



MUSIC, PIETY, & PROPAGANDA

THE SOUNDSCAPES OF
COUNTER-REFORMATION BAVARIA

ALEXANDER J. FISHER



Music, Piety, and Propaganda



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*Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The
Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria*

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To Lisa and Charlotte

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My initial thoughts about a book project on the aural culture of Counter-Reformation Bavaria go back about fifteen years, when I was immersed in the archival research that led to my doctoral dissertation on the biconfessional city of Augsburg. I was aware then of the richness of nearby Munich, especially, as a musical center in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but it was difficult to anticipate the directions, both geographical and methodological, that this project eventually took. While I was still at student, my experience as a teaching fellow for a course on soundscapes taught by Kay Kaufman Shelemay at Harvard compelled me to think more holistically about the ways in which sound shaped space and, ultimately, experience and identity. This in turn influenced my thinking about the Augsburg material, but it took several more years of reading and reflection before I could launch the present project, which in many respects posed more complex challenges. The city of Munich was natural fulcrum for research; unlike in the earlier project, however, I hoped to come to terms with the soundscape on a regional level as well, embracing both the urban and the rural. As a result I have had to sacrifice a certain amount of depth in favor of breadth, and cannot hope to have been truly comprehensive. In the territory of Bavaria there were many towns and a great many musical compositions that have not found their way into this book. Nevertheless, I hope that what I have presented here is plausibly representative of the culture of sound and music in Counter-Reformation Bavaria, and that it might spur further work on the medium of sound and how it shaped historical spaces and identities. The kind of archival research required to reimagine an historical soundscape involves equal amounts of time, drudgery, and luck, and whatever success

I have had is owed primarily to the expertise of many persons and institutions that have assisted me over the last several years. I would like to acknowledge some of them here.

Firstly, this project could not have existed without the generous assistance of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), whose award of a Standard Research Grant in 2003 gave me the time and resources to begin my work in various German archives and libraries. I am also grateful to the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD), an organization that had supported my earlier dissertation work on Augsburg and generously awarded me a Re-Invitation Grant in 2008 that allowed me to wrap up many loose ends in my research on Bavaria. During my several research trips to Germany, I benefited immensely from the help of many archivists, librarians, and staff who guided me through dense forests of catalogues and resources. I am especially grateful to the Bavarian State Library and particularly to the Music Division and the Division for Manuscripts and Early Prints, in whose reading rooms I spent many hours. I am also greatly indebted to the staff of the Bavarian Main State Archives in Munich, where I conducted the majority of my archival research proper. Other critical resources in the city of Munich were provided by the Archdiocesan Archive of Munich-Freising (where Dr. Roland Götz proved to be a most friendly and helpful presence), the Munich City Archive, and the Library of the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität. Outside Munich, I received kind assistance from the Episcopal Central Archive of Regensburg, which houses not only records from the Regensburg diocese but also the massive Proske library of early music prints and manuscripts; here, Dr. Raymond Dittrich was extremely kind and supportive of my work. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of the Bavarian State Archives in Amberg, the Ingolstadt City Archive (especially Dr. Doris Wittmann), the Deggendorf City Archive, and Dr. Hermann Neumann of the Bayerische Schlösserverwaltung. Closer to home, I am very grateful to the staff of the Helen Riaboff Whiteley Center in Friday Harbor, Washington, where I drafted considerable portions of this manuscript, and also to Kirsten Walsh and the staff of the Music Library at the University of British Columbia for their kind assistance.

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Finally, I am very grateful to my wife, Lisa Slouffman, for originally turning my attention to Bavaria many years ago and for providing invaluable feedback that shaped the subject matter of this book in profound ways. She is an incisive intellect and judicious editor, and I could not have completed this project without her loving support and advice. This book is dedicated to her and to our daughter Charlotte, whose cheerful laughter provided welcome diversion as I finished these pages.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR SOURCE LOCATIONS

AEM	Archiv des Erzbistums München und Freising
ULF	Unsere Liebe Frau (Munich)
BayHStA	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv München
FS	Fürstensachen
GHA	Geheimes Hausarchiv
GL	Gerichtsliteralien
GR	Generalregistratur
HR I	Hofamts-Registratur
HR II	Hofamts-Registratur, Rechnungen
HZR	Kurbayern Hofzahlamt, Rechnungen
KÄA	Kurbayern Äußeres Archiv
KGR	Kurbayern Geistlicher Rat
KL	Klosterliteralien
KLReg	Klosterliteralien Regensburg
SV	Staatsverwaltung
BayStA Amberg	Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Amberg
GS	Geistliche Sachen
OpRRa	Oberpfälzisches Religions- und Reformationsakten
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München
BZaR	Bischöfliches Zentralarchiv Regensburg
BDK	Bischöflich Domkapitel'sches Archiv
OA-Gen	Ordinariatsarchiv, Generalien
StA Deggendorf	Stadtarchiv Deggendorf
R	Rechnungen
StA Ingolstadt	Stadtarchiv Ingolstadt

A	Akten
StAM	Stadtarchiv München
BR	Bürgermeister und Rat
KKs	Kirchen- und Kultusstiftungen
RP	Ratsprotokollen
UBM	Universitätsbibliothek München (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität)

ABOUT THE COMPANION WEBSITE

www.oup.com/us/musicpietyandpropaganda

Oxford has created a password-protected website to accompany *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, and the reader is encouraged to take full advantage of it. The Companion Website contains several types of information for readers interested in learning more about this topic. An Extended Bibliography provides lists of early monophonic and polyphonic prints from the Bavarian orbit, as well as additional secondary literature. Several tables provide inventories of key collections of printed music, data on salaries of Munich court musicians, and an inventory of the music collection left by the Munich chapelmaster Giovanni Giacomo Porro (c. 1590–1656) at his death. A section of Extended References provides much greater detail than is possible in the book alone: here the reader will find original-language transcriptions, extended commentary, and more in-depth citations of relevant secondary literature. Finally, a series of Extended Musical Examples provide full transcriptions of important musical compositions.

References to materials on the Companion Website are found throughout the text and will be signaled by Oxford's symbol .

Music, Piety, and Propaganda

Sound, Space, and Confession in
Counter-Reformation Bavaria

ON SUNDAY MORNING, June 19, 1558, congregants attending Mass in the Augustinian church in Munich witnessed a remarkable spectacle. A ragtag group of about a dozen men who had disrupted Mass the previous Sunday by singing the inflammatory Lutheran chorale *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort* (Lord, preserve us in Your Word, and turn away the murderous Pope and Turk) were back, and had taken up positions around the pulpit. As the time for the sermon approached, they broke into song. Led by a short man with a thick, light-colored beard, the group sang the Lutheran chorales *Wir glauben all an einen Gott*, *Aus tiefer Not*, and *Vater unser im Himmelreich*. The group fell silent during the proclamations but then resumed singing—more Lutheran chorales. As they sang the third stanza of the last song, *Ich ruf zu Dir, Herr Jesu Christ*, which speaks of the need to forgive one's enemies and rely on God's Word alone, the Benedictine father Wolfgang Seidl, long a committed enemy of the Reformation, ascended the pulpit to begin his sermon, trying to silence the impromptu choir with angry gestures, without avail. Returning to the pulpit as the chorale ended, he began his sermon a second time. His attempt to prove that the Pope was not, in fact, the Antichrist was met with derisive laughter from the interlopers, and the congregation hesitated to sing along with the usual Catholic songs sung after the sermon. As the impromptu choir broke in again, its leader was admonished that "if [they] wished to establish a synagogue with their outlandish

songs then they should hire their own preacher.” The bearded man retorted, “In time, this may happen.”¹

These men had done more than physically occupy the consecrated space of a Catholic church: by lustily singing in unison, the sound of their words reverberating through the nave and choir, they temporarily, and aggressively, appropriated the whole of that space and transformed its very nature. Such appropriations, however, were not confined to interior spaces. Just a few weeks before the disturbances at the Augustinian church, a great procession had wound its way through the city on the Feast of Corpus Christi. An elaborate spectacle of sight and sound, featuring the physical representation of biblical scenes by the city’s various trade guilds, the Corpus Christi procession would assume massive proportions by the 1580s. We read, for example, that in the year 1584, storm clouds threatening the procession were dispelled by a performance of Orlando di Lasso’s motet *Gustate et videte* (Taste and see how good is the Lord to whose who fear him and trust in him). As the sun immediately broke through the clouds, the procession began, with the ringing of trumpets, the beating of drums, and the pealing of bells. Much more music was heard along the route, but even more impressive were the salvos of musket and cannon fire that thundered at each of four stations made by the procession—located at the principal city gates—as the Gospels were read. At these moments in particular, the entire cityscape of Munich was pierced by militaristic sounds, impossible to escape, that announced the triumph of the Eucharist, the real presence of the flesh and blood of Christ that was so central to Catholic belief.

These episodes raise a much broader question of how musical and non-musical sounds shaped religious cultures in early modern Europe, and how they were transformed in turn by religious forces. Previously, I have examined the culture of sacred music in the southern German city of Augsburg, a biconfessional, imperial city whose Protestant majority, by the time of the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648),² were faced with an increasingly confident and militant Catholic minority. Although musical sounds—styles and

¹ From Friedrich Roth’s transcription in “Eine lutherische Demonstration in der Münchner Augustinerkirche,” *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 6 (1900): 97–109, here 101–2. This episode is also discussed at length in Hans Rößler, *Geschichte und Strukturen der evangelischen Bewegung im Bistum Freising 1520–1571* (Nuremberg: Verein für Bayerische Kirchengeschichte, 1966), 43–46. For further comment, see Extended Reference 1.1, and chapter 2 of this book.

² Alexander J. Fisher, *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).



compositional procedures, for example—could sometimes bridge the religious divide, music also expressed distinctive confessional identities and could easily become a weapon in the city’s simmering religious tensions. The sumptuous musical culture of the nearby Munich court led me to turn to the duchy of Bavaria, which by the end of the sixteenth century had emerged as the principal Catholic bulwark north of the Alps. The Bavarian dukes managed to consolidate a fragmented territory after the War of Landshut Succession (1504–1505) and by the mid-sixteenth century had succeeded in centralizing state power at the expense of the landed estates. Under Duke Albrecht V (r. 1550–1579), the court chapel, led by the internationally famous composer Orlando di Lasso, emerged as perhaps the most opulent in Europe, boasting dozens of singers and instrumentalists and performing an ambitious, wide-ranging repertory for the music-loving prince. Albrecht’s son Wilhelm V (r. 1579–1597) carried the tradition forward, though his religious zeal compelled him to recast the liturgical music of his court in a thoroughly Tridentine form. In 1597, Wilhelm, whose massive building program on behalf of the Munich Jesuits had left the state finances in a dire condition, retired to a life of religious devotion and charity. He handed the reins of state to his son Maximilian I (r. 1597–1651), whose intense, even militant devotion to Counter-Reformation Catholicism was reflected in his personal involvement in the initial conflicts of the Thirty Years’ War (which led Emperor Ferdinand II to award him the electoral dignity in 1623) and the emergence of what Felix Stieve called—not without justification—a “religious police state” in his own territory.³

Perhaps Bavaria embodied a much more homogeneously “Catholic” musical culture than that found in Augsburg, for example, but the situation was more complex than one might imagine. As the aforementioned episode suggests, the duchy of Bavaria was in many respects a confessional borderland in which the triumph of Counter-Reformation Catholicism was hardly assured: in the mid-sixteenth century, many of the landed nobility in the duchy were receptive to Protestant ideas, and reformed sympathies were widespread among the urban populace. The duchy itself bordered on Protestant cities and territories, and even enveloped fully Protestant enclaves like the imperial city of Regensburg and the counties of Haag and Ortenburg. Only a long-term, concerted campaign of reform, persuasion, and propaganda, promoted by the dukes and spearheaded by the Society of Jesus,

³ Felix Stieve, *Das kirchliche Polizeiregiment in Baiern unter Maximilian I, 1595–1651* (Munich: Verlag der M. Rieger’schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung [G. Himmer], 1876).

could remake the territory into the unified Catholic region that is the normative image of Bavaria.

This book explores how music in Bavaria articulated religious identity and difference—broadly speaking, the relationship of music to confession-alization, the process by which the Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic faiths consolidated themselves and became intertwined with state power—but it also considers music within a wider panoply of sounds, both artificial and natural, that characterized the early modern soundscape. Music, of course, is and was an intentional sound, but it was often found in the company of other artificial sounds—the pealing of bells and the thunder of musket and cannon fire, for example—which were used as demonstrations of piety and propaganda, etching the fault lines between Catholicism and its antagonists ever deeper. For the less powerful, such as the members of the impromptu choir mentioned earlier, music could be used tactically to foment disruption, but it did so accompanied by speech, shouting, and mocking laughter. In an environment absent of the persistent hum of modern industrial noise, these kinds of sounds penetrated widely separated spaces easily and were not always easy to localize or to control. Moreover, separating music from the larger environment of intentional sound is difficult. One may view music as a text for stylistic analysis, but we need a more systematic study of sound as a vehicle for articulating identity and difference in an historical setting. This book, therefore, explores sound as a medium for creating and shaping the spaces within which notions of Catholic and Protestant identity became manifest. Early modern Bavaria presents itself as an ideal arena to study this phenomenon, for it was not only the northern epicenter of Catholic reform but a place of remarkable aural richness as well. In what follows, I aim to join purely “musicological” concerns with the study of soundscapes, on the one hand, and of space and identity, on the other.

Historical Soundscapes

In recent years, scholars in a range of disciplines—including history, anthropology, musicology, and ethnomusicology—have begun to tackle the sensory dimensions of historical experience, pushing beyond traditional emphases on sight as the primary mode of perception. The eventual triumph of sight in the Western sensorium has been widely accepted, and we owe much of our understanding of the process to Walter Ong and Marshall McLuhan, whose

pioneering studies drew our attention to the profound psychological effects of writing and typography.⁴ The dominance of visualism in Western culture has made the “cherished objectivity” of science possible, but it has also blunted our awareness of the broader array of senses and how they shape both experience and understanding.⁵ We need not assume that the hierarchy of the senses is fixed, either temporally or geographically. The field of ethnomusicology has revealed the persistence of an aurally dominated sensorium in some peoples of Papua New Guinea, for example: Steven Feld’s *Sound and Sentiment*, demonstrating the symbolic system of Kaluli drumming and its connection to the spirit world, deftly outlines an “acoustemology” that reveals auditory, embodied ways of knowing that contrast with representational visualism.⁶ In his study of the Songhay culture of Niger, anthropologist Paul Stoller has also critiqued the dominance of Western viscosity, suggesting that attention to the full range of the senses, including sound, will lead to a more embodied, and indeed more empirical, understanding of cultures and values.⁷ This work intersects with that of scholars tackling the anthropology of the senses. David Howes, for example, proposes an ethical project to “liberate us from the hegemony which sight has so long exercised over our own culture’s social, intellectual, and aesthetic life.”⁸ Howes and Constance Classen, in fact, have offered a systematic means of studying the “sensory profile” of a

⁴ See, for example, Walter Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Methuen, 1982); and Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

⁵ On this point see Constance Classen, *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and Across Cultures* (London/New York: Routledge, 1993), 5–6.

⁶ Steven Feld, *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics, and Song in Kaluli Expression* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982). Feld’s work has extended also to the culture of bells: his ongoing series of compact discs, *The Time of Bells* (VoxLox), provides innumerable, global examples of how bell sounds shape the experience of space and time. A vital collection of essays exploring the anthropology of sound and listening may be found in Veit Erlmann, ed., *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity* (London: Berg, 2004).

⁷ Paul Stoller, *The Taste of Ethnographic Things: The Senses in Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); on sound in particular, see chapter 6, “Sound in Songhay Possession,” 101–12.

⁸ See David Howes, “Introduction: ‘To Summon All the Senses,’” in Howes, ed., *The Varieties of Sensory Experience: A Sourcebook in the Anthropology of the Senses* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 4.

culture, calling for attention to a range of cultural features, from language to childrearing to ritual and mythology.⁹

Historians of Europe and North America, too, have shown an increasing awareness of the sensory dimensions of past experience. Among the more prominent examples are Constance Classen's exploration of smell and its gradual decline as a cultural value relative to sight; Richard Rath's and Peter Hoffer's studies of the sensory dimensions of early America; Mark Smith's study of the aural cultures of antebellum America; John Picker's work on aurality in Victorian literature and science; and Emily Thompson's exploration of architectural acoustics and the influence of technology on the modernist dissociation of sounds and spaces.¹⁰ Of special relevance to the present study is A. Roger Ekirch's *At Day's Close*, which explores the cultural resonances of darkness in the preindustrial landscape and helps us to understand the ways in which sound was deployed to combat nocturnal threats, both earthly and spiritual.¹¹ Counter-Reformation Catholicism in particular was invested in what Norbert Schindler has called the "colonization of the night," effected through the constant bell ringing that compelled prayer and drove away evil spirits, as well as by the torchlit religious processions that illuminated the cityscape.¹² These measures had only limited effect, as the night

⁹ See David Howes and Constance Classen, "Conclusion: Sounding Sensory Profiles," in Howes, *The Varieties of Sensory Experience*, 262–85. A recent call for greater attention to sound in anthropology may be found in David W. Samuels, David W., Louise Meintjes, Ana Maria Ochoa, and Thomas Porcello, "Soundscapes: Toward a Sounded Anthropology," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39 (2010): 329–45.

¹⁰ Cited here are Classen, *Worlds of Sense*, 13–36, and her *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London / New York: Routledge, 1994); Mark M. Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001); Richard Cullen Rath, *How Early America Sounded* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003); John M. Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Peter Charles Hoffer, *Sensory Worlds in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); and Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900–1933* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002). Also worthy of mention is a recent collection of essays edited by Jill Steward and Alexander Cowan, *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture Since 1500* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), which provides numerous perspectives on touch, sound, smell, taste, and vision in the early modern and modern city.

¹¹ A. Roger Ekirch, *At Day's Close: Night in Times Past* (New York: Norton, 2005).

¹² See Norbert Schindler, "Nocturnal Disturbances: On the Social History of the Night in the Early Modern Period," in Schindler, *Rebellion, Community and Custom in Early Modern Germany*, trans. Pamela E. Selwyn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), esp. 194–201, as well as Ekirch's discussion in *At Day's Close*, 68–72.

was continually appropriated by bands of unmarried male youths, emboldened by drink, whose belligerent “crowing” (*Jauchzen*) reverberated throughout the city.¹³ The distinctive role of bells in the early modern world makes the work of Alain Corbin indispensable for the present study. Although it is primarily focused on developments in post-Revolution France, his *Village Bells* demonstrates the tenacity of the traditional culture of bells in the face of a resolute program of official desacralization.¹⁴

In many respects this scholarship evokes the idea of soundscape that lies at the center of this book. My interest in soundscapes was first stoked by Reinhard Strohm’s *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, a book that opens with a rich depiction of the urban sounds and music, ranging from bells to public criers to song and polyphony, implied by the frozen canvasses of fifteenth-century painters.¹⁵ Further impetus came from Kay Kaufman Shelemay’s *Soundscapes*, a wide-ranging text that demonstrates the fluidity of musical forms as they travel in different cultural spaces, shaping and expressing identities in multifaceted ways.¹⁶ But credit for introducing the term “soundscape” into scholarly discourse is due above all to R. Murray Schafer, whose *Tuning of the World* not only concerns itself with the deleterious effects of constant, inescapable industrial sound, but also provides a starting point for imagining historical soundscapes.¹⁷ Particularly useful is Schafer’s effort to construct a typology of a soundscape, identifying the background “keynote” sounds of the natural environment, against which foreground “signals”—including bells, whistles, horns, and sirens—are listened to consciously; some of these become “soundmarks,” signals that possess a distinctive function generally recognized by a community.¹⁸ One of Schafer’s collaborators in the theorization of soundscape has been Barry Truax, who has argued forcefully that a soundscape is not defined as the sum of perceptible sounds in a given space; rather, “it refers to how the individual and society as a whole *understand* the

¹³ Schindler, “Nocturnal Disturbances,” 201–25. On the establishment of fixed closing times for taverns, see also B. Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order: The Culture of Drink in Early Modern Germany* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 186.

¹⁴ Alain Corbin, *Village Bells: Sound and Meaning in the Nineteenth-Century French Countryside*, trans. Martin Thom (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), xix. For a broader discussion of the history of the senses, see also his *Time, Desire, and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, MA: Polity, 1995).

¹⁵ Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 1–9.

¹⁶ Kay Kaufman Shelemay, *Soundscapes: Exploring Music in a Changing World* (New York: Norton, 2006).

¹⁷ R. Murray Schafer, *The Tuning of the World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 9–10.

acoustic environment through listening.”¹⁹ Fundamentally, Truax proposes a communicative model, one that moves beyond sound’s physical properties and focuses on its potential to convey information. The early modern towns and cities discussed in this book, devoid of the pervasive industrial noise of later times (thus “hi-fi” sonic environments, according to Schafer), were inhabited by what Truax would call “acoustic communities,” whose members were dependent on acoustic signals of various kinds—bells, trumpets, drums, song—that structured time and space. Indeed, it seems possible, following Steven Feld, to speak of an acoustemology of early modern communities, within which aural cues triggered distinctive ways of knowing and navigating an environment.

Among the efforts to characterize an historical soundscape we might single out Bruce Smith’s magisterial *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor*.²⁰ We find here an all-encompassing effort to grapple with the embodied nature of sound, describing a soundscape that not only includes the widest variety of natural and artificial sounds but also embraces the speaker and listener in an “acoustic ecology.” For Smith, as for Schafer and Truax, then, the listening subject is not sundered from the environment. Consistent with other critiques of visualism, Smith considers sound as a peculiarly physical medium that reverberates from and through bodies: through popular balladry, for example, the “sounding voice” of the subject “reverberates inside her body, it projects itself into the space around her, it rings out with the voices and the bodies of her peers, it strikes the baffles of political authority—and sometimes penetrates them.”²¹ Smith has written elsewhere that an historical acoustic ecology requires us to decode sound evidence from graphic marks preserved in primary documents. For the early modern period we must set aside the assumption that texts were silently read and contemplated: so many of them, ranging from play scripts to broadsides to handwriting tutors, were in fact cues for the production of sound.²² The archival documents that form the basis for Smith’s work and my

¹⁹ Barry Truax, *Acoustic Communication*, 2nd ed. (Westport, CT: Ablex Publishing, 2001), xviii.

²⁰ Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

²¹ *Ibid.*, 196.

²² Bruce R. Smith, “Listening to the Wild Blue Yonder: The Challenges of Acoustic Ecology,” in Veit Erlmann, ed., *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening and Modernity* (London: Berg, 2004), 33.

own, then, gain a sounding potential that would dissipate with the advance of modernity.

As Ari Kelman has argued, the widespread appropriation of Schafer's idea of soundscape has led to wildly divergent and sometimes inconsistent definitions, and I claim no monopoly on the term.²³ What seems to me most useful here is to think of the soundscape as the totality of perceived sounds in a given space and time, some of which command immediate attention, others of which are habitual sounds that are invested with cultural meaning, and still others of which recede into the background as constant acoustic phenomena—signal, soundmark, and keynote sounds, to again use Schafer's terminology. These types of sounds are best seen, however, on a continuum: the signals of bell sounds, for example, approached the quality of soundmarks as they formed a constant part of the urban soundscape, and their various meanings were habitually decoded by the city's inhabitants. But keynote sounds as well could bubble up to the surface of consciousness, such as when Bavarian officials tried to still the background of "noise"—secular festivities as well as the sounds of labor—during periods of penitence or mourning. The soundscape may be thought to embrace the widest panoply of *potentially* meaningful sounds, including the natural sounds of rain, wind, thunder, birds, and so forth; but in this book I chiefly concern myself with sounds deployed as acoustic communication, ranging from speech to music, from bells to gunfire. My view of the soundscape hews rather closely, in fact, to what Richard Leppert has called the "sonoric landscape": we are surrounded by all manner of sounds, some of which are intentionally produced, may be read or interpreted, and are a "means by which people account for their versions of reality—as it was, is, and/or might be."²⁴ As embodied experience, sound is vital to the construction of social identity.

Sound, Space, and Place

A soundscape comes into being as one perceives sound as shaping the character of a given space. The notion of "space" or "place" is critical, for arguably, the rise of confessional identities in early modern Europe was promoted

²³ Ari Kelman, "Rethinking the Soundscape: A Critical Genealogy of a Key Term in Sound Studies," *Senses & Society* 5, no. 2 (2010): 212–24.

²⁴ See Richard Leppert, "Desire, Power, and the Sonoric Landscape," in Andrew Leyshon, David Matless, and George Revill, eds., *The Place of Music* (New York: Guilford Press, 1998), 292.

above all by efforts to distinguish not only “sacred” and “profane” spaces, but “Catholic” and “Protestant” spaces as well. Elite strategies for imposing confessional identity and popular tactics for resisting or redefining this identity depended primarily on the control of space in all its sensual dimensions, including sound. We need not detour here into the lively debate on whether abstract, Cartesian “space” is truly prior to the “places” that are imposed upon it through human agency, except to note that Michel de Certeau distinguishes the two in a fruitful way: while spaces are characterized by fluidity and mobility, their boundaries ever shifting according to the motion of elements, places are relatively stable and defined by conspicuous physical markers.²⁵ In a rough sense, visual landmarks like buildings, monuments, and paintings can be easily mapped as places, but sound seems to be more constitutive of space: it is mobile and often difficult to localize, enveloping, and evanescent. Sound, furthermore, does not simply inhabit space: as Henri Lefebvre has argued, the spaces we perceive are in fact the products of human action, constituted by sense impressions, and therefore reproduce social relations in fundamentally political ways.²⁶ From the standpoint of the theory of ritual, this insight hews closely to the ideas of Jonathan Z. Smith, who has pointed to the arbitrary quality of “sacred places”: while it is true that physical markers, such as churches, sculptures, shrines, and so forth, can temporarily reify sacred places geographically, it is ritual actions—in all varieties of fixity and mobility—that fundamentally create sacred spaces.²⁷ When one speaks of sound being used to appropriate space, then, it is not a matter of

²⁵ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 117. Note also Edward Casey’s influential critique of the “natural attitude” that place is a manifestation of preexisting space: see his “How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time: Phenomenological Prolegomena,” in Steven Feld and Keith Basso, eds., *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1996), 18.

²⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford, Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991). On the manner in which sound creates place, see also Martin Stokes, “Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music,” in Stokes, ed., *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), 1–27, as well as Georgina Born’s comments in her introduction to *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), esp. 9–24.

²⁷ “Ritual is not an expression of or a response to ‘the Sacred’;” Smith writes, “rather, something or someone is made sacred by ritual (the primary sense of *sacrificium*).” See Jonathan Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 105.

sound waves “occupying” a neutral environment. Rather, we must imagine sound as *creating* a sense of space for auditors.

The production of space was how confession in early modern Europe was made manifest. Sound could define religious space on various levels of scale: within an architectural space, such as a private home or a church; within a civic environment; and even on a regional level: in the countryside the sounds of bells defined parish boundaries over wide areas, and sound traced the rural routes to pilgrimage shrines. The spaces created by sound, as one might expect, are highly malleable. Even within “fixed” architectural sites like church interiors, the character of the space could change markedly depending on the kinds of sounds heard within: speech, song, chant, and polyphony in various configurations created a sense of liturgical space, devotional space, and even confessionally contested space, as we saw in the episode narrated at the beginning of the chapter. Furthermore, the visual and aural senses of space were rarely coterminous. The “acoustic horizon,” to use a term coined by Barry Blesser and Linda Salter, could far outstrip the horizon created by visual cues alone. The acoustic arena of a parish, defined by the audible radius of church bells, was far larger than the area from which the church tower could be observed, and during processions and other festal celebrations the ringing of bells and gunfire could expand an acoustic arena to large dimensions indeed.²⁸

Conceiving of such arenas or spaces requires the notion of boundaries. Fredrik Barth argued over forty years ago that boundaries are indeed what define social groups to begin with, even if we acknowledge the reality of contact and exchange between communities.²⁹ Following on Barth’s lead, ethnomusicologist Martin Stokes has written that “ethnicities are to be understood in terms of the construction, maintenance and negotiation of boundaries, and not on the putative social ‘essences’ which fill the gaps within them.”³⁰ Likewise, in early modern Europe the formation and maintenance of religious boundaries was in fact the principal task of the major confessional churches, carried out with varying degrees of success. Religious space and boundaries were naturally marked by an array of visual cues, some static and some

²⁸ On acoustic horizons and arenas, see Barry Blesser and Linda-Ruth Salter, *Spaces Speak, Are You Listening?* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), 22.

²⁹ Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Bergen/Oslo: Universitets Forlaget, 1969), 1–2.

³⁰ Stokes, “Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music,” 6. On this point, see also de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 123, who notes that “it is the partition of space that structures it.”

mobile, and included such things as vestments, paintings, and statuary; public monuments and architectural details; and the movements of people, who circumscribed communal space in supplicatory processions and traced large-scale spiritual geographies in their pilgrimages to holy shrines. We might also point to olfactory cues in the burning of incense that marked the Catholic liturgy and processions, or haptic cues in the form of devotional objects like rosary beads and amulets. More broadly, the imposition of “confession,” the insistence that subjects adhere to and profess a specific constellation of religious beliefs, drew lines within which one abided and violated at one’s own risk.

Drawing confessional boundaries by means of sight and sound was naturally a key strategy on the part of Bavarian authorities, but their habitual conflation of the heretical with the profane confounds any simple distinction between “sacred” and “secular” spaces.³¹ Imposing social and religious discipline in the public sphere meant that “music” must be separated from popular “noise,” the definition of which correlated closely with social class. A soundscape polluted with profane or heretical sounds could bring down God’s vengeance on a sinful populace; silence, conversely, was the aural symbol of public discipline. And to the extent that commoners enjoyed the agency of song, it was to be carefully supervised: the repertory of orthodox vernacular songs for the Catholic liturgy was very limited, while pilgrims had to reckon with appointed singing-leaders (*Vorsänger*) who presumably kept “profane” music at bay. Nevertheless, if sacred space could be manufactured through official strategies, it could easily be violated or complicated. As Hamilton and Spicer have pointed out, the mundane easily invaded the “sacred” space of the church, and simple distinctions between the two realms may have been of limited relevance to the common people.³²

Whatever the hurdles preventing a simple notion of “sacred” or “Catholic” space, the relative proximity of the confessional frontier seems to have encouraged authorities toward a rather direct and polemical use of sound and music. This may be seen not only in the widespread deployment of militaristic sounds in Catholic processions and festal services but also in the active

³¹ On the multivalence and fluidity of “sacred space” see Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, “Introduction: The Dimension of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe,” in Coster and Spicer, eds., *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 1–16; and Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, “Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space,” in Spicer and Hamilton, eds., *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 1–23.

³² Hamilton and Spicer, “Defining the Holy,” 10–19.

dissemination of an orthodox alternative to Lutheran vernacular song: it is hardly an accident that most Catholic songbooks were produced along the confessional fault lines of Germany, in such cities as Cologne, Speyer, Mainz, Ingolstadt, and Munich. The propagandistic potential of certain Protestant chorales, notably the infamous *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*, certainly encouraged the Jesuits bring out new vernacular songs, including propagandistic contrafacta. Songs connected to Catholic pilgrimage shrines, too, frequently display propagandistic elements, reflecting the role of these shrines in delineating a distinctly Catholic spiritual geography. These and other programmatic efforts in Catholic Bavaria evoke most vividly Jacques Attali's views of the instrumental power of music and sound: "make people Forget, make them Believe, Silence them."³³ In other words, sound was used to erase heresy and to indoctrinate in proper belief, and was systematically denied to those who might disrupt an atmosphere of spiritual and moral discipline.

Identity, Discipline, and Confessionalization

The aural shaping of space was a key dimension of confessionalization, which in turn implicates the formation of religious identity and the imposition of religious and social discipline. The theory of confessionalization has been a powerful explanatory paradigm in early modern European history for at least thirty years, and derives from essential insights by Reinhard Schilling, Wolfgang Reinhard, Ernst Walter Zeeden, and others on the gradual intertwining of religious and state power.³⁴ Their work fundamentally challenged an earlier notion that modernity was closely linked to the rise of Protestantism alone, and demonstrated that the linkage of state and church authority, with its concomitant emphasis on social and religious discipline,

³³ Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 19.

³⁴ See, for example, Zeeden, "Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung in Deutschland im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe," *Historische Zeitschrift* 185 (1958): 249–99, and his *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen. Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1965); Reinhard, "Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa," in Reinhard, ed., *Bekenntnis und Geschichte. Die Confessio Augustana im historischen Zusammenhang* (Munich: Verlag Ernst Vögel, 1981), 165–89, and Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich. Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620," *Historische Zeitschrift* 246 (1988): 1–45. For further references and commentary see Extended Reference 1.2.



was broadly shared across confessional boundaries. Certainly, a critical aspect of Counter-Reformation culture was a conscious effort to appeal to the antiquity of the church, asserting the authority of the clergy and drawing—albeit selectively—on certain aspects of pre-Reformation belief and ritual.³⁵ The very term “Counter-Reformation,” with its strong reactionary flavor, has been the subject of considerable historiographical debate; in the Bavarian context, the proximity of Protestant cultures gives some support to the use of this term, even if we acknowledge that Catholicism in this period was not merely a reactive force.³⁶

The tension between top-down and bottom-up views of the confessionalization process has always been present, but it has recently led to greater skepticism about the successful imposition of religious and social discipline. Increasingly, commoners and laity have been seen to enjoy considerable agency in defining their social and religious identities. Marc Forster’s studies of popular religion in southwestern Germany, for example, have demonstrated that a coercive confessionalization led by elites was largely a failure, and that a revival of Catholic identity and devotion can be attributed much more strongly to popular initiative.³⁷ Some have seen the notion

³⁵ On the medieval roots of Counter-Reformation theology, see Klaus Ganzer, “Das Konzil von Trient und die theologische Dimension der katholischen Konfessionalisierung,” in Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, eds., *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung. Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1993* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995), 50–69.

³⁶ Hubert Jedin in particular has argued strongly for both internal and reactive elements in Tridentine Catholicism; see his “Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation?” trans. David M. Luebke, in Luebke, ed., *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 44–45. For a discussion of “Counter-Reformation” as a paradigmatic term, see also Luebke’s introduction to the same volume (pp. 1–16). Jedin’s essay was originally published as *Katholische Reformation oder Gegenreformation? Ein Versuch zur Klärung der Begriffe nebst einer Jubiläumsbetrachtung über das Trienter Konzil* (Luzern: Josef Stocker, 1946).

³⁷ See Forster’s *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), as well as his essay “The Thirty Years’ War and the Failure of Catholicization,” in Luebke, *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings*, 163–97. Forster has also argued for the effectiveness of persuasion and propaganda over outright coercion in his “Catholic Confessionalism in Germany after 1650,” in John M. Headley et al., eds., *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700. Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 227–42. The limited applicability of the confessionalization thesis outside Germany is argued by Mack P. Holt in his “Confessionalization

of “confessionalization” as being limited to certain contexts, or as unviable altogether. Anton Schindling has argued that the concept is best applied to regions such as Germany, where the proximity of different faith communities made the construction of religious boundaries inevitable; even here, one must distinguish between varieties of “early” and “late” confessionalization.³⁸ Walter Ziegler, stressing the continuity of post-Tridentine Catholicism with pre-Reformation beliefs and practices, has wondered whether one can speak of Catholic confessionalization as a “modernizing” process at all.³⁹ Reinhard Schilling himself, while defending the overall viability of the confessionalization thesis, has acknowledged that we must attune ourselves to the differences between and within the various confessional churches, and be aware of “non-confessionalized” groups and the “unconfessionalized” dimensions of culture.⁴⁰

In the case of Bavaria, confessionalization remains a useful concept given the proximity of the religious frontier and the remarkably intense atmosphere of confessional persuasion and propaganda. The evidence for a programmatic attempt on the part of the House of Wittelsbach and the Jesuits, above all, to impose a strict religious discipline on the populace is indeed overwhelming, and it expressed itself in the elaborate shaping of both visual and aural space. Nevertheless, a powerful Protestant movement did erupt in Bavaria in the 1520s and again at midcentury, particularly in urban areas and among

beyond the Germanies: The Case of France,” in Headley et al., *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700*, 257–74.

³⁸ Anton Schindling, “Konfessionalisierung und Grenzen von Konfessionalisierbarkeit,” in Schindling and Walter Ziegler, eds., *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1997), 7:20.

³⁹ Reviewing the different varieties of Catholic confessionalization, Ziegler is critical of the term as a unitary concept: see his “Typen der Konfessionalisierung in katholischen Territorien Deutschlands,” in *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung* (op. cit.), 405–18. Ziegler has also stressed Tridentine Catholicism’s continuity with pre-Reformation traditions; see his “Altgläubige Territorien im Konfessionalisierungsprozess,” in Schindling and Ziegler, *Die Territorien des Reichs*, 7:67–90.

⁴⁰ Heinz Schilling, “Die Konfessionalisierung von Kirche, Staat und Gesellschaft—Profil, Leistung, Defizite und Perspektiven eines geschichtswissenschaftlichen Paradigmas,” in Reinhard and Schilling, *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung*, 1–49. See also his closely related essay in English, “Confessionalization: Historical and Scholarly Perspectives of a Comparative and Interdisciplinary Paradigm,” in Headley et al., *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700*, 21–36. A recent review of the various critiques of the confessionalization thesis may be found in Diarmid MacCulloch, Mary Laven, and Eamon Duffy, “Recent Trends in the Study of Christianity in Sixteenth-Century Europe,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 59 (2006): 715–19.

those classes that enjoyed greater mobility.⁴¹ Despite its later Catholicity, then, Bavaria was in fact a contested area within which the Protestant-minded had considerable agency at their disposal. Furthermore, we need also to imagine how individuals might have internalized certain elements of Catholic discipline while resisting others. Localized and ephemeral “tactics”—such as the singing of vernacular song—among the less powerful often counterbalanced official strategies for social control. Commoners were not always sufficiently enthusiastic about their participation in conspicuous religious rituals, and often failed to observe the “pious silence” mandated by Bavarian authorities during times of tribulation or mourning. Furthermore, officials’ efforts to stifle “superstition” were arguably hindered by their tacit retention of some traditional beliefs, such as the power of bells to dispel demons, the salvific power of the physical, consecrated Host, and the magical efficacy of formalized prayers like litanies and the rosary.⁴²

Ascribing intent is a difficult business, and not every example of what we might identify as “propaganda” was necessarily or always intended as such. The conspicuous asceticism of the Wittelsbach house, for example, was as much an expression of conviction as an instrumental attempt at persuasion.⁴³ Likewise, not every instance of Protestant singing, for example, must be interpreted as conscious resistance. Visitation reports from various Bavarian parishes in the sixteenth century suggest that many clergy saw the singing of vernacular “psalmen” and other songs as normal and unremarkable.⁴⁴ Moreover, we

⁴¹ As argued by Hans Rößler in “Warum Bayern katholisch blieb. Eine Strukturanalyse der evangelische Bewegung im Bistum Freising 1520–1570,” *Beiträge zur Altbayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 33 (1981): 91–108, here 93–4.

⁴² On the largely unsuccessful campaigns against “superstition” in early modern Germany, see esp. Robert W. Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany* (London, Ronceverte: Hambledon Press, 1987), 42–44. On popular “tactics” see de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, 29–44.

⁴³ On the “model piety” of absolutist princes, see Breuer’s “Absolutische Staatsreform und neue Frömmigkeitsformen. Vorüberlegungen zu einer Frömmigkeitsgeschichte der frühen Neuzeit aus literarhistorischer Sicht,” in Breuer, ed., *Frömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit: Studien zur religiösen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland und Spanien. Volkskundliche und kulturkundliche Beziehungen, Zusammenhänge abendländischer und ibero-amerikanischer Sakralkultur* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1984), 5–25. Note also Dougal Shaw’s essay criticizing the facile identification of propaganda, “Nothing but Propaganda? Historians and the Study of Early Modern Ritual,” *Cultural and Social History* 1 (2004): 139–58.

⁴⁴ Robert W. Scribner cautioned against a facile view of popular culture as inherently subversive; see his “Volksglaube und Volksfrömmigkeit. Begriffe und Historiographie,”

need not assume that the confessionalist programs of the Bavarian dukes and the religious orders were a sufficient cause for popular religious enthusiasm. Confraternities, pilgrimages, processions, and other Catholic practices all burgeoned after 1600, but in many respects they represented a continuation of traditional, pre-Reformation practices that clerical elites tried to channel in productive directions. We see the persistence of what Robert Scribner called “paraliturgy” and Susan Karant-Nunn has called “pararitual,” ritual practices that, while bearing tenuous connections with official religion, served as vital expressions of popular religious sentiment and sociability.⁴⁵ Among these were *functiones sacrae*, for example, the sepulchral devotions during Holy Week or the *Salve* devotions that took place on Saturday evenings. Even the erection of a new, “programmatic” monument like the *Mariensäule* in Munich’s market square (1638) appears to have touched off an enthusiastic public devotion that resisted direct clerical control, even as it implicitly endorsed the Marian ideology of the ruling house.⁴⁶ It seems well to avoid a two-tiered model of religious culture that, in Karant-Nunn’s words, contrasts “the spontaneous, ebullient peasantry and the dour, oppression-bent wielders of power.”⁴⁷ So many manifestations of Bavarian religious culture, ranging from confraternal devotions to processions and pilgrimage, cut easily across lines of both class and gender.

The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria

Given the previous discussion, it is axiomatic that music was one facet of a much broader soundscape that included natural as well as other types of intentional sounds, such as bells, gunfire, and speech; time and again, the surviving evidence suggests how music was embedded into larger aural contexts. Music was quite naturally integrated into public spectacles that were rich in both visual and aural media. Within the walls of churches one must

in Hansgeorg Molitor and Herbert Smolinsky, eds., *Volksfrömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1994), 131–32.

⁴⁵ See Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 1997), 185. Robert W. Scribner articulates a similar theme in his *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*, 41.

⁴⁶ I borrow the term *functiones sacrae* (or *actiones sacrae*) from Robert Scribner, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*, 41.

⁴⁷ Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual*, 198. Scribner also addressed the imperative to avoid simple polarities between “elite” and “popular”; see, for example, his remarks in “Volks Glaube und Volksfrömmigkeit,” 132.

begin with the celebration of the Mass, which by the early seventeenth century was the site of ever-more-frequent and opulent polyphony in the larger parishes. This polyphony was balanced, however, by the heightened recitation of liturgical texts and plainchant, all performed amid a soup of ambient noises—walking, talking, prayer, perhaps even the barking of dogs—that filled the reverberant nave.⁴⁸ These sounds inflected what was increasingly a strong and programmatic visual focus on the ritual acts of the clergy—in particular, the elevation of the host and the chalice as the real, transubstantiated flesh and blood of Christ—and the central mysteries of the Catholic faith. For example, the interior of the Jesuit church of St. Michael in Munich, characterized by a massive barrel vault uninterrupted by supporting pillars, with a relatively shallow choir and side chapels, functioned as a single volume, encouraging congregants to devote their complete visual and aural attention to the liturgical ritual. The interplay of visual and aural media was also striking in a variety of paraliturgical and devotional activities that unfolded inside churches: we might cite here the “cradle” devotions at Christmastide and the construction of representations of the Holy Sepulchre for Holy Week; the singing of penitential psalms accompanied by bloody self-flagellation during Lent; and the triumphal, militaristic performance of the *Te Deum* hymn on occasions of collective celebration (see chapter 3).

Outside the consecrated spaces of churches, music was frequently deployed as part of a more imposing soundscape, one that could expand the acoustic horizon to encompass an entire city. Jesuit theater, for example, began in relatively modest productions for the educational benefit of students but in the seventeenth century moved into the public spaces of the city and augmented the Jesuits’ Latin dialogues with increasingly elaborate staging, costumes, and music (see chapter 4). Grand theatrical productions were fixed in a single location, but a principal feature of Catholic devotional culture was mobility, as processions and pilgrimages departed from their home parishes and physically appropriated space with spectacles of sight and sound (see chapters 5 and 6). Most remarkable here must be the great processions in Munich on the feast of Corpus Christi, involving thousands of participants who circumambulated the city, presenting “live” scenes from various episodes from the

⁴⁸ I refer here to John Craig’s ideas on the soundscape of the contemporary English parish church in “Psalms, Groans and Dog-Whippers: The Soundscape of Sacred Space in the English Parish Church, 1547–1642,” in Coster and Spicer, *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, 104–23. A recent examination of the aural culture of early modern sermons may be found in Arnold Hunt, *The Art of Hearing: English Preachers and Their Audiences, 1590–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).