like an eternally well-appointed paradise, full of sweet trees, fragrant spices, flowers, herbs, and so forth. David says: ‘You will renew the face of the earth,’ Psalm 104.”^{§85}

* *Principes aëreae potestatis.*

† *Tempora restaurationis OMNIUM.*

‡ *Theor. vit. Aetern. c. 5.*

§ Thus far Phil Nicolai in the above-cited book, where more testimonies of Holy Scripture concerning the trees and waters of the new earth are to be found, which, to be sure, allow various secret interpretations, but these take nothing away from the natural. Cf. Augustine in Man. c. 17.

Par. 65

We have, then, seen in passing an example of those who have now been pregnant so long with mathematical music and have given birth to nothing more than one ridiculous failure after another. Up to four dozen such miscarriages can be easily found. And the poor music would have to have a wooden heart, a quite strawy, dried-up soul if it were to follow the circular reasoning of these people. By the fruits of their notes one sees well how they like not only to ban true melodious sound from heaven, together with all the air that belongs thereto, but also to disparage it even on earth; if their words, by which they make decent music theory loathsome, were worth anything, they would like, in the disguise of a Ballhorn,⁸⁶ to blacken the name of the true first ice-breakers. They take their understanding to the point that they understand nothing.

Par. 66

In an even more recent writing one sees meanwhile some skeptical words, yet still not testifying to the improbability, much less the impossibility of heavenly music. “The famous H[err] M[attheson],” it says, “is a zealous champion of heavenly music (yes, indeed!), and I grant him that all sworn friends of music hold to his party. I consider this and other similar speculations to be not outright false but only say that they are mere speculations and nothing more. And my opinion is confirmed in that each person constructs heaven as it pleases him.”⁸⁷

Par. 67

It will, I hope, be permissible to make three or four brief comments on this gracious remark. First is that, in regard to the title of champion, [I am] (unfortunately!) not a participant in the above munificent compact of the one who contradicts himself and who was dealt with by Herr Ammon; consequently, on this stipulation [I] can by no means be counted among Mr. Speculation’s sworn friends of music.⁸⁷ He would then soon need to get another string in his bow, as we can still hope. For is it not rather bizarre that often those who behave as if they, admirably, want to help raise up a branch of knowledge only obstruct and unknowingly dishonor it, partly from egotism, partly from ineptness. “It is really regrettable,” says an English writer,[†] “that music has to let itself be murdered precisely by those who are supposed to defend and protect it.”⁸⁸ And how can it be worse treated or oppressed than when one takes away its eternity, indeed even its air, and at the same time wants to be its executioner?

* G[eorg] Fr[iedrich] Meier, *Gedanken von dem Zustande der Seele nach dem Tode* [Halle: Hemmerde, 1746], p. 18. [Meier actually gives Mattheson’s name, not an abbreviation.]

† Arthur Collier’s *Short View of the Stage*.

Par. 68

Second, in the case against speculation, let him be implored to set purified reason, and the general as well as particular authority on which it is based, far beneath a Christian church that is 1700 years old; or at least not so positively to consider the very clear and distinct proofs of Holy Scripture that follow hereafter to be **mere speculations**. For if a sworn and worthy opponent of unbridled reason wanted to look upon heavenly music, according to the words of divine revelation presented in proper and well considered manner, as **nothing more than mere speculations**, then there would hardly be any other means than those best known to the fallen angels: to present a complete mathematical certainty. The worst thing is just that in such an extreme conviction any recantation becomes inadmissible. God save everyone from such attempts!

Par. 69

Third, if one would be satisfied with an honest intent to praise God directly, a fervently devout Christian would take the unifying words of Paul, “God will be all in all” (1 Cor. 15[:28]) as an eternal, comprehensive maxim and believe firmly therein. And he would encourage others to believe, according to their ability, that we are heirs of salvation, equal to the angels, and even further, that in God we will have each and every thing that we may seek or wish, especially for his honor. Since now the source of all harmonies that are necessary for singing and playing indisputably come from God; so also must they, with us, necessarily return to this divine origin in a glorified manner.

Par. 70

Fourth, can we not comprehend what a derisible act would be committed by one who, especially with such a pure intention as just mentioned and in the same praiseworthy manner, would construct heaven according to his own pleasure, yet as a consequence of the actual dictates of the divine word? For we will indeed have all divine delights most richly if we have God himself in us, as he has testified to his pleasure in music so frequently and clearly. Therefore also, when one properly considers the entertaining little story of our Mr. Speculation concerning his ill-suited girl of high nobility⁸⁹—that, namely, this lady, in dying, imagined her kingdom of heaven such that in eternal life the common souls would not be together with those of noble birth (*car la noblesse morte de ces dernières ne s’encanaillera point*)—, such an immortal pride is more aptly compared to the red dragon and his angels than to the singing and playing of the most humble and happy servants of the Most High and the most obedient subjects or citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem. As much as the blessed condition of these latter is anchored for us in the Bible, so, by contrast, do we see therein the miserable state of those proud princes of desire. Consequently it does not make any sense at all, but instead is offensive, to place the most earnest and holy longings for serving, praising, and honoring God in all the imaginable ways He commanded and loved in one and the same speculative class with the foolish

sinful drive for selfish ambition and damnable pride. That would make the wisdom of the former seem as ridiculous and despicable as the foolishness of the latter.

Par. 71

It would therefore be about time for Mr. Ammon to bring to fulfillment his promise (concerning which we already have encountered a very ill-natured judgment of the opponent in the *Wandesbeck Nachrichten* No. 66 on April 27, 1746) where, in the place mentioned above, he puts forth the following: "It may be that I will in the future at another opportunity treat this important matter, namely music in eternal life, in a separate work more thoroughly, more clearly, and more extensively, along with a refutation of all possible objections against it, insofar as this can possibly be known through God's grace."

Oh, do this, and you will live
And give God the honor due.⁹⁰

Glory, now, let all below,
Mindful of thy saving woe,
Shout "Glory, Lord, to Thee,"
While angelic choirs above
Celebrate thy matchless love
With harp and psaltery.

—Io. Mauburn, in *Rosetum*⁹¹

Let these old, well-intentioned Latin rhymes have their place here: for even if they are out of style, they are, together with others like them, very well disposed to the pleasant sounds of music.

Section Three

Investigation of Heavenly Music According to Holy Scripture Itself

Par. 72

With close consideration one finds in the divine Word primarily twelve separate expressions, some of which clearly refer to vocal music, some to instrumental, some to a combination of both. Now the most correct musical understanding is properly derived more naturally and certainly from the practice or performance itself, along with its perceptible circumstances, than from any philological criticism, considering that the thing or the matter must be prior and of more value than the name thereof.

Par. 73

In the Psalms of David all these expressions are very nicely contained according to their true, practical meaning as in a short yet complete summary; and it will be difficult to find in the whole Bible a word that belongs here that is not chiefly in the Psalter. Therefore the list and the unpretentious explanation of the same words must necessarily come first here if we want to put an end right away to all disputes about words and to form a well-grounded judgment concerning the scripture passages to be introduced. In this respect we must marvel greatly that our dear Luther, in his unsophisticated translation of David's book of praise, found, perhaps without any special design, such an exact choice and the correct meaning of all these terminological distinctions so excellently and impressively as if he had well understood the original language. Indeed, he undoubtedly grasped them much better than if he or someone else had studied this for a long time. Indeed, what can the Holy Spirit not accomplish with such tools?

Par. 74

It must be recognized in advance that only the true original and musical meaning of the stated words will be taken into consideration here, for time, tyrannical use and—what is ten times worse—misuse have exercised power over them. Necessity and urgent circumstances often want to know nothing of

commands, proper order, and old rules. Indeed, many interpreters, especially those who are lacking in music theory, are guided all too often by this kind of chance event and abandon the true essence. When, for example, a song of praise must be sung in a private home or chamber without the instruments that belong to it, it does not follow that such a song was performed in this way many hundreds of years before Moses, afterwards in the time of David, or, finally, in Solomon's temple, when music was in fullest blossom. No, it was completely different then and employed in accordance with divine regulations. When the first Christians sang their songs in caves below the earth, they were of course not able to have the required accompaniment. But no conclusion can be drawn from this. Let us therefore look briefly at what each musical genre can tell us in accordance with its nature, foundation, and nomenclature.

Par. 75

Psalm, from this perspective, is primarily **playing**; a **hymn** is **praising**; a **canticle** or **ode** is **singing**. The first word actually indicates that the instruments that accompany and reinforce the voices are often heard by themselves. A **song of praise** [*Lob-Gesang*] or a **Hallelujah** indicates that the singing voices proceed from time to time without instruments and have their interludes, but for the most part they work together. A **psalm-song** [*Psalm-Lied*]^{*} is when the instruments begin with a symphony; a **song-psalm** [*Lied-Psalm*][†] is when the singers start.[‡] In short and in general: without instruments singing does not now and did not in the past have a firm tonal basis, proper manner, or alternation. Therefore the words **psalter** and **book of praise** also have the same force in that they both derive from playing instruments. Now on to the task at hand!

Par. 76⁹²

Exult, shout with joy, sing (ᾄδεν), **laud, write verses, proclaim**, and **pray** are, in this case, seven such expressions that for the most part are understood to be accomplished musically through bodily members alone. The following five, however, **praise** (αἰνεῖν), **sing praise** (ψάλλειν), **give thanks, honor**, and **extol**, commonly testify to an implementation such that the addition of outwardly resounding instruments is demanded. The evidence and example appear thus, according to the order of the psalms.

Par. 77

“How long,” asks David in Psalm 4, “shall my honor suffer shame?” There the prophet understands nothing else by the word **honor** than his psalm, with which he honors God, and therefore something instrumental. This is also the way Luther himself interprets it in his gloss.⁹³ Similarly in Psalm 16[:9], “my honor is glad” and so forth.⁹⁴

* Psalms 66, 67, 68, 76, 83, 87, 88, 92, etc.

† Psalms 46, 120-134, etc.

‡ Hilarius, Prolegom. Psalt. p. 336.

Par. 78

“I will **extol** you in the congregation,” Psalm 22[:23]. Here this extolling means likewise to play while singing. In the epistle to the Hebrews (2[:12]), where the same saying appears again, it reads thus: “I will sing praise to you in the midst of the congregation.” And before that are the words: “I will proclaim your name to my brethren.” That is vocal; but to sing praise is also instrumental. And both together refer personally to the Son of God himself.

Par. 79

“I **laud** you, Lord!” So reads the beginning of Psalm 30 that indicates with its clear inscription that it is meant primarily to be sung. Consequently such lauding occurs for the most part with human voices.

Par. 80

In the last verse of the same psalm is also found: “that my **honor** may **sing praise** to you.” Because here the word **honor** primarily indicates the playing of strings, which David lets resound to God’s honor, it illuminates clearly enough that the singing of praise includes at the same time instrumental music. Luther again is in agreement with this and writes concerning it: “My honor, that is, my tongue, and my stringed instrument, with which I honor you.”⁹⁵ For the tongue also performs its best service with certain sounding devices that one blows, as well as by singing, which, however, is not completely excluded anywhere.

Par. 81

“I would like to make pilgrimage to the house of God with **exulting**,” in Psalm 42[:4] is vocal. “And with **thanksgiving**” is instrumental. “To give thanks on the harp,” Psalm 43[:4]. Further, in Psalm 45[:1], “My heart **writes** a fine song; I will **sing** of a king,” both are vocal. But when it says in Psalm 47[:1], “**Exult with hands**, and **shout** to God with a joyous sound (*in voce exultationis*),” it appears that these strange words refer more than others to exceptionally well equipped choirs of singers where not infrequently the lifting of hands or even clapping takes place, whether it is to keep the beat or something else of that sort. Just as still today in large concerts and dances, indeed even in the pulpit, raising hands and clapping with them is nothing unusual. But of **shouting** it must be known especially that it is often also called a *cry* or a *call*, in order to express an extremely strong sound in which human voices always make up the main core. Isaiah says in chapter 44[:23], “**Shout**, you heavens!” etc. The well-grounded English translation has rendered it as “Sing, break forth into singing!” namely, you inhabitants of heaven, you angels and elect.

Par. 82

“Whoever offers **thanks lauds** me, and that is the way that I show him the

salvation of God” (Psalm 50[:23]). **Thanking** and **lauding**, therefore, constitute the path to divine salvation, and this consists in playing, or giving thanks, and singing or lauding to the honor of God. Anyone who may think that there should for just this reason be no formal music should read, in addition to Psalm 30 that was already cited, chapter 42 of Isaiah, concerning which Luther writes that the prophet exhorts us to give thanks with the words, “Sing to the Lord a new song” etc. And here this means both singing and playing.⁹⁶ (See par. 96.)

Par. 83

“My heart is ready, God, my heart is ready to **sing** (vocally) and **praise** (instrumentally)” (Psalm 57[:7/8]).⁹⁷ As further corroboration the royal poet encourages his own instrument and says, “Wake up, my **honor!**” Indeed, he displays his meaning even more clearly with the words, “Wake up, **psaltery** and **harp!**” [v. 8/9]. These and similar instruments, as Luther also reminds us for the fourth time, are those with which God wants to be honored. “I will **give thanks** to you among the nations, I will **sing praises** to you among the people” [v. 9/10]. Both are primarily instrumental. “God, you are **praised** in stillness,” Psalm [65].⁹⁸ Here, as everywhere, the **praise** is likewise instrumental, and the *stillness* means a good, restful, and peaceful time, but not, as some quite wrongly think, quiet or soft music. “You hear **prayer**” [Psalm 65:2/3]: that is vocal. And because **shouting for joy** and **singing** is lifted up at the end of the psalm, such can hardly happen so quietly, since the first word especially indicates a great strength of voices, which finally are united with the instruments.

Par. 84

Psalm 66: “**Shout with joy** to God, all you lands!” (voices alone). “**Sing praise** to the honor of his name!” (with instruments). “**Extol** him gloriously!” (the same). “Let all the earth **worship** you!” (voices). “And **sing praise** to you, **sing praise** to your name!” (instrumental). All this alternates there very nicely.

Par. 85

“**Sing** to God!” is primarily vocal (Psalm 68[:4/5]). “**Sing praise** to his name!” is at the same time instrumental. This sentence is repeated once again after this, and in verse [25/]26 is explained: “The singers go in front, after them the players.” Nothing can be explained more naturally or clearly, even if it doesn’t invalidate the secret meaning. (See Psalms 104 and 115.)

Par. 86

“I **give thanks** to you” (Psalm 71[:22]), namely “with playing of the psaltery,” and thus instrumentally. “I **sing praise** to you,” namely “on the harp.” Here again it is completely clear that giving thanks and singing praise cannot be performed appropriately without instruments. But human voices are by no means excluded either here or elsewhere, for soon after this it reads, “My tongue

daily **writes verses** about your righteousness,” that is, I compose vocal works concerning this and have them sung.

Par. 87

Psalm 75[:9/10]: “I will **proclaim** eternally” is vocal. “And **sing praise** to the God of Jacob” is instrumental. Isaiah also uses this **proclaiming** in chapter 48[:20] when he says, “**Proclaim** it with a joyous sound.” In the English primary translation,* it reads, “with the voice of singing.” Jeremiah says similarly in chapter 4[:5], “**Proclaim** in Judah and cry aloud to Jerusalem!” It is all vocal. But concerning *to cry*, see paragraphs 81 and 118.

Par. 88

Psalm 81[:1]: “**Sing** joyfully to God!” is concerted vocal music. “**Shout with joy** to the God of Jacob!” in a full-strength singing choir. To reinforce this, the instruments themselves are also called in right away and named: tympani, harps, psaltery and trumpets. For what would a choir be without instruments? A roving choir.⁹⁹ The choirs of the prophets prove in 1 Sam. 10[:5] and elsewhere that this kind of accompaniment is necessary. Undoubtedly such soloists are indicated through the words in the psalm cited above,¹⁰⁰ “The singers, as at a round dance, will all sing to you, one after the other,” so that each in the round can be heard vocally.

Par. 89

Psalm 90 is called a **prayer** of Moses. That this prayer was a formal song, however, is evident from 2 Maccabees 7[:6]. The case is the same with the prayers of David, Psalms 17 and 18, and with the prayer of the wretched man who is distressed, Psalm 102. Everything is vocal.

Par. 90

When it says in Psalm 92[:1/2], “It is a delightful thing (see par. 104) to **give thanks** to the Lord and to **sing praise** to your name, O Most High,” this is to be understood as instrumental. But after this [v. 2/3], “In the morning to **proclaim** your grace and in the night your truth,” that is vocal. The first should happen, namely [v. 3/4], “on the ten strings, with playing on the harp”; that means to **give thanks** and **sing praise**. The second, namely to **proclaim**, is expressly described and explained thus [v. 4/5]: “Lord, you make me **sing** joyfully of your works, and I **extol** (instrumental) the works of your hands.” This unites both.

Par. 91

Add to this Psalm 95[:1], “let us **exult** in the Lord” (vocal); “and **shout**

* A primary translation [“Grund-Dollmetschung”] of the Old Testament is one that is not based on another translation but is made from the Hebrew itself.

with joy to the shield of our salvation!” (stronger singing voices). [v. 2:] “Let us come before his presence with **thanksgiving**” (instrumental); “and **shout with joy** to him with psalms” (both together). In *psalmis jubilemus*: these expressions indicate the very strongest and fullest double choirs.

Par. 92

Psalm 98[:4]: “**Shout with joy** to the Lord, all the earth. **Sing!**” (more vocal). “**Extol and praise!**” (more instrumental). With what? How then? “Praise the Lord with harps, with harps and with psalms, with trumpets and horns” [vv. 5–6]. There we see clearly what it means to **praise**, what the *liber laudationum* and what *hymnus* actually have to say.

Par. 93

The hundredth is called a psalm of thanksgiving. It gets the name from what it mostly includes, for most of its content concerns instrumental music. “Enter his gates with thanksgiving,” it reads, “and into his forecourts with praise. **Give thanks** to him, **praise** his name!” [v. 4]. Here there are four kinds of instrumental expressions; of **shouting with joy** and **exulting**, on the other hand, there are only two. (See par. 97)

Par. 94

Psalm 104[:33]: “I will **sing** to the Lord all the days of my life” (vocal) “and **sing praises** to my God” (instrumental) “as long as,” NB **as long as I am**, that is, in heaven and for all eternity. *Donec ero*. In English, “while I have my being.” And in Psalm 146[:2] again, *donec ero* “as long as I will be.” In English, “while I have any being.” Would not mere **singing** be enough? Why, then, does the **singing praise** follow? If these expressions had the same force, why should they appear double and without a reason for this difference? (See Psalm 68, 115.)

Par. 95

Psalm 105[:2]: “**Sing** of him!” (vocal) “and **praise** him!” (instrumental). Nothing clearer and more convincing can be found to indicate the distinct meaning of these words. Not to mention many other passages.

Par. 96

“They **sang his praise**,” it reads in Psalm 106[:12]. That is, with human voices and instruments at the same time. For the singing of praise (*Singen des Lobes*) is nothing other than *Lobsingen*, which by rights cannot happen properly without instruments, as was shown above. Moreover, especially with those musical instruments that require blowing, the use of such bodily parts as belong to singing itself is indispensable, such as breath, teeth, tongue, mouth, and lips. Because, further, all these and other instruments are mere imitations of living human voices, the actual playing is often, and with good reason, expressed in

almost all languages as “singing,” in a somewhat figurative manner. To be counted here are the titles of Psalms 4, 6, 12, 54, 55, 61, 67, 76, etc., where the words are written, “To be sung on stringed instruments”; similarly, in Isaiah 26[:19], the word “extol” (*rühmen*), which is also translated into English as “singing” and basically means singing with or on instruments, that is, playing. In fact even the playing of flutes and pipes and the twittering of birds are likewise called singing because of their charm, even if they are not literally so. For that which is not singable in music can not be particularly lovely or charming, however wonderful it may otherwise be. And with just this meaning the prophet Habakkuk says in chapter 4¹⁰¹ straightforwardly, “That I sing on my stringed instrument.” (*ad praecinendum meis fidibus* in Castello)¹⁰² Again human singing is often indicated by “speaking,” “saying,” and “talking” for the good reason that everyone who sings something understandable also speaks, says, and talks, at the same time. But not the other way around. Singing can be called talking in a figurative manner, but talking cannot be called singing except by irksome sing-song speech, where it is a disagreeable mistake.

Par. 97

Psalm 106[:47]: “We **give thanks** to your holy name and **extol your praise.**” This is all to be understood as primarily instrumental, without excluding human voices. The **giving of thanks** happens for our sake, for benefits received. **Extolling** and **praising** are because of God’s majesty, holiness and splendor. Therefore, on the basis of the cause, a distinction is specified among the words that have the same general meaning. Belonging here are the thanksgiving choirs in Nehemiah 12[:27] with their cymbals, psalteries and harps.

Par. 98

“I will **sing** and **write verses,**” Psalm 108[:1]. Both are intended for vocal music. The first, however, concerns the performance itself, the second only the preparation of the poem to be sung. Yet immediately afterward, as if something had been left out, it reads: “Also my **honor.**” That is, it should not all stop with just singing, but I will also play along. **Honor**, writes Luther for the fifth time on this matter, is “my stringed instrument with which I honor you.”¹⁰³ And what is nicest, David himself interprets it thus right away, when he says, “Awake, psaltery and harp! I will **give thanks** to you (instrumental) among the nations; I will **sing praise** to you (instrumental) among the people.” Accordingly, instrumental music with its equipment has in the Psalter the imperishable honor five times to be called an honor of God. The like is not found of any other thing.

Par. 99

“I will greatly **give thanks** to the Lord with my mouth,” it says in Psalm 109[:30]. That is instrumental, namely with such instruments as one places in the mouth and that give out a particularly glorious sound. For that reason it says

here “greatly give thanks” in order to differentiate it noticeably. These and other instrumental expressions—reminding the reader again superfluously—do not in any way exclude actual singing, as long as words are present.

Par. 100

“We **praise** the Lord from now until eternity” (Psalm 115[:18]). Because of eternal life this praising or instrumental music-making is worth noting. Place next to it Psalm 104, but especially Psalm 8, where thanksgiving in heaven is explicitly treated. His praise—that is to say, when we praise God with instruments—, continues as long as heaven and earth exist (Psalm 148).

Par. 101

Psalm 117[:1]: “**Praise** the Lord, all nations” (instrumental); “**laud** him, all peoples” (vocal).

Par. 102

Psalm 135[:1,3]: “**Praise** the name of the Lord!...**Sing praise** to his name” are both instrumental. The “praise singing” (*lobsingen*) goes farther, however, is stronger, and involves many kinds of instruments.

Par. 103

“David’s Praise,” which is the title of Psalm 145, indicates an instrumental piece that is executed with special diligence. As it also reads there [v. 10]: “All your works shall **give thanks** to you, O Lord, and your saints shall **praise** you.” The heavenly saints cannot possibly be excluded from this; rather they must be primarily the ones meant by this. “Let all flesh (including the glorified) **praise** his holy name” [v. 21] (instrumental). In order that no one may think that there is only playing and no singing here, the harmonic king adds, “My mouth shall **speak** the **praise** of the Lord.” This speaking of praise is more vocal than instrumental: for, as was stated in paragraph 96, *speaking*, understood figuratively, denotes *singing*, but the latter often denotes *playing*. *Iovae laudes eloquetur os meum*. Castellio.¹⁰⁴

Par. 104

Psalm 147[:1]: “To **praise** our God is a delightful thing, such praise is lovely and pleasant.” How then would it be possible for this delightful, lovely, pleasant thing that gives honor and gratification to God to be absent in eternal life? (See Psalm 92.)

Par. 105

Psalm 147[:7]: “**Sing** to one another with **thanksgiving!** (*Cantate cythara!*) And praise our God with harps” (instrumental). “**Laud** the Lord, O Jerusalem” (vocal); “**praise** your God, O Zion” (instrumental) [v. 12]. Concerning thanksgiving, that is, that the playing of stringed instruments was actually

dedicated to it and that it should happen with and on harps, with playing of the psaltery, etc., look up 1 Chronicles 26, 2 Chronicles 7, 20, and 31, Ezra 3, Nehemiah 12, Psalms 33, 43, 71, etc.

Par. 106

“They shall **praise** his name in the dance” (instrumental); namely, as follows, “with drums and harps shall they play for him” (Psalm 149[:3]). “The saints shall be joyful and laud (vocal) and extol (instrumental) on their beds” [v. 5].

Par. 107

Finally in Psalm 150, the last psalm, the praise is most clearly acknowledged five times, one after another, in the seven kinds of instruments most common at the time and with them all other instruments in this world and the next. (See par. 116.) And this may be sufficient. In truth hardly half of the things that are worth mentioning have in fact been mentioned. But one thing more would just take us too far off the path. The incontrovertible examples and proofs hereby confirm the true meaning of the words. By means of this table their musical signification will be clear to the eyes of all.

Vocal

Exult [*Frohlocken*] ¶¶ 81, 91
 Shout with Joy [*Jauchzen*] ¶¶ 81, 83, 94, 88, 91, 92
 Sing [*Singen*] ¶¶ 83, 85, 88, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98, 104
 Laud [*Preisen*] ¶¶ 79, 82, 105, 106
 Write Verses [*Dichten*] ¶¶ 81, 98
 Proclaim [*Verkündigen*] ¶¶ 78, 87, 90
 Pray [*Beten*] ¶¶ 83, 89

Instrumental

Praise [*Loben*] ¶¶ 83, 92, 95, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107
 Sing praise [*Lobsingen*] ¶¶ 80, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90, 94, 96, 98, 102
 Give thanks [*Danken*] ¶¶ 81, 82, 83, 86, 90, 91, 93, 97, 98, 99, 103, 105
 Honor [*Ehren*] ¶¶ 77, 80, 83, 98
 Extol [*Rühmen*] ¶¶ 78, 106

By means of this little table the musical understanding will be clear to everyone’s eyes. But further to our purpose!

Par. 108

Our first scriptural witness to the heavenly music—and indeed primarily that of the angels—is the Ancient of Days (*Antiquus ille dierum*) in Daniel 7. He is the highly praised triune God himself, who in his majestic conversation out of the tempest (so important is this matter), asks the upright, plain and god-fearing

man: “Where were you when I laid the foundations of the earth, when the morning stars praised me and all the children of God shouted for joy?” (Job 38[:4,7]). Above I have already explained sufficiently that praising and shouting for joy is to be understood as nothing other than playing and loud singing; and every somewhat well-read Christian will know that these morning stars and children of God can be no other creatures than the countless hosts of holy angels, who are in other places called thrones, principalities, dominions, authorities, cherubim, seraphim, mighty ones, and powers, Gen. 3[:24], Col. 1[:16], 1 Peter 3[:22], and who received their existence on the first* day of creation before all other creatures (see par. 1). They then immediately raised their glorious voices and applied all their faculties to the glory of God by singing and making music, and they will also continue to do so for all eternity (except for the depraved ones). The English translation, which most correctly follows the original language, reads expressly: “When the morning stars *sang* together.” Castello’s expressions here are also very lovely and strong: “*Ovantibus pariter matutinis sideribus universoque genere divorum laetum personante.*”¹⁰⁵ It should be noted that in this place also the praise is said to “resound” (*personare*), which is a word commonly used of instruments. *Personat domus cantu tiliarum* (Cicero).¹⁰⁶

Par. 109

Who, then, has the heart to exclude from these music-making children of God the only son of the Highest, the brightest morning star, as he calls himself in Revelation 22, to whom the angels pray and at whose command they all must stand, the archangel of a thousand, *oratorem angelum, unum ex mille*, Job 33[:23]?¹⁰⁷ Should he not be accorded the principal voice in this heavenly concert? He is surely the true choragus and leader of all heavenly princes, the master workman playing before God, who was mentioned already in paragraph 58. Just as he, with all holy angels, praised God the Father from the beginning of the world, and afterward in the world also praised with joy, so also he does not let the choir under his leadership cease singing, playing, and shouting for joy with the most glorious, angelic and partly still incomprehensible tongues and instruments that are the gifts and presents of the Holy Spirit. For the Spirit himself is the best master of tongues and large instruments [*Gross-Zeugmeister*] in heaven and on earth (Acts 2).

Par. 110

There are thus Three who bear witness to this in heaven—the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit—and the Three are One (1 John 5[:7]). What need do we have of further testimony? We have already heard from God’s own mouth that the angels sing and make music for him. Just let someone say that heavenly music is nonsense, an “It may be,” a mere conjecture, an empty illusion. Yet all

* Johann Gerhard, *Loci theologici*, Part 2, Book 8, Par. 4 [really Par. 40].

are stuck in this error who either completely deny music in eternal life or else consider it sometimes a matter of indifference and sometimes as something that may exist, or, at best, consider it not exactly false but still merely a supposition. Therefore it is necessary, where possible, to open their understanding with still more passages of Holy Scripture in order that no one may complain that not enough was told him about this.

Par. 111

Moses is thus the next man and an unobjectionable primary witness to angelic music; next to God's Son he can be regarded as the foremost teacher of the church.* He makes mention of the playing and blowing of angels four times, one after another in Exodus 19 and 20. God himself gives him the report and the signal in the words, in English, "When the Trumpet soundeth long" [19:13], then they should go to the mountain. After this Moses reports thus: then when the third day came, there rose up "the sound of a very loud trumpet" [19:16]. For the third time it says, "And the trumpet sound grew ever stronger" [19:19]. But finally, for the fourth time, "All the people heard the sound of the trumpet" [20:18]. There were far more than 600,000 witnesses to the heavenly music.

Par. 112

The simple names *Posaunen* and *Trompeten* are here taken to mean any conceivable instruments that must be blown with the mouth and accentuated with the tongue, but primarily those that make a heroic and majestic sound that carries for a long distance. For just as the mighty God is scarcely accompanied by a single angel, neither is just one instrument blown or played. This, however, is the reason that the trumpet is referred to in the singular: because all heavenly, divine-sounding instruments are perceived so purely and correctly and also as in accord with one another, it is as if one heard only one of them, at least at a distance. The same interpretation is to be found in 2 Chron. 5 (see par. 122, 131). "For there were thousands upon thousands of chariots of God, and the Lord was among them in Sinai" (Psalm 68[:17/18]). "Thousands upon thousands serve him, and myriads upon myriads stand before him" (Daniel 7[:10]). "All peoples and tongues shall serve him" (Revelation 22).¹⁰⁸ Indeed, numbers are quite insufficient: for the angels can no more be counted than the stars in the sky, which are also called the host of heaven (Isaiah 34[:4]). "The Lord," it is said, "has come from Sinai with many thousands of holy ones" (Deuteronomy 33[:2]). All holy ones—the children of Israel, the nation that serves him—should praise him. In this case, however, to serve and to praise God's name is the same kind of function (Deut. 21[:5], 2 Chron. 8[:14]). David placed before the ark of the Lord some Levites, namely Asaph, to serve by lauding, thanking, and praising the Lord (1 Chron. 17 [16:4]), with psalteries and harps, with bright

* "Summus ille post filium Dei in Ecclesia Doctor." *Chytraeus* in Praefat. Ad Cantica *Eleri* 8 Hamb. A.M. 3962. [David Chytraeus, preface to Franz Eler, *Cantica sacra* (Hamburg, 1588; reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2002), (:)3]

cymbals, with trumpets, etc. In this way he let himself be served there before the ark of the covenant by Asaph and his brothers. (See 1 Chron. 8, par. 144.)

Par. 113

This was, to be sure, a rather frightening, but still no less genuinely angelic and heavenly Pentecost music. In those days God held Pentecosts on Mount Sinai that were as glorious as they were wrathful. “For the law brings wrath” (Romans 4 [:15]). The more recent Pentecosts came off as more pleasant, even though they were not without the rushing of a mighty wind. This rushing is also called a voice, and consequently may very possibly have been the sound of a strong wind instrument (Acts 2[:6]). For, as it says, when this voice occurred, the crowd came together; a common ordinary wind, or even a powerful storm wind, could not easily have had this effect. Likewise, when our Lord comes to sit in judgment, with the strong voices of angels in concert, it will hardly proceed without terror for the sworn enemies of divine music and others who scorn or despise his will, even though the same will redound to the joy of elect harmonic souls. This joy must then increase continually in eternal bliss without ever completely reaching the pinnacle of its height.

Par. 114

David, the man after God’s heart, who was given assurance of the Messiah (Acts 13[:23]) and who spoke sweetly through the Spirit of the Lord with the Psalms of Israel (2 Samuel 23[:1–2]), corroborates this angelic music, both vocal and instrumental, not just with one testimony but with many testimonies. First, when in his prophetic proclamation of the Ascension and eternal glory of Christ he foretells, “God goes up with a joyful shout (*ovante voce*) and the Lord with the sound of a trumpet” (Psalm 47[:5/6]). This shouting or singing and this loud blowing or playing of the trumpet can be understood as of none other than many legions of holy angels (Psalm 68). Similarly, as evidence of their presence at the Ascension, a pair of them in white clothing appeared already to the disciples who were gazing up, and they pronounced that this same Jesus would come again in the same triumphal manner that he had ascended.

Par. 115

Secondly, David explicitly calls the angels twice by name and by epithet when he cheers them on thus to diligent continuation of their heavenly music through his holy and rapturous acclamation: “Praise the Lord, O you his angels, you strong heroes who carry out his commands” (Psalm 103[:20]). And this saying, along with others, proves that the angels offer praise in order to carry out the divine command. Further, “Praise Him, all His angels! Praise Him all His hosts! Praise Him in the firmament of his power.”* That is what we call heaven

* In eius potestatis aethere. [*Biblia Sacra*, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 173 (Psalm 150:1)] Engl. In the Firmament of his Power. This word *aether* is, however, to be well noted because of the question of air in par. 64, even if it may not therefore be spirit-air.

(Genesis 1[:8]). Next, how then and in what manner should this praise by the angels in heaven occur? David answers (Psalm 150): “Praise him with psaltery and harp! Praise him with drumming and dancing! (See par. 50, 51.) Praise him with strings and pipes! Praise him with loud cymbals! Praise him with sweet-sounding cymbals.” And finally, “Let everything that has breath* praise the Lord, Hallelujah!”

Par. 116

It is again sufficiently clear here to everyone that the word *Loben* (praise) is to be understood primarily as instrumental music, just as the word *Jauchzen* (shout with joy) is to be understood as vocal. For the first is applied six to seven times, in the manner explained above (par. 107), to blown, stringed, plucked or beaten instruments that must therefore necessarily be actually present in the firmament of divine power, in the air of his dominion, in the sphere of his strength, in God’s great glory, if he is to be expressly praised with them. This applies whether it is by angels or humans or both, in whatever manner it may occur.

Par. 117

Isaiah, more an evangelist than a prophet, and in addition a great musician, as his seven songs and hymns given to him by the Holy Spirit give witness,[†] saw and heard quite clearly the seraphim[‡] in the heavenly chapel that he calls a temple. Above the majestic God sitting on his very high and elevated throne, they sang to one another the threefold “Holy” with great pageantry to the honor of the Holy Trinity. Thus true antiphonal or alternating choirs were employed for this[§] (Isaiah 6).¹⁰⁹ One choir sang, “Holy,” the other soon responded, “Holy,” “Holy,” and finally they all fell in together, as with us the Great organ in with the choir: “Holy is the Lord of Sabaoth! All lands are full of his glory.”^{**110}

Par. 118

John Damascene and Ignatius Martyr report that the church derived its practice of different choirs and responsive singing from the said glorious example of the seraphim, that therefore in this point our music is an echo of the heavenly.^{††111} The prophet, to be sure, uses the word *call* in this place and says, “One called to the other.” But if *calling* seems dubious and not very musical, for

* Omnis spiritus, omnis animantia. No angel is to be excluded there; rather they all stand at the head.

† The first is a song of the vineyard (Isaiah 5), followed by three psalms of praise (chs. 12, 25, 26), then two songs of joy (chs. 51, 61) and finally a little hymn of honor (ch. 64).

‡ In German, *Feuerflammen*, according to Psalm 110 [actually 104], where the speed and clarity of the angels are indicated through wind and flames of fire.

§ Cornelius a Lapide, *comment. In Esaiam* c.6 n.5.

** Thus does Valerius Herberger interpret it in his *Hertzpostille*, 1st ed., Pt. 2, p. 410.

†† Socrates, *Hist. eccles.* L. 6, c. 8. Niceph., Cassiodor., Amalar., etc.

it expresses only the strength of the singing and playing, one should do nothing more than explain scripture through scripture and thereby consider that this music of the seraphim is only compared with calling voices because of their unusually full company, from which the thresholds shook. By contrast, in another place, Revelation 4[:8], this *calling*, under the same circumstances, is rendered much more moderately through the simple word *speak* (see par. 96).¹¹² Further, also, in several places in Holy Scripture, such speaking or talking is to be understood as an emphatic, strong singing or playing. “They spoke,” for example, in Exodus 15[:1], “I will sing to the Lord!” Moses came (Deut. 31[:30]) and said all the words of the song; that is, he and Joshua sang. Similarly, in Matthew 26[:30], “when they had spoken the song of praise,” that is, they had sung. Further: the multitude of the heavenly host spoke (Luke 2[:13]), “Glory to God” etc.; that is, the angels sang and played strongly. Finally, in the same book it reads, “Mary spoke, ‘My soul magnifies the Lord,’” etc.; that is, she sang with full, joyous voice. For it is said, “If you praise God and do not sing, you do not say a song of praise.”^{*113}

Par. 119

Keeping in mind that many a person who does not correctly understand a word can take offense at it, we find in our Bibles that *moaning* is attached to harp playing and trumpet blowing three times—once in Isaiah 16[:11], twice in Jeremiah 48[:36]. This comes across as even stranger than *calling*, and yet it signifies basically only a deep, rough, penetrating humming, or else an intense, sharp plucking of the strings and gliding of the pipes, following the manner of harps and flutes, especially in the bass instruments.^{†114} The common people among us make use of the word *Schnurrripen*.¹¹⁵ The prophets, however, liked to take their images from the instruments with which they were familiar; they were able to handle them very well, indeed without actual moaning. This can be inferred especially from the choirs and their strong choruses of thanksgiving but also circumstantially from the psalteries, drums, pipes, and harps that were then in use (1 Samuel 10[:5] and 19[:9], 2 Samuel 6[:5], Nehemiah 12[:27]). Not to mention the songs of Jeremiah, Amos, Micah and Habakkuk.

Par. 120

On the other hand, John the Baptist called himself quite simply “the voice of a caller,” an appellation that is notably softened to “the voice of a preacher” in three places in our German Bible (Isaiah [40:3], Luke [3:4], John 1[:23]).¹¹⁶ Therefore one can also, perhaps with considerable justification, suppose the call of the seraphim to be that of many exceptionally strong choirs singing and playing, since sheer crying and calling, in ordinary speech, would not be fitting for the pulpit, much less for heaven. What Joshua called “noise of war” was

* Augustine on Psalm 143.

† “Citharae modo stridere, tibiae ritum sonare.” Castello.

called by Moses, more fittingly, the “shouts of singing and dancing” (Exodus 32[:18]). In short, Isaiah lets it be understood that the seraphim caused the Trisagion, the Thrice-Holy, to resound as strongly and powerfully in full choir* as if it were a joyous call, shout, and cry. Similarly, it is very natural and not at all miraculous that heavily occupied opera stages shake and quake somewhat from the intense movement of the vibrating air that is stirred up by the music, through drum rolls, deep basses, etc. But does not David express his calling and crying in the loveliest musical manner more than forty times? And when several thousand people in our churches begin to sing the hymns, *Ich ruf zu Dir* (“I call to thee”) or *Aus tiefer Not schrey ich zu Dir* (“Out of the depths I cry to thee”), this calling and crying always occurs with singing and instrument-playing, with pleasant, affecting melodies, with organ playing, etc. Indeed, when Moses prayed by himself in secret, God himself called it a cry on account of the great devotion, power and strength. And prayers generally, even if they are spoken softly or with sighs, are nevertheless often designated as calling, invoking, etc.

Par. 121

The excellent song of the prophet Habakkuk, the one who embraces or consoles,¹¹⁷ is accompanied by stringed instruments and set as a *shiggaion*, that is, in a very artful and moving form of composition, like Psalm 7, where this Hebrew word that is found in the heading is translated, innocently enough, as “David’s innocence.” The verses of this song of the prophet are well suited for arousing many kinds of passions, and the music must have modulated unexpectedly into quite strange modes. (See *Der musikalische Patriot*, p.256.)¹¹⁸ Right at the beginning of Habakkuk 4,¹¹⁹ the musical glory of heaven is described to us in a few but very meaningful words, especially at the giving of the law as it came down from heaven at Mount Sinai. It finds the correct interpretation of Moses’ sound of the trumpet mentioned above when it states [v. 3]: “God came from midday (that is, from Teman),¹²⁰ and the Holy One from Mount Paran (next to Sinai). Selah. (Cf. Zechariah 9[:14], Deuteronomy 33[:2].) The heavens were full of his **praise** (and his glory); and the earth was full of his **honor** (his laud).” From this authoritative decree one can easily form a most excellent concept of the glorious nature of singing and music-making in heaven and also of its praiseworthy imitation, its echo in the world, along with the great awe that it evokes among the people. For the entire musical worship of the Jews was arranged according to this model of heavenly music; it is fitting that, for much weightier reasons, this should also happen among Christians. What can be more suitable than an imitation not of the Levites but of the angels?

Par. 122

With still fewer words, and yet with almost greater impact, the prophet

* Why such a strong sound is ascribed to only two creatures cannot be explained. For even though it says, “One called to the other,” this can just as easily be said of thousands. (See Par. 132.)

Zechariah, one of the best-loved prophets, testifies to the major instrument of the archangel himself, when he writes, “The Lord will appear, and his arrows will go out like lightning. And the Lord God will blow the trumpet and will enter in like the weather at midday” (Zechariah 9[:14]).¹²¹ Will the Lord God do this himself? Why not also his servants, the angels? For he will be accompanied by them. (See par. 124.) Now it is well known that the term *trumpet*, for example in Isaiah 58[:1] (“Lift up your voice like a trumpet”) reminds the servants of the Word of their office in order that they may open their mouths with confidence. It is also easy to conclude, from the context of the scripture passage cited, that this same metaphorical understanding is to be applied concerning the powerful teachings and instructions of the future apostles to the conversion of the heathen or the so-called children of Greece, in so far as Christ’s own words say, “It is not you who speak but rather the spirit of your Father” (Matthew 10[:20]). That is, the Lord God himself will also announce the gospel in a spiritual manner as if blowing a trumpet, even though outwardly it is only through his mouthpieces.¹²² Yet this good exegesis may not at all prevent the single prophecy from being applied to two things, and the literal is to be preferred to the figurative: just as such double prophecies, which contain primarily a corporeal meaning and secondarily also a spiritual meaning, are encountered numerous times in Holy Scripture, especially in Isaiah. Cf. Matthew 24. (See par. 21, 22.) According to this, our present passage can and really must have as its intent not only the first but mainly the Second Coming of Christ; all the more so because almost exactly the same expression is clearly repeated in the New Testament for a real description of the Last Judgment in a corporeal manner without any figurative meaning (considering that there will be no more messengers who could raise their voices),¹²³ as will soon be explained. In the meantime this major musical instrument, namely the *Posaune* or *Trompete*,^{*124} indisputably has the honor to be a heavenly, angelic, archangelic, indeed divine instrument of sound, both in an actual as well as a metaphorical sense, and to encompass all other instruments, each in its own fashion. *Species enim et hic pro toto genere ponitur*. [For the species stands here for the entire genus.] (See par. 112, 131, 140.) This may then already be sufficient for many as evidence of the truth in the intended matter of heavenly music. It is thus: from the side from which certain people regard the matter, they may well be correct to cast doubt on its actual state of affairs. Whoever considers the matter seriously from all sides, however, as is happening here, will surely come to other thoughts. Yet most people concern themselves little about their salvation, much less about heavenly music. “That which he sees,” it is written, “is a long time off” (Ezekiel 12[:27]).

Par. 123

It appears, therefore, that eternal providence, considering how “in the last

* Zephaniah 1[:16] calls the day of judgment also a day of *Posaunen* and *Trompeten*, as a sign that more than one kind of instrument will be present there. “Dies tubae clangorisque.” Castellio.

days there will come scoffers” (2 Peter 3[:3]), regarded it as advisable also under the new covenant to preclude disbelief in this important matter. This occurred through the visible appearance—without any ambiguity or double meaning—of many thousands of angels making music in the open countryside, not in a frightening but in a pleasant manner. In this way no one could make an excuse on the basis of figurative modes of speech and other circumstances or plead greater ignorance than simple-minded shepherds. The praising and shouting for joy at the time of creation was not heard or seen by humans because they had not yet been created. The act of giving the law did allow the Israelites to hear the angels but not to see them. The thrice-holy of the seraphim depends solely on Isaiah’s vision; and the other testimonies rest merely on the words of prophets, of whom it has been said, “Who believes our preaching?”* Isaiah 53[:1], John 12[:38], Romans 10[:16]. But now it comes, with the commencing work of salvation, to such an incontestable act as was both heard and seen by various ordinary people. It is for this reason that the almighty and merciful God lets the multitude of the heavenly host, that is, countless angels, actually come down quite openly from heaven to earth with their voices and instruments, so that the joyous birth and incarnation of the savior of the whole world could occur in the most festive manner in the night, when it sounds the best, and be proclaimed to the shepherds (Luke 2[:13]). First a single angel approached them, and the glory of the Lord shone around them. Right after that, along with the friendly herald, the multitude of the heavenly host was there, **praising** God (instrumentally) and **saying** (vocally): “Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, and good will toward people.” The time, the place, the multitude of those making music; their high rank; the important content of the concert, and so on, would require angelic tongues if we were to express or describe the majesty of this appearance appropriately.

Par. 124

The words of Christ Jesus himself, the true God-man, should presumably find credence among so-called Christians when he speaks in Matthew 24[:31] of his own person thus: “The Son of Man will send his angels with loud trumpets,” (that is, however, not to be understood as a sermon; see par. 122) “and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.” Now above we have already reported everything that is included in the term *trumpet*; and what is meant by the word *harp* will follow below in par. 140. Otherwise there is no need at this point of any special explanation. Would to God that there were no need in the remaining passages! If only stubbornness of heart were not as strong among the eccentrics as it is. Everything is clear and true. God the Father gave to Job, Moses, and Isaiah—and God the Son gave to his disciples and believers—heavenly music that was clear enough to recognize; and God the Holy Spirit has had it written often enough with indelible ink that not the

* In the original and in the English, it reads “our report.”

slightest doubt should remain unless one has *nolo vinci* [I will not be persuaded] as a battle cry.

Par. 125

Now we come to the accomplished work of salvation, to the glorious Ascension of Christ to prepare the way for us, accompanied by strong angelic singing and playing. Concerning this, something has already been introduced above in paragraph 114; but here it must be reinforced once again through the evidence of two angels' testimony and tongues. They were themselves present at this act on earth, and at the very time of the Ascension, they proclaimed to the apostles the manner in which the return will occur, namely, "This Jesus, who has been taken from you, will come as you have seen him go up to heaven" (Acts 1[:11]). That is, just as he has gone up with shouts of joy and loud trumpets, just so he will come again with shouts of joy and loud trumpets. There again the angels will be quite busy. "The trumpet festival, or the New Year's Day, was a foreshadowing of the New Testament, in which Christ went up to heaven with shouts of joy and loud trumpets and thus will come again from there to begin the true eternal New Year."¹²⁵ See par. 17, where the reader is correctly reminded that the history of the Israelites, and consequently also of their trumpets and horns, was a representation of eternal life. Some exegetes suppose that the first trumpet means Christ's coming by grace into the flesh and that the second is his appearance in judgment. For us it is enough that these and many other instruments—without seeking any mystery therein—really have served in deed and truth not only for both actions mentioned but also notably for other divine actions and will do so for all eternity to the glory of God.

Whether, meanwhile, the *Posaunen*, as is thought, were made of rams' horns, can be easily disputed. First, it is agreed that they gave off a very sharp, bright and wide-ranging tone, indeed, presumably stronger than the *Trompeten* themselves (Exodus 19[:19], Isaiah 58[:1], Hosea 8[:1]). As every cowherd knows, no horn is capable of this. Second, horns of brass and iron are also found in Scripture that are only called horns because of their shape, just as post horns, hunting horns, and bugle horns are thus called because of their crookedness, not because they are made of horns. Third, the opinion about horns arises from the rabbinic fables that have as their basis the ram that was caught in the thicket at Abraham's sacrifice and other sorts of things that led Jerome as well as the seventy translators¹²⁶ astray. *De buccinis quaerit Abulensis^{†127} fuerintne corneae an argenteae? Et ex metallo sive argento fuisse concludit.* That is, Alphonsus Tostatus,¹²⁸ bishop of Avila in Spain, raises the question whether the trombones were of horns or of silver and concludes that they were made of metal or silver. This much is certain: *Chatsotsra*, the straight trumpet, *Shofar* and *Takoa*, two crooked wind instruments that wound in different manners (the last of which is

* Schmidt, *Biblischer historicus*, p. 1128. Ps. 47, 1 Thess. 4, 2 Cor. 5, Revelation 21.

† Quaest. 6. et 7. in *Iosuaam*, Part. I, cited in Michael Praetorius, in *Theoria Organices*, p. 121.

considered in Ezekiel 7[:14] to be an instrument for battle), were the only three products of this genre among the Hebrews, and they were indisputably of silver or iron.^{*129}

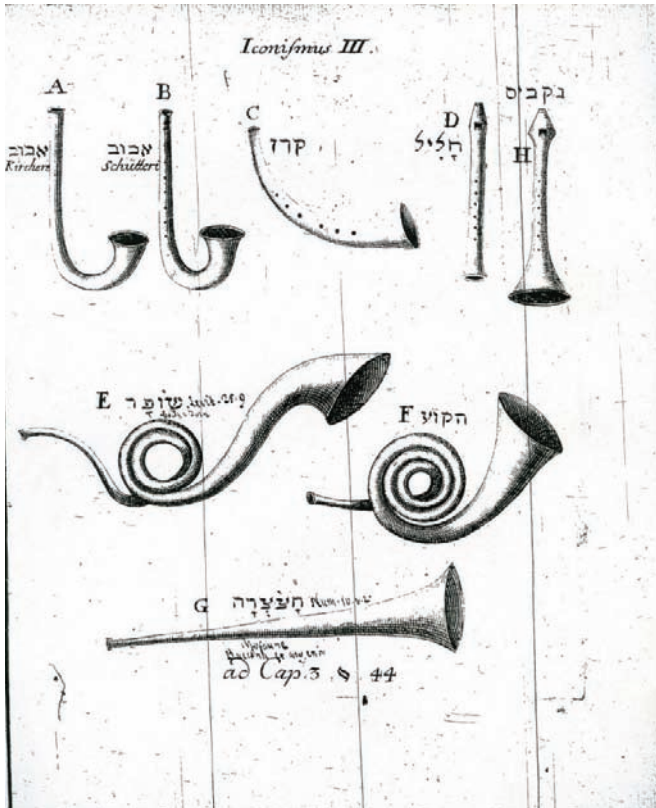


Figure 3. Hebrew wind instruments from Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Historische Beschreibung der edelen Sing- und Klingkunst* (Dresden: Mieth, 1690), facing page 30. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Par. 126

That the above exegesis concerning the return of the Lord in judgment with sound of instruments is true and inconvertible is demonstrated by David and also by Paul in 1 Corinthians 13 [actually 15:51–52], where he says, “We shall all be changed at the time of the last trumpet: for,” he continues, removing all doubts by emphatic repetition, “the trumpet will sound.” And further, from a place stranger than all others, that agrees completely with the pronouncement of Zech-

* Printz. *Histor. Mus.* c. 3 where a skillful drawing of these may also be found.

ariah already mentioned above in Par. 122, it reads even more clearly, “He, the Lord himself, will come down from heaven with a cry of battle and the voice of the archangel, with the trumpet of God” (1 Thess. 4[:16]). The apostle Jude adds quite rightly to this: “with many thousands of holy ones” [v. 14]. (See Deut. 33[:2].) But now the archangel here is none other than Jesus Christ, whose voice resounds along with the trumpet of God and is accompanied by all angels and chosen ones, both singing and playing instruments (Daniel 7[:8–10], Matthew 16[:27] and 25[:31]). There must therefore necessarily be trumpets and other instruments in heaven, whatever form they may take, if they are really supposed to come down from there. The words are so clear that no one can have or offer any concept of this other than a natural and bodily one. For at the time of the last trumpet and thereafter no figurative image or mystical explanation will any longer be needed or expected.

Par. 127

As a result, the whole world must then also be alive, and believing souls must be glad of heart, according to the words in Psalm 96 [:11–13]: “Rejoice, O heaven, and earth, be joyful! Let the sea roar, and all that is in it! Let the field rejoice, and everything on it. And let all the trees in the woods extol the Lord who comes, for he is coming to judge the earth. He will judge the world with justice and truth.” Through the joy of heaven that was previously proclaimed and the happiness of earth, our music in eternal life is surely also suggested, especially as prescribed in Psalm 81[:1] and 100[:2]: “Serve the Lord with joy! Sing joyously to God, who is our strength.” The first of these is directed to the angels, the other to human beings, for encouragement. And in Isaiah 26[:19]: “Wake up and **extol**, you who lie under the earth!” In short: “**Sing!**”*

Par. 128

Because, then, according to Scripture and to the eternal decrees contained therein, the Son of God became like us after he received human nature, he speaks to the Father thus in Hebrews 2[:12]: “I will **proclaim** your name to my brethren and **sing praise** to you in the midst of the assembly.” What kind of proclaiming is this? The correct answer is in paragraphs 78, 87, 90.¹³⁰ What kind of singing of praise is this? Again, the correct answer is in paragraphs 80, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90, 94, 96, 98, 102, 118. But who is this “I”? Perhaps David? For these are his own prophetic words in Psalm 22. Or is it perhaps Paul? For they are found also in one of his epistles. Or is it perhaps another prophet, apostle, etc.? Oh, no! It is Jesus Christ himself, who is not ashamed to call those of us who are believers his brethren and to **sing praise** to his Father here on earth in the midst of the congregation. How could this **extolling** and **singing of praise** allow any other than an actual musical understanding? This singing

* This is the true “ars semper gaudendi” [the art of rejoicing always].

circumstance, regarded by many as such a lowly matter, was of such importance in God's eyes that the prophet Zephaniah had to proclaim 647 years earlier, as we read in his third chapter [v. 17]: "He will," it says, "rejoice over you with a loud sound." With a loud sound, that is, basically, with playing and singing, *de te cum ovatu exsultans* (Castellio). This *exsultare* is even more than playing and singing; it is as much as *to leap about*. But no one leaps very easily without music. If our Savior really did this already at the beginning of the world and afterward when the church militant was in the midst of greatest strife, how much more and more emphatically will the triumphant heavenly congregation do so with all the angels, and with all the blessed, his chosen brethren? For he is still the same person. He did not lay down our nature, and in all eternity he will not lay it down. Rather, he will always proclaim God's praise with us, his brethren, and with the angels, his servants, in the most splendid manner, and he will sing praise to God in the midst of the glorious congregation of the New Jerusalem. That stands firm. David had prophesied long previously about this when he said in the person of Christ, "I will praise God's name with a **song** and will **honor** him greatly with **thanksgiving**" (Psalm 69[:30/31]). Both vocal and instrumental music are there together.

Par. 129

If one who in this world is of good cheer should **sing psalms** (James 5[:13]), that is, serve God with voice and instruments—*ψαλλέτω!*—, where will one be of better cheer than in heaven itself? Will we not shout for joy there out of good cheer? (Isaiah 65[:14]) Should we not then sing and play there in the most excellent manner with the angels and holy ones? Truly we have more pressing cause to do so than do those ministering spirits who will certainly do this with us even if Christ does not call them his brethren. This is heartening! The above-named apostle James first comforted his brethren in advance that the coming of the Savior was nigh; and then right away he pointed with his finger to the eternal life of joy, so to speak, calling on them to sing psalms according to the degree of good cheer that they, and we with them, had, have, and will have.

Par. 130

Surely John, however, was the chosen holy man who saw, heard, wrote down, and witnessed the most concerning heavenly music, especially about the voices, trumpets, harps, and those instruments of the angels and the elect that are included naturally as species within these generic terms. He was the trustworthy apostle, evangelist, prophet, and theologian par excellence, who rose into eternity above all others with the true eyes and wings of an eagle. To this bosom disciple of the Lord in particular was shown, through divine rapture in the spirit and through genuine visions, how things will actually happen both in the church militant and in the church triumphant, that is, in heaven and eternal life. This he then also described most diligently, as he was commanded by God.

Par. 131

Among other things he sees and hears that the elect fall down before the Lamb, each of them provided with a harp; and all sing a new song to praise and laud God. Countless angels then join in the song in harmonious manner. For this reason this powerful concert, which because of its unity is said to be only one voice (cf. Par. 112 & 122), is described as so strong as if great waters rushed and mighty thunder rolled. At the same time, though, it sounded as lovely as the voice of harpists playing on their harps. And therefore these harps are also called chiefly *harps of God* (Par. 19); because this may be read at length in Revelation chapters 5, 14, 15 and 19, it will only be touched on here in excerpts.* Serving to elucidate this, we have not only the lovely image of elements going through one another (Wisdom 19[18]), just as the strings on the psaltery resound through one another and yet sound together; but in this case much light is also shed by the artistic pieces of today's composers, in which the rushing waters as well as the strong thunder are presented marvelously in such a manner that one listens to them without any fear and with great pleasure. In that rest of God there is nothing terrifying but rather a perfect peace; in this peace is pure delight; in this delight is joy and pleasure; in this joy and pleasure a continual variation; in this variation certainty; and in this certainty eternity, a constantly enduring Sabbath, an unceasing banquet, a persevering song, and an imperishable crown.

Par. 132

The purpose of all divine revelation, and also of this Johannine revelation, was, to be sure, directed first to the church militant in the world; but the whole conception here extends not just to purely heavenly matters. Rather it actually concludes also with the marriage feast of the Lamb, with the heavenly Jerusalem that is above (Galatians 4[26]), and with the new world or the church triumphant. According to the preface, as soon as the gate of heaven is opened with the *protasis*,¹³¹ after the prologue, John is already commanded, through the first voice of the trumpet, to climb up and have everything shown to him. Everything that will happen, first in this old, then afterward in that new world is, namely, to be shown to him in heaven. Heaven itself, however, does not signify the church on earth but rather the reverse: the latter signifies the former to a certain extent, only as a prefiguring. This difference should be well noted. Then a throne is placed in heaven for our Savior to occupy, and at that point the Sanctus of the four seraphim,[†] who are compared to a lion, a calf, a human being, and an eagle, and who rest neither by day nor by night (par. 46), resounds more gloriously than Isaiah heard it. The holy ones and chosen ones then do the

* The present excerpt concerns merely those places where voices and instruments, and consequently heavenly music, is mentioned.

† Luther writes concerning Isaiah 6 of only 2 seraphim; here there are already four, and they must be regarded as evangelical dukes of the same number of angelic hosts. In short, it is supposed to be the four evangelists, who have many thousands of followers and adjutants.



Figure 4 Lucas Cranach, illustration of Revelation 5 in *Das Neue Testament Deutsch* (Wittenberg: Lotther, 1522), aa iiiii. Courtesy of Scheide Library, Princeton, NJ.

concluding chorus of this first scene of the first act.

Par. 133

John further sees and hears how the seraphim and elders, in the second scene, sing the new song in the loveliest manner, with all the words, and accompany themselves on the harp (Rev. 5[:8]). Then immediately many thousand angels around the throne of God perform the most excellent responsory, and all creatures in heaven, on earth, under the earth and in the sea, together with everything that is therein, join in the song, each in its own manner. (Concerning the new song, see the end of paragraph 149.)

Par. 134

In the *epitasis* or second act, he continues to see and hear all the angels explicitly around the throne, around the elders, and around the beasts,* where they hold a concert of praise and honor on their knees. But in particular he hears the blasts of the trumpet from the seven angels, who stand armed with their seven trumpets, ready to blow. And after a half hour pause or silence in heaven, they step before God, but they announce only trouble and misfortune on earth. And that is the third scene (Rev. 7 and 8).

Par. 135

Soon thereafter, however, he sees and hears a far kindlier angel coming down from heaven with the golden censer; his cry was echoed by seven thunderous speaking voices (Rev. 10). From the hand of this same beautifully described angel, John has to devour a scroll; the presumed meaning of this has already been touched on in paragraph 28. That the voice of this strong angel is compared with the roar and cry of a lion and the voice of the other seven angels with thunder should no longer seem strange to those who properly keep in mind that which was recalled in paragraphs 118–120: that is, when it is written here that seven thunders have **spoken** their voices—such that John wanted to write it down, which with true thunder is not possible—, it is to be understood as of the divine Word, praise, laud, and glory, as it reads in Psalm 68[:33/34], “He will give his thunder power.”† Meanwhile, that such similes as roaring and thunder are applied here occurs, among other things, only because in the world no stronger sound can be heard. But to the devout nothing terrifying is being proclaimed, as we will soon see in the following with several reasons. And here ends the fourth scene.

* The word *ζῴα*, that has been translated as “beasts,” really means “living creatures” and carries no such loathsome connotation as beasts have among us.

† Neither in the Vulgate nor in Castello nor in the English is there any reference to thunder but only of a strong voice. And the last translation from the original points here to John 5[:28]: “The dead will hear the voice of the son of God.” And that is precisely the sound of the trumpet, of which we have spoken previously.

Par. 136

In the fifth scene, after John has seen how Michael and his angels fought in heaven against the dragon and his dissident angels and how afterward they no longer had a place in heaven, he hears anew various voices, loud and strong, singing and giving thanks, that is, playing instruments, with this victorious content: “Now has come the salvation and the power and the kingdom and the might of our God and his Christ, etc.” (Rev. 12[:10]). Then is added the triumphant encouragement: “Rejoice, then, you heavens, and all who dwell therein.”

Par. 137

Here now, with the *catastrophe* or third act, that is, with the actual representation of the victorious church of heaven, there is to some extent a beginning* and at the same time a prelude to the development that is to follow and to the very happy ending of the entire revelation. For in the fourteenth chapter John sees the Lamb standing on Mount Zion. In Paul’s letter to the Hebrews (12[:22]), he teaches us what is meant by this famous mountain in the New Testament and in the triumphant congregation of angels and chosen ones: “You have come to Mount Zion and to the city of the living God (Rev. 21), to the heavenly Jerusalem and to the multitude of many thousands of angels.” Namely by faith, not yet by sight (2 Cor. 5[:7]).

Par. 138

In this new heavenly Jerusalem, however, in this holy city that is put before John’s eyes in actual view and not merely in faith, he hears sixth a heavenly, to be sure, but also true bodily voice. Luther reinforces the situation literally in his summary of the 14th chapter as he intends it:¹³² not *like* nor *as*[†] harp players, in the manner of a simile, but directly: he really heard the sound of the harp players themselves when they played on their harps.[‡] With this they sang a new song before the throne of God, which, other than the 44,000 redeemed,¹³³ no one else could learn. The 44,000, when they play together, do indeed make up a choir that no one in the world below has heard and that, because of their

* How the preceding is fulfilled on earth, the exegetes know best how to attest. For us it is enough that it has previously been concluded in heaven and presented ceremoniously with singing and instrumental music.

† It should be noted that these words “like” and “as” that serve as terms of comparison are in the original text only in connection with water and thunder, not with harps.

‡ In the secret understanding the harps are supposed to mean “preaching,” the new song is supposed to be “the gospel,” and the psaltery with 10 strings (Ps. 33) is supposed to mean the law, etc. (par. 22). As long as the actual meaning is not set aside through this mystical exegesis, then the matter can and may have good justification, if only it is kept in moderation. In our German Bible the word “preaching” rather frequently stands in places where the original text demands something completely different, so that people think the service depends on preaching alone. Concerning the song and why it is called new when the gospel ceases, see the end of par. 149.

overwhelming strength, cannot be compared with anything less than water and thunder.

Par. 139

Accordingly, one could perhaps interpret the voice “as of a mighty water” as all kinds of stringed instruments that are played with bows and that can easily produce many and diverse undulations;* the voice “as of a mighty thunder,” however, could be interpreted as all kinds of deep singing, playing, and drumming, especially the 32-foot principals, trumpets and other reed stops of a large full organ,† which can rush and thunder quite well, even if they may be mere child’s play next to the heavenly instruments. But the pleasant circumstances of the marriage of the Lamb make abundantly clear that such comparisons with mighty water and thunder carry no sense of anything frightening or repulsive. It is the loveliest and happiest music of the sort that one likes to play and sing for guests, even if it should still sound quite strong, powerful, and moving. This too, with a suitable distance, can be no more troublesome than the thunder of cannons that are often fired for pleasure if not simply out of pure bravado.

Par. 140

If, by the way, it still seems incomprehensible that all stringed instruments are to be understood when harps are mentioned in heaven, just as all wind instruments are understood under the name trumpet,‡ then it must seem ten times times more incomprehensible that one could encounter harp players there without true and actual harps and yet hear them play. Nevertheless, this playing and hearing must be indisputably true as long as the divine words and the eyes and ears with which John himself saw and heard everything do not deceive us. A few years ago three Jews appeared in Hamburg who were able just with their throats and voices, without words or assistance of any other means than fingers under the neck, to make an ensemble of two oboes and a bassoon seem so natural that anyone who didn’t see it would have sworn he was hearing parade music. The one who writes this experienced it himself at that time with amazement. One can conclude from this what wonderful instruments and

* In various organs, in Görlitz among others, there is a fluctuating register called *unda maris* or waves of the sea.

† Many people think the word *organ* means solely a structure with bellows that is found in churches. So they laugh when the words of one of our songs read, “they hanged their harps and organs on the willows.” It should be known that the very first organs were only small things that were placed here and there in churches like swallows’ nests and that lutes and violins, etc., can be called organs as well. With time, however, the large pipeworks in churches have claimed the sole title of organs because of their excellence and because they are, so to speak, an *organum organorum*, or the sum of all other sounding instruments, not excluding the human voice.

‡ It is a *synecdoche* when certain forms of a genre stand for the whole. Par. 122, 124.

inverted shawms human voices and throats are. Thus the Jews played, so it appeared, on oboes and bassoons without oboes and bassoons. In eternal life, however, it is no false appearance but rather a true reality, an *esse, non videtur*. There it is neither trick nor deceit; everything, everything is true enough.

Par. 141

John continues to see and hear, in the seventh scene, an angel flying through the middle of heaven* to proclaim an eternal gospel; a passage from Psalm 146 and Acts 14 must serve here to show that the angel not only made music with a loud voice but also composed. The word *compose* may be added because this very angel is supposed to indicate the sworn music lover and harmonizer, Luther.† There follow two other angels, likewise with loud voices, who make a trio with him.

Par. 142

Eighth, he sees and hears the music of the chosen ones at the glassy sea that is mingled with fire (Rev. 15[:2]; cf. ch. 4), namely how they sing the song of Moses and the song of the Lamb accompanied by the **harps of God**. Here at the same time the entrance to the New Jerusalem, namely the temple, the heavenly tabernacle of testimony, is opened. The meaning of said songs will be familiar to most; nevertheless, they are actually sung, accompanied by instruments, as God's Word says. In Rev. 18, John sees yet another angel who, having come down from heaven, sings of the Fall of Babylon with a loud voice and tremendous joy. Then is heard another heavenly voice that urges all heaven to the same degree of joy.

* How this and any other flying can take place without air is for a geometer to tell us.

† It will be familiar that he composed and published four-part songs. Printz writes: "In the year 1517 Dr. Martin Luther came forth, who not only was a felicitous author of German hymns but also a good musician and composer. For the most part wrote the melodies to his hymns himself." *Hist. Mus.*, 1st ed., p. 118.

Par. 143

Ninth and last, he also hears, in addition to the voice that proceeds from the throne, the voices of great multitudes in heaven who perform the fivefold Alleluia (Rev. 19). But already in ch. 18 a particular angel is more noteworthy than others, namely the one who throws the Babylonian stone into the sea and stipulates among the extreme hardships and afflictions that the voices of the singers and string players, minstrels and trumpeters, bridegroom and bride will no longer be heard in Babylon. If that is the opinion of the angels, as it is the true Word of God, then the opposite, namely the hearing or the presence of these voices must necessarily be regarded as a great benefit or as immense blessedness, and indeed with good reason and accord. For when two things are placed in opposition to one another, then the opposite of that which is valid for one is also valid for the other. “I will take away the cry of joy,” it says, “and the voice of the bridegroom and the bride”—that is, Luther adds, “pipes and all cries of joy that sound at a wedding to honor the bridegroom” (Jer. 7[:34] and 25[:10]; Ezekiel 26[:13]). “Thus I will make an end of the clamor of your song so that the sound of your harps will no longer be heard” (Baruch 2[:23]).¹³⁴ Where these are lacking, it is always a sign, indeed an effect, of the utmost rejection and of the most deplorable end of all glory; the opposite, however, namely the highest blessedness, is found where these desired circumstances are present, as in Jer. 33[:11] and John 3[:29]. Which of the two, do you think, can be said about eternal life? An extreme woe, or an extreme weal?

Par. 144

After this John describes the Last Judgment, where, according to repeated divine declaration and decree, trumpets, etc., cannot be lacking (Rev. 20). Tenth and finally, he sees the most elegant thing of all, the new heaven that is mentioned at four places in Scripture: Isaiah 65[:17], 66[:22], [2] Peter [3:13]¹³⁵ and here in Revelation 21[:1]. It is, to be sure, without sun,^{*} but not without air or bright light (Isaiah 60[:19], 65). He sees the new earth—without any seas yet not without beautiful streams of water; and finally he sees the holy capital city of the new world—without any temples yet not without the glory of God, and where the streets are of pure gold, the walls of precious jewels and the gates of pearls. If anything more valuable than such gold, such pearls, and such precious jewels could be named or imagined, then it would have to be *there*. If anything more beautiful and delightful than such music could be devised, then it would have to be heard *there*. John also hears a loud voice from the throne that points out the gracious condition of the heavenly dwellings in the form of a glorious paradise and pleasure garden with lovely promises attached, where the servants,

* The sun here signifies the Word of God and the moon the church. Psalm 119[:105], Isaiah 60[:2-3], Daniel 12[:3], Matthew 5[:14], 13[:43], 2 Peter 1[:19], Rev. 12[:1]. The above must therefore be understood figuratively as the dismissal of the dim word and of the external office of preaching in the future world, where there is no need of such sun and such moon, having those that are seven times better (Isaiah 30[:26]).

angels and chosen ones attend to the Most High, i.e., praise and honor him (Rev. 22; cf. Par. 112). Here belongs what Tobit proclaimed in his 13th chapter [v. 18]: that “Hallelujah” will be sung in all the streets of the heavenly Jerusalem. And Luther’s unerring marginal glosses point here explicitly to Revelation 21. Any other service than this cannot possibly be had there; but this we discharge through all eternity with songs that are constantly new. (See par. 48, 133, 138, 149.) “The service of God in heaven consists in glorious songs of joy, as the blessed souls sing an eternal Te Deum even before they receive their bodies.”* This surely cannot happen completely incorporeally.

Par. 145

At the conclusion the certain truth of the whole revelation is confirmed with the Lord’s own words, as he calls himself a bright morning star and forbids anyone, at peril of salvation, to add or subtract anything. If a person should gainsay the heavenly music that is discovered herein, he would act worse indeed than an angel of the red dragon, none of whom can deny it. How would that be anything other than “to open his mouth for blasphemy against God, to defame his name and his dwellings and those who live in heaven” (Rev. 13[:6]). See what the evil spirits testify, even against their wish and will, and how that happens! Luther says, “Music drives away the devil; therefore he is very much the enemy of music.”†¹³⁶

Par. 146

The damned ones were included for a while among those morning stars that praised God with singing and playing before he founded the earth: therefore one can say of their wicked instigator, Lucifer or the Light-Bearer, just as of Babel: “How have you fallen so from heaven, you lovely morning star?” (Isaiah 14[:12]). The reason, however, that the devils cannot stand music and that, as Luther adds, “they do not hope for it” comes from this: “That they remember quite well that, when they were created to be good angels, before their apostasy, they served God with their music unceasingly and exalted his majesty, and also that this was very dear and pleasing to him. But now the unspeakable glory of the heavenly music still remains in their memory and they bear in mind that they must nonetheless be deprived of it eternally; so it is that whenever we humans sing a lovely song of praise, their torment even today increases all the more and they remember with pain the blessed condition in which they began. These condemned spirits become so angry at this mockery that they retreat from such children of men as make music from the depths of the heart. It is also for this reason that Satan exerts himself so intensely to remove music from the church by means of his tools.”‡¹³⁷ Even if this should happen, he will never be able to remove it from heaven.

* Phil. Nicolai, *Theoria vitae aeternae*, Bk. IV, ch. 10 [p. 565].

† Vol. 8 Altenburg, p. 411f. 1 Sam. 16.

‡ B. Waldschmidt, in *Python. Endor.*, p. 618.

Par. 147

We have, therefore, as far as our mortality permits, seen rather thoroughly how heavenly music was employed at creation, at the giving of the law, through providence, incarnation, ascension and justification and how at the last day and in the eternal life of joy it will be employed by the angels and the elect with real singing and playing of instruments according to the clear testimony of the highly praised Trinity and especially of Christ Jesus, the angels and shepherds, Moses and all Israel, David, Isaiah, Daniel, Habakkuk, Zechariah, Matthew, Luke, Paul, John, etc., etc. For the most part they have seen it with their eyes and heard it with their ears.

Par. 148

How does it happen, then, that almost all theologians so brazenly apply the familiar saying from 1 Corinthians 2[:9] to eternal life and want to dismiss us with this: “That eye has not seen nor ear heard nor human heart imagined what God has prepared for those who love him”? These words deal all too clearly and understandably with the gospel, which is only the means of salvation, not with salvation itself; at that point the gospel reaches its fulfillment and ceases. Both the parallel places in Isaiah 64, Ephesians 3 and Colossians 1 and also the context or connection of the verses show transparently that in the first-mentioned passage what was at issue is the wisdom of God that in the past was hidden and thereafter proclaimed most joyously,* namely the good news and teaching of Christ. Otherwise how could the apostle say immediately thereafter, without contradicting himself, “But God has revealed it to us by his spirit”? Indeed he had already heard inexpressible words in the third heaven (2 Cor. 12[:2]) that can be interpreted very aptly as concerning heavenly music, which brings inexpressible and glorious joy (1 Peter 1[:8]). But mere prophetic, evangelical, apostolic words are far from attaining this and in the end can still be expressed well without prior unmediated ecstasy. *Orchestre* 2, pp. 480–486.¹³⁸

Par. 149

It appears, then, that some people work very hard to direct their thoughts toward the means that are filled with crosses rather than toward the joyous end. Also, to make this all the more difficult, they even apply a negating biblical saying to it, which concerns only those means before the times of the apostles and in the long-lapsed times—namely in the time of Isaiah about A. M. 3200.¹³⁹ To be sure, whoever wants to arrive at the end must use the means; but on the other hand it is not untrue that we will always lose courage in our illnesses if we do not at every moment have medicine to take. The herbs are more sought after than their Creator; yet a well-ordered life and happy confidence make the

* The apostle calls this wisdom σοφίαν τὴν ἀποκρυμμένην [1 Cor. 2:7] in the perfect and pluperfect of the passive participle, namely the wisdom that is not in fact hidden but having been hidden. This saying is not about eternal life but rather about the mystery that is “great beyond all question” (1 Timothy 3[:16]).

sought-after treasure of health far easier to find. The application of this point is not difficult. Greatly to be desired would be less doctrine that makes one anxious and more praise from a devout heart. The primary goal of the gospel does not consist in instruction but rather in lighting the flame of love. Fear, wonder, sermon, adoration, etc., together are all dead without love. Love, however, arouses praise, and praise arouses singing and music-making. Thus it is properly said: “Pluck the strings on the harp and let the sweet music joyously resound! Let me well up in constant love for Jesus, my lovely bridegroom. Sing, leap, exult, triumph, give thanks to the Lord!...” (Philip Nicolai, Hamburg hymnal, no. 523).¹⁴⁰ In the Hamburg hymnal this song of love, praise, and thanksgiving carries a strange long heading, namely “Encouragement to holy rejoicing in God” as if not all rejoicing in God were holy or as if not all holy rejoicing were in God. Moreover, this glorious song of the bridegroom, of love, praise and thanksgiving falls under the general title “Consolation and Encouragement in Tribulation and Suffering.” What, which, how much? How does that make sense? Tribulation instructs, but praise gives honor. God cannot be praised enough. Happy are those who live in your house, who praise you evermore (Psalm 48 [actually 84:5]). David praised God seven times a day (Psalm 119[:164]). Isaiah calls God his psalm, his salvation, and commands, “Sing praise to the Lord!” (ch. 12[:5]). “Sing with praise and praise the Lord in all his works! Extol his name gloriously! Give thanks to him, praise him with singing and sounding” (Sirach 40).¹⁴¹ “Praise and exalt the Lord as high as you can, he is still higher. Exalt him with all your strength and do not let up; you still will not attain it. Who can exalt him as high as he is?” Sirach 43[:30–1]. “So let us now through him [Jesus] continually offer the sacrifice of praise to God” Hebrews 13[:15], etc. What purpose will those people have in the heavenly Jerusalem who do not recognize such a precious foretaste of eternal life, do not value it, do not see after it, do not love it? The more zealously they work against musical worship in this world and seek to hinder it more than to further it, the more difficult will it be for them to move to the pursuit of harmonious joy in eternity, which consists of nothing else. For this reason John depicts heavenly music as so powerful because it will be heard eternally, as, for example, when one hears running water rushing continuously. Since then angels and the elect look at God forever and enjoy his blessings eternally, they can do nothing other than praise him thus on and on to eternity. Therefore John says in that place that the four animals have not rested from this day or night, as they have sung and sounded their “Holy, holy” continuously, just like the seraphim. This music can never grow old, it will always remain new, and for that reason it is called “the new song.” This is plain (see par. 133, 138, 144) and stands the test better than all other interpretations.

Par. 150

Some who take both sides in this whole case allege that it is unnecessary to investigate the heavenly manner of singing and playing; but this runs counter to

the clear command, “Search the scriptures!” (John 5[:39], Acts 17[:11]). For you think that you have eternal life therein. Well then, think, believe and just do this confidently, ignoring all objections, you who have sworn to God to be friends of heavenly music and all other good music that aims thereto: “Seek, and you will find” (Matth. 7[:7]). “You will one day, after this time, have eternal joy with Christ; you should direct your thinking toward that! There is no one living who can express the glory and eternal reward that the Lord will give to us. And what the eternally gracious God has promised in his word, and sworn in his name, this he upholds and grants most truly. May he help us [to join] the hosts of angels, through Jesus Christ. Amen.”¹⁴²

Part II Notes

¹ Augustinus Hipponensis, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* in PL 36, col. 157.

² Johann Jacob Schmidt, *Biblicher Historicus Oder Einleitung zur Biblischen Historie* (Leipzig: Schuster, 1728), 339.

³ Mattheson, *Die neueste Untersuchung der Singspiele* (Hamburg: Herold, 1744). In this work on the artistic and moral merits of opera, Mattheson mentions on p. 3 other works he has started that he intends to bring to completion when he finds the available time. Clearly he sees the publication of the present work as the beginning of the fulfillment of that promise. Other projects mentioned are his *Philologisches Tresespiel*, published in Hamburg in 1752, and a commentary on the idea of a visual organ, which remains in manuscript from 1746 (Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. hans. IV: 38–42:10:10) but was listed as ready for publication in *Hamburger Nachrichten aus dem Reiche der Gelehrsamkeit* in 1759. See Cannon, *op. cit.*, 206.

⁴ Mattheson bases much of his case about vocal and instrumental music in the Bible on distinctions among words of praise that would not normally be distinct in English translation (nor do his distinctions correlate easily with the Hebrew original). For consistency, I will translate the words according to the list in Par. 107.

⁵ Fridericus Balduinus, *Didactica Apostolica, hoc est, S. Apostoli Pauli Epistola ad Colossenses Commentarius* (Wittenberg, 1624); Wolfgang Frantz, *Tractatus Theologicus Novus & Perspicuus De Interpretatione Sacrarum Scripturarum Maxime Legitima* (Wittenberg: Ludovicus, 1728).

⁶ Philipp Nicolai, *Theoria Vitae Aeternae: Oder Historische Beschreibung Deß gantzen Geheimnisses vom Ewigen Leben* (Hamburg: Lang, 1620), 727.

⁷ Isaac Watts, *Zukünftige Welt, oder Reden von der Freude und dem Elende abgeschiedener Selen* published with preface by Siegm. Jac. Baumgarten, (Halle: Lüdewald, 1745), 335. The publication is a translation of Watts’ *The World to Come: or, Discourses on the Joys or Sorrows of Departed Souls at Death* (London: Hett and Blackstone, 1739). In the edition available to me (published in two volumes in 1748), the reference is on page 183 of volume 1: “Whether they shall have such Organs of sensation as Eyes and Ears, and stand in need of such Light as we derive from the Sun or Moon, is not absolutely certain. The Scripture tells us, it shall not be a Body of Flesh and Blood: These are not materials refin’d enough for the heavenly State: ‘that which is corruptible cannot inherit incorruption’ 1 Cor. xv. 50.”

⁸ Mattheson’s tentative wording here may reflect the fact that the German edition of Watts’ work gives the erroneous citation “1 Cor. 11, 10.”

⁹ Martin Luther, Sermons on 1 Cor. 15. This comprises fol. 221^v through 291^v of the 6th volume of the Jena edition that Mattheson cites. The first quotation is a compressed summary of a passage on fol. 280^v–281, which corresponds to WA 36: 659–660. Similar passages are on fols. 273–274, 282^v and 284, corresponding to pp. 633–634, 636, 665–666 and 670 of WA 36.

¹⁰ *Manuale, Oder Hand-Büchlein Deß Heil. Kirchen-Lehrers Augustini* (Munich: Straub, 1731), ch. 34, p. 95. This devotional work is a compilation of writings by various authors, including Augustine, that were published in various forms and languages. This edition indicates it was translated from Latin into German by a priest of the Society of Jesus, and it is not the translation used by Mattheson, as the citations differ in wording but agree in content. The Latin version is in PL 40, cols. 951–968b, among works dubiously attributed to Augustine.

¹¹ Cf. Sancti Aurelii Augustini, *In Johannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 36 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1954), 529 (Tract. 80): “Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum.”

¹² The word *Posaunen*, which Mattheson uses here, would today be translated as “trombone,” but that term does not appear in English Bible translations, and trombones as we know them originated much later. For Mattheson’s attempts at clarifying the nature of Hebrew musical instruments, see paragraphs 112, 122, 125 and 140. Where he uses both *Trompeten* and *Posaunen* in his text, I will usually leave the words untranslated; otherwise I will translate both as “trumpets.”

¹³ Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff, *Der Christen-Staat* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1685). Seckendorff (1626–1692) was a nobleman who wrote works on German law and Lutheran history and was also a supporter of practical church reform. In *Der Christen-Staat* he wrote: “there is no clearer book on earth than Holy Scripture; over against all other books it is like the sun against all other lights....If there is an unclear passage in Scripture, do not doubt that the same truth is behind it that is clear in other places, and whoever does not understand the dark passages should remain with the light” (1706 ed., 847).

¹⁴ Zedler’s *Universal Lexikon* (10: 829) provides a clarification of the meaning of this verse under the heading “Gleich sind sie denen Engeln Gottes im Himmel” with reference to church fathers Basil and Chrysostom. Angels and humans are alike not in respect to their spiritual substance, as angels cannot be touched or seen, but rather in respect to certain characteristics that they share. In eternal life, humans, like angels, will have no need of eating and drinking, sleeping or marrying.

¹⁵ Actually 1 Chron. 16:42.

¹⁶ The printed text erroneously cites chapter five, where verse 8 merely mentions harps, instead of chapter fifteen, where verse 2 names them “harps of God.” An unidentified reader criticized Mattheson for this mistake, as we learn in Mattheson’s defense in his *Wahrer Begriff des Harmonischen Lebens*, 115–117. He admitted to an oversight here but found the criticism petty, remarking that the reader could correct the mistake himself by cross-referencing paragraph 131. People who have no better objections than this, Mattheson charges, are not satisfied to stir up disharmony on earth; they would like to banish harmony even from heaven.

¹⁷ See Raupach’s work, ch. 7, par. 3, where a more specific citation is given for both references.

¹⁸ Mattheson cites chapter 19, which reports on the appointment of Levites but makes no mention of music.

¹⁹ “Mittel-Ding,” translated as “a matter of indifference,” refers to those liturgical or ceremonial practices which were neither commanded nor forbidden. Strictly speaking, the Lutheran confessions included music in this category, but orthodox Lutheran writers did not generally agree that music was an indifferent matter. See Joyce Irwin, “Music and the Doctrine of Adiaphora in Orthodox Lutheran Theology,” *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XIV/2 (Summer, 1982): 157–172.

²⁰ Und bildst du dir zu viel mit deinen Engeln ein,

So wisse dieses auch, daß weiss’ und schwarze seyn.

²¹ In the most frequently used translations of the Bible into English, this reference in Jeremiah 1:11 appears as “the branch/rod of an almond tree” without any sense of activity in the branch. The symbolism that the branch’s early blooming signifies God being early on the watch to carry out his purposes (v. 12) is thereby lost.

²² Mattheson does not provide the Jeremiah 24 reference to the vision of the figs.

²³ Jean-Baptiste Morvan de Bellegarde, *Réflexions sur ce qui peut plaire ou déplaire dans le commerce du monde* (Paris: Seneuze, 1688). The work was reprinted many times, an indication that many were indeed pleased by the work; in the context it is clear that Bellegarde’s point had nothing to do with the afterlife but only with the preacher’s inability to perceive his appearance in the way that others did.

²⁴ This poem imitates a poem that ends the article to which he refers specifically in connection with the “blind Persian”: “Von gelehrten Sachen,” *Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unpartheyischen Correspondenten*, December 1, 1745 (No. 192). This article reports on responses to Georg Friedrich Meier’s work on the condition of the soul after death. In contrast to Meier, the author finds it possible to demonstrate through reason that there must be life after death. He agrees with Meier that humans are inclined to imagine such life according to their own predilections. In that context the writer juxtaposed the singing of angels and the delusion of the blind Persian.

²⁵ Erasmus Francisci (1627–1694) authored many works, including *Das Weh der Ewigkeit für die Verächter der Gnaden-Zeit* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1682) and *Das Wol der Ewigkeit, für die Verächter der Eitelkeit* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1683). From outward indications it is not clear why Mattheson makes his judgment. With 1230 pages for heaven versus 1195 for hell and approximately the same number of illustrations, the two volumes seem of equal weight. Perhaps he found Francisci’s anecdotal examples of those on the path to hell more interesting than the descriptions of heavenly bliss.

²⁶ The valley of Josaphat is mentioned by the prophet Joel (3:2), and interpreters are not agreed on its meaning. Some think it refers to the valley not far from Jerusalem beneath the Mount of Olives and that it is named thus because King Josaphat himself may have had a building erected there. Others say it is the place mentioned in 2 Chronicles 20 as the Valley of Praise, because the said king held a feast of thanksgiving to celebrate the Lord’s help against his enemies. Still others take it to mean no particular place but instead a place of judgment. From the prophecy of Joel it has been concluded that the Last Judgment will take place in this valley. Because of this, innocent sufferers often invite their adversaries into the valley of Josaphat when they face death. (Zedler, *Universal Lexikon*, 14: 616–617.)

²⁷ Complaints about the majority of the congregation waiting until sermon time before entering the church had been common and geographically widespread for at least a century. See Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 50, 117, and Tanya Kevoorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig, 1650–1750*

(Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 33–34.

²⁸ Theophilus Großgebauer, *Drey Geistreiche Schrifften: I. Wächterstimme. Auß dem verwüsteten Zion. II. Präservativ. Wider die Pest der heutigen Atheisten. III. Alte-Religion* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Wilden, 1667). Großgebauer's critical comments on the state of music in German churches were widely circulated, and he became emblematic of opposition to church music, even though his stance was more nuanced. See Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone*, 79–88.

²⁹ I translate this phrase literally, as it seems to be appropriate in this instance, but Mattheson is putting a twist on the saying “er spricht, wie ihm der Schnabel gewachsen ist” (“he doesn't mince words” or “he speaks plainly”).

³⁰ Josua Stegmann, *Studia pietatis icon Christognosia* (Marburg: Chemlin, 1630), 380–381. Cf. Saint Ambrose, *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, trans. John J. Savage (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1961), 192: “For what person of natural human sensibility would not blush to terminate the day without a ritual singing of the psalms, since even the tiniest bird ushers in the approach of day and night with customary devotion of sweet song” (Hexameron, V, 12, 36) and 193–194: “Would that the nightingale were to give forth a song to arouse a sleeper from his slumber! That is the bird accustomed to signal the rising of the sun at dawn and to spread abroad joy more penetrating than morning light” (Hexameron, V, 12, 39).

³¹ “Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein” (O God, look down from heaven) is attributed to Martin Luther (1524); “Nun ruhen alle Wälder” (Now Rest Beneath Night's Shadow) is sung to the melody known as “Innsbruck, ich muß dich lassen” by Heinrich Isaac (ca. 1495).

³² Translation of “Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her” from *Lutheran Book of Worship* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1978), hymn 51.

Mattheson's text:

Davon ich allzeit fröhlich sey,
zu singen, springen immer frey,
das rechte Susanine schon
mit Herzens-Lust den süßen Ton.

Lob Ehr sey Gott im höchsten Thron,
der uns schenkt Seinen eingen Sohn;
deß freuet sich der Engel Schaar,
und singen uns solch neues Jahr.

³³ *Neu-vermehrtes Hamburgisches Gesang-Buch zum Heiligen Gebrauch Des öffentlichen Gottes-Dienstes, Als auch derer Haus-Andachten* (Hamburg: König, 1735), 41–42 (stanzas 14 & 15).

³⁴ The tune was written by Johann Ebeling, and the name (translated by Catharine Winkworth as “Why should I grieve and pine?”) is the title of the Paul Gerhardt hymn with which it was originally associated. The tune came to be used with another Gerhardt poem, as cited by Mattheson, “Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen.”

³⁵ Translation by Catherine Winkworth in *Lutheran Book of Worship*, hymn 46.

Mattheson's original:

Fröhlich soll mein Herze springen,
diese Zeit, da vor Freud, alle Engel singen.
Hört an! wie mit vollen Choren,
alle Luft, laute ruft: Christus ist geboren!

³⁶ *Neu-vermehrtes Hamburgisches Gesang-Buch*, p. 47 (stanza 1).

³⁷ Peter of Dresden (d. c. 1440) studied in Prague and may have taught in towns such as Dresden, Chemnitz, and Zwickau. He advocated receiving communion in two kinds, though John Huss was better known for this. Zedler's *Universal Lexikon* (27:519) reports that it was thought that he wrote songs mixing German and Latin because according to the circumstances of the time he was not allowed to write only in German. Zedler attributes to him not only "In dulci jubilo" but also "Puer natus in Bethlehem," "Quem pastores," "In natali Domini," and "Nobis est natus hodie." Henry Suso is now more frequently credited with "In dulci jubilo."

³⁸ Wo ist der Freuden-Ort?

Sonst nirgends mehr denn dort,
da die Engel singen,
dem lieben Jesulein,
und die Psalmen klingen,
im Himmel hell und rein.
Eja, wären wir da! Etc.

Lüneburgisches Gesangbuch darinnen 2100 so wol alte als neue Geistreiche Lieder Auß den besten Autoren gesammelt (Lüneburg: Stern, 1702), 111. This is stanza four of "Nun singet und seydt froh" by Paul Gerhardt.

³⁹ Wo ist der Freuden Schaar? Sonst nirgends mehr denn dort, da die Engel singen, etc.

⁴⁰ Wie so lieblich wirds erschallen,
wenn ich das Alleluja,
singe mit den Engeln allen!
O, wer doch schon wäre da!
Ibid., 1130–1131. The author is listed as uncertain.

⁴¹ O, Freud! O lieblichs Singen!
O, süßes Lied! O, Lust Geschrey!
O, wunderfröhlichs Klingen!
O, nimmer stille Kantorey!
Die schnellen Himmels-Geister,
und Engel stehen da,
wie die Kapellmeister,
das groß Alleluia,
mit uns auf hohen Geigen,
auf Lauten und Pandor,
zu machen nichts soll schweigen,
Alt, Baß, Discant, Tenor.

Johann Rist, *Neuer Himmlischer Lieder Sonderbahres Buch* (Lüneberg: Sternen, 1651), 334, stanza 9 of "Frisch auf und last uns singen" that begins on p. 330 as number 9 of Part 5: "Höllens und Himmelslieder/ Mit Neuen Von dem hochberühmten Künstler Herren Hinrich Scheidemann/ Bei der Catharinen Kirchen in Hamburg wolbestalten Organisten Sehr anmuthig gesetzten Melodien." On pages 328–329 are Cantus and Bassus for music presumably by Scheidemann, but on p. 330 the indication is given that it may also be sung to "Nun lobe meine Seele den Herren."

⁴² Herr Christe, mir verleihe,
zum Singen deinen Geist,
daß herzlich mich erfreue,
was himmlisch ist und heißt,

ein himmlischer Paradeis,
darinn von allen Bösen,
der Herr mich will erlösen,
wie ichs gewißlich weiß.

Da wird man hören klingen,
das himmlisch Saitenspiel,
des Himmels Chor wird bringen,
in Gott der Freuden viel.

Mit allen Engeln fröhlich,
singt man da unserm Gott,
das Heilig, Heilig, Heilig,
ist der Herr Zebaoth.

Neu-vermehrtes Hamburgisches Gesang-Buch, 395–396 (stanzas 12 & 13).

⁴³Gott wird uns einmal alle,
was je gebohren ist,
mit dem Posaunen-Schalle,
im Heiland Jesu Christ,
samt unserm Fleisch erwecken,
zu großer Herrlichkeit,
und klärlich uns entdecken,
die ewge Seligkeit.

Da wird man hören klingen,
das rechte Saiten-Spiel,
die Musika wird bringen,
in Gott der Freuden viel,
die Heiligen werden singen,
den Engeln Gottes gleich,
mit reinen Himmels-Zungen,
in Gottes Freuden-Reich.

Wir werden stets mit Schalle,
vor Gottes Stuhl und Thron,
mit Freuden singen alle,
des neuen Liedes Ton.

Lüneburgisches Gesangbuch, 1141–1144. Mattheson here quotes stanzas 5, 18, and the first half of 24 as given in the Lüneburg hymnal, but numerous textual variants indicate that this hymnal was not really his source.

⁴⁴Dir Herr zu Lob Ehr und Dank,
will ich meinen Lob-Gesang,
fröhlich singen immerdar,
mit der Auserwählten Schaar,
wenn mein Leib und Seel erfreut,
in des Himmels Herrlichkeit,

wohnen wird in Ewigkeit.

Neu-ermehrtes Hamburgisches Gesang-Buch, 130 (stanza 4).

⁴⁵ “Gloria sey dir gesungen, mit Menschen- und mit Engel-Zungen, mit Harfen und mit Cymbeln schon?” *Neu-ermehrtes Hamburgisches Gesang-Buch*, 387 (stanza 3). The familiar translation by Catherine Winkworth is found in *Lutheran Book of Worship*, hymn 31: “Now let all the heav’ns adore you, And saints and angels sing before you. The harps and cymbals all unite.”

⁴⁶ Philip Nicolai’s *Theoria Vitae Aeternae: Oder Historische Beschreibung Deß gantzen Geheimnisses vom Ewigen Leben*, to which Mattheson refers in his footnote by its German subtitle and in the text by the Latin title, was first published in 1606 and reprinted many times. As Mattheson indicates, this is an excerpt from various passages in Book V of Nicolai’s work. All citations are from chapters 10 and 11 and may be found in the 1620 Hamburg edition on pages 714, 717, 722, 724, 728–730, 736, and 792.

⁴⁷ Mattheson does not identify scripture references in this passage, but Nicolai refers to Psalms 68 and 150.

⁴⁸ Der Engel Chor wird bringen,
uns da der Wollust viel,
weit besser wird erklingen,
als einig Saiten-spiel,
das Dank- und Sieges-Lied.

⁴⁹ Da hör ich Gottes Diener singen,
und ihrer Lippen Opfer bringen,
da rühmet ihres Königs Kraft,
des Himmels ganze Bürgerschaft.

Lüneburgisches Gesangbuch, 1156–1157. The citation is from stanza 11 of “O Gottes stadt! O güldenes Licht,” identified as “uncertain author.”

⁵⁰ Da alles Herr dein Lob erklingt,
und Heilig, Heilig, Heilig singt,
ohn einiges Aufhören.

Ibid., 412–413 (No. 709). Mattheson quotes from stanza 10 of “Gott! Der du auß hertzen-grund” by L. B.

⁵¹ Drum freue dich Himmel,
und welche darinnen,
in Ewigkeit seyn,
geschrieben darein.
Erwecke zum Singen
zum Klingen die Sinnen.

Ibid., 413–414 (No. 712), from stanza 3 of “Schaue Jesu! Schau vom Himmel” by M.G.S.

⁵² Laß mich dich loben,
bis einst dort oben,
da dich die Engel und Menschen besingen,
meine verherrlichte Zunge wird klingen.

⁵³ This is not a continuous quotation from Mithobius; rather, it begins with Mithobius’ prose and jumps to lines 13–20 of a hymn cited by Mithobius, the poetic qualities of which Mattheson implicitly criticizes in his next sentence.

Da wird man figuriren,
auf neu himmlische Art.

Die Noten coloriren,
gar künstlich lieblich zart;
die Psalmen schön psalliren,
mit Herzens-Freude da,
den Gott wird renoviren
die ganze Musika.

⁵⁴ “Die Cherubim und Seraphim, singen immer mit hoher Stimm...der heiligen zwölf Boten Zahl, und die lieben Propheten all, die theuren Märtyrer allzumal, loben dich Herr mit großem Schall.” These are lines from Luther’s hymn “Herr Gott, dich loben wir,” a translation of the ancient Latin hymn “Te Deum Laudamus,” traditionally ascribed to saints Ambrose and Augustine, used as a canticle in daily offices of liturgical churches to the present day.

⁵⁵ The text mistakenly cites Revelation 12.

⁵⁶ St. Augustine, *Expositions of the Psalms: 73–98*, ed. John E. Rotelle, trans. Maria Boulding (Hyde Park, New York: New City Press, 2002), 194: “The psalmist has given voice to our desire and our longings, telling us what we are to have in that homeland for which we long, by his words, *blessed are they who dwell in your house*; let him also tell us what we are to do. *They will praise you for ever and ever*. This will be the work that occupies us totally, an ‘Alleluia’ that never fades away.”

⁵⁷ This citation appears in Raupach’s work, ch. 7, par. 1.

⁵⁸ *De spiritu et anima*, like *Manuale*, is another compilation of writings by Augustine and various other theologians. Published in PL 40, cols. 779–832, the section that most closely resembles Mattheson’s quote is in ch. LX, col. 825.

⁵⁹ *Manuale*, *op. cit.*, 96.

⁶⁰ The most readily available English translation has a somewhat different emphasis, omitting Mattheson’s emphasis on “dignanter”: “That the holy angels do condescend to mingle with us when we praise God in psalmody....” Bernard of Clairvaux, *On the Song of Songs I*, trans. Kilian Walsh (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1971), 40.

⁶¹ In this instance, Mattheson captures the sense of the original Greek χορεία or the Latin *tripudium*, both of which have the connotation of dancing, better than do modern translators. Roy Deferrari renders the phrase “anthems of angel’s choirs” in Saint Basil, *The Letters* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950), 13. Sr. Agnes Clare Way simply writes “choirs of angels” in Saint Basil, *Letters I* (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1951), 7. The German equivalent of “choirs of angels” is found in Basilios von Caesarea, *Briefe*, trans. and ed. Wolf-Dieter Hauschild (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1990), 1: 34. Note that Mattheson, while relying on Raupach’s compilation of sources (see chapter 7, par. 1), refined the translation which was given there as “Was kann seliger seyn/ als auf Erden dem Frolocken der Engel nachahmen?” (“What can be more blessed than to imitate on earth the rejoicing of the angels?”)

⁶² The work cited in Mattheson’s footnote was probably Johann Lund’s *Öffentlicher Gottesdienst der alten Hebräer* (Schleswig: Eckstorff, 1695), but Mattheson must have had access to a different edition, as the chapter reference does not match. In chapter 25 of this work, Lund describes how at the feast of tabernacles the priests and elders danced cheerfully while holding burning torches and singing psalms to the honor of God (p. 491). Lund wrote two other works on ancient Hebrew customs, and the three were reorganized by Heinrich Muhle into a single volume of five parts, *Die alten Jüdischen Heiligthümer, Gottesdienste und Gewohnheiten, in gründlicher Beschreibung, des*

gantzen Levitischen Priesterthums (Hamburg, 1701). This volume was reprinted several times and ultimately re-edited by Hamburg professor J. C. Wolf into an expanded edition published in Hamburg in 1738.

⁶³ According to Zedler's *Universal Lexikon* (35: 688), Johann de Silveira (d. 1687) was a Carmelite from Lisbon who studied in Coimbra and wrote commentaries on the Gospels and on Revelation. The latter was published in two parts in Lyons in 1663 and 1669. Agostino Steffani referred to the Carmelite's discussion of instruments in heaven in his *Quanta certezza Habbia da suoi Principii la Musica Et in qual pregio fosse percio presso gli Antichi* (Amsterdam, 1695), 67: "Il Padre Silverio Carmelitano fa qui Una Questione si nell' empireo siano effettivamente tali Instrumenti." Steffani's work was translated into German by Andreas Werckmeister and published in Quedlinburg in 1700.

⁶⁴ Zedler (9:330) identifies Gregorius Ferrarius (1579–1659) as a Jesuit who taught philosophy and moral theology in Milan; the list of writings there includes *Vita Angelica* (without date) and *Comment. Ad Apocal.* (1652).

⁶⁵ The citation came from a work that had been attributed to Anselm of Canterbury but was actually written by Honorius of Autun (Augustodunensis) (c.1080/1090–1152) entitled *Elucidarium sive Dialogus de Summa Totius Christianae Theologiae*, a popular work that was translated into many languages. Agostino Steffani had quoted the Italian version in his *Quanta certezza*, p. 68: "Pare che A. Anselmo sie della stessa Opinione all'hor che esclama. Ob qual piacere sentone quelli, che odono incessamente l'Harmonia di cieli, i Concerti degl' Angioli, e le dolce Melodie degl' Organi de tutti i Beati!" The Latin original is in PL 172, col. 1172.

⁶⁶ Cf. Raupach's citation in ch. 7, par. 3, and the discussion of the source in note 104 to Pt. I. Mattheson's first citation is from ch. 25, not 24, and is found on p. 74 of O'Connell's translation: "How happy I will be, happy indeed forever, if after the dissolution of this poor body, I shall deserve to hear the melodious songs of heaven that the citizens of that country on high, the host of blessed spirits, sing in praise of the eternal King."

⁶⁷ Cf. Raupach's reference to this organ in ch. 7, par. 1.

⁶⁸ Frederick the Great, king of Prussia from 1740 until his death in 1786, was as much a man of the Enlightenment as of military and political leadership. He patronized the arts and sciences and spent many hours playing the flute.

⁶⁹ Mattheson reverses the citations of this and the following quotations from Dannhauer. It should be noted that he also elevates the earthly choir in comparison with Dannhauer's original statement. The contrast is less clear in English than in German, where the word "figurirt," which I have translated as "makes music," refers to artistic music rather than chant or simple vocal music. Where Mattheson makes no distinction between the kinds of music sung by the two choirs, Dannhauer has the angels singing complex music and the earthly church singing in unison. "Die gantze Christliche / so wohl triumphirende als streitende Kirch / theylt sich in zwen choras und Reyen / den Obern und den Udern / Jener figurirt droben im Himmel / wir hieniden auff Erden singen den choral: unser Irdische Music ist nicht mehr als ein Echo und Widerschall der Himlischen Music." Johann Conrad Dannhauer, *Catechismusmilch, Oder Der Erklärung deß Christlichen Catechismi, ... Theil I* (Strasbourg: Sporr, 1642), 379 (Sermon 27 on the third commandment).

⁷⁰ Johann Conrad Dannhauer, *Hodomoria Spiritus Calviniani Duodecim Phantasmatis, Academica parrhesia ac philallethea Detecti & examinati* (Strasbourg: Heyden, 1654), Pt. I. This quote matches Mattheson's citation of *Hodomoria*, p. 1244: "Is enim Deus, qui

laudationum sui numinis imperavit, omnes eos modos imperavit, qui sunt possibilis; sicut gestum religiosae venerationis non exclusit, ita nec organa, ubi scilicet haberi possunt. (from Phantasma 11. Labyrinthus Evangelico legalis.)

⁷¹ *Catechismmilch*, 526 (Sermon 36): “Und wer wolte leugnen / daß der Mensch / wann er im stand der Unschuld were verblieben / nicht auch mit Instrumenten Gott seinen Schöpffer solte gepriesen haben? Und dasselbe viel lieblicher und schöner / als irgend ein Music nach dem Fall angestellet sein mag.” Mattheson also cites Dannhauer’s *Oratio Pentecostalis de Sacrosancta Spiritus S. Poesi* (1647), which appears as pp. 114–136 of Johann Conrad Dannhauer, *Politica Biblica & Duae Orationes Pentecostales De Spiritus S. Poesi et Pictura* (Helmstedt and Jena: Schmid, 1701). This oration is also cited by Dannhauer himself in the *Hodomoria*, 1243–1244: “*Musica organica non nuper demum nata, sed I. In Paradiso orta, philosophia & poëseos gemella, uti ostendimus in orat. De Sp. S. poësi.*”

⁷² Charles Rollin’s multi-volume *Histoire Ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Medes et des Perses, des Macedoniens, des Grecs* was published in various locations and arrangements, not all of which included the sections on the arts. The relevant citation may be found in English translation in Rollin, *The history of the arts and sciences of the antients, ... in three volumes* (London: Rivington, 1768), 1: 237.

⁷³ Heinrich Bunting, *Oratio de Musica Recitata in Schola Goslariana* (Magdeburg: Ambrosius Kirchner, 1596). It cannot truly be said that Bunting gave a thorough explication of this verse, but he did write, “Imo ab ipsa aeternitate suavissimam quandam in sancta Trinitate fuisse harmoniam, nihil est quod dubitem, cum Logos filius Dei, patris coelestis sapientia aeterna, luserit coram ipso ante exordium mundi. Prov. 8.”

⁷⁴ Watts, *Zukünftige Welt*, 340–341, quotes from Book One of Milton’s *Paradise Lost* concerning the fires of hell.

⁷⁵ Mattheson erroneously cites Book V. The section he translates comes from Book III. I take the lines here directly from Milton rather than translating Mattheson’s German back into English. John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler, 2nd ed. rev. (Harlow, England: Pearson Education, 2007), 189 (Book III, 365–371).

^{76c} “C’est l’eternal employ des ames glorieuses au ciel de louer Dieu de son salut, disant, *Le salut est de nostre Dieu qui est assis sur le throne & de l’Agneau. A quoy les Armées des Anges leur répondent, Amen, louange & gloire, & sapience & action de grace, & honneur, & puissance, & force appartient à nostre Dieu és siecles des siecles, Amen.* Sus, mon ame, joignons nous à ce concert de louanges celestes; Et tenons dès à present en la Musique des Anges.” Pierre du Moulin, *Semaine de Meditations et de Prieres* (Amsterdam: Wolfgang, 1679), 36.

⁷⁷ Cf. par. 66 below.

⁷⁸ Johann Andreas Herbst, *Musica Moderna Prattica, o vero Maniera del buon Canto* (Frankfurt, 1658) Aii; facsimile in *Deutsche Gesangtraktate des 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Florian Grampp in Documenta Musicologica Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006). The first part of Mattheson’s citation is quite close to Herbst’s original, while the second part summarizes the remainder of Herbst’s paragraph. The parenthetical “as both science and art” is, however, not found in Herbst. “So werden wir gewißlich befinden / wie hoch sie über alle freye Kunst erhaben / indem all andere ein Ende nehmen und auffhören werden / diese holdselige Musica aber alsdann am meisten floriren wird: Wann wir nemlich auß dieser Sterblichkeit in die Unsterblichkeit versetzt / und mit allen lieben Engeln und Seraphinen / das ewig-wehrende / herrlich- und

hoch heylige Trisagion / Heilig, Heilig, Heilig etc. anstimmen / und unsers Gottes Ehre / Macht / Herrschaft / Glori / Heilig- und Herrlichkeit / ewig preisen und außbreiten werden.”

⁷⁹ Mattheson incorporates some of the thoughts of Pierre du Moulin without quoting him directly. Cf. Pierre du Moulin, *Traité de la Paix de l'Ame, & du Contentement de l'Esprit* (Amsterdam: Wolfgang, 1684), 175–177 (Bk 2, ch. 17).

⁸⁰ Georg Venzky (1704–1757) studied in Halle and became conrector in Prenzlau in 1742, where he remained until his death.

⁸¹ *Freye Urtheile u. Nachrichten zum Aufnehmen der Wissenschaften und der Historie überhaupt* (Hamburg, March 23, 1745), 180–183. Ammon was pastor in the town of Enheim in Franken. See the introduction to this volume for a discussion of the interchange between Ammon and Mizler.

⁸² This is one of the three points where Mattheson later responds to objections in his *Wahrer Begriff des Harmonischen Lebens*, though it is incorrectly identified as referring to paragraph 6. The objection is that the restoration foretold in Acts 3:21 does not include air, for the verse goes on to say “everything that God spoke of through the voice of all his holy prophets.” Mattheson responds that the firmament and the atmosphere were part of God’s original creation, and the air, along with the rest of creation, was spoiled in the Fall. Thus it too must be thoroughly cleansed in the restoration of all things. (*Wahrer Begriff*, 114–115.)

⁸³ Mattheson alludes here to Luther’s hymn “Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort” but substitutes a rhyming phrase for the second half of the line to better suit his topic. In place of Luther’s “und steur des Bapst und Türcken Mord,” Mattheson puts “daß wir Dir klingen hie und dort.” See Leaver, *Luther’s Liturgical Music*, 114–5, on other re-writings of this hymn.

⁸⁴ Nicolai, *op. cit.*, 719 (Bk. V, ch. x). The word “material” is an insertion by Mattheson.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* Mattheson omits some of Nicolai’s descriptive adjectives (“ein schöner/zierlicher/ herrlicher/ lieblicher Lustgarten”) but is otherwise true to the original. Chapter 17 of *Manuale*, that he cites in his footnote, describes the wonders of heaven, the absence of all the unpleasant aspects of earthly life, and the glory of beholding God. The reference to Psalm 104:30, which Mattheson takes from Nicolai, is the focus of another objection Mattheson addresses in his *Wahrer Begriff des Harmonischen Lebens*. Against the interpretation of Psalm 104:30 that would regard the renewal of the earth as the annual spring regeneration of nature, Mattheson presents an idiosyncratic explanation of the differences in meaning among the three German words *Erneuerung*, *Verneuerung*, and *Neuerung*, corresponding to the Latin words *renovatio*, *innovatio*, and *novatio*. The first, as he sees it, describes the seasonal changes within a world created long ago, the second refers to new additions to the old, but the third entails a new creation. As this verse begins with “When you send forth your spirit, they are created,” Mattheson reads it as referring to a new creation, not a mere renewal of the old. (*Wahrer Begriff*, 108–111.)

⁸⁶ Johann Ballhorn was a sixteenth-century printer in Lübeck who was known for making changes in the material he printed that were regarded as unnecessary and ridiculous. See *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, ed. J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1821), VII: 265.

⁸⁷ This convoluted sentence requires an understanding of the background context. In my introduction I recounted Ammon’s charge that Mizler was inconsistent. The compact of sworn friends of music refers to the Correspondierende Societät der musicalischen Wissenschaften, an elite group of musicians founded by Mizler, to which Mattheson had

not been invited. The appellation “Herr Muthmaßer,” which I have translated as “Mr. Speculation” in order to avoid the financial implications of the current meaning of “speculator,” is a satirical appellation applied to Georg Friedrich Meier for treating heavenly music as a matter of speculation.

⁸⁸ That Mattheson is not writing this with Collier’s work in front of him is evident from the fact that he gives the first name as Arthur rather than Jeremy and that these precise words are not to be found in Collier’s work. Mattheson had cited this work in his preface to Raupach’s work, par. 2.

⁸⁹ Meier, p. 18, uses this as one of the ridiculous examples that demonstrate that each person imagines heaven as it best pleases him or her. Meier himself admitted that he was often tempted to believe that there would be philosophizing in heaven.

⁹⁰ Ach! thue das, so wirst du leben,
Und Gott die rechte Ehre geben.

As this couplet is in German, it is unclear whether its source is the same as that which follows. The biblical allusion is to Luke 10: 28: “Do this, and you will live” (NRSV).

⁹¹ Gloria, sit gloria, amanti memoria
Domino in altis
Cui testimonia dantur et praeconia
Coelicis a Psaltis.

English translation from N. B. Smithers, *Translations of Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages* (Dover, Delaware: James Kirk & Sons, 1879), 128. Johann Mauburnus, also known as Johann von Bruxella and Jean Mombaer, was an Augustinian who lived at the beginning of the 15th century. His *Rosetum exercitiorum spiritualium & sacrarum meditationum* was published in Basel in 1491 and reprinted several times. Throughout the work he offered dense two-line verses as mnemonic devices for his readers.

⁹² From this paragraph through Par. 107, Mattheson’s argument rests on distinctions among words that are not self-evidently distinct in German and are even more difficult to translate into English with meaningful distinctions. Hence, even though the translations may at times seem stilted, I have tried to be consistent in rendering the German words with the English equivalents given here and listed in Par. 107.

⁹³ Luther does explain “Ehre” (honor) as “mein Psalm oder Lere, da ich Gott mit ehre” (my psalm or teaching, with which I honor God), but this carries no connotation of instrumental praise. WA DB 10/1:113.

⁹⁴ The word “honor” does not appear in English versions of this verse, but the Luther Bible has “Ehre,” which for Mattheson connotes instrumental praise. In this case, Luther’s gloss mentions only “my tongue, with which I honor and laud God” (WA DB 10/1:143).

⁹⁵ After this gloss, which Mattheson cites accurately, Luther refers back to Psalm 16, which would provide some justification for Mattheson’s belief that Luther understood “Ehre” to include instrumental praise in the earlier gloss. WA DB 10/1: 189.

⁹⁶ This has the appearance of a quotation in Mattheson’s text, but it is not marked with quotation marks and in fact is more a brief summary of Luther’s lecture on Isaiah 42:10 (WA 31/2: 316–317). Luther does not, however, make specific reference to instrumental music.

⁹⁷ Versification of the Psalms in the German Bible frequently differs by one verse from the English versification. In such cases I give both numbers, the first referring to the English, the second to the German version.

⁹⁸ The text erroneously refers to Psalm 60. In the Luther Bible, the phrase is found in

Psalm 65:2; the equivalent passage in English translations is verse 1, but there is no reference to stillness. The King James Version has “Praise waiteth for thee, O God.”

⁹⁹ *Currente* or *Kurrende* was the term applied to choirs of schoolboys singing throughout the streets of their town. As they collected money for their singing, it was often a required activity, particularly of the boys on scholarship.

¹⁰⁰ Psalm 87, cited in par. 51.

¹⁰¹ Luther divided the book of Habakkuk into four chapters, but modern Bibles have three. This reference is to 3:19b.

¹⁰² *Biblia Sacra ex Sebastiani Castellionis Interpretatione* (Leipzig: Walther, 1728), 3: 568.

¹⁰³ WA DB 10/1:469.

¹⁰⁴ *Biblia Sacra*, 2/2: 169. Mattheson here repeats in Latin the quote from verse 21, “My mouth shall speak the praise of the Lord.”

¹⁰⁵ *Biblia Sacra*, 2: 1439.

¹⁰⁶ The exact words here appear in Jean Nicot, *Thresor de la langue françoise tant ancienne que moderne* (Paris, 1606; reprint Paris: Picard, 1960) under the entry for *retentir* (to resound) with the translation, “La maison retentit du son des fleutes” (The house resounded with the sound of flutes). The closest citation from Cicero is in his oration against L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus 10, 22: “cum conlegae tui domus cantu et cymbalis personaret.” R. G. M. Nisbet, ed., *M. Tulli Ciceronis in L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 13.

¹⁰⁷ *Biblia Sacra*, 2: 1430.

¹⁰⁸ The reference to Revelation is unclear, as the words come from Daniel 7:14. Rev. 22:3 has “his vassals shall serve him.”

¹⁰⁹ Cornelius Cornelii a Lapide, *Commentaria in Quatuor Prophetas Maiores* (Antwerp: Meursius, 1654), 100.

¹¹⁰ The first publication of Valerius Herberger’s *Evangelische Hertz Postilla* occurred in Leipzig in 1613, but this is clearly not the one to which Mattheson refers. The relevant passage appears in the 1732 edition (Leipzig: Gleditsch) on p. 355 of volume 2 in a sermon concerning angels for the feast day of St. Michael. The reference to the Great organ being added to the singing of the choir is interesting in the context of changing practices of *Sanctus* singing in 18th-century Hamburg. Cf. Jürgen Neubacher, “Zum liturgischen Ort der Sanctus-Kompositionen Telemanns und Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs in Hamburg,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 88 (2002): 229–242.

¹¹¹ Socrates Scholasticus, *The Ecclesiastical History of the Church* (London: Bohn, 1853), 315: “We must make some allusion to the origin of this custom in the Church of singing hymns antiphonally. Ignatius, third bishop of Antioch in Syria from the apostle Peter, who also had conversed familiarly with the apostles themselves, saw a vision of angels hymning in alternate chants the Holy Trinity: after which he introduced the mode of singing he had observed in the vision into the Antiochian Church, whence it was transmitted by tradition to all the other Churches.” This work of Socrates (c. 380–c. 450) was one of the most important early histories of the church. Cassiodorus (c. 485–580) was responsible for preserving it in a compendium that included this and other ecclesiastical histories. Amalarius (c. 775–850) wrote *Liber officialis*, a very influential liturgical commentary. Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (c. 1256–1335) wrote a lengthy ecclesiastical history that incorporated material from much earlier histories, such as that of Socrates. Mattheson, however, likely took his list of these supporting sources from Cornelius a Lapide’s commentary cited above.

¹¹² Some contemporary German translations do render this as *rufen* (call), whereas some English translations, such as NRSV, have “sing.”

¹¹³ “Those who lack charity may carry the psalterly, but they cannot sing.” Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms (Enarrationes in Psalmos)*, trans. Maria Boulding, in *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century III/20* (Hyde Park, New York: New City Press, 2004), 374 (on Psalm 143[144]:9).

¹¹⁴ *Biblia Sacra*, 3: 31 (Isaiah 16:11) and 256 (Jeremiah 48:36).

¹¹⁵ Literally, a humming pipe, often made out of reed stalks, sometimes played by wandering street musicians.

¹¹⁶ The first two citations are incorrectly printed as Isaiah 43 and Luke 2. The statement also appears in Matthew 3:3.

¹¹⁷ One explanation of the name Habakkuk is that it may be based on the Hebrew root meaning “embrace.”

¹¹⁸ Mattheson had written at greater length on these passages in essay 31 of his *Der musikalische Patriot* (Hamburg, 1728), where he cited Hebrew scholar Johann Buxtorf to explain the meaning of the obscure word *shiggaion*.

¹¹⁹ As indicated in the footnote to Par. 96, Luther had four chapters in his translation; Mattheson’s citation here is of Habakkuk 3:3 in today’s Bibles.

¹²⁰ Teman is a place name that was poetically understood to mean south.

¹²¹ I have translated this passage literally, but English translations give a different sense. NRSV: “and march forth in the whirlwinds of the south.”

¹²² The word used here, *Mund-Boten*, is used in German as a translation for *apostolus*; it expresses the oral function of conveying God’s message and thus is also used in reference to preachers. See Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1854–1919; online version: <http://woerterbuchnetz.de>), 12, col. 2685.

¹²³ This seems to be a reference to Nahum 2:13/14, though Mattheson does not provide a citation.

¹²⁴ *Biblia Sacra*, 3: 570 (Zephaniah 1: 15–16.)

¹²⁵ Schmidt, *Biblischer Historicus*, 1128 (“Es hatte diss Neu-Jahrs-Fest sein Absehen auf das N.T. In welchem Christus mit jauchzen und hellen Posaunen aufgefahren gen Himmel, auch also von dannen wiederkommen wird, das rechte ewige Neu-Jahr anzufangen, Psal. 47, 6. 1 Thess. 4, 16. 2 Cor. 5. Apoc. 21, 4.5”).

¹²⁶ The reference is to the *Septuagint*, a translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek that was said to have been done by 72 translators. It was completed in the second century before Christ.

¹²⁷ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum Bd. I: Musicae artis Analecta* (Wittenberg: Richter, 1615; facsimile reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959).

¹²⁸ Alfonso Tostado is also referred to as Tostatus Abulensis and was a Spanish exegete and bishop in the first half of the 15th century. The discussion about the nature of trumpets is actually in the commentary on chapter 5 of Joshua, questions 7 & 8. Alphonsus Tostatus, *Opera Tomus V Tribus Partibus Divisus continens Comentaria in Iosue, Iudices, et Ruth* (Cologne: Gymnicus & Hieratus, 1613), 170–171.

¹²⁹ Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Historische Beschreibung der Edelen Sing- und Kling- Kunst* (Dresden: Mieth, 1690; facsimile, Graz: Akademische, 1964), 30 and illustrations on facing page. Discerning the nature of musical instruments used by ancient Hebrews and the appropriate translation of Hebrew terms for instruments has long been complicated for scholars and translators. The *shofar* is generally thought to have been made from the horn of a ram or other animal, though there may sometimes have been metal shofars or

metal mouthpieces. See Yelena Kolyada, *A Compendium of Musical Instruments and Instrumental Terminology in the Bible*, trans. David J. Clark (London: Equinox, 2009), 68–70. The *takoa* mentioned in Ezekiel 7:14 is probably related to a term for a type of shofar call rather than an indication of a separate instrument. See Jeremy Montagu, *Musical Instruments of the Bible* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow, 2002), 94.

¹³⁰ Mattheson erroneously gives Par. 89 instead of 90.

¹³¹ Mattheson uses the Greek terms *protasis*, *epitasis* and *catastrophe* for parts of a drama, dividing John’s vision into acts and scenes.

¹³² It is not at all apparent how Mattheson could understand Luther as supporting a literal interpretation of this passage. Luther begins his introduction to the Book of Revelation (WA DB 7:404–421) by admitting that he can’t get his mind into it and does not regard it highly. Because it is a prophecy through images rather than words, he finds the meaning hidden and thus of little use. Nevertheless, he derives an interpretation from the images that is not the literal one that Mattheson finds. For Luther, writing in the early years of the Reformation, the story of Revelation is that of the church being afflicted by heresy and persecution and struggling against the evils of empire, papacy, and the Turks. The angels stand for bishops and Christian teachers, some good, some evil. When in the 5th chapter the 24 elders are said to praise God with their harps, Luther interprets that as preaching. Regarding the 14th chapter, to which Mattheson refers here, Luther says that Christ begins here to kill the Antichrist “with the spirit of his mouth,” then the saints and virgins surround the Lamb and preach correctly, after which another angel’s voice is heard proclaiming the fall of Babylon. The only reference to music or singing in Luther’s preface is toward the end where he emphasizes the importance of belief in the church: “And [the church] sings with her Lord the song, ‘Blessed is the one who is not offended because of me.’”

¹³³ Whether Mattheson or his typesetter made this mistake, it is puzzling that the grandeur of the heavenly choir of Rev. 14:1–3 is diminished by 100,000 when the number 44000 appears twice in the text.

¹³⁴ Mattheson seems to have reversed the references to Ezekiel and Baruch in this paragraph. Baruch 2:23 has the words, “I will make to cease...the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride.”

¹³⁵ The text here has 1 Pet. 2.

¹³⁶ WA TR 1:86 (no. 194). Mattheson’s footnote reference to 1 Sam. 16 leads to the biblical story of David playing for Saul to drive away his demons. This Table Talk entry contains a brief allusion to the story.

¹³⁷ Bernhard Waldschmidt, *Pythonissa Endorea, Das ist, Acht und zwanzig Hexen und Gespenstpredigten* (Frankfurt: Ammon & Serlius, 1660), 618. Waldschmidt’s original does not actually say that Satan strives to remove music from the church but that the devil tries to drive away faith, true devotion, prayer, and the praise of God wherever he finds these.

¹³⁸ Mattheson had presented this argument at somewhat greater length in his much earlier work, *Das beschützte Orchestre*, 480–486.

¹³⁹ A.M. is the abbreviation for *Anno Mundi*, in the year of the world, and corresponds to the Hebrew calendar. The date would be roughly 725 B.C.

¹⁴⁰ Zwingt die Saiten in Cithara,

und laßt die süße Musika,

ganz Freudenreich erschallen!

daß ich möge mit Jesulein

dem wunderschönen Bräutigam mein,
in steter Liebe wallen.
Singet, springet,
jubiliret, triumphiret,
dankt dem Herrn.

Neu-vermehrtes Hamburgisches Gesang-Buch, 339 (no. 523, “Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern,” stanza 6).

¹⁴¹ The passage, which Mattheson cites directly from Luther’s chapter 40, verses 19–20, corresponds roughly to Sirach 39:15 in the NRSV. For an introduction to the complicated textual history of the Wisdom of Ben-Sira (Sirach), see *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), VI: 931–945.

¹⁴² Ihr werdet einst nach dieser Zeit,
mit Christo haben ewge Freud,
dahin sollt ihr gedenken!
Es lebt kein Mann,
der aussprechen kann,
die Glorie und den ewigen Lohn
den uns der Herr wird schenken.

Und was der ewig gütige Gott,
in seinem Wort versprochen hat,
geschworen bey Seinem Namen,
des hält und giebt Er gewiß fürwahr,
der helf uns zu der Engelschaar,
durch Jesum Christum. Amen.

(From the hymn “Kommt her zu mir! spricht Gottes Sohn” by Georg Grünwald, 1530, stanzas 15 & 16.)

Appendix

Lorenz Christoph Mizler von Kolof, Comments on Ammon's *Gründlicher Beweis, daß im ewigen Leben wirklich eine vortreffliche Music sey*, in *Musikalische Bibliothek oder Gründliche Nachricht nebst unpartheyischem Urtheil von alten und neuen musikalischen Büchern und Schriften* III/3 (Leipzig: Mizler, 1747), 586-588, 594-597.

[Ammon has rejected Mizler's earlier comment that the description of 24 elders kneeling before the Lamb with harps, singing a new song (Revelation 5) should be understood figuratively, not literally. After Ammon's repeated insistence on a literal interpretation, Mizler was motivated to a more thorough commentary on the passage.]

This verse proves clearly that music in heaven is the prayer of the saints, because John himself says here that the harps and golden bowls full of incense signify the prayer of the saints, which is easy to conclude, because the words "and sang a new song" have to mean the same as "and say a new prayer." Because objections may still be raised against this, however, I must bring in the original text itself:

οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρνίου, ἔχοντες ἕκαστος κιθάραν καὶ φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων, αἱ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων· καὶ ᾄδουσιν ᾠδὴν καινὴν λέγοντες etc.

One could say that John is interpreting only φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμούσας θυμιαμάτων, the golden bowls full of incense, as the prayer of the saints when he says αἱ, namely φιάλαι χρυσαὶ εἰσιν αἱ προσευχαὶ τῶν ἁγίων. But if one does not want to do violence to the text, the golden bowls as well as the harps are to be seen as metaphors that represent the prayers of the saints, because the harps as well as the golden bowls are bodily instruments that are not at all necessary for eternal life. Thus the context of the words entails that the article αἱ, which refers to what precedes, applies to φιάλας χρυσᾶς as well as κιθάρας. This is

truly so clear that it could not be any clearer. This natural exegesis of this verse quite unpretentiously invalidates music in heaven, which the verse is supposed to prove. It is also peculiar when it is said about even the nature of the sound of heavenly music that it is like the most pleasant sound of a harp. Κιθάρα was a completely different instrument from today's harp, which is a new instrument, and it had a completely different sound than that produced by harps today. I will prove this clearly enough when I come to David's harp, which looked totally different from the way King David is usually portrayed with it. When one says, then, that music in heaven sounds like the most pleasant sound of a harp, it is just as ridiculous as when one says: "The comedy writer Terence wore a long flowing wig" or "The mother of God kneeled before the crucifix when the angel Gabriel delivered to her the news of the impregnation by the Holy Spirit."

The new song, or prayer, itself follows then in the 9th and 10th verses of Revelation 5. Since, therefore, this verse in no way proves actual music in heaven, the verse in Revelation 14:2 does so even much less. For an attentive reader, even if he is not a theological scholar and has never learned the art of interpreting Scripture, can immediately grasp that all of chapter 14 is a prophecy concerning the church on earth and does not deal with future life in heaven. Moreover, it is only a simile, since it states expressly that the voice that John heard from heaven was like the harpists playing. The words "sang a new song" again follow this, and they can have no other meaning than in Revelation 5 if one does not want to rip them out of context and contradict the opinion of all reasonable interpreters. In general it is strange to imagine physical music, that is, finite, limited, imperfect, physical pleasure, in eternal, most perfect and blissful spiritual life. Indeed, the Holy Spirit himself said, "no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor has it come into the heart of any human being, what God has prepared for those who love him." Truly a pastor does much better to concern himself with how he and his congregation may arrive at eternal life than to reflect quite uselessly on what eternal life will be like.

I want here more clearly to give my confession of faith of how I as a Christian philosopher imagine the circumstances of eternal life and to substantiate my thoughts with Scripture and reason. From this one can see that in eternal life there can be no sensual pleasures and therefore also no music. Holy Scripture tells us that we shall be saved by grace through faith in Jesus Christ; that is, our soul is to come into a more perfect state after death and, after the Resurrection, to be united with its body again, glorified and allowed to behold God. This can all happen without the coarse body in which our soul lives during this life going along to heaven, which is also impossible and contradictory. Our soul will enter heaven or hell only with its own body, that is, the one proper to it. That the body that we lay aside in death cannot possibly enter heaven with all the parts that the

soul left behind is clear, because it is put together from very many foreign parts, as it has grown, expanded and been nourished. What beginner in physics does not know that our bodies really have in them many parts of oxen, calves, pigs, and other wild animals, since we are nourished daily with them and change their flesh into human flesh and blood through digestion, secretion, and cleansing? Those therefore who say that our bodies enter heaven according to the size and members that we have on earth are in fact saying that much oxen, calf, and pig flesh enters heaven, which is as vulgar as it is offensive. Indeed, who can doubt that we also carry many parts in our bodies that previously made up parts of our ancestors' bodies? If then bodies are raised as they have been in this life, our ancestors will get parts that belong at the same time to our bodies, and we will get parts for the completion of our bodies that previously belonged to our ancestors. That is, one and the same part will be in two places at the same time, which is self-contradictory. Since it is therefore true that our bodies cannot enter into eternal life with all their parts, reason cannot imagine the glorification of the body after the Resurrection other than through the separation of the subtle matter, which is strictly speaking all that has surrounded our soul since its beginning, from the coarse earthly parts into which it is put in this life. If this is true—and it cannot be otherwise—then our eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands and feet, and all body parts in general, go to rack and ruin. In that state we will no longer have need of feet for walking, hands for grasping, mouth or voice for singing, ears for hearing, noses for smelling, or taste for eating. For this reason, the clever interpreters of Holy Scripture have wanted to explain the familiar verse of Job, which reads, "I will be surrounded by this my skin, etc.," as concerning nothing less than the Resurrection, because they have seen that they would thereby fall into contradictions. Our soul will be surrounded only by its own very subtle and, moreover, glorified body, of far greater strength of understanding in comprehension and imagination of divine perfection than we in our weakness can now imagine.

Since it is agreed, however, according to both Scripture and reason, that eternal life consists of incomprehensibly great pleasure, the question arises what this pleasure actually consists of that it can last for eternity and be incomprehensibly great. Truly not of sensual pleasures! These are much too imperfect for a perfect eternal life. Surely they will thus primarily concern the immortal soul. But what is more fitting as a pleasure for our elevated soul than the blessed contemplation of God? This contemplation of God will most probably consist in our soul being able to form a clear concept and to continue to increase in the understanding of the unending perfections of the Most High Being. As limited, finite spirits, we can, even in eternity, form no completely perfect concept of the infinite perfections of God, nevertheless through reflection and contemplation on the infinite divine perfections, such concepts themselves become more perfect. Since, then, a concept and the contemplation of finite, transitory earthly perfections causes us so much pleasure in this world, even it is vain, how much more

must the concept and contemplation of infinite, eternal and divine perfections give us blessed pleasure, if we always increase in them. Further, it is irrefutably true that we pay no attention to a less perfect pleasure at the time that our soul is occupied with the contemplation of far greater perfections, and our mind prefers to linger with the more perfect. Since, then, it is not possible to imagine any greater pleasure than the contemplation of God, and a blessed spirit must find an endless amount to contemplate therein, it is contrary to reason to have the blessed spirits brought down from this great happiness for ordinary singing. (I think that ordinary music composed in eternal life is as forced as it is unrefined.) Granted that the happy spirits in eternal life will have more pleasures to enjoy than just the contemplation of God, these would be more in the knowledge of the infinite universe and its order, beauty and the wise arrangements of the Creator than in music. The former would provide an incomparably greater pleasure than the latter; the music that is to me very lovely in the world will not be at all appropriate for heaven.

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