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MUSIC AND COMMEMORATION IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE:
VISUAL AND SONIC INTERSECTIONS OF REMEMBRANCE

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Meinen Eltern

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Abstract

This dissertation explores the role of music and visual art in commemorative events in Europe throughout the seventeenth century. Following the lead of medievalists, I look beyond disciplinary boundaries and consider the full range of media including written documents, visual art, objects, and performed (thus ephemeral) music that were used for commemoration. This multi-confessional and -regional project, set in Saxony, Bohemia, and the Low Countries, elucidates how acoustic and visual carriers of memory contributed to institutional or private forms of commemoration. For various religious and political events, such as the centenary of the Reformation (1617) or the Peace of Münster (1648), the rulers of these states consciously commissioned and thus produced media of memory in top-down fashion. Burghers or religious groups sought out their own media to memorialize these events, creating bottom-up media of memory. My portrayal and reconstructions of these commemorative events make clear that their specific procedures and the accompanying music and media had the ability to prompt people to remember a past, making a present fathomable and a future imaginable. Put differently, commemorative media had an impact on cultural memory; sometimes in unexpected ways, they situated individuals and communities in their present, shaped religious identities, political allegiances, and the historical narrative.

I contend that the media of memory were interconnected and referred to each other, creating intermediality that influenced different senses. Furthermore, music held a special place; it speaks to the auditory sense that cannot be turned off, and can function as a bridge between communicative and cultural memory. The case studies in this dissertation illuminate what commemoration looked and sounded like in early modern Europe, and how it has contributed to historical understanding up to the present day.

INTRODUCTION

“By telling our remembrance we define ourselves.”

—Former foreign minister of the GDR Markus Meckel reflecting on 30 years since the fall of the Berlin wall, International House, University of Chicago, December 13, 2019

Imagine standing in a crowd of a few hundred people, watching your country’s 850-year-old landmark burn from afar. Together with the other spectators, you fear losing this important monument that bears so much meaning, significance, and history. Then, hesitantly, a person a few rows behind you starts to strike up a song—it is the sung Angelus prayer that everyone knows by heart. Other people join in until you make the unconscious decision to open your mouth and sing the words “Je vousalue Marie” (Hail Mary). The song and its text remind you of the building, which you want to honor. For a moment, it seems as if religion, ethnicity, and social background take a back seat, although these factors otherwise play a significant role in everyone’s life. The building that is filled with art has survived centuries of unrest, revolutions, and wars, but also witnessed the burgeoning of a country and its people. At this very moment, you recall the time you spent at the landmark, the long history of the building, and its symbolic importance. This old structure that seemed indestructible is being destroyed by a blaze.

This event seems like one that happened in the early modern period, but the fire and the communal singing actually occurred on April 15, 2019, when Notre-Dame de Paris burned, the spire of the cathedral collapsed, and France feared losing one of its most important and cherished symbols of the French nation.¹ The fire not only sparked the desire

¹ The sung version of the Angelus prayer was “Je vousalue Marie, Angelus” as recorded by the Catholic association Communauté de l’Emmanuel. For a recording, see Chorale de la Communauté de l’Emmanuel, *Il est vivant ! Chants à Marie: Sous ton voile de tendresse*, arrangements, orchestrations et direction d’orchestre: Thierry Malet (Paris: Edition de l’Emmanuel, 2011). The choice to sing “Hail Mary,”

for community among the Parisians, but also made them reflect. They sang and held hands with foreigners while they watched the sky turning red before the smoke took over, experiencing both ephemerality and the power of remembering that keeps the past alive.

In the aftermath of the fire, Notre-Dame de Paris was remembered along with its histories, histories that pertain to both the French nation as well as its citizens. Newspaper articles and TV news reported on the fire and acknowledged the cathedral's historical and symbolic importance. It was not only that the building's history was rehashed; many people shared videos of the singing they had filmed with their phones and posted them on social media along with their personal memories of Notre-Dame de Paris. They posted photographs of themselves with the structure and told their stories behind those photos. Thus, the spontaneous act of commemoration found its way into the news and social media platforms. Videos of the congregation of singers were shared across the globe, amplifying and prolonging this act of remembrance beyond the evening hours of April 15, 2019.² Put differently, a physical place of memory, now inaccessible and at risk, was "re-created" or

whether made consciously or unconsciously, seems logical when taking into account that Notre-Dame is consecrated to the Virgin Mary. It is also interesting to note that the phrase "Je vous salue Marie" is engraved in Notre-Dame's large bell, nicknamed Marie.

Of course, the architectural structure of Notre-Dame de Paris was altered many times throughout the building's history. During the Revolution, the cathedral was massively damaged; during Louis XVI's reign, it was remodeled. According to architect Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc's (1814–79) invented memory, the erstwhile Medieval structure had become an example of a quasi-pre-revolutionary church in the nineteenth century. For more information on Notre-Dame de Paris's history and its connection to memory, see Brian Cummings et al., "Introduction," in *Remembering the Reformation*, ed. Brian Cummings et al., *Remembering the Medieval and Early Modern Worlds* (Abingdon, Oxon, New York: Routledge, 2020), 10.

² For instance, see articles such as Mashable, "Crowd sang 'Ave Maria' in the streets of Paris as Notre-Dame Cathedral burned," accessed January 20, 2021, <https://mashable.com/article/ave-maria-singing-notre-dame-fire/>; Danielle Garrand, "Stunning Video Shows People Singing Hymn to Honor Notre Dame as It Burned," CBS News, accessed January 20, 2021, <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/notre-dame-cathedral-fire-paris-stunning-video-shows-people-singing-hymn-to-honor-notre-dame-as-it-burned/>; Gina Vivinetto, "Notre Dame Cathedral Fire: Crowd Gathers to Sing Hymns: Hundreds of Parisians Sang Together as They Watched the Historic Cathedral Being Engulfed by Flames on Monday," Today, accessed January 20, 2021, <https://www.today.com/news/notre-dame-cathedral-fire-crowds-gather-sing-hymns-t152201>.

“re-presented” by the joining of the social collective, by inter-visibility, by the haptics of holding hands, and by the means that made all this collectivity possible: music.

Commemoration is not a new invention but has been an ongoing development since early modern times. In this dissertation, I examine moments of remembrance such as the one in Paris by shining a light on two major events in early modern Europe: first, the centenary of the Reformation as it was celebrated in the German lands by both Protestants and Catholics and, second, the end of the Eighty/Thirty Years’ War as it was commemorated in the Low Countries, the German lands, and Bohemia. Broadsheets, polemic pamphlets, scores, reports, and other publications help us imagine how various strata of society observed these events in both spontaneous and planned ways.

By exploring commemoration in the seventeenth century, I extend the study of commemoration to the starting point of transregional remembrance when a single event was remembered in multiple regions, coordinated so as to take place at the same time.³ Of course, the boundaries that define regions exist simultaneously on multiple levels—be they local, national, or global. In this study, I acknowledge that these levels coexisted and that regions are not necessarily confined to one spatial level.⁴ In short, in my work, I research

³ Thus far, the early modern period has not been the focus of memory studies. Many recent studies concentrate on the World War I and II. For instance, see James Edward Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Polly Low, Graham J. Oliver and Peter J. Rhodes, eds., *Cultures of Commemoration: War Memorials, Ancient and Modern*, Proceedings of the British Academy 160 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Keir Reeves et al., eds., *Battlefield Events: Landscape, Commemoration and Heritage*, Routledge Advances in Event Research Series (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016); Jay M. Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, eds., *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Other studies focus also on recent history. E.g., see Brad West, ed., *War Memory and Commemoration*, Memory Studies: Global Constellations (London: Routledge, 2017); Lyn Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia*, Cambridge cultural social studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, Culture (London: Routledge, 2005).

⁴ For more information on the methodology of transregional history in early modern studies, see Violet Soen et al., “How to do Transregional History: A Concept, Method and Tool for Early Modern Border Research,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 21, no. 4 (2017). For a collection of essays pertaining to transregional

the musical traces of social commemoration and their origins in order to better understand such relationships between music and remembrance as the outburst of singing as a reaction to the 2019 Notre-Dame de Paris fire. Although they are also forms of commemoration, this dissertation does neither cover funeral literature and music, nor monuments for individuals. Instead, it focusses on the jubilee celebration of 1617 and the end of the Eighty/Thirty Years' War.

Until the eighteenth century, the belief was widely held that memory works through the use of some kind of mental image rather than through aural transmission. Already in the fourth century BC, Aristotle wrote about memory as a mental picture (*simulacrum, imago*), and about 700 years later, Saint Augustine connected the terminology of “vision” to memory.⁵ I contend that Saint Augustine’s usage of the terms “mental picture” and “vision” can be expanded to include aural perception as well. This expansion does not contradict Augustine’s concept of memory, but extends it:

For when an object is *seen* by the *eyes*, an *image* of it is immediately produced in the spirit. But this representation is not perceived unless we remove our *eyes* from the *object* that we were *gazing* at through the *eyes* and find an *image* of it within our soul.⁶

Saint Augustine’s idea is easily applicable to sound; his above-quoted statement still works after exchanging the words of the semantic field of seeing with words of the field of hearing:

historiography of the Reformation, see Violet Soen et al., eds., *Transregional Reformations: Crossing Borders in Early Modern Europe*, Refo500 Academic Studies 61 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019).

⁵ Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 17.

⁶ Aurelius Augustinus, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, Ancient Christian Writers 41 (New York: Paulist Press, 1982), translated by John H. Taylor, 191–92, as quoted in Walter S. Melion, “Meditative Images and the Portrayal of Image-Based Meditation,” in *Ut pictura meditatio: The Meditative Image in Northern Art, 1500–1700*, ed. Walter S. Melion, Ralph Dekoninck and Agnès Guiderdoni, Proteus 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 2. [My emphasis.]

For when an object is *heard* by the *ears*, a *sound/song* of it is immediately produced in the spirit. But this representation is not perceived unless we remove our *ears* from the object that we were *hearing* through the *ears* and find a *representation* of it within our soul.

Besides transmitting mere information, music can also offer a structure for social interactions, as in the example of communal singing at the 2019 Notre-Dame burning. Furthermore, due to the bodily experience of music, music's metrical structure, and music's capacity for entrainment, memory of certain musics is very robust.⁷ Hence, my study incorporates both the visual and the auditory parts of the culture of remembrance, especially since music can be transmitted orally, bodily, *and* through images (in the form of musical notation, the visual arts, or architecture). As noted by Maurice Halbwachs—the father of contemporary collective memory studies—these visual objects and places have a “material reality” that in itself has a meaning for individuals as well as for groups of individuals who share a collective or institutional memory.⁸

⁷ In his book *How Societies Remember*, Paul Connerton writes about the mnemonic effect of song as a special case of ritual language. According to Connerton, songs are predictable and easily repeatable due to their specific intonation and rhythm. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, Themes in the Social Sciences (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 59–61.

⁸ According to Halbwachs, collective memory is created by and within a group. He also stresses that group experience is essential to its creation. Taking matters of social differentiation into account, Halbwachs emphasizes that there are multiple collective memories: Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), edited, translated, and with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser, 48, 204. With his 1950 posthumously published book, *The Collective Memory*, Halbwachs stood at the beginning of contemporary studies of memory. Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective: Ouvrage posthume publié*, 1st ed. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1950).

Other scholars have also worked on collective memory. In his book *The Noisy Renaissance*, Niall Atkinson discusses city soundscapes (instead of mere objects) and their ability to form a collective memory: Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance: Sound, Architecture, and Florentine Urban Life* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), esp. 149–51. About half a century after Halbwachs, James E. Young distinguishes between “collective memory” and “aggregated memory,” a society’s memory that is an aggregated collection of its members’ often competing memories: James Edward Young, *Formen des Erinnerns: Gedenkstätten des Holocaust*, Passagen Zeitgeschehen (Wien: Passagen Verlag, 1997). Graham Dawson writes about the interaction of personal and collective memory. Graham Dawson, “Father’s Day White Hanky: Survivor Memories, Collective Memory, and the Postmemory of Bloody Sunday in the Irish Troubles,” in *The Politics of Cultural Memory*, ed. Lucy Burke, Simon Faulkner and James Aulich (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2010).

Some scholars include bodily movement, musical performances, repetition, clothing, other social practices, and topography in the discussion of collective memory. For instance, see Amy Corning and Howard

Commemoration, Memory Studies, and Music's Role in Creating Cultural Memory

Following Judith Pollmann, who advocates for interdisciplinary work in early modern memory studies that uses the full range of media at one's disposal, this dissertation focuses on the interplay of acoustic and visual carriers of memory that were used for commemoration in the seventeenth century.⁹ Commemoration, by definition, both "calls an event of the past to memory and preserves this memory in a ceremony, monument or cultural artifact."¹⁰ As recent Shakespearean scholarship has shown, commemoration exists in a multitude of ways. Forms of commemoration include but are not confined to the calendar of anniversaries; they range from war, relations, commerce, popular culture, to social conflict, to name but a few.¹¹

Paying attention to both the visual and the acoustic sphere brings us closer to understanding how communication might have functioned in the early modern period. Orality and literacy existed side-by-side, but, according to Bruce R. Smith, the dominant mode was not literacy but rather orality. This term includes (among others) music, soundscape, and utterances, for which Smith coined the term "O-factor."¹² In his book, *The*

Schuman, *Generations and Collective Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), 6–12); Clara Calvo and Coppélia Kahn, "Introduction: Shakespeare and Commemoration," in *Celebrating Shakespeare: Commemoration and Cultural Memory*, ed. Clara Calvo and Coppélia Kahn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 9; Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 2–5, 36–38, 71–76.

For recent research on experiential aspects of state-sponsored commemorations that influence the geographies of commemoration and national narratives, see Shanti Sumartojo, "New Geographies of Commemoration," *Progress in Human Geography*, 2020.

⁹ Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 6.

¹⁰ Peter Carrier, "Historical Traces of the Present: The Uses of Commemoration," *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 22, no. 2 (1996): 435–36.

¹¹ For essays analyzing rather understudied forms of commemoration, such as gardens, cartoons, or parodies, see Clara Calvo and Coppélia Kahn, eds., *Celebrating Shakespeare: Commemoration and Cultural Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

¹² Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-factor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 12.

Acoustic World of Early Modern England, he lays out the difference between hearing and seeing. Objects that are seen stay within their geometric space, whereas sounds reverberate within the individuals who hear. Smith invites the reader to differentiate between the objective spectator who sees, and the subject—a member of a speech community with a common set of rules—who is immersed in a sounding experience.¹³ Taking Smith's phenomenology of hearing and the definition of commemoration as points of departure, this dissertation shows how music functioned in ceremonies and as a cultural artifact.

Closely connected to commemoration is the term *Erinnerungskultur* (culture of remembrance). Commemoration and commemorative events are part of the culture of remembrance, for which Astrid Erll offers a broad definition: “cultures [plural!] of remembrance manifest themselves as the historically and culturally changeable characteristics of collective memory.”¹⁴ Commemoration is one manifestation of the cultures of remembrance. Yet, these two behavioral configurations are interrelated and interdependent, and one can ignite the other.

Furthermore, through commemoration, memory can be created. Jan Assmann theorizes memory and divides it into different modes (see table 0.1): mimetic (omitted in table 0.1), material (omitted in table 0.1), individual, communicative, and cultural memory.¹⁵ If no differentiation is made between communicative and cultural memory, the

¹³ Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 10.

¹⁴ Astrid Erll, “Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen,” in *Einführung in die Kulturwissenschaften: Theoretische Grundlagen, Ansätze, Perspektiven*, ed. Ansgar Nünning and Vera Nünning (Stuttgart, Weimar: Metzler, 2008), 176. “Erinnerungskultur [als die] historisch und kulturell variablen Ausprägungen von kollektivem Gedächtnis.” [All translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated].

The term “collective memory” was used as early as 1902 by Hugo von Hoffmannsthal who, however, did not define it. In the middle of the twentieth century, Roger Bastide emphasized the importance of individual memory for the creation and maintenance of collective remembrance. See Theodor Schieder, “The Role of Historical Consciousness in Political Action,” *History and Theory* 17, no. 4 (1978): 2.

¹⁵ Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München: Beck, 2002). Jeffrey Olick and Joyce Robbins summarize Assmann’s findings in their

term collective memory is used. According to Assmann, communicative memory emerges through spontaneous, interpersonal interaction, whereas cultural memory needs an institution. For instance, the outburst of singing at the sight of the burning of Notre-Dame cathedral can be counted as communicative memory, while the fire itself has the potential to become cultural memory through its institutionalized safekeeping in, e.g., museums or history books. Hence, in order to make the step from communicative to cultural memory, some kind of hierarchical institutionalization is required. This is tantamount to specialists and storage spaces that help create a cultural identity with the carriers of memory such as rites, objects, or print media. According to Assmann, media, practices, or ceremonies can only become part of the cultural memory and cultural identity in a top-down approach.

article "Social Memory Studies: "1. mimetic memory—the transmission of practical knowledge from the past; 2. material memory—the history contained in objects; 3. communicative memory—the residues of the past in language and communication, including the very ability to communicate in language; and 4. cultural memory—the transmission of meanings from the past, that is, explicit historical reference and consciousness." Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, "Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 111–12.

In general, anthropologist Paul Connerton follows Assmann's understanding of cultural memory. Connerton showed in his 2008 article, "Seven Types of Forgetting," how societies forget. By doing so, he indirectly defined commemorative culture as a culture with socially approved manners and rules which are used to keep parts of the past remembered. The past is not remembered objectively, but through the lens of individual and collective perception. I propose that music and the arts enrich this perception greatly. Paul Connerton, "Seven Types of Forgetting," *Memory Studies* 1, no. 1 (2008).

Table 0.1. Individual, communicative, and cultural memory after Assmann.¹⁶

Level	Time	Identity	Memory	
Inner (neuro-mental)	Inner, subjective time	Inner self	Individual memory	
Social	Social time	Social self, person as carrier of social roles	Communicative memory	Collective memory
Cultural	Historical, mythical, cultural time	Cultural identity	Cultural memory	

Assmann's theory, one of the most-adopted ones in memory studies, has a glaring oversight noted by Erll. She argues that Assmann does not take into account "the unintentional and unconscious forms of remembering that are tied to the body, to discursive patterns, and the practices of everyday life, and often manifest themselves in a *habitus*."¹⁷ This objection can be applied to haptics, sound, and music, which have the ability to function precisely in the way laid out by Erll. Music, especially when actively performed, is stored as body memory. Current scholarship on Black performance theory also focusses on embodied memory in regard to music performances and the recollection thereof. These recollections of embodied Black experience lead to shared Black memory and identity. For instance, Kyra Gaunt explores the construction of taste in connection with game-songs

¹⁶ Table 0.1 is adapted from Jan Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *A Companion to Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning and Sara B. Young (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 109.

¹⁷ Astrid Erll, "Locating Family in Cultural Memory Studies," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 42, no. 3 (2011): 311, accessed October 10, 2019.

performed by Black girls in the USA.¹⁸ Harvey Young writes about how Black bodies carry a history and memory within themselves through performance and habitus since critical memory functions “by acknowledging that related histories created experiential overlap.”¹⁹ Whatever the cultural context or the century, music also speaks to different forms of memory and is part of the daily routine, for example, in church settings or as repeated physical motion in dance.

This imprecision by Assmann leads to a strict divide between the social and cultural levels (see table 0.1). The division into communicative and cultural memory depends on the premise of a top-down approach and can be challenged when taking music into account. I agree that for the development of the cultural level, a conscious establishment and societal anchoring of media, practices, and ceremonies are necessary as a carrier of memory.

However, this dissertation argues that music, as medium and practice, can function as a bridge between communicative and cultural memory with *and* without a top-down power structure. According to Assmann, cultural memory exists in two forms—disembodied and re-embodied. Long-term conservation and circulation are possible only in the disembodied form—as object, as codified rite like a museum, as a medium.²⁰ Music does not fit into this binary; music seems to be in-between since it can be transmitted in an embodied form, as musical practice that is not codified. For instance, it is conceivable that the singing of “Je vous salue Marie” can develop into a symbol for Notre-Dame de Paris. Other scholars’ discussions of collective memory include bodily movement, musical

¹⁸ Kyra Danielle Gaunt, *The Games Black Girls Play: Learning the Ropes from Double-Dutch to Hip-Hop* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); Kyra Danielle Gaunt, “Girls’ Game-Songs and Hip-Hop: Music Between the Sexes,” *Parcours anthropologiques*, no. 8 (2012): esp. 117–26.

¹⁹ Harvey Young, *Embodying Black Experience: Stillness, Critical Memory, and the Black Body* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 18–20.

²⁰ Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” 110–12.

performances, repetition, and other social embodied practices.²¹ In his 1989 book *How Societies Remember*, Paul Connerton writes that collective memory is created through performative acts and that performativity is ubiquitous and necessary in commemorative ceremonies of all kinds.²²

This dissertation covers different categories of commemoration. I define categories of commemoration with regard to the temporal distance from the occurrence of an event to the act of remembering. Some events are commemorated at the moment they happened or in close temporal proximity, such as the announcement of the Peace of Westphalia, which led to a celebration that took place immediately after the conclusion of the peace treaty.²³ Examples of close-proximity commemorations are mostly confined to praise, thanksgiving, or mourning. We can also think of mourning soldiers during the Thirty Years' War who put their grief into words that are sung to a known tune. Events that are commemorated with a long temporal distance are solidified years or decades later. An example would be the centenary of the Reformation in 1617. Anniversaries can be classed in between these close-proximity and long-distance categories. Some celebrations of both categories lead to recurring anniversaries (and thus to tradition). They shape the collective memory of a society and, hence, the culture of remembrance; others are fading. For instance, the

²¹ For an example of contemporary aural commemoration, see Robert L. Kendrick, "Virtual Liberation in Italy," *Counterpunch*, May 1, 2020, accessed April 17, 2021, <https://www.counterpunch.org/2020/05/01/virtual-liberation-in-italy/>.

²² Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 2–5, 36–38, 71–76.

²³ Eamon Duffy also uses a temporal distinction, especially regarding places of memory, in his work on early modern England. In his microhistory *The Voices of Morebath*, Duffy foregrounds highlights that the vicar of Morebath, whose Parish accounts are the basis of the book, felt a need to remedy the lack of pieties with a long history in his parish. The vicar himself brought the long tradition of Saint Sidwell paired with a "dear perpetual place" for the saint's devotion to Morebath and emphasized the saint's history since the fourteenth century. Quickly, the parishioners took over this commemoration that was started with a long temporal distance to Sidwell's martyr's death. Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 73–74. For a macro-history of the Reformation in England, see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400–c.1580*, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

centenary of the Reformation was celebrated for the first time one hundred years after the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses and it developed over time, becoming an annual day of remembrance. These celebrations confirmed and reinforced past events or even established the events within the historical consciousness.

While I refer to the range of temporal categories, the above-mentioned examples make it clear that commemoration can also be divided into individual and institutional commemorations. Whereas institutional commemoration is common in both temporal categories, individual commemoration more often happens right after an event or in the in-between state of a recurring anniversary.

The last distinction—one that I aim to dismiss—pertains to the political and psychological scholarly paradigms in early modern studies. Thus far, there has been a tendency to study commemoration within the boundaries of these two paradigms: the political paradigm being primarily focused on the building of national identification and the psychological paradigm being mainly interested in the expression of human emotion.²⁴ “Emotion and politics go hand in hand” regarding commemoration, as Polly Low and Graham Oliver correctly note.²⁵ As this dissertation will also show, commemorative

²⁴ Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson, and Michael Roper, “The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration: Contexts, Structures and Dynamics,” in *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, ed. Timothy G. Ashplant, Graham Dawson and Michael Roper, 1st ed., Routledge Studies in Memory and Narrative (London: Routledge, 2000), 7. Ashplant, Dawson, and Roper write specifically about war commemoration. For more information on trauma in early modern Reformation history, see Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*, 156–85. Several essays in Brian Cummings et al., eds., *Remembering the Reformation, Remembering the Medieval and Early Modern Worlds* (Abingdon, Oxon, New York: Routledge, 2020) provide closer insight into mourning due to death, forced migration, and historical change. For more information on trauma theory and cultural memory in works of literature and film, see Rosanne Kennedy, “Trauma and Cultural Memory Studies,” in *The Routledge Companion to Literature and Trauma*, ed. Colin Davis and Hanna Meretoja, Routledge Companions to Literature (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020).

²⁵ Polly Low and Graham J. Oliver, “Comparing Cultures of Commemoration in Ancient and Modern Societies,” in *Cultures of Commemoration: War Memorials, Ancient and Modern*, ed. Polly Low, Graham J. Oliver and Peter J. Rhodes, Proceedings of the British Academy 160 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4.

festivities or monuments can have a political purpose while also acting as a stage for the expression of individual and collective human emotions.

In order to study commemoration as it was practiced in the seventeenth century, I have to consider media as my primary source material. I define media broadly as an organizational and technical apparatus for conveying opinions, information, and cultural goods that can manifest themselves in material forms, such as handwritten notes, objects, architectural structures, monuments, or print publications. Of course, the invention of the printing press changed the world and the way events were perceived. For instance, the evolution of printing technology facilitated the transmission of uniform knowledge, which led to a shared experience of reading a text that was identical to hundreds of circulated copies.²⁶ Furthermore, printed words carried authority *ipso facto* by being printed.²⁷ Historiography tends to overemphasize the importance of print media, even though in early modern societies, communication was both oral *and* written.

Rites, as immaterial and imperative parts of cultural memory, have to be reconstructed by analyzing extant media. There is an ineradicable connection between media and cultural memory: media have the potential to construct cultural memory, and cultural memory needs media for transmission. Thus, media offer a tool to study commemoration and contemporary understandings of history that are influenced by commemorative events. Media enable the constitution and circulation of knowledge and versions of a common past in social and cultural contexts; hence, it is media that render cultural memory possible.

²⁶ Leora Auslander, “Beyond Words,” *The American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (October 2005): 1018.

²⁷ Ulrich Rosseaux, *Die Kipper und Wipper als publizistisches Ereignis (1620–1626): Eine Studie zu den Strukturen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, Schriften zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte 67 (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2001), 421.

The theoretical framework of this dissertation originates in Pierre Nora's understanding of places of remembrance (*Lieux de mémoire*). He offers a broad definition: places of remembrance include not only geographical places (such as memorial sites, statues, the church, and so on) and mementos (e.g., pictures, commemorative coins, etc.), but also media (such as documents, literature, scores, visual art, documentation of musical performances). Nora defines *Lieux de mémoire* as "any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage."²⁸ He continues by stating that they are the "embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists."²⁹ Nora's places of memory function as a substitute—an organized history—where the lived experience of a memory or the practice that keeps memory alive are no longer available.³⁰ Thus, places of remembrance encompass much more than just tangible materialities. They also comprise rituals and rites, which often include musical performances, as long as they are in some way transmitted to the next generation.³¹

Scholarship has offered different theories of memory and how it can be stored. Erll's understanding of the media of memory (*Medien der Erinnerung*, see figure 0.1) with its

²⁸ Pierre Nora, "From Lieux de Mémoire to Realms of Memory," in *Conflicts and Divisions: Rethinking the French Past*, ed. Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), xvii.

²⁹ Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7.

³⁰ Cummings et al., "Introduction," 5.

³¹ I follow Lukes's definition of ritual: according to him, a ritual is a "rule-governed activity of a symbolic character which draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling which they hold to be of special significance." For Lukes' definition, no codification is necessary. Steven Lukes, "Political Ritual and Social Integration," *Sociology* 9, no. 2 (1975): 291.

three dimensions—material, social, and mental—and Assmann’s theory of cultural memory complement the theoretical framework for this dissertation.³²

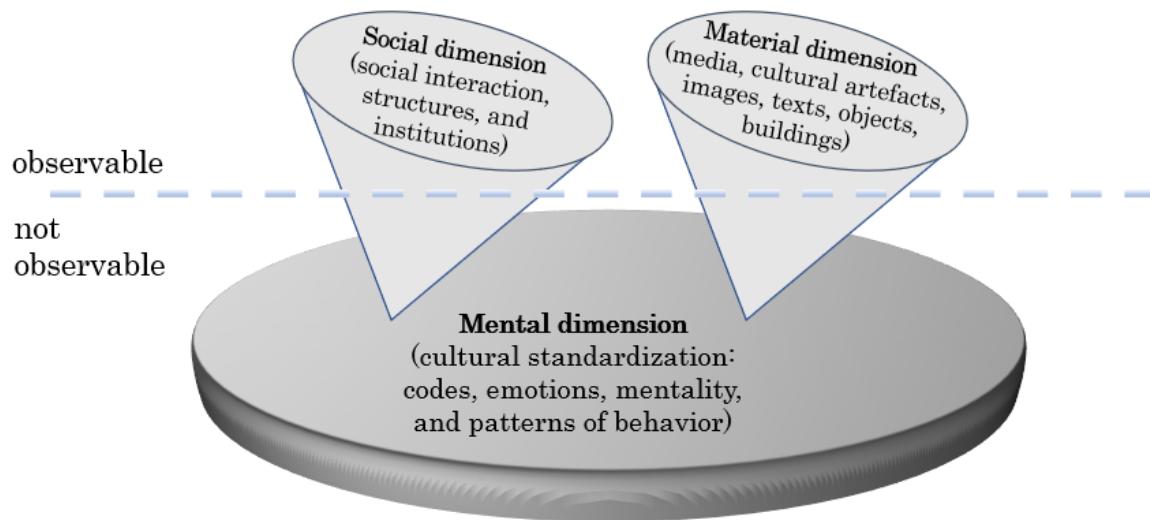


Figure 0.1. Media of collective memory and its three dimensions (after Erll/Gymnich/Posner).³³

The material dimension manifests itself in the medialization of a remembered event—semiotic language in all its forms, tangible media and technologies, cultural artifacts for communication, and the process of objectification as concrete media of memory.³⁴ Leora Auslander has shown the importance of the material dimension. In her article “Beyond Words,” she writes that human beings always have used objects, that people’s relation to language differs from their relation to material goods (even in

³² Astrid Erll, “Medium des kollektiven Gedächtnisses: Ein (erinnerungs-)kulturwissenschaftlicher Kompaktbegriff,” in *Medien des kollektiven Gedächtnisses: Konstruktivität, Historizität, Kulturspezifität*, ed. Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 4; Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*.

³³ Figure adapted after Astrid Erll and Marion Gymnich, *Uni-Wissen Interkulturelle Kompetenzen: Erfolgreich kommunizieren zwischen den Kulturen - Kernkompetenzen* (Stuttgart: Klett, 2007), 23. See also Erll, “Medium des kollektiven Gedächtnisses,” 14–18; Roland Posner, “Kultursemiotik,” in *Konzepte der Kulturwissenschaften: Theoretische Grundlagen - Ansätze - Perspektiven*, ed. Ansgar Nünning and Vera Nünning (Stuttgart, Weimar: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 2003).

³⁴ Erll, “Medium des kollektiven Gedächtnisses,” 15–16.

logocentric societies) and is versatile, and that “human beings need things” because of their own embodiment.³⁵ Auslander accepts this universal claim and identifies material goods as a tool to individuate and situate oneself, communicate, and effectively remember and forget. In short, objects function as active agents in history that have effects in the world. For example, in this dissertation, we will encounter several instances of broadsheets and songs sung to popular tunes that depict, resound, and remember the official celebrations of the Peace of Münster.

Within the social dimension, a media phenomenon can truly transition to a medium of memory. Media of memory are not necessarily made by the producer; the consumer can transform any medium into a medium of memory. For instance, Luther himself did not metamorphose his wine glass into a relic. Rather, Lutheran believers did. This reverence for Luther prompted Catholics to respond to the wine glass relic with polemical broadsheets that included a contrafact of a Lutheran hymn. The transition from any medium to a medium of memory is a process of institutionalization, and it always relies on the functionalization of media as media of memory by social groups or societies. The social dimension includes institutions and practices (archives, universities, rites of commemoration) that play an integral part in producing, storing, and recalling relevant knowledge. This process, which can happen consciously or unconsciously, results in collective memory being (re-)constructed within social contexts, and those in charge decide which media are used for this (re-)construction.

An example of this process is the celebration of the centenary of the Reformation in 1617. The practice of observing an anniversary like the Reformation centennial was established by the Elector of Saxony and the consistory (*Oberkonsistorium*) in 1617, copied

³⁵ Auslander, “Beyond Words,” 1018–19.

in 1630 for the centenary of the *Confessio Augustana* and in 1667 for one hundred fiftieth anniversary of the posting of the Theses. After 1667, the act of copying was no longer necessary. Celebrations of that kind were institutionalized.

Lastly, the mental dimension includes schemata and codes of cultural memory that enable and shape shared memory. I investigate these schemata and codes, for example, through culture-specific ways of thinking, such as the Lutheran view of the pope as Antichrist. The material and social dimensions are audiovisual, while the mental dimension is more elusive.³⁶ Thus, the mental one needs to be extracted from the media of the material and social dimension. By way of illustration, the pope was marked as the Antichrist in many Lutheran hymns, sermons, and broadsheets, and through this, the image of the pope as Antichrist became a trope or mindset.³⁷ An especially profitable addition to the list of media is music, since it bridges the material and social dimensions by manifesting itself in notated form and as practice and rite.

Different factors have to be considered when investigating media from the perspective of memory formation. Four factors are considered in this dissertation with regard to media from the perspective of memory: communication tools (e.g., the specific language chosen), media technologies (e.g., printing), social-systemic institutionalization (e.g., canonization), and concrete media offerings (e.g., Heinrich Schütz's large-scale collection *Psalmen Davids* of 1619). The interplay of these media and social phenomena constitutes in ensemble the media of collective memory.³⁸

³⁶ Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen*, 102.

³⁷ For a depiction of the pope as a water-spouting dragon, see *Entlauffener AblassKramer vnd helleuchtendes evangelisches Liecht von Herrn Martino Luther im 1517: Jahr in der Finsternuss dess Bapsthumbs auss Gottes Wort angezündet, und in einer Figur im ersten Jubel-Jahr vorgebildet* (Leipzig: Georgium Liger, 1617), Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg: H62/Einblattdruck A III 20, accessed October 9, 2019, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:29-einblatt-0076-2>.

³⁸ Erll, "Medium des kollektiven Gedächtnisses," 13.

In all these factors, music comes into play. Music as a medium functions as a mediator of knowledge and memory. Without media, an individual cannot partake in cultural-social experiences and cannot be aware of a society's systems of knowledge. A congregation member needs to know not only the hymns but also the performance manner—both are necessary to join with one's fellow or sister parishioners. Media are points of intersection between the individual and the collective. And music in particular represents a mediating system between individual and cultural memory. Conversely, personal events can hardly become meaningful for a broader community without medial representation. Hence, cultural memory is fed by individual memories. Only the intermeshing of personal memories creates and maintains cultural memory. In other words, individuals as members of a group, such as confessions, nations, or professions, share similar experiences and hence share a memory within a particular social framework.

It is through collective memory that societies develop a conscious identity.³⁹ However, identities do not grow organically out of a shared past, identities are built by referring back to a common past (whether imagined or not). Groups can assure themselves of their shared identity by recalling the past through media and certain practices, such as rites, rituals, myths, fairy tales, plays, writings, or music.⁴⁰ Cultural memory is not only a path but also an elemental force of self-assurance and identity formation.

³⁹ Jay M. Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, "Setting the Framework," in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Jay M. Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 26.

⁴⁰ Christian Gudehus, Ariane Eichenberg and Harald Welzer, eds., *Gedächtnis und Erinnerung: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2010), 127, as quoted in Melanie Unseld, "Vom Hören zum Tradieren: Musik als Medium der Erinnerung," in *Verklingend und ewig: Tausend Jahre Musikgedächtnis: 800–1800; [Ausstellung der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel in Kooperation mit ... vom 4. September 2011 bis zum 26. Februar 2012]*, ed. Susanne Rode-Breymann, Ausstellungskataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek 94 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 54. See also Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800*, 11, who specifically referred to national identity in this context.

According to Assmann, one has to remember in order to identify with and belong to a group.⁴¹ Since the middle of the twentieth century, the sense of belonging has been counted as a basic human need, like food and shelter. However, this need was already evident in the sixteenth century, for instance, to Reformers who recognized the importance of a sense of belonging and a shared identity. For them, it was essential to create a strong Protestant identity capable of sustaining itself, and the Reformers reached this goal partially through acts of commemoration that again fed into cultural memory.⁴² This dissertation sheds light on the correlation between commemoration, cultural memory, identity, music, and other media in the century following the Reformation. Furthermore, it connects approaches of sixteenth-century Reformers or seventeenth-century heads of states with findings of cultural scholarship from the twenty-first century.

I endeavor to connect these approaches by exploring music and visual art in the context of commemorative culture in early modern Europe—more precisely, in the German lands, Bohemia, and the Low Countries—in the four chapters of this dissertation. I take into account four main ideas: (1) the interplay and intertextuality of different types of media and their impact on the recipient pertaining to identity formation of individual and cultural identity; (2) the political and psychological paradigm; (3) the way that music in general and active music-making in a habitual way can bridge Assmann's concept of communicative and cultural memory; and (4) the binary and potential simultaneity of personal and institutional commemoration. The chapters offer case studies of forms of top-down institutional commemoration and bottom-up private practices revolving most importantly around religious and political events.

⁴¹ Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," 114.

⁴² Marco Cavarzere, "A Comparative Method for Sixteenth-Century Polemicists: Cults, Devotions, and the Formation of Early Modern Religious Identities," *Journal of Early Modern History* 19 (2015): 386.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter 1 discusses the 1617 centenary of the Reformation. All over the German lands, the year 1617 was celebrated by Lutherans, Calvinists, and even Catholics. I address how Lutheran music performed during the jubilee differed from other media, such as broadsides, sermons, and pamphlets. Most can be interpreted as forms of othering, showing that Lutherans were *not* the Antichrist, the pope, or Reformed Churches. Polyphonic and chorale-style music, chorale-based or not, held a different position. Through its ritual, liturgical, and devotional significance, music emphasized the “positive identification” of Protestantism, connecting the audience with the past, strengthening a shared identity, and implying the continuity of the faith.

Chapter 2 analyzes the Catholic response to the Protestant jubilee. Catholic polemics, in the form of monolithic books and broadsheets that include newly-composed songs and contrafacts of Lutheran hymns, sprang up in reaction to the celebrations of 1617. These publications give insight into how the Catholics wanted to contrast themselves and their “righteous” jubilee with the Protestants by drawing upon the long history and cultural memory of the Latin Church. In one specific broadsheet, I show that media of memory are made by the audience. In this case, the public decided that a medium was to be a medium of memory and not the author.

Chapter 3 engages with the Peace of Münster in 1648 and the recognition of the independence of the Netherlands. A close analysis of soldiers’ songs offers an insight into the day-to-day life of Dutch military forces and their memories of war and peace. Official peace celebrations were geared toward strengthening the young and fragile Dutch identity. To accomplish this goal, city officials used publications and theater, but they also established buildings, such as Amsterdam’s city hall (now *Paleis op de Dam*), as new

symbols for a new nation state. The groundbreaking ceremony in 1648 and the inauguration (1655) of the symbolic city hall functioned as commemorative ceremonies that constituted cultural memory and a Dutch cultural identity, while the city hall itself served as a material *lieu de mémoire*.

Chapter 4 examines how the Peace of Westphalia was commemorated in the German lands and Bohemia. There, I argue that music and visuals shaped the canonical historical narrative of the seventeenth century. They influenced the public perception of sovereigns, for example, the concerto “Nun danket alle Gott” (SWV 418) by Heinrich Schütz and several broadsides forged the image of the Elector of Saxony John George I as peacemaker. Thus, both media led to a revisionist history of the elector and his agency in the peace process of the Thirty Years’ War.

Part I: Commemorating the Past: Beliefs

CHAPTER 1: “DAHERO HABEN WIR UNS ENTSCHLOSSEN … EINE *SOLENNEN FESTIVITATEM JUBILAEAM ZU HALTEN”¹—THE JUBILEES OF 1617*

Walking through Dresden during the last weekend of October in 1617 must have been an extraordinary sonic experience. During that weekend—the weekend of the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the Reformation—it was possible to meet singing students in the streets, hear families singing Lutheran hymns in their homes, jump at the sound of cannon fire, listen to polychoral music and hour-long sermons in Dresden’s *Schlosskapelle*, and participate in congregational singing throughout the many obligatory church services.

In this and the next chapter, I focus on the jubilee in the sense of a *historisches Jubiläum*, special anniversaries of a specific date that reach broad parts of society, as opposed to commemorations of events that took place only a short time before their celebrations (which I deal with in chapters 3 and 4).² More precisely, this chapter concentrates on one of the first broadly celebrated jubilees, the centenary of the Reformation in 1617, as it was observed in Dresden and Nuremberg. It focuses on the Lutheran jubilee, but it was both the Lutheran and Calvinist rulers who employed this jubilee for their own purposes because they wished to ensure and heighten their authority during the murky and divisive confessionalization.

¹ In his instruction to the Lutheran jubilee in Saxony, the elector John George I gave his reasoning which was followed by: “this is why we decided on holding a solemn celebratory jubilee.” Johann Georg I, *Instruction und Ordnung nach welcher In Unsern von Gottes Gnaden Johannes Georgen/ Hertzogen zu Sachsen ... Churfürstenthumb und Landen/ das instehende Evangelische Jubelfest solle gehalten werden: Erstlich Gedruckt zu Wittenberg bey Georg Kellnern/ in verlegung Paul Helwigs/ im Jahr 1617* (Freyberg: Georg Hoffman, 1617), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: A: 184.7 Theol. (18), accessed August 15, 2019, <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/184-7-theol-18s/start.htm>, 1v.

² Dorothea Wendebourg uses the term “historisches Jubiläum” (historical anniversary). Dorothea Wendebourg, “Im Anfang war das Reformationsjubiläum: Eine kurze Geschichte von Reformationsfeiern und Lutherbildern,” *Die Politische Meinung*, no. 4 (2016): 20.

In this chapter, I argue that music and other media framed the Lutheran celebrations of 1617 in three significant ways. First, music augmented the Protestant rulers' authority by providing a lineage that could be traced back to an *ur-past*, the mythological origins of Protestant beliefs.³ Second, music differed from other media in the formation of both cultural memory and a dogmatic and dynastic identity by offering a form of what I call “positive identification,” as opposed to othering. I understand othering as an action or constellation of actions that marks groups or individuals as not belonging and as inferior.⁴ Participation in music-making, however, facilitates belonging to a sociocultural field and thus shapes identities; unlike print media, performed music can do so without actively specifying (imagined) dialog partners as other through stereotyping, mocking, or pejoration.⁵ Music, in its participatory and bodily nature, not only shaped cultural memory but also created a bridge between communicative and cultural memory, as distinguished by Jan Assmann. Third, the intermediality of visual and sonic media led to efficacy in all three

³ For more information on the changing historiography resulting from the reformation jubilee, see Johannes Burckhardt, “Reformations- und Lutherfeiern: Die Verbürgerlichung der reformatorischen Jubiläumskultur,” in *Öffentliche Festkultur: Politische Feste in Deutschland von der Aufklärung bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg*, ed. Dieter Düding, Peter Friedemann and Paul Münch, Rowohlt Enzyklopädie Kulturen und Ideen 462 (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1988), 227.

⁴ Gayatri C. Spivak was the first to theorize othering as a systematic concept in 1985. However, the notion of othering was used before her, e.g., by Simone de Beauvoir in gender studies, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel in philosophy, Edward Said in postcolonial studies, and Jacques Lacan in psychoanalysis. According to Spivak's analysis, othering constitutes of three dimensions all of which produce the other in a negative way: as subordinate, inferior, and lacking knowledge. Othering does not exist in a vacuum; by nature, othering functions intersectionally. For instance, class, race, gender, and (especially in the case here) religion are interlocking. Scholars, such as Andre Gingrich, have argued that othering is a binary concept, which would be diametrically opposed to the fluid concept of identity that allows for in-betweens, and which is the action done by a “powerful majority.” As the examples in this dissertation show, neither the Catholics nor the Protestants represent this powerful majority. Rather, all groups have agency; they are not a pair of active subjects and passive objects. This becomes apparent in the resistance of the oppositional agency. For a short history and problematization of the term othering see Sune Jensen, “Othering, Identity Formation and Agency,” *Qualitative Studies* 2, no. 2 (2011): 64–66. For more information, see Gayatri C. Spivak, “The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives,” *History and Theory* 24, no. 3 (1985); Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Vintage Books, 2011), translated by Constance Borde and Sheila Malovany-Chevallier; with an introduction by Judith Thurman; Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (Frankfurt am Main: Ullstein, 1970), Mit e. Nachw. von Georg Lukács; Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

⁵ For examples of othering in food-related talk, see Marta Wilczek-Watson, “Oh God, That's an Ugly Looking Fish—Negotiating Sociocultural Distance in Transnational Families through Culinary Othering,” *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 22, no. 5 (2018).

medial dimensions of memory—material, social, and mental, as established by Astrid Erll.⁶ In this way, different media complemented each other through their opposing approaches—positive identification and othering as well as communicative and cultural memory—creating a shared collective identity.

This chapter is built around historical background, followed by three case studies. The first section deals with the history of the jubilee. Then, I will introduce the theories permeating this chapter: confessionalization as the entanglement of the confessions with the politics and society, and Hannah Arendt's understanding of authority as obedience without the use of external means of coercion. The first of the three case studies emphasizes intermediality and the building of a foundational myth through the analysis of broadsheets and coins. The second case study uses a broadsheet as well as music from the jubilee to help us to gain insight into othering and positive identification. In the third case study, we will encounter congregational singing as a ritual and its impact on identity formation. Lastly, I present an excerpt of a preface by Michael Praetorius, possibly a composer for the jubilee, whose words retrospectively summarize my findings of this chapter.

Jubilees and Their Historical Context

With the centenary of the Reformation, an additional meaning of the term “jubilee” was established. The original meaning stems from the Latin Church's jubilee or holy year. In 1300, Pope Boniface VIII proclaimed the first jubilee year, a *jubileus annus*, and institutionalized a year-long celebration every one hundred years.⁷ This jubilee followed the

⁶ Erll, “Medium des kollektiven Gedächtnisses,” 4.

⁷ Pope Boniface VIII proclaimed the holy year an “annus requietionis gaudii, leticie, remissionis” (year of tranquility, merriment, happiness, and absolution). Other usual terms for the Latin-Christian jubilee year are Holy Year or Golden Year. Irmgard Scheitler, “Lutherus redivivus: Das Reformationsjubiläum 1617: Mit einem Ausblick auf das Jubiläum 1717,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, no. 55 (2016): 174.

examples of jubilee years mentioned in the Old Testament (Lev 25:8–54; Lev 27:17–24; Num 36:4), in which slaves and prisoners were freed and debts abated. This relief was transferred to contemporary Christians, who could receive plenary indulgences when they went to confession and on a pilgrimage to Rome; hence, indulgences were the bedrock of the Latin-Christian jubilee.⁸ From 1300 to 1475, the intervals between such jubilees were reduced multiple times; first, they were celebrated every hundred, then fifty, then thirty-three, and eventually, starting in 1475, every twenty-five years. Additionally, the pope could proclaim extraordinary jubilees to celebrate current occasions, such as the beginning of each papacy or political victories.⁹ These extraordinary jubilees were regarded as lower-ranking and were sometimes confined to certain areas, and the entire celebration usually lasted for only fifteen days, not a whole jubilee year. Moreover, the indulgences of an extraordinary jubilee were not necessarily plenary ones but only valid for a specified period.¹⁰ Starting in the sixteenth century, the extraordinary jubilees and their indulgences were standardized. Contrary to the practices of the Middle Ages, indulgences were no longer sold or given out to individuals who participated in crusades, but they could be acquired during the jubilee through group prayer against the common enemy (the Turks, the Protestants) and through repentance.¹¹

In 1617, the term jubilee was first used by the Protestant Churches and, in so doing, it was reassigned to a Protestant usage, more precisely, to a celebration of a recurring

⁸ Before the semantic change/addition of the term jubilee in 1617, the indulgence was regarded as the actual jubilee. Iris Loosen, “Die ‘universalen Jubiläen’ unter Papst Paul V.” in *Das historische Jubiläum: Genese, Ordnungsleistung und Inszenierungsgeschichte eines institutionellen Mechanismus*, ed. Winfried Müller et al. (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2003), 121.

⁹ “Lower-ranking” extraordinary jubilee years were especially celebrated during the sixteenth century. These were grounded in contemporary events, e.g., 1518 was named a jubilee in order to strengthen the Catholics in the Ottoman-Habsburg Wars. Ibid., 119, 125, 128.

¹⁰ Ibid., 118.

¹¹ Ibid., 126.

specific date—namely, October 31, 1517, the date on which Luther's posting of the Theses was believed to have taken place.¹² The Protestant jubilee did not celebrate the length of a quarter-century, a biblical reference, or a current occasion;¹³ Lutherans and Calvinists foregrounded a past event, and, hence, the jubilee of 1617 can be understood as the first jubilee in the modern sense of the word as a special anniversary.¹⁴ Of course, the concept of anniversaries—the annual remembering of a specific date—was not new in 1617, with the Jewish holiday Passover leading the way. In its typology of celebrations, a jubilee like the centenary of the Reformation was akin to the celebration of Passover as it commemorated the Exodus from Egypt, except that, notably, jubilees were celebrated only every decade or century, rather than annually.¹⁵

In 1617, the three biggest Christian confessions—the Lutherans, Calvinists, and surprisingly the Catholics—celebrated for a confined period of about two weeks. Pope Paul V announced the Catholic jubilee in a papal bull on June 12, 1617, circa two months after the Protestant Churches launched theirs, probably as a reaction to the Protestant jubilee.¹⁶

¹² In their article “Sources for and against the Posting of the Ninety-Five Theses,” Volker Leppin and Timothy Wengert cover the debate over whether the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses was a historical event. Volker Leppin and Timothy J. Wengert, “Sources for and against the Posting of the Ninety-Five Theses,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (2015).

¹³ Scheitler, “Lutherus redivivus,” 174.

¹⁴ Wolfgang Flügel, *Konfession und Jubiläum: Zur Institutionalisierung der lutherischen Gedenkkultur in Sachsen 1617–1830*, Schriften zur sächsischen Geschichte und Volkskunde 14 (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2005), Zugl.: Dresden, Technische Universität, Dissertation, 2004–2005, 25.

¹⁵ Volker Leppin, “... das der Römische Antichrist offenbaret und das helle Liecht des Heiligen Evangelii wiederumb angezündet”: *Memoria und Aggression im Reformationsjubiläum 1617*, in *Konfessioneller Fundamentalismus: Religion als politischer Faktor im europäischen Mächtesystem um 1600*, ed. Elisabeth Müller-Luckner and Heinz Schilling, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs 70 (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2007), 120.

In German, the distinction between anniversaries and jubilees becomes apparent within the context of the contemporary use of the terms: a jubilee is only celebrated “alle Jubeljahre” which means when translated in a figurative way “rarely,” an anniversary every year.

¹⁶ *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum Taurinensis editio: locupletior facta collectione novissima plurium brevium, epistolarum, decretorum actorumque S. Sedis a S. Leone Magno usque ad praesens / 12: A Paulo V (ab an. MDCXI) ad Gregorium XV (MDCXXIII) (Augustae Taurinorum: Franco et Dalmazzo, 1867)*, <http://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV014688504/ft/bsb10506540?page=430>, accessed July 19, 2019, 392–95.

It is interesting to note that many dioceses observed it at the same time as the Lutherans and Calvinists.¹⁷ The indulgence that came along with the Catholic jubilee must have been a paradox and a provocation for the Protestant Churches.

The centenary of the Reformation was not the first “historical jubilee” that was celebrated—we can think of the hundredth anniversaries of the universities in Wittenberg, Heidelberg, and Leipzig.¹⁸ However, the Calvinists and Lutherans used the term jubilee for the first time in the context of an anniversary.¹⁹ Moreover, it was also the first anniversary of the past that was commemorated transregionally. Although Luther’s person was celebrated (e.g., his birthday) before 1617, the centenary was the first occasion for those outside Luther’s private circle to celebrate the posting of the Theses.²⁰ Among his friends, Luther himself recalled the tenth anniversary of the posting of the Theses on October 31, 1527. On November 1, 1527, he signed a letter to Nicolaus von Amsdorff as follows:

Wittenberg, All Saints’ Day, ten years after trampling down the indulgences, in remembrance of which we drink fully comforted.²¹

Today, the posting of the Theses is a common trope. In 1617, this image was new; it was introduced as an invented tradition, meaning it was a new practice that was being

¹⁷ Thomas A. Howard, *Remembering the Reformation: An Inquiry into the Meanings of Protestantism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 15–16; Flügel, *Konfession und Jubiläum*, 78.

¹⁸ The university anniversaries, however, did not have a transregional character as did the centenary of the Reformation. Flügel, *Konfession und Jubiläum*, 29–33.

¹⁹ The term “Jubiläum” was used for the first time in the Württembergian announcement of the Protestant jubilee dated October 18, 1617. *Ibid.*, 53–54.

²⁰ Regular annual commemorations of the Reformation—not the posting of the Theses—were introduced in the late sixteenth century in the cities of Hamburg, Lübeck, and Braunschweig. These celebrations did not take place in October, but on Trinity Sunday (Hamburg and Lübeck) or on the first Sunday of September (Braunschweig). Other commemorations focused on Luther’s birth, baptism, or his passing. Howard, *Remembering the Reformation*, 12.

²¹ “Witenbergae die omnium Sanctorum, anno decimo Indulgentiarum conculcatarum, quarum memoria hac hora bibimus utrinque consolati, anno MDXXVII.” Martin Luther and Leberecht de Wette, Wilhelm Martin, *Dr. Martin Luthers Briefe, Sendschreiben und Bedenken: Vollständig aus den verschiedenen Ausgaben seiner Werke und Briefe, aus andern Büchern und noch unbenutzten Handschriften gesammelt* 3 (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1827), 217. See also Flügel, *Konfession und Jubiläum*, 26–27.

presented as if it were a pre-existing tradition.²² In 1717, there was no debate as to whether the Protestant jubilee should be celebrated. Already in 1657, John George I of Saxony had decreed that Reformation Day ought to be observed annually, which led to an anniversary, to a jubilee that took place every several years, and greater historical consciousness among the Christian confessions.²³

In 1617, secular sovereigns acting as *summi episcopi*, not leaders of the Protestant Church, proclaimed the Protestant jubilee. The Elector Palatinate of the Rhine, Frederick V, initiated the Protestant jubilee by proposing a commemorative event to the members of the Protestant Union on April 11, 1617.²⁴ At about the same time, on April 22, 1617, the Theologian faculty of the University of Wittenberg suggested a Protestant jubilee to the Saxon elector John George I. The elector adopted the suggestion and addressed the University of Leipzig in a letter of support.²⁵

Furthermore, John George I and the consistory extended the university celebration over all of Saxony and encouraged the other subscribers of the Formula of Concord, the

²² Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, "Sächsische Jubelfreude," in *Die Lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland: wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte*, ed. Hans-Christoph Rublack, *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* Nr. 197 (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1992), 464. For more information on the concept of tradition, see Eric J. Hobsbawm, ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); translated by Terence O. Ranger.

²³ For more information on Reformation anniversaries in the seventeenth century, see Howard, *Remembering the Reformation*, 24 and Burckhardt, "Reformations- und Lutherfeiern," 230.

²⁴ One day later, on April 12, 1617, the Protestant union agreed they wanted to emphasize the unity of the Protestant Churches. On April 23, they decided to thank and pray in remembrance of Luther's posting of the Theses. Howard, *Remembering the Reformation*, 13–14.

²⁵ Johann Jacob Vogel, *Leipzigisches Geschicht-Buch, Oder Annales: Das ist: Jahr- und Tage-Bücher Der Weltberühmten Königl. und Churfürstl. Sächsischen Kauff- und Handels-Stadt Leipzig In welchen die meisten merckwürdigsten Geschichte und geschehene Veränderungen, die in und bey belobter Stadt und Gegend, beydes in Geistl. als Weltlichen Sachen, sowohl in Friedens- als Krieges-Zeiten, von Anno 661. nach Christi Geburth an, bis auf die neuesten Zeiten, von Tage zu Tage sich begeben haben, enthalten sind* (Leipzig: Lanckisch, 1714), accessed March 23, 2020, <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10003662-7>, 358–59.

authoritative statement of the Lutheran faith, to follow suit.²⁶ By extending the invitation only to the subscribers, John George I made clear that he rejected the Calvinist confession and that he wanted to establish himself as the protector of Lutheranism.²⁷ Moreover, by so doing, he had an enemy at hand that was not the Catholic Church. The elector had an interest in creating a non-Catholic bogeyman in order to keep his good relationship with the Catholic Habsburgs that had been in place since the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and had resulted in generations of cordial relations between Dresden and Vienna. In the elector's view, the Calvinists lent themselves to serving the role of the bogeyman. What is most relevant for current purposes is that the Lutheran centenary of the Reformation in 1617 represents the first major transregionally observed jubilee, reframing the Catholic understanding of a jubilee, excluding the Calvinist confession, and reaching an immense number of believers.

Reasons for the Jubilees of 1617

The three big confessions had similar reasons for celebrating 1617: One reason to propitiate and venerate God was the imminent Apocalypse that was frequently predicted

²⁶ The Saxon court widely disseminated directives that gave instruction on how to celebrate the centenary of the Reformation. Matthias Hoë von Hoënnegg, *Parasceve ad solennitatem iubilaeam evangelicam: d.i. christl. und aus Wort Gottes gewonnene Anleitung, wie das instehende evangelische Jubelfest ... nützlich solle begangen und betrachtet werden* (Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, 1617), accessed April 8, 2018, <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10524654-1>; Johann Georg I, *Instruction und Ordnung nach welcher In Unsern von Gottes Gnaden Johannes Georgen/ Hertzogen zu Sachsen ... Churfürstenthumb und Landen/ das instehende Evangelische Jubelfest solle gehalten werden: Theologorum quorundam in Electoratu Saxoniae Epistola Invitatoria: ad universos Dominos Theologos, & Ecclesiarum Evangelicarum Ministros, tum in Incluta Germania, tum aliis quoque in Regnis & Provinciis, de Iubilaeo Lutherano, circa finem Octobr. & initium Novembris, solenniter celebrando, amice scripta*, with the assistance of Vincentius Schmuck et al. (Lipsiae: Abraham Lamberg; Kaspar Klosemann, 1617), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt - Sammlung Ponickau: Pon Vg 6589; VD17: 23:246067T, accessed March 9, 2021, <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-40674>; Vogel, *Leipzigisches Geschicht-Buch, Oder Annales*, 363.

²⁷ Rainer Florie, "Jubeln oder Weinen? Adam Contzen SJ und das Reformationsjubiläum von 1617," *Theologie und Philosophie* 91, no. 4 (2016): 557.

for the seventeenth century.²⁸ Then, the heads of the churches wanted to attain, first, greater legitimization of the (territorial) churches and the expansion thereof, second, a higher degree of confessionalization, and, third, a stronger identity formation.²⁹ All these reasons were intertwined and correlated. I classify legitimization under the category of authority à la Hannah Arendt, where authority involves obedience without the use of external means of coercion or argumentation.³⁰ Both the secular sovereigns and the pope were invested in expanding and strengthening their authority. The Catholic Church was interested in regaining believers lost to Protestantism, the Elector of Saxony in corroborating the leading role of the Lutheran Church within Protestantism, and the Elector Palatinate of the Rhine in unifying the Protestant Churches and thereby bolstering the Calvinist stance. Ultimately, none of these was mutually reconcilable. As secular powers, the Protestant electors emphasized their independence and their disengagement from the dictation of the pope by proclaiming their jubilee.³¹

In Arendt's essay "What Is Authority?", the Eternal City, Rome, forms the pivotal point in her thesis. For Arendt, the authority of the Roman Senate rests on the mystified

²⁸ Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, eds., *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: War, Famine, Disease, and Gospel in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

²⁹ Historians, such as Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, theorized the process of confessionalization in the second half of the twentieth century. A part of confessionalization is the intermeshing of church and state: the formation of the individual denominations does not happen demarcated but in close relationship with societal developments. For example, in the case of Saxony and the Palatinate in 1617, the jubilees were initiated, supported, and planned by the electors and universities, not the church leaders, which in turn leads us back to Arendt's understanding of authority. Scott Dixon describes the state as behaving quasi-ecclesiastically, as interpreter and defender of the faith. Wolfgang Reinhard, "Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 10, no. 3 (1983); Heinz Schilling, "Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich: Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620," *Historische Zeitschrift* 246 (1988); C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation in Germany*, Historical Association Studies (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 145.

For more information on the 1617 jubilee as legitimization of the territorial churches and the confessional state, see Charles Zika, *Exorcising our Demons: Magic, Witchcraft and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought XCI (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 235–36.

³⁰ Hannah Arendt, "Was ist Autorität?," *Der Monat*, 1956, 159.

³¹ Wolfgang Herbst, "Das religiöse und das politische Gewissen: Bemerkungen zu den Festpredigten anlässlich der Einhundertjahrfeier der Reformation im Kurfürstentum Sachsen," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 18 (1996): 36.

foundation of Rome, always relies on the past, and is upheld by conserving the past and passing it on. Through a direct line of tradition leading back to the holy foundation, the present gains its legitimacy and, hence, its authority.³² Regardless of whether Arendt's theory is persuasive in all respects or entirely correct, I think it helps to understand what happened in 1617 (and in 1618) in all three confessions.

In a Protestant context, Luther's posting of the Theses can be understood as an analogy to the foundation of Rome, the difference being, of course, that Luther did not have a foundation but a reformation in mind. Andreas Holzem, however, argues that Protestantism needed a historical breaking point from the Latin Church for its conception as the true confession.³³ In 1617, the mythical originary act of the posting of the Theses was presented as a breaking point, which established the Protestant foundational myth. Luther (together with Philipp Melanchthon and the Elector of Saxony of 1517, Frederick III) stood for the *ur*-authority of Protestantism.³⁴ With the jubilee, the public perception of the Reformation shifted from one perceived as remodeling to one that was deemed foundational.

The Protestant jubilee of 1617 celebrated the ties to this remote and mythical past. This commemoration does not highlight the reforming thoughts of Luther's Theses but rather, as Georg Zeaemann put it, highlights "Luther as founder and benefactor of the

³² Julia Schultze Wessel, "Über Autorität," in *Die Deutungsmacht der Verfassungsgerichtsbarkeit*, ed. Hans Vorländer, 1st ed., Verfassung und Politik (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006), 65.

³³ Andreas Holzem, "Wie 'falsch Luthers unnd seinen anhangs Meynung sei...' Devianzproduktion in der katholischen Predigt über Martin Luther," in *Gottlosigkeit und Eigensinn: Religiöse Devianz im konfessionellen Zeitalter*, ed. Eric Piltz and Gerd Schwerhoff, Zeitschrift für historische Forschung. Beiheft 51 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2015), 89.

³⁴ This line of tradition is also shown in Hans Troschel's broadsheet of 1617 and in coins which will be discussed later. Hans Troschel, *Christo Soteri Veritatis Vindici: Lvcis Evangelicæ Restitvtori, Tenebrarum depulsori, Euergetæ Suo Opt Ter Max. Ecclesia per Germanicas restaurata laudes perennes grata exsolut, et posteris hoc beneficium exoptat perpetuum Anno Sæcul. M.D.CXVII. / H Tröschel Sculp: in Nürnberg* (Nürnberg, [1617]), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: Cod. Guelf. 38.25 Aug. 2°, fol. 304, accessed March 23, 2020, <http://digilib.hab.de/drucke/38-25-aug-2f-304r/start.htm?image=00001>.

[Protestant] belief.”³⁵ Zeaemann was a Lutheran pastor in the Free Imperial City of Kempten in Swabia from 1617 to 1628. The electors of Saxony and the Palatinate sanctified and transmitted the Protestant past through this jubilee—each of them in their own way. They gave birth to a tradition; more precisely, they invented the tradition of the founder Luther and his successors, all of whom carry authority. In Saxony, the line of the tradition started with Luther, continued with Melanchthon to the elector Frederick III, who supported the Reformation, and culminated in 1617 with John George I, who conducted the Lutheran jubilee. The Calvinists were strictly excluded from this sanctified tradition.³⁶ In the Palatinate, the sovereign might have seen Luther as one pivotal figure among the great numbers of Reformers who led to the Calvinist belief system whose centenary could be extended to include John Calvin’s followers.

It is not entirely clear whether the Catholic jubilee of 1617 was originally tied to a historical event. The papal bull announcing the Catholic extraordinary jubilee mentions neither the past nor tradition but rather the fight against the devil:

Behold, the hardship overtook us, the attempt of the devil was getting at us:
The fear of God’s anger, therefore, holds rightly against us.³⁷

³⁵ “Luther als Anfänger und Stifter [des protestantischen] Glaubens.” Georg Zeaemann, *Drey Evangelische Jubel- und Danckpredigen: [...] gehalten in der Pfarrkirche der Re却s Statt Kempten den 31. Oct., 2. u. 6. Nov. 1617* (Kempten: Christoff Krausen, 1618), accessed March 17, 2019, <https://books.google.de/books?id=Fp1CAAAcAAJ>, 5. See also Charles Zika, “The Reformation Jubilee of 1617: Appropriating the Past Through Centenary Celebrations,” in *Authorized Pasts: Essays in Official History*, ed. D. E. Kennedy, Melbourne University History Monograph 21 (Parkville, Victoria: University of Melbourne, History Department, 1995), 91.

³⁶ According to Arendt, the Catholic Church reiterated the founding of the city of Rome in their own foundation. This is the reason why the Roman trinity of religion, authority, and tradition could be taken over into the Christian era, which resulted in continuance. Arendt, “Was ist Autorität?,” 189–90.

³⁷ “Ecce tribulationes apprehenderunt nos, diaboli tentamenti grassantur in nobis: quapropter merito nos tenet timor divinae irae.” *Bullarum diplomatum et privilegiorum sanctorum Romanorum pontificum Taurinensis editio: locupletior facta collectione novissima plurium brevium, epistolarum, decretorum actorumque S. Sedis a S. Leone Magno usque ad praesens / 12: A Paulo V (ab an. MDCXI) ad Gregorium XV (MDCXXIII)*, 392.

According to Iris Loosen, the extraordinary jubilee of 1617 was not necessarily a reaction to the Protestant jubilee, since the Catholic publications that polemicize against the Protestant jubilee counterposed the Protestant “pseudo jubilee” against the regularly scheduled *jubileus annus* in Rome and not with an extraordinary jubilee.³⁸ However, a report of the Catholic jubilee from Mainz, published in 1618, seems to suggest that the jubilee of 1617 was a counterreaction. The report includes an entire chapter devoted to the history of the jubilee and the indulgence, which suggests that the Catholic jubilee is *the* jubilee, with a long tradition, and hence the only valid one.³⁹ With this extraordinary jubilee, the Catholic Church called attention to its long history and its authority. Regardless of whether the extraordinary jubilee was meant as a counterreaction to the Protestants commemorating Luther, the Catholics offered their belated response in the form of various publications in 1618, which I discuss in Chapter 2.

This hunt for authority is equivalent to the parallel processes of building the confessions (*Konfessionsbildung*)—the second reason I give for the jubilee. The concept of confessionalization is understood as the intertwined development of the different confessions within the political landscape and society during the timeframe from the Reformation until the Thirty Years’ War. Confessionalization is closely related to identity formation since it created the unity and exclusiveness of Christian confessions by a variety

³⁸ Loosen, “Die ‘universalen Jubiläen’ unter Papst Paul V.” 135–36. Loosen refers to Andreas Forner, *Jubileus quintevangelicus, utriusque Confessionis Augustanae: tam veteris Lutheropuritanae quam recentioris, ut vocant, Lutherο-Calvininae, Geminis Coloribus & lineamentis expressus & illustratus: Ac Norimbergensis verbi ministris inscriptus* (Ingolstadt, 1618) and to Adam Contzen, *Jubilum Jubilorum Jubilaemum Evangelicorum et piae lacrymae omnium Romano-Catholicorum ad Imperatorem Aug., Reges, Principes, Respublicas, Populos pangente & plangente R. P Adamo Contzen, Societatis Jesu Theologo & SS. Litterarum in Archie- piscopali Academia Moguntina Professore Ordinario.: Cum Gratia & privilegio S. Caes. Maiest.* (Mogvntia [Mainz]: Joannus Albinus, 1618 (MDCXIX [!])), accessed July 24, 2019, <https://books.google.com/books?id=tzdSAAAACAAJ>.

³⁹ *Außschreiben Und Verkündigung: des von der Bäpstlichen Heiligkeit zu Rom/ H. Paulo dem fünfften dieses Namens/ erlangten Jubel-Jahrs* (Meyntz, 1617), Forschungsbibliothek Gotha: Th 8° 2673 (2), accessed October 7, 2020, <https://discovery.uni-erfurt.de/id{colon}09208883X>, 2.

of means, for instance, by the construction of ideology, confessional propaganda, education, discipline, rituals, and language.⁴⁰

In his theory of confessionalization, historian Wolfgang Reinhard refers neither to jubilees nor to music in general.⁴¹ Others since Reinhard, Tanya Kevorkian and Hartmut Lehmann to name a couple, refer to the importance of music to confessionalization and the gap of knowledge in this field of study.⁴² I argue that the jubilees, especially in connection to the music performed at the celebrations, functioned as exemplary for all the means that led to confessionalization. To stick to the Catholic example of the jubilee, we find all the above-mentioned means in the report from Mainz. The report includes old concepts, new norms, as well as propaganda, and it offers a historiography of the jubilee and the jubilee's configuration in 1617. The report also educated Catholic believers, disciplining them by warning them of consequences if they did not follow Catholicism and including rites such as the sacrament of penance.⁴³

To give a first glimpse of music's impact on confessionalization, I refer to Paul Connerton's understanding of music inscribed in the memory of the body. Music is not only part of the commemorative rite with its habits and formalizations, but it also feeds into bodily automatism and thus bodily memory. Connerton understands body memory as an essential aspect of cultural memory—and as “a measure of insurance against the process of

⁴⁰ Reinhard, “Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung?,” 263; R. Po-chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750*, Christianity and Society in the Modern World (London: Routledge, 1989), 3.

⁴¹ Reinhard refers to the genre of folk song and its propagandistic effect. Reinhard, “Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung?,” 264.

⁴² Tanya Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig, 1650–1750* (Burlington, Hampshire: Routledge, 2007), 4; Hartmut Lehmann, “Zur Bedeutung von Religion und Religiosität im Barockzeitalter,” in *Religion und Religiosität im Zeitalter des Barock*, ed. Dieter Breuer and Barbara Becker-Cantarino, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 25 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 21–22.

⁴³ *Außschreiben Und Verkündigung*.

cumulative questioning entailed in all discursive practices.”⁴⁴ Thus, by supporting cultural memory, music could promote confessionalization. Music was used as an educational and a disciplining tool, harkening back to “old” well-known tunes, and it potentially included propagandistic texts and could offer a synopsis of stories, be they biblical or historical.

Confessionalization takes effect in an interplay with identity formation—the third reason for the jubilee in 1617—since establishing a confessional identity is part of confessionalization. I contend that the approach to strengthening a confessional identity in 1617 was similar to the approach the Reformers took in the first half of the sixteenth century. The Reformers recognized that it was important to create “a strong identity capable of sustaining itself” and that it was necessary to replace previous forms of belonging.⁴⁵ In the sixteenth century, this happened by destroying old cults, purging signs of Catholic belief, and implementing new habits adapted from Catholicism.⁴⁶ In the seventeenth century, the approach of the Protestant Churches changed in degree, and media served as evidence. Some media that made up the jubilee can be categorized as forms of othering, some implemented a new rite, and some taught about the coalescing Protestant belief systems. However, as Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers have suggested, the challenge was that the new belief systems had to be perceived as old, since “early modern people believed things to be true or legitimate only if they could also be proven to be old.”⁴⁷ This belief played into the Catholics’ hands with their long history. In short, in order to strengthen confessional identity, individuals needed to be able to connect to a meaningful

⁴⁴ For the sake of consistency, I use the term “cultural memory” instead of Connerton’s “social memory.” Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 102.

⁴⁵ Cavarzere, “A Comparative Method for Sixteenth-Century Polemicists,” 386.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 386–87.

⁴⁷ Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, “Introduction: On the Early Modernity of Modern Memory,” in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Erika Kuijpers et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 6.

and shared past, regardless of the confession. They needed to have a shared cultural memory and feel a sense of belonging.⁴⁸ Music could serve as the connector both among congregation members and to a shared past.

Having attended to the reasons for celebrating the jubilees in 1617—legitimation, confessionalization, and identity formation—we now turn to the jubilees as they were observed in Dresden and Nuremberg, and to music's role in them in these two cities.

Listening, Sounding, and Singing during the Jubilee

In the following sections, I give an overview of the Lutheran jubilee celebration in Dresden and Nuremberg. These two cities give a comprehensive image of the jubilee. Dresden was a Lutheran stronghold and the seat of the Saxon Electorate where the Reformation originated, and Nuremberg was a Free Imperial City where the emperor granted privileges to the Protestants.

Three case studies follow a historical overview and they revolve around the Dresden and Nuremberg jubilees. In these case studies I first emphasize how the different types of media—here music, broadsheets, and medals—were intertwined and referred to each other but also how they functioned in different ways. Broadsheets used polemics, medals used symbols, and music referred back to the past and established a sense of sociality. The first case study covers the interplay of music and broadsheets; these two types of media brimmed with intermediality and took effect as *lieux de mémoire*.

I then focus on how othering and “positive identification” aided identity formation. On the one hand, in the case of the confessional era, the different confessions compared themselves with each other. They put themselves in antithetical oppositions, using othering

⁴⁸ Pollmann and Kuijpers, “Introduction,” 17.

as a tool for social consolidation, especially in media that could transmit a certain depth of information, such as sermons, theater plays, broadsheets, or pamphlets.⁴⁹ Many of these media functioned by way of antithetical opposition and polemical distinction. The Catholics were subject to these forms of intersectional othering, which were not only related to confession but also to urbanity, educational status, or morality. The authors made use of othering by showing what they were *not*: they were not the pope, not the Antichrist, and they did not sell indulgences. Put differently, the authors practiced a form of apophatic (or negative) theology. (In Chapter 2, we will encounter how the Catholics themselves reacted with othering to the othering they were subject to.)

On the other hand, we also find what I call “positive identification.” The different confessions created images of themselves. Through print media, they communicated the values and ideals they followed. Through the media of communal singing, they presented themselves as a community with certain values and ideals.⁵⁰ In other words, in 1617, positive identification meant showing *who*—in the example of Dresden—the Lutherans were without using othering or dissociation. This is closely related to cataphatic theology. Moreover, music, especially in the form of ritualistic and habitual congregational singing, contributed to cultural and confessional identity due to its efficacy in creating cultural memory.⁵¹

Lastly, my focus shifts to the meaning of congregational singing as a form of active participation that connects on a deeper level than music that is *only* experienced through

⁴⁹ E.g., Heinrich Kielmann (1581–1649) produced the comedy *Tetzelocramia. Eine lustige Comoedie/ von Johann Tetzels Ablasskram* for the *Gymnasium* in Stettin where he was co-rector. Martin Rinckart wrote *Der Eisslebnische Christliche Ritter* for the *Gymnasium* in Eisenach. Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation*, 105.

⁵⁰ A community of this kind is reminiscent of Popper’s closed society. Karl R. Popper, Alan Ryan and Ernst H. Gombrich, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), 237–41.

⁵¹ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 2–5.

active and passive listening. Congregational singing, when considered with recourse to bodily memory, ought to have a strong influence on commemoration, memory, and identity formation. For the Lutheran jubilee, singing, through its positive identification and its reference to an *ur-past*, functioned differently than most other media, such as sermons, broadsheets, or pamphlets, that acted on the basis of othering by constructing the subjected group as inferior.

The discussions of the celebrations in Dresden and Nuremberg end with Michael Praetorius, who theorized the elements of good governance, which mirror the approach we find in the Lutheran jubilee. Praetorius's take on good governance can be applied to the theory of confessionalization with its simultaneous development of Church, state, and society.

Saxony, particularly Dresden, spearheaded the observation of the Lutheran jubilee.⁵² The Elector of Saxony and the consistory strategically planned the celebration, and disseminated printed information and sermon texts to parishes in Saxony and other Lutheran regions prior to the event.⁵³ Distributing the news and regulations about the centenary was a successful endeavor. Many Lutheran congregations followed Dresden's course of action and celebrated the jubilee for an extended weekend in the fall of 1617. This means that both the Dresden nobility and burghers as well as Saxony's farmers and peasants in their parishes were involved in the jubilee in a comparable fashion. Thanks to

⁵² This chapter will not further touch upon the Calvinist jubilee, since it was reduced to a mere one-day celebration on November 2, 1617, which put the historical commemoration of Luther's posting of the Theses in the background. Thomas Kaufmann, "Reformationsgedenken in der frühen Neuzeit: Bemerkungen zum 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert: Johannes Wallmann zum 80. Geburtstag," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 107, no. 3 (2010): 299.

⁵³ Members of the consistory were Dresden court preacher Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, Vincentius Schmuck and Polycarp Leyser, both court preachers in Leipzig; Christoph Wallpurger and Heinrich Höpffner, both professors at the University of Leipzig; Egidius Strauch, superintendent in Dresden; Friedrich Balduin, professor at the University of Wittenberg and superintendent; Wolfgang Frantze, Balthasar Meißner, and Nicolaus Hunnius, all professors at the University of Wittenberg. Vogel, *Leipzigisches Geschicht-Buch, Oder Annales*, 363.

the published compendium of elector John George I and court preacher Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, as well as a subsequent report of the festivities by Hoë von Hoënegg, we have an idea of what the celebration in Dresden and elsewhere in the Saxon territories might have looked like, including the music performed during the Masses.⁵⁴ Although Hoë von Hoënegg does not give the specific settings of pieces performed, he gives the titles of the hymns or psalm settings and some instrumentations. For subsequent celebrations of the Reformation Day, many new pieces were composed for October 31, including J.S. Bach's church cantatas *Gott der Herr ist Sonn und Schild* (God the Lord is sun and shield, BWV 79) and *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* (A mighty fortress is our God, BWV 80). In general, the course of events in Dresden jubilee celebration reads as follows:⁵⁵

Table 1.1. Jubilee celebration in Dresden 1617, course of events.

Sunday, October 26, 1617	Sunday Mass	Announcement of the jubilee celebration during Mass
Thursday, October 30, 1617	Vespers	Obligatory confession for the parishioners
Friday, October 31, 1617	1st feast day	Peal of bells, cannon shots, two
Saturday, November 1, 1617	2nd feast day	sermons, thanksgiving prayers,
Sunday, November 2, 1617	3rd feast day	congregational singing, florid music, instrumental music, Eucharist Mass

The Lutheran celebration of the centenary took place mostly within the church buildings. According to Hoë von Hoënegg's directive, the jubilee was to renounce

⁵⁴ Johann Georg I, *Instruction und Ordnung nach welcher In Unsern von Gottes Gnaden Johannes Georgen/ Hertzogen zu Sachsen ... Churfürstenthumb und Landen/ das instehende Evangelische Jubelfest solle gehalten werden*; Hoë von Hoënegg, *Parasceve ad solennitatem iubilaeam evangelicam*; Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *Chur Sächsische Evangelische JubelFrewde: In der Churfürstlichen Sächsischen SchloßKirchen zu Dreßden/ theils vor/ theils bey wehrendem/ angestalten Jubelfest/ neben andern Solenniteten, auch mit Christlichen Predigten ... gehalten* (Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, 1617). Hoë von Hoënegg's publications both printed in Leipzig, Saxony, are extant in about ten exemplars each, mostly in libraries in Bavaria, Thuringia, and Saxony-Anhalt.

⁵⁵ Adapted from Ruth Kastner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel: Form und Funktion der illustrierten Flugblätter zum Reformationsjubiläum 1617 in ihrem historischen und publizistischen Kontext*, Mikrokosmos 11 (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1982), 107.

“superficial pageantry, such as processions and parades with torches or the carrying of wooden idols and pilgrimages”—all elements of Catholic feasts.⁵⁶ However, there was a lot to hear, see, and touch outside of the church walls. There were coins, broadsheets, and goblets specifically produced for the jubilee—all tangible objects.⁵⁷ Furthermore, Hoë von Hoënnegg himself mentions sounds such as bells and volleys of gunfire, which announced the Holy Masses on each feast day. Unlike the effects of tangible objects, Dresden’s soundscape made sound accessible to the entire city population.⁵⁸ In the early modern period, a city soundscape functioned as a local newsroom and as a far-reaching information outlet that was also paradigmatic for the cross-fertilization of the secular and the sacred.⁵⁹ Music on a larger scale was performed by (semi-)professional musicians at the Dresden *Schlosskapelle*, which was open to Dresden’s nobility and also at other churches with a more diverse audience, such as the *Kreuzkirche*. Furthermore, Hoë von Hoënnegg urged the Lutherans to sing: “we want to celebrate this feast in spirit / we want to talk to each other about the Psalms / about songs of praise / about sacred songs: we want to sing and play for our Lord

⁵⁶ “auff eusserliche geprängt, etwa Processiones und Umbgäng mit Fackeln und mit Fahnen oder mit umbtragung höltzerner Götzen und Wallfahren.” Hoë von Hoënnegg, *Parasceve ad solennitatem iubilaeam evangelicam*, 3.

⁵⁷ For instance, Elector John George I commissioned goblets memorializing 1617 as gifts for his sons. See Flügel, *Konfession und Jubiläum*, 65. In some areas, e.g., in Nuremberg, Ulm, and their surrounding territories, commemorative medals were handed to children before or after Mass during the jubilee weekend. See Robert W. Scribner, “Incombustible Luther: The Image of the Reformer in Early Modern Germany,” *Past & Present*, no. 110 (1986): 56–57.

Howard, *Remembering the Reformation*, 17.

⁵⁸ R. Murray Schafer defines soundscape as an acoustic field of research in which compositions, radio programs, or an acoustic environment can be a soundscape. Jonathan Sterne specifies this definition: for him, soundscape is a social concept which describes the field of sound in a specific location or culture. For Steven Connor, soundscape is sound in liaison with a certain kind of relationship. For more information on Schafer’s, Sterne’s, and Connor’s definitions, see John M. Picker, “Soundscape(s): The Turning of a Word,” in *The Routledge Companion to Sound Studies*, ed. Michael Bull (Taylor & Francis, 2018).

⁵⁹ For scholarly publications on Renaissance soundscapes, their meaning and reach, see Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance* and Alexander J. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda: The Soundscapes of Counter-Reformation Bavaria*, The New Cultural History of Music (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

in our heart.”⁶⁰ Congregational singing was found in all Dresden parishes and active music-making in the home (*Hausmusik*) was part of the Lutheran everyday world. The ban on work during feast days most likely encouraged more music-making within the family circle. This could have led to a city soundscape filled with Lutheran hymns because glazed windows were not yet the norm for seventeenth-century commoners in cities, and music could reach the streets.⁶¹ Students who were making music in the streets, or *Turmbläser* (brass players playing from the church tower) who were playing cornettos, clarino trumpets, and trombones from the city towers, could also have contributed to this diverse urban jubilee soundscape (for the centenary of the *Confessio Augustana*, this is documented).⁶²

Inside and outside the church buildings, Dresden’s soundscape was planned by the elector and the consistory. During the jubilee, it exhibited signs of courtly representative ceremonial acts, such as the chiming of the church bells and the cannon fire. During the Holy Mass, concertos that included trumpets and timpani were performed. The soundscape of the centenary is reminiscent of a mainly secular event, namely the visit of the Holy Roman Emperor in August 1617.⁶³ These highly regulated courtly sonic symbols, precisely Dresden’s soundscape, gave good publicity to everyone within the city limits who could hear them.⁶⁴ Bells and gunfire reached more city burghers than did other media, such as

⁶⁰ “wir wollen in spiritu, im Geist dieses Fest begehen / wir wollen reden unter einander von Psalmen / von Lobgesängen / von geistlichen Liedern: Wir wollen singen und spielen dem Herrn in unserm Hertzen.” Hoë von Hoënegg, *Parasceve ad solennitatem iubilaeam evangelicam*, 3–4.

⁶¹ Andrew Langley, Geoff Brightling and Geoff Dann, *Medieval Life*, Eyewitness (London, Stuttgart: Dorling Kindersley; Klett, 2002), 16.

⁶² *Jubel-Fests Begägnüß*, 157. As cited in Ulrike Dorothea Hänisch, ‘*Confessio Augustana triumphans*’: Funktionen der Publizistik zum *Confessio Augustana*-Jubiläum 1630: *Zeitung, Flugblatt, Flugschrift*, Mikrokosmos 35 (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang, 1993), 86–87.

⁶³ Bettina Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 15.

⁶⁴ Flügel, *Konfession und Jubiläum*, 60–61.

broadsheets, sermons, notices, or music. Moreover, the news transmitted by the cannons and bells was of interest for all of the city dwellers—the bell ringing and the noise of the cannons announced sacred and secular feasts that, at times, were connected to the prohibition of work or the closure of the weekly market, which in turn also affected the city soundscape.⁶⁵ Thus, the soundscape that could be heard in 1617 made the population of Dresden aware of an upcoming special event, while other media, often only indirectly addressing the sense of hearing, expounded what was celebrated and commemorated. Dresden's soundscape reached burghers regardless of their earnings. But, as I will discuss next, whereas the city soundscape was free, printed media such as broadsheets were a commodity that only about half of the city population could afford.⁶⁶

Intermediality in Florid Music, Broadsheets, and Objects Celebrating the Lutheran Jubilee

Broadsheets on the topic of the centenary of the Reformation were quite numerous. In their seminal collected edition, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter*, Wolfgang Harms and his colleagues identified ten broadsheets that celebrated the Lutheran jubilee.⁶⁷ Through my analysis of a broadsheet and the corresponding performed music, I contend that, first, florid music and broadsheets functioned as objects that contain memory (à la the *lieux de mémoire*). Second, I argue that the intermediality of print culture and sounding music complemented forms of othering present in print media, such as broadsheets and sermons,

⁶⁵ Bernd Roeck, *Eine Stadt in Krieg und Frieden: Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsstadt Augsburg zwischen Kalenderstreit und Parität*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 37 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 380.

⁶⁶ For instance, an illustrated broadside cost the same as four pounds of bread, two pounds of roles, or one thin egg pancake. Rosseaux estimates these costs are for the City of Augsburg. Rosseaux, *Die Kipper und Wipper als publizistisches Ereignis (1620–1626)*, 427.

⁶⁷ Wolfgang Harms, Michael Schilling and Andreas Wang, eds., *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 2nd edition (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1997), 118–32.

with what I call positive identification present in collective music-making and listening. In the context of the jubilee in 1617, music as an ideal type or heuristic worked as a medium of positive identification because it offered the potential to imitate in both a music-technical and a metaphorical sense. Third, visual and sonic media took effect in all three medial dimensions of memory—material, social, and mental, as established by Astrid Erll—and thus played a part in contributing to cultures of remembrance and identity formation.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Erll, “Medium des kollektiven Gedächtnisses,” 4.



Figure 1.1. Hans Troschel, Christo Soteri, Nürnberg: [s.n.], [1617] (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: Cod. Guelf. 38.25 Aug. 2°, fol. 304). Licensed under CC BY-SA. In addition to depicting several Lutheran insignias, the broadsheet also depicts the Reformers Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon, and the former and the current Electors of Saxony Frederick III and John George I.

One of the most successful broadsheets was Hans Troschel's *Christo Soteri* (figure 1.1).⁶⁹ It was reprinted and copied at least six times around 1617, with slight variants, and disseminated throughout the German lands.⁷⁰ As a broadsheet printed in Nuremberg and showing a Saxon subject, it offers insight into intermediality and interregionality. On the broadsheet, Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon are depicted as the central figures. The former Elector of Saxony, Frederick III, who supported Luther, and the current elector, John George I, stand on his left and right, respectively. This broadsheet shows neither the 1517 nor the 1617 situation; in 1517, Luther had not yet met Melanchthon at his inaugural speech at the University of Wittenberg, and John George I was not yet born; in 1617, only John George I was still alive. Instead, the broadsheet depicts a tradition. John George I stands in the tradition of Frederick III, who was supportive of the Reformation and who can be understood as the co-founder of the Reformation since he introduced it in Saxony. We find the same line of tradition on coins and medals, such as on a Saxon quarter thaler (see figure 1.2) or a Saxon silver medal (see figure 1.3).⁷¹ Both coins show Frederick III on one side and John George I on the other.

⁶⁹ Troschel, *Christo Soteri Veritatis Vindici*.

⁷⁰ Harms mentions six other versions of Troschel's *Christo Soteri*. Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 218.

⁷¹ Landesmuseum Württemberg, *Sächsischer Vierteltaler auf die 100-Jahrfeier der Reformation 1617*, accessed August 13, 2019, <https://nat.museum-digital.de/index.php?t=objekt&oges=263256&cachesLoaded=true>. This coin was also released with different values, e.g., as a ducat. For instance, see MDM Münzhandelsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG Deutsche Münze, "Altdeutschland, Dukat, 1617, Johann Georg I." accessed May 7, 2019, <https://www.mdm.de/altdeutschland-dukat-1617-johann-georg-i>; Christian Maler, *Medaille auf das 100-jährige Reformationsjubiläum (Galvano Vorderseite und Rückseite)* (Sachsen, 1617), accessed March 22, 2020, <https://nat.museum-digital.de/index.php?t=objekt&oges=213649&cachesLoaded=true>.



Figure 1.2. Quarter thaler celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, Saxony, 1617 (Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart). Licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE. This thaler was commissioned by the Elector of Saxony, John George I.



Figure 1.3. Christian Maler, Silver medal celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Reformation, Saxony, 1617 (Museum im Melanchthonhaus, Bretten).⁷² Licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 DE. The obverse shows the former Elector of Saxony Frederick III with Luther, the reverse the current Elector of Saxony John George I.

⁷² Christian Maler, *Medaille auf das 100-jährige Reformationsjubiläum (Galvano Vorderseite und Rückseite)* (Sachsen, 1617), accessed March 22, 2020, <https://nat.museum-digital.de/index.php?t=objekt&oges=213649&cachesLoaded=true>. On the one side of the medal (right), Frederick III with a sword and Martin Luther with a lighted candle are standing at a table with the Bible. The Bible bears the inscription "Biblia-Sacra / V. D. M. I / AE." The circumscriptioon spells this acronym in full: "VERBVM DOMINI – MANET IN AETER." On the other side of the medal, John George I is standing on a rock that carries the inscription "SCHLOS HAR / TENFELS" which alludes to the first newly constructed Lutheran church building within the castle Hartenfels in Torgau, Saxony; it was consecrated by Martin Luther himself in 1544. In his left hand, John George holds onto a scale. The heavier left weighing pan is labeled with "D: ALMACHT" (omnipotence), the haloed Child Jesus lies in the pan. The lighter right weighing pan is labeled with "DIE VERNVNFT" (prudence) and a snake, a symbol of the evil, is inside the pan. The circumscriptioon reads "IOSVA I. CONFI—DE, NON DERELINQVAM TE" (Trust! I will not leave you). This refers to Joshua 1:5–6.

The coins were long-lasting media, but bore only a certain depth of information. More temporary media, such as Troschel's broadsheet, offered greater detail. They included common topoi, symbols, and metaphors, such as an allusion to Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms with representatives of the sacred and the secular governance and their attributes (swords and Bible, both also part of the silver medal mentioned above). In Troschel's broadsheet, the sword is a symbol of secular governance. The fact that Frederick III is depicted with his sword laid down indicates that he belonged to the past. The Bible bears the inscription "Verbum Domini manet in aeternum," an ur-Lutheran *topos*.⁷³ Furthermore, the crucifix, the dove, and the tetragrammaton that disperses the dark cloud symbolize the Holy Trinity. The coats of arms in the corners of the broadsheet identify the four depicted men on a heraldic level.

The German text on the altar describes the past and present of Lutheranism. The left column mentions Luther's battle against the sale of indulgences; Frederick III's merits; the Scripture as the bedrock of Lutheranism; and the support of other men, such as Melanchthon, who composed the *Confessio Augustana*. The right column of text elaborates on the current situation in 1617, the jubilee, and on John George I's deeds. This fact is especially noteworthy. Although the broadsheet originated in Nuremberg, it honors the acts of a Saxon and, hence, Lutheran-Orthodox elector. This inscription may have been a measure of precaution: by including the current Saxon elector, Nuremberg allayed any suspicion of being Calvinist.⁷⁴

⁷³ See Isaiah 40:8, and 1. Petrus 1:25. "The Word of the Lord remains forever." In her book '*Confessio Augustana triumphans*', Ulrike Hänisch describes the metaphors used in Hoë von Hoënnegg's 1630 manual. Hänisch, '*Confessio Augustana triumphans*', 61–62.

⁷⁴ Wolfgang Harms and Beate Rattay, eds., *Illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahrhunderten der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe*, Kataloge der Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg (Coburg, 1983), 96–97.

Troschel's broadsheet bears a Latin inscription at the bottom, with an anti-Catholic statement: "Born in Eisleben and given back to heaven, you, Luther, shake the empire of the inflated pope. If the descendants had complied with the doctrine of the Holy guide, your deceit, Rome, would have been already defeated."⁷⁵ The broadsheet functioned in the context of othering by emphasizing what Lutherans are *not*; they are not the pope, not Rome, not the Catholic Church. Similar strategies of othering appear in other media, such as Hoë von Hoënegg's sermons.⁷⁶

Both the broadsheet *Christo Soteri* and the coins from Saxony could teach Lutheran believers about events that were about to happen in 1617. Yet this was only one purpose of media. Beyond that, possessing a broadsheet was a token of participation. Furthermore, the texts, depictions, and their possible interpretations could lead to discussions among those who owned the broadsheet, those who had access to the broadsheet, and those who heard about it. Reading—like singing or hearing music—in the early modern period was generally a social, not a solitary act: many print media, including broadsheets, were geared toward being sung or read out aloud.⁷⁷ Thus, a broader section of the population—not only the well-off half of the city-dwellers but also some peasants in the rural areas—could have seen or *heard* broadsheets. According to Robert Scribner, broadsheets could act as a stimulus, and often they functioned as catalyst or had auxiliary multiplier effects that led to

⁷⁵ Kastner also mentions the anti-Catholic stance of Troschel's broadsheet. Kastner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel*, 266.

⁷⁶ For instance, Hoë von Hoënegg mentions the distinction from the "Römischen Bäbstischen Kirchen"—"Roman Papal Church" already on the third page of the preface and the second page of the first sermon. His first feast sermon begins with the *topos* of the battle against the Antichrist, and contains references to psalm 100. Furthermore, at the very beginning he includes a proclamation to sing ("Singet von jhm"—"Sing unto him [the Lord]," psalm 105). The sermons to be held during the centenary were also disseminated in advance to secure the quality and the topic of the preaching in the Saxon parishes during the jubilee festivities. Hoë von Hoënegg, *Parasceve ad solennitatem iubilaeam evangelicam*, see preface and 2.

⁷⁷ Robert W. Scribner, "Flugblatt und Analphabetentum: Wie kam der gemeine Mann zu reformatorischen Ideen?", in *Flugschriften als Massenmedium der Reformationszeit: Beiträge zum Tübinger Symposium 1980*, ed. Hans-Joachim Köhler, Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit 13 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981), 66–67.

conversations among friends or colleagues, in inns, in the streets, and at home.⁷⁸ The concept of reading in silence or contemplating in private is too narrow to encompass the impact of broadsheets. Acquisition of knowledge, opinions, ideas, and beliefs happened in a more active interrelation with more than one agent.⁷⁹ And the three medial circuits—print, oral, and manuscript—were interwoven in the early modern period.⁸⁰

In addition, broadsheets and coins functioned as *lieux de mémoire*. They were material goods, which can be touched, held, and felt, hence they can transmit (cultural) memory in a disembodied form. Furthermore, these media can revive memories and information that were already stored in the brain. It is immediately apparent that broadsheets and coins, as media of memory, took effect in two of the three dimensions of memory media: the material dimension (it is a text, picture, or image that one can touch) and the more elusive, mental dimension (it includes codes and symbols that can be decoded only through cultural standardization and translation). The third dimension, the social dimension, is suggested indirectly through references.

By referring to music, broadsheets like *Christo Soteri* indirectly evoked the social dimension, which consists of institutionalized practices that produce, store, and recall knowledge. The broadsheet's Latin inscriptions on the altar and the predella [“TIBI CHERUBIN ET SERAPHIN INCESSABILI VOCE PROCLAMAT” and “IUBILATE ANIMIS GRATIS, IUBILATE DEO,” respectively] have multiple purposes. As a

⁷⁸ The multiplier effect means that a publication, such as broadsheet or pamphlet, was read or heard by more people than the person who has acquired the publication. In general, to pamphlets a multiplier effect between five and fifty is applied. See Femke Deen, David Onnekink, and Michael Reinders, “Pamphlets and Politics: Introduction,” in *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic*, ed. Femke Deen, David Onnekink and Michael Reinders, Library of the Written Word / The Handpress World 12 / 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 27.

⁷⁹ Scribner, “Flugblatt und Analphabetentum: Wie kam der gemeine Mann zu reformatorischen Ideen?,” 69.

⁸⁰ Deen, Onnekink and Reinders, “Pamphlets and Politics,” 9; Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*.

chronogram, they point to the years 1517 and 1617; moreover, they allude to the text of the *Te Deum* and Psalm 100 (*Jubilate Deo*).⁸¹ In general, broadsheets and the sung word bore a symbiotic relationship and lent themselves to intermediality. Many broadsheets contained texts that were meant to be sung or at least recited.⁸² Thus, it is not far-fetched to read the *Te Deum* and the *Jubilate Deo* in the broadsheet as a reference to the social dimension of memory and, more precisely, to the Holy Mass, the rite of music-making during church service, prayer, and the reading of the Scripture. All these actions—singing, praying, or reading—can store and recall memories through ritualized repetition. In this specific case, one medium functioned as a reminder for the other, meaning that the broadsheet could evoke memories of the psalm setting and vice versa.

Both the *Te Deum* and the *Jubilate Deo* were common in the Lutheran Church, so it is not surprising that versions of the texts were part of many Lutheran jubilee celebrations, like the one in Dresden. Giving praise through song was also common in imposing royal ceremonies, which were an inherent part of the court ceremony during the early seventeenth century. As a starting point for the centennial, this praise offered a connecting factor between an established ceremonial procedure and a known rite.⁸³

⁸¹ TIBI CHERUBIN ET SERAPHIN INCESSABILI VOCE PROCLAMAT = tIBI CherUBIn et seraphIn InCessabILI VoCe proCLaMat = MCCCCLLVVIIIIII = 1517. IUBILATE ANIMIS GRATIS, IUBILATE DEO = IVbILate anIMIs gratIs IVbILate Deo = MDLLVIIIIII = 1617. See Kastner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel*, 265; Harms and Rattay, *Illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahrhunderten der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe*, 96–97.

The pastor of Oschitz/Osečná, Christoph Ziegler, also included the chronogram of 1517 in his published sermon. Christoph Ziegler, *Iubilaeus Evangelicus, Evangelisch JubelJahr: Das ist: Lutherisch Frewden- und Danck-Fest, vor die An. 1517. am Tage Aller Heiligen, vor Hundert Jahren, durch Gottes Gnade, und D. Martini Lutheri Dienst angefangene Religions Reformation ... In Dreyen Predigten vorgetragen der Chrstilichen Gemeine zu Oschitz in der Cron Böhmen* (Leipzig: Abraham Lamberg, 1617), accessed April 8, 2018, <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10901285-6>, 2.

The first four lines of the *Te Deum* are praising God. The broadsheet quotes the fourth line.

⁸² Scribner, “Flugblatt und Analphabetentum: Wie kam der gemeine Mann zu reformatorischen Ideen?,” 69.

⁸³ Burckhardt, “Reformations- und Lutherfeiern”.

As we know from Hoë von Hoënegg's report of the Dresden jubilee, the *Te Deum* and the *Jubilate Deo* resounded during church services in Dresden's *Schlosskirche* celebrating the centenary. On the first feast day, the *Te Deum* in Luther's translation was performed "figuraliter und instrumentaliter jedoch mit der Gemeine"; hence, its performance included choirs and instruments, as well as the congregation.⁸⁴ Likewise on October 31, the trumpets played a five-part version of the *Jubilate Deo* as an instrumental interlude, and on the festival's third day, the choirs sang a four-part *Jubilate Deo*—most likely a larger-scale piece of figural music.⁸⁵ In his report of the Dresden jubilee, Hoë von Hoënegg gave only a list of pieces that were performed during the church services and did not indicate the composers' names. For the four-part *Jubilate Deo*, Christhard Mahrenholz suggested likely authorship by Heinrich Schütz (SWV 47).⁸⁶

For some cities, rather than having a report of the celebration, we have pieces specifically published and composed for the commemorative event. For instance, Christoph Demantius (1567–1643) set and published a *Te Deum* in German translation for six parts to be performed on October 29, 1617, in Freiberg.⁸⁷ Christoph Thomas Walliser (1568–1648)

⁸⁴ More precisely, it was the fourth stanza of "Herr Gott! dich loben wir; Herr Gott! wir danken dir" that resounded in Dresden.

⁸⁵ Hoë von Hoënegg, *Chur Sächsische Evangelische JubelFrewde*, 5v–6v.

⁸⁶ Christhard Mahrenholz, "Heinrich Schütz und das erste Reformationsjubiläum 1617 (1929)," in *Musicologica et liturgica: Gesammelte Aufsätze von Christhard Mahrenholz als Festgabe zu seinem 60. Geburtstag am 11. August 1960*, ed. Karl F. Müller (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960), 199–201. Siegfried Vogelsänger argues for Michael Praetorius as the main composer for the Dresden jubilee. Siegfried Vogelsänger, "Michael Praetorius: Festmusiken zu zwei Ereignissen des Jahres 1617: zum Kaiserbesuch in Dresden und zur Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation," *Die Musikforschung* 40, no. 2 (April–Juni 1987).

It would be interesting to investigate whether Schütz's "Jubilate Deo" (SWV 262) in his *Symphoniae sacrae* I of 1629 bears a relationship to the celebrations of 1617 or later celebrations. The concerto's rondo form and the instrumentation with high wind instruments and low voices suggest Schütz's "Jubilate Deo" was informed by Giovanni Gabrieli's compositional style and by Schütz's second trip to Italy in 1628/29. Thus, it is rather unlikely that Schütz composed his "Jubilate Deo" before 1628. Nevertheless, a celebratory connection is plausible.

⁸⁷ Christoph Demantius, *Das ausserlesene und Trostreiche Canticum oder Symbolum, der heiligen allvater und Kirchenlehrer Ambrosii und Agustini, Te Deum Laudamus in laudem omnipotentis Dei, honorem illustrissimae domus saxonicae, Celebrationem Jubilaei Evangelici: Aus hertzlicher Frewde/ und Christlicher*

composed a six-part *Te Deum* for three choirs and the congregation for the cathedral in Strasbourg.⁸⁸ Interestingly, both set Ambrose's text as a monument of common faith.

However, in many other cities that embraced Lutheranism, it was common to dictate and later document the music performed during the church services.⁸⁹ This documentation is comparable to the situation in Dresden. In Nuremberg, for instance, the city in which Troschel's broadsheet was printed, the council minutes clearly stated that the *Te Deum* was to be sung with the entire congregation after the sermon, either in German or Latin.⁹⁰ The *Jubilate Deo*, too, was raised in the main churches of St. Sebald and St. Lorenz in

Andacht/ mit 6. Stimmen componiret/ und zu sonderlichen Ehrengedechtnüß/ den 29. Octobris, des 1617. Jahres offeriret, Dem Ehrenbehsten/ Kunstliebenden und Wolbenambtem Herrn Michael Rothen/ Churf. Sächs. wolverordnetem Factorn der Seigerhütten Grünenthal/ Seinem jnbesonders günstigen guten Freunde/ Von Christophoro Demantio, Musico und Cantore der Kirchen und Schulen zu Freybergk in Meissen (Freyberg: Georg Hoffmann, 1618), D-Rgk, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchenarchiv Regensburg: Nicolaus-Gallus-Bibliothek 1542-1545 (1541/VI. vox missing).

⁸⁸ Christoph Thomas Walliser, *Das Uhralte Kirchen Gesang Te Deum Laudamus sampt derselben Litania Teutsch. Uffs neu, mit V. und VI. Stimmen gesetzt: Und Beneben der Gemein/ auff drey unterschiedliche Choros, beydes conjunctim und dann auch separatim, auff vorstehendes Jubelfest/ sonderlich im Münster/ als der Haupt und Thumdkirchen in Straßburg zu Musiciren angestellt/ Durch Christoph Thoman Wallisern von Straßburg/ Praeceptorem Classicum und Musicum ordinarium daselbsten* (Strasbourg: Nikolaus Wyriot, 1617), D-Rgk, Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchenarchiv Regensburg: Nicolaus-Gallus-Bibliothek 1542-1545 (1541/VI. vox missing). Walliser's *Te Deum* is an antiphon sung between the partially split choirs and the congregation. In his dedication, Walliser mentions the occasion of the jubilee and describes Luther as God's tool who brought light into darkness. Johann Hermann Schein and Heinrich Schütz (though Schütz's authorship is doubtful) also composed settings of the German *Te Deum* for multiple choirs. Schein composed his *Te Deum* for the Feast of the Twelve Apostles for two choirs in 1627. See Johann H. Schein, "An den Apostel Festen: Der Lobgesang Te Deum Laudamus, Herr Gott, dich loben wir verteutscht durch D. Mart. Luther." in *Johann Hermann Schein: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke: Band 2: Cantional 1627/1645, Teil 1*, ed. Adam Adrio (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965). Schütz allegedly composed SWV 427 for Chorus and Capella. The latter can be performed by singers or wind instruments. See Heinrich Schütz, "Herr Gott, dich loben wir (SWV 472)," in *Heinrich Schütz: Sämtliche Werke. Band XVIII*, ed. Philipp Spitta (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927).

⁸⁹ For instance, Magdeburg's directive names the pieces that should be performed during the church services. *Anordnung und Befehl Unser.: Von Gottesgnaden Christian Wilhelms postulirten Administratoris des primat: Und Ertzstifts Magdeburgk/ Coadiutoris des Stifts Halberstadt/ Margraffens zu Brandenburgk/ ... wie das Evangelische Jubelfest in unserm primat- und Ertzstift Magdeburgk/ angestellet/ und gehalten werden solle [Geben auff unserm Schloß S. Moritzburgk. den 5. Octobris des 1617. Jahres.]* (Hall: Schmidt, 1617), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: A: 458 Theol. (1).

⁹⁰ *AVS Strasbourg: Z 1.2 Eglises étrangeres 137: Rahts Verlaß vnd Bericht. Wie es vff Sontags den 26. Octobris vnd 2. Novembris, allhie in der Statt Nürnberg, mit der Predigt, dem Gebett, vnd den Ceremonien soll gehalten werden.* The document *AVS Strasbourg* apparently is a copy of the Nuremberg decree that was sent from Nuremberg to Strasbourg. Various copies can also be found in Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg: Merk. Bibli. Nr. 115 u. 117. See Hans-Jürgen Schönstädt, *Antichrist, Weltheilsgeschehen und Gottes Werkzeug: Römische Kirche, Reformation und Luther im Spiegel des Reformationsjubiläums 1617*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz 88. Abt. für abendländische Religionsgeschichte (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1978), 59; Anton Ernstberger, "Drei Nürnberger Reformationsjubiläen," *Luther-Jahrbuch*, 1964, 12.

Nuremberg.⁹¹ In St. Sebald, the congregation sang a German *Te Deum* in a four-part version on the main feast day, November 2. According to the list of pieces performed during the jubilee in St. Sebald, the *Te Deum* was the only piece that included the congregation.⁹² It is likely that Hans Leo Hassler's (1564–1612) version of the *Te Deum* (“Herr Gott, Dich loben wir”) resounded in Nuremberg's St. Sebald. Hassler had published it in his *Kirchengesäng: Psalmen und geistliche Lieder, auff die gemeinen Melodeyen [...], simpliciter gesetzt.*⁹³ Already the title of *Kirchengesäng* discloses what the foreword emphasizes. Hassler composed sacred songs in simple counterpoint and in the preface he claimed to have set them in a way that the songs could be sung gracefully by the commoner simultaneously with the figural settings.⁹⁴

⁹¹ In St. Lorenz, the *Jubilate Deo* resounded in Johann Staden's eight-part version titled *Weihelied “Jubila Sancta Deo.”* The *Jubilate Deo* is based on a text by pastor Johannes Schröder. The song includes an invocation to jubilate, refers to the fall of Babel and portrays Luther as apocalyptic angel with a trombone. The depiction of Luther as Angel of the Apocalypse also is used in broadsheets, such as Abraham Gensrefft's (1577–1637) *Wunderwerck d. Martin Luthers* (Freiberg, 1618). Johann Staden, *Jubila Sancta Deo / Per Hymnum et Echo, / In / Ecclesia Nori- / bergensium festum Evan / gelico-Jubilaeum 11. Novemb: Cele- / brante, Octo vocibus decantata; / Et Nobilissimo amplissimoque / Eiusdem Inclutae Reipub. Senatui / submisso adscripta ac dedicata / à / Johanne Staden, ad B. Laurent I Organista. / Noribergae / Typis Balthasar Scherffii / Impensis ipsius Auctoris. / MDCXVII /.* (Nürnberg: Balthasar Scherff, 1617) as cited in Eugen Schmitz, ed., *Ausgewählte Werke von Johann Staden, erster Teil: Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern, siebenter Jahrgang, I. Band*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern - Alte Folge 12 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1906), <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0006/bsb00064308/images/index>, accessed March 22, 2021, XXVII. See also Harms and Rattay, *Illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahrhunderten der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe*, 86–87.

⁹² “Verzeichnis, der in der Nürnberger Kirche Sankt Sebald zum 1. und 2. November 1617 aufgeführten Motetten und Psalmen.” Nürnberg Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Merkels die Bibliothek Nr. 117, Abschrift. As cited in Ernstberger, Anton. “Drei Nürnberger Reformationsjubiläen.” *Luther-Jahrbuch*, 1964, 9–28.

⁹³ Hans Leo Hassler, *Kirchengesäng: Psalmen und geistliche Lieder, auff die gemeinen Melodeyen mit vier Stimmern simpliciter gesetzt* (Nürnberg: Paul Kauffmann, 1608); Crosby, Jr., C. Russell, ed., *Hans Leo Hassler. Sämtliche Werke. Band VIII Psalmen und Christliche Gesänge (1608)* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1966). See also Ernstberger, “Drei Nürnberger Reformationsjubiläen,” 14; Kastner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel*, 42.

⁹⁴ In his preface, Hassler wrote that he composed “sacred songs / in simple counterpoint [...] in such a way / that these [songs] [can be sung] in Christian congregations / by the commoner / supported by an accompaniment [...] by the dear common burghers collectively / with special grace / as happened with Christian zest and zeal” (“Geistliche Gesang / auff den contrapunctum simplicem, [...] solcher art unnd massen gesetzen / daß dieselbigen auch inn den Christlichen versammlungen / von dem geminen Mann / über dem Figural mitgesungen werden können [...] von der lieben geminen Burgerschafft / mit sonderer anmuthung / Christlichem lust und eiffer geschehen.”).

The Lutheran congregation was acquainted with Hassler's German-texted *Te Deum* in treble-dominated style.⁹⁵ The degree of familiarity with the tune and in addition to that the German text of the *Te Deum*, "Herr Gott, Dich loben wir," made it easily possible for the parishioners to join in singing. Hence, owing to the *Te Deum*, the congregation could participate in the centenary in an active bodily manner. By collectively singing Hassler's *Te Deum* during the Nuremberg celebration, the congregation members accessed all three dimensions of memory media (social, material, mental). The social dimension especially was very pronounced when making music within a religious institution. Singing in a church community met the requirement of both the social dimension of memory and *lieux de mémoire*. The act of singing in a certain site, here among the congregation, held a symbolic meaning which played a part in contributing to a Lutheran and cultural identity.

In St. Sebald, versions of the *Jubilate Deo* resounded three-times within two days, on November 1 and 2. Two of these performances were of a setting for twelve parts by Melchior Franck (?1579–1639). Singing the same polyphonic and polychoral piece multiple times might have been one way to achieve increased comprehensibility of a challenging piece like Franck's *Jubilate Deo* and to promote memory of it. According to Bettina Varwig, it is quite difficult to comprehend the text of a large-scale and polychoral florid composition

⁹⁵ Sigmund Theophil Staden's preface to Hassler's republished edition of 1637 substantiates Hassler's popularity: "[...] diese Gesänge / bey vns üblich / vnd in den Kirchen bekandt / nach jetziger gebräuchlicher Melodey / bevor ab / wie es die Gemein pflegt zu singen / zu richten / vnd benebens auch die / so zu dieser vnsrige Zeit die schweren langwirigen Kriegsläufften vnd geschwinde Zeiten / auch diesen / so in hie bevor gedruckten vnd genannten Kirchengesängern / von weiland dem vortrefflichen vnd weitberühmten Herrn Johann Leo Haßlern außgegangen / anzuhengen / also / daß sie ordentlich nach des gantzen Jahrs zusammen gericht / auffs new wider auffzulegen" ([...] these songs / as customary [in our congregation] / and known in the churches / set to the contemporary used melodies / before / as the congregation used to sing / to do / and besides also [these songs] / [that were sung] during our times of hard and long wars and ever-changing times / also these / like in the former printed and named church songs / which were composed by the whilom admirable and popular Mr. Johann Leo Haßler / are added / more precisely / put in order for the entire year / are newly edited.). Crosby, Jr., C. Russell, *Hans Leo Hassler. Sämtliche Werke. Band VIII Psalmen und Christliche Gesänge (1608)*, VII.

performed in a church.⁹⁶ Possibly Franck knew that his *Jubilate Deo* would be performed multiple times and thus opted for a large-scale piece with twelve parts. Although Franck had the position as *Kapellmeister* in Coburg, he stayed in contact with Nuremberg throughout his life where he had worked for two years. He composed his *Jubilate Deo* specifically for the Nuremberg jubilee and published it as *Musicalischer Frewdenschall*.⁹⁷ In the fashion of Troschel's broadsheet, Franck's *Jubilate Deo* is bilingual; by collating the surviving part books from Leipzig/Saalfeld, Coburg, and Prague, we arrive at a text that starts with a pruned version of the Latin *Jubilate*-text, then it continues with a German translation of the text which calls upon the congregation in Nuremberg to jubilate and promulgates the fall of Babel:

Iubilate Omnis terra (Intona:) Exultemus Domino, Iubilemus Deo salutari nostro. Kompt herzu / last uns dem Herren frocken und jachen / dem Herr unsers Heyls / Cecidit Babylon magna / Sie ist gefallen / die grosse Babel / Victoria, Alleluia daß ihr schlund uns möchte sangen / ist unser Seel entgangen / Strick ist enzwey und wir sind frey / deß Herren Name sich uns bey / des Gottes Himmls und Erden.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz*, 33.

⁹⁷ Melchior Franck, *Musicalischer Frewdenschall/ Zu dem vorstehenden Evangelischen Jubel Fest: Den Gestrengen/ Edlen/ Ehrvesten/ Hochgelahrten/ Vorachtbarn und Hochweisen/ Herrn Burgermeister unnd Rath deß heiligen Reichß Stadt Nürnberg/ Meinen insonders großgünstigen Herren unnd Patronis, Zu sonderlichen Ehren und großgünstigem gefallen. Mit zwölf Stimmen auff drey Chör zu Musiciren Componiret, Durch Melchior Francken/ Fürstl: Sächs: Capellmeister zu Coburgk. Welches hochfeyerlich Celebriert worden/ den 31. Octob. 1. und 2. Novembris, dieses 1617. Jahrs. Gedruckt zu Coburgk/ in der Fürstlichen Truckerey/ durch Just Hauck.* (Coburg: Just Hauck, 1617). Unfortunately, not all voices are extant. See list below:

Title page		Leipzig, Städtische Bibliotheken
Choir 1	Cantus	
	Cantus II	Leipzig / Saalfeld Stadtmuseum
	Tenor	
	Bassus	Leipzig / Saalfeld
Choir 2	complete (CATB)	Prague, Národní Technická Knihovna
Choir 3	Cantus	
	Altus	Landesbibliothek Coburg
	Tenor	
	Bassus	Landesbibliothek Coburg

⁹⁸ Summarizing translation: "Praise the Lord, Babylon has fallen, Victory, Alleluia, that her mouth wanted to sing us, our soul did not hear it, the cord is cut, and we are free, the name of the Lord stands with us, God's heaven and earth." The text can be read as a Lutheran trope, combining Psalms 94:1 and 97:4, and Book of Revelation 14:8, in which God's vengeance and the trembling earth are thematized. It is also possible to interpret Babylon as precursor of contemporary Rome.

In a Lutheran reading, Babel could have been the “the woman sitting on a scarlet beast” of the papacy that spreads confusion or disarray.⁹⁹ In short, with praise and jubilation, Franck’s *Jubilate* celebrates the Lutheran confession.

Franck’s *Musicalischer Frewdenschall* is also the only evidence that congregations in Habsburg-ruled and multi-confessional Prague actually celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. Here, Prague serves as an example of a city that is neither a Free Imperial City nor in a Protestant polity. According to Martin Wernisch’s 2019 book on Reformation jubilees in the Czech lands, the Czech Protestants did not celebrate the Protestant jubilee transregionally, although they must have been aware of it.¹⁰⁰ Parishes here and there celebrated, but evidence for Prague is yet to be found.¹⁰¹ Wernisch argues that the Lutheran Church in Bohemia was cautious about celebrating since they relied on peaceful coexistence among the confessions (Catholics, Calvinists, Utraquists, and Bohemian Brethren).¹⁰²

⁹⁹ In the Book of Revelation 17:3–6, Babylon is described as a woman riding on a scarlet beast full of names of blasphemy with seven heads and ten horns, adorned with gold and precious stones, which could be interpreted as the papacy.

¹⁰⁰ Martin Wernisch, *Evropská reformace, čeští evangelíci a jejich jubilea* (Praha: Kalich, 2019), 153.

¹⁰¹ The congregation of Oschitz/Osečná apparently celebrated the Lutheran centenary. The pastor Christoph Ziegler published his celebratory sermons in 1617 in which he summons his congregation to praise God with trombones, the heart, the mouth, and mind by singing psalm 103 during the first sermon and parts of Luther’s version of the *Te Deum laudamus* in German after the second and third sermon. Ziegler, *Iubilaeus Evangelicus, Evangelisch JubelJahr*, 7–8, 47, 136.

¹⁰² Wernisch, *Evropská reformace, čeští evangelíci a jejich jubilea*, 160–61. The publications of 1617 by the Lutheran priest Samuel Martinius z Dražova and John Amos Comenius, the last bishop of the Unity of the Brethren, emphasize the unity of the Protestant confessions. Samuel Martinius z Dražova, *Oratio De Concordia Ecclesiae, His ultimis temporibus plurimum necessaria, Pragae in Antiquissima ac celeberrima Roemorum Academia 9. Xbris Anno Salutis MDCXVL publice habita* (Pragae: Paulus Sessius, 1617), accessed March 24, 2020, <https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=t89dAAAAAcAAJ&rdid=book-t89dAAAAAcAAJ&rdot=1>; John Amos Comenius, *Retuřk proti Antikristu a svodum jeho, kteříž v zarmoucených těchto časích mnohých k zahynutí neštastně se rozmáhají, a nejedněch od víry odstupování se děje, těm, kdož by duše své retovati a před zahynutím vystřáhnouti dátí chtěli, podaný od jednoho z milovníků Ježíše Krista* (1617).

For more information on Prague’s multi-confessional soundscape under Rudolph II, see Erika Honisch, “Sacred Music in Prague, 1580–1612” (PhD Dissertation, Department of Music, University of Chicago, 2011); Erika Honisch, “Hearing the Body of Christ in Early Modern Prague,” *Early Music History* 38 (2019).

Indeed, Franck's *Musicalischer Frewdenschall* serves as indication of a Lutheran jubilee celebration in Prague, since the score likely reached the city before the 1620s. Eventually, Franck's score was used for the binding of an early seventeenth-century land surveying book (*Pergamentmakulatur*). In 2010, the part book of Choir 2 (Cantus, Altus, Tenor, Basis) was rediscovered in the Czech National Library of Technology (Národní Technická Knihovna) in the book cover of Daniel Schwendtner's *Geometriae practicae novae*, which was printed in Nuremberg.¹⁰³ Thanks to intensive trade relations, a lively transfer of art and culture, and an intellectual exchange between Nuremberg and Prague, numerous publications found their way from Nuremberg into Prague's private libraries.¹⁰⁴ It is thus also conceivable that Troschel's *Christo Soteri*, which was printed in Nuremberg, or Baltasar Schwan's reprint, which was intended for a transregional market, found their way to Prague.¹⁰⁵

However, it is difficult to identify the Lutherans in Bohemia based on print sources, since many prints were destroyed or fell victim to *Pergamentmakulatur* after 1622; Franck's *Jubilate Deo* serves as an example. Before the Battle of the White Mountain on October 8, 1620, in which the Protestant Churches of Bohemia were defeated, there were two Lutheran churches in Prague: Salvátora in the Old Town, Boží Trojice (today Panny

¹⁰³ Josef Šebesta, "Notovaný zlomek: Expertisa na notovaný zlomek deponovaný v Historickém fondu Národní technické knihovny ČR, Praha 6, Dejvice," Národní technická knihovna, accessed May 17, 2019, <https://old.techlib.cz/cs/925-notovany-zlomek/>; *Geometriae practicae novae et actuae Tractatus...* Durch M. Danielem Schwenter. Nürnberg: Gedruckt und verlegt durch Simon Halbmayern, 1623–1627.

¹⁰⁴ Fejtová identifies publications from Frankfurt a.M., Cologne, Basel, Nuremberg, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Strasbourg, and Lyon as most prevalent in Prague's New Town. Olga Fejtová, "Die Entwicklung von Leserinteressen der Bürger der Prager Neustadt im 17. Jahrhundert auf Grund der Nachlassinventare," *Acta Comeniana* 14 (2000): 105.

¹⁰⁵ Baltasar Schwan's version of *Christo Soteri* hints at the dissemination throughout the German lands, since he added four medals that depict Saxony, Nuremberg, Frankfurt (where Schwan lived and worked), and Worms. Baltasar Schwan, "Christo Soteri Veritatis [...] Anno Sacuti MDCXII. (Frankfurt a. M.)," in *The British Museum: Collection Online*, ed. The Trustees of the British Museum (London); after Hans Troschel; Museum number 1859,0806.351, accessed May 17, 2019, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3741621&partId=1&people=43362&peoA=43362-1-6&&sortBy=producerSort&page=1.

Marie Vítězné) in Malá Strana, which could have served as site for the centennial festivities. By September 1622, all Lutherans had to leave Bohemia. Hence, a celebration, if it happened, had to have taken place between 1617 and 1622. Prague gives an impression of the precarious Protestant life in a Catholic-ruled city during the time of the jubilee.

To sum up, in Nuremberg and Dresden we can see a distinct interplay (whether planned or not) of broadsheets and psalm setting. One medium could function as a *lieu de mémoire* for the other; that is, the broadsheet could bring to mind memories of the psalm setting, and the psalm in general, and vice versa while both media imply the commemorative celebration for the centenary and the Lutheran confession. Broadsheet and psalm effectively feature all the dimensions of memory media. Furthermore, they function as tools of both othering and positive identification, a claim which I will substantiate with another broadsheet and the music performed at the Dresden jubilee.

Othering and “Positive Identification” in the Jubilee Media

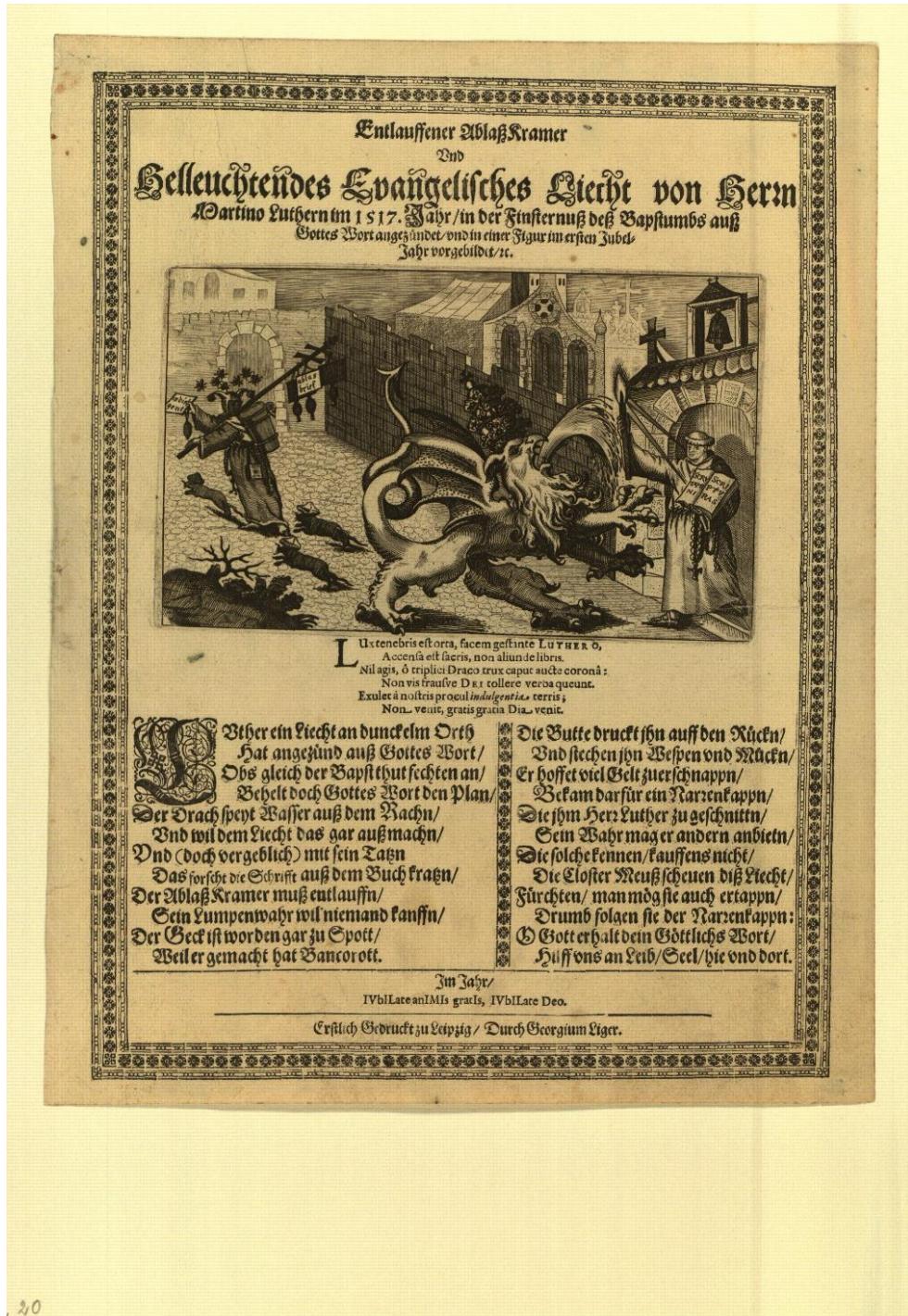


Figure 1.4. Entlauffener AblaßKramer Und helleuchtendes Evangelisches Liecht von Herrn Martino Luthern 1517. Jahr / in der Finsternuß des Bapstums auf Gottes Wort angezündet / und in einer Figur im ersten Jubel=Jahr vorgebildet, Leipzig: Georgium Liger, 1617 (Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg: H62/Einblattdruck A III 20). Used with permission. This broadsheet depicts Luther as bearer of light fighting against a monster adorned with the papal crown.

One broadsheet, in which the Catholics are portrayed as the other, is the successful *Entlauffener AblaßKramer*.¹⁰⁶ This broadsheet is one of the rare cases that names the printer, location of the print shop, and the publication year.¹⁰⁷ It was printed in Leipzig and thus was primarily geared toward a Saxon audience. *Entlauffener AblaßKramer* announces the jubilee already in its headline. In translation, the broadsheet's title reads as follows:

Runaway seller of indulgences and Martin Luther's illuminated Lutheran light from 1517: lit by God's word in the year of the papacy's darkness, and depicted in the first jubilee year.

The symbols included are typical for Lutheran media on the centenary. Luther is holding a Bible and a torch and is fighting a dragon wearing the papal tiara—the Antichrist.¹⁰⁸ The dragon is unsuccessfully spouting water at Luther's torch in order to extinguish the light. Tetzel, the seller of indulgences (*Ablasskrämer*), is fleeing from the battle scene.¹⁰⁹ Rats in Jesuit hats are following Tetzel, and flies are swarming around his head—both symbols of evil thoughts that interfere with prayer.¹¹⁰ The German and Latin texts below the illustration describe that very scene. It is noticeable that the text is mostly concerned with Luther's enemies—the seller of indulgences and the pope. Only lines 1 and

¹⁰⁶ *Entlauffener AblaßKramer vnd helleuchtendes evangelisches Liecht von Herrn Martino Luther im 1517.*

¹⁰⁷ Stanley Sadie and Donald W. Krummel, eds., *Music Printing and Publishing*, The New Grove Handbooks in Music (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 496. Although the broadsheet *Entlauffener AblaßKramer* does not name the printmaker, a version of this broadsheet with a Latin title is attributed to Conrad Grale. Grale was active as engraver and woodcut printer in the first half of the seventeenth century in Leipzig. Conrad Grale, *In Lucis Evangelicae: Auspiciis Divi Martini Lutheri Anno (VsqVe DeI nostrI Verba beata Manent) e tenebris Papalibus emergentis Seculum Primum Epigrammate, Rhythmis Germanicis: tabula aenea repraesentatum* (Lipsiae: Typis Grosianis; Liger, 1617), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 62, accessed October 9, 2019, <http://digilib.hab.de/drucke/ih-62/start.htm>.

¹⁰⁸ See Book of Revelation 11:7.

¹⁰⁹ The name Tetzel refers to the Dominican monk Johannes Tezelius. A quotation by him became a well-known saying ("So bald der Gülden im Becken klingt/Im huy die Seel im Himmel springt."—"As soon as the coins sound in the collection bag / the soul can go to heaven."). The broadsheet *Johannes Tezelius Dominicaner Münch [...] by Friedrich Balduin* is another broadsheet that reckons with Tetzel, in Harms and Rattay, *Illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahrhundertern der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe*, 14–15.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 88.

2 of the German text mention Luther's deeds or the Reformation. The broadsheet announced the jubilee. It reminded its readers of Luther and his actions, it emphasized what and whom Luther was fighting, and it disregarded the outcome of this battle which was the Lutheran confession. These and similar topics—Luther as a witness of the Apocalypse or the pope as a monster—are also present in the sermons that court preacher Hoë von Hoënnegg disseminated throughout the Lutheran areas and preached in Dresden.¹¹¹ Thus, the media, like broadsheets that had the option for greater depth of information, can be seen in the relational context of othering.

Music, quite differently from broadsheets, can be subsumed under what I call positive identification. In 1617, music could be imitated in both a music-technical and a metaphorical sense. Music also offered the potential for actively imitating through participation, thanks to its repetitive and ritual character. Specifically, chorale singing generates collective identity and sociality in this way, as scholars such as Ernst Bloch and Edward Said have suggested.¹¹² Moreover, the music performed during the jubilee Masses was much closer to Luther's own teachings.¹¹³ The music could be directly linked back to Luther, thus to the foundation of the Reformation itself, and, in most cases, it was not intended to be polemical.

Of course, music can have eristic texts. However, anti-Roman polemical music that was specifically composed for the event, such as Michael Altenburg's (1584–1640) collection

¹¹¹ Bettina Varwig suggests that the music at the Dresden celebration which included trumpets could have been reminiscent of the apocalyptic angels. Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz*, 25. Hoë von Hoënnegg, *Parasceve ad solennitatem iubilaeam evangelicam*. E.g., on November 2, 1617, the sermon was based on psalm 87 and the Book of Revelation 14:6–13. It described Luther as apocalyptic angel who announced the fall of Babel.

¹¹² Ernst Bloch, *The Spirit of Utopia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 51; Edward W. Said, *Musical Elaborations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 64–65.

¹¹³ According to Luther, God is not praised by singing “Lord I praise you” but rather by proclaiming His Word through music which refers to the different texts that are set to music. Daniel Zager, “Concio et Cantio: Proclamation and Praise in Song and Music,” accessed July 10, 2019, <https://rilm.wordpress.com/tag/theology/>.

Gaudium christianum (1618), was the exception.¹¹⁴ In his article on Altenburg's collection, Markus Rathey writes about Altenburg's choice of texts.¹¹⁵ Altenburg, who was based in Tröchtelborn, closely followed the scriptural passages in the Dresden instruction leading to a collection that was quite anti-papal and far more polemical than the music performed at the Dresden celebration.¹¹⁶

In Dresden, settings consisted of Lutheran hymns and polychoral concertos that were based on psalms and chorale texts. Although a few had inherently polemical texts, such as "Ein feste Burg" (A mighty fortress), they also had a publication history beginning in the sixteenth century. Invoking the past, they portrayed the current situation to a much lesser extent. In general, the music performed in Dresden can be divided into three categories:

1. figural settings of the traditional Lutheran (*alt-lutherisch*) Ordinary
2. Lutheran hymns, possibly performed in alternation between choir and congregation
3. large-scale settings of psalm texts or liturgical texts¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Michael Altenburg, *Gaudium Christianum* (Jehna, 1617), accessed September 12, 2018, <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id488379199/65>.

¹¹⁵ Markus Rathey, "Gaudium christianum: Michael Altenburg und das Reformationsjubiläum 1617," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 20 (1998).

¹¹⁶ Hoë von Hoënnegg, *Parasceve ad solennitatem iubilaeam evangelicam*. Hoë von Hoënnegg's compilation *Parasceve* begins with a general introductory sermon ("Erste JubelFests Predigt"), followed by sermons on scriptural texts: "Die Ander JubelFests Predigt" is based on psalm 76 "Gott, der furchtbare Richter" (28–48); "Die dritte Jubelfests Predigt," 49–109, is based on Daniel 12 (today Dan 11, 36–45); and the fourth sermon, 110–128, is based on psalm 87 "Zion, die Mutter der Völker." Hoë von Hoënnegg's sermons on the Book of Revelation 14:6–12, originally published in 1610, were re-published in 1617 in *Sanctus Thaumasiander*. Matthias Hoë von Hoënnegg, *Sanctus Thaumasiander Et Triumphator Lutherus.: Das ist: Bericht von dem heiligen Wundermanne/ und wieder das Bapsthumb/ auch andere Rotten und Secten/ Triumphierenden Rüstzeug Gottes/ Herren D. Martino Luthero Wer er seiner Ankunfft und Geburt nach ... / In zehn Predigten gründlich ausgeführt ...* (Leipzig: Lamberg, 1617), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: A: 231.188 Theol. (1), accessed April 9, 2018, <http://digilib.hab.de/drucke/231-188-theol-1s/start.htm>.

¹¹⁷ Developed after Robinson-Hammerstein, "Sächsische Jubelfreude," 482.

The third category has been addressed in the literature.¹¹⁸ However, due to limited sources, scholars have had to settle for hypotheses regarding many issues. We can only speculate as to who the composers were and whether the pieces were specifically composed for this occasion. In Hoë von Hoënnegg's account, Schütz is described as the musical director. Schütz and Praetorius are considered to be the possible composers of the music performed during the jubilee. The latter, although mainly working in Wolfenbüttel, held the title of "Capellmeister von Haus aus und Director der Music" (chapelmaster, inherently, and director of music) in Dresden. Moreover, the extant title page and table of contents of Praetorius's *Polyhymnia Jubilaea*, published in Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum Band 3: Termini musici*, hints at his involvement in the Dresden celebration:

*Polyhymnia Jubilaea: Darinnen Die fürnembste Psalmen unnd Geistliche Lieder: So Uff das / im abgewichenen Jahre / an den Evangelischen Orten Teutsches Landes Solenniter celebrierte herrliche Evangelische Frewd: und Jubelfest in den Kirchen zu singen seind verordnet worden. Mit 2. 3. 4. 5. biß auff 27. Stimmen / Uff II. III. IV. V. und VI. Chor gesetzet und gerichtet: Sowol mit Lebendiger Menschen Stimme und allerley Art Musicalischer Instrumenten / als auch mit Trompetten und Heerpaucken zugebrauchen.*¹¹⁹

Polyhymnia Iubilaea: In it the most genteel psalms and spiritual songs: So used to celebrate the glorious Protestant joy in honor of the bygone year in the Protestant places in the German lands: and decreed to sing for the jubilee in the churches. With 2. 3. 4. 5. up to 27. parts / set for II. III. IV. V. and VI. choirs: Both sung with the vivid human voice and played with all kinds of musical instruments / as well as with trumpets and military kettle drums.

¹¹⁸ Mahrenholz, "Heinrich Schütz und das erste Reformationsjubiläum 1617 (1929)"; Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz*; Rathey, "Gaudium christianum"; Vogelsänger, "Michael Praetorius: Festmusiken zu zwei Ereignissen des Jahres 1617"; Robinson-Hammerstein, "Sächsische Jubelfreude".

¹¹⁹ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum Band 3: Termini musici* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619), accessed April 1, 2021, <https://archive.org/details/SyntagmaMusicumBd.31619>, 210–13. The table of contents of *Polyhymnia Jubilaea* also lists a Mass composition "Kyrie, Gloria, Et in terra, gantz verteutscht; cum Sinfoniis: Vnd Zun Heerpaucken vnd Trommetten," which was published in Praetorius's *Polyhymnia Panegyrica*. Michael Praetorius, *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica III: Darinnen XL Solennische Friedt- und Frewden-Concert: ... Und mit 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. auch mehr Stimmen Uff II. III. IV. V. und VI Chor gerichtet: Mit allerhandt Musicalischen Instrumenten und Menschen Stimmen/ auch Trommetten und Heer-Paucken Musiciret und geübe worden ...* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619), Staatsbibliothek Braunschweig: Ministerial M 643. For more information, see Siegfried Vogelsänger, "Michael Praetorius und die Wolfenbütteler Hofkapelle," in *Ruhm und Ehre durch Musik: Beiträge zur Wolfenbütteler Hof- und Kirchenmusik während der Residenzzeit*, ed. Rainer Schmitt, Publikationsreihe / Kulturstadt Wolfenbüttel e. V 2 (Wolfenbüttel: Kulturstadt Wolfenbüttel e.V, 2013), 152.

As we will see in the remainder of the chapter, this collection also emphasizes the participation of the human voice in the festivities, which was decreed by the elector and court preacher Hoë von Hoënegg. *Polyhymnia Jubilaea* is a collection of pieces for the Lutheran jubilee that Praetorius either published or planned to publish. Besides the title page and table of contents published in Praetorius's *Syntagma musicum Band 3*, there are no records of its actual publication. Apart from Schütz and Praetorius, pieces by the former's teacher Giovanni Gabrieli might also have figured among the works. Nevertheless, there is no direct evidence, and we should be careful not to give them too much importance in retrospect.

Bettina Varwig addresses the conflation of Dresden's sacred and secular soundscape in 1617 and concludes that they were not noticeably different. This conflation of the sacred and secular soundscapes supports the theory of confessionalization with its interweaving of religion, politics, and society. Varwig also notes that Schütz's polychoral compositions do not have many explicitly Lutheran traits. The lack of Lutheran traits is possibly accounted for by the difficulty in understanding the texts of polychoral pieces with pompous orchestrations. This suggests strongly that the text was by no means the most prominent sonic dimension of large-scale concertos.¹²⁰

A prominent sonic dimension of large-scale compositions, often in the form of chorale concertos with numerous instruments, was their exuberant sound, which signified opulence and power. I suggest that it allowed the parishioners at worship to immerse themselves, as a group, in an aesthetically appealing sonic environment. In Dresden's *Schlosskapelle*, the immersion was probably heightened thanks to the acoustics provided by the

¹²⁰ Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz*, 31–33.

Schlingrippengewölbe—a Dresden-specific looped rib vault—in which every whispered word could be heard.

Moreover, the positioning of the choirs who surrounded the congregation, and the cantor who probably was standing in the middle of the church, facilitated the experience of immersion.¹²¹ Concertos also mediated the message that something important, worthy of opulent music, was taking place. Schütz's polychoral compositions might not necessarily sound "Lutheran" in comparison to other polychoral works, but for the congregation in Dresden these performances must have been something special and the surrounding of the concertos made clear what they celebrated.

The ostentatious choral works with timpani and trumpet, and the sensuous and aesthetic experience they provided, certainly in one sense outshined the simpler hymns that were performed with the congregation. But this is only the case if aesthetic matters alone are taken into account. From a participatory point of view, the difference between hymns sung by the congregation and these large-scale polychoral concertos is twofold. In large-scale concertos, the parishioners neither actively participated—they "only" listened—nor comprehended the text well by listening alone. The active singing of praise and thanks—which is the way most of the pieces sung by the congregation can be categorized—had a ritualistic quality. Praetorius's *Polyhymnia Jubilaea* offers both large-scale pieces with up to 27 parts and psalms for two voices set in *bad* counterpoint in which the congregation was explicitly invited to join (e.g., "Te Deum: set to bad counterpoint / so that

¹²¹ Ludger Rémy, "Klingender Raum als dritte Dimension," in *Die Musikpflege in der evangelischen Schlosskapelle Dresden zur Schütz-Zeit: [am 31. Oktober 2008 luden das Institut für Musikwissenschaft der Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber und der Verein 'Heinrich Schütz in Dresden' e.V. im Rahmen der Mitteldeutschen Heinrich-Schütz-Tage zu einem Symposium ein ... die Vorträge bilden die Grundlage für den vorliegenden Band]*, ed. Matthias Herrmann, Sächsische Studien zur älteren Musikgeschichte 3 (Altenburg: Kamprad, 2009), 129; Robinson-Hammerstein, "Sächsische Jubelfreude," 489.

the congregation can sing along in the churches.”).¹²² Singing could create a new ritual from scratch. We see evidence for this both in the production of pieces that enabled the congregation to easily sing along and in Hoë von Höenegg’s quotation in which he calls on the Lutheran believers to sing. Such an understanding correlates directly with Erll’s social and mental dimensions of memory media. In the next case study, we will encounter how congregational singing not only bridged the three medial dimensions of memory, but also how it emphasized ritual, active participation, and identity formation or stabilization.

Congregational Singing during the Saxon Jubilee

Because active participation led not only to text comprehension but also to memorization, congregational hymns were a robust tool of identity formation for the Lutherans from the beginning of the Reformation. For instance, Luther’s 1542 hymn “Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort” (Keep us, Lord, faithful to your word), with its anti-Catholic and anti-Turkish content, was a marker of the Lutheran confession and of a specific collective identity already in the sixteenth century both in its embodied (sung) form and in its disembodied form (as a print or manuscript).¹²³ Alexander Fisher even categorizes this hymn as “most offensive to Catholics in the Protestant song repertory.”¹²⁴ It seems only logical that it was part of the Dresden jubilee program as well.¹²⁵ A Lutheran

¹²² “Herr Gott dich loben wir: mit schlechtem Contrapunkt gesetzt / damit das Gemeine Volck in der Kirchen zugleich mit darein singen kan.” Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum Band 3*, 211. “Herr Gott dich loben wir” is the second to last piece in the *Polyhymnia Jubilaea*’s table of contents. Assuming that the compositions are printed in an ascending order of voices, “bad counterpoint” in this context is tantamount to counterpoint that is easy to sing with only a small number of voices.

¹²³ Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*, Harvard Historical Studies 148 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 20–21.

¹²⁴ Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 218.

¹²⁵ A collection of music for the Protestant jubilee celebration of 1617 in Regensburg includes “Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort” in an eight-voice setting by Praetorius. For more information on this and the history of the hymn, see *ibid.*, 218–19.

hymn like “Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort” reinforced a sense of a shared history. It was directly linked back to Luther himself as its author, which implicitly pointed to the Saxon Electorate where the Reformation originated.

Six of the nine hymns sung by the congregation during the Dresden jubilee services were set to texts by Luther, or at least attributed to him. Some melodies go back to the Reformer, and all of the hymn texts had been published in hymnals since the first half of the sixteenth century. Thus, all of these texts refer to the past and do not allude to the ongoing “battles” of the Counter-Reformation, which were on hold, in any case, until 1618. This implies that the hymns are not a case of Lutheran identity formation in a narrower propagandistic sense. They represented a very tangible connection to a sonic past, and hence, could lead to a Lutheran identity that was rooted deeply by way of positive identification.

In his report of the jubilee, *Chur Sächsische [...] Jubelfrewde*, Hoë von Hoënegg identified seven hymns that were performed involving the congregation, as shown in table 1.2.¹²⁶ It is noteworthy that the Creed “Der Glaube”—a setting of Luther’s translation of the Credo—was sung six times, thus, in every Mass. Singing instead of speaking the Creed was not necessarily exceptional, but it is another sign that active bodily participation beyond speaking was encouraged during the jubilee. The degree of familiarity of the Creed made it easily possible for all parishioners to join in singing, and communal singing helped to connect congregation members of all social classes.¹²⁷ (Dresden’s *Schlosskapelle* was not the best example of a socially diverse congregation, but other churches in Saxony were more

¹²⁶ Hoë von Hoënegg, *Chur Sächsische Evangelische JubelFrewde*.

¹²⁷ Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 9.

mixed.) This interpersonal connection among the members of the congregation could lead to the formation of both a Lutheran and a shared Saxon identity.

Since we have to speculate as to which chorale settings were performed during the jubilee church services, we might guess that they included Praetorius's chorales, published in his *Mvsae sioniae Band V–IX* (1607–10, printed in Wolfenbüttel), or the unpublished and no longer extant *Polyhymnia Jubilaea*. As shown in table 1.2, Praetorius's output offers at least one setting for each hymn that was officially performed during the jubilee.

Table 1.2. Jubilee celebration in Dresden 1617, list of Lutheran hymns performed during Mass.

Hoë von Hoënnegg's <i>Chursächsische Jubelfrewde</i> , 1618	Year, text author	Included in a letter from the consistory to John George I, June 11, 1617 ^a	Possible pieces by Michael Praetorius
Allein zu dir Herr Jesu Christ	1540, text by Konrad Huber	Yes	MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 7. 4vv; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 8. 4vv; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 9. 4 versions, 2–3vv
Der Glaube (Wir glauben all an einen Gott), performed six times	1524, text by Martin Luther ^b		MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 5. 9 versions, 2–6vv; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 7. 4vv; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 9. 2vv
[From the <i>Te Deum</i> :] Nun hilff uns Herr den Dienern dein (Figuraliter und instrumentaliter jedoch mit der Gemeine)	1528, text by Martin Luther	Yes, listed as “Herr Gott, dich loben wir, Herr Gott, wir danken dir” (beginning of <i>Te Deum</i>)	MP <i>Polyhymnia Jubilaea</i> : “Herr Gott dich loben wir mit schlechtem Contrapunkt gesetzt / damit das Gemine Volck in der Kirchen zugleich mit darein singen kan”; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 5. 2 versions, 4+2–6vv
Gott sey gelobet und gebenedeyet	1524, text by Martin Luther ^d		MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 7. 6 versions, 4vv; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 9. 2 versions, 2+3vv
Jesus Christus unser Heyland	1524, text by Martin Luther, based on a text by Johann von Jenstein, archbishop of Prague ^e		MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 5. 2 versions, 4+5vv; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 6. 4 versions, 4vv; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 7. 5 versions, 4vv; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 9. 4 versions, 2+3vv
Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns helt	1524, text by Justus Jonas the Elder, based on Psalm 124 ^f	Yes	MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 8. 3 versions, 4vv; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 9. 3 versions, 2+3vv
Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl [stanza 1 and 6]	1524, text by Martin Luther, based on Psalm 53 ^g		MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 8. 2 versions, 4vv; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 9. 2 versions, 2+3vv
Nun lob mein Seel den Herrn	Before 1540, text by Johann Gramann, based on Psalm 103		MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 7. 6 versions, 4vv; MP <i>Mvsae sioniae</i> 9. 2 versions, 2+3vv

^a Vogelsänger, “Michael Praetorius und die Wolfenbütteler Hofkapelle,” 151.

^b Konrad Ameln, ed., *Eyn Enchiridion oder Handbüchlein, eynem ytzlichen Christen: fast nutzlich bey sich zuhaben zur stetter vbung vnd trachtung geystlicher Gesenge vnd Psalmen, Rechtschaffen vnd kunstlich verteutscht. M. CCCCC. XXiiij. Am ende dises Büchleins wirst du fynden eyn Register yn wilchem klerlich angetzeigt ist was vnd wie vill Gesenge hieryn begryffen synd mit dysen und der gleichen Gesenge soltt man bilbyllich [/] die yungen yugendt auffertzihen. [Colophon: Gedruckt zu Erfurd, yn der Permenter gassen, zum Ferbefass. M.D.XXiiij], Documenta musicologica 36 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983).*

^c Included in the index of *Polyhymnia Jubilaea*. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum Band 3*, 211. Vogelsänger, “Michael Praetorius und die Wolfenbütteler Hofkapelle,” 152.

^d Ameln, *Eyn Enchiridion oder Handbüchlein, eynem ytzlichen Christen*. Initially, this was a German medieval congregational hymn (*Leise*) for the Corpus Christi procession.

^e Ibid. Catechesis for Communion.

^f Ibid. Catechesis for Communion.

^g Konrad Ameln, ed., *Das Achtliederbuch Nürnberg 1523/1524 in originalgetreuem Nachdruck* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1957); Ameln, *Eyn Enchiridion oder Handbüchlein, eynem ytzlichen Christen*.

In his collection *Mvsae sioniae*, Praetorius published hymn settings and chorale motets for two to five parts. In the preface to the multi-volume print, Praetorius emphasizes that he wanted to use only limited musical resources regarding the instruments and the size of the choir to give the congregation the opportunity to pray to God, to praise God, and to conserve the Lutheran Church.

Looking more closely at the three categories of music performed in Dresden, it is interesting to find that all categories are in balance. Of the 39 pieces, 13 were sung with the congregation. The rest are divided between pieces of the Ordinary and large-scale compositions.¹²⁸ With a third of the pieces including the congregation, we discover an extraordinarily high degree of participation at the Dresden festivities, in comparison to the average Lutheran Mass.¹²⁹ Thus, a third of the pieces could stimulate and satisfy the sense of participation. According to Nicholas Howe, observing a ceremony in pre-modern times meant participating with all senses, thus active singing was an essential way to feel one's body.¹³⁰ Making music together allowed for collective exuberance of the congregation members. Luther himself alluded to the need for congregational participation and promoted the parishioners to a higher rank. Instead of a taking a passive role, the congregation became the co-creator of the Holy Mass through active participation.¹³¹ On a more "secular"

¹²⁸ Hoë von Hoënnegg described two pieces as "gewöhnliche deutsche Gesänge"—"common German songs" which led me to the conclusion that they were sung by the congregation.

¹²⁹ According to Herl, the average Lutheran congregation participated in singing the Creed at 24%, hymns before and after the sermon at 5–7%. Herl's data is for the years 1523–1780. Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism*, 55.

¹³⁰ Nicholas Howe, "Introduction," in *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. Nicholas Howe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 4.

¹³¹ The congregation was expected to participate also for theological reasons. The general priesthood of all believers means that the priest is seen as *primus/a inter pares*. It is not the priest alone who prays and sings (unintelligible Latin) texts, but the (comprehensible) worship is executed by all members of the congregation. Everyone can sing along and join in the conversation.

level, after listening to long sermons, it would certainly have been a welcome change to join in singing.

In the Catholic Church, congregational participation, even though not in the *primus/a inter-pares* rank of the priesthood of all believers, was more varied and often highly ritualized. Catholic ceremonies were coupled with specific rites, such as processions, genuflections, and the Rosary. The Lutheran Church often lacked this kind of ritual and participation. The organizers of the Dresden jubilee seemingly did their utmost to provide both during the festivities.

It was not only active music-making that was reinforced in the Lutheran regions. Remarkably, various Catholic and pagan rituals were adapted too. For instance, in the confessionally-mixed town of Biberach, where the St. Martin's Church was used for both Catholic and Lutheran services, the Lutheran parish adapted moments from the Catholic liturgy from the upcoming feasts of All Saints (November 1) and All Souls (November 2).¹³² For the jubilee, candles were lit, food and wine were offered to the restless spirits and the dead, and children processed through the streets singing for the dead and receiving food in exchange.¹³³ These Christianized rituals were quite unusual for the Lutheran Church and suggested heightened pressure with regard to the successes of the Counter-Reformation and the schism among the Protestant confessions.¹³⁴

¹³² For more information on the *simultaneum mixtum* or shared church in Biberach during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Paul Warmbrunn, *Zwei Konfessionen in einer Stadt: Das Zusammenleben von Katholiken und Protestanten in den paritätischen Reichsstädten Augsburg, Biberach, Ravensburg und Dinkelsbühl von 1548 bis 1648*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 111 (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1983), 223–27.

¹³³ Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, 220–21. The lighting of candles during All Souls was a popular Catholic ritual during the sixteenth century. See Robert W. Scribner, “Ritual and Popular Religion in Catholic Germany at the Time of the Reformation,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 35, no. 1 (1984): 62.

¹³⁴ For more information on the implications of the Counter-Reformation for the Protestant jubilee, see Peter Maser, “Geschichte der Reformationsjubiläen,” in *Impulse der Reformation: Der zivilgesellschaftliche Diskurs*, ed. Ansgar Klein and Olaf Zimmermann, Bürgergesellschaft und Demokratie (Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2017), 6.

The adaptations are especially surprising because Hoë von Hoënnegg requested that the parishioners sing and celebrate the feast in the spirit and the heart.¹³⁵ Hoë von Hoënnegg's request underscores the fact that the Lutheran Church did not have tangible rituals and rites for feasts comparable to those of the Catholic Church. The emphasis here lies on festal rite, since congregational singing during the Holy Mass was, of course, an essential component of the Lutheran doctrine.¹³⁶ The Lutheran feast ritual had to take place foremost in spirit since the public exhibition of opulence and pageantry was incompatible with the foundations of Lutheranism. This leads to the conclusion that music and especially congregational singing served as a remedy.¹³⁷ A festal rite, like the church services during the centenary, had great potential to contribute to cultural memory. Rites helped to form a sense of identity when paired with the corporeality of singing. According to Connerton, rites in their repetitiveness and variability only within strict limits imply a connection to the past. Commemorative events not only imply but *claim* continuity with the past.¹³⁸ In the case of the Protestant jubilee, Connerton's claimed continuity even is corroborated by reference to Luther as author and composer of hymns.

¹³⁵ Hoë von Hoënnegg, *Parasceve ad solennitatem iubilaeam evangelicam*, 3–4.

¹³⁶ According to Luther, the sung and spoken word were appropriate for the Annunciation and an important expression of the Lutheran belief. With this he followed the four songs of the Old Testament. The quotation of Luther's preface to the *Babstsche Gesangbuch* from 1545 makes this clear: "Denn Gott hat unser Herz und Mut fröhlich gemacht durch seinen lieben Sohn, welchen er für uns gegeben hat zur Erlösung von Sünden, Tod und Teufel. Wer solchs mit Ernst gläubet, der kanns nicht lassen, er muss fröhlich und mit Lust davon singen und sagen, dass es andere auch hören und herzukommen" (For God has made our heart and spirit happy through his dear Son, whom he has given to us for the redemption of sins, death, and devil. If you believe in it, you cannot let it go, you have to sing joyfully and you have to announce this to others so that they come and hear.). [My emphasis.] Lutheran hymns are a means of catechesis, they communicate the content of the Lutheran confession and the Bible and merge this knowledge into the parishioners' soul and body. Hence, music—and especially congregational singing—is therefore a strong weapon of Protestantism and a propaganda tool.

¹³⁷ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 2–5. Congregational singing was possibly accompanied by the organ. Hoë von Hoënnegg mentions the participation of three organists. Hoë von Hoënnegg, *Chur Sächsische Evangelische JubelFrewde*. Joseph Herl argues that organ accompaniment had the purposes of holding together the congregation, keeping singers on pitch, and of reaching a more musical performance. Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism*, 134–35.

¹³⁸ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 45.

For Luther himself, music was one of the essential tools for preaching and teaching. Luther's hymn texts were much more aligned with his Christological interpretation of German psalm texts than were the polemical sermons and broadsheets on the occasion of the jubilee in 1617. Luther's hymn texts also aligned with the Lutheran view that performative participation of the congregation led to a strengthened belief. Thus, fixed formulas or core tenets, such as the Ten Commandments or the Credo, could be remembered in a bodily way. The hymn texts mediated contents of faith, but more importantly, they mediated through active repetition a sense of continuity around the Lutheran confession. Arendt's theory of authority, in which authority is created through constant reliance on the mythical past and repetition, is therefore helpful here. As a result of such dependence, music had occupied a particular position in the media of 1617, which were geared toward a collectively shared continuous history and tradition.¹³⁹

Taken together, music helped the parishioners connect to the past in two ways, through bodily performative memory and through hymn texts that referred back to Luther himself. Communal singing also helped to connect congregation members to each other. This interpersonal connection happened because of a ritual characteristic of singing: parishioners knew habitually how singing works and could feel a sense of belonging as a result of it.

As a concluding thought to the case studies addressing the Lutheran jubilee, I apply Arendt's notion of authority to congregational singing. Like the constant verbal reiterations of Rome's founding myth, communal singing during the church services in Dresden referred back to the past, implying continuity while also automatically passing on knowledge.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Flügel, *Konfession und Jubiläum*, 66.

¹⁴⁰ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 45.

When celebrating a jubilee, early modern audiences celebrated the cradle of continuity, here in the case of the Reformation. Like the Eternal City of Rome, Lutheranism would be eternal, and the elector arguably took great interest in this with regard to the population of Saxony, his political authority, and the imminent Apocalypse that authorities claimed was expected to happen during the seventeenth century.¹⁴¹ The Saxon population wanted to have their basic needs satisfied and the elector wanted to stabilize and augment his political power—two desiderata that went hand in hand. Supporting this jubilee, John George I followed the scheme of confessionalization and cared for political, cultural, and spiritual authority, which led to a mixing of secular and sacred power—an investment that amounted to good and stable governance.

Interestingly, Praetorius attended to the topic of the synergy of secular and sacred authorities in the pre-war time. In the preface to his *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*, a collection consisting of chorale concertos based on Lutheran hymns from two to twenty-one parts in the “neuen italienischen Concerten-Manier,” Praetorius agreed with the necessity of secular and sacred elements in good governance.¹⁴² He stated that the “Christian high-authority” was dependent on the interplay of:¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Cunningham and Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*.

¹⁴² I have to thank Margaret Boudreaux for her input on Praetorius and her generosity in sharing an unpublished draft of a book chapter on Praetorius’s *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*.

¹⁴³ “Christliche hohe Obrigkeit.”

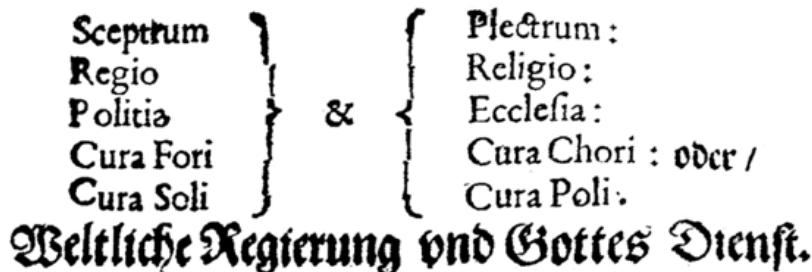


Figure 1.5. Praetorius, snippet of preface to Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica, Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein, 1619 (Stadtbibliothek Braunschweig: Ministerial M 643a). Used with permission.¹⁴⁴

Sceptre & Lyre:
 Nation & Religion:
 Politics & Church:
 Care of cities & Care of the choir: or/
 Care of the one & Care of the many.
Worldly government and the service of God/ Holy Mass.¹⁴⁵

Praetorius's interpretation of good governance published in 1619 is reminiscent of Dresden's commemorative event of 1617. The secular and sacred authorities (the elector as *summus episcopus* and the consistory) made an effort to direct and plan the jubilee celebration well and in-depth. Moreover, their approach harmonized with another statement in Praetorius's preface. Praetorius continued with a play on words that can be retraced directly to Luther's understanding of music as Gospel proclamation:¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴ Praetorius, *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*, 2v. I am citing a copy of the Stadtbibliothek Braunschweig, which includes the preface unlike the digitized copy hosted at the Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen, Denmark. Michael Praetorius, *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica III: Darinnen XL Solemniſche Friedt- und Frewden-Concert: ... Und mit 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. auch mehr Stimmen Uff II. III. IV. V. und VI Chor gerichtet: Mit allerhandt Musicalischen Instrumenten und Menschen Stimmen/ auch Trommetten und Heer-Paucken Musiciret und geübe worden ...* (Wolfenbüttel: Elias Holwein), Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark, accessed March 23, 2020, http://www5.kb.dk/da/nb/samling/ma/digmus/pre1700_indices/prae1700_polyhym.html.

¹⁴⁵ According to Boudreaux, the term "lyre" can have an additional meaning as the plectrum that strikes the sound on the instrument, and the choir can also be interpreted as the clergy, or the choir space.

¹⁴⁶ Zager, "Concio et Cantio". Zager draws a direct connection between Michael Praetorius and Martin Luther by way of priest Michael Schulteis (father of Michael Praetorius) and Johann Walther.

Beyond that, for the perfection and stability of the Church's government and the full service of God, not only should CONCIO, a good sermon, belong, but rather it is also necessary to include CANTIO, good music and singing. Since the intentions of Justin are just and clear: 'It is and remains the word of God, that what is felt in the soul [should be] sung with the voice and played and struck on instruments.'¹⁴⁷

Praetorius notes the importance of sermons as well as singing for a stable church.

According to him, musicking enables the believers to express their spiritual experiences.

The sermons can respond to the contemporary situation with thought-through words.

Praetorius's words seem to summarize the approach of the jubilee. His preface can be applied to the situation of the centenary: we can think of positive identification and othering. The act of music-making supported positive identification with the confession and within the congregation by tuning in to "old" well-known texts, sometimes in conjunction with popular melodies, whereas the sermons, with their greater depth of information, showed elements of othering. Praetorius refers to the pairing of sermon and music as stabilizing. This stabilizing effect grew out of the combination of new thoughts and old text, of referring back to the past and being attentive to the present, and of the intermediality between music, spoken word, and print culture—all elements of the centenary in 1617.

¹⁴⁷ "Demnach nun zur volnkommenheit und bestand des Kirchen Regiments, auch völligem Gottes Dienst, nicht allein gehörig ist CONCIO, Eine gute Predigt: Sondern auch dazu erförderlich, CANTIO, Eine gute Music und Gesang. Sintemahl recht und war ist des Iustini Meinung: [...] Verbum Dei est, sive mente cogitetur, sive canatur, sive pulsu edatur. 'Es ist und bleibt Gottes Wort/ auch das da im Gemüth gedacht/ mit der Stimme gesungen/ auch auff Instrumenten geschlagen und gespielet wird.'" Praetorius, *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica* (copy in the Stadtbibliothek Braunschweig). [Translation by Margaret Boudreaux.]

The name Justin most likely refers to Justin Martyr, since Praetorius quotes the Pseudo-Justin Greek document, known in Latin as *Questiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* in the first volume of his *Syntagma musicum* of 1614 and in his *Polyhymnia* of 1619, fol. 2v. For a discussion of the usage of Justin in Lutheran liturgical music, see Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*, Lutheran Quarterly Books (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007), 338–9, 451.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated the media, and especially the music, that framed the hundredth anniversary of the Reformation in Dresden and Nuremberg. In Dresden, I attempted to recreate the festivity by focusing on the sonic impressions of the city of Dresden as a stand-in for all of Saxony, no matter how remote the village concerned. In Nuremberg, we get the impression of a Free Imperial City honoring the Reformation while trying to placate the Saxon overlord.

The Protestant jubilee celebration indeed falls into the category of commemoration. It recalled to memory an event of the past, one hundred years after the fact. The purported posting of the Theses was preserved in a three-day, transregional, closely watched, and meticulously directed ceremony. The celebration of the centenary of the Reformation worked hand in glove with the process of confessionalization. The organizing efforts of the Saxon elector, the rules and regulations for the festivities, and the use of anti-Catholic and anti-Calvinist propaganda show the looming delineation of the three big confessions while upholding their secular power. The elector and the consistory deliberately used media to reach the public sphere and to build a foundational myth. Throughout the jubilee, media, in print form or as objects, became cultural artifacts, memorabilia, or “portable monuments”—in short, vessels of memory.¹⁴⁸ Media played an essential role in the activation, production, and preservation of cultural memory.

Among those media, music held a special role. We saw that music functioned as an embodied and disembodied form of memory by existing as practice as well as on paper. Broadsheets, like that of *Christo Soteri*, in their intermediality referred to music while at the same time offering information on the jubilee, implying dimensions of othering, and

¹⁴⁸ Kennedy, “Trauma and Cultural Memory Studies,” 61.

emphasizing a lineage of Lutheran belief. Hymns and chorales, such as “Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort,” highlighted a direct link to the Lutheran past and the Reformer himself, while singing in general, in family circles or the congregation, remedied the lack of Lutheran rituals. In this way, music not only contributed to cultural memory in its disembodied form but also to long-lasting communicative memory, which relies on an embodied experience. The jubilee and thereby the posting of the Theses was remembered not only in pamphlets, broadsheets, or diaries, but also in the interpersonal interaction of the congregation members. When actively performed and experienced, music bridged the material, social, and mental dimensions of media of memory. Taking this all together, media and music specifically contributed to a strengthening of Lutheran identity. As we will see in the next chapter, music and other media were also used by Catholics to propagandize against Lutherans, their jubilee, and the Reformation in general.

CHAPTER 2: “O JUBEL UBEL JUBEL”¹—THE CATHOLIC REACTION TO THE JUBILEES OF 1617

After the Protestant jubilee year 1617, the subsequent years—mostly 1618 and 1619—also offered well-known Lutheran melodies, images, and symbols, even as the Thirty Years’ War began to flare up in Bohemia. However, this time, the Catholics, especially urban Catholic scholars and clergy, gave a belated response to the Protestant jubilee by creating and disseminating hymn melodies with new texts in publications and broadsheets.² In this chapter, we will encounter some media encountered in the previous chapter, now reworked to criticize the Protestant celebrations: topoi, illustrations, and Lutheran tunes used at the jubilee celebration remade into contrafacts. In polemical reprocessing, contrafacts, and commentary, the Catholics expressed their anger and gave utterance to their dissatisfaction with the Lutherans’ celebrating a jubilee.³ For instance, the Catholics polemicized against Lutheran broadsheets, such as *Christo Soteri*, and hymn tunes, such as “Erhalt uns Herr bey deinem Wort,” in order to ridicule the Lutherans and warn against heresy.

¹ The chapter title refers to the refrain of the song “Ein Klagliedt. Wegen deß Uncatholischen newlich angestelten Jubels,” published in Adam Contzen’s Catholic anti-jubilee polemic *Jubel über Jubel*. It has 31 stanzas and each stanza ends with the telling refrain: “O Jubel ubel Jubel/ O Ubel über Ubel.” The author punned with the similarity of “Jubel”—“jubilation,” “Ubel/Übel”—“evil,” and “über”—“over.” Adam Contzen, *Jubel über Jubel: New Evangelisch Jubeljahr/ Und Christliches Mittleyden Aller Alten Catholischen/ An Keyserliche Majestät/ Könige/ Fürsten/ Gemeinden/ Völcker/ etc. / Erstlich durch den Ehrwürdigen ... P. Adamum Contzen Societatis Jesu, der H. Schrift Doctoren/ in Latein beschrieben/ Jetzund aber ... in hohe Deutsche Sprach ubersetzt*, with the assistance of Weberus, Stephanus, Episcopus Misiensis (Mayntz: Albin, 1618), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: 229.8 Theol. (4), 2r.

² In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, historiographical publications, e.g., belonging to the genre *Historia literaria*, were written almost exclusively by Protestants. The Catholic scholars and clergy seem to have written mainly for themselves. Some examples presented in this chapter are exceptions to the rule and would have appealed to larger segments of the Catholic congregations. Hanspeter Marti, “Konfessionalität und Toleranz: Zur historiographischen Topik der Frühneuzeitforschung,” in *Diskurse der Gelehrtenkultur in der Frühen Neuzeit: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Herbert Jaumann (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 417–18.

³ In general, accounts of the Reformation and responses to it tended to be polemical. This did not change until the twentieth century, as shown by Michael Root. Michael Root, “1517: What Are We Commemorating?,” in *Remembering the Reformation: Commemorate? Celebrate? Repent?*, ed. Michael Root and James J. Buckley, Pro Ecclesia Series 7 (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2017).

Already in 1617 proper, the Catholic Church immediately reacted to the Protestant jubilee with its own extraordinary *Jubeljahr*. The report *Außschreiben und Verkündigung* (Announcement and proclamation) announces the Catholic extraordinary jubilee of 1617.⁴ The 70-page text explains why and how the Catholics celebrated; Pope Paul V ordered the extraordinary jubilee due to human failings, in order to prompt the Christians to perform more devotions and to offer remission of sins through fasting, processions, prayers, alms, confession, and communion. However, *Außschreiben und Verkündigung* does not ultimately specify when the Catholic celebration took place. Apparently, the Catholic celebrations were not synchronized. In cities, such as Bamberg and Würzburg, the ceremonies were scheduled for the end of August or the beginning of September; in other dioceses for November 10 or October 31. The latter was usual in bi-confessional territories, such as Augsburg, which led to tension among the city population.⁵ The Catholics saw the Protestant centenary as unjust, which is evident in the Catholic polemics discussed in this chapter. These publications called the Protestant celebration a “made-up jubilee,” or “erdichte[tes] Jubel Jar.”⁶

This chapter covers the Catholics’ reaction in the years following the Lutheran jubilee celebrations of 1617. The musical material included in this chapter involves neither complex polyphony, nor new-style concertato motets but only popular songs sung to simple tunes. The latter seem to have been the chosen genre to offer anti-Protestant and polemical messaging. The German Catholic motet repertory printed around the years of the

⁴ *Außschreiben Und Verkündigung*.

⁵ Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, 211; Kastner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel*, 31; Howard, *Remembering the Reformation*, 15–16; Kaufmann, “Reformationsgedenken in der frühen Neuzeit,” 315–16.

⁶ *Concio und Cantio, Das ist/ Ein Predig und ein Lied/ fürs best/ Auffs Lutherische Jubel Fest: Allen denen/ So begirig darauff gewart/ zu gefallen in den Truck geben: Liß. Liß lieber Leser/ Liß ich bitt/ Die Sach ist mächtig/ lach nur nit* (N.N.: N.N., 1618), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: A: 204.22 Theol. (3), accessed May 21, 2019, <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/204-22-theol-3s/start.htm>, 13.

Protestant jubilee does not reveal any pieces that are obviously anti-Lutheran.⁷ As such, songs represent a broader level of cultural transmission. I argue that the Catholic response not only used similar techniques as the Protestant media celebrating the centenary of the Reformation, but also shared a parallel but opposed motivation of commemorating their “righteous” history and consolidating the Catholic confessional identity. At the same time, the European conflict between the Protestants and the Catholics flared up. The Third Defenestration of Prague of 1618 and the Bohemian Revolt, in which the Protestant estates rebelled against the curtailment of their rights of religious freedom, heralded the Thirty Years’ War (1618–48) all over Europe and the re-Catholicization in Bohemia in the aftermath of the Battle of White Mountain (1620).

Comparable to the authors of Lutheran media of 1617, the Catholic authors made use of intermediality with the same result of efficacy in the three medial dimensions of memory—material, social, and mental.⁸ The Catholic media of 1618/19 referred to both other Catholic publications and Protestant media in order to respond to the Protestant jubilee. Catholic authors, often theologians and former students at Jesuit schools, published sermons, songs, prayers, illustrations, and pamphlets. Like the Lutheran media of 1617, in the aftermath of the Protestant jubilee, the Catholics provided their own long lineage and

⁷ In Catholic Munich, neither of the two music printing houses—Adam Berg and Nikolaus Henricus—published motet books from 1617–21. For instance, the search results in VD17 for “Anna Berg,” Adam Berg’s wife and successor, yield no polyphony for the years 1617–21. Furthermore, the anthologies of Latin concertos published around 1617 do not include anti-Lutheran pieces. E.g., see Urban Loth, *Musa melica, concertationes musicae* (Passau: Tobias Nenninger; Conrad Frosch, 1616); Urban Loth, *Musa melica continuata* (Passau: Tobias Nenninger; Conrad Frosch, 1619); Georg Victorinus, *Siren colestis: duarum, trium et quatuor vocum, quam novavit e principibus, etiam nec dum Vulgatis auctoribus legit, pro temporum dierumque, festorum diversitate concinnavit, organis item accommodavit, et in lucem dedit Georgius Victorinus musicae ad D. Michaelis & S. Nicolai praefectus.*, 2nd ed. (München: Adam Berg, 1616); Anton Holzner, *Viretum pierium cuius flosculi et moduli una, II. III. & V. vocibus* (München: Nicolaus Henricus, 1621).

For more information on anthologies of Italianate concertos, see Alexander J. Fisher, “Celestial Sirens and Nightingales: Change and Assimilation in the Munich Anthologies of Georg Victorinus,” *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 14, no. 1 (2008).

⁸ Erl, “Medium des kollektiven Gedächtnisses,” 4.

heritage, remembered and highlighted the history of the Roman-Christian religion, and compared it to the short and “fickle” history of the reformed confessions. Thus, their polemics ridiculed the Lutheran jubilee as unfounded and unjust while at the same time showing a fear of the effectiveness of Lutheran media, especially of singing. In the end, Catholic media were an effective form of commemoration emphasizing the shared history and traditions of Catholicism. Those media, however, not only called to mind the history of the Catholic Church but also of the Protestant churches.

Like the Lutherans, the Catholics used polemical songs, often contrafacts of Lutheran hymns that summarized the content of more extensive polemics in which they were published. These Catholic songs through their texts helped spread the idea that Protestant beliefs were “incorrect.” At the same time, they mocked Protestant music by setting these texts to Lutheran hymn tunes (a mechanism previously deployed by Protestants in the sixteenth century). Songs both helped to steer the Catholic polemics toward learned readership and made them accessible to members of the society that could not read.

Ostensibly, the Catholic media had an explicit purpose: to ridicule the Lutheran celebration and tradition of domestic devotion. However, it is ultimately an audience that decides what a medium of memory commemorates. For instance, we will encounter a Catholic broadsheet originally lampooning Luther’s supposed gluttony, but later reworked to celebrate St. Martin’s Day and the end of the agricultural year. The broadsheet was changed from its initial meaning and was made a commemorative item on the side of those who perceived and consumed it, not on the side of those who produced it.⁹ In short, the broadsheet was effectively transformed into Lutheran propaganda.

⁹ Erl, “Medium des kollektiven Gedächtnisses,” 17.

This chapter consists of four sections with case studies, each tackling a specific aspect of the Catholic reaction to the Protestant jubilee. The first section testifies to the Catholic clergy's underlying fear of Lutheran music and media in general. The Catholic case studies in this section mocked the centennial celebration and its media coverage, while they nonetheless used the same techniques and genres, including such objects as memorabilia and catchy songs. Then, in the second section, I turn my hand to intermediality, media penetration, and the summarizing function of the Catholic songs and media thematizing the jubilee. The subsequent section shows media cross-fertilization across confessional boundaries. Put differently, these case studies illustrate how Catholic publications summarized not only Catholic opinions but also Lutheran media, including *Hausväterliteratur*, and music. Finally, the last section addresses how media can develop a life of their own. With the aid of a broadsheet, I demonstrate how a medium changes its meaning and becomes a medium of memory. This last case study exemplifies the fluidity of media of memory and their audiences' agency. In short, it is the recipients who decide what is remembered when picking up an object or singing a song.

The Fear of Hymns—Songs in Catholic Polemics

Catholic authors often made reference to Lutheran media in their mockeries. For instance, the title *Concio und Cantio* of an anonymous polemic publication might sound familiar to us from the quote and wordplay “concio et cantio” by Michael Praetorius and his interpretation of good governance (see Chapter 1).¹⁰ The polemical compilation, *Concio und*

¹⁰ Praetorius, *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*. Hieronymus Theodoricus also referred to “concio und cantio” as the two fundamental components of Protestant church services. He did so in his compilation *Corona Templi*. Hieronymus Theodoricus, *Corona Templi: Das ist: / Zwo Predigten/ / von der schönen Kirchen Cron/ oder / Heiligen Kirchengeschmuck/ welche seynd / Concio & Cantio, die Predig vnd / das Gesang. / Die Erste/ / Bey auffrichtung deß newerbawten / Predigstuls für die Kirch zu Sommer=hausen/ gehalten am Sontag Judicate, / den achzehenden Martii. / Die Andere/ / Bey einweihung deß lieblichen Orgelwercks /*

Cantio, includes, as later asked for by Praetorius, a sermon and a song.¹¹ This section addresses the dual purpose of publications like *Concio und Cantio*. Not only did these publications mock the Protestants and their “short” history, but they also made clear the Catholic fear of Lutheran hymns, the effect of Protestant singing practice, and Lutheran media in general. This section also examines the intentional gearing of Catholic media toward all spheres of society through translation and commentary.

This anonymous sermon, *Concio und Cantio*, addresses the fact that the secular sovereigns took over the sacred task of announcing a jubilee and that they planned it in great detail, just as Praetorius suggested in the preface to his *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*. The author of *Concio und Cantio*, quite different from Praetorius, states that Luther himself would have frowned upon the hubris and pretentiousness of the elector of Saxony who took over sacred tasks and who dictated the words of God in sermons.¹² Moreover, the polemic publication from 1618 emphasized and remembered the long

daselbsten/ gehalten den sibenzehenden Junii/ / Anno Domini M DC XXI. / Durch / M[agistrum] Hieronymvm Theodoricvm, / Limpurgischen Pfarrern daselbsten. / Gedruckt zu Nürnberg/ bey Johann Fri=derich Sartorio. (Nürnberg: Sartorius, Johann Friedrich, 1621), D-Mbs 4 Liturg. 697 ah#Beibd.2, accessed February 23, 2021, <https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10989634.html>. For more information, see the DFG-Projekt Orgelpredigt, “Corona Templi (Nürnberg 1621),” Deutsche Orgelpredigtdrucke zwischen 1600 und 1800 – Katalogisierung, Texterfassung, Auswertung (Universität Regensburg), accessed February 23, 2021, <https://orgelpredigt.ur.de/E000099>.

¹¹ *Concio und Cantio, Das ist/ Ein Predig und ein Lied/ fürs best/ Auffs Lutherische Jubel Fest*. It is noteworthy that the Catholic polemical reactions themselves used the term “jubilee” to describe the Lutheran anniversary. Hence, the term in its new sense was corroborated by the Catholic responses. For more information on this process see Zika, *Exorcising our Demons*, 205–6.

¹² *Concio und Cantio, Das ist/ Ein Predig und ein Lied/ fürs best/ Auffs Lutherische Jubel Fest*, 10. “Unnd da wissen wir auß dem Luther/o daß er auff ein Zeit gleich wollt auß der Haut fahren/ wie er vernommen/ daß die Weltlich Obrigkeit sich Geistlicher Sachen underfangen/ welcher Teuffel/ sagt er/ haist auch Handt anlegen inn Geistlichen Sachen. Darnach [...] soll der Predicant predigen/ was jhme die Obrigkeit wird fürlegen/ oder was fur ein Thema jhme zu predigen befolhen wirdt/ ist auch kein Ursach zu jubiliren/ dann das Wort Gottes soll nit angebunden seyn/ an die Weltlich Obrigkeit/ der Geist Gottes soll frey unverhindert reden/ Wölt jhr jetzt under mit jhnen feyren/ so gebt jhr jetz under zuverstehn/ daß jhrs mit jnen haltet/ so jhrs nit that/ so seyt jhr under einender zertrent” (And we know from Luther himself/ that he would have been angry/ when he would have heard/ that the secular sovereigns decide on sacred things/ which devil/ he says/ sets one’s hand to sacred things. Then [...] the preacher ought to preach/ what the sovereigns tell him/ or which topic he is told to preach on/ this is no reason to jubilate/ because God’s word should not be chained up/ by the secular sovereigns/ God’s spirit should be talking freely/ Do you want to celebrate with them/ so insinuate now/ what you think of them/ that you don’t [celebrate]/ then you are disjointed.).

Catholic history and downplayed the history of the Calvinist and the Lutheran Church and, in so doing, highlighted (and partially invented) the Catholic tradition as the “true” faith.¹³ The author stayed completely anonymous, probably in order to circulate the sermon in Saxony. Neither the place of publication, nor the publisher or the printer is disclosed. From the location of extant sources, we can infer that *Concio und Cantio* was printed in southern Germany in one of its Catholic printing centers.¹⁴

In general, *Concio und Cantio* follows the usual structure of Catholic sermons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with proof of legitimacy, othering, and the economy of salvation.¹⁵ The sermon is followed by a polemical and satirical song with forty stanzas titled “Ein schönes newes Liedt vom Lutherischen Jubel Jahr” (A fine new song on the Lutheran jubilee) and sung to the tune “Was gibst du mir zu Lohn.” No song or tune with the title “What kind of reward do you give me” seems traceable in the Catholic vernacular repertory; rather, it may come from pagan-Christian magic spells—either from an incantation against the dislocation of bodily joints from 1602 by a grocer named Mary or from a Tyrolean magic spell for milk and crackling fat.¹⁶ Both incantations invoke Christ;

¹³ *Concio und Cantio, Das ist/ Ein Predig und ein Lied/ fürs best/ Auffs Lutherische Jubel Fest*, 9–11.

¹⁴ Currently, extant copies of *Concio und Cantio* are held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the Staatliche Provinzialbibliothek Amberg, the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, the Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg, the Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg, the Staatliche Bibliothek Passau, the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha der Universität Erfurt, the British Library London (three copies), the Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg, and the Württembergische Landesbibliothek. Of the surviving copies I could consult, none have markers of Catholic or Lutheran provenance. However, given the high survival rate of *Concio und Cantio* in southern Germany and the text’s emphasis on Saxony, it can be assumed that *Concio und Cantio* was published in a Catholic printing center, such as Bamberg or Ingolstadt.

¹⁵ Holzem, “Wie ‘falsch Luthers unnd seinen anhangs Meynung sei...’ Devianzproduktion in der katholischen Predigt über Martin Luther,” 87. Holzem uses the terms “Geltungsdifferenz,” “Legimitationsdifferenz,” “Differenzproduktion,” and “Heilsökonomie.”

¹⁶ Wolfgang Behringer, *Mit dem Feuer vom Leben zum Tod: Hexengesetzgebung in Bayern* (Saarbrücken: Heinrich Hugendubel Verlag, 2012), 196. [My emphasis.]

“Segen der Kramer Marie gegen das Gliederrenken:
Christus der Herr Jesus ging über ein Gaß

“Blessing of the grocer Mary against dislocations of
joints:
Christ, the Lord crossed a street

they are not prayers because they do not plead but promise relief from pain or an abundance of milk and fat. Magic spells with Christian elements hinted toward the Lutheran belief since the Lutheran church is centered around the word of Christ.¹⁷ Thus, the author of the polemic song alluded a fortiori to Lutheranism's profanity by using a tune that came from a magic spell.¹⁸

Die war sich wüst und naß,
 Er trat auf einen Stein,
 Verrenigte sich Ader und auch sein Bein,
 Bein zu Bein,
 Ader zu Ader,
 Blut zu Blut,
 Fleisch zu Fleisch,
 Christus der Herr Jesus,
 der ging auf einer Grub,
 Er verrenigte sein Ader und auch sein Fuß,
 da kam die Mutter Gottes und sagte:
 'O liebster Sohne mein,
 Was gibst du mir zu Lohn,
 Daß ich's Dir segne alle drei morgen früe.'"

[The street] was dire and wet,
 He stepped on a stone,
 Dislocated his vein and leg,
 Leg to leg,
 Vein to vein,
 Blood to blood,
 Flesh to flesh,
 Christ Jesus,
 Walked on a pit,
 He dislocated his vein and also his leg,
 Then the Mother of God came and said:
 'Oh my dear son,
 What kind of reward do you give me,
 So that I will bless you all three tomorrow morning.'"

Siegfried Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Aberglaubens aller Zeiten und Völker*, 1 (Berlin: Hermann Barsdorf Verlag, 1910), 357–58. [My emphasis.]

"Im Tirol legt man an einem Dienstag oder Samstag Abend ein großes Stück Salz in das Feuer, läßt es verbrennen und sagt, voll Vertrauen auf Jesu und die Heilige Dreieinigkeit:
 'Unsere liebe Frau hatte ihr Liebes bei der Hand, sie gingen über eine große Heide, da begegnete ihnen ein krankes Vieh, da sprach unsere liebe Frau: Der, dem es gehört, wird kommen wird mir's klagen. Indem läuft eine Frau daher und schreit: O Herr Jesu Christ! Hilf! Mir ist genommen meine Milch und Schmalz. Sprach der Herr: Was gibst du mir zum Lohn, wenn ich will wieder bringen deine Milch und Schmalz. Da sagt die Frau: Was mir von Gott nur möglich ist! Befahl ihr der Herr Jesu Christ: Geh heim, leg das Salz ins Feuer in meinem Namen – Gott des Vaters, Sohnes und heiligen Geistes – gib alsdann deinem Vieh so ein, dir kommen dann Milch und Schmalz.'"

"In Tyrol one puts a huge piece of salt into the fire on a Tuesday or Saturday evening, lets it burn, and says trusting in Jesus and the Holy Trinity:

'Our dear lady had her loved one by the hand, they walked across a big heather. When they met a sick animal, the lady said: The one who owns the animal will come and complain to me. At this moment a woman comes by and shouts out: O Lord Jesus Christ! Help! My milk and my crackling fat were taken from me. The Lord said: What kind of reward do you give me if I bring back your milk and fat. The woman replies: Everything that is possible for me through God! Lord Jesus Christ ordered: Go home, put salt into the fire in my name – in the name of the father, the son, and the holy spirit – then give it to the animal, you will have milk and fat.'"

¹⁷ Heike Albrecht, *Hexenglauben, Hexenverfolgung, Hexenwahn im Deutschland der Frühen Neuzeit: Ansatz einer soziologischen Analyse* (Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag, 2001), 50.

¹⁸ In his microhistory *The Cheese and the Worms*, Carlo Ginzburg offers a different theory. He claims that the Reformation indirectly caused pagan beliefs to emerge, while the Counter-Reformation put these pagan rituals into the spotlight in order to extinguish them. Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), translated by John A. Tedeschi and Anne Tedeschi, 20–21.

This song text appears with only slight changes in a second publication, on the face of it by a Capuchin monk from Augsburg.¹⁹ The print, titled *Wider das Evangelische Jubelfest, schandtlose außgesprengte Paßquill* (Against the Protestant jubilee, a lampoon dispersed without shame), includes a preface and a postscript that suggest a Protestant author who satirizes the Catholic “Ein schönes newes Liedt vom Lutherischen Jubel Jahr.” For instance, the postscript excoriates the supposed author:

The lampoon is written by a Capuchin monk from Augsburg who better knows the pubs there than the *collecta*.²⁰

In *Wider das Evangelische Jubelfest, schandtlose außgesprengte Paßquill*, the song is sung to the tune of “Kompt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn” (Come here by me, says God’s son). This popular and widely disseminated Lutheran hymn is based on the melody of the folk tune “Es ist nicht lang, daß es geschah” (It’s not long ago that this happened). The tune is also known as the “Lindenschmidton” (The blacksmith’s tune whose shop is close to a linden) and dates back to the late fifteenth century. The ballad “Lindenschmidton” recounts the story of a deadly feud reminiscent of the situation between the confessions.

Anabaptist Reformer Georg Grünwald (?1490–1530) wrote the text of “Kompt her zu mir” and it became a popular Lutheran hymn.²¹ “Kompt her zu mir” was set by various composers since the early seventeenth century. Hans Leo Hassler, for instance, published a

¹⁹ Deß Cappuciner Münchs, zu Augspurg: *Wider das Evangelische Jubelfest, schandtlose außgesprengte Paßquill*, Welchen man nicht gewürdiget, darauf zu antworten: sondern an statt desselben, jhr Vrsprung vnd Natur, berichtsweiß annectirt vnd angehenckt ist: auß welchem solcher Pasquill leichtlich judicirt werden kan. ([Augsburg?]: Parnassische Truckerey, 1618), accessed June 26, 2019, <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11207774-2>, 4. This publication is only extant at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München and the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg. The current location of the print might be the same as the place of activity in the seventeenth century.

²⁰ “Diß Paßquill ist von einem Capuciner Münch zu Augsburg gestellt/ welchem die Writshäuser daselbsten besser/ als die Collecta, kandt seyn.” Ibid., 8.

²¹ Georg Grünwald, *Ain schöens newes // Christlichs // lyed. // Item/ die Zehen // gebott Gottes/ zu sin // genn im Thon// Auß tieffer // nodt letlc. //* (Augsburg: Weißenhorn, Alexander, 1530), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Hymn. 3426, accessed February 23, 2021, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0000B60000000000>.

setting for four parts in 1608 during his tenure in Dresden. The Lutheran melody juxtaposed with a Catholic text is intended as mockery. The Catholic text is thusly lampooned by the tune, as well as the tune's history, and the contrafact technique common for Protestant hymns.

“Ein schönes newes Liedt” from *Concio und Cantio* reckons with the Lutherans, especially Saxony, and their celebration of the jubilee. In dialogue form between a devout Catholic and the Saxons, the song warns, ridicules, and dooms the Lutherans. However, it leaves open the possibility of salvation. The first stanza directly addresses the Saxons, and the second reads like a warning to the Lutherans:

Musical Example 2.1. First stanza of “Ein schönes newes Liedt” set to the tune used by Georg Grünwald, Ain schoens newes || Christlich || lyed (Augsburg: Weissenhorn, Alexander, 1530) (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz: Hymn. 3426).

1.
O Saxenland/ groß ist die Schandt/
Die sich befindt/ am Hudlmangsgind/
All deiner Predicanten.
Jhr Jubeljar/ bey dir so klar/
Jst lauter Dunst/ und lose Gspunst/
Sie könnens nit verguandten.

1.
O Saxony/ the disgrace is great/
That [the disgrace] is with the wretched people/
Of your preachers.
Their jubilee/ which you see so clearly/
Is only made out of hot air/ and loose yarn/
They cannot hide it.

2.

Hör an die Sach/ und denckh jhm nach/
Hör was ich sing/ achts nit gering/
Du Edles Blut der Sachsen/
Diß Jubel Jar bringt dich in Gfar/
Glaub mir darvon/ groß Spott und Hon/
Wirdt dir in Busen wachsen.²²

2.

Listen to this matter/ And think about it/
Listen to my singing/ do not despise it/
You honorable Saxon blood/
This jubilee puts you in danger/
Believe me/ You will draw scorn and derision/
In your bosom.

In the fourth stanza, the author builds the argument of the “unjust” Lutheran jubilee. The stanza clearly states that the Lutherans and Calvinists did not have a reason to celebrate at all and that the Catholic jubilee of 1617 was the only valid one:

4.

Der Pabst zu Rom/ in seiner Khron/
Hat vollen Gwalt/ in rechter Gstalt/
Ein Jubel Jar zugeben.
Daß aber drumb/ das Lutherthumb/
Solchs nahim thut/ ist je wol gut/
Wer wolt das Lachen heben?²³

4.

The pope in Rome/ with his crown/
Has all the power/ in the right guise/
To proclaim a jubilee.
Because of that/ now the Lutherans/
want to do it like [the pope]/ which is probably fine/
Who will laugh about that eventually?

Then, the Saxons reacted and ask why they should not celebrate the anniversary of the Reformation with song and dance:

9.

Ey warumb nit?/ Ist doch hiemit/
Groß frewd und Lust/ wie wol bewust/
Im gantzen Landt zu Sachsen/
Deß Luthers Lehr/ die ist nun mehr/
Starck uberall/ wie d'Sonnen Strall/
Bey hundert Jar gewachsen.

9.

So why not?/ Does it not bring/
Joy and desire/ as everyone knows/
In all of Saxony/
Since Luther's teaching/ is now/
Strong everywhere/ like the rays of the sun/
And has grown for one hundred years.

10.

Drumb singen wir/ drumb springen wir/
Das Jubel Jar/ ist ganz und gar/
Uns in den Busen kommen.
Weil unser Glaub/ die schöne Taub/
Der schöne Glantz/ und Engel Tantz/
So gwaltig zugenommen.²⁴

10.

This is why we sing/ this is why we dance/
The jubilee/ all and everything/
Comes to our heart.
Because our belief/ the beautiful dove/
The pretty splendor/ and the angels' dance/
Has increased in such a manner.

²² *Concio und Cantio, Das ist/ Ein Predig und ein Lied/ fürs best/ Auffs Lutherische Jubel Fest*, 14.

²³ Ibid., 15.

²⁴ Ibid., 16–17.

Stanza 10, in particular, refers to the Lutheran tradition of singing and its effect on believers: Through singing, a shared memory can be established. Put differently, the message of the Lutheran jubilee was implanted on believers' hearts through singing and bodily expression of joy, which signals persistence and apparently was angst-inducing for the Catholics.

Following the Saxons' question why not celebrate and express their joy, several stanzas give reasons as to why the Lutheran centenary was observed unjustly and each ends with a rhetorical question that asks if this is a reason to celebrate ("Soll man da jubiliren?"—"Should one celebrate because of this?"; "Soll man da triumphiren?"—"Should one triumph because of this?"). The song then predicts a bleak future for the Saxons until the very last stanza, which presents the way out—from a Catholic perspective—of the Lutheran dilemma of heresy:

40.
Kehr wider umb/ zu dem Pabsthumb/
Rom wider her/ zur alten Lehr/
Thuets/ thuets in Gottes Namen.
Da ist fürwar/ das Jubel Jar.
Welchs hie anfangt/ und fort gelangt/
Biß in den Himmel/ Amen.²⁵

40.
Turn around again/ and follow the pope/
Back to Rome/ and to the old teachings/
Do it/ do it in God's name.
This is really/ the jubilee.
Which does start here/ and goes on/
Until heaven/ Amen.

The fear of Lutheran hymns and their effectiveness, as visible in stanza 10 of "Ein schönes newes Liedt" from *Concio und Cantio*, can also be found in other publications. For instance, the famed Jesuit polemicist Adam Contzen (1573–1635) voiced this fear in his *Jubel über Jubel*, the text that gives this chapter its title.²⁶ In a similar vein to *Concio und Cantio*, *Jubel über Jubel* warned its readers that "the hymns of Luther kill more souls than his writings or declamations" and advised others to promote Catholic songs in defense of

²⁵ *Concio und Cantio, Das ist/ Ein Predig und ein Lied/ fürs best/ Auffs Lutherische Jubel Fest*, 24.

²⁶ Contzen, *Jubel über Jubel*.

the Catholic belief.²⁷ The orality of hymns that grants them the ability to kill souls is reminiscent of Bruce R. Smith's theory of sound that "penetrates the body," establishes a "hereness," and offers belonging.²⁸

Contzen might be the anonymous author of the polemic *Concio und Cantio* printed in N.N. by N.N. As a Jesuit professor of biblical studies in Mainz, Contzen was geographically close to one of the most important Catholic printing presses of the German lands with a close connection to the Frankfurt book fair where he did not have to fear censorship thanks to the Imperial Book Commissioner, Valentin Leucht (?1500–1619), who was a zealous supporter of the Counter-Reformation.²⁹ The printer Johann Albin of Mainz, with whom Contzen usually published his polemics, printed for both the Counter-Reformation and the Jesuits.³⁰ However, the fact that the author of *Concio und Cantio* addresses the burghers of Augsburg and that the print mainly survives in Bavarian libraries speaks against Contzen as the author and for a printing house in Bavaria. Moreover, the typography of *Contio und Cantio* bears resemblance to German-language prints by the Ingolstadt printer Elisabeth Angermaier.³¹ Whether or not Contzen authored the polemic, *Concio und Cantio*, much like *Jubel über Jubel*, expresses the Catholic concern about Protestant media.

²⁷ Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation*, 100.

²⁸ Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England*, 7–8.

²⁹ Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation*, 90.

³⁰ Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet: Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werks von Josef Benzing*. 2., überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage, Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 51 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 646.

³¹ Both the layout of the title pages as well as the ornamentation are similar in *Contio und Cantio* and, e.g., *Ein recht Freundlichs Gespräch zweyer gut vertrawten Euangelischen Dienern am Wort*. For instance, we find the very same ornamentation on page 14 of *Contio und Cantio* and on page 1 of *Ein recht Freundlichs Gespräch*. Cyprian Doser, *Ein recht Freundlichs Gespräch zweyer gut vertrawten Euangelischen Dienern am Wort, mit Namen Thomas vnd Lucas, vber ein gehaltne Predigt Herrn Zacharias, auch Euangelischen Predigers* (Ingolstadt: Angermayrin, 1517 [i.e. 1617]), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: 4 Diss. 1144#Beibd.7, accessed March 27, 2021, <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0003/bsb00031073/images/index.html>. Other polemic and anti-Protestant books published by Elisabeth Angermaier bear similarities to the typography used for *Contio und Cantio*. For instance, see: Andreas Förner, *Evangelischer Hafenkäß der Augspurgischen Confession. : M. Johanni Schrotter, Superintendenzen zu Nürnberg, wie auch anderen, ... des würdigen*

It was not only the singing that seemed threatening to the Catholics but also the Lutherans' handling of media in general. The Jesuit Peter Roest, a principal in Mohlsheim (the center of recatholicizing Alsace), published the pamphlet *Psevdoivbilaevm* in which he lists and denigrates the Lutheran media that celebrated the centenary:

Who can tell or describe the writings/ paintings/ jubilee commissions/ jubilee poems/ jubilee songs/ jubilee coins/ jubilee sermons/ useless writings for the jubilee/ and all the publications for the jubilee? Not even mentioning other ends/ places/ people/ and countries/ we are on our own/ in one day I was in contact with more than twenty different jubilee writings and useless books/ and similar ones were roaming around/ like the cockchafer/ in the warm month of May.³²

The resemblance of Roest's opinion on Lutheran media to Contzen's writing on the centenary in his *Jubel über Jubel* is not the only similarity between Roest's and Contzen's publications.³³ Besides the similarity in content, both publications first appeared in Latin before they were translated to German. Whereas Roest's *Psevdoivbilaevm* did not change in title, Contzen's Latin version of *Jubel über Jubel* was published as *Jubilum Jubilorum*

*Ministerij Wolberetten Zungendreschern ... wegen deß herrlichen Sigs ... so sie newlich zu Nürnberg den vier newen Photinianischen Ertzketzern, durch mancher Disputationenkampf aberhalten, zu sonderlicher ... Frolockung, ... Von Andrea Fornero, ... verehret. An jetzo aus d. Lat. Exemplar Verteutschet. ... (Ingolstadt: Angermayrin, 1617), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: 4 Polem. 1265; Martin Luther, *Der Evangelische Wetter-Han/ Das ist: Ungleiche Reden Martini Lutheri/ von den fürnembste[n] Artickln Christlicher Religion*, Jetzt auffs new zugericht/ und mit etlichen nutzlichen Tractälein hierzu dienstlich gemehret / [Sigmund Ernhoffer] (Ingolstadt: Angermayrin; Ederische Truckerey, 1617), Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen: 8 TH POLEM 254/63 (1), accessed March 27, 2021, <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN729050939>.*

³² "Wer kan die Schreiberey/ Malerey/ Jubelpatenten/ Jubelreimen/ Jubellieder/ Jubelpfennig/ Jubelspredigten/ Jubel Scartecken/ vnnd das gantze Jubelwesen erzehlen noch beschreiben? Anderer Enden/ Orten/ Leutten/ vnnd Landen zugeschweigen/ seynd mir allein/ auff einen einzigen Tag vber die zwantzig vnderschiedlichen Jubelschrifften vnd Scartecken zuhanden kommen/ dergleichen allenthalben vmbgefloodert/ anderst nicht/ als die Mayenkäfer/ im warmen Sommer." Peter Roest and Conrad Vetter, *PSEVDOIVBILAEVM: Das ist: Falscher Jubel/ So ANNO 1617. Den 1. Tag Nouembr. mit vngewöhnlicher Solennitet/ Von den Lutheranern Angestelt/vnd gehalten worden. Theilß Wegen der Finsternussen/so sich bey vnseren Vorältern wider die Religion in Teutschlanden/sollen erregt vnd angesponnen haben. Theilß Wegen würdiger Gedächtnuß/ vnd schuldigen Andencken/ deß außerleßnen Apostatae MARTINI LVTHERI. Erstlich in Lateinischer Spraach durch P.PETRVM ROESTIVM der Societet IESV, H. Schrift Doctorem vnd Professorem verfertigt. Vnd jetzo Durch P.Conradum Vetter obgemelter Societet IESV Priester/ dem gemeinen Volck zum besten verteutscht [...] (Mölsheim: Johann Hartmann, 1620), A3b, as cited in Kastner, *Geistlicher Rauffhandel*, 111.*

³³ Contzen, *Jubel über Jubel*, 11.

Jubilaeum.³⁴ As two distinct media, the Latin texts and their German translations imparted the same message of Catholic salvation to different social estates. Taking Contzen's other works into consideration, the target readers of the Latin version might have been academics or theologians, such as the Reformed Protestant David Pareus (1548–1622) with whom Contzen had an ongoing literary battle.

While the title indicates the converse, the Catholic *Jubel über Jubel* suggests that, given their confessional discord, their unimpressive history of only one hundred years, and their hubris in interpreting Scripture more righteously than previous generations, the Protestants had no right to rejoice.³⁵ Contzen also gave a full account of Lutheran history since 1517 and an inventory of polemic papers that were exchanged among the Protestants between 1570 and 1617.³⁶ He condemned the Lutheran jubilee with all its memorabilia in the form of publications, newly composed or texted songs, and physical objects, such as goblets or coins. However, Contzen himself, probably because he was parodying Lutheran culture, embraced precisely this “derided” approach and used it against the Lutherans in

³⁴ Both of Contzen's publications were published in 1618. Contzen, *Jubilum Jubilorum Jubilaeum Evangelicorum et piae lacrymae omnium Romano-Catholicorum ad Imperatorem Aug., Reges, Principes, Republicas, Populos pangente & plangente R. P Adamo Contzen, Societatis Jesu Theologo & SS. Litterarum in Archie-piscopali Academia Moguntina Professore Ordinario.*

Roest first published his *Psevdoivbilaevm* in Latin in 1617; in 1620 Conrad Vetter translated it to German. Peter Roest, *Psevdoivbilaevm: Anno septimo decimo svpra millesimvm sexcentesimvm, Calendia Novembribvs, insolenti festivitate a Lvtheranis, tvm ob dari coeptas maiorvm nostrorvm religioni in Germania tenebras, tvm ob memoriam Martini Lvtheri, Apostatae selectissimi, celebratum. Quod lubens volens, Dat, Dicat, Consecrat. Magistratvi, Praedicantibvs, Academicis, Populisq; Lvtheranis, Rhenanis. [...] (Molsheim: Johann Hartmann).*

³⁵ The full title of Contzen's *Jubel über Jubel* suggests that all confessions had to face a strong reaction considering the centenary of the Reformation. According to the title of both the German and the Latin version, the Protestants celebrate with “Jubel” or “jubilation,” whereas the Catholics have to shed tears (according to the Latin title: “lacrymae”) or have to suffer (according to the German title: “Mittleyden”). See Contzen, *Jubel über Jubel. New Evangelisch Jubeljahr/ Und Christliches Mittleyden Aller Alten Catholischen/ An Keyserliche Majestät/ Könige/ Fürsten/ Gemeinden/ Völcker/ etc. / Erstlich durch den Ehrwürdigen ... P. Adamum Contzen Societatis Jesu, der H. Schrifft Doctoren/ in Latein beschrieben/ Jetzund aber ... in hohe Teutsche Sprach ubersetzt. Contzen, Jubilum Jubilorum Jubilaeum Evangelicorum et piae lacrymae omnium Romano-Catholicorum ad Imperatorem Aug., Reges, Principes, Republicas, Populos pangente & plangente R. P Adamo Contzen, Societatis Jesu Theologo & SS. Litterarum in Archie-piscopali Academia Moguntina Professore Ordinario.; Florie, “Jubeln oder Weinen?,” 563–64.*

³⁶ For an analysis of the book by Contzen, *Jubel über Jubel*, see Florie, “Jubeln oder Weinen?”

his book *Jubel über Jubel*. He included a song with musical notation as well as a depiction of a coin that ridicules the volatile Lutherans (see musical example 2.2 and figure 2.1). The coin thematizes the Lutherans who celebrated an anniversary after only one hundred years, whereas the Catholics could look back to a stable history of 1600 years.³⁷ In short, the depicted coin summarizes the Catholics' opinion of Lutherans as volatile, heretical, and unworthy of a jubilee. This emphasis on the long arc of Catholic history plays on the early modern belief system of only believing things to be true or legitimate when proven to be old.³⁸



Figure 2.1. Adam Contzen, "Römische JubelMünz." This depiction of a coin ridiculing the Lutherans is included in Contzen's Catholic polemic *Jubel über Jubel*, Mayntz: [s.n.], 1618 (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: 229.8 Theol. [4]). Used with permission.

³⁷ Contzen, *Jubel über Jubel*, 1v.

³⁸ Pollmann and Kuijpers, "Introduction," 6.

The coin is based on Sirach 27:11: “The conversation of the godly is always wisdom, but the fool changes like the moon.” The obverse of the coin depicts the sun and bears Latin circumscriptioins, “The steady antiquity of the Churches” and “[The sun or the Church] shines steadily for one thousand and six hundred [years].” These inscriptions clearly refer to the Catholic Church, which exemplifies wise and steady conversation, as seen in Sirach. The reverse shows the moon with the circumscriptioins, “The volatile novelties of heresy” and “[The moon or the heresy] changes its shape in one hundred years one thousand six hundred times.” The reverse discusses alleged Protestant traits—their foolishness and volatility. In the form of a commemorative medal, this coin points out the seemingly “biggest flaws” of the Protestants—the discord among the different Protestant sects and their lack of a long and steady history. The coin also reminds believers of Catholicism’s positive traits of longevity and equilibrium.

Thus far, the publications introduced in this chapter have provided a first insight into the qualities of the Catholic reaction to the Protestant jubilee. The Catholic authors aimed to delegitimize the “unjust” jubilee by emphasizing the Reformation’s short and colorful history while remembering the Catholic Church’s long and steady history. However, these first reactions also made clear that the centenary, the media commentary, coverage, and its efficacy worried the Catholics. Like the Lutheran media of 1617, the Catholic publications encountered here made use of objects functioning as memorabilia, they included songs as a way to disseminate information, and they were geared toward all social classes—all of which will be further discussed in the following sections.

Summarizing the Catholic Notion of 1617 in Song

The German translation of Contzen's lampoon *Jubel über Jubellaments* over the "un-Catholic" jubilee of 1617 as reflected in the illustrations of the coin and a song. In the subsequent section, I advance two arguments. First, the songs appended to larger Catholic publications successfully summarized the expansive and detailed polemics and helped spread the weightier publications' content to a wider audience from different social strata. Second, the Catholic media, like the Lutheran media of 1617, used intermediality between objects, music, and print publications to increase their efficacy and memorability.

The author of the song in *Jubel über Jubel* may be the theologian Stephan Weber (1539–1622) from Mainz who translated Contzen's *Jubilum Jubilorum*. In the song's paratext, the author identified himself not with a name but only as a "kindhearted German who loves his nation."³⁹ The song titled "Ein Klagliedt. Wegen deß Uncatholischen newlich angestelten Jubels" (A lament. Because of the recently celebrated uncatholic jubilee) has 31 stanzas, each ending with the telling refrain: "O Jubel ubel Jubel/ O Ubel über Ubel." The author punned with the similarity of "Jubel"—"jubilation," "Ubel/Übel"—"evil," and "über/über"—"over." Whereas the Latin version of the polemic most likely was geared toward a learned readership, such as clerics, the German version could be comprehended by a wider audience, such as members of the nobility or mid-educated burghers who had attended Latin schools. In general, literacy knowledge was still fragmentary for seventeenth-century burghers, and Catholic education lagged behind Protestant schooling.

³⁹ Contzen, *Jubel über Jubel*, 2r. See Musical Example 2.2.

Nevertheless, the middle strata of urban society (e.g., brewers, merchants, artisans, and civic officials, and to a lesser degree soldiers, innkeepers, and apothecarists) owned books.⁴⁰

Moreover, the fact that the strophic song “Ein Klagliedt” in *Jubel über Jubel* has a range of less than an octave suggests that the translated polemic was targeted toward this wider audience. The lament could travel even further than the publication as a whole since it was easier and cheaper to circulate. In fact, a broad audience, farmers as well as the nobility, are explicitly mentioned in the ninth and tenth stanzas of the lament. Due to its broad approachability, the song had the potential to disseminate the gist of Contzen’s writing to all the estates through oral transmission or apographs.⁴¹ This held especially true for the countryside as a place of confessional struggle.

Indeed, this lament summarizes and circulates Contzen’s main points. The first stanza functions like an exordium of a motet; it addresses the sincere German heart and asks for attention. The following stanzas give a reading of the history of Protestantism. They thematize Protestantism’s alleged wrong teachings and the cruelty that arose during the Wars of Religion due to the Reformation. The sixteenth stanza addresses the presentation of the Augsburg Confession, the *Variata*, and proposes that soon there will be an imminent defeasance of the Augsburg Confession. In stanzas 17 through 26, Luther himself has to moan and voluntarily wants to disappear because of other Reformers such as Johannes Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli, or Martin Bucer. In the last three stanzas, the reader or listener with German righteous blood (“Teutsch redliches Blut”) is addressed once more

⁴⁰ Erdmann Weyrauch, “Die politische Führungsschicht Kitzingens vornehmlich im 16. Jahrhundert,” in *Die bürgerliche Elite der Stadt Kitzingen: Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte einer landesherrlichen Stadt im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ingrid Bátori and Erdmann Weyrauch, Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit 11 (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 258–60; Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation*, 110–11.

⁴¹ This summarizing function can also be found in prayers. For instance, the anonymous *Außschreiben Und Verkündigung* consists of a report and a prayer that summarizes the report’s main points. *Außschreiben Und Verkündigung*.

and asked for reconsideration regarding the jubilee given the content of the song and the book.

Musical Example 2.2. Adam Contzen, "Ein Klagliedt. Wegen deß Uncatholischen newlich angestelten Jubels." This polemic song is included in Contzen's Catholic polemic Jubel über Jubel, Mayntz: [s.n.], 1618 (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: 229.8 Theol. [4]). Used with permission.

Ein Klagliedt
Wegen deß Uncatholischen new-
lich angestelten Ju-
bels/
Von einem gutherzigen/ seiner Nation liebha-
benden Teutschen gedicht vnnid
gesungen.

W
Erck auff O Deutsch- auffrichtigs Herz!
merck was ich dir wil singen/ mit ganzem Ernst nicht
ohne schmerz/ beyd Ohren sol- len klingen/ O Jubel
Jubel Jubel/ O Jubel vber Jubel.

Even before the jubilee, Catholics mocked the Protestants in broadsides. These Catholic publications had traits in common with their Lutheran models. For instance, *D.M. Luthers Grosser Catechismus* from 1616 suggests Luther's purportedly epicurean way of life by depicting an oversized wine glass (for a manuscript version of this print from 1618, see *D.M. Luthers Jubel Glaß*, figure 2.3).⁴² Catholic polemicists did not choose the wine glass without precedents. First, during the sixteenth century, Luther's belongings, such as his rings and clothing, and more quotidian objects like his spoon or wine glass, were venerated like relics.⁴³ These objects were venerated because Lutherans at large decided upon an item to be a medium of memory, not because they were told to do so.⁴⁴ For instance, the drinking glass in figure 2.2, allegedly Luther's wine glass, was given to Rudolph Augustus, Duke of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, in 1680.⁴⁵ The "Luther relic" indeed was venerated: The simple glass was mounted on the decorative gold-plated silver stem ex-posta technique reminiscent of reliquaries in Catholicism.⁴⁶ Moreover, the wine glass is reminiscent of the eucharist cup, a symbol for which the Catholics wanted to keep

⁴² *D.M. Luthers Grosser Catechismus* from 1616 is a letterpress and woodblock print. An illustration of this broadsheet is included in Harms and Rattay, *Illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahrhunderten der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe*, 65. For the manuscript version (ink drawing), see figure 2.3 or Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 208–9.

⁴³ This is especially surprising since Luther himself disapproved of relics. Jaroslav J. Pelikan, Helmut T. Lehmann and Martin Luther, eds., *Luther's Works: Table Talk* 54 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1967), 131, 247. However, Luther himself knew of the appeal of relics. He and no other chose the date to post his Theses and it was the day before Frederick III annually exhibited his collection of relics in the Wittenberg castle church. Every year, thousands of pilgrims came to venerate these relics and thus Luther could secure a large audience.

In a relic-like manner, Luther's death mask and subsequent Luther portraits were used for commemoration during the sixteenth century and especially in 1617 and 1717. Scribner, "Incombustible Luther," 54.

⁴⁴ Erll, "Medium des kollektiven Gedächtnisses," 16–18.

⁴⁵ "Sogenanntes Trinkglas Luthers: vermutlich 1. Hälfte des 16. Jh." Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: Signatur: KGS 1, accessed October 14, 2019, <http://www.luthermania.de/items/show/1153>.

⁴⁶ This mockery was not confined to the seventeenth century. For instance, in 1864, the Catholic journal *Chilinaeum* polemicized against objects of Luther that were venerated among the Lutherans. J. B. Stamminger, ed., *Chilianeum: Blätter für katholische Wissenschaft, Kunst und Leben* 5 (Würzburg: Stahel, 1864), accessed March 1, 2021, <https://books.google.com/books?id=RaNGAAAACAAJ>, 225.

the monopoly. In sum, the Catholics possibly mocked the Lutherans for abusing a Christological symbol, for their new “Luther relics,” and for following a Reformer whom they marked as a drunkard. By bringing up Luther’s venerated wine glass, a tangible object, the Catholics based their broadsheet on the material level of media of memory.



Figure 2.2. Supposed wine glass of Luther, first half of the sixteenth century, (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: KGS 1). Licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0. The glass was mounted on the decorative gold-plated silver stem ex post.

The broadsheet *D.M. Luthers Grosser Catechismus* from 1616 featuring Luther's wine glass is an excellent example of intermediality, in which a tangible object is transformed into a polemical commentary through the mediated version of the object. The successful broadsheet was reprinted in multiple versions. One of the versions was produced two years later on the occasion of the Reformation jubilee, namely the ink drawing *D.M. Luthers Jubel Glaß* (see figure 2.3).⁴⁷ It offers the same image—an oversized wine glass—with a new title and text that refer explicitly to the Protestant jubilee. The wine glass depicted is divided into four parts. It represents a reduced and polemically skewed version of Luther's *Large Catechism*. However, instead of Luther's five sections, the wine glass has only four. From top to bottom, they are the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and a section titled "Der Cathechismus gar auß" (The Catechism is finished), which refers to the fact that when this section is reached, the glass is empty. Baptism and the Sacrament of the Eucharist are omitted in the broadside.

⁴⁷ *D.M. Luthers Jubel Glaß* ([S. l.]: [s.n.], 1618), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: 38.25 Aug. 2°, fol. 308. Since it is an ink drawing, this broadsheet can be found only at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. Other (printed) versions are extant in Wolfenbüttel, Berlin, Augsburg, Ulm, and Coburg. Thus, it is possible that this broadsheet was produced and sold in southern Germany. See also Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 206–9. This broadsheet is one of the few broadsheets that Catholics published as a response to 1617. Ulrike Hänisch suggests that the situation in 1630 was similar—the centenary of the *Confessio Augustana* did not lead to a large number of Catholic broadsheets. Hänisch, *'Confessio Augustana triumphans'*, 220.



Figure 2.3. D.M. Luthers Jubel Glaß, manuscript, ink drawing, 1618 (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: 38.25 Aug. 2°, fol. 308). Used with permission. This manuscript depicting Luther's catechism in the form of a wine glass was published in various versions.

Like Contzen's "Ein Klagliedt," the broadside's text starts with a salutation of the good Germans and an appeal to listen. The left column describes Luther's teaching as being composed of a full wine glass and the associated drinking, which ridicules the principle of *sola scriptura*. The wine glass replaces the Bible as the bedrock of Lutheran belief. Moreover, Luther predicted the jubilee with the help of the wine glass, which contained his heart, soul, spirit, belief, and teaching. The last two lines of the left column mock the Lutherans' way of celebrating the jubilee with drinking, singing, and reciting psalms: "Wir Lutheraner Jubilieren, Wir trincken, singen und Psalliren"—"We Lutherans jubilate, we drink, sing, and rejoice in psalms."

The right column picks up on the topic of singing with a contrafact to the Lutheran hymn "Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort," which was one of Hoë von Hoënnegg's stipulated hymns for the Dresden jubilee celebration.⁴⁸ More importantly, it was Luther himself who wrote the text of "Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort" against the backdrop of the Ottoman wars in 1542. As mentioned in Chapter 1, its anti-Catholic and anti-Turkish content made the hymn a marker of the Lutheran confession and its specific cultural identity already in the sixteenth century.⁴⁹ Soon after the hymn's publication, it advanced to the status of a staple in Protestant services that encouraged confessional passion and was used as a tool to offend Catholics.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Hoë von Hoënnegg, *Chur Sächsische Evangelische JubelFrewde*.

⁴⁹ Brown, *Singing the Gospel*, 20–21.

⁵⁰ In his book *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, Alexander Fisher describes the history of "Erhalt und Herr bei deinem Wort" in Regensburg. There, the hymn functioned as a weapon against the Catholics and was sung during the Protestant jubilee of 1617, although it was banned from Sundays and feast days already in 1548. Fisher, *Music, Piety, and Propaganda*, 218–19.

Praetorius, *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*, first stanza.⁵¹

Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort
und steure des Papsts und Türken Mord,
die Jesum Christum, deinen Sohn,
wollen stürzen von seinem Thron.
[...]

Preserve us, Lord, with your word,
and control the murderous rage of the pope and
the Turks,
who would want to cast down Jesus Christ,
your son,
From his throne.⁵³

D.M. Luthers Jubel Glaß, 1618.

Erhalt uns Herr bey deiner Wurst,
Ein solches Glaß löscht eim den durst,
der Hafenkäß⁵² stund wol darbey,
dan drauf da schmeckht der Wein gar frey.
[...]

Preserve us, Lord, with your sausage,
A glass like this one quenches one's thirst,
The nonsense [“Hafenkäß”] also alludes to
cheese] was served with it,
After that [meal] the wine tastes very carefree.

This contrafact is reminiscent of Protestant satirical songs of the sixteenth century, such as the mocking of Catholic church music by reworking “Ora pro nobis” to “Ohr ab, zum Thor aus” (Ear off, walk out of the gate).⁵⁴ The contrafact here, “Erhalt uns Herr bei deiner Wurst,” seizes upon the main point of the broadside: Luther’s craving for wine and food.

To sum up, both Catholic polemic songs, “Erhalt uns Herr bei deiner Wurst” and “Ein Klagliedt” encapsulate the publications in which they are included. By referring to Luther’s penchant for wine in the song “Ein Klagliedt,” its author made a connection not only to Luther’s supposed lifestyle and to Luther memorabilia, such as his wine glass, but also to earlier Catholic media lampooning the Reformer. Through the numerous cross-references, “Ein Klagliedt” supports the Catholic creation and promotion of a negative

⁵¹ Praetorius, *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix & Panegyrica*, No. 29.

⁵² Hafenkäß alludes to the polemic that Jesuit Andreas Förner (or Forner) wrote on occasion of the Protestant jubilee. Förner, *Evangelischer Hafenkäß der Augspurgischen Confession*. See also Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 208.

⁵³ Translation by Francis Browne, *Bach Cantatas Website*. Accessed October 10, 2019, <https://www.bach-cantatas.com/Texts/Chorale142-Eng3.htm>.

⁵⁴ Hans Volz, ed., *Bericht über die Einführung der Reformation in Göttingen im Jahre 1529. [Von] Franz Lubecus: Anlässlich der 450jährigen Wiederkehr des Reformationstages im Auftrage der Stadt Göttingen* (Göttingen: Heinz Reise, 1967), 15–16.

image of Luther. Furthermore, the song functioned as a memorable summary of a more complex and lengthier explication of anti-Protestant propaganda that was easier to remember and disseminate than a monolithic polemic. This summarizing function of artistic output—songs, poems, or fiction prose—also occurred cross-confessionally, as the next section shows.

***Kurtze Erklärung* or Long Explanation of Luther's Supposed Misdeeds**

The topos of the *Jubel Glaß* and the commonplace of Lutheran gluttony can also be found in other polemic media, such as an anonymous anti-Lutheran song “Jubellied, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß” (Jubilation song on D. Georg Zechman, see musical example 2.3), which was printed in a publication containing three different items.⁵⁵ The publication *Kurtze Erklärung* (Short explanation) comprised a poem on the jubilee, a dialogue between Luther's father and mother, and this song.⁵⁶ As this section shows, anti-Protestant polemical publications summarized not only the Catholic stance on the centenary of the

⁵⁵ The song alludes to Georg Zeaemann whose name was shortened to Zechmann, likely because of its similarity to “Zecher” or “Zechbruder” which means drinker. Zeaemann was a Lutheran theologian who wrote sermons for the jubilee celebration in Kempten which were published in 1617 and reprinted in 1618. See Georg Zeaemann, *Drey Evangelische Jubel und Danckpredigen/ Auß der Apostolischen Weissagung/ beschrieben im Andern Capitel der andern Epistel an die Thessalonicher: Darin von deß grossen Antichrists Ankunft/ Reich/ Lehr und Leben/ wie auch von desselben Offenbarung/ so vor Ein hundert Jaren/ vermitls D. Martin Luthers S. geschehen/ außführlich gehandelt wird: Gehalten in der Pfarrkirchen der Löblichen deß H. Reichs Statt Kempten, den 31. Octobris wie auch den 2. und 6. Novemb. dises zu end lauffenden 1617 Jahrs Durch Georgium Zeaeman, der H. Schrift doctorn, der Zeit Pfarrern daselbsten* (Kempten: Christoff Krausen, 1617), Herzog August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel: 317.54 Theol. (8); Georg Zeaemann, *Drey Evangelische Jubel und Danckpredigen, Auß der Apostolischen Weissagung, beschrieben im Andern Capitel der andern Epistel an die Thessalonicher: Darinn von deß Grossen Antichrists Ankunft/ Reich/ Lehr unnd Leben/ wie auch von desselben Offenbarung/ so vor Ein Hundert Jahren/ vermitls D. Martin Luthers S. geschehen/ außführlich gehandelt wird: Gehalten in der Pfarrkirchen der Löblichen deß H. Reichs Statt Kempten, den 31. Octob. wie auch den 2. und 6. Novem. deß nechstverflossenen 1617 Jahrs / Durch Georgium Zeaeman, der H. Schrift Doctorn, der Zeit Pfarrern daselbsten, 2* (Jetzo zum Andern mal getruckt) (Kempten: Christoff Krause, 1618), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: A: 458 Theol. (6); VD17 23:639129F.

⁵⁶ *Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks, vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr. II. Luthers Vatter und Mutter, das ist ein lustiges Gespräch, zwischen Hanß Luther und seinem Weib Margareth, von ihrem Sohn ... über das sauber Kupfferstück, und beigelegte Reymen, gedruckt zu Augspurg bey David Francken, Anno 1617. III. Ein Jubellied, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617.* (N.N.: N.N., 1618), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: 204.22 Theol. (4).

Reformation but also the Lutheran media covering this event. As in the publications discussed earlier in this chapter and Chapter 1, we encounter intermediality and cross-references, this time across the confessional borders and across the media genres, including diatribes and commendations. Above all, the publication *Kurtze Erklärung* reacts to other media; it is anchored in intermediality, and can only function through its quotations and cross-references.

The song “Jubellied” quite likely refers to the broadsheet *D.M. Luthers Jubel Glaß* since the same attributes of gluttony—wine, wine glass, sausage, and “Hafenkäs”—are included in the fourth and the sixth stanzas of the “Jubellied”:⁵⁷

IV.
Im Jubel soll man fröhlich seyn/

Hierzu gehört dann Bier und Wein/
Knackwurst/ Sackpfeiffer/ Seittenspil/
Wer ists/ ders nicht mit halten will?
Ju schenck ein.

IV.
During jubilation [or the Jubilee], one ought to be happy/

Beer and wine ought to be part of this/
Knackwurst/ pipers/ string music/
Who is it/ who does not want to be part of that?
Pour in!

VI.
Luther mit seinem grossen Glaß/
Und Heylbrunn mitten auff dem Faß/
Ein guter Hafenkäß darbey/
Da mag man jubilieren frey.
Ju schenck ein.⁵⁸

VI.
Luther with his giant glass/
And a healing spring on top of the keg/
Served with a fine nonsense [or cheese]/
Then one wants to jubilate carelessly.
Pour in!

⁵⁷ Furthermore, the polemical print *Kurtze Erklärung* is extant in two Bavarian libraries, namely the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München and the Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg. This might suggest that the polemic was produced for the southern German market.

⁵⁸ *Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks, vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr. II. Luthers Vatter und Mutter, das ist ein lustiges Gespräch, zwischen Hanß Luther und seinem Weib Margareth, von ihrem Sohn ... über das sauber Kupfferstück, und beigefügte Reymen, gedruckt zu Augspurg bey David Francken, Anno 1617. III. Ein Jubellied, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617.*, 18.

“Jubellied” is sung to the tune “Wir haben d’Sonn/ ihr habt den Mon.”⁵⁹ The alleged tune “We have the sun/ you have the moon,” to which the 86 [sic!] stanzas were written, was most likely original to “Jubellied.” Put differently, although there is no pre-existing song by that title, by being presented as an alleged contrafact, the song ridicules the practice of contrafacture which is common among the Lutherans. Four factors support the thesis that the tune was original. First, my searches for a tune with this text have thus far turned up none. Second, the tune’s title fits too well to the sentiment of the Catholic polemics against the Lutherans. “We have the sun/ you have the moon” clearly distinguishes between the Catholics as the “we” and the Lutherans as the other, the addressed “you.” Third, the melody and the text pick up the topoi of the eternal sun and the fickle moon that we have encountered in Contzen’s Jubelmünz (jubilee coin, see figure 2.1) in his *Jubel über Jubel*. More precisely, it is the first and second stanzas that pick up the topoi of the alleged tune—the unchanging Catholic Church and the volatile Lutheran confession:⁶⁰

⁵⁹ *Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks, vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr. II. Luthers Vatter und Mutter, das ist ein lustiges Gespräch, zwischen Hanß Luther und seinem Weib Margareth, von ihrem Sohn ... über das sauber Kupfferstück, und beigefügte Reymen, gedruckt zu Augspurg bey David Francken, Anno 1617. III. Ein Jubellied, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617.*, 17. It is noteworthy that this polemical publication as well is printed by N.N. in N.N. which might hint toward the same print shop that is responsible for *Concio und Cantio*.

⁶⁰ I was not able to find the tune “Wir haben d’Sonn/ ihr habt den Mon” in any publication that was not referring to *Kurtze Erklärung Deß Nürnbergischen Zarten Und Zierlichen Kupfferstucks*, with the exception of *Mittheilungen Des Nordböhmischen Excursions-Clubs*. However, in *Mittheilungen* the tune is mentioned without musical notation. Anton Paudler and Hantschel Franz, *Mittheilungen des Nordböhmischen Excursions-Clubs: 23. Jahrgang* (Leipa: Eigenverlag des Excursions-Clubs, 1900), accessed October 9, 2019, <https://books.google.com/books?id=UCMQAQAAQAAJ>, 71.

Musical Example 2.3. "Ein Jubellied, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617," N.N., 1618. This song is the third and last section of the Catholic polemical publication Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: 204.22 Theol. [4]). Used with permission.

Im Thon/
Wir haben d'Sonn/ ihr habt den Mon.

I.

Die Sonn am Himmel hell vnd klar/ sich en- Gottes
dert nit von Jar zu Jar/ Gleich so der gmeyn Catho- Kirch ei-
lisch Glaub/ Christi Gesponß/ die Einig Taub. cant. o.n. R.

Das laut fein.

I.
Die Sonn am Himmel hell und klar/
Sich endert nit von Jar zu Jar/
Gleich so der gmeyn Catholisch Glaub/
Christi Gesponß/ Die Einig Taub.
Das laut fein.

I.
The sun in the sky is bright and clear/
It doesn't change from year to year/
Like the Catholic belief/
Christ's bride/ the united dove.
That sounds fine.

II.
Der Luthrischen Confession/
Sich endert lustig wie der Mon/
Dern ist so vil und mancherley/
Rhat lieber welchs die beste sey?
Ju schenck ein.⁶¹

II.
The Lutheran confession/
Changes merrily like the moon/
Which exists in and various [shapes]/
Guess what is the best one?
Pour in!

The fourth and final reason why this melody seems to be composed explicitly for the polemic “Jubellied” pertains to the refrain, the very last three notes of the tune. The refrain includes word painting. The last line of the first stanza “Das laut fein”—“That sounds fine”—sounds entirely unexpected. After four lines of syllabic eighth notes, with text that is mainly set in step-wise motion, the last line with only three syllables is set to downward movement from G to D to G. Throughout the 86 stanzas the refrain mostly reads “Ju schenck ein”—“Pour in!”⁶² It alludes to Luther’s alleged epicurean lifestyle and his penchant for wine and food. The downwards movement in big leaps is reminiscent of pouring a glass of wine. This song exemplifies the reciprocal adaptation of tropes and ideas and the reference to specific publications among different media and confessions. In short, the song ridicules the Lutherans on two levels: on the level of form as an alleged contrafact and the textual level, it derides the common Lutheran practice of contrafacture.

The broadside *D.M. Luthers Jubel Glaß* and the “Jubellied” provide another example that shows the cross-fertilization of different media across the confessional boundaries. Interestingly, in the case of the “Jubellied,” the song also seems to be a summarizing outlet for a long and detailed publication, which might have helped to disseminate information contained in *Kurtze Erklärung* on a broader scale. In this regard, the “Jubellied” is

⁶¹ *Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergschen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks, vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr. II. Luthers Vatter und Mutter, das ist ein lustiges Gespräch, zwischen Hanß Luther und seinem Weib Margareth, von ihrem Sohn ... über das sauber Kupfferstück, und beigelegte Reymen, gedruckt zu Augspurg bey David Francken, Anno 1617. III. Ein Jubellied, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617.*, 17–18.

⁶² The “Ju” might refer to the first syllable of “Jubel,” to a version of “ja”—“yes,” or to a sound of a drunkard which in itself refers to Zeemann/Zechmann.

comparable to Contzen's "Ein Klagliedt" from *Jubel über Jubel*. However, Contzen's "Ein Klagliedt" summarizes Contzen's own polemic writing, whereas the "Jubelliid" refers to other publications.

Indeed, the entire print *Kurtze Erklärung* that includes the "Jubelliid" brims over with references to Protestant publications and topoi in general. The first part of this publication, a poem, gives an overview and a summary of Lutheran broadsheets, topoi, sermons, and pamphlets in the form of twelve titled *Knittelverse* (and marginalia) without an assigned tune.⁶³ The poem's title "Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks/ vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr" (Short explication of the delicate and dainty Nuremberg copperplate print from Luther's jubilee) already refers to the broadsheet that is predominantly mocked, namely Troschel's *Christo Soteri* published in Nuremberg, which we encountered in Chapter 1 (see figure 1.1), and its many reprints (e.g., figure 2.4). The first stanza's title, "Vom IEHOVA" (About Yehovah), supports this reference by alluding to the tetragrammaton on the top of Troschel's broadsheet.⁶⁴ In the second stanza, the author continues to mock the broadsheet by pointing out a contradiction between Luther's opinion (including a reference to the author's sources) on the usage of the crucifix and the fact that the cross is depicted right below the tetragrammaton in *Christo Soteri*:

⁶³ *Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks, vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr. II. Luthers Vatter und Mutter, das ist ein lustiges Gespräch, zwischen Hanß Luther und seinem Weib Margareth, von ihrem Sohn ... über das sauber Kupfferstück, und beigefügte Reymen, gedruckt zu Augspurg bey David Francken, Anno 1617. III. Ein Jubelliid, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617.*, 1–16.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 1.

II. Vom CRUCIFIX.

[...]

Wann ich (sagt er [hier: Luther]) solt sehen an/
Im Feld ein Panier und Creutzfahn/
Wanns gleich ein CRUCIFIX selbst wär/
Und ich solchs sehe ohne gefähr/
So wolt ich fliehen ohne zweyffl/
Als jagte mich der dinnig Teuffl.⁶⁵

[...]

II. About the CRUCIFIX.

[...]

When I (says he [meant is Luther]) should see/
A banner and a flagstaff in the field/
Even if it would be a CRUCIFIX/
And I would see if without danger/
So would I flee without any doubt/
As if the devil that belongs to the crucifix is chasing
me.

[...]

Stanzas III and VI of “Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen [...] Kupfferstucks”

mention Philip Melanchthon, who is also depicted in the broadsheet, and it mocks his conversion to Calvinism. Stanza V alludes to the broadsheet’s history, more precisely to the many reprints of *Christo Soteri*. For instance, one reprint is *Marthinv Lpter*, in which the Reformers and the electors are oriented in reverse order (see figure 2.4).⁶⁶ In *Marthinv Lpter*, instead of Luther and Melanchthon, the electors are in the center framed by the two Reformers. The poem declares that the Reformers did not approve of giving the center spot to the electors:

V. Von den zweyten Churfürsten.

Im ersten Stich man sie verehrt/
Im andern hat mans ganz umgekehrt.
Im ersten stehn sie in der Mit/
Das gfiel den Predicanten nit.
[...]
Wer baide Stich zusammen helt/
Wirdt sehen daß ich nicht gefehlt.⁶⁷

V. About the two electors.

In the first copperplate print, they are venerated/
In the other one, they are put in reverse order.
In the first one, they are standing in the center/
The preachers did not like that.
[...]
Who compares both prints/
Will see that I am not wrong.

⁶⁵ *Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks, vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr. II. Luthers Vatter und Mutter, das ist ein lustiges Gespräch, zwischen Hanß Luther und seinem Weib Margareth, von ihrem Sohn ... über das sauber Kupfferstück, und beigefügte Reymen, gedruckt zu Augspurg bey David Francken, Anno 1617. III. Ein Jubellied, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617.*, 2. In the marginalia, the author refers to Lutherum Tom. 2. Witt. fol. 539, Kirchenpostill. fol. 148, and Tom. 7. Wittemb. fol. 393.

⁶⁶ *Marthinv Lpter* ([S.l.]: [s.n.], 1617), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel IH 61.

⁶⁷ *Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks, vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr. II. Luthers Vatter und Mutter, das ist ein lustiges Gespräch, zwischen Hanß Luther und seinem Weib Margareth, von ihrem Sohn ... über das sauber Kupfferstück, und beigefügte Reymen, gedruckt zu Augspurg bey David Francken, Anno 1617. III. Ein Jubellied, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617.*, 3–4.



Figure 2.4. Marthinvs Lvter, [S.l.]: [s.n.], 1617 (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 61. Used with permission. In this broadsheet, the electors and not the Reformers are depicted in the center.

The eighth, ninth, and tenth stanzas all address Lutheran symbols and topoi found in *Christo Soteri*. The author of “Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen [...] Kupfferstucks” accuses Luther and his stable boys of soiling the motto “Verbum Domini Manet in Aeternum” (The word of the Lord endures forever), confronts Luther’s usage of the Bible, and asks the rhetorical question whether Luther indeed was a swan, which by 1617 was a recognized emblem for Luther, or rather a pig.⁶⁸ The swan can also be found on various other jubilee memorabilia, such as coins.⁶⁹

The seventh stanza titled “Vom grossen Liecht von Himmel” and the twelfth stanza “Vom Leuchter und Liecht” mock Troschel’s *Christo Soteri* and its versions by targeting Melanchthon’s history in Lutheranism. Moreover, the stanzas characterize Luther as the “dirt in the lantern,” ridiculing the common symbol of Luther as a beacon in the darkness, which was derived from Matthew 5:14–16: “You are the light of the world [...]. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house.”

⁶⁸ The author played with the similarity of the German words for swan and a pig (*Schwan* and *Schwein*).

⁶⁹ Scribner, “Incombustible Luther,” 56–57. The swan originally referenced the Hus prophecy (the Czech word *hus* meaning goose).

VII. Vom grossen Liecht von Himmel.

Weil Luther ist ein Liecht der Welt/
Wie der ganz JUBEL von jhm helt/
Und er den Text außlegt gar fein/
Vos estis Lux, steht im Latein/
Ihr seyt der Dreck in der Latern/
*Wie schön leucht uns der Morgenstern**?
Der klare Himmel offen staht/
Bestralet Luthern/ den Unflaht.
Das Liecht Philippum auch bescheint/
Der doch ist worden Luthers Feindt.
[...]
[*Besihe auch das schöne Lied auff das
Jubeljar/ getruckt zu Nürnberg/ im Thon Wie
schön leucht uns etc.]⁷⁰

VII. Of the bright light of heaven.

Since Luther is a light of the world/
This is how all the JUBILATION thinks of him/
And he translates and interprets the texts quite fine/
Vos estis lux [you are the light], is in Latin/
You are the dirt in the lantern/
How lovely shines the morning star?
The clear sky is open/
Shines on Luther/ the disgusting filth
The light also shines on Philip [Melanchthon]/
Who then became Luther's enemy.
[...]
[*Also see the beautiful song on occasion of the jubilee/
printed in Nuremberg/ to be sung to the melody of How
lovely shines the morning star.]

In these few lines of stanza VII, the author alludes to Luther as the translator and interpreter of the Scripture and to Luther as the bearer of light. We recognize both symbols from the Lutheran broadsheet for the jubilee *Entlauffener AblaßKramer Und helleuchtendes Evangelisches Liecht* as discussed in Chapter 1 (figure 1.4), in which Luther is holding a Bible and a torch. The latter cannot be extinguished by the dragon wearing a papal tiara.⁷¹ Furthermore, the annotation in the marginalia (here indicated by the asterisk) refers to a specific Lutheran broadsheet on the occasion of the jubilee in 1617: *Ein schön Geistlich Lied Auff das Evangelisch Jubeljahr* (A fine sacred song for the Protestant jubilee, see figure 2.5).⁷²

⁷⁰ Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks, vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr. II. Luthers Vatter und Mutter, das ist ein lustiges Gespräch, zwischen Hanß Luther und seinem Weib Margareth, von ihrem Sohn ... über das sauber Kupfferstück, und beigeßigte Reymen, gedruckt zu Augspurg bey David Francken, Anno 1617. III. Ein Jubellied, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617., 4–5. [My emphasis.]

⁷¹ *Entlauffener AblaßKramer vnd helleuchtendes evangelisches Liecht* von Herrn Martino Luther im 1517.

⁷² *Ein schön Geistlich Lied Auff das Evangelisch Jubeljahr und Lutherisch Frewdenfest, darinnen Summarischer weiß die Irrthumen deß Papstums angezeigt, und wie durch den thewren Werckzeug D. MARTINVM LUTHERVM See: Das reine Evangelium jetzt vor hundert Jahren wider an das Liecht gebracht worden neben Danksagung daß Gott so lang darbey erhalten und Bitt uns noch lenger bey dieser reinen Lehr zuschützen unnd zubeschirmen.* (Nürnberg: Caspar Fuld, 1617), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: Res/4

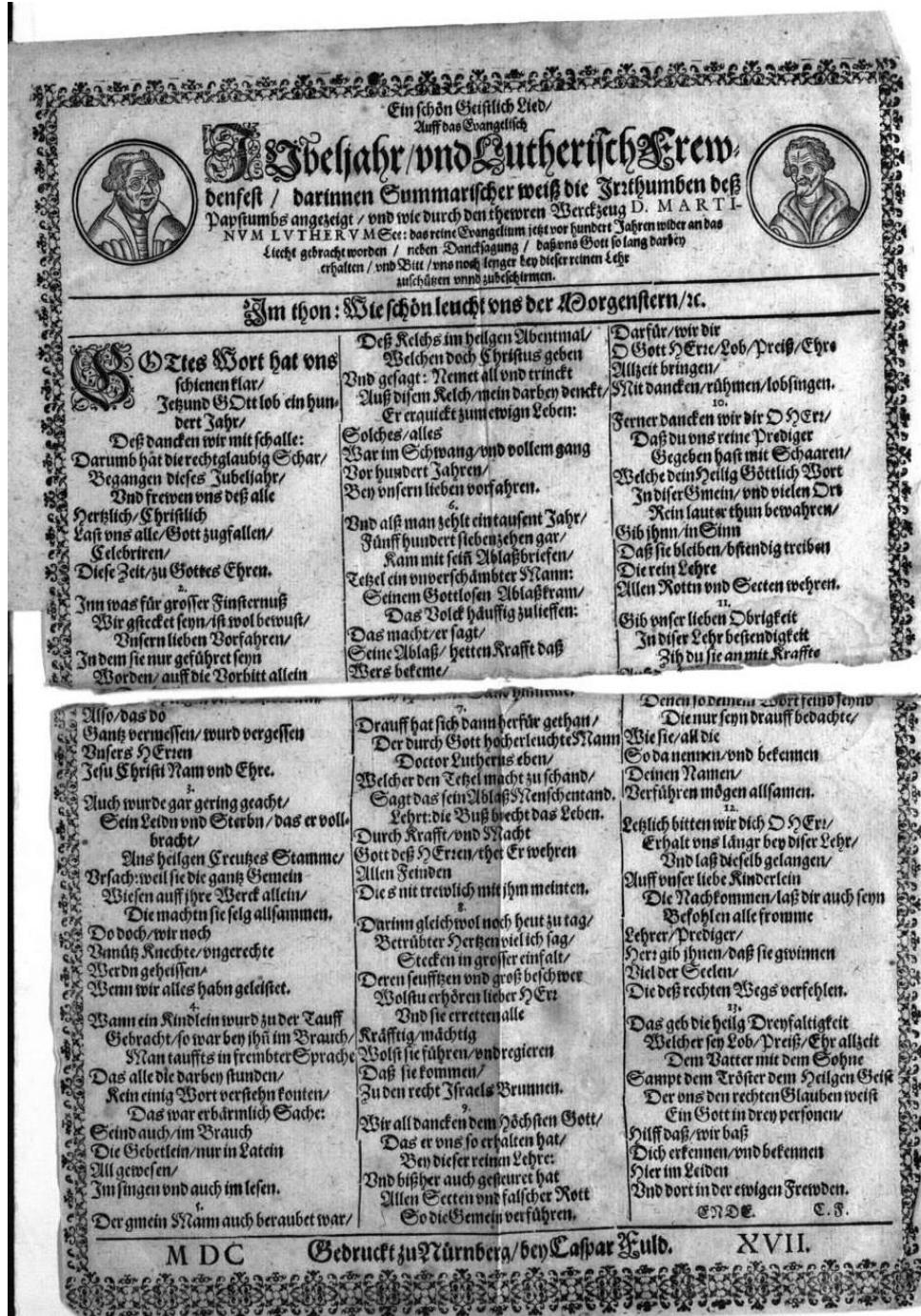


Figure 2.5. Ein schön Geistlich Lied Auff das Evangelisch Jubeljahr und Lutherisch Frewdenfest, Nürnberg: Fuld, 1617 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: Res/4 Hom. 1979#Beibd.5). Licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0. This broadsheet offers a Lutheran contrafact celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the Reformation and reciting the fallacy of the papacy. The Catholic polemic Kurtze Erklärung des Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks refers to Ein schön Geistlich Lied.

Before we conclude this section on Catholic mockery by analyzing the poem's final stanzas, a short diversion on the celebratory Lutheran broadsheet *Ein schön Geistlich Lied* reveals how it is ridiculed in the Catholic poem "Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen [...] Kupfferstucks." The song *Ein schön Geistlich Lied* is a contrafact with 13 stanzas on the tune of the popular Protestant hymn "Wie schön leucht uns der Morgenstern" (How lovely shines the morning star) by Philipp Nicolai (1556–1608), first printed in 1599.⁷³ Already in the early seventeenth century, Nicolai's hymn was published in various Lutheran songbooks and anthologies, and numerous composers adapted its tune (e.g., Michael Praetorius, Johann Hermann Schein, Melchior Franck, or Samuel Scheidt). Quickly, the hymn was regularly performed at wedding ceremonies, the Annunciation, and Advent; it was transformed from a devotional song to a sacred piece used in the liturgy during communion. In short, the hymn was well-known very soon after its first publication.⁷⁴

In its original publication, Nicolai titled "Morgenstern" as "Geistlich Braut-Lied der gläubigen Seelen, von Jesu Christo irem himmlischen Bräutgam. Gestellet über den 45. Psalm deß Propheten Davids" (Sacred wedding song of the devote souls, of Jesus Christ, their heavenly bridegroom. Set to Psalm 45 of the prophet David). Nicolai begins the song with an admiration of the beauty and brightness of the morning star—a metaphor standing

⁷³ Philipp Nicolai, *Frewden Spiegel deß ewigen Lebens: Das ist: Gründliche Beschreibung deß herrlichen Wesens im ewigen Leben ... Auch ferrnere, wolgegründte Anzeig vnd Erklärung, was es allbereit für dem jüngsten Tage für schöne ... Gelegenheit habe mit den außerwehlten Seelen im ... Paradeiß* (Franckfurt am Main: Johann Spies, 1599), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: 4 Asc. 718 m, accessed October 9, 2019, <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0001/bsb00017838/images/>, 409. In 1917, C. Sanford Terry published a short article on Nicolai's hymn and its similarity with the fourteenth-century Christmas carol "Resonet in laudibus" and with a melody setting Psalm 100, "Jauchzet dem Herren, alle Land," which can be found in the 1538 psalter by Wolff Köphel. Thus, Nicolai's tune may not be original. C. S. Terry, "A Note on the Tune, 'Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern,'" *The Musical Times* 58, no. 893 (July 1, 1917). Likewise, Katarina Šter notes similarities to several sacred songs from the early sixteenth century. Katarina Šter, "Koral Philippa Nicolaija in kantata Johanna Sebastiana Bacha: 'Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern,'" *De musica disserenda*, II/1 (2006): 62.

⁷⁴ Salomon Küpperle, *Encyklopädie der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*, 4 vols. 1 (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1888), 246–47; Šter, "Koral Philippa Nicolaija in kantata Johanna Sebastiana Bacha: 'Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern,'" 63–64.

for Christ who is addressed in the latter half of the first stanza. The morning star or day star which ushers in the day represents the light of Christ, who gives “light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, to guide our feet into the way of peace” (Luke 1:79) and who himself called “the bright and morning star” (Revelation 22:16).⁷⁵ Since “Morgenstern” includes and even musically emphasizes the *topos* of light in its very first line—a *topos* common to both Christ and Luther—it is not surprising that this tune was chosen as the tune for a song celebrating the centenary of the Reformation.

Although not of polemical but celebratory nature, the Lutheran *Ein schön Geistlich Lied* is another case of a summary, a fact that is acknowledged in its full title:

Ein schön Geistlich Lied Auff das Evangelisch Jubeljahr und Lutherisch Frewdenfest, darinnen Summarischer weiß die Irrthumber deß Papstums angezeigt, und wie durch den thewren Werckzeug D. MARTINV M LUTHERVM See. Das reine Evangelium jetzt vor hundert Jahren wider an das Liecht gebracht worden [...].

A fine sacred song for the Protestant jubilee and the Lutheran celebration of joy, *in which are summarized* the errors of the papacy and how the dear instrument D. MARTIN LUTHER brought the pure gospel back to the light, as happened one hundred years ago [...].⁷⁶

As its title declares, *Ein schön Geistlich Lied* summarizes the errors of the papacy and the good deeds of Luther. The contrafact picks up on the motifs that appear in “Morgenstern”: the light and darkness, Christ’s ancestry, the chalice, and the sacraments. Moreover, *Ein schön Geistlich Lied* not only gives an account of the history of Lutheranism and what was important for Lutherans, it also reminds the readers and singers of their confessional past and commemorates the origins of Protestantism: The changes that happened since Luther’s posting of the Theses in 1517 and the meaning for the Lutheran believers, such as the

⁷⁵ For an in-depth textual and musical analysis of Nicolai’s “Morgenstern,” see Šter, “Koral Philippa Nicolaija in kantata Johanna Sebastianiana Bacha: ‘Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern’,” 65–67.

⁷⁶ My emphasis.

translation of the Bible to German (stanza 4), the Eucharist with bread and wine (stanza 5), and the confession and absolution without indulgences (stanzas 6–8). In short, the song describes Lutheran values and narrates how the Lutheran confession functioned while also listing the wrongdoings of the Catholic Church, especially the papacy. (Thus, this song acted in a similar vein as other Lutheran texts commemorating the Lutheran jubilee as discussed in Chapter 1.) With reference to “Morgenstern,” the poem “Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen [...] Kupfferstucks” adds to the list of intermediality in Catholic publications attacking the Lutheran jubilee. The poem, moreover, uses the same summarizing function inherent in songs such as *Ein schön Geistlich Lied*.

The final stanza of “Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen [...] Kupfferstucks,” stanza XII, continues to lampoon coarsely the topos of Luther as a beacon of light. By using pejorative and vulgar language, the stanza claims that Luther does not shine brightly but that one can easily find him by following his stench.

XII. Vom Leuchter und Liecht.

Das Luthrisch Liecht gibt einen Schein/
Gleich wie ein linder Wetzestein/
Wer bey demselben nichts kan sehn/
Der muß allein dem Gstanck nachgehn.
Dann als Luther auffs höchst erleucht/
Schrib er jedoch ganz ungescheucht/
Vil dings das mächtig ubel reucht/
Deß man Exempel vil anzeucht.
[...]
Solchs trib der hoherleuchte Bub/
Das war sein Geist bis in sein Grub.
Man schreibt von seiner Lucerna,
Martin Luther
MERDA LVXIT IN LATERNA.
Deß Luthers Speck in der Latern/
Der ist der Narren Morgenstern/
Stinckt grawsamb ding/ und leucht nicht fern.
Da hast das Luthrisch Jubeljahr/
Gar schmuck und schön/ mein Eydt ist wahr.⁷⁷

XII. Of the candle holder and the light.

The Lutheran light shines/
Like a smooth whetstone/
Those who cannot see anything [in the light]/
They only have to follow the stench.
Then, when Luther was enlightened/
He wrote absolutely shamelessly/
Many things that smelled very badly/
Of which we have many examples.
[...]
Such things did the enlightened boy/
This was his spirit into his grave.
We write about his lantern,
Martin Luther
The excrements shine in the lantern.
Luther's lard in the lantern/
Is the fools' morning star/
Smells horribly/ and does not shine far.
There you have Luther's jubilee/
So neat and nice/ my oath is true.

In this stanza, Luther's light is first compared to a whetstone—a grey and dull stone that does not reflect light. However, Luther is noticeable due to his own smell and the stench of his written word, which will follow him into his grave. Then, Luther's light is compared to an oil lamp that is lighted with Luther's lard. A lard flame is small. Since lard is very viscous, it cannot soak the wick, which in turn leads to a smoldering wick. Furthermore, an oil lamp burning lard (let alone excrement, as the end of the poem suggests) has a rather unpleasant smell. The fact that Luther's lard is mentioned refers yet again to Luther's supposed gluttony and plump stature. The entire poem ends with a contortion of “Verbum Domini manet in aeternum” (The word of the Lord endures forever) and “Lux aeterna” (Eternal light), namely with “Martin Luther: Merda Luxit in Laterna” (Martin Luther: The

⁷⁷ Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks, vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr. II. Luthers Vatter und Mutter, das ist ein lustiges Gespräch, zwischen Hanß Luther und seinem Weib Margareth, von ihrem Sohn ... über das sauber Kupfferstück, und beigefügte Reymen, gedruckt zu Augspurg bey David Francken, Anno 1617. III. Ein Jubellied, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617., 7–8.

excrement shines in the lantern). The author states his opinion clearly: this lantern—fueled with Luther's lard or feces—shines as the fools' morning star and represents the essence of the Lutheran jubilee of 1617. In the “Nota Bene” section following the poem, in which the charges against Luther are recounted, the author adds another rhyme of this type:

Veritas Domini, manet in aeternum.
Feritas Lutheri, abit in Infernum.⁷⁸

The truth of the Lord will remain forever.
The crudeness of Luther will go to hell.

This contorted line of “Verbum Domini manet in aeternum” refers yet again to Troschel's broadsheet. In *Christo Soteri*, these words are printed on the Bible at the center of the people's altar around which stand the Reformers and the Saxon electors. This Latin rhyme also concludes and summarizes “Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen [...] Kupfferstucks” in which Lutheranism is first ridiculed and then depicted as the downfall of Christianity.

The third part of the publication *Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks* is a supposed dialogue between Luther's parents Hans and Margarethe, which also refers to and mocks a Lutheran broadsheet and possibly was meant to be sung.⁷⁹ This case of intermediality is once again indicated in the dialogue's title:

Luthers Vatter und Mutter. Das ist/ Ein lustiges Gespräch zwischen Hanß Luther/ unnd seinem Weib Margreth/ von ihrem Sohn Martin Luther/ über das sauber Kupfferstück/ und beygefügte Reymen/ gedruckt zu Augsburg/ bey David Francken. Anno 1617.⁸⁰

Luther's father and mother. This is/ A funny dialogue between Hans Luther/ and his wife Margareth/ about their son Martin Luther/ and the neat copperplate print/ with rhymes/ printed in Augsburg/ by David Francken. Anno 1617.

⁷⁸ *Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks, vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr. II. Luthers Vatter und Mutter, das ist ein lustiges Gespräch, zwischen Hanß Luther und seinem Weib Margareth, von ihrem Sohn ... über das sauber Kupfferstück, und beigelegte Reymen, gedruckt zu Augspurg bey David Francken, Anno 1617. III. Ein Jubellied, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617.*, 10.

⁷⁹ The last word of “Luthers Vatter und Mutter” following a short parenthesis by the author is “Cecini” which is Latin for “I sang.” *Ibid.*, 16.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

“Luthers Vatter und Mutter” lampoons the Protestant broadsheet *Deß wolgeachten/ Ehrsamen/ vnd Weisen Herrens/ Hansen Luthers: wie auch der Ehrentreichen/ vnd Tugentsamen Frawen Margrethen* (Of the highly esteemed, honorable, and wise Hans Luther: and his honorable and virtuous wife Margrethe, see figure 2.6), in which Luther’s parents are depicted who also lead a dialogue in *Knittelvers*.⁸¹

⁸¹ S. D. and Balthasar Caymox, *Deß wolgeachten/ Ehrsamen/ vnd Weisen Herrens/ Hansen Luthers: wie auch der Ehrentreichen/ vnd Tugentsamen Frawen Margrethen/ seiner Ehewürtin/ deß Ehrwürdigen Gott Gelehrten/ und hocherleuchten Manns D. Martini Luthers/ alles Seeligen gedächtnus/ nach dem Leben abgebildte Contrafet. Mit angehencktem Gespräch beyder seiner Eltern* (Nürnberg: Ludwig Lochner, [c. 1617]), Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel IH 65. I am citing the broadsheet’s print version held at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. The author of “Luthers Vatter und Mutter” refers to a different version that is printed in Augsburg instead of Nuremberg. For more information, see Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 214.

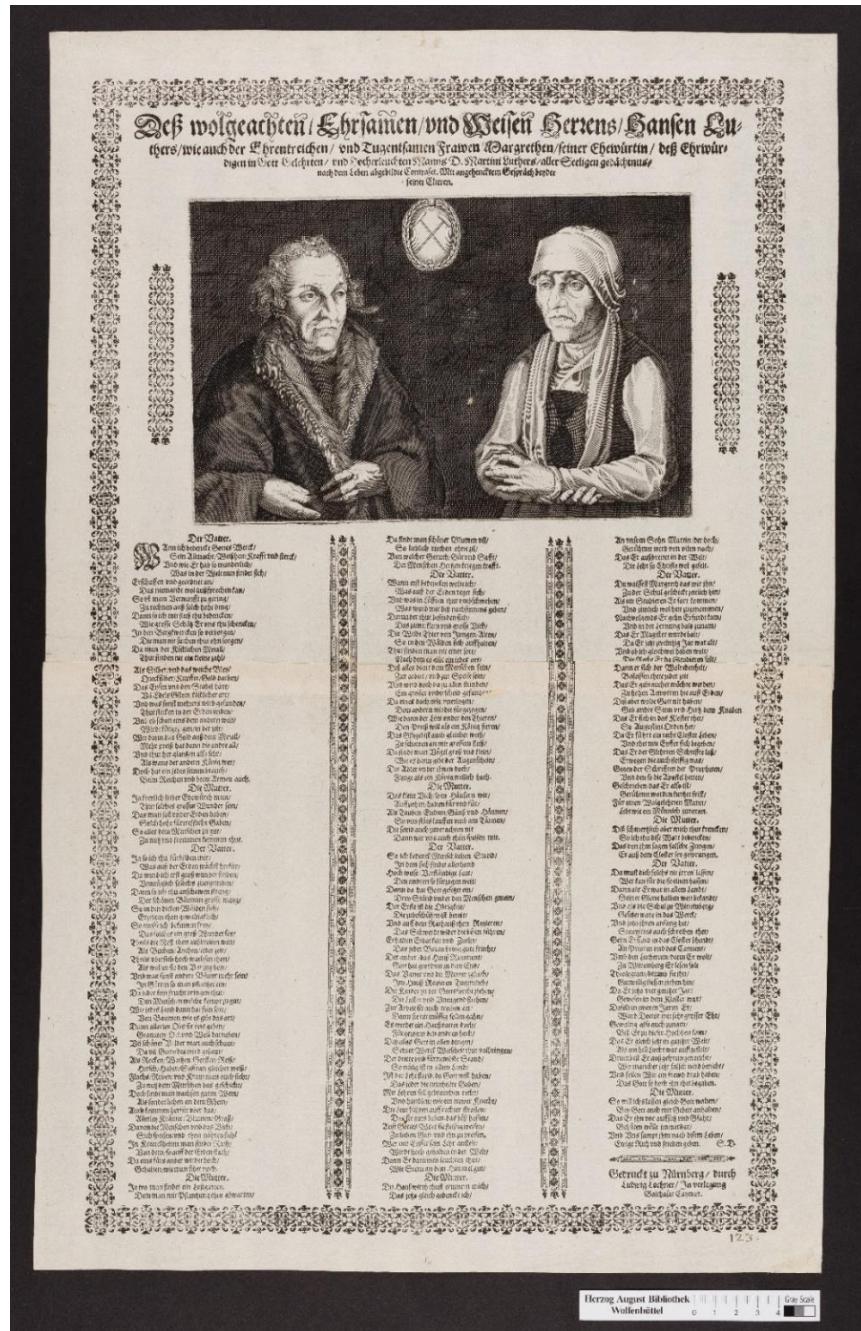


Figure 2.6. S. D. and Balthasar Caymox, *Deß wolgeachten/ Ehrsamen/ vnd Weisen Herrens/ Hansen Luthers: wie auch der Ehrentreichen/ vnd Tugentsamen Frawen Margrethen, Nürnberg: Ludwig Lochner, [1617?]* (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 65). Used with permission. This broadsheet shows Martin Luther's parents, Hans and Margaretha.

The Lutheran broadsheet, most likely from 1617, first praises and recounts the creation.

Then the parents continue to retell their son's history—his time at school, his years as an

Augustinian friar—and recount his virtues. The mother thematizes the idea that malicious

tongues denounce their son as fleeing the monastery, after which the father retorts that one should not be misled by gossip like this. This broadsheet, belonging to the genre of *Hausväterliteratur* that was in vogue in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the German lands, represents the importance of the Christian household and the role of parents to raise their children in the tradition of Christianity.⁸²

The Catholic reaction derides the Lutheran broadsheet—both the illustration and the text. First, the author ridicules the illustration by comparing Margarethe with a witch and Hans with a count wearing a fur coat.⁸³ Then, the author puts words in Hans and Margarethe's mouths, accusing their son of fornicating with a nun [Katharina von Bora], and of breaking all his vows; in short, of supping with the devil. The dialogue ends with the parents lamenting about the fact that Martin Luther is *their* son who committed all these atrocities.

Hanß.
[...]
Daß Martin Luther/ unser Suhn/
In allem disem schuldig ist/
Weil er gefolgt deß Teuffels List.
Weh mir und dir/ O liebe Greth/
Die Sach uns baide selbst angeht/
Weil Luther das abscheulich Thier/
Geboren ist von mir und dir/
[...]⁸⁴

Hans.
[...]
Martin Luther/ is our son/
Who is guilty of all that/
Because he followed the devil's ploy.
Woe is me and you/ my dear Margarethe/
This all concerns us/
Because Luther is a vile animal/
Born from me and you/
[...]

⁸² Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 214.

⁸³ Margarethe's comparison to a witch: "Dann wer mich sicht/ wirdt sagen bald/ Ich sey auß dem unholden Wald/ Die man mit Namen Hexen nennt/ Die sehen grad auß/ wer sie kennt/ Wie ich [...]" (Who sees me/ will say/ I am from the unfriendly forest/ Those whom you call witches/ They look exactly/ Who knows them/ Like me [...]). Hans's appearance is mocked because of his fur coat: "Ich steh da in einem schönen Belz/ Als wann ich wär ein Graf von Deltz" (I am standing there in a nice fur coat/ As if I would be a Count of Deltz). *Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks, vom Lutherischen Jubeljahr. II. Luthers Vatter und Mutter, das ist ein lustiges Gespräch, zwischen Hanß Luther und seinem Weib Margareth, von ihrem Sohn ... über das sauber Kupfferstück, und beigefügte Reymen, gedruckt zu Augspurg bey David Francken, Anno 1617. III. Ein Jubelliad, auff D. Georgen Zechmanß, oder Zechbruders, drey ... Jubel- und Fabelpredigen, Anno 1617.*, 12.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 15–16.

The dialogue conveys the message that even Luther's parents are ashamed of their son.

The three parts of the anti-Lutheran print *Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen zarten und zierlichen Kupfferstucks* represent a reaction to the Lutheran jubilee that engages Lutheran tropes and forms of intermediality both between Catholic and Lutheran media and between fictional dialogue, poem, illustration, broadsheet, and song. The first part, the poem "Kurtze Erklärung deß Nürnbergischen [...] Kupfferstucks" touches upon numerous Lutheran topoi and a number of broadsheets, among other the Lutheran song broadsheet *Ein schön Geistlich Lied*. The second part, the dialogue "Luthers Vatter und Mutter" repaints a Lutheran broadsheet in a negative light—Luther's parents as being distressed because of their son's misdeeds. Lastly, the third part of the publication, the "Jubellied" mocks a Lutheran relic and refers to a Catholic broadsheet that in itself hints to a contrafact of a Lutheran hymn.

Kurtze Erklärung is first and foremost a reaction to other media; it is deeply grounded in intermediality and only functions through its connections and references. Without the knowledge of the allusions, the poem, dialogue, and song still convey meaning. However, when one understands the publication's references, it becomes both funnier and more potent. *Kurtze Erklärung* also teaches us about the way seventeenth-century recipients enjoyed their media. It can be assumed that contemporary audiences were aware of this variety of references. This is comparable to how audiences nowadays understand quotations of certain music (or movies).

Thus far, this chapter has presented examples of Catholic reactions to the Lutheran jubilee of 1617. While trying to dissociate themselves from the Protestants, these Catholic media follow a similar strategy we already encountered in Chapter 1: the Catholic authors commemorate and narrate past events in a way as to fit their interpretation of history (in which religion has the more valuable past) while also discrediting their confessional

opponents, often using crude and vulgar language. They also followed the Lutherans by offering a variety of genres, such as sermons, songs, or poems, to reach both the Catholic population and those intended for reconversion. Sometimes, these strategies of discrediting and reinterpretation do not work as the authors intended, and the consumers layer an entirely different meaning onto the specific medium, as we will encounter in the following case study.

Luther, the Glutton—Luther, the Gourmet

Like the previous examples of Catholic media, the last broadsheet presented in this chapter also mocks the Protestants and, in particular, Luther. More precisely, the broadsheet with the incipit “Marthin Lvther. Nuhn Muess es Ia gewandert sein” ([Nun muss es ja gewandert sein] Now we have to wander, see figure 2.7) attacks Luther’s supposed voracity—a common trope in anti-Lutheran media in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—and contrasts his obesity with Katharina von Bora’s emaciated appearance.⁸⁵

This broadsheet and its variants, however, differ from the previous media in two regards. First, this broadsheet is not directly linked to the Lutheran jubilee but rather was published in the 1620s, exemplifying the continuation of Catholic polemics against the Protestants after the centenary of the Reformation.⁸⁶ Second, and more importantly, the broadsheet shows that media of memory did not emerge in commemoration in a purely top-

⁸⁵ *Marthin Lvther. Nuhn Muess es Ia gewandert sein* ([S.l.]: [s.n.], [c. 1620]), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 23, accessed December 30, 2020, <http://digilib.hab.de/drucke/ih-23/start.htm>. See also William A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century. II: Bibliographical Index: Historical and Iconographical Studies*, Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana XX (Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1967), Table 315; Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 298.

⁸⁶ Harry Oelke, *Die Konfessionsbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel illustrierter Flugblätter*, Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 57 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 426.

down approach. The buyers of this broadsheet decided what was commemorated with “Nun muss es ja gewandert sein,” and a number of recipients determined it was the annually observed St. Martin’s Day on November 11, and not Luther’s gluttony that was at the center of the broadsheet’s message.



Figure 2.7. Marthin Lvther. Nuhn Muess es Ia gewandert sein, [S.1]: [s.n.], [c. 1620] (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 23). Licensed under CC BY-SA. This broadsheet depicts Katharina von Bora holding a baby and Martin Luther carrying his heavy belly on a wheelbarrow.

The broadsheet, probably by a converted Catholic from Nuremberg and made for the Viennese market, shows a copperplate print illustration and below a song text sung to the tune of “Nun muss es ja gewandert sein.”⁸⁷ The pictorial language seems to be derived from the caricatures by the “Petrarch Master,” Hans Weiditz (1495–?1537).⁸⁸ In the broadside, Luther and Katharina von Bora are depicted as displaced wanderers in the aftermath of the Battle of White Mountain (November 8, 1620), after which many supporters of the “Winter King,” Frederick V of the Palatinate (1596–1632) and Protestant preachers had to flee Bohemia due to fear of persecution, which is thematized in the song’s text.⁸⁹ In subsequent years, non-Catholics were either forced to flee Bohemia and other Catholic Habsburg territories or convert to Catholicism. Migration also took place in Austria. Throughout these years, many Protestants fled via Burgenland and Carinthia to the Kingdom of Hungary. Today, the populations of Burgenland and Carinthia still have the highest percentage of Protestant citizens in Austria. In the broadsheet’s illustration, Luther, with taut calves and expansive stature, uses a wheelbarrow to offload and move his belly. The wheelbarrow holds a stack of books and the heads of Reformers Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin. Luther is also carrying a wooden crate with windows in which he holds the heads of Lutheran clergy. This crate is reminiscent of the birdcage of a birder, who catches songbirds

⁸⁷ William A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century. I: Text: Historical and Iconographical Studies*, Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana XVII (Baden-Baden: Heitz, 1966), 188–89. Martin Walsh writes that this engraving was produced in Bohemia. However, he does not give any evidence for his claim. See Martin W. Walsh, “Martin and Luther: The Reformer and his Name-Saint,” *Michigan Academician* 47, no. 1 (2020): 6.

⁸⁸ Walsh, “Martin and Luther: The Reformer and his Name-Saint,” 6.

⁸⁹ Marthin Luther: “Nuhn muess es Ia gewandert sein, Hab gemaindt ich het mich erst gricht ein, Weill ich dan hab Khain Bleibents Orth, Muess ich Wider mein Willen fort, Die Worths dienner mich Bschwären sehr, Mein Schwärer leib aber noch mehr” (Now we have to wander, I thought I just got settled in, Since I do not have a place to stay, I have to leave against my will, The preachers are weighing me down, But even more my heavy belly).

and birds for meat consumption.⁹⁰ Like a bird catcher, Luther could have been seen as catching clerics to preach and sing and believers who provide for the reformer. In his left hand, Luther is holding an oversized wine glass, maybe a reference to the aforementioned broadsheet *D.M. Luthers Jubel Glaß* or the actual wine glass owned by Luther. The song text below the illustration indicates that Luther's heavy body, and even more his glass, give him the strength that he needs for wandering.⁹¹ Right behind Luther there walks his wife Katharina von Bora dressed in a nun's habit. She is carrying a baby in her arms and a wooden panier with a Bible on her back, while leading a dog on a leash. In the song, she asks Luther to share some of his strength in the form of a sip from his cup since her feet are weak and her mouth is dry.⁹² I was not able to identify the song's original melody or text. All references to the incipit that I have come across refer back to the broadsheet itself.⁹³

Although the song text—especially the broadsheet variant with a longer text version—clearly refers to the forced displacement of Protestant clergy, the broadsheet was also used to commemorate St. Martin's Day, which suggests a sung execution of the text

⁹⁰ Bird catching was a common pastime and way to earn money or hunt food in early modern Germany. Several treatises on bird trapping were published in the seventeenth century. For instance, see Johann Colerus, *Kurtzer und Einfältiger Bericht Von dem Vogelstellen Wie Raubvögel Habichte Velthüner Wachteln Crammet- und Andere Gross und Kleine Vögel mit geteckten und ungeteckten Netzen, im offenen Velte, geholtzen und Wassern, mit leim ruten hütten Kloben Schneissen fallen und Schleiffen gefangen werden: Allen Liebhabern denen das Vogelstellen zu gelassen und davon keinen sonderlichen bericht haben zu ehren Dienst und gefallen zu sammen getragen. Im Jahr nach Christi geburt 1626* (1626); Wolfgang Helmhard Freiherr von Hochberg, *Georgica curiosa: Das ist: Umständlicher Bericht und klarer Unterricht von dem Adelichen Land- und Feld-Leben*, 2 vols. (Nürnberg, 1682). Colerus's treatise was republished in 1631, 1653, and 1681, Hochberg's in 1688, 1701, 1715, and 1749.

⁹¹ Marthin Luther: "Mein schwärer leib aber noch mehr, Doch gibt mier Stärkh mein grosses glass, Das ich forthin Khan gehen bass" (My heavy body but even more the big glass give me strength to continue walking).

⁹² Catharina [von Bora]: "Nachtragen Wil ich dir Gottes Wort, Gäßt du mir auch Von deiner Sterck, Thest du dran warlich ein guets Werck. Mein mund ist Speer, die Füss sind schwach, Der Weg ist Vehr O gross Ungmach" (I will go after you with God's word [the Bible], If you gave me from your strength, You would do a good deed. My mouth is dry, my feet are weak, The Journey is far [?], O great hardship).

⁹³ Oelke, *Die Konfessionsbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel illustrierter Flugblätter*, 426; Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century. I: Text*, 188–89; William A. Coupe, "Political and Religious Cartoons of the Thirty Years' War," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25, 1/2 (1962): 73; Harms and Rattay, *Illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahrhunderten der Reformation und der Glaubenskämpfe*, 62.

due to the ubiquity of St. Martin's songs.⁹⁴ St. Martin's Day coincides with the end of the economic and agricultural year, which fits neatly with the depiction of a well-nourished Saint-like Martin.

Catholics and Lutherans alike observed St. Martin's Day. Since the Middle Ages, St. Martin's Day had been a day of celebrating before a fasting period with food, the wine of the new season, and a special liturgy with candle processions called *Heischegänge* featuring music commemorating St. Martin and, in Protestant regions, often Martin Luther himself.⁹⁵ The Reformer, who was born on November 10, 1483, was named after this saint.⁹⁶ Due to the custom of celebrating St. Martin's Day and the saint's link to the Reformer, it seems reasonable that a broadsheet that was used as memorabilia for St. Martin's Day might include a song. I provide more information about the relationship between "Nun muss es ja gewandert sein" and the feast day of Martin of Tours below.

⁹⁴ The broadsheet is extant in at least seven other variants. Some of the variants have a longer text with 130 *Knittelverse* set with moveable types (instead of 16 etched *Knittelverse* as seen in figure 2.7). For instance, a print version is held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. The Berlin version is dated to 1625. *[Martin Luther mit Katharina von Bora auswandernd] Nuhn Mueß es Ia gewandert sein* ([S.l.]: [s.n.], 1625), Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Germany: Einbl. YA 875 m b, accessed December 30, 2020, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00012D7200000000>. See also Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century. II: Bibliographical Index*, Table 315; Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 298.

⁹⁵ Since the fourth century, St. Martin's Day annually celebrates the funeral of Martin of Tours (316–397). In many traditions, the candle procession reenacts the funeral procession (on a boat) to Martin of Tours's final resting place. Different European regions observe St. Martin's Day with various traditions, most of which circle around food and drink since November 11 marked the last day of indulgence before the week-day penitential season of Advent, and the last day of the agricultural year on which the harvest was celebrated. Although Lutheranism does not practice saint's days, St. Martin's Day was an exception in the German lands. See "Martinstag," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 6, ed. Walter Kasper, Konrad Baumgartner and et al., 3rd ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1993–2001), 6; "Martinstag," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, vol. 7, ed. Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, 2nd ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1957–1965), 7; Walsh, "Martin and Luther: The Reformer and his Name-Saint," 5–6. Especially in Tours, the office for November 11 was adorned with five prosas that were modeled after a popular Christmas responsory. For more information on the liturgy for St. Martin's Day in Tours, see Yossi Maurey, *Medieval Music, Legend, and the Cult of St. Martin: The Local Foundations of a Universal Saint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 131–71.

⁹⁶ Even though Martin Luther himself showed little interest in Martin of Tours, Luther's followers did not ignore his charitable name-saint but made him a proxy for the Reformer. Walsh, "Martin and Luther: The Reformer and his Name-Saint".

The connection between St. Martin's Day and the broadsheet "Nun muss es ja gewandert sein" is evident from a copy now held in Ulm (StB: VI 12 3171). The Ulm copy bears a contemporary annotation:

Anno 1628. Suchlike copperplate print or painting was offered to the Emperor in Vienna and simultaneously sold on St. Martin's Day. The interest in buying [this broadsheet] was so great that soon there were not enough copies. [The broadsheet] mocks the Protestant preachers (because they had to leave the country) [...].⁹⁷

This annotation implies not only that one of the broadsheet's places of circulation was Catholic Vienna but also that the specific date when the stockpile of copies ran out was St. Martin's Day. The annotation also tells us that the consumers buying the broadsheet on November 11 transmuted the original broadsheet's meaning and added a new significance to it. The broadsheet's meaning changed from solely mocking the wandering "heretic" Protestant preachers to commemorating St. Martin, celebrating the end of the agricultural year and thus the harvest with food and wine, and subverting the Protestant tradition of observing St. Martin's Day by replacing the saint with the Reformer Martin Luther.⁹⁸ Yet, the well-fed Martin Luther with a wine glass at hand, as depicted in "Nun muss es ja

⁹⁷ Quoted after Coupe and Harms et al. with changes that are explained below: "Anno 1628. Am Tag Martinj, Ist dergleichen küpferstückh oder Gemäldt, zu Wien, dem Kayser offerirt, Vnd zugleich verkauft worden, Da ein solcheß Kauffen gewesen, Daß zeitlich Exemplaria gemangelt. Jst den Evangelischen Predigern zum Gspödt (weiln sie auß dem Landt gemüßt) gemacht worden [...]." Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century. I: Text*, 189; Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 298. Harms et al. suggest that Coupe's reading of the year 1620 must be faulty, since there would not have been enough time to produce the broadsheet from the Battle of White Mountain on November 8 and St. Martin's Day on November 11, 1620. I changed the quote according to their suggestion from 1620 to 1628. The copy of the broadsheet held at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin is also dated 1628. See the catalog entry of *[Martin Luther mit Katharina von Bora auswandernd] Nuhn Mueß es ja gewandert sein*.

⁹⁸ Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 298; Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century. I: Text*, 188–89.

gewandert sein,” personifies a rich harvest and adequate nourishment—one of the critical elements of St. Martin’s Day.⁹⁹

The added meaning of the broadsheet commemorating St. Martin’s Day is not surprising when taking into account Lutheran devotional culture as well as anti-Catholic propaganda of the sixteenth century that equated a stout body with strength, stamina, and power.¹⁰⁰ This is also the reason why Catholic media often refrained from deriding or even showing Luther’s body as obese; the Catholic propagandists instead focused on Luther’s alcohol consumption or his sexual excesses. Lyndal Roper assesses the Protestant propaganda depicting Luther with imposing body positivity as very successful. Roper contends that for contemporary viewers, the monumentalism of Luther’s body probably evoked the Reformer’s powerful presence beyond his death.¹⁰¹ She even states that the Catholics had a hard time wrenching the positive meaning of obesity into something negative, such as inertia or depravity.¹⁰²

Taking Roper’s assessment into account, I contend that the anti-Protestant meaning of the broadsheet “Nun muss es ja gewandert sein” came to fade. Especially on St. Martin’s Day with its folkloric traditions centering around sharing, food, wine, and the emphasis on Luther’s strong and imposing body, the wine glass, the wooden panier (perhaps filled with wine), and the dog, the broadsheet’s meaning can signify fidelity. The image of the

⁹⁹ Both Lutherans and Catholics mocked each other’s dealings with Bishop Martin of Tours already in the sixteenth century. For more information, see Walsh, “Martin and Luther: The Reformer and his Name-Saint”.

¹⁰⁰ In images from the 1520s, Luther is depicted as thin. The change in portrayal from a dainty to a stout Luther starting in the 1530s signified also an abandonment of a Catholic iconography of saints that used ascetic statures for saints and martyrs. For more information on the development of Luther’s image, see Scribner, “Incombustible Luther,” 323–354.

¹⁰¹ Lyndal Roper, “Martin Luther’s Body: The ‘Stout Doctor’ and His Biographers,” *The American Historical Review* 115, no. 2 (2010): 357.

¹⁰² Lyndal Roper, *Der feiste Doktor: Luther, sein Körper und seine Biographen* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2012), 26–27; Roper, “Martin Luther’s Body,” 362. In both works, Roper gives an insightful account of the development of the stout depiction of Luther’s body and its meaning for Lutheranism.

wandering couple also fits the St. Martin's Day tradition of candle processions mimicking Martin of Tours's funeral procession. Even the song text can be reinterpreted as accompanying Martin of Tours's transition from the realm of the living to the dead.

This broadsheet developed to a medium of memory commemorating St. Martin's Day primarily through the consumers who bought out "Nun muss es ja gewandert sein" on November 11, 1628, and then secondarily through the sellers who recognized the marketability of the broadsheet on this day of the year. An anti-Protestant propaganda medium was transformed into a memento for Martin of Tours by way of private bottom-up commemoration.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated Catholic anti-Protestant reactions to the one-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation. These Catholic reactions to the "made-up" and "unjust" Protestant jubilee cannot be counted as normative forms of commemoration because the authors of the publications did not intend to commemorate the Lutheran jubilee. In their different forms, the Catholic polemics called this event of the past to memory, albeit in a negative way. Just like the works of the Lutheran authors of 1617, the Catholics' output can be subsumed under processes of social and material formation, such as othering, intermediality, cross-references. Moreover, they made use of the summarizing function of visual illustrations and songs. The anti-Protestant media also emphasized and reminded consumers of the "righteous," long, and stable Catholic history while condemning the short and volatile history of the Reformed Churches.

In other ways, the Catholic reaction is not comparable to the Lutheran publications of 1617. The Catholics were publishing their media not only as a direct reaction to the

Lutheran media, but also as a way to mock both the Protestant confession and its way of disseminating information. In a sense, the Catholics tried to beat the Protestants at their own game by using the Lutherans' own tools of propaganda against them.

Yet, whoever was reading, singing, or listening to the Catholic polemics was reminded of the Reformation, following the saying attributed to the showman and politician P.T. Barnum, “there is no such thing as bad publicity.” By polemicizing the Reformation, Catholic authors succeeded in heightening awareness of and popularizing the Lutheran Reformation. An example of this transformation of a medium’s anti-Protestant meaning is the broadsheet “Nun muss es ja gewandert sein,” which originally lampooned the Protestant preachers fleeing from Bohemia but ended up being regarded as commemorating the feast day of Martin of Tours and the end of the agricultural year. Deliberately for Catholics and nonessentially for the Lutherans, these Catholic publications produced cultural artifacts that live on today and contribute to cultural memory.

Part II: Commemorating the Present: War and Peace

CHAPTER 3: “MÜNSTER SCHATERT MIT GESANGEN”¹—THE PEACE OF MÜNSTER

1648 was a year of successful negotiations. In the first half of the year, the Treaty of Münster was ratified and approved, which de facto affected the independence of the Dutch Republic and the end of the Eighty Years’ War. In October, the Treaty of Westphalia officially ended the Thirty Years’ War and pronounced the long-awaited peace for Europe at large. Starting in May, messengers slowly brought the news to the inhabitants of Europe, who had suffered from famine, sickness, and raids during the protracted war. Calvinist, Lutheran, and even Catholic regions all welcomed the peace with celebrations.²

In 1618, a year after the Protestant jubilee, the conflict, that eventually would be known as the Thirty Years’ War, arose from the Bohemian Revolt and developed into a religious and political power struggle. The Dutch War of Independence was paused during the Twelve Years’ Truce (1609–21) but soon the Dutch became enmeshed in the Thirty Years’ War. After these wars that rampaged Europe for decades, the proclamation of peace must have been a puzzling experience for many Europeans, requiring the daunting mission of making sense of this new situation. What did peace mean to those who had only ever known an everyday world at war? Did the signing of the peace treaties amount to “negative peace” which describes the absence of war and violence, or was it a “positive peace”

¹ The broadsheet *Eere zy God* includes an engraving of the celebration in Münster with the caption “Münster roars with singing.” *Eere zy God in de hoogste hemelen, ende Vreede op der Aerden: Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 617* ([Amsterdam]: Rombout vanden Hoeye, 1648).

I wrote this chapter during my time as a graduate scholar-in-residence at the Newberry Library in Chicago in 2019–20. I especially have to thank the scholars at the Newberry Fellows’ Seminar for all their constructive feedback.

² The peace celebrations were a predominantly Lutheran phenomenon. However, some Catholic cities held celebrations as well. For instance, in Vienna the Peace of Westphalia was welcomed with a *Te Deum della pace*, although not in a grand, well-documented ceremony. See Burkhardt and Haberer, *Das Friedensfest: Augsburg und die Entwicklung einer neuzeitlichen europäischen Toleranz-, Friedens- und Festkultur*, 282; Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III: Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years’ War*, Catholic Christendom, 1300–1700 (London: Taylor and Francis, 2016), 251.

meaning the absence of structural and individual violence, or was it merely a political act that did not have any obvious effect on the individuals?³ As this and the following chapter show, the answer to these questions differed for each region, influenced the media output in those regions, and puts the significance of the Peace of Münster (and Westphalia) in the limelight.

In modern historiography, 1648 is described as a turning point for the entire continent, manifesting itself not in one shared pan-European *lieu de mémoire* but multiple *lieux de mémoire* at the level of regions or states, as already suggested by Heinz Duchhardt.⁴ The peace treaties of 1648 established new states and led to major territorial redistributions, which had consequences at the macro and micro levels, for example, at state and city levels. They changed the political landscape of Europe until today, and they affected regions in various ways. Put differently, although Europe as a whole was altered, the effects were not a shared experience; they varied from region to region and led to a number of downscaled *lieux de mémoire* that is only significant for a social group of a smaller size.

³ This binary pair of “negative” and “positive peace” was coined by Jane Addams in 1907, used by Martin Luther King Jr., before Johan Galtung further theorized the framework of positive and negative peace in the second half of the twentieth century. See Jane Addams, *Newer Ideals of Peace* (New York, London: Macmillan, 1907); Martin Luther King, JR., *Letter from a Birmingham Jail* (1963), accessed May 13, 2020, http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html; Johan Galtung and Dietrich Fischer, *Johan Galtung: Pioneer of Peace Research*, Springer Briefs on Pioneers in Science and Practice 5 (Heidelberg: Springer, 2013), 173–78.

Scholars of social sciences, history, and neighboring disciplines use the concept of positive and negative peace in their recent scholarship. For instance, see Bernard Amadei, “Revisiting Positive Peace Using Systems Tools,” *Technological Forecasting & Social Change* 158 (2020); Andrew Fitz-Gibbon, ed., *Positive Peace: Reflections on Peace education, Nonviolence, and Social Change*, Value Inquiry Book Series. Philosophy of Peace 217 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010); Yuri Alicia Chávez-Plazas, “Positive or Negative Peace? Reflections of Leaders and Leaders of Victims of the Armed Conflict in Soacha, Colombia,” *Prospectiva* 24 (2017).

⁴ Heinz Duchhardt, “Der Westfälische Friede als lieu de mémoire in Deutschland und Europa,” in *1648 - Krieg und Frieden in Europa: Textband 1: Politik, Religion, Recht und Gesellschaft*, ed. Klaus Bußmann and Heinz Schilling (Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1998), accessed January 29, 2018, https://www.lwl.org/westfaelische-geschichte/portal/Internet/finde/langDatensatz.php?urlID=407&url_tabelle=tab_texte, 41–42.

Media reactions to the Peace of Münster stand at the core of this chapter, which traces the agency of commoners and urban elites in the Low Countries and how they dealt with the peace. My focus on media output is influenced by Erika Kuijpers's work on personal memory of the Dutch Revolt and individuals' coping strategies with the traumatic experiences. I was also guided by Jasper van der Steen's book *Memory Wars in the Low Countries*, in which he brings historiography into dialog with popular ways of reckoning with the past in the form of pamphlets, diaries, and folklore stories.⁵ In this chapter, the media output in the form of broadsheets, songbooks, and dramatic plays stands in opposition to the streamlined official peace announcements in the Dutch Republic. As explicated in the dissertation's introduction, I define media in its broadest sense. For instance, the Amsterdam City Hall, its symbolism and meaning for the Dutch Republic and the peace, functions as a complex of media relating to the Peace of Münster. The musical material covered in this chapter does not involve complex polyphony but only popular songs sung to simple tunes. Although there is no data on representativeness and completeness, these media, as a popular record of history, give a deeper insight into the political climate of the Dutch Republic around 1648.

In this chapter, I argue that the media relating to the Peace of Münster functioned as a metaphorical compass for the Dutch who needed to become orienteers in an unknown territory: broadsheets taught about what happened in Münster, dramatic plays alluded to the contestation that surrounded the peace, songs helped Dutch commoners as well as soldiers grapple with the new situation of peace and the new Dutch identity. Furthermore,

⁵ Erika Kuijpers, "Fear, Indignation, Grief and Relief: Emotional Narratives in War Chronicles from the Netherlands (1568–1648)," in *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse, 1400–1700*, ed. Jennifer Spinks and Charles Zika, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Jasper van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 190 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015).

songs gave instructions on how to live a peaceful life. Eventually, the entirety of media examined in this chapter leads to the conclusion that this seemingly seismic event of 1648 was largely experienced on a private and individual level. Dutch music, the myths, and narratives built in the United Provinces pertaining to the peace did not demonstrate Westphalia's pan-European significance; they exhibited little interest in the situation outside of the Low Countries.

The chapter focusses first on the media that brought the news of the Peace of Münster to the Low Countries. We encounter a broadsheet and songs retelling the negotiations and the meaning of peace for the Dutch. Media critically dissected the peace process: Some publications openly depicted the cruelties of war, some reinforced Dutch identity and the fruitful future that awaited the Dutch Republic, and others revealed the contestation among the Dutch that made the peace process rocky.

Next, the media helped the Dutch to grapple with the new reality of post-Westphalia. The songs gave interpretations of what this newly-concluded peace meant for daily life of commoners, soldiers, or students, and they also functioned as "user manuals" for peace. Some *Liederden* instructed singers and listeners on how to truly live a peaceful life. Other songs thematized the Dutch Republic's diverse society and illustrated how the newly established peace influenced the lives of individuals in a multitude of ways. This information is not necessarily given overtly, but often is covert in the tune used for a specific song.

In general, I argue that Dutch songs addressed a broad variety of audiences: the city dwellers present at the official peace celebrations in front of the city halls; the soldiers and beggars who bawled out songs at the taverns, meeting prostitutes and musicians; and followers of poets' associations. These songs reached their diverse audience via broadsheets, but also orally, and through dramatic plays. This diverse audience mirrors the Dutch

population. When examining the media and their audience, it becomes clear there was neither *one* reaction to the Peace of Münster nor *one* memory or *lieu de mémoire* of this peace treaty.

On the scale of states and regions, however, the peace was actively made and developed into *lieux de mémoire* in Pierre Nora's sense of the term. Although Nora writes about the 1980s in France, his observations of a future that is no longer "a visible, predictable, manipulable, well-marked extension of the present" corresponds well to the situation of 1648.⁶ The Peace of Westphalia is often described as the end of a decades-long war and a particular way of thinking about confessions, but it is also the beginning of a post-Westphalia Europe. In the newly born Dutch Republic, for instance, memory had to be "made." Put differently, subjective categories had to be created in order to stabilize the present and the unknowable future. Reinhart Koselleck writes about the "new and unorthodox future" that became possible since the looming Apocalypse did not happen, even after eighty years of war when peace was finally established by restricting and neutralizing religious potential.⁷ For this new reality, the Dutch Republic needed its heroes and villains, its national myths, or what Simon Schama called "patriotic scripture."⁸ In short, the Dutch Republic needed its memory. In light of the idea of artificially created memory, Wulf Kantsteiner's understanding of *lieux de mémoire* as constructed memory, as "simulations of

⁶ Nora, "Between Memory and History," 16.

⁷ Reinhart Koselleck and Keith Tribe, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 14–15.

⁸ "Patriotic Scripture" is the title of the second chapter in Schama's monolithic *Embarrassment of the Riches*, in which he discusses the process of Dutch identity building. Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, European History - Art History (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 86. For more information on nationalism in the early modern Low Countries, see Lotte Jensen, *Celebrating Peace: The Emergence of Dutch Identity 1648–1815* (Nijmegen: Vantilt Publishers, 2017), 13–14.

“natural memory” is a worthwhile addition to Nora’s theory.⁹ According to Kantsteiner, first-order simulations of natural memory are memories produced by the elites with the common referent of the nation state when old traditions, institutions, and affiliations dwindled in importance and became meaningless. The second-order simulations of natural memory are solely fed by the media culture and have little relation to a shared past other than the media themselves. As this chapter shows, the situation in the Dutch Republic is closer to the first-order—signified by the loss of old traditions and the simultaneous invention of new traditions through memory sites—with certain elements that prefigure the second-order with its fast-pace media, such as broadsheets.

The Peace of Münster in 1648—Media as Messengers of Peace

Before the news of the Peace of Münster reached the Low Countries, the peace was announced in the city the treaty is named for—Münster. Broadsheets captured the final stages of the negotiations that led to the peace between the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic and functioned as the first messengers of peace bringing the news to the Dutch cities before the official announcements. For instance, Rombout vanden Hoeye’s broadsheet *Eere zy God in de hoogste hemelen, ende Vreede op der Aerden* (Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men, see figure 3.1) depicts and celebrates as its central illustration the handover of the instrument of ratification on May 15, 1648, in Münster.

⁹ Wulf Kantsteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies,” *History and Theory* 41, no. 2 (2002): 183. In his book *Music and Monumentality*, Alexander Rehding applies Nora’s theory of memory to the nineteenth century and also takes into account Kantsteiner’s development of Nora’s term. Alexander Rehding, *Music and Monumentality: Commemoration and Wonderment in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 12.

Besides the depiction of music-making, the illustrations and captions emphasize solely the celebratory aspects of peace, not mentioning the fact that, as I will discuss below, this peace was heavily contested in the United Provinces. The six miniature engravings frame the central illustration of the broadsheet; they show the arrival of the Dutch envoy and the Spanish plenipotentiaries in Münster, the oath to peace, the kiss of peace, the subsequent celebration of peace of the commoners including music, and gun salutes.

In this broadsheet, we find three intertextual references to music. First, the title itself refers to the “Gloria Patri” or Luke 2:14 (which is discussed in the subsequent chapter on Dresden’s peace celebration).¹⁰ Second, the fifth miniature (see figure 3.2) offers an image of celebrating masses of people in front of a stage. It bears the subheading “Munster schatert mit gesangen/ En uÿtmuÿtende Musÿck/ van’t Theatrum ontfangen/ Al heur Burgers Vredde blyck” (Münster roars with singing/ and excellent music/ receiving from the [temporary] stage/ all of Münster’s burghers’ peaceful looks), which indicates that all audience members present were actively singing and celebrating, and that instrumentalists played music. Third, the gun salutes, which served a ceremonial purpose, depicted in the lower right miniature, refer to the changing connotations and meaning of a specific sound in peaceful times (also discussed in the subsequent chapter).

¹⁰ *Eere zy God in de hoogste hemelen, ende Vreede op der Aerden.* It is interesting to note that the broadsheet *Vreughde-wimpel* on the Peace of Münster also mentions Luke 2:14. This broadsheet does not explicitly give a tune to which its text could be sung. However, it has sections titled with *Zangh, Teghen-zangh, and Toe-zangh* that maybe were sung to a common tune of the Gloria Patri. Matthys Janszoon Balen, *Vreughde-wimpel uytgesteken over 't afkundigen van den eeuwige vrede, tusschen zijne catholijke maiesteyt, den dooluchtighsten groot-machtighe don Philippus de 4de, by der gratie Gods koningh van Hispanien &c. ter eenre, ende de hoge en mogende heeren, de Staten Generaal der Vereenighde Provintien van Nederland ter and're zijde, op den 5en van grasmaand 's jaars 1648* (Z.pl.: z.n., 1648).



Figure 3.1. *Eere zy God in de hoogste hemelen, ende Vreede op der Aerden*, [Amsterdam]: Rombout vanden Hoeye, 1648 (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 617). Used with permission. This broadsheet depicts the handover of the instrument of ratification on May 15, 1648, in Münster.



Figure 3.2. Snippet of *Eere zy God in de hoogste hemelen, ende Vreede op der Aerden*, [Amsterdam]: Rombout vanden Hoeye, 1648 (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 617). Used with permission.

The broadsheet *Eere zy God* was most likely produced in a rush to judge from the contrafactual depiction of the Münster City Hall, the errors in the list of all those present, and the lack of representation of the announcement in any Dutch city which took place on June 5, 1648.¹¹ The printer and engraver vanden Hoeye probably wanted to be one of the first to disseminate the news of the peace. The experienced poet and playwright Jan Zoet (1615–74) wrote the text in alexandrine verse form. Vanden Hoeye aimed this broadsheet at the expansive but demanding market in Amsterdam. There was no time to let the news of the peace sink in or to reflect on the meaning of this seismic event before honoring it in publications or celebrating it in performative acts, either for vanden Hoeye, for Zoet, or for any member of the Dutch population.

Nevertheless, media like *Eere zy God* functioned as maps or compasses that helped to orient the Dutch who had to make sense of the end of an interminable war that lasted for three generations. The broadsheet could be held in one's hands, one could turn to it again, reading it once more, and look at the illustrations yet another time in an effort to understand the new reality triggered by the tectonic shift that was manifested through the Peace of Münster.

A Desired Peace? Contestation Brought to the Surface

Even in 1648, not all Dutch could agree on making peace with the Spanish, either for confessional or economic reasons. The orthodox Calvinists did not want tolerance among the confessions. The province of Zeeland and cities like Leiden in Holland were opposed to peace with the southern Netherlands. They would have to give up economic advantages

¹¹ Gerard ter Borch's painting of 1648 "The Swearing of the Oath of Ratification of the Treaty of Münster" (and its numerous engraved copies by Jonas Suyderhoef [1613–89] from 1650) is a more precise depiction of the peace negotiation.

since peace would come with the lifting of blockages of commercial routes and markets. Holland as a province was bent on peace, while the remaining five provinces held a neutral position.¹² However, the negotiations in Münster came to a successful end, and William II, the Prince of Orange (r. 1647–50) who was a harsh opponent of the peace, was too late to prevent it.¹³ While absent from the aforementioned *Eere zy God* broadside, signs of this contestation can be found in songs, dramatic plays, and even in the grand, visible and touchable, and permanent symbol of peace, namely the Amsterdam City Hall.

The song *Wedders-Liedt* from 1647 (figure 3.3) makes the division between the provinces apparent in its poetic text, while the tune can be interpreted as supporting the peace.¹⁴

¹² Guelders, Utrecht, Overijssel, Frisia, and Groningen.

¹³ William II (1626–1650) was also *stadhouder* of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, Overijssel, and Groningen from 14 March 1647 until his death.

¹⁴ Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, *Wedders-liedt (1647): Aengaende den Peys ende de Vrede-handelingh, tusschen den Koningh van Hispanien, ende de Hoogh-Mogende Heeren Staten van Hollandt, etc.*, RP-P-OB-68.249, accessed May 19, 2020, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-OB-68.249>.

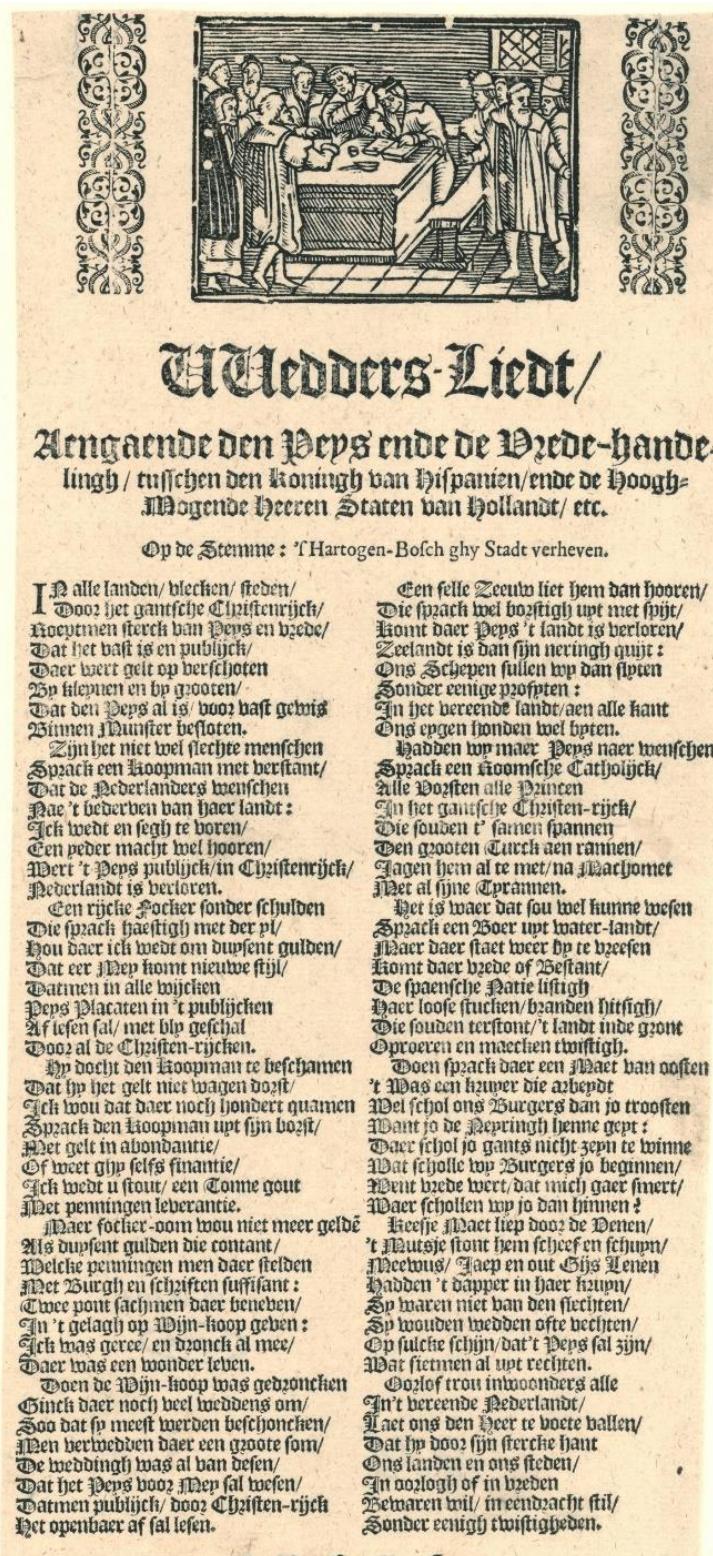


Figure 3.3. Wedders-Liedt, [Northern Netherlands], [1647] (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-68.249). Licensed under CC0 1.0. The song in this broadsheet is sung to the tune of "s Hartogen-Bosch."

The title refers to a better or gambler who talks about the chances of peace in the near future.¹⁵ The text is bluntly critical. Already in stanza 1, the gambler states his opinion, namely, “that the peace, it is certain, has already been concluded in Münster.” In stanza 2, a tradesman predicts that, “If the Peace is public/ in the Christian Empire/ The Netherlands are lost.” In general, the poem continues along the lines that the peace will be bad for the economy of the Netherlands, but good for Christianity, showing the yeas and nays for a peace between Spain and the northern Dutch provinces. We hear the opinion of the people of Zeeland who see themselves as lost, should the peace be announced, and of Christians who greet the peace with joy (and of the Catholic Church who sees the united Christian Empire as successfully fighting the Turks).¹⁶ Eventually, the song ends on a plea, asking for concord among the Dutch lands:

Oorlof trou inwoonders alle
 In't vereende Nederlandt/
 Laet ons den Heer te voete vallen/
 Dat hy door sijn stercke hant
 Ons landen en ons steden/
 In oorlogh of in vreden
 Bewaren wil/ in eendracht stil/
 Sonder eenigh twistigheden.¹⁷

Bring praise all faithful inhabitants
 In the United Netherland
 Let us fall on the Lord's foot [let us beg]
 That he with his strong hand
 Our lands and cities
 In war or in peace
 Will keep/ in concord/
 Without any disputes.

The song's text clearly shows the contestation among the Dutch. However, it is the tune of the *Wedders-Liedt* that gives the song its underlying message of supporting the peace. The reused tune “s Hartogen-Bosch ghy Stadt verheven” (s Hartogen-Bosch thou

¹⁵ The Rijksmuseum mentions the year 1647 as the publication date and the northern Netherlands as the place. The song tells us, however, “That before May comes a new style” (dat eer Mey komt nieuwe stijl). The Peace of Münster was actually signed and ratified in May 1648, which leads me to believe that the song might have been actually written in 1648. Moreover, the text begins with the statement that the Peace has been concluded in Münster. The woodcut on the anonymous pamphlet was not made for the *Wedders-Liedt* but is from the sixteenth century and shows generic men in discussion around a table with a book.

¹⁶ The stanza in which the Catholic speaks also signifies the issue of incorporating Den Bosch's local Catholics into the new Dutch Republic.

¹⁷ The author employed wordplay here. They punned with the words oorlof (lof = praise) and oorlog (= war).

lofty City) implies meaning through associations with the well-known original text of the tune.

The song “s Hartogen-Bosch” refers to one of the biggest victories of the not yet independent provinces and to Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, who was stadtholder from 1625 to 1647.¹⁸ Throughout the Eighty Years’ War, ’s-Hertogenbosch (colloquially known as Den Bosch) was a contested town, both territorially and confessionally, as well as politically. During the Dutch revolt against Spain, the predominantly Catholic city sided with the Habsburg authorities. Although ’s-Hertogenbosch was besieged by the stadtholder Prince Maurice of Orange in 1601 and 1603, it was only in 1629 that the Dutch were able to capture the city. While ’s-Hertogenbosch’s population remained largely Catholic, the surrender of the city was a great loss for the Spanish Habsburgs and a portent of the denouement. The stadtholder Frederick Henry captured and subsequently ruled the city. He was a supporter of the peace between Spain and the Dutch provinces until his death in 1647. By this victory, Frederick Henry proved himself a brilliant strategist and a tolerant stadtholder, and he expanded his followership among the Catholics, Remonstrants, and Cartesians while incurring the wrath of the Calvinists.¹⁹

The tune “s Hartogen-Bosch” celebrated this victory of 1629 and Frederick Henry. “S Hertogen-Bosch” is the incipit of the song titled “Een nieuw Liedeken/ van de Bossche Maegt/ daer so menigen Minnaer na heeft ghejaegt.”²⁰ (This song again is a contrafactum of

¹⁸ A song with the title “s Hartogen-Bosch” that thematizes the victory can be found in Jacob Lievenszoon van Rogge, *Een Nieu Geuse Liedt-Boeck [Geuzenliedboek]: waer in begrepen is den gheheelen handel der Nederlantsche oorlogen/ vanden Jare 1600. tot up het Jaer 1645. ’t Verde deel* (Haarlem: Robert Tinneken, 1645), 133–38. Frederick Henry was stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, and Overijssel from 1625–47 and of Groningen from 1640–47.

¹⁹ David Onnekink and Gijs Rommelse, *The Dutch in the Early Modern World: A History of a Global Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 59–60.

²⁰ van Rogge, *Een Nieu Geuse Liedt-Boeck [Geuzenliedboek]*, 133–38. The English translation of the title reads as follows: “A new song of the maid of Den Bosch, who has been sought after/chased by many a lover.”

the song “Albertus goedertierich hebt, &c.”).²¹ In the collection of beggars’ songs, *Een Nieu Geuse Liedt·Boeck*, the song “Een nieuw Liedeken/ van de Bossche Maegt” is preceded by a preface, which explains the historical context:

On May 1st, 1629, the Prince of Orange besieged the strong city of ’s Hertogenbosch, and on September 17th of that year, the city was handed over to him with an ordinance.²²

Despite the tune’s apparent prevalence, to my knowledge, the actual melody “s Hartogen-Bosch” (or “s Hertogen-Bosch”) does not survive in any musical score.²³ The tune influenced the message of the *Wedders-Liedt* and made clear that it favored the peace, without neglecting the contrary opinions among the Dutch. The song pleaded for peace and celebrated the independence of the United Provinces while not losing territory to the Spanish crown, all in line with Frederick Henry’s politics. In short, while the text provided the contested opinions of both the pro-peace party and the pro-war followers of stadtholder William II, the melody indicated peace as desirable. Thus, this song gives us an insight into the divided Dutch society during the peace process.

I turn now to a character’s song in *Hollants vree-tonneel*, one that differs from the previous songs in three regards. First, it is a reaction to the peace, referencing the treaty in the title. Second, it was quickly produced by an inexperienced writer. Third, because it was

²¹ *Dubbelt, nieu Geusen liet-boeck, waer inne begrepen is den gantschen handel der Nederlanden, beginnende Ann. 1574. tot 1624.: Van verscheiden Auteuren by een versamelt: Verciert met schoone Oude Refereynen ende Liedekens, te voren noyt in eenighe lietboecken ghedruckt Ghecorrigieert ende verbetert, ende die Liedekens op hun mate ende achter een·volghende Jaren ghestelt* (Dordrecht: Jan Geeritsz. van Schueren, 1624), accessed June 29, 2020, <https://books.google.nl/books?id=8P xv8vGODxAC>, fol. 84r–85v. This *Geuzenliedboek* includes the first mentioning of the melody “Albertus goedertiere” that I could find, unfortunately it is without musical notation.

²² “Anno 1629 den eersten Mey, heeft den Prince van Orangien de stercke stadt ’s Hertogen-bosch belegerd, ende den 17 September des selve jaers de Stadt met Apoyntement aan hem overghegeven.” van Rogge, *Een Nieu Geuse Liedt·Boeck [Geuzenliedboek]*, 133.

²³ The Nederlandse Liederbank does not offer any evidence of a score. See Meertens Instituut, “Nederlandse Liederbank,” Meertens Instituut; Documentatie- en Onderzoekscentrum van het Nederlandse lied, accessed January 13, 2020, <http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoek=2198&actie=melodienorm&sorsteer=jaar&lan=nl>.

published as part of a play and not as a self-contained pamphlet, it can be contextualized within the outlook of the larger work. As the play's full title suggests, it was written and published to celebrate the Peace of Münster:

*Hollants vree-tonneel of bly-ent speel: Op den Sin b'thontt laang vre. Gherijmt over den beslooten vreed tot Munster den 30/20 des Maents Jani. 1648. De Ratificatiën aldaer Publijcq Wt-gewisselt, en Be-eedight den 15/3 May Gepubliceert den 16/6 dito.*²⁴

Holland's peace-theater of a play with a happy ending: On the meaning of a long peace. Rhymes about the peace, to Münster on the 30/20 of the month January 1648. The ratifications publicly proclaimed, and sworn in on May 15/3, published 16/6 of the same month.

According to the title page, the author Peter van Haps finished the play in 1648, most likely in time for the official peace announcements on June 5, 1648. This means he wrote and published it in the space of only four months, namely sometime between the end of January and the beginning of June. In 1648, Peter van Haps was not a seasoned writer but a first-year law student at the newly opened University of Harderwijk in the province of Guelders.

Hollants vree-tonneel is his second (surviving) publication. The short amount of time van Haps spent on the play and his relative inexperience might explain the mélange of levels of style in *Hollants vree-tonneel*.²⁵ Nonetheless, the city council (of Nijmegen?) honored his

²⁴ Peter van Haps, *Hollants vree-tonneel of bly-ent speel: Op den Sin b'thontt laang vre. Gherijmt over den beslooten vreed tot Munster den 30/20 des Maents Jani. 1648. De Ratificatiën aldaer Publijcq Wt-gewisselt, en Be-eedight den 15/3 May Gepubliceert den 16/6 dito.* (Nymegen: Nicolaes van Hervelt, 1648), Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent: BIB.MEUL.009163, accessed June 26, 2020, <https://books.google.be/books?vid=GENT900000214022&printsec=frontcover&hl=nl#v=onepage&q&f=false>. The double dates in the title refer to Julian and Gregorian calendars.

²⁵ Louis Grijp even questioned whether this rushed work was ever performed. Louis Grijp, "Muziek voor Munster: muziek en liederen gemaakt ter gelegenheid van de Vrede van Munster," in Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen; Schepper, 1648. *De vrede van Munster*, 216.

publication with 15 Dutch guilders.²⁶ The main characters in van Haps' play are the defeated Mars and victorious Pax with some other allegorical figures.²⁷

Unlike in broadsheets, where the tune is announced through clear instructions, such as “sung to the tune of,” in *Hollants vree-tonneel*, the performance directions are buried in the dramatic text itself. An example is a song sung by the drunkard Morio who first talks about a drinking song and then bursts out singing one. Due to the popularity of the drinking song to which Morio alludes, the audience might have understood the reference to the tune, and most likely would have known the melody by heart.

The scene's directions introduce Morio with a pitcher and a full glass of wine.²⁸ Before he enters, his performance is introduced by Thalia, the muse of comedy. Thalia reminds the audience of Dutch contemporary poets and asks for their artistic contributions and commentary at this moment. She tells the audience about her leaving Mount Parnassus for Holland and her imminent return to Mount Parnassus, and announces that the laurel wreath will be given to the “head of our poet's dance,” the spearhead of the poets.²⁹ Thus, the audience is led to believe it will hear a new masterpiece of literature when, instead, Morio enters. The drunkard starts off with a spoken monologue, in which he declares that he accepts the contest. In the beginning, Morio's monologue resembles Thalia's with one major difference. Like Thalia, he is namedropping Greek words, but his

²⁶ H. D. J. van Schevichaven, “HAPS (Peter Willem van),” in Molhuysen; Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*.

²⁷ *Hollants vree-tonneel* was not the only play specifically written for the peace. For instance, the *Ballet de la Paix* was performed in Münster on May 15, 1648, celebrating the Peace of Münster. Like in *Hollants vree-tonneel*, many characters in *Ballet de la Paix* are allegorical figures, such as Merkur, Friede, Ceres, and Reichtum. *Ballet de la Paix* also includes a drunkard, soldiers, as well as burghers. See Eugen Müller, “Das Theater in der Fürstbischöflichen Haupt- und Residenzstadt Münster zur Zeit des Westfälischen Friedens (1643-1649),” *Auf Roter Erde. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Münsterlandes und der Nachbargebiete* 8, no. 9 (1933).

²⁸ van Haps, *Hollants vree-tonneel of bly-ent speel*, 35.

²⁹ For more information on the implications of Thalia's list of poets, see Jensen, *Celebrating Peace*, 36–37.

are fictitious—they are Greek-sounding neologisms. He finally agrees to contest for the laurel wreath, and eventually hints toward the song he is about to sing:

[...]

Hoe *Thalia* het hooft, wou kroonen, wiensgedichten
De besten sijn van al, wiens vaers als kaerse
lichten.
Ick doght 'k ben so bot niet, ich waegh wel me een
kans,
Wie weet, het waer daer nae, ick kreegh den
lauwer krans.
Ick aen het potteseeren, en om stof te stoffieren.
Dat het voornaemst is, om een vaers op te cieren,
Soo volghden ick den trant, van de *live lecke pot*,
Want yder heeft zyn styl, en dat is myn Shangh-
godt,
Nu dan, hoort toe. Ick swigh, de stem wil noch niet
klincken
Daermee, wat schort u keel? sou je noch wel eens
drincken?
Daer haperent strax aen, Ey daer verstijft myn
tongh,
'K wou datter yemand waar die 't lietjen voor my
songh,
Doch 't moeter even uyt, daer dient noch eens
gedroncken,
Als ick so moy ront ben, dan plaght ick gaen te
proncken
Met my soet singent blat: geest my nu vol gehoor,
O bloet, ick sal soo soet geluydt gaen brengen
voor.³⁰

[...]

How *Thalia* was to crown the head, whose poems
Are the best of all, whose verse lights up like
candles.
I didn't think I was that blunt, I will take a chance,
Who knows, if thereafter, I will get the laurel
wreath.
I thought that to write poetry and find a topic
the most important thing to adorn a verse [is music],
So I took the example of the *sweet leaky pot*,
Because everyone has their style, and that is my
muse,
Now listen. I am silent, my voice doesn't want to
sound yet
But, what is wrong with your throat? Would you like
to have a drink?
There, I am stammering, my tongue stiffens,
I wish there were someone who would sing the song
for me,
Still it had to get out, there's a need to drink again,
When I am nicely prepared like this, then I try to
show off
With my sweet singing tongue: my mind now fully
obedient,
O blood, I shall bring such sweet sounds.

With the line, “So I took the example of the sweet leaky pot,” Morio mentions the tune of the song that he is about to sing. The words “live lecke pot” (sweet leaky pot) refer to a popular song known as “t Lickepotje”—a well-known drinking song. Around 1645, this drinking song came to the Netherlands from France and quickly gained popularity in Dutch publications.³¹ Its original title “Lorsque je mouille mouille mouille” (When I am wet, wet,

³⁰ van Haps, *Hollants vree-tonneel of bly-ent speel*, 35–36.

³¹ Joost Hartgers, *'t Amsteldams Minne-Beeckie: Op nieuws bestroomt. Met verscheyde minnedeuntjes, en nieuwe ghesangen* (Amsterdam: Paulus Mathysz, 1645), accessed February 20, 2020, https://www.dbln.org/tekst/_ams015amst05_01/, 48–49.

wet) was translated to “Wat is het Lieke Lieke Lieke / Wat is het Lieke-Potje soet” or, in a slightly different version, “Wat is het Licke, Licke, Licke, / Wat is het Licke-Potje soet.”³² In English, this title means “how sweet the little pot is.” The word “lieke” could also be understood as “little song”—in this case, “lieke” is the spelled-out dialect form of the historical word for song (diminutive “liedeken” contracted to “lieke”).³³ By the end of this introductory monologue, Morio seems to have lost courage. He had hoped that someone else would complete the task of singing. But eventually, cursing “O blood,” he begins his song:

³² Meertens Instituut, “Nederlandse Liederbank” accessed March 20, 2020, <http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoek=5313&actie=melodienorm&sorteer=jaar&lan=nl>. The full text of “Wat is het lieke, lieke, lieke” can be found in Cl. Albertsen Haen, *Haerlemsche Winter-bloempjes: op-geoffert aan de Vreugd-lievende Nymphjes; gepluct uyt 'et Breyen van verscheyden Rijmers* (Haerlem: I. van Wesbusch, 1647), Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague: 9 E 8 [1], 218–19. In this songbook, the instruction is “Alst begint” which refers to the incipit of the song. A score of the tune, in this case titled “Wat is het Lieke Lieke Lieke” can be found in Cl. Albertsen Haen, *Haerlemsche Somer-bloempjes: Tweede offer, aan de Vreucht-lievende Nymphjes, bequaem om een krans aerdiglick te vlechten op 't hooft van haer en haer Beminde. Ghepluckt uyt het vorighe Bloem-Hoff* (Haerlem: I. van Wesbusch, 1646), Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague: 9 E 8:3, 12–14.

³³ Moreover, meanings for “likkepot” include electuary (a sweetened confection) and gourmand or glutton. Both meanings work nicely for Morio who might see himself as a connoisseur and who might think of wine as sweet medicine. I have to thank Annelies Andries and Celine Camps who pointed out the term’s possible meanings.

Musical Example 3.1. Morio's song set to the tune "Wat is het licke, licke, licke, Wat, &c." as found in Haerlemsche Somer-bloempjes (Haerlem: I. van Wesbusch, 1646) (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague: 9 E 8:3).

Wat sijn de ty - den son - der stry - den/ Wat sijn de Vre - de ty - den soet:/'

Slaet in d'han - den, staept met de voet./ Wie son hem nit in Vreed ver - bly - ven?/'

'tIs geen lief-heb - ber van den Vree,/ Die daer son voor den Frans - man_ vly - den/'

'tIs geen lief-heb - ber van den Vree/ Die dar niet en fluydt dit fluyt - jen mee.'

1.

Wat sijn de tyden sonder stryden
Wat sijn de *Vrede* tyden soet:
Slaet in d' handen, staept met de voet.
Wie son hem nit in *Vreed* verblyven?

't Is geen lief-hebber van den *Vree*,
Die daer son voor den Fransman vlyden
't Is geen lief-hebber van den *Vree*
Die daer niet en fluydt dit fluytjen mee.

2.

Op de gesontheyt van myn Heeren,
Soo brengh ick u dit Bacchi nat,
Die daer tot *Munster* in de stadt,
Deden den twist in eendraght keeren:

't Is geen lief-hebber van den *Vree*
Die 't niet en drinckt tot haarder eeren,
't Is geen lief-hebber van den *Vree*
Die daer niet en fluydt dit fluytjen mee.

3.

Vivant d'Hoogh-mogende Staten,
Et vivant Sijn-Door-luchticheyt:
Hier nabuurtjen doet my bescheydt,
Ebibe queso op de maten:

1.

O the times without battle
O the times of *Peace* are sweet:
Clap your hands, stomp your feet.
Who does not wish to remain at *Peace*?

It's not a lover of *Peace*,
who flatters the Frenchman
It's not a lover of *Peace*
Who doesn't whistle along with this tune.

2.

To the good health of my Lord,
So I bring you this Bacchic drink,
Who in the city of *Münster*,
Turned the dispute into harmony:

It's not a lover of *Peace*
who doesn't drink to honor her,
It's not a lover of *Peace*
Who doesn't whistle along with this tune.

3.

Long live the powerful States [=United Provinces],
And long live His-Most Illustrious Excellency:
Here, neighbors make me answer,
And let us drink to the tune:

't Is geen lief-hebber van den *Vree*
Die daer een dropjen in sou laeten,
't Is geen lief-hebber van den *Vree*,
Die niet en fluydt dit fluytjen mee.³⁴

It's not a lover of *Peace*
Who would "sour" the happiness with a drop
It's not a lover of *Peace*
Who doesn't whistle along with this tune.

Morio's song has three stanzas, each with an elaborate refrain. In the song, Morio drinks to the time of peace (stanza 1), the health of the envoys in Münster (stanza 2), and lastly the provinces and the noblemen (stanza 3). However, in every occurrence of the refrain, he accuses those who do not "whistle along with his song" to be enemies of the peace. In the refrains, Morio refers to the opponents of the Peace of Münster, the enemies of the magistrates, and the supporters of William II. Since Morio held his wine dear, the last two stanzas become linguistically more difficult to understand.

After the song, Morio ends his scene with another little monologue. He asks the audience how his song sounded and even encourages them to "dislike it freely." Does Morio refer here to the content of his song or his performance? This encouragement can be interpreted as a hint to dislike the peace freely. Is Morio—a drunkard and a fool—allowed to speak the truth and the opinion of the public? As in the saying "children and fools speak the truth," or in the German version "drunkards and children speak the truth," perhaps Morio can say what everyone is thinking?

Morio self-consciously admits that he is not a poet, but that poets also only play. His singing does not need to win the contest. Likewise, his opinion does not need approval from the state authorities. Morio, as an anonymous drunkard, has the chance to present his own opinion, an opinion that might overlap with some popular views among the Dutch. He implies with an un-executed rhyme—by omitting and only suggesting scatological language—that not only his poetry but all poets' poetry is worthless.

³⁴ van Haps, *Hollants vree-tonneel of bly-ent speel*, 36–37.

Men meenden dat den man, had d' alder soetste
tonghe;
Maer doen hy volsmonts songh, gelijck ick singent
kreet,
Doen luyden syn gesangh soo dreckelijck als een
__.³⁵

It is thought that man had the sweetest tongue;
But when he [the poet] loudly sang, similar to how I
cry out singing,
That makes his song sound as attractive as a—.

The Dutch word “kreet” (song) rhymes with “scheet” which means “flatulence.”³⁶ Morio shows some good manners by implying the vulgar word in his song without uttering it and yet gives the audience his opinion: the song sounds like the noise of a flatulence. He ends with a flawed Ovidian quote. Morio says, “qui bibit arte bibit, qui canet arte canet” (who sings, sings with art, who drinks, drinks with art).³⁷ Unlike Ovid’s original, Morio’s quote means that singing and drinking are always artful and that they do not depend on ability or prowess. Ovid’s original asked for the actual skill before the encouragement to sing and drink: “qui canit arte, canat; qui bibit arte, bibat” (whoever sings with art, then sing: whoever drinks with art, then drink).³⁸

Morio’s scene in *Hollants vree-tonneel* enhances the breadth of the songs celebrating the peace. Morio is a drunkard who is reveling the peace while being critical toward himself and toward the political situation with the newly won peace—he understands that this peace is not a victory for all parties, that there is contestation among the Dutch. In short, he expresses the fact that not everyone was in favor of the peace. He is somewhat erudite, quoting Latin, although not without mistakes. The fact that Morio uses Latin hints toward a multifaceted audience that includes students like the author himself. By using the tune of

³⁵ van Haps, *Hollants vree-tonneel of bly-ent speel*, 37.

³⁶ To make this entire line of poetry even more scatological: “kreet” also rhymes with “reet” which means “ass.”

³⁷ Morio’s Latin quote could also be translated as “who sings with art, sings, who drinks with art, drinks.” The absence of the commas does make both translations possible.

³⁸ Ovid, “Ars amatoria. Liber secundus,” Bibliotheca Augustana, accessed February 21, 2020, https://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lsante01/Ovidius/ovi_ars2.html.

a popular drinking song from a beggars' song book, Morio speaks to a wider audience: soldiers, men in inns, musicians, prostitutes—the figures one expects in a merry scene of the Dutch Golden Age—all of whom have the chance to “whistle along” and to act as supporters of the peace. The fact that the song includes a refrain makes it easier for the audience to sing along with during the first performance. Louis Grijp presumed that a song like Morio's version of “t Lickepotje” gives a glimpse into the life of the Dutch commoner and that the people present at the peace announcements would have sung this kind of song.³⁹ Morio's song expanded the target audience of the published form of *Hollants vreetonneel* beyond the urban elites and middle-class who could afford to buy a copy. The oral transmission of the song could have reached a broader audience, comparable to songs on pamphlets that travelled far beyond the reach of the actual piece of paper.⁴⁰

In summary, both songs, the *Wedders-Liedt* and Morio's song in *Hollants vreetonneel* supported the peace and yet they both reveal division. As a popular record of history, the texts of both songs point toward the contestation among the Dutch regarding the Peace of Münster. These songs add a layer to the official record. In the *Wedders-Liedt*, this happens quite directly through the poetic text, but the tune makes clear that the song supports the peace process. In the play *Hollants vreetonneel*, Morio clearly states there are two sides, the followers of the peace “who whistle along” and the enemies of the peace who do not drink to honor the treaty. And after he finishes the song, he allows or even encourages the audience to disagree. However, it is important to consider that Morio is a drunkard who is speaking these words as a fictional character in a play that clearly favors and celebrates the peace. As popular records of history, both songs challenge the official

³⁹ Louis Grijp, “Muziek voor Munster: muziek en liederen gemaakt ter gelegenheid van de Vrede van Munster,” in Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen; Schepper, 1648. *De vrede van Munster*, 216.

⁴⁰ Deen, Onnekink and Reinders, “Pamphlets and Politics,” 26–30.

message of support for the Peace of Münster and give a fuller picture of this peace process by recognizing the disagreement among the Dutch.

Architecture as a Permanent Symbol of Peace and Contestation

Morio's song, a piece of music geared toward the lower class, could have been sung at Nijmegen's announcement of the Peace of Münster. The peace was announced all over the Low Countries on June 5, 1648, and celebrated both in the northern Dutch Republic and the southern Spanish Netherlands with urban festivities that addressed both low and high culture.⁴¹ In the North, the celebrations were centered around the *stadhuizen* or city halls.

The city halls served as venue not only because of the town squares in front of the buildings, but also because of the city hall's significance for the new Dutch Republic, which housed the departments of the city government and the open courts of justice—civic life itself. These buildings functioned as monuments to the power of the republic. The States General of the federal union commissioned these architectural structures for posterity—a commission of monuments of any kind through the States General was rare.⁴² Besides serving as symbols of the city's independent governance and jurisdiction, the *stadhuizen*

⁴¹ Claire Gantet, "Friedensfeste aus Anlaß des Westfälischen Friedens in den süddeutschen Städten und die Erinnerung an den Dreißigjährigen Krieg (1648–1871)," in Bußmann; Schilling, *1648 - Krieg und Frieden in Europa*. For instance, in Antwerp, the population celebrated in front of the city hall for three days. The celebration included the announcement of the peace, six theater plays, and fireworks. Maximilian Pauwels' (?) painting *The Proclamation of the Peace of Münster on the Grote Markt in Antwerp* (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, Inv. 234, 1648) and Wenzel Hollar's etching *Eygentlycke Afbeeldinghe ende manière van de publicatie va de Peys* (Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, Inv. RP-P-OB 68.254 [FM 1949a]) captured this event of June 5, 1648. For a discussion of the music—including Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi's *Balletten met vijf, ses en acht stemmen (...), ghestelt op Italiaensche Rijmen, nu tot lof vanden Peys tussen Spaignien ende Oraignien, en tot vermaeck, van de Neder-landtsche jeught, met Neder-duytsche woorden verciert*—performed at the Antwerp announcement, see Louis Grijp, "Muziek voor Munster: muziek en liederen gemaakt ter gelegenheid van de Vrede van Munster," in Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen; Schepper, *1648. De vrede van Munster*. Furthermore, the States General arranged June 10, 1648, to be a general day of thanksgiving, fasting and prayer all over the Dutch Republic. See Jensen, *Celebrating Peace*, 23.

⁴² van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700*, 66. It is interesting to note that the word "monument" derives from the Latin word "monere," which means "to exhort" or "to remind."

also represented the power of the burgomasters or magistrates and the commercial power and prosperity.⁴³ In the first half of the seventeenth century, there was a surge of new city hall constructions, and Amsterdam, as the leading financial and trade center of the Western world, was no exception.⁴⁴ The Amsterdam burgomasters wanted to erect a symbol of their power in the form of an architectural monument, one that would become known as the “eighth wonder of the world” for its grandiosity.⁴⁵

In Amsterdam, the new *stadhuis*, which was under construction in 1648, still stands today as a lasting monument and part of Amsterdam’s memoryscape. Even before its opening in 1655, the city hall simultaneously symbolized an idealized peace, the grandiosity of Amsterdam, and the Dutch independence. However, it was also a remarkable reminder of opposing movements. As early as 1639, the Amsterdam regents had considered architectural plans for a building that would replace the existing city hall which was old and too small. The grandiose plan that they eventually agreed to included demolishing houses on the Dam Square and driving 13,659 trunks of Scandinavian conifers into the marshy ground. With this disruption and cost, it is easy to see that the plan was not supported by everyone. The project stood for and was supported by the burgomasters’ party, which opposed the party of peace opponent William II.

⁴³ For instance, the room for the tribunal, called *Vierschaar*, had a prominent location in the Amsterdam *stadhuis* and Dutch city halls in general. Pieter Vlaardingerbroek, “Rathäuser in Holland im XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhundert mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Amsterdamer Rathauses,” in *Rathäuser und andere kommunale Bauten: Bericht über die Tagung des Arbeitskreises für Hausforschung e. V. in Lüneburg vom 27. September bis 1. Oktober 2009*, ed. Michael Goer and Ulrich Klein, Jahrbuch für Hausforschung 60 (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2010).

⁴⁴ Besides in Amsterdam, new city halls were built in Franeker (1591–94), Leiden (1592), Dokkum (1608), Bolsward (1613–17), Delft (1618), Lochem (1634–40), Maastricht (1659–64), and Enkhuizen (1686–88). In other cities, town halls were thoroughly renovated, such as in Leiden (1604), Bergen-op-Zoom (1611), Hattem (1619), Haarlem (1633), Deventer (1662 and 1692–94), ’s-Hertogenbosch (1670), Gouda (1675), and again Leiden (1660). See Maarten Roy Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century: The Golden Age*, Reprinted. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 259.

⁴⁵ Vlaardingerbroek, “Rathäuser in Holland im XVII. und XVIII. Jahrhundert mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Amsterdamer Rathauses,” 131.

The timing to use the new Amsterdam city hall as a background for the announcement of peace on June 5, 1648 did not work out. Since the new city hall was under construction, the official peace celebration in Amsterdam was held in front of the old city hall. More than four months later, the groundbreaking ceremony of the new *stadhuis* took place.

Notwithstanding the timeline of events, contemporary authors connected the peace with the erection of the new Amsterdam city hall. They did so in spite of the absence of a causal relationship between the construction of the city hall and the peace negotiation, and despite the “reversed” timeline of events in Amsterdam—first, the planning of the city hall, next, the proclamation of the peace, then, the groundbreaking ceremony of the new city hall. Even before the Peace of Münster, Joost van den Vondel connected the city hall with this future peace treaty in his 1647 dramatic play *Leeuwendalers*.⁴⁶ In 1649, poems performed at official peace celebrations on June 5, 1648, were published in the collection *Olyf-krans der vreede* (Olive wreath of peace).⁴⁷ The monolithic 450-page *Olyf-krans* consists of eighteen texts, including the peace treaty itself, poems (partially commenting on *tableaux* shown at the official celebration), and plays, all pertaining to peace in general or to the Peace of Münster. Most of the texts were already published independently prior to 1649, but the collection amalgamated the individual publications and events into a corpus that would be deemed worthy of reprinting.

⁴⁶ Joost van den Vondel, *Leeuwendalers: Lantspel. Pax optima rerum* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1647), 5; Pieter Vlaardingerbroek, “An Appropriated History: The Case of the Amsterdam Town Hall (1648–1667),” in *The Quest for an Appropriate Past in Literature, Art and Architecture*, ed. Karl A. E. Enenkel and Koen A. Ottenheyen, *Intersections* 60 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2019), 463.

⁴⁷ *Olyf-krans der vreede: Door de Doorluchtigste Geesten, en Geleerdste Mannen, deezes tijds, gevlochten* (Amsterdam: Uit de drukkery van T. Houthaak, voor G. van Goedesberg, 1649). For a discussion of the *Olyf-krans*, especially pertaining to the different confessional voices in the publication, see Jensen, *Celebrating Peace*, 32–41.

The collection's title *Olyf-krans der vrede* indicates that it was published on the occasion of the Peace of Münster, but its content also refers to the Amsterdam *stadhuis*; for instance, Reinier Anslo's verses "Het gekroonde Amsterdam, Met het Nieuw Stadhuis" (Crowned Amsterdam, with the new city hall) or Joost van den Vondel's "Bouwzang" (building song) have the city hall for a theme.⁴⁸ In his "Bouwzang," van den Vondel compared Amsterdam's city hall designed by Jacob van Campen with Athens's and Rome's architecture and argued favorably for Amsterdam's *stadhuis* as superior due to its "convenience and majesty and everlasting eternity knit together in a Capital Edifice."⁴⁹

Olyf-krans was reprinted in 1750 with a significant change in its title page, now also referring to the groundbreaking ceremony of the city hall. The reprint's subheading reads "benevens eenige gezangen op de grondlegging, bouwing en inwying van het stadhuis te Amsteldam" (including some songs on the occasion of the groundbreaking, building, and inauguration of the Amsterdam city hall).⁵⁰ *Olyf-krans* is an example of how media spread the events of 1648 (and even 1655—the year of the inauguration) and blended them together.

⁴⁸ Reinier Anslo, "Het gekroonde Amsterdam, Met het Nieuw Stadhuis," in *Olyf-krans der vrede: Door de Doorluchtigste Geesten, en Geleerdste Mannen, deezes tijds, gevlochten* (Amsterdam: Uit de drukkery van T. Houthaak, voor G. van Goedesberg, 1649); *Olyf-krans der vrede*, 391–94; Joost van den Vondel, "Bouwzang," dbnl, accessed February 3, 2020, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/vond001dewe05_01/vond001dewe05_01_0059.php#vond001dewe05_0002.

⁴⁹ "[...] gerief en majestiteit/ En tijtverdurende eeuwigheit/ Verknocht zien in een Hooftgesticht,/ De glori van mijn bouwgedicht." Translation by Katharine Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1959), 30. Everard Meyster also praises the artfulness of the city hall and the architect Jacob van Campen in his *Hemelsch Land-Spel*. Everard Meyster, *Hemelsch Land-Spel, Of Goden Kout, Der Amersfoortsche Landdouwen: Bevattende den buytensten Opstal van't Nieuwe Stad-Huys Eerste Deel* (Amsterdam, 1655), accessed January 10, 2019, <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10038117-2>.

⁵⁰ *Olyfkrans der vrede, door de doorluchtigste geesten en geleerdste mannen van dien tyd gevlochten:: zynde eene verzameling van lofreden en gedichten op den eeuwigen vrede, tusschen Philippus den IV. koning van Spanje, en de ... Staten der Vereenigde Nederlanden: gesloten te Munster ... ao. MDCXLVIII benevens eenige gezangen op de grondlegging, bouwing en inwying van het stadhuis te Amsteldam ... en eindelyk verscheide gedichten op de eeuwe der grondlegging van gemelde stadhuis, verscheenen de XXVIIsten van Wynmaand, ao. MDCCXLVIII* (Amsterdam: Gerrit de Groot, 1750), accessed June 29, 2020, <https://books.google.com/books?id=q-nSqTBGggMC>.

This blending of events and causalities, as we have seen in the *Olyf'krans*, was present in events themselves, such as the cornerstone ceremony of the city hall. The four burgomasters of Amsterdam—Gerbrant Pankras, Jacob de Graeff, Sybrant Valkenier, and Pieter Schap—expanded the cornerstone ceremony of October 1648 to commemorate the Peace of Münster once again, and, moreover, to perpetuate their names as peacemakers. Their sons and nephews were actually the ones who laid the foundation stone on October 28, 1648, with a silver shovel still exhibited at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.⁵¹ A commemorative tablet in the city hall's court of justice remembers to the present day this event with the following text:

On 29 October 1648, the year which marked the end of the war waged for over eighty years by the United Netherlands against the three Philips, mighty kings of Spain, on land and at sea in almost every part of the world, and in which the freedom and faith of the fatherland were vouchsafed, the first stone of this town hall was laid during the term of office of the burgomasters and *peacemakers*, by Gerb. Pancras, Jac. De Graeff, Sib. Valckenier, Pet. Schaepp, sons of kin of the burgomasters.⁵²

The burgomasters in Amsterdam, like those in other Dutch cities, had celebrated the peace on June 5, 1648, but then used the construction of the pompous city hall to showcase Amsterdam's supremacy and to reiterate the successful peace negotiations and Dutch independence. Put differently, the burgomasters designated the not-yet-built city hall as a symbol of the Dutch Republic and as a monument to Dutch independence. Using the city hall as a symbol of peace counteracted the situation of the Low Countries after Münster, when the Dutch had to construct a new identity and reality for themselves out of thin air.

⁵¹ Johannes Lutma, *Troffel 1648: Troffel met het wapen van het geslacht De Graeff en een voorstelling van de eerste steenlegging van het Amsterdamse stadhuis*, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: BK-KOG-1494, accessed April 4, 2021, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.18468>.

⁵² Eymert-Jan Goossens, *Treasure Wrought by Chisel and Brush: The Town Hall of Amsterdam in the Golden Age* (Amsterdam, Zwolle: Stichting Koninklijk Paleis te Amsterdam; Waanders, 1996), 85. [My emphasis.]

The allegorical bronze statue of Peace, installed as late as 1665, eventually crowned the city hall's front façade which underlined the *stadhuis*'s function as "temple of peace."⁵³ By connecting the city hall with the Peace of Münster, the burgomasters might have hoped to make the building less contested among the diverse Dutch population from different provinces. However, by connecting it to an already contested peace, the positive symbolic value of the *stadhuis* was prone to be questioned all the more.

For the Amsterdam burgomasters, it was of great importance that the city hall was the most formidable building of the city. In the context of the city hall's surroundings, the *stadhuis* indeed was the tallest and most impressive architectural structure in the city. This new building, a symbol of a peace that ended a religious civil war, should neither be overshadowed by the church, nor any other edifice. The city hall occupied land along Amsterdam's Dam Square along with the *Nieuwe Kerk* (New Church), another building that served as a major landmark. After the *Nieuwe Kerk* burned down in 1645, rebuilding efforts began. The design for the rebuilding by van Campen included an imposing tower. Engraver Pieter Hendricksz. Schut recorded the design, including the tall tower in the engraving "Gezicht op het Stadhuis" (view of the city hall; figure 3.4).⁵⁴ However, the tower never materialized.

⁵³ Goossens, *Treasure Wrought by Chisel and Brush*, 22. The statue of Atlas on top of the city hall's rear façade, together with the statue of Peace, symbolizes universal concord. Goossens's *Treasure Wrought by Chisel and Brush* contains more information on the symbolism used in the city hall's interior and exterior.

⁵⁴ Pieter Hendricksz. Schut, *Gezicht op het Stadhuis, de Nieuwe Kerk en de Waag op de Dam te Amsterdam Stadt-Huys: Waegh en Marckt van Amsteldam, anders genaemt den Dam, 1662-1720*, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: Object number: RP-P-AO-21-22-1, accessed February 4, 2020, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.233758>.

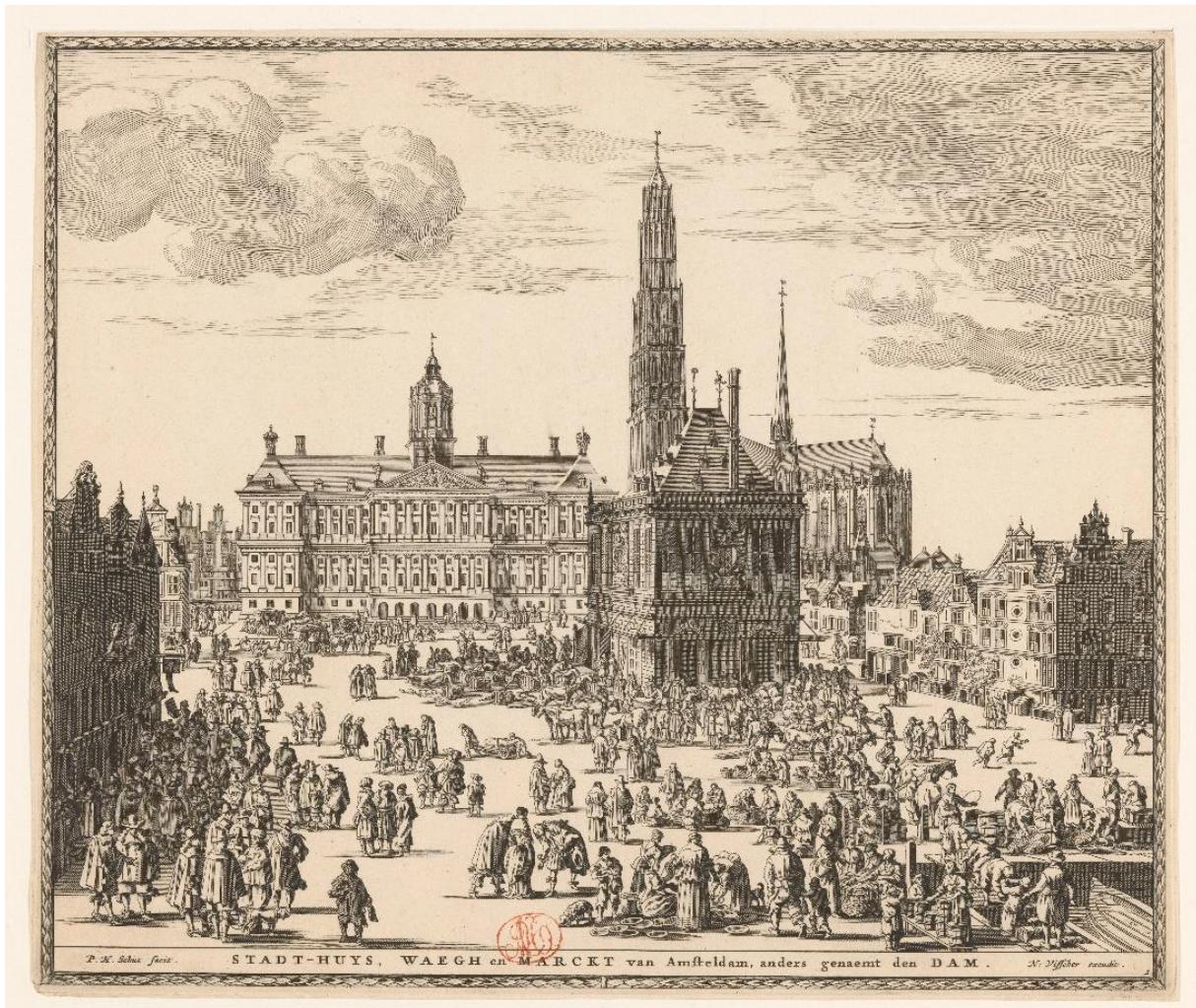


Figure 3.4. Pieter Hendricksz. Schut, *Gezicht op het Stadhuis, de Nieuwe Kerk en de Waag op de Dam te Amsterdam Stadt-Huys, Amsterdan*: [s.n.], 1662–1720 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: RP-P-AO-21-22-1). Licensed under CC0 1.0. Schut's engraving shows a view of the Amsterdam Dam Square with a tower that was never built.

The tower was not realized for two reasons: First, it was too costly, but primarily, the church tower would have overshadowed—both visually and audibly—the city hall, which was meant to be the eye- and ear-catcher on the Dam Square.⁵⁵ By insisting on the

⁵⁵ Amsterdam's city hall was adorned with a carillon in 1664. Already in 1655, Joost van den Vondel prematurely described the beauty of the *stadthuis*'s carillon in his poem “Inwydinge van 't stadhuis t'Amsterdam” (Dedication of the Amsterdam city hall). Van den Vondel wrote the poem for the dedication of the city hall held on July 29, 1655. Carillons' sounds, like the daily organ recitals played by town musicians, were inherent features of the Dutch soundscape in the seventeenth century. Henry A. Bruinsma, “An Introduction to Vondel and Music,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 31, no. 2 (1981): 97–99.

city hall as the most prominent building on Amsterdam's main square, the burgomasters emphasized the seat of authority in Amsterdam. In short, Dutch authority should be not explicitly confessional.⁵⁶

The city hall's symbolism of secular power corresponds with the identity of the United Provinces. The provinces set great value on their federal authority and, thus, on the subordination of the stadtholder; the stadholders were literally lieutenants who represented the prince in the provinces. The city hall monument functioned as a long-lasting reminder of both the contested Dutch independence, the large amount of freedom of the Dutch cities, and the government of the Dutch Republic.

To review, the construction of the Amsterdam *stadhuis*, like the official peace celebrations that were held all over the Low Countries, were planned and directed by the burgomasters and the States General. These official celebrations had the task of observing the Peace of Münster in a positive fashion. The art performed at the festivities of peace did not give a strictly biased presentation. The roundels on well-known melodies sung to exhibited *tableaux-vivants* at the Haarlem announcement, the poems recited in Amsterdam, and the dramatic plays likely performed in Nijmegen all pointed to the cruelties of war and to the rocky process until the peace was reached.⁵⁷ In the new, proud,

⁵⁶ Hester Schölvink et al., *De Nieuwe Kerk* (Amsterdam: De Nieuwe Kerk, 2016), 31.

⁵⁷ These performances lasted longer than the day of the announcement. For instance, three days after the announcement, the poems performed at the official peace celebration in Amsterdam were programmed at the Schouwburg. See Louis Grijp, "Muziek voor Munster: muziek en liederen gemaakt ter gelegenheid van de Vrede van Munster," in Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen; Schepper, 1648. *De vrede van Munster*, 212; Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, "De viering van de Vrede van Munster in Amsterdam: de dichters Geeraardt Brandt en Jan Vos bevestigen hun maatschappelijke positie," in Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen; Schepper, 1648. *De vrede van Munster*, 194.

For more information on the Antwerp celebration, see Christophorus van Essen and Jan Christophe Jegher, *Antwerpsche omme-gangh oft lust-triumphe: verthoonende het oudt wel-vaeren deser hoogh-loffelijcker vermaerde stadt ... door den ingaenden vrede ... anno 1648. den 15 mey ... den 5. junii ghecelebreert* (Antwerp: Jacob van Ghelen, 1649), accessed June 29, 2020, <https://dams.antwerpen.be/asset/e1NYRHdgNASdO8KTNK2HdAjb>. This publication is a narration of a procession in Antwerp honoring the peace. It is very metaphoric and uses emblems for each station. For more

but fragile republic, there was the need to remember the legacy of suffering. This historical consciousness is visible in pamphlets and broadsheets, which were sold on every corner by peddlers and in the numerous bookstores in Amsterdam and elsewhere.⁵⁸

Besides performed and printed art forms, the Dutch also employed monuments to commemorate the peace. For instance, the Amsterdam city hall served as a messenger of peace, grandiosity, independence, and prosperity—in short, the euphoric desire to forget the horrors of war. The Amsterdam *stadhuis* was made into a peace symbol in 1648, while the pamphlets, broadsheets, and songs distributed for the occasion of the official celebration were bound together in the collections published around this time. In the case of these pamphlets and broadsheets and the Amsterdam *stadhuis*, a “memory cycle” was constructed. The *Olyfkrans der vreede* memorialized the peace and the city hall, while the city hall commemorated the peace.⁵⁹

Comparable to *Olyfkrans der vreede*, collections of beggars’ songs also conveyed a nuanced and well-rounded image of the peace process and Dutch history in general. For instance, the preface to the second part of the *Geuse Liedt-boek* states that it was published so boys could learn history—with all its positive and negative traits—and it employed the same learning strategies and required the same persistency needed for memorizing the ABCs.⁶⁰ Even though the magistrates and burgomasters hoped to emphasize the positive aspects of peace, playwrights, composers, engravers, poets, and publishers ensured that

information on the celebration in Münster, see Jan J. Poelhekke, *De Vrede van Munster* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948), 538.

⁵⁸ Deen, Onnekink and Reinders, “Pamphlets and Politics,” 3.

⁵⁹ *Het tweede deel, van 't Geuse liet-boeck, bevattende al de gheschiedenisse, ende den oorspronck van de Nederlantsche oorloghe* (Amsterdam: Otto Barentsz Smient, 1643), accessed June 26, 2020, <https://books.google.com/books?id=vcBmAAAACAAJ>.

⁶⁰ “de Ieught van Ionghs op behoorde als het A:B:C te leeren, om datse kunnen weten, hoe tyrannich ende onmenschlijck den Spaneschen Koninck heeft laten Regeeren inde Nederlanden, onder het beleyt van den Bloedthont Duc d’Alba.” *Ibid.*, 4. See also van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700*, 213.

Dutch people with various opinions—regardless of whether they were opponents or proponents of peace—could identify themselves with published voices.

New Sounds and New Myths

Songs were one of the central means by which the Dutch independence, the war, and the peace were propagated and commemorated. Songs could be easily disseminated, they fell into different genres and, thus, appealed to diverse audiences. In the previous sections, I discussed a drinking song in a dramatic play and songs set to tunes that were well-known at the time. In this section, I will give examples of further categories of commemorative songs, their audience, and their function.

Two rhetoricians' associations offered publications for the announcement of the Peace Münster in Haarlem.⁶¹ The association De Witte Angieren (The white angels), published the pamphlet *Gedicht ende Gesang op de Eeuwige Vrede* (Poem and song on the eternal peace) with a prologue in dialogue form, a poem, and a song titled “Vrede-Liedt.”⁶² The song is sung to the tune of “Trotst nu niet meer Romeynen” (Defy no longer the Romans). (It is noteworthy that “Trotst nu niet meer Romeynen” is the incipit of the “Het Nieuwe Triumph Liedt/ Van de Stadt ’s Hertogenbosch, 1629” [Triumphal song of the city of ’s Hertogenbosch].⁶³)

⁶¹ It would be interesting to investigate whether the Haarlem-based composer and musician Cornelis Thymanszoon Padbrué (1592–1670) had any connection to the Haarlem rhetoricians' associations.

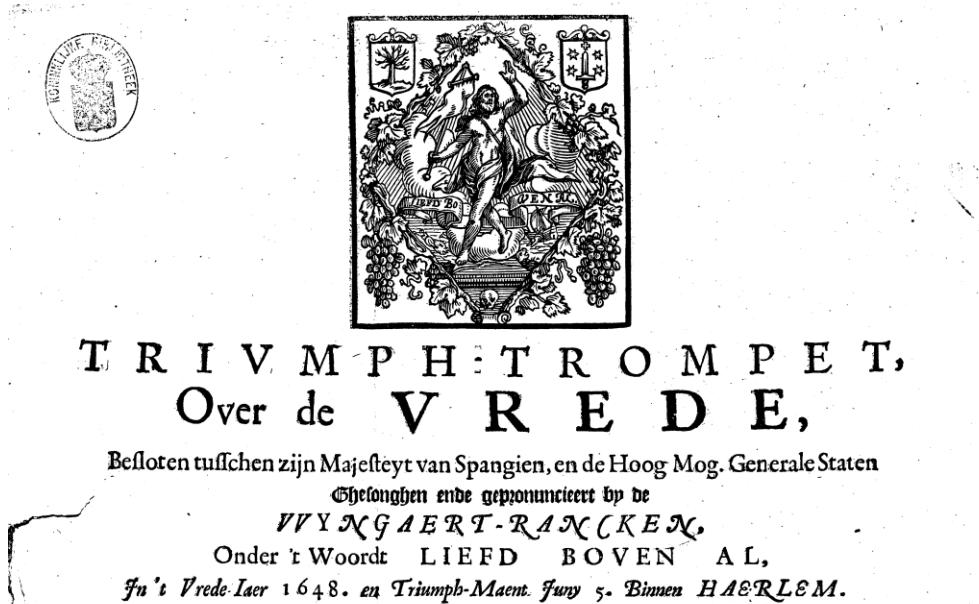
⁶² Der [sic] Witte angieren, *Gedicht ende Gesang: op de Eeuwige Vrede, : Tusschen Philippus IV. koning van Spanjen/ &c. ende d'Hoog-Moog: Heeren Staten, der Vereenighde Nederlanden. Gepubliceert den 5 Junij, 1648* (Haerlem: Hans Passchiers van Wesbusch, 1648), Jan Willemsz, accessed June 30, 2020, <https://books.google.com/books?vid=KBNL:KBNLB030063952>.

⁶³ The 1629 song “Het Nieuwe Triumph Liedt” can be found in Michiel de Groot, *Het Nieuwe Nassouse Trompetje: Blasende veelderhande Victory-gesangen/ bevochten door de Princen van Orangien; als mede de voornaemste Veld- en Zeeslagen die in haer tyden voor-gevallen zijn* (Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1675), accessed June 30, 2020, <https://books.google.nl/books?id=LKSbuTubjqoC>, 66.

The second rhetoricians' association, Wyngaert-rancken (Grapevine tendril), published a broadsheet with a poem and a song titled *Trivmph-trompet, Over de Vrede* (Triumphal trumpet on the peace, figure 3.5).⁶⁴ Although the Wyngaert-rancken produced it for this specific event, the members of the association made clear that they followed their own motto, “Liefd boven al” (Love before all else) instead of the voices that uncritically celebrated the peace.⁶⁵ In two poetic texts, *Trivmph-trompet* comments on the newly established peace between the Spanish crown and the northern States General. With this broadsheet, the Wyngaert-rancken confronted the changed reality of 1648 by calling attention to the post- and pre-war soundscapes and realities.

⁶⁴ Rederijersvereeniging Wyngaert-rancken, *Trivmph-trompet, over de vrede, besloten tusschen zijn majesteyt van Spangien, en de hoog mog. Generale Staten ghesonghen ende gepronuncieert by de vvyngaert-rancken, onder 't woordt Liefd boven al, in 't vrede-iaer 1648. en triumph-maent juny 5. binnen Haerlem* (Haarlem: Vincent Casteleyn, 1648), accessed June 26, 2020, <https://books.google.com/books?id=MLoHKHrDE2UC>. Steven Theunisz van der Lust, member of the Rederijersvereeniging Wyngaert-rancken, published a little booklet of four songs for the celebration in Haarlem. This publication uses the same engraving and motto as the broadsheet *Trivmph-trompet*. Theunisz van der Lust, Steven, *Olyf-kransen, Gevlochten om't hooft vande Hemelsche Vrede.: Op de Triumph-doot vanden Bloedt-hondt den dullen Mars, Sanghs-wijse vertoont by de 145 Jaerige Reden-Kamer. Liefd boven al. In 't Vrede jaer 1648. Maent Junij 5. Binnen Haerlem.* (Haarlem: Vincent Casteleyn, 1648), Rederijersvereeniging Wyngaert-rancken, accessed June 26, 2020, <https://books.google.com/books?vid=KBNL:KBNLB030063849>.

⁶⁵ The rhetoricians' association De Witte Angieren followed a motto as well. Their motto reads “In Liefd Ghetrowe” (trust in love).



TRIVMPH-TROMPET, Over de VREDE,

Besloten tusschen zijn Majesteyt van Spangien, en de Hoog Mog. Generale Staten

Ghelonghen ende gepronuncieert by de

WYNGAERT-RANCKEN.

Onder 't Woordt LIEFD BOVEN AL,

fn't Vrede-jaer 1648. en Triumph-Maent. Juny 5. Binnen HAERLEM.

I.

OE menigh Toren heeft den Oologh vreest en stregh/
Da wil des helschen Doest geraest/ghespoest herbaetich/
Hoe menig laer heeft/ Mars gehoorc in zijn blangen stregh/
Hoe heeft hy onversaecht 't heit tot een bloet-gelegh
Deur oorlog broucht/dit's ons gronegh heitbaetich:
Wat heeft Mars in Stade en Dorp doen /idd ten onbedaetich/
Gheweest/gheniet of plaech/ en aller Landen ghietich/
Hoe heeft hy aenghegaen in zijn Barnas ghelich/
Hoe heeft hy onghelachet vergolghen leide en plaech/
Hoe heeft hy over langh het Bloed ghefeest te plaech/
Hoe heeft hy menigh Ziel ghefeesten gromtachet/
Hoe heeft hy op zijn roef /roef-gierich kommen posen/
Hoe heeft hy fel en dol berniel 't knoorn-graen ghebasten/
Hoe heeft hy haet ghemaecht veel Landen /hoe Vergult
Jhuetet vry gheien voor' bitter hafbewosten:
Komt soete Vrede-tijde en 't Landt met vreught vervul.

II.

Hoe heeft hy hem verheught wanner de Crommel stregh/
Zyn optochte in het Delt om sijn Oologhs oeden
Ce voegen /was vermoeght / als hy den Landtmen soegh
Dn Hups en Dae / die Mars handts dreyghebenen doegh/
't So wyl hy vrouw of socht / most hem nae enich ghewoeden/
't Was hem een luf 't knapier of klingh op 't lufe gorden/
't Was hem wensh en hermaecht in weeraer Tochte te staen /
't Was hem een kernts gaen alle hem om d' ozen snoeden
De hoochstl int'ghelst / die siel haet gaen ;
't Was gne heitel 't knapie te loffen en te laen :
Kint Vrede noch Vrede staet / in Oologh blijven houten ;
Wied hem in de Vrede hied / hy komt de Vrede af staen :
Wil niet op Vrede /maer op zijn krichet doen herrouwen ;
Wech / stoot de Vrede / van hem ; de Vrede wil hy schouwen :
Wat Vrede noot allen hooft hooft Landt-hooghdom ghehult/
Op dat ons langer niet toe ballen krichets berouwen :
Komt soete Vrede-tijde en 't Landt met vreught vervul.

Komt Vrede / want ghe zit haer pber naer verlanght/
Ghe zit de Landen spord / in u heeft elck behaeghen/
Ghe zit de Douta u met Vredes schoon behaeght/
Ghe zit die 't Chisten heit in Vredes Thoon ontfanght/
Ghe zit die groet van de Landen nederlanght/
Ghe zit hereuer als Mars Vred-sterers komt te ploghen/
Ghe zit die heueche wred / haer nehens stelt en rust/
Ghe zit die brich der Lieu' die 't Vrede-kleed blist dragen/
Ghe zit die Toorn en Crust als 't Water 't Vred upbluscht/
Ghe zit die Peleghedh hoochluind en mede luif ;
Dare Vredes haf Verhondt met Godt de Vred bestolen /
Mars doch herduininen moet / zyn doen te wel behuif/
Is 't schandigh feul / dat han om pber dien herfooten /
Dit is ons wyl / dat niemand in Vrede musten :
Want die de Vrede noch het soet van Vred ghehadt /
En Oologhs onbergaengh / en 't quade int haer ghepooten :
Komt soete Vrede-tijde en 't Landt met vreught vervul.

PRINCE.

Indien ghe Vrede u in ons te woonen set/
Wij ghe verhuijten sal / Mars met zyn Oologhs listen /
Wij luf' en dees Crust naer u voet Vrede -Wer.
O Douten Doest / gheecht d' onde Oologhs treit /
Wijghe Mars in Vrede-dwangh te staen / luf al zyn twisten /
't Is ons wyl / als dat niemand in Vrede musten :
Die Vred / doewelt die holt in Oologh en berderf ;
Wij die den Oologh ons ghedigh te woonen gisten /
Drechien Vrede u / in ons' Landen Erf /
Groot hys ons ay / Mars is een eentwighlich worter :
So kan hy nummermer Mensch regien Mensch ophusen :
We u bekomt is zyn han Oologhs noot en swerf /
Crump' hich ons u toon / hafit boven Bergten spijten /
Bind in de Vrede macht de langh ghedelle flisten /
De Pooten staen u op / waerd Mars die Leetwigh hult /
Om werten Mars opgesperet met al zyn hels herbiten :
Komt soete Vrede-tijde en 't Landt met vreught vervul.

PRINCE.

Indien ghe Vrede u in ons te woonen set/
Wij ghe verhuijten sal / Mars met zyn Oologhs listen /
Wij luf' en dees Crust naer u voet Vrede -Wer.
O Douten Doest / gheecht d' onde Oologhs treit /
Wijghe Mars in Vrede-dwangh te staen / luf al zyn twisten /
't Is ons wyl / als dat niemand in Vrede musten :
Die Vred / doewelt die holt in Oologh en berderf ;
Wij die den Oologh ons ghedigh te woonen gisten /
Drechien Vrede u / in ons' Landen Erf /
Groot hys ons ay / Mars is een eentwighlich worter :
So kan hy nummermer Mensch regien Mensch ophusen :
We u bekomt is zyn han Oologhs noot en swerf /
Crump' hich ons u toon / hafit boven Bergten spijten /
Bind in de Vrede macht de langh ghedelle flisten /
De Pooten staen u op / waerd Mars die Leetwigh hult /
Om werten Mars opgesperet met al zyn hels herbiten :
Komt soete Vrede-tijde en 't Landt met vreught vervul.

Vrede uyt-roep der WYNGAERT-RANCKEN.

ST BEMME : Uytmuntenf Harderinne.



Elkom weeft Vrede-dagen
En langh ghewenchten tijdt,
Die ons veruegt,
Mort ende Ziel verheught ;
Die ons ons Oorlogh vindt ;
Die Vrede koma voordraghen,
Vyanndig / swijnenhaet,
Ghy wijf om sen
In Vredes wegh te gaen ;
Loffijck is uwen staet,
Die u verfet en by u wil-wesen .
In den Grooten Heer,
Vrede / Vredes vryheit,
Die van Oorloghs vrezen
Ons bewaert naes desen,
Ghansbyfater immernes.

2.
Der Vorstn Princen herten
Valt hebben toe-ghefecht,
Naer Oordel gocht,
Mort ende Ziel verheught ;
Den Oorlogh dulan en vredt ;
Geen Oorloghs drenve amertens
Start ote lieden : want
De Vred' vermeidt
Haer Voort te wesen feeldt,
En roont Victor brandt :
De hooft haide in Oorlog onflekt
In verfet en by u wil-wesen .
Vrede / Vredes dianen kan
Nur, de Landen spreken,
D' Oorlogh is ghewecken,
Tot vreught van een yder Man.

3.
Vred-werkers zijn te prijzen
In vredelijcke verstant ;
Ise haer op merck
Ier 't vredelijcke werk
Ier 't Godselijcke bandz :
De Vred' doet doet rijken,
De Landen tot de Trap
Van hey gheluck ,
Vrijde oon van Oorloghs druck
Van alle vyandtchap,
EE' die de hewen wort ons gegeve
Schedt de vredelijcke vredt
De Vred' stijdt niet verheven
Singhen, we beven
Vredes-faerverheven,
Met dit blije Vrede-jaer.

4.
De Vred' verbedt te tromlen,
Mars oprecht en alam,
Gheen Oorloghs-cygh,
Wijc harte Krijghers rygh,
Blaes en gheblae ghekarm,
Mars die moet ghe schomlen,
Hem in de Rounen niet ;
Mars die heefuyt,
Vred' roont haer Vrede-spruyt,
De Vred-e-vreught ghelecht,
Mars die gerackt voor ewigh in
It is daer ontmak, (boeyen)
Lief, minneleick en fil,
Vred' die moet ghelecht,
Vred' die moet groeyen,
Overal koon bloeyen,
Dauck zy God die Vrede wracht.

PRINCE.
Laet ons nu blijde galmen
De komft des Vredes soet,
De Vrede wil
Minneleick en fil
Minneleick en fil
Menich ghemoecht ;
Blyckhout, hout, hout, Palmen,
Met Kruyden, Blader en Blom,
Vred-vreughden toont
De Vrede werde ghekoort,
Acht gheen Vred-haers dom ,
Belgica juyst in vreugt opgegomde
Midts haer Vrede zy ,
Lief, minneleick en fil
Moeit sich nu betonen,
Niemand hooft te schroomen
Mars is sijn helsch spockery.

LIEFD BOVEN AL.

Hervischtde in't Kreug.

gedrukt tot Haerlem, by Vincent Casteleyn, Stadts Drucker op de Vlaerck in de Druckerij, 1648.

Figure 3.5. Rederijkersvereinigung Wyngaert-rancken, Trivmph-trompet, over de vrede, besloten tusschen zijn majesteyt van Spangien, en de hoog mog. Generale Staten, Haarlem: Vincent Casteleyn, 1648 (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague: KW Pft 5749). Used with permission. The rhetoricians' association Wyngaert-rancken followed the motto "love before all else."

The first text has four stanzas and recounts metaphorically the journey to peace and the consequences of the peace treaty for life in the United Provinces. It includes a refrain or *stok* line on which each stanza ends. This was a popular structure in early modern Dutch poetry, which might hint at musical performance, but no tune is indicated. The refrain reads “Komt soete Vrede-tijdt en ’t Landt met vreugt vervult” (Comes the sweet peace-time and the land is filled with joy) and anticipates the basic statement of the song. Stanzas 1 and 2 thematize the dark deeds of Mars, the ways in which Mars enjoyed the war, and how he did not want to end the war. The third stanza addresses personified Peace and reveres Peace and all her good actions and attributes. The stanza ends with the entreaty that Mars must disappear. The fourth and final stanza is titled “Prince.” It is a *prince strofe*, which is common for songs in the manner of rhetoricians. Originally, a *prince strofe* in poems addressed the president of a rhetoricians’ association; however, here, the *prince strofe* could also invoke another authority or addressee.⁶⁶ Here, the last stanza addresses the reader thusly: if one wants to live among the Dutch, one has to expel Mars and welcome the time after the war, so that people are not stirred up against each other. This stanza is yet another hint of the contestation among the Dutch. The refrain also, however, once again underscores the positive aspect of peace.

The second text of *Trivmph-trompet*, titled “Vrede uyt-roep,” is a song. It deals with the sound of peace, and war in the Dutch Republic. As the following analysis of the text shows, it asks whether peace itself has a certain sound or sonority, or if the sound of peace is simply the opposite of war? The song’s full title is “Vrede uyt-roep der Wyngaert-Rancken” (Proclamation of peace of the grapevine tendril) and it is sung to the tune of

⁶⁶ Arjan van Dixhoorn, “Chambers of Rhetoric: Performative Culture and Literary Sociability in Early Modern Northern Netherlands,” in *The Reach of the Republic of Letters: Literary and Learned Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Arjan van Dixhoorn and Susie S. Sutch, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History v. 168 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 137.

“Uytmuntenst’ Harderinne” (The most excellent shepherdess; see musical example 3.2). The first stanza welcomes the long-desired peace. The second stanza thematizes the peace negotiations and emphasizes that both the monarch and the prince agreed to the peace. Both the third and fourth stanzas give insight into how peace and war influenced the day-to-day business of the Dutch. They contrast the eighty-year-long normalcy of war with the newly won peace. The third stanza also concentrates on the topic of peace and praises it.

The stanza ends with:

3.
[...]
Ee[n] blijde Eeuwe wort ons gegeve[n]
Vrede *keelen* klaer,
De vrede-tijd ruchbaar
Singhen, wy beleven
Vrede staet verheven
Met dit blijde vrede-jaer.

3.
[...]
A happy century is bestowed upon us
Peaceful *voices* ready,
The peace-time public
Sing, we experience
Peace has glorified
With this joyous peace year.

The fourth stanza refers to war by addressing how the newly-negotiated peace affected the characteristics and habits that people developed and maintained during the cruel war times. In peace, the instruments of war are muted, Mars becomes powerless, and the sprouts of Peace flourish:

4.
De Vreed' verbiedt te tromlen,
 Mars optreck en alarm,
 Gheen Oorloghs-ruygh,
 Noch harde Krijghers ruygh,
 Behoeft, nu stuyt ghekarm,
 Mars die moet henen schomlen,
 Hem in de Rouw men siet:
 Mars die heefruynt,
 Vreed' toont haer Vrede-spruyt
 De Vrede-vreugt gheschiedt.
 Mars nu geraeckt voor eewigh in
 Is in daet ont macht, (boeyen.
 In kleynen staet ghebracht,
 Vrede die moet groeyen,
 Over al schoon bloeyen,
 Danck zy God die Vrede wracht.⁶⁷

4.
The Peace forbids drumming,
 March movement and alarm,
 No warlike roughness,
 Nor tough warriors' roughness,
 Needs, persistent groaning,
 Mars who has to totter off,
 In Mourning he can be seen:
 Mars has been finished,
 Peace shows her Peace shoots
 The peaceful joy is here.
 Mars is now for eternity has become
 Powerless, (handcuffed
 [brought] to a reduced state,
 Peace must grow,
 And flourish for all,
 Thanks to God who brought Peace.

The fifth and last stanza of this song is captioned with “Prince” and seems to address the reader or listener as well. It is yet another proclamation to celebrate the peace:

Prince
 Laet ons nu blijde galmen
 De komst des Vredes soet.
 [...]

Prince
 Let us now sound in rejoice
 The sweet peace is coming.
 [...]

Does the song “Vrede uyt-roep” spark the question of how peace sounded in the Dutch Republic? What is the sonority of peace, if there is any? In the case of “Vrede uyt-roep,” the answer seems to be both; the text suggests that peace and war have distinct sounds and soundscapes but not a specific musical sonority. In stanzas 3 and 4, the Wyngaert-rancken refers to the audibility of peace and war, respectively. Peace should be experienced by singing (see stanza 3) while the drums of wartime have to stay silent and the mourning Mars, who is in shackles, has to leave (see stanza 4). Mars can be understood as the soldiers and the entire machinery of war. The noise of war ought not to cover the

⁶⁷ Rederijersvereeniging Wyngaert-rancken, *Trivmph-trompet, over de vrede, besloten tusschen zijn majesteyt van Spangien, en de hoog mog. Generale Staten ghesonghen ende gepronuncieert by de vvyngaert-rancken, onder 't woordt Liefd boven al, in't vrede-iaer 1648. en triumph-maent juny 5. binnen Haerlem.* [My emphasis.]

small “sprout of peace.” Hence, we can get a sense of the soundscape of peace in the Low Countries: quieting down the sounds of war, such as drums, marching, or cannon shots, so that pleasant sounds, in the form of singing, can be heard again. However, the question regarding a specific musical sonority of peace can hardly be answered with the Dutch repertory discussed here, since usually the melodies for the songs were not newly composed.⁶⁸

To illustrate this point of a musical sonority of peace or sonic analogues for peace, I emphasize that “Vrede uyt-roep” is a contrafact; thus a specific sonority of peace cannot be found in its musical composition. I contend that the tune of “Vrede uyt-roep” was chosen not for its relationship to peace, but for its popularity. The tune is based on “Uytmuntens’ Harderinne,” which in turn is based on an English melody known both by its incipit “The fairest Nymph the valleys or mountains ever bred” (see musical example 3.2). This English tune circulated as a ballad and can be found in *Giles Earle’s Songbook* from the early seventeenth century.⁶⁹ In the English tradition, the text “The fairest Nymph” is sung to a “new court tune,” which refers to the masque repertoire.⁷⁰ In the masque repertoire, the melody was also identified as “Grayes Inn Maske” and “Graiseind: Maske.” This led to the title under which the melody eventually was known among the Dutch after 1639, namely “Ballet Gravesand.” None of those titles and texts were related to war or peace, which leads

⁶⁸ For more information on the musical sonority of peace, see Stefan Hanheide, “Politischer Frieden in der Musik der Frühen Neuzeit,” *Die Tonkunst* 13 (2019) and Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, “Friedensklänge um 1700,” *Die Tonkunst* 13, no. 1 (2019). Hanheide argues that *Friedensmusik* (peace music) is not necessarily recognizable as such. Rather, *Friedensmusiken* are pieces of thanksgiving and praise. He identifies four musical features that can be found in multiple instances of *Friedensmusiken*: triple meter, long note values, frequent rests, and echoes. Ehrmann-Herfort emphasizes that the context of the peace celebration is important to identify peace music.

⁶⁹ See Add. Ms. 24665—Giles Earle’s Songbook in Elise Jorgens, *English Song, 1600–1675: Facsimiles of Twenty-Six Manuscripts and an Edition of the Texts* ([New York]: [Garland], 1986); British Library Manuscripts, Part I Add.Ms.15117; Egerton Ms.2971; Add.Ms.24665 (Giles Earle’s songbook); Add.Ms.29481, ff.2–26v.

⁷⁰ The title of the song sung to “The fairest Nymph” is indeed “masque dance.”

me to the conclusion that the tune was most likely used because it was popular and well-known. Until the end of the seventeenth century, the melody was widespread in the Netherlands and also frequently found in Scandinavia and Germany.⁷¹

Musical Example 3.2. Prince strofe of “Vrede uyt-roep” set to the tune “Uytmuntens Harderinne,” as found in Jan Jansz. Starter’s “Klaegh-Liedt,” in Friesche Lust-hof (Amsterdam: Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn, [1624]) (Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam: OTM: O 60-3740).⁷²

Laet ons nu blij - de gal-men/ De komst des Vre-des soet./ De
 6 Vre - de wil/ Lief min-ne-lijck en stil/ Be - woo-nen 's Mensch ghe - moet:/ Be -
 10 stroyt haer wegh met_ Pal-men/ Met Kruy - den, Bladt en Blom/ Vreed - vreugh-den toont,/ De
 15 Vre-de werdt ghe- kroont,/ Acht gheen Vreed-ha - ters_ dom,/ Bel - gi - ca juyg in_
 19 vreugh op - ge no - men/ Midts haer Vre - de zy,/ Oor - logh - sche herr - schap - py/ Moet sich
 24 nu be - toom - en,/ Nie- mandt hoeft te schroo - men/ Mars in zijn helsch spoock - er - y.

⁷¹ Meertens Instituut, “Nederlandse Liederbank”, accessed March 20, 2020, <http://www.liederenbank.nl/resultaatlijst.php?zoek=2064&actie=melodienorm&sorerteer=jaar&lan=nl>. See critical apparatus to “Gregories Mask ye fairest Nymphes ye valleys” in Martha Maas, *English Pastime Music, 1630–1660: An Anthology of Keyboard Pieces* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1974), xvi.

⁷² Jan Jansz. Starter, *Friesche Lust-hof beplant met verscheyden stichtelijcke Minne-Liedekens, Gedichten ende Boertige kluchten. Den derden Druck op nieuws vermeerderd ende verbetert, met verscheyden Dichten ende Liedekens, soo Geestige als Boertige ... Midsgaders oock noch verrijckt ende vercierd met schoone kopere figuren, ende by alle onbekende wysen de noten, ofte muysycke gevoeght* (Amsterdam: Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn, [1624]), Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam / OTM: O 60-3740, accessed February 14, 2020, <http://opc4.kb.nl/DB=1/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=401873471>, 194–95.

As is visible in musical example 3.2, the text aligns well with the tune. The fitting text, together with the tune's popularity, helped disseminate the message of peace among Haarlem's burghers. Broadsheets like *Triumph-trompet* had an approximate print run of 500–1000 copies. They were sold in bookstores and by peddlers to a certain stratum of the common city dwellers but consumed by many more through oral transmission.⁷³ By referring to the crude war and the peaceful future, the rhetoricians of the Wyngaert-rancken spread optimism while remembering the experienced past, not following the enactment of oblivion performed in politics that we will encounter in Chapter 4. The songs also introduced the concept of a peaceful future to the Haarlem burghers. After eighty years of war (including twelve years of truce from 1609 to 1621), long-lasting peace was unknown to all living Dutch.

I turn now to the song *De Fama singht het Voor-gesangh: Over de Vrede* (the Fama sings the song: about the peace) that uses the well-known tune of Psalm 116 and other biblical references to celebrate the Peace of Münster.⁷⁴ Besides the text, it is the song's melody and the text's biblical implications that convey a specific meaning: namely, of thanksgiving and praise. *De Fama singht* was also published as a pamphlet and was most likely put together by sculptor Jan Pieterszoon Beeldhouwer (c.1603–c.1665) who was a *Collegiant* and had libertine views.⁷⁵ Beeldhouwer presents the peace between the

⁷³ Deen, Onnekink and Reinders, "Pamphlets and Politics," 11, 23, 25.

⁷⁴ Jan Pietersz Beeldhouwer, *De Fama singht het Voor-gesangh: Over de Vrede: Tusschen den Grootmachtighsten Koningh van Spanjen, ende den Hooch mo. H. Staten der Vereenighde/ Vrye Nederlanden* (1648), accessed June 29, 2020, <https://books.google.nl/books?id=I4R1wgizC4C>.

⁷⁵ Ruys, Mej. H. J. A., "Beelthouwer, Jan Pietersz." in Molhuysen; Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*; Louis Grijp, "Muziek voor Munster: muziek en liederen gemaakt ter gelegenheid van de Vrede van Munster," in Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen; Schepper, 1648. *De vrede van Munster*, 213. The *Collegiants* were a radical new religious urban movement, spreading to large Dutch cities during the years 1620–1650 and became a major force in the religious life of the United Provinces. The *Collegiants* influenced the Mennonite communities in Hollands. See Andrew Fix, "Mennonites and Collegiants in Holland 1630–1700," *The Mennonite Quarterly Review* 64, no. 2 (1990).

Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic as a conversation between Fama or Pheme—the Goddess of gossip—the sea cities, and the people of Holland. Eventually, the poem ends with a section titled “Besluyt” (Resolution), which is a mere statement of praise and thanksgiving to God and thus matches the underlying message of the tune. *De Fama singht* is sung to the Calvinist melody of Psalm 116, in which God is thanked for rescue from a life-threatening situation. Psalm 116 thus presents a song of thanksgiving and praise. In short, Psalm 116 conveys connotations that are carried over to *De Fama singht*.

A close-reading of the song text reveals more references to the Bible, which are another example of the multifarious intertextual references in pamphlets and broadsheets thematizing the war and peace process. Furthermore, it is a new tale of origin for the United Provinces, in addition to the ideas in Schama’s understanding of the birth of the Dutch Republic. According to Schama, the Dutch origin story manifested itself in history, the Batavian myth, and the Old Testament.⁷⁶ *De Fama singht* offers a biblical analogy of the Low Countries’ history with figures from the Old Testament. More precisely, the Dutch’s contribution to the dialog in *De Fama singht* refers to the biblical figure of Jacob, which can be understood as a reference to the situation of the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic:

Hollanders:

O Jacobs Godt! u zy die lof, en eer,
Dat Holandts Swaerdt (hoewel bespat soo
bloedigh)
Soo wonderlijck gheweest is soo voorspoedigh,
Soo dat de twisti nu heeft een weder-keer.
Nu zijn wy niet door Pape dwangh beset;
Nu kent men ons gantsch Vrye Nederlanden;
Nu kussen wy (ô Vader) uwe handen;
Wy leven na die vry-gevochtenen Wet.

Dutch:

O Jacob’s God! You are the praise, and honor,
That Holland’s Sword (although splashed with
blood)
that has been miraculous, is so prosperous.
So that the dispute has taken a turn.
Now we are not forcibly occupied by the Papists
Now our Free Netherlands are known;
Now we kiss your hands (O Father);
We obey the Law we have fought for.

⁷⁶ Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 51–125.

As in the battle between the North and the South of the Low Countries, Jacob fought his elder twin brother Esau while they were in their mother's womb. The book of Genesis describes how Jacob took the birthright from the impulsive Esau in return for a bowl of stew and the twin brothers became two separate nations. Depending on the readings of this story, either the two brothers reconciled, or Esau and all of his progeny were cast out from God's church forever. In the Dutch case, it was the Dutch Republic that was the second-born son Jacob. Like Jacob, the Dutch Republic was the son that was meant to lead the nation. Like Esau, the Spanish Netherlands had acted impulsively and lost their right to reign, which was then held by the pope and the Habsburgs. Comparable to the twin brothers, the Dutch became two nations with the hope of reuniting at some point in the future. Even the story of Jacob and Esau's parents, when read metaphorically, seems to fit the foundation of the Dutch Republic. The twins' parents, Rebecca and Isaac, had to wait twenty years to conceive their sons which is reminiscent of the lengthy duration of the Eighty Years' War that eventually led to the birth of a nation. In the song *De Fama singht*, Beeldhouwer united the melody of Psalm 116 with the biblical story of Jacob to thank and praise God for the righteously attained peace, and to discreetly remind the Dutch that the "true" Protestant Church could flourish in the Dutch Republic.

Trivmph-trompet and *De Fama singht* presented a post-war reality to the Dutch. In *Trivmph-trompet*, this reality is bound to the actual sounds of war and peace. The song *De Fama singht* approaches the division of the United Provinces from the Habsburg Netherlands by means of a biblical metaphor and provides a founding myth based on the Old Testament. Targeting different audiences with different rhetorical methods, both broadsheets helped to grapple with the new reality in peace with a divided country.

Celebrating the Peace in the Soldiers' Way—*Geuzenliederen*

An example of probably widely-known music for the Peace of Münster is captured in the 2°-sized pamphlet *Klaegh-ende Troost-Liedt op de Vreede* (mourning song of solace on the peace) from 1648 (see figure 3.6).⁷⁷

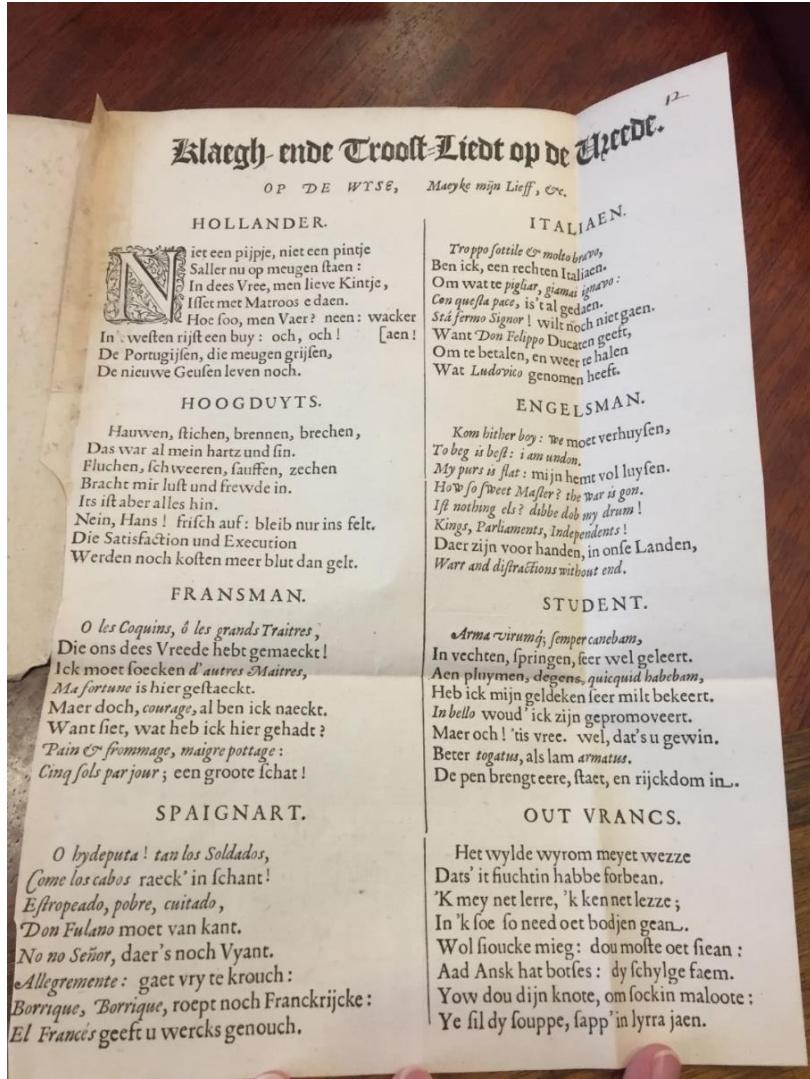


Figure 3.6. *Klaegh-ende Troost-Liedt op de Vreede: Op de wyse, Maeyke mijn Lieff, &c.* [1648] (Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent BIB.MEUL.002977). Used with permission. This song is inspired by two earlier geuzenliederen from 1609 and 1621.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ *Klaegh-ende Troost-Liedt op de Vreede: Op de wyse, Maeyke mijn Lieff, &c* ([1648]), Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent BIB.MEUL.002977.

⁷⁸ I have to thank Brianne Dolce who kindly took this picture of the broadsheet for me at the Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent.

This time, the topic and presumably the audience are soldiers, many of whom have fought in the war for most of their lifetime. This plain text-only pamphlet offers a song in dialogue-form that is inspired by two *geuzenliederen* (beggars' songs) from 1609 and 1621, both of which were published in *geuzenliedboeken*.⁷⁹ *Klaegh-ende Troost-Liedt* can be read as a sequel to the two earlier *geuzenliederen*. In all three songs, the dialogue takes place between different types of soldiers and thematizes the love or life the soldiers have to give up due to the war.⁸⁰ In short, the songs lay out the soldiers' new situation. In the case of the *Klaegh-ende Troost-Liedt*, the soldiers are Dutch, German, French, Spanish, Italian, English, and Frisian. Furthermore, a student also voices his present situation. The three songs are all set to the same tune, namely "Maeyke mijn Lieff, &c." which is the incipit of the first *geuzenlied* of this sequel from 1609. Unfortunately, the tune "Maeyke mijn Lieff, &c." (or "Maaiken mijn lief wat zullen wij maken") did not survive.

All three songs relate to forms of war and peace. They explain the impact that the contemporary political situation had on the soldiers' reality. The song from 1609 comments on the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–21), the 1621 song mourns the end of the truce, and *Klaegh-ende Troost-Liedt* from 1648 celebrates the peace. In all three songs, the dialogues between the soldiers of different nationalities have notions of complaint, mourning,

⁷⁹ *Geuzen* (beggars) were anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish Dutch nobles who began the Dutch Revolt against the Spanish crown in the sixteenth century. The *geuzen* got their name from their begging against persecution. The noblemen used the term *geuzen* themselves as an honorary nickname. They sang aggressive *geuzenliederen*, often contrafacts to melodies from the Genevan psalms or already existing popular *geuzenliederen*. See Louis P. Grijp and Dieuwke van der Poel, "Introduction," in *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*, ed. Dieuwke van der Poel, Louis P. Grijp and Wim van Anrooij, *Intersections* 43 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 5–8.

The two beggars' songs from 1609 and 1621 are "Een Beklagh Liedt, van de Soldaten over het maken van de Trevis" (1609) in P. Leendertz Jr., ed., *Het Geuzenliedboek naar de oude drukken uit de nalatenschap van E. T. Kuiper* (Zutphen: W. J. Thieme, [1924–25]; 2001); Volumes 1 & 2, https://www.dbln.org/tekst/_geu001etku01_01/colofon.php, accessed March 5, 2020, Vol. 2, 126–128; "Een nieu Liedeken vant begin des Krijchs" (1621) in Leendertz Jr., *Het Geuzenliedboek naar de oude drukken uit de nalatenschap van E. T. Kuiper*, Vol. 2, 192–94.

⁸⁰ Louis Grijp, "Muziek voor Munster: muziek en liederen gemaakt ter gelegenheid van de Vrede van Munster," in Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen; Schepper, 1648. *De vrede van Munster*, 213–16.

pleading for mercy, or loss of love—depending on the specific soldier’s situation. The songs do not make clear for which countries the soldiers are fighting. In the Dutch case, it is especially blurred for whom soldiers went to war since foreign mercenaries heavily manned the Dutch army.⁸¹ And all the songs include phrases in the native language of the soldiers; in the case of the student, it is Latin. For instance, in the 1609 song “Een Beklagh Liedt, van de Soldaten over het maken van de Trevis” (A song of complain on the [Twelve Years’] Truce) the Spanish soldier starts off the song by posing the question to his Dutch girlfriend and imploring God: “Maijken mijn lief wat sullen wij maken/ *Vale me Deos*, in dit bestant” (My dear, what shall we do, God help me, during this truce). The Dutch woman who responds shows little empathy: “*Nou Singnor dus ruymet Lant*” (Well, signor, so vacate the country). The Spanish soldier’s stanza is exemplary for two reasons. First, the interjection in Spanish “*Vale me Deos*” (God help me) signifies the soldier’s Spanish nationality while it does not obfuscate the meaning of the lines in case someone does not understand the Spanish phrase. Thus, the song was not meant necessarily for an audience that spoke multiple languages. Secondly, it refers to what the promulgation of the Twelve Years’ Truce meant for the Spanish.⁸² For the Spanish soldier, it was inevitable he would leave the Netherlands, abandon his love, and go penniless into an uncertain future. This song also ends with a *prince strofe* addressing all the soldiers with encouraging words. At its core, the song “Een Beklagh Liedt” demonstrated the impact of a political act on various nations.

The songs from 1621 and eventually 1648 are sequels telling the soldiers’ stories and follow the genre *geuzenlied* with its common topic of drinking and love. In the 1621 song

⁸¹ Onnekink and Rommelse, *The Dutch in the Early Modern World*, 68.

⁸² Assuming the soldiers in the songs fought for their native country, the truce had different implications. For the Spanish soldiers, the Twelve Years’ Truce (1609–21) was not a victory. Spain saw the truce as a humiliating defeat; it was forced to make several sacrifices but it got scarcely anything in return. It would be interesting to analyze these songs in regard to the different nations’ reaction toward the truce and the end of the truce. However, that would go beyond the scope of this dissertation.

“Een nieu Liedeken vant begin des Krijchs” (A new song about the beginning of the war), the soldiers have to leave their loves yet another time. However, this time the lovers are not Dutch, but from the soldiers’ home countries. After the end of the truce, the soldiers are heading back to the battlefield in the Low Countries. As is to be expected in a *geuzenlied*, every stanza raises a toast at the end, emphasizing wine, beer, and women, that is, the Italian soldiers use a “cool liquid” and “peasant gals” to gather steam for the war:

[...]
Apoca, Apoca, recht na mijn sin,
Neemt nu den Krijch weer een begin,
Beviamo bene de koele Vocht,
Laet ons bedrijven, By Boeren Wijven
*De oude Italiaensche tocht.*⁸³

[...]
Little by little, exactly the way I like it,
Now the war begins again,
Let us drink well the cool liquid,
Let us get it on, with peasant gals
The old Italian journey.

Although the topic changes from love to despair in the 1648 song *Klaegh-ende Troost-Liedt*, the textual themes are similar to those of its two predecessors. Thus, *Klaegh-ende Troost-Liedt* emphasizes the parallels of the impact of war, truce, and peace on the soldiers’ lives. After three generations of fighting, the men, notwithstanding their nationality, realize they know no other trade than war. The only exception are the Dutch who might be enfeebled and impoverished, but who see their future in seafaring, or more precisely in conquering Brazil, Formosa, and parts of South Asia:

HOLLANDER.

Niet een pijpje, niet een pintje
 Saller nu op meugen staen:
 In dees Vree, men lieve Kintje,
 Isset met Matroos e daen.
 Hoe soo, men Vaer? neen: wacker aen!
 In [t] westen rijst een buy: och, och!
 De Portugijsen, die meugen grijsen,
 De nieuwe Geusen leven noch.⁸⁴

DUTCH.

Not a pipe, not a beer
 Can I afford now:
 In this peace, my dear child,
 It is all over for this sailor.
 [Child:] How come, my Father? No: Stay awake!
 In the West rises a storm: oh, oh!
 The Portuguese, they may shudder,
 The new Sea Beggars are still alive.

⁸³ Leendertz Jr., *Het Geuzenliedboek naar de oude drukken uit de nalatenschap van E. T. Kuiper*, 192.

⁸⁴ *Klaegh-ende Troost-Liedt op de Vreede*.

These three songs wittily narrate the fate of the soldiers who served in the Eighty Years' War. The songs' tune became very popular and can be found in almost one hundred fifty songs from the seventeenth century. Interjections create the wit of the three *geuzenliederen* in foreign languages, the romanticizing emphasis on love, love-making, and drinking. These are topics which were all common in *geuzenliederen*. Each of the songs describes a new situation and thus helps to create a new reality for the soldiers, and the seemingly arbitrary categories of war, truce, and peace.

Although "Maeyke mijn Lieff, &c." and the two songs based on this tune address impious topics, such as excess in women and alcohol, the tune crossed the borders of genres specifically around the Peace of Münster, and can be found in a Calvinist song book of 1648, namely in the collection *Christelycke Plicht-Rymen, Om Te Singen of te Leesen* (Christian mandatory verses, to sing or to read).⁸⁵ The specific song titled "Plicht-rymen Van de Vrede" (mandatory rhymes of peace) uses the "Maeyke mijn Lieff, &c." tune. It has ten stanzas and thematizes the meaning of the newly negotiated peace. Stanzas 1–7 problematize the concept of peace. Peace is constituted not only by announcing it; both soldiers and commoners have to live accordingly in order to experience truly peaceful times. Thus, this song functions as a manual; it provides instructions on how to act truly peacefully.

⁸⁵ Cornelis de Leeuw, *Christelycke Plicht-Rymen, Om Te Singen of te Leesen* (t'Amsterdam: Cornelis de Leeuw, 1648 [2013]); dbnl, accessed June 29, 2020, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/leeu035chri01_01/leeu035chri01_01_0095.php?q=sal%20ick%20noch%20langh#hl1,287-89; Cornelis de Leeuw, *Christelycke Plicht-Rymen, Om Te Singen of te Leesen* (t'Amsterdam: Cornelis de Leeuw, 1649), accessed April 4, 2021, https://books.google.com/books?id=mkbUDinOIk0C&printsec=frontcover&source=gbv_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false,287-89. The song "Plicht-rymen Van de Vrede" is sung to the tune "Sal ick noch langh in heete tranen?" The Nederlandse Liederbank indicates that "Sal ick noch langh in heete tranen?" and "Mayken myn life wat sullen wy make" refer to the same tune. Meertens Instituut, "Nederlandse Liederbank", accessed June 29, 2020, <http://www.liederenbank.nl/liedpresentatie.php?zoek=5265&lan=nl>.

1.
 Niet alle die den titul draghen
 Van vreedsaemheyt recht vreedsaem zijn.
 Waerom? mocht ymant licht'lijck vrage[n];
 Veel hebbe[n] slechs alleen den schijn
 Van vreedsaemheyt
 En eenigheyt;
 Doch hert en daet gheen ware wortel heeft
 van vre'e, noch yets dat daer een voet toe gheeft.

6.
 Veel beelden aff, die wre'e Soldaten,
 Die maer ghedreyght, stracx gaen ter keer:
 Die lijdsaemheyt en liefde haten;
 En die vergunnen loff en eer,
 Die stracx ghereet
 Sijn, om haer leet
 Door 't stale sweert te brenghen tot ghelyck;
 'tIs krijgs-gebruyck, maer geensins Christelijck.

7.
 Veel soo onvreedsaem sijn van sinnen,
 Soo wispetuerigh van ghemoet;
 Dat sy met die de vrede minnen
 Niet kunnen houden eene voet.
 Een Swijn ghelyck
 Die in het slijck
 Haer vreughde soeckt, so stellen sy haer
 vreught
 In vechten, kijven, twist en ongheneught.⁸⁶

1.
 Not all that bear the title
 Of peacefulness are indeed peaceful.
 Why? Should someone gingerly ask,
 Many have only the appearance
 Of peacefulness
 And unity
 Yet neither a heart that has no true root
 of peace, nor something they give a foot to it.

6.
 Many depict those cruel soldiers,
 Who continue to threaten, and will soon rage:
 Who detest patience and love;
 And allow praise and honor,
 Who will soon be ready
 To bring her sorrow
 to justice with the steel sword;
 It's common in war, but in no way Christian.

7.
 Many are so unpeaceful of intent,
 So fickle in mood;
 That they cannot agree
 With those that love the peace
 And become a swine
 That in the mud
 Seeks her joy, so they get their joy
 From fighting, scolding, quarreling, and
 discontent.

The very first lines of the song “Not all that bear the title/ Of peacefulness are indeed peaceful” summarize the intention of stanzas 1–7: It is not enough to declare peace; one must act accordingly and have a peaceful intention, because behaving like raging soldiers or those who argue, quarrel, and fight is in no way Christian.

⁸⁶ Cornelis de Leeuw, *Christelycke Plicht-Rymen, Om Te Singen of te Leesen* (t'Amsterdam: Cornelis de Leeuw, 1648 [2013]); dbnl, accessed June 29, 2020, [183](https://www.dbl.nl/tekst/leeu035chri01_01/leeu035chri01_01_0095.php?q=sal%20ick%20noch%20langh#hl1, 288–89.</p>
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Stanzas 8–10 of “Plicht-rymen Van de Vrede” give instructions on how to be truly peaceful. To be peaceful, one has to follow God’s example of tolerance, forgiveness, and diligence.

8.

Al wie recht vreedsaem is van herten
(Nae 't voorschrift van des Heeren woort)
Verdraeght, vergheeft, vergheet de smerten,
En door de liefd' hy die versmoort.
Met sijn party
Soeckt weder hy
Vereent te zijn door ware liefd; daer toe
Hy neerstigh is, gheen arbeyt wert hy moe.⁸⁷

8.

All who are truly peaceful in their hearts
(According to the law of the Lord's word)
Tolerate, forgive, forget the sorrows,
And by the love that smothers him.
With his party
He seeks again
To be united with true love: Because he works
hard for it, no labor shall tire him.

God instructs humans to be peaceful. In other words, following God’s path will lead to finding true peace (stanza 10). The song “Plicht-rymen Van de Vrede” adds a new component to the historiography of the peace process, which is mostly overlooked: The Peace of Münster was not only about signing the Treaty of Münster, but also about daily life.

“Plicht-rymen Van de Vrede” adds to the picture of beggars’ songs by relating the soldiers’ reality during the times of battle, truce, and eventually peace of the Eighty Years’ War with Christian values. This Christian song even ventured a step further than the aforementioned secular songs and not only narrated but advised on how to deal with the newly negotiated peace. It held a mirror up to the Dutch people to rethink their behavior and to follow God’s lead. By using the tune “Maeyke mijn Lieff, &c.,” the Christian song enters into a conversation with the soldiers and commoners who were the audience for the *geuzenliederen* of 1609, 1621, and 1648 which was sung to the same tune. The tune stood

⁸⁷ Cornelis de Leeuw, *Christelycke Plicht-Rymen, Om Te Singen of te Leesen* (t'Amsterdam: Cornelis de Leeuw, 1648 [2013]); dbnl, accessed June 29, 2020, https://www.dbl.nl/tekst/leeu035chri01_01/leeu035chri01_01_0095.php?q=sal%20ick%20noch%20langh#hl1, 289.

for the difficulty of transitioning from times of war to truce, and eventually peace, and it summed up what peace meant for soldiers who knew nothing but warfare. “Plicht-rymen Van de Vrede” completes the cycle with a description of truly peaceful times.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigated Dutch media observing the process that led to the Peace of Münster in 1648. In the Dutch Republic, media disseminated and commented on the news of the peace with Spain. By doing so, media helped to mold the Dutch identity as an independent republic and to build the Dutch nation, with an emphasis on a prosperous future and a long-standing and stable tradition.⁸⁸ These changes occurred in a directed way through the official peace proclamations, but also through widely published commercial publications, thematizing the rocky and contested peace negotiations, the desire for peace, and eventually the meaning of the peace for the Dutch. Contrary to the official announcements, these publications, both transmitted orally and in print, were hardly censored. They represented various opinions—whether welcomed or rejected by the burgomasters or stadholders. Furthermore, as we have seen with the various genres of media discussed in this chapter, they reached a more diverse and broader audience than the official proclamations.

The publications discussed in this chapter included poems that could be sung to a known tune. Songs were especially prone to oral transmission due to the multiple layers of meaning in their text, tune, and references and because songs tend to be easier to remember than prose. This intertextuality among publications, especially in the

⁸⁸ Jensen, *Celebrating Peace*, 9.

commercially driven Dutch Republic, contributed to the formation of a Dutch identity since writers repeated each other and thus took the same line.⁸⁹

These publications together with architectural structure of the Amsterdam city hall “made” memory in the sense of Nora’s *lieux de mémoire*. The songs discussed here established categories of the past and future. They retold the story of the war and predicted peaceful times ahead. The songs and poems condemned the villains—for instance, Mars or the Spanish—and extolled the Dutch heroes, the envoys, or the drunkard Morio.

Although historiography classifies 1648 as a transformative moment in European history, the Dutch publications examined in this chapter show a lack of interest in the wider European world after the Peace of Münster. The Dutch population’s point of view on this seemingly seismic event was very narrow. Their commemorations were about the relief at the absence of violence and not about a new European dispensation. It is interesting to note that in 1648 the Peace of Münster was processed and commemorated in a rather quotidian way; most of the songs focused on grappling with the new situation on an individual basis. This individual processing of events in 1648 stands in stark contrast to the pan-European significance ascribed to the Treaty of Münster retrospectively. Hence, examination of the Dutch media of 1648 leads to the conclusion that there was a myriad of *lieux de mémoire*, even though, from a twenty-first-century perspective, it seems that the Peace of Münster led to the creation of only one singular *lieu de mémoire*. Taking all these Dutch places of memories into account, we gain a deeper insight into the political climate in the Dutch Republic around 1648.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 15.

CHAPTER 4: *FREJDŠUS* AND *FREJDFOJR*—THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA¹

A few months after the Peace of Münster was announced in the Low Countries, the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia, on October 24, 1648, officially ended the Thirty Years' War. This peace manifested itself in a variety of ways and at different times, and did not have the same meaning in all regions. In this chapter, we will take a closer look at different cities and their welcoming of the Peace of Westphalia.

Announcements all over war-torn Europe were organized by both the rulers and the ruled. Bi-confessional (predominantly Lutheran, but also Catholic) Osnabrück serves as an example of a peace celebration that included both rulers' and commoners' voices.²

Osnabrück was one of the two cities in which the peace negotiations happened over three years. The city announced the peace treaty in a celebration with an official character.

However, Osnabrück's Lutheran inhabitants shaped the celebration in an unexpected way.³ In a city of about 5,500 people, the Peace of Westphalia was officially recognized the day after the treaty was signed with the ringing of all church bells as well as processions that

¹ *Frejdšus* and *Frejdfojr* are contemporary Germanisms in Czech for cannon shots of joy and fire of joy. The Jewish community celebrated the peace in Prague with both.

² For more information on bi-confessionalism in seventeenth-century Osnabrück, see William C. Schrader, "The Catholic Revival in Osnabrück and Minden, 1591–1651," *The Catholic Historical Review* 78, no. 1 (1992).

³ *Bericht über die Feier des Friedensschlusses zu Münster: Warhaftiger und Egyentlicher Bericht, welcher gestalt der zu Münster und Oßnabruge zuvor geschlossener Frieden, nunmehr aber zu Münster gäntzlichen vollzogen und die Ratificationes Pacis, oder Auswechslung des Friedensschlusses / zwischen dero Römischen Keyserl. Mayestät / und den beyden Königlichen Herrn Abgesandten gegen einander ausgewechslet und eingehändigt worden. Wie sungleichem auch Das darauff erfolgte Frewden-Feste / Procession und Fewerfercken sampf Losbrennung des Geschützes so umb der ganzen Statt gerumb geschehen. So dann Was darauff noch ferner von den sämplichen Herrn Abgesandten / wegen Ausführung der Soldesca und Guarnisonen im ganzen Heil. Röm Reich / deliberiert / accordiert / beschlossen / und allerseits beliebet worden. So geschehen zu Münster den 16./22. Februar 1649* (Frankfurt: Philipp Fievet, 1649), accessed January 19, 2018, <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/BBGS7ZD3KOPPSWBTQOQ4Q54YM6DGEABG>. For more information on the announcement of the Peace of Münster on May 15, 1648, see Horst Lademacher and Simon Groenveld, "Einleitung," in *Krieg und Kultur: Die Rezeption von Krieg und Frieden in der Niederländischen Republik und im Deutschen Reich 1568–1648*, ed. Horst Lademacher and Simon Groenveld (Münster: Waxmann, 1998), IX.

included trumpets, military kettledrums, cannon fire, musket fire, and fireworks. The syndic announced the peace from the city hall, and the announcement was followed by a wind ensemble playing from the decorated tower of the Lutheran *Marienkirche*. This was immediately echoed by communal singing in the city center of the hymn “Nun Lob mein Seel den Herren” (Now praise, my soul, the Lord).⁴ The Lutherans of Osnabrück, well versed in hymn- and psalm-singing, immediately recognized the melody and knew the text by heart.⁵ By striking up one of the most popular Lutheran hymns of the day, the Protestant burghers of Osnabrück thanked God for peace, which indeed mirrored the ideology of the Lutheran imagination by referring to the relationship between God and God’s people.⁶

⁴ Johann Gottfried von Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicae Publica: Oder Westphälische Friedens-Handlungen und Geschichte*. 6. Worinnen enthalten ist, was vom Monath Junio des Jahrs 1648. biß zu dem, im Jahr 1649. völlig erfolgten Schluß und Ende des Universal-Friedens-Congressus zu Oßnabrück und Münster, gehandelt und geschlossen worden in einem mit richtigen Urkunden bestärkten Historischen Zusammenhang verfasset und beschrieben von Johann Gottfried von Meiern, Königlich. Groß-Britannischen und Churfürstlich. Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Hoff- und Cantzley-Rath zu Hannover, 6 vols. 6 (Hannover: Gercke, 1736), accessed January 30, 2018, http://digital.bib-bvb.de/view/bvb_mets/viewer.0.6.5.jsp?folder_id=0&dv=1627084369397~984&pid=416390&locale=en&usePid1=true&usePid2=true, 623–24. It is not clear which arrangement of the hymn was sung. The hymn dates back to c. 1540 with a text by Johann Gramann based on Psalm 103. It is interesting to note that Paul Gerhardt wrote the hymn text thematizing peace “Gott Lob! Nun ist erschollen das edle Fried- und Freudenwort” to be sung to the tune of “Nun lob mein Seel den Herren.” Johann Crüger and Martin Luther, *Praxis Pietatis Melica: Das ist: Vbung der Gottseligkeit in Christlichen und trostreichien Gesängen, Herrn D. Martini Lutheri fürnemlich, wie auch anderer vornehmer und gelehrter Leute*, Editio V (Berlin: Christoph Runge, 1653), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München Res/Liturg. 1374 a, accessed April 2, 2020, <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0006/bsb00065813/images/>, 773–75.

Psalm 103 starts and ends with praise (vv. 1–2 and 20–22). However, it begins in the first person singular and later changes to first person plural. Thus, the focus shifts from the praising individual to the community who describe how God is acting on them. The transitional verses affirm God’s deeds and emphasize God who is righteous and achieves “the rights of the suppressed” (v. 6). The suppressed are not specified, which can give special significance to the Lutherans of Osnabrück who had reasons to feel as the personified suppressed. In his interpretation of psalm 103, Frank Ueberschaer went beyond the above-mentioned. He interprets psalm 103, starting with v. 6, as a retrospection into the collectively remembered theological past, the exodus, that influenced the congregation’s present time. This reading corresponds well with the situation at the end of a thirty-year long war. Frank Ueberschaer, “Innovation aus Tradition: Ps 103 als Beispiel individueller Rezeption kollektiver Erinnerung,” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 131, no. 3 (2019): 427–30.

⁵ Franz Bösen, *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Osnabrück: Die geistliche und weltliche Musik bis zum Beginne des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1937), 130–36.

⁶ Ueberschaer, “Innovation aus Tradition,” 428.

At the same time, singing gave voice to the Lutherans' fear of the return of Catholic rule, during which they had been persecuted. Although the city was officially recognized as bi-confessional in 1648, later historiography emphasized the anxiety of the Lutherans in Osnabrück, as we read in the *Acta Pacis Westphalicae Publica* from 1736:

Many burghers actually cried in front of the city hall, and the joy was not that great, maybe because of fear of the bishop with whom they would have to deal and who took all churches from them and who persecuted them.⁷

We may presume that the city's Catholic population was also present in the city center. Hence, the communal singing of the Protestants was not only an outburst of gratitude for peace and an expression of fear, but also a blunt statement of their Lutheran belief at the end of the Wars of Religion. After the initial announcements in Osnabrück and Catholic Münster, the news of the peace was spread, and subsequent festivities were held in the different European cities.

Osnabrück serves as one singular example, but by no means illustrates the diversity of peace celebrations. Its ceremony was planned with a clear message, announcing and presenting the successful negotiations. The *Turmbläser* added to the festive character of the announcement. At the same time, the burghers in the city center responded with impromptu celebrations; through music they voiced their joy.

But Osnabrück's celebration of the Treaty of Westphalia did not constitute the full scope of peace festivities. In this chapter, I will use Nuremberg, Dresden, and Prague to show how the peace slowly spread across Europe, in some cases taking two years to be recognized. I argue that cities welcomed the Peace of Westphalia in a multitude of ways

⁷ "Vor dem Rath=Hause haben gar viel der Bürgerschafft geweinet, und soll so grosse Freude nicht seyn verspühret worden, vielleicht aus Furcht vor den Bischoff, den sie wieder über sich bekommen, und der ihnen vor diesen alle Kirchen genommen und grosse Verfolgung zugefüget." Meiern, *Acta Pacis Westphalicae Publica*, 623.

since both the rulers and the ruled had their own agenda that they wanted to convey. These agendas meant that the sovereigns, on the one hand, wanted to exhibit positive peace for their subjects, “overwrite” the cruelties of war, and save their own image as well as their future ruling power. Commoners, by contrast, wanted to get the impression of living in genuinely peaceful times, express their gratitude, and be acknowledged for their bravery throughout the war.

Unlike in Osnabrück, where the treaty indeed brought peace in 1648, for other European cities, the Peace of Westphalia amounted neither to positive nor negative peace.⁸ In short, in many regions, war-like conditions were still prevalent. For Dresden and Prague, the signed treaties were merely a political act with few consequences for the individuals involved. Both cities still had to suffer from war even though the official peace had been announced; Dresden had to endure the Swedish army until the imperial main peace settlement (*Reichs-Friedens-Haupt-Rezess*, also called the Nuremberg Agreement or *Friedensexekutionsvertrag*) went into effect in the summer of 1650. Prague’s Old Town successfully fought off the Swedish attack in the fall of 1648, but Prague Castle as well as other parts of Bohemia and Moravia had to endure the roaming Swedish army until its eventual retreat in 1649 and 1650, respectively. Put differently, the Peace of Westphalia did not quell the attacks and roaming soldiers. Nuremberg hosted the *Friedensexekutionskongress* from April 1649 to July 1650, in which envoys continued to discuss details of the Peace of Westphalia. As a result of hosting this congress, the city experienced the certainty of peace only after the Nuremberg Agreement was signed.

⁸ Negative peace is the absence of war and violence, while positive peace amounts to the absence of structural and individual violence. See Chapter 3.

Although for different reasons, Dresden, Prague, and Nuremberg must have perceived the peace as a distant, abstract concept notwithstanding its official announcement in the fall of 1648; they had to wait for an actual end to hostilities and their peace celebrations were tabled until 1650. The temporal distance between the signing of the treaty and its celebration two years later enabled the three cities to reflect on this historical moment and prepare a defined political message that then could be transmitted in the peace celebrations.

Three reactions to the Peace of Westphalia stand at the core of this chapter. The first focus will be how Nuremberg's way of welcoming the peace gives insight into how the urban soundscape changed after the war effectively ended in 1650. The second focus will be on Saxony, its peace celebration in 1650, the music thereof, and John George I's approach of bending history for his purpose and liking. Last but not least, the chapter will end on a note of how Bohemia remembered and honored the last battle of the war—the Battle of Prague—and the Prague students, the Jewish population, and burghers who bravely fought against the Swedes.

Thus far, historians focusing on the Thirty Years' War have mostly remarked that peace celebrations honoring the Peace of Westphalia took place. However, in general, historiography has neither analyzed the complexity of these celebrations in depth nor interpreted their implications. By paying close attention to and considering the context of the sources, we can better understand the impetus of both the commoners as well as the sovereigns to celebrate the peace and the purpose of these peace celebrations. The extant sources varied for each city and shaped the memory and the recollection not only at that moment in time but also in the generations to come. They included visual and sonic media but also the reconstruction of the soundscape; in short, the cities' sonic environments. In order to understand the full array of meanings embedded in the celebrations, we have to

pay close attention to the small and intricate details of the individual events as they are handed down to us through media.

By examining Nuremberg, Dresden, and Prague in the moment of the shift from negative to positive peace, I argue that these highly directed celebrations (which followed the Nuremberg Agreement and thus celebrated the finally achieved positive peace) served one common purpose: official celebrations helped the citizens finally believe in and acknowledge peaceful times. However, each city also had its own agenda. For Nuremberg, besides observing the peace as a means of giving thanks, actively forgetting the cruelties of war, and thus enacting oblivion, its citizens also needed the celebration to finally believe in a peace that was promised two years earlier.⁹ This transformation happened through a remaking of a war-soundscape into a peace-soundscape. For some sovereigns, like the Elector of Saxony, celebrations had the goal of changing the historiography in one's favor. In Saxony, a motet by Heinrich Schütz repainted the image of the elector into that of the “peaceful prince of Europe.” Last but not least, Prague’s population demanded that their perseverance and courage be recognized, which is visible in the media they crafted. The Pražané, notwithstanding their confession, showed themselves through chronicles, diaries, and songs as brave and resilient.

The *Steckenreiterklippe*—Festivities in Nuremberg in 1650

Nuremberg’s events in June and July 1650 give a first impression of how the conclusion of the *Friedensexekutionstag* sounded. The festivities there ranged from the hubbub of children who received commemorative coins to the official procession of envoys

⁹ In the words of Ross Poole, the sovereigns aimed to enact oblivion of war—they commanded their subjects to forget about the war—and shape the perception of the peace. Ross Poole, “Enacting Oblivion,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, no. 22 (2009).

from the city hall whose balconies were filled with musicians to Nuremberg Castle, where the settlement was signed. When reconstructing these events through material sources, we arrive at an audible picture of the changing city soundscape that announces the positive peace that arrived at long last. For instance, children playing soldiers (as depicted on a coin) tamed not only their stick horses but also the sonic environment of war. Their play came with an innocent pendant of war soundscape that made these anxiety-inducing war noises finally harmless.

For the conclusion of the Nuremberg *Friedensexekutionstag*, gold, silver, and copper coins or medals were produced by various entities.¹⁰ In commemoration of the peace settlement, these coins catered to the different financial situations of the Nuremberg population and to its visitors. Among these coins was a particular one, namely the square *Nürnberger Steckenreiterklippe* (Nuremberg stick-riders' klippe [square coin]).¹¹ Although coins seem to be unrelated to the soundscape, this specific coin would play a role in Nuremberg's sonic environment.

¹⁰ For examples of a silver medal and a gold ducat, respectively, see Johann Höhn, "Medaille auf den Vollzug des Westfälischen Friedens," Landesmuseum Württemberg, accessed January 23, 2020, https://bawue.museum-digital.de/index.php?t=objekt&oges=788&them=1&m_tid=109&tid=106&them_objekt=1133&ver=standalone&mtt=N%C3%BCrnberger%20Exekutionstag%201650; "Dukat 1650. Westfälischer Friede: Friedensvollziehungsschluss. Titel Ferdinand III," NumisBids, LLC, accessed January 23, 2020, <https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=3312&lot=471>.

¹¹ "Nürnberger Steckenreiterklippe," Landesmuseum Württemberg, accessed January 23, 2020, https://bawue.museum-digital.de/index.php?t=objekt&oges=787&them=1&m_tid=109&tid=106&them_objekt=1131&ver=standalone&mtt=N%C3%BCrnberger%20Exekutionstag%201650.

On the obverse, the square coin shows a boy with a stick horse and a saber girdled by the year "1650." The circumscription reads "IN NVRNB: FRIEDEN GEDACHTNVS" (In Nuremberg: peace remembrance). The reverse depicts the double-headed eagle, the coat of arms of the House of Habsburg. Below it bears the inscription "VIVAT FERDINAND III. ROM. IMP. VIVAT" (Long live Ferdinand III, the Holy Roman Emperor, may he live long).



Figure 4.1. “Nürnberger Steckenreiterklippe,” Nürnberg, 1650 (Landesmuseum Württemberg). Licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0. This coin was given out to the children of Nuremberg.

The legend of the *Steckenreiterklippe* leads to the discussion of audience, purpose, and soundscape. First, the klippe shows how even impecunious children received a coin in commemoration of the *Friedensexekutionstag*. Second, the coin also prompts the questions of who and what should be remembered with this memento. Third, the klippe exemplifies how “war noise” and the perception thereof were transformed in time of peace. As this section shows, this transformation of war noise was ubiquitous in Nuremberg’s peace celebrations.

According to the chronicler Georg Andreas Will, there was a rumor in town that the Imperial envoy Octavio Piccolomini (1599–1656) had promised a memorial coin (“Gedächtniß-Münze”) to each boy who would ride on a stick horse to his accommodation:

The next day, a large number of equestrians on stick horses came riding, divided in different squadrons to the duke’s accommodation at the Wine Market. The duke, who soon heard the noise and saw this peculiar cavalcade from his window, wanted to know what their presence meant. It was explained to him and he laughed jovially as a result of the buffoonery. So that the boys did not ride home discontented and sad, he held them off for 8 days. They came and trotted on their wooden horses audaciously and stubbornly. In the meanwhile, the nobleman had arranged to coin a large number of our square silver pfennig,

with the value of ten kreutzers, and gave each boy who appeared on the wooden equipage one coin, with great delight, and *for eternal remembrance*.¹²

The coins that were handed to children of the “peculiar cavalcade” are an example of how commemorative objects reached all levels of society. Using Leora Auslander’s words, the klippes were “active agents” in history, which affected the children’s (and their parents’) world.¹³ With the *Steckenreiterklippe*, the children held a signifier in their hands, which implied that they officially lived in a time of peace. Moreover, the Nuremberg stick equestrians shared this experience as they shared the identical coins. This commonality among the children might have led to a heightened sense of belonging to the city of Nuremberg, to celebrating the peace settlement, and maybe even to venerating the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III whose name is inscribed on the reverse of the klippe.

This anecdote, and especially the coin’s engraving of Ferdinand III, raises the question of the commemorative klippe’s purpose. What or who was to be eternally remembered with this coin? Was the coin a memento of the *Friedensexekutionstag* that at last finalized the war treaty? Should the coin acknowledge the compliant Protestants who agreed to recognize their proper feudal sovereign? Or was the klippe merely a memento of

¹² “Es kam des andern Tages eine große Menge solcher Steckenreiter, in verschiedene Schwadronen vertheilet, vor ermeldten Herzogs Quartier auf dem Weinmarkte geritten [...] Der Herzog, welcher gar bald den Lerm hörte und diese wunderliche Cavalcade am Fenster erblickte, lies [...] fragen, was sie mit dieser ihrer besonderen Gegenwart [...] anzeigen wollten. Er kriegte die Erklärung und lachte herzlich des Possens, der hiemit gespielt wurde. Damit jedoch die Knaben nicht unmuthig und betrübt heim ritten, lies er sie über 8 Tage vertrösten [...] Sie kamen und [...] trabten auf ihren hölzernen Pferden ganz kühn und trotzig daher. Der Fürst hatte inzwischen unsern viereckigen silbernen Pfennig, zehn Kreutzer am Werth, in großer Zahl prägen und einem jedweden Jungen, der in der hölzernen Equipage erschien, mit großen Freuden zu ewigem Andenken austheilen lassen.” [My emphasis.] Georg Andreas Will, *Der Nürnbergischen Münz-Belustigungen Erster Theil: in welchem so seltene, als merkwürdige Schau- und Geldmünzen sauber in Kupfer gestochen, beschrieben und aus der Geschichte erläutert worden ... : ... nebst einem Vorbericht, die Sammlung der Nürnbergischen Goldgülden enthaltend* (Altdorf: Georg Peter Monath, 1764), accessed January 23, 2020, https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/nuernbergische_muenz_belustigungen1764/0001/thumbs.

Poet Johann Klaj (1616–1656) included the story of the *Steckenreiterklippe* in one of his poems „so that the children shall remember the peace” (“damit die Kinder des Friedens möchten [ge]denken.”). Angelica Francke et al., eds., *vivat pax: Es lebe der Friede* (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1998), 57.

¹³ Auslander, “Beyond Words,” 1017.

the stick horse incident? Since it was the Imperial envoy who was handing out coins with an inscription celebrating the emperor (who had to admit defeat), was it the emperor that should be remembered? This would fit into Ross Poole's theory of enacting oblivion, which means that the sovereigns commanded their subjects to forget about the war by overwriting the cruelties and defeats that came with it.¹⁴ The defeat of the Habsburgs is not mentioned; rather, Ferdinand III is celebrated.

Moreover, this coin, with its background story, represents a nexus between war and its soundscape as well as the post-war period and its soundscape. The terminology of war is still used by the chronicler (Piccolomini heard the noise of a *cavalcade*), but the rest changed. The stick horse cavalcade is the minimized version of cavalry, and the clopping of the stick horses and the boys' feet is merely an echo of horse clopping by breathing, hoofed animals. The presence of the stick horse cavalcade by no means frightened the envoy, unlike the presence of horsemen during the Thirty Years' War. Quite the contrary, the boys brought such joy to Piccolomini that he decided to mint coins for them. A scaled-down version of war properties, both in terms of volume and character, seemed manageable or even appreciated. War, as represented by the stick horse cavalcade, seemed to be harmless. This type of children's war game could be advantageous in "reprogramming" the reaction to a stimulus like the sound of a real cavalcade, as discussed by Kate van Orden. Van Orden writes about sensory stimulations that produced a cognitive process as well as an immediate motor response in the "art of war."¹⁵ This repetitive sensory stimulation, that is in van Orden's case the sound of gunfire, evoked a specific reaction stored as an element of cognitive memory, which might not serve well during peaceful times.

¹⁴ Poole, "Enacting Oblivion."

¹⁵ Kate van Orden, *Music, Discipline, and Arms in Early Modern France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 210–11.

The exterior of the Nuremberg city hall provided an important scene for the celebration of the *Friedensexekutionstag* in which the post-war soundscape and its perception are distinct from the noises of war. Unlike celebrations within buildings, such as the “Swedish Peace Banquet,” events outside with a prominent soundscape were more accessible to a wider public.¹⁶ As with the stick horse cavalcade, the soundscape of war, although not changed at its core, became the soundscape of peace. The broadsheet *Vber den Friedens=Subscriptions=Tag* (figure 4.2) depicts the entourage of envoys in front of the city hall on their way to Nuremberg Castle, where the settlement was signed on June 16, 1650.¹⁷

¹⁶ Probably the best-known and most-researched celebration of the Peace of Westphalia was held in the Nuremberg city hall: the “Swedish Peace Banquet” of 1649. Charles X Gustav, by then palsgrave, later King of Sweden invited the Swedish and Imperial commissioners and the representatives of the imperial estates to this banquet. Joachim von Sandrart captured this banquet in his popular and often-copied painting *Das Friedensmahl* (1650). In von Sandrart’s painting, forty-three musicians, divided into four choirs, and their conductor, Sigmund Theophil Staden, encircle the large dining table in the four corners of the hall. The music largely consisted of polychoral compositions by the Nuremberg composer. In this chapter, instead of focusing on the banquet, which was geared to a small circle, I investigate celebrations geared toward a larger fraction of Nuremberg’s population. For more information on this banquet and its music, see Stefan Hanheide, “Kompositionen zum Westfälischen Frieden,” in *1648 - Krieg und Frieden in Europa: Katalog zur 26. Europaratssausstellung*, ed. Klaus Bußmann and Heinz Schilling (Münster: Westfälisches Landesmuseum, 1998), accessed January 29, 2018, http://www.lwl.org/westfaelische-geschichte/portal/Internet/finde/langDatensatz.php?urlID=505&url_tabelle=tab_texte; Steven D. Zohn, “Telemann’s ‘Musique de table’ and the Tafelmusik Tradition,” *Oxford Handbooks Online*, 2016, accessed September 24, 2020, <https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935321.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935321-e-120>. Alexander Fisher wrote about the multisensory quality of the Swedish Peace Banquet and Johann Erasmus Kindermann’s *Musicalische Friedensfreud* (1650), a musical collection inspired by the series of celebrations in Nuremberg. Alexander J. Fisher, “‘Musicalische Friedens-Freud’ the Westphalian Peace and Music in Protestant Nuremberg: The Westphalian Peace and Music in Protestant Nuremberg,” in *Rethinking Europe: War and Peace in the Early Modern German Lands*, ed. Gerhild Scholz Williams, Sigrun Haude and Christian Schneider, Chloe 48 (Leiden, Boston: Rodopi Brill, 2019). A copy of von Sandrart’s painting is held in Nuremberg. “Als der Dreißigjährige Krieg wirklich zu Ende war: Das ‘Friedensmahl’ von Joachim von Sandrart,” Stadtmuseum im Fembo-Haus Nürnberg, accessed January 29, 2018, <https://museen.nuernberg.de/fembohaus/kalender-details/fuehrung-friedensmahl-1086/>.

¹⁷ *Vber den Friedens-Subscriptions-Tag welcher ware der 16. Brachm. Im Jahr 1650* ([Nürnberg]: [Endter], 1650), HAB: IH 246. See also Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 568–69. The engraving without the text was also published in Sigmund von Birken, *Die Fried-erfreuete Teutonje: Eine Geschichtschrift von dem Teutschen Friedensvergleich/ was bey Abhandlung dessen/ in des H. Röm. Reichs Stadt Nürnberg/ nachdem selbiger von Osnabriigg dahin gereiset/ denkwürdiges vorgelauffen* (Nürnberg: Dümmler, 1652), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: M: Gl 488, accessed September 25, 2020, http://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/birken_friedensvergleich_1652, after 92.

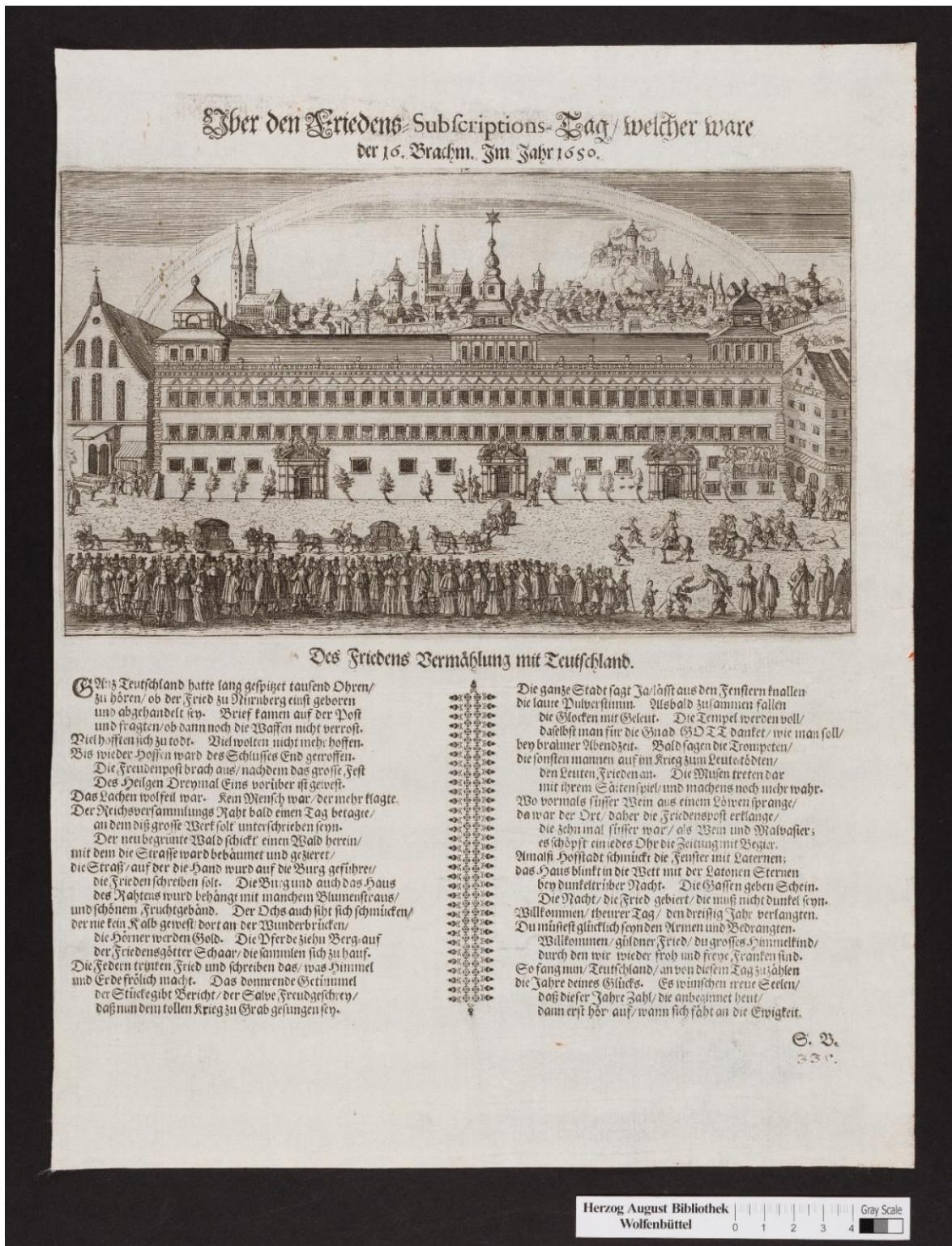


Figure 4.2. Über den Friedens-Subscriptions-Tag welcher ware der 16. Brachm. Im Jahr 1650, [Nürnberg]: [Endter], 1650 (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 246). Used with permission. This engraving depicts indicators of the soundscape, such as belching towers or instrumentalists playing from the city hall's balcony.

The image includes indicators of the soundscape that are corroborated by a report of the festivities in Nuremberg: military kettledrum and trumpets introduced the proclamation of the Nuremberg Agreement from the city hall's balcony, string and wind instruments followed with a performance from the same site (see the lower right corner of figure 4.2), and church bells rang for an hour.¹⁸ Last but not least, the agreement was greeted by cannon salutes (as witnessed by the towers belching smoke), an action that in this peaceful context was triumphant rather than anxiety-inducing as it was in war. The broadsheet's text titled "Des Friedens Vermählung mit Teutschland" (The wedding between peace and Germany) by poet and theologian Sigmund von Birken (1626–81) adds to the sonic description:¹⁹

Die Federn trinken Fried und schreiben das/
was Himmel und Erde fröhlich macht. Das
donnernde Getümmel der Stücke gibt Bericht/
der Salve Freudgeschrey/ daß nun dem tollen
Krieg zu Grab gesungen sey.
Die ganze Stadt sagt Ja/ lässt aus den Fenstern
knallen die laute Pulverstimm. Als bald
zusammen fallen die Glocken mit Geleut. Die
Tempel werden voll/ daselbst man für die Gnad
GOTT danket/ wie man
Bey brauner Abendzeit. Bald sagen die
Trompeten/ die sonst mannen auf im Krieg
zum Leute=tötden/ den Leuten Frieden an. Die
Musen treten dar mit ihrem Saitenspiel/ und
machens noch mehr wahr.

The quills drink peace and write/ about what
makes heaven and earth joyful. The thunderous
turmoil of the [written] pieces reports/ about the
volleys' cries of joy/ that now the war is singly
carried to its grave.
The whole city says Yes/ from the windows bang
the loud voices of gunpowder. Soon the bells
ring. The temples will be full/ thereat one thanks
GOD for mercy/ like

In the brown eventide. Soon the trumpets
announce/ which otherwise tell men during war
how to kill people/ peace to the people. The
muses perform music with their string
instruments/ and make the news even truer.

¹⁸ *Fernere Fröhliche Zeitung und trewlicher Bericht/ Daß der völlige Friede/ zu Nürnbergk seine Richtigkeit erlanget/ von allerseits Gevollmächtigten den 15. Junii allerdings unterschrieben worden: darauff alle Stücke umb die Stadt dreymal los geschossen/ vom Rathhouse mit Heerpaucken und vielen Trompeten außgeblasen/ auff 16. Plätzen der Stadt außeruffen/ mit allen Glocken gelautet/ worüber allenthalber grosse Frewde entstanden/ und gesungen worden. Mit grossen trewen Fleiß/ kürtzlich und deutlich Teutsch/ zum gemeinen Nutz zusammen gezoge* ([Nürnberg], 1650), ULB Halle: Pon Vc 4592, QK, accessed July 8, 2020, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-100502>. For a precise description of the Nuremberg scenery and a discussion of publications that thematized the peace process by, e.g., Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, von Birken , or Johann Klaj, see Hedwig Bramenkamp, *Krieg und Frieden in Harsdörffers 'Frauenzimmer Gesprächspielen' und bei den Nürnberger Friedensfeiern 1649 und 1650*, Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaften 31 (München: Utz, 2009), 308–15. Although Bramenkamp mentions musical settings of poems, e.g., by Sigmund Theophil Staden, she does not discuss them in detail.

¹⁹ For an examination of von Birken's literary works that deal with the peace agreement (*Friedens-Subscription*) of June 16, 1650, see Bramenkamp, *Krieg und Frieden in Harsdörffers 'Frauenzimmer Gesprächspielen' und bei den Nürnberger Friedensfeiern 1649 und 1650*, 308–11.

Von Birken's verses in alexandrines describe the entombment of war and the new meaning of the sounds associated with war.²⁰ The volleys of gunfire cry of joy, not of death. The bells are about to ring. Besides the celebratory aspects of bell ringing, the sound of bells could be heard as the restoration of the church after the destruction of war or the sacralization of the everyday soundscape.²¹ The highly musical von Birken expressed especially bluntly how the meaning of the trumpets' sounds change: they announce peace to the people instead of calling them to kill on the battlefield. Last but not least, the muses play fragile string instruments. Their music, which cannot be heard during the turmoil of war, made the news of the peace easier to believe and "truer." For von Birken, the soundscape was transformed noticeably in 1650. In the cases of the gunfire and trumpets, the meaning of certain sounds changed, while the bells and string music resounded again after the war years.

The various celebrations following the signing of the settlement corroborate the changing soundscape of peace. For instance, now Nuremberg residents could enjoy themselves watching fireworks.²² The sounds of fireworks are noisy, like volleys of cannon fire, but their visual element is beautiful. After the envoys had left Nuremberg, Piccolomini organized the Imperial peace celebration on July 4, 1650, which included a crossbow tournament that was held between the previously hostile parties highlighting their now

²⁰ Von Birken wrote about the Nuremberg peace process in his *Deutschlands Krieges-Beschluß und FriedensKuß* and incorporated accounts of it in his *Die Fried-erfreuete Teutonie*. Sigmund von Birken, *Deutschlands Krieges-Beschluß und FriedensKuß: beklingen und besungen In den Pegnitzgefülden* ([Nürnberg]: Dümller, [1650]), Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek - 999/Caps.27(31, accessed September 25, 2020, <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11086869-8>; Birken, *Die Fried-erfreuete Teutonie*, 114–38.

²¹ For more information on bell-ringing, see Philip Hahn, "The Reformation of the Soundscape: Bell-Ringing in Early Modern Lutheran Germany," *German History* Vol. 33, no. 4 (2015).

²² The festivities also had the purpose of making up for having missed out on fully celebrating the centenary of the Reformation in 1617 due to its status as a free imperial city (see Chapter 3).

peaceful coexistence.²³ I contend that the return to the crossbow as a non-violent and quiet sporting weapon was a sign of peace, since the noisy modern weaponry of war—cannons, muskets, and pistols—had been silenced at last. This quieting down becomes evident in a broadsheet describing the tournament, which emphasizes the soundscape: “The thunderous kartouwe (siege gun) became entirely silent in the lands.²⁴ No one likes to hear the noisy call of gunpowder any longer. One does not like to hear the puffs of pistols and guns any longer.”²⁵ In Nuremberg, the sound of war finally faded away. This quieting down happened either due to a change in meaning or in the actual sonic markers of the city soundscape. Music, as part of the soundscape, will play a more prominent role in the subsequent section centering around Dresden.

The Peace Celebration in Dresden in 1650

As in Nuremberg, Dresden’s official peace celebration also included similar sonic markers, such as cannons and volleys of gunfire. However, whereas the celebration of Nuremberg had to speak to all the envoys participating in the *Friedensexekutionstag*, the situation in Lutheran Dresden was a different one. In Saxony, the focus could lie on the head of the state, the elector, as the arbiter of peace. The Elector of Saxony, John George I

²³ Wolfgang Augustyn, “L’art de la paix? Bilder zum Kongresswesen,” in *L’art de la paix: Kongresswesen und Friedensstiftung im Zeitalter des Westfälischen Friedens*, ed. Christoph Kampmann et al., Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der Neueren Geschichte e.V. 34 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2011), 624–25. For more information on the Imperial peace celebration, including descriptions of the food, scenery, *tableaux vivants*, poetry, or fireworks, see Bramenkamp, *Krieg und Frieden in Harsdörffers ‘Frauenzimmer Gesprächspielen’ und bei den Nürnberger Friedensfeiern 1649 und 1650*, 317–55.

²⁴ A kartouwe is a siege gun used in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

²⁵ “Die donnernde Cartaun ist ganz verstummt im Land. Der laute Pulverruf will niemand mehr gefallen. Man hört nicht gerne mehr Pistol= und Büchsenknallen.” *Armbrust-Schiessen Gehalten auf der Allerwiesen vor Nürnberg/ im Jahr 1650. angefangen den 29. Julii/ denne zwo Fürstl. Personen und unterschiedliche hohe Cavalliere beygewohnet* ([Nürnberg]: [s.n.], 1650), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 249. See also Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 572–73.

reigned from 1611 to 1656 and thus was the sovereign both during the centenary of the Reformation, the entire Thirty Years' War including the negotiations that led to the Peace of Westphalia. I contend that Dresden's peace celebration, its music, as well as the media covering the Thirty Years' War aimed toward creating a new Saxon-Lutheran myth, and more importantly, offering a flattering image of John George I.

The music composed for Dresden's festivity, at least in traditional historiography, represents one example of how music-making influenced the perception of belligerent war agents and, thus, the historiography of the Thirty Years' War. Other forms of media, such as broadsheets, also might have impacted this process and led to a "canonical memory."²⁶ David van der Linden uses the term canonical memory to describe a set of memories that underwent a process of filtering in which certain memories are forgotten, certain are archived, and others are functional. For instance, music and visual art formulated canonical narratives about the past, as they emphasized specific stories and erased others. Through such practices, media helped to shape the identity of rulers caught up in the war, such as John George I, who held the unofficial title of "foremost Lutheran prince" of Germany.²⁷ In Saxony, he was also known as the "peaceful prince." As elsewhere in Europe, he welcomed the end of the war with music performed at the peace celebrations in Dresden.

Many scholars believe that Heinrich Schütz composed his *geistliches Konzert* "Nun danket alle Gott" (SWV 418) from the collection *Symphoniae sacrae III* (1650) in honor of

²⁶ David van der Linden, "Memorializing the Wars of Religion in Early Seventeenth-Century French Picture Galleries: Protestants and Catholics Painting the Contested Past," *Renaissance Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (2017): 135. Van der Linden developed his term from Aleida and Jan Assmann's work on memory and *Erinnerungskultur*. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*, 48–65; Aleida Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München: Beck, 1999), 133–42.

²⁷ N. Geoffrey Parker, "John George I of Saxony," *Britannica Academic*, 2007, accessed September 25, 2020, <https://academic-eb-com.proxy.uchicago.edu/levels/collegiate/article/John-George-I-of-Saxony/43832>.

the Treaty of Westphalia.²⁸ Still, the Dresden *Hofmarschall* records offer no ready evidence of a performance.²⁹ Furthermore, the concerto is extant in only one manuscript (now in Kassel), and evidence of subsequent performances of “Nun danket alle Gott” is meager.³⁰ Nevertheless, even though the concerto did not become a part of canonical memory in the long run, I contend that it was planned to become such. Regardless of the status of the concerto after the peace celebration, the collection, with its dedication to the elector, shaped the narrative of the peace process in Saxony.³¹ Today, besides the one manuscript copy in Kassel, eighteen copies of the original print edition, published by Christian and Melchior Bergen in Dresden on Schütz’s private paper with his personal watermark, are extant, mainly in German libraries. Of the surviving prints, ten are complete, the others lack one or more parts.³² More precisely, the concerto in synergy with the celebration and the accompanying media influenced the public perception of John George I; they presented a reshaped image of the Saxon elector and his agency that shifted over the course of the Thirty

²⁸ Werner Breig and Heinrich Schütz, eds., *Symphoniae Sacrae III (1650): Die Konzerte zu sieben Stimmen (Nr. 15–21)*, Heinrich Schütz: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke 21 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), XVI–XVII, 168–97.

²⁹ Hofmarschallamt, Dank-, Friedens- und andere Feste, 1650, 1660, 1676, 1702, 1721, 10006 Oberhofmarschallamt, Nr. N 4, Nr. 01, Sächsisches Staatsarchiv.

³⁰ “Nun danket alle Gott” survived in a manuscript in Kassel (Landesbibliothek Kassel 2° Mus. Ms. 52c). According to Mary Frandsen, the only likely subsequent performance of Schütz’s concerto SWV 418 was held on November 1, 1661, to celebrate the laying of the cornerstone of the castle chapel in Moritzburg. On July 22, 1666, the same day of the Dresden peace celebration sixteen years later, an anonymous “Moteto. Nun danket alle Gott” was performed in the morning worship service at the Dresden Court. Frandsen found evidence for two other settings of this text by Johann Wilhelm Furchheim (c. 1635/40–82) and Balthasar Benjamin Graupitz (1632–75) that were performed at the Dresden court in 1667, 1676, and 1679. Mary E. Frandsen, “The Compilation—Complete Liturgical Year,” in *Worship Culture in a Lutheran Court Chapel: Sacred Music, Chorales, and Liturgical Practices at the Dresden Court, ca. 1650–1680*, ed. Mary E. Frandsen, JSCM Instrumenta 5 (Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, 2019), 97, 153, 62, 144.

³¹ In the subsequent decades, Schütz’s textual version was set polyphonically by Wolfgang Carl Briegel (1626–1712), Hoinech Boras (fl. 1600s), Johann Philipp Krieger (1649–1725), and Johann Wilhelm Furchheim (1635–1682). Furchheim was Schütz’s student and started his career as an *Instrumentalknabe* at the Dresden court. Later in his life he became vice kapellmeister. See Diane P. Walker and Paul Walker, *German Sacred Polyphonic Vocal Music Between Schütz and Bach: Sources and Critical Editions*, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography 67 (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1992), 86, 188, 214; Mary E. Frandsen, ed., *Worship Culture in a Lutheran Court Chapel: Sacred Music, Chorales, and Liturgical Practices at the Dresden Court, ca. 1650–1680*, JSCM Instrumenta 5 (Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, 2019).

³² Breig and Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae III (1650)*, 199–200.

Years' War, especially at the war's conclusion.³³ Since sovereigns arranged the official peace celebrations, they were the central authority or the active agents in commemorating the peace. As active agents, they used celebrations as political instruments and thereby sought to influence the cultural memory for their purposes.³⁴

Cultural memory excludes those memories that were deemed unworthy and then forgotten. In 1648, sovereigns wanted to extinguish their subjects' negative memories through peace celebrations—memories of the war that were the logical consequence of the ferocity and inhumanity that accompanied this thirty-years-long battle.³⁵ We can see this in the peace treaty itself. For instance, the 1648 peace treaty dictated forgetfulness and amnesty for crimes committed during the war years.³⁶ In so doing, the rulers hoped to legitimize a newly segmented Europe and to invoke acceptance of the challenging post-war situation with thousands of soldiers still roaming through Europe and with famines and illnesses terrorizing entire regions.³⁷ In the case of Saxony, the elector also appeared to refurbish his own image by aggrandizing his role in the peace process, perhaps to compensate for his not having a say in the peace negotiations that led to the Peace of Westphalia.

³³ For more information on the enmeshment of Schütz's liturgical music with politics, see Derek Stauff, "Schütz's 'Saul, Saul, was verfolgst du mich?'" and the Politics of the Thirty Years War," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 69, no. 2 (Summer 2016).

³⁴ For the usage of the term central authority, see Low and Oliver, "Comparing Cultures of Commemoration in Ancient and Modern Societies," 3. For the usage of the term active agents, see James V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 11. For the usage of the term political instrument, see Keir Reeves, Geoffrey R. Bird, and Birger Stichelbaut, "Introduction: Landscape, Commemoration and Heritage," in *Battlefield Events: Landscape, Commemoration and Heritage*, ed. Keir Reeves et al., Routledge Advances in Event Research Series (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 4.

³⁵ David van der Linden theorizes memorizing and forgetting in a French context. He gives a quote from the Edict of Nantes (1598) that can be applied to the situation in Dresden in 1650: "the memory of all things that have happened on either side [...] shall remain extinguished and suppressed, as if they have never taken place." van der Linden, "Memorializing the Wars of Religion in Early Seventeenth-Century French Picture Galleries: Protestants and Catholics Painting the Contested Past," 134.

³⁶ Poole, "Enacting Oblivion," 149–50.

³⁷ Reeves, Bird and Stichelbaut, "Introduction," 4.

Music was used as a tool for both forgetting and remembering. As already applied in Chapter 1, Connerton's theory of performative memory inscribed in the body can be a guide to the use of music in peace celebrations. We remember better when our body is involved, notwithstanding whether we try to forget parts of the past and focus on the present or whether we actively try to remember the past. Thus, it is not remarkable that active music-making was part of many peace celebrations.³⁸ As part of these festivities, music's bodily experience supported the creation of long-lasting memories. In Dresden's case, in order to quell memories of the past of war, the Saxons were dissuaded from challenging the tentative peace in which Dresden's burghers had to believe; they were not to insist on its absence, although the Swedish occupation was still lingering. In short, it was the peace that should be remembered, not the inhumanity of the war; the historical narrative should be re-written, and music helped to do so.

At the end of the war, Dresden stood as a Lutheran court city with close ties to the Holy Roman Empire. Dresden's belated observance (July 22, 1650, almost two years after the official announcement) can be explained in two ways.³⁹ First, most celebrations in the German lands took place after the Nuremberg *Friedensexekutionskongress*.⁴⁰ More to the point, the Swedish army continued to occupy Saxony until that year. Although Schütz, the

³⁸ For instance, the *Te Deum* was sung at numerous commemorative events, e.g., for the Peace of Prague, the Peace of Westphalia, or for the Treaty of Oliva in 1660.

³⁹ Jacob Weller, *Des Friedens-Tempels edler Bau ... Predigt am Frieden-Danckfest über Klagl. Jer. 3,22–24* ([Dresden]: Christian und Melchior Bergen, 1650); Wolfgang Ferber, *Ruhm- und Dancklied: Wegen des von Gott beschehrten und wieder erlangten Friedens/ Der Durchlauchtigste Churfürst zu Sachsen und Burggraf zu Magdeburg/ Cum Titulo &c. unser gnädigster Herr/ In deroselben Churfürstenthum und incorporierten Landen/ Am Tage Marien Magdalenen Ein Danck-Fest zuhalten angestellet und befohlen hat / Einfältig gesungen/ Von Höchstgedachter seiner Churfürstl. Durchl. alten Dienern und Pritzschmeistern* (Dresden: Christian und Melchior Bergen, 1650), accessed April 11, 2020, <https://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-25991>. See also Wolfgang Sommer, *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden: Grundzüge ihrer Geschichte und Verkündigung im Kurfürstentum Sachsen* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 173; Burkhardt and Haberer, *Das Friedensfest: Augsburg und die Entwicklung einer neuzeitlichen europäischen Toleranz-, Friedens- und Festkultur*, 289; Breig and Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae III* (1650), XVI–XVII.

⁴⁰ Sommer, *Die lutherischen Hofprediger in Dresden: Grundzüge ihrer Geschichte und Verkündigung im Kurfürstentum Sachsen*, 173.

court *Kapellmeister* since the 1610s, published the celebratory concerto “Nun danket alle Gott” in his *Symphoniae sacrae III* on September 29, 1650 after the festivities in Dresden, modern scholars have convincingly argued that Schütz composed “Nun danket alle Gott” by early 1650 at the latest. For instance, Clytus Gottwald reasoned on the basis of manuscript watermarks that the *geistliches Konzert* had to be composed in early 1650.⁴¹ Gottwald’s deduction means that the concerto could have been composed for the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and subsequently performed at the 1650 peace celebration.⁴² Compositions honoring the peace were not an unprecedented genre for Schütz. Already during the Thirty Years’ War, Schütz had set the topic of war and peace to music multiple times: his compositions either were political homages in the early years of the war or later pleas for peace.⁴³

⁴¹ The watermarks of an extant manuscript of “Nun danket alle Gott” (now at the Landesbibliothek Kassel: 2° Mus. Ms. 52c) led Clytus Gottwald to the conclusion that Schütz probably composed “Nun danket alle Gott” early in 1650, therefore dating it early enough for the Dresden peace celebration on June 22 (the third part of *Symphoniae Sacrae* was published after September 29, 1650; Schütz’s dedication is to the “feast day of archangel Michael”). Werner Breig describes the manuscript as an early version of SWV 418 and dates it in the late 1640s, maybe 1648 to celebrate the Peace of Westphalia. See Breig and Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae III (1650)*, XVI–XVII.; Wolfram Steude, Werner Breig, and Joshua Rifkin date the piece earlier, around 1640–50; One-on-one conversation with Werner Breig, September 28, 2018; Clytus Gottwald and Hans-Jürgen Kahlfuß, *Manuscripta musica*, Die Handschriften der Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), 108.; Werner Breig, “Schützfunde und -zuschreibungen seit 1960: Auf dem Wege zur Großen Ausgabe des Schütz-Werke-Verzeichnisses,” *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 1 (1979): 75.

⁴² Breig and Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae III (1650)*, XVII; Breig, “Schützfunde und -zuschreibungen seit 1960,” 75.

⁴³ Stefan Hanheide mentions SWV 49, 338, and 465. In 1621, Schütz composed “Syncharma musicum” (SWV 49) and most likely “Teutoniam dudum belli” (SWV 338) for John George I’s journey to Breslau with his entire entourage to accept the feudal homage of the Silesian *Stände*. Stefan Hanheide, *Pace: Musik zwischen Krieg und Frieden. Vierzig Werkporträts* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007), 27–28. Furthermore, Schütz composed “Herr, der du vormals genädig gewest” (Lord, You who were gracious once) (SWV 461) for the *Leipziger Konvent* in 1631. In this concerto, peace plays an integral role. Excerpt of the text: “Herr, erzeige uns deine Gnade und hilf uns. Ach, dass ich hören sollte, dass Gott der Herre redete, dass er Friede zusagete seinem Volk und seinen Heiligen [...], dass [...] Gerechtigkeit und Friede sich küsseen” (Lord, show us Your mercy and help us. Ah, that I might hear that God the Lord would say; that He would speak peace to His people and His sacred ones; that justice and peace would kiss each other). Wolfram Steude, “Heinrich Schütz’ Psalmkonzert ‘Herr, der du bist vormals genädig gewest’,” in *Annäherung durch Distanz: Texte zur älteren mitteldeutschen Musik und Musikgeschichte*, ed. Wolfram Steude and Matthias Herrmann (Altenburg: Kamprad, 2001).

Friedensmusiken were an omnipresent phenomenon throughout the Thirty Years’ War. For examples by composers active in Bavaria, see Stefan Hanheide, ed., *Friedensgesänge 1628–1651. Musik zum Dreißigjährigen Krieg. Werke von Johannes Werlin, Sigmund Theophil Staden, Melchior Franck und Andreas Berger*, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern - Neue Folge 22 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2012). For diverse discussions of music and peace in the early modern period, see the January 2019 issue of *Die Tonkunst. Musik*

Schütz's "Nun danket alle Gott" was likely performed in the celebratory environment of the 1650 "Friedensfest," which started off with a military procession into Dresden's New Market, followed by a morning Lutheran Mass and, at noon, around 265 cannons and volleys of gunfire were fired.⁴⁴ A Vesper Mass followed the morning festivities.⁴⁵ The Masses were most likely either held at the court chapel or the *Kreuzkirche*. Notwithstanding the location, the congregation would have included dignitaries and informants from sovereign territories beyond Saxony. Thus, the celebratory service would have become conflated with Saxony's political agenda.⁴⁶ A printed announcement for the celebration and the *Hofmarschallamt*'s report indicate that the population of Dresden was encouraged to sing along during the church service.⁴⁷ Although congregational singing was encouraged, the *Hofmarschallamt* report specifies that various pieces were performed *instrumentaliter* and *vocaliter* by the congregation, *Discantisten*, *Tenoristen*, and a trumpet choir. Thus, it is conceivable that the large-scale concerto "Nun danket alle Gott" was part of the Holy Mass and Vesper of July 22, 1650.

und Frieden in der frühen Neuzeit. For a recent article, see Jürgen Heidrich, "Friedensmusik bei Heinrich Schütz," in *Religiöse Friedensmusik von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Dominik Höink, Folkwang Studien 21 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2021).

⁴⁴ The caption of the *Hofmarschallamt* report reads as follows: "Wie das Friedensfest im Jahr 1650. zu Dresden zelebriert worden." Hofmarschallamt, Dank-, Friedens- und andere Feste.

⁴⁵ For the years of John George II's reign (1656–80), Mary Frandsen's 2019 *Worship Culture in a Lutheran Court Chapel* is an invaluable source of information regarding the worship culture and its music at the Dresden court. For this publication, she combed through the Dresden court diaries. The court diaries of John George I do not include information of that kind. Frandsen, *Worship Culture in a Lutheran Court Chapel*.

⁴⁶ This is similar to the situation after the First Battle of Breitenfeld (1631). For more information, see Stauff, "Schütz's 'Saul, Saul, was verfolgst du mich?' and the Politics of the Thirty Years War," 375.

⁴⁷ *Abkündigung Und Gebeth/ Auff dem In Churfuerstenthumb Sachsen allgemeinen/ wegen des lieben Friedens/ Danck- und Beth-Fest* (Dresden: Christian und Melchior Bergen, 1650), accessed August 17, 2020, <https://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-25980>; Hofmarschallamt, Dank-, Friedens- und andere Feste, fol. 1–12.

A Concerto Praising the Peace—Heinrich Schütz’s “Nun danket alle Gott”

Regardless of whether Schütz’s *geistliches Konzert* was performed during the official peace celebration, the text and its setting to music support the assumption that Schütz composed “Nun danket alle Gott” for the peace. The content of the text was well-known to its listeners and gave clear reasons to thank God for the peace. Schütz took the text from the apocryphal *Wisdom of Sirah* (50:24–6)—a book often used in Lutheran sermons throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁴⁸ Parodies of the verses were already well-established Lutheran prayer texts, especially since Martin Rinckart (1586–1649) had published a version of “Nun danket alle Gott” in his 1636 *Jesu Hertz-Büchlein*.⁴⁹ Rinckart’s text has three stanzas; the first and second stanzas are based on *Wisdom of Sirah* 50:24–26 while the last stanza paraphrases the “Gloria Patri” doxology (Luke 2:14). Around 1647, the composer-editor Johann Crüger (1598–1662) set Rinckart’s parody to music and published the hymn in the second edition of his popular collection *Praxis pietatis melica*.⁵⁰ A year

⁴⁸ In the Luther Bible, it is 50:22–4. *Wisdom of Sirah* was often used in Lutheran (published) sermons, hymns, and for catechetical instruction throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Dresden and elsewhere in the Holy Roman Empire. Moreover, *Wisdom of Sirah* 50:24–26 was set polyphonically throughout the seventeenth century, e.g., by Michael Praetorius (1610), Samuel Scheidt (1620), Johann Hermann Schein (1623), and Johann Stobäus (1644). Ernst Koch, “Die Himmlische Philosophia des heiligen Geistes: Zur Bedeutung alttestamentlicher Spruchweisheit im Luthertum des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,” *Theologische Literaturzeitung: Monatsschrift für das gesamte Gebiet der Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, no. 115 (1990): 709–710.

⁴⁹ The 1663 edition is the oldest extant edition of Rinckart’s *Jesu Hertz-Büchlein* with a surviving copy being held in the Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha (Sign: Theol 8° 00700/03). Martin Rinckart, *Jesu Hertz-Büchlein: darinen lauter Bernhardinische und Christ Lutherische Jubel-Hertz-Freuden / Gesamlet und außgeschüttet* (Leipzig: Grosse; Kölner, 1663), anitzo vermehrt mit einer Vorrede. D. S. Langens. Rinckart’s “Nun danket alle Gott” was most likely written for the centenary of the Confessio Augustana in 1630.

⁵⁰ Johann Crüger, *PRAXIS PIETATIS MELICA. Das ist Vbung der Gottseligkeit in Christ=lichen und Trostreichens Gesängen / Herrn D. Martini Lutheri fürnemlich / und denn auch anderer vornehmer und gelehrter Leute. Ordentlich zusammen ge=bracht / und Mit vielen schönen außerlesenen Newen Ge=sängen gezieret: Auch zur Befol[r]derung des KirchenGottes=dienstes mit beygesetzten Melodien / Nebest dem Basso Continuo verfertiget Von Johann Crügern Gub: Lus: Direct. Mus. In Berlin ad D. N. In Verlegung des Auctors und Christophers Runge / Gedruckt zu Berlin Anno 1647.* (Berlin: Christopher Runge, 1647). The 1647 *Praxis pietatis melica* was the second edition of Crüger’s *Gesangbuch Augspurgischer Confession*, 1640. *Praxis pietatis melica* was published in almost 50 editions until the middle of the eighteenth century and includes many settings of texts by Paul Gerhardt. E.g., Gerhardt’s song of thanksgiving and praise “Nun danket all und bringet Ehr” is based on *Wisdom of Sirah* and was published in the 1647 *Praxis pietatis melica* in a setting by Crüger.

later, the chorale was published in the influential *Neues vollkommliches Gesangsbuch Augspurgischer Confession*.⁵¹ Rinckart and Crüger's "Nun danket alle Gott" quickly gained currency all over the German lands including Saxony, as is also visible in the polyphonic settings by the composers and Lutheran church musicians Johann Rudolph Ahle (1625–73), Crato Bütner (1616–79), and Sebastian Knüpfer (1633–76), and the court composers Johann Sebastiani (1622–83) and Julius Johann Weiland (c. 1605–63).⁵²

Though both contain three stanzas, Schütz's "Nun danket alle Gott" differs from Rinckart's text in that it does not follow the tripartite accentuation of thanksgiving, plea, and praise.⁵³ Rather, in Schütz's version (see text below), thanksgiving and praise are omnipresent, as each stanza starts with an invitation to give thanks and praise (see lines 1 and 2 of each stanza). Moreover, the concerto as a whole begins and ends with a repetition of lines 1 and 2 and thus with thanksgiving and praise. Lines 3 and 4 of the second and third stanzas can be read as a plea. The plea is aimed at maintaining the current situation of peace for the future (especially "Und verleihe immerdar Friede," stanza 2, line 4). Thus, it is not farfetched to imagine that Schütz's *Symphoniae sacrae III* and its "Nun danket alle Gott" might have encouraged Saxons to thank God for the peace. It is remarkable, though, that the climactic concerto contains a plea for the conservation of peace since the peace in Saxony was not actually in effect until after the Swedish army withdrew in 1650.

Siegmar Keil, "Nun danket alle Gott' - ein Kirchenlied und seine Geschichte," *Pastoraltheologie* 102, no. 10 (2013): 414.

⁵¹ Stefan Hanheide et al., eds., *Musik bezieht Stellung: Funktionalisierungen der Musik im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co, 2013), 223.

⁵² Keil, "Nun danket alle Gott' - ein Kirchenlied und seine Geschichte," 414. Walker and Walker list a total of sixteen polyphonic versions of "Nun danket alle Gott" in their bibliography *German Sacred Polyphonic Vocal Music Between Schütz and Bach*. Walker and Walker, *German Sacred Polyphonic Vocal Music Between Schütz and Bach*, 17, 26, 65, 101, 106, 146, 177, 205, 212, 247, 256, 298, 310, 330.

⁵³ Wolfgang Herbst and Ilse Seibt, eds., *Liederkunde zum Evangelischen Gesangbuch: Heft 16* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 39.

“Nun danket alle Gott” might have served not only as a welcomer of peace but also as a poetic epilogue to the *Symphoniae sacrae III*. The concerto “Nun danket alle Gott” is the very last composition in Schütz’s collections of pieces of vocal sacred music with instrumental accompaniment. Hence, “Nun danket alle Gott” forms the climax of the entire collection *Symphoniae sacrae*, parts I–III (1629, 1647, and 1650) and could even be interpreted as Schütz’s intended last *magnum opus*. One could even go further and interpret “Nun danket alle Gott” as Schütz’s intended *Schwanengesang*, since he was already sixty-five when his *Symphoniae sacrae III* were published. With the *Symphoniae sacrae*, he honored his teacher Giovanni Gabrieli (1554/1557–1612) who composed the *Sacrae symphoniae* (1597) and the *Symphoniae sacrae* (published posthumously in 1615). Given that Schütz composed three rather than two *Symphoniae sacrae* and given his further developed style, he not only wanted to emulate Gabrieli but rather wanted to surpass him.

Furthermore, in *Symphoniae sacrae III*, Schütz does not follow his typical convention of ordering the pieces according to instrumentation (when taking into account the complementa). Although it is the last concerto in the collection, it is not the piece with the largest instrumentation. For instance, “Komm, heiliger Geist, Herre Gott” (SWV 417) could be expected to be at the end of *Symphoniae sacrae III*. The instrumentation of SWV 417 is Violinum I and II, Cantus, Semicantus, Tenor I and II, Bariton, Bassus, Chorus I Complementi (Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus), Chorus II Complementi (Cantus, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus), and Continuus. Hence, Schütz actively decided to conclude his collection with “Nun danket alle Gott.”

Heinrich Schütz, “Nun danket alle Gott” (SWV 418) – Text.

Nun danket alle Gott,
Der große Dinge tut an allen Enden;
Der uns von Mutterleibe an
Lebendig erhält und tut uns alles Guts.

Nun danket alle Gott,
Der große Dinge tut an allen Enden;
Er gebe uns ein fröhliches Herz,
Und verleihe immerdar **Friede**
zu unsrer Zeit in Israel.

Nun danket alle Gott,
Der große Dinge tut an allen Enden;
Und daß seine Gnade stets bei uns bleibe,
Und erlöse uns, so lang wir leben.
Nun danket alle Gott,
Der große Dinge tut an allen Enden;
Alleluia.

Now let everyone thank God,
Who does great things to all ends;
Who for us, from our mother's wombs,
Sustains us in life and does good for us.

Now let everyone thank God,
Who does great things to all ends;
May He give us a joyful heart,⁵⁴
And continually grant **Peace**
in our time in Israel.

Now let everyone thank God,
Who does great things to all ends;
So that His grace may always be with us,
And redeem us, as long as we live.
Now let everyone thank God,
Who does great things to all ends;
Alleluia.

In Schütz's *geistliches Konzert*—scored for two violins, six voices, four voices or instruments *ad libitum* (Complementum), and continuo—“Friede” has great significance not only through its literal textual meaning and its central position in the text but also for its musical setting. The word “Friede” is highlighted as if printed on a *Spruchband* (banderole or word balloon) that is hovering calmly over bubbling eighth-note passages.⁵⁵

The concerto can be divided into different passages, in which Schütz significantly varied the musical styles and instrumentation. We find passages in the style of chorale harmonizations that serve as “ritornelli” or “refrains” and include all parts (see musical example 4.1, mm. 29–30), as well as more polyphonic passages that function as “verses” and in which the *ad libitum* parts rest (see musical example 4.1, mm. 31–34).

⁵⁴ Luther gives the commentary “gut Gewissen”—“good consciousness.” Martin Luther and Georg Rörer, *Biblia: das ist: die gantze Heilige Schrifft: Deudsche Auffs New zugericht. D. Mart. Luth.* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1541), accessed March 2, 2020, <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0009/bsb00096751/images/>, 1126.

⁵⁵ For further reading on the peculiar setting of “Friede” in Schütz's “Nun danket alle Gott,” see Stefan Hanheide, “Zur Semantisierung des Friedens in der Musik,” in *Der Frieden: Rekonstruktion einer europäischen Vision: Erfahrung und Deutung von Krieg und Frieden*, ed. Klaus Garber and Jutta Held (München: W. Fink, 2001), 1113–17.

Musical Example 4.1. Heinrich Schütz, "Nun danket alle Gott" (SWV 418), mm. 29–34.

29

Violinum primum

Violinum secundum

Cantus primus

Cantus secundus

Altus

Tenor primus

Tenor secundus

Bassus

Cantus Complementum

Altus Complementum

Tenor Complementum

Bassus Complementum

Organum Violon

len En - - den, der uns von Mut - ter - lei - be an le - ben

len En - - den, der uns von Mut - ter - lei - be an

len En - - den,

len En - - den,

an al - len En - den,

len En - - den,

6 ♯ ♫ 4 ♪

Table 4.1. Heinrich Schütz, “Nun danket alle Gott” – form diagram.

prelude		symphonia	mm. 1–20
1st stanza	Nun danket alle Gott, Der große Dinge tut an allen Enden;	refrain or ritornello, chorale harmonization	A, mm. 21–30
	Der uns von Mutterleibe an Lebendig erhält und tut uns alles Guts.	verse, polyphonic passage	B, mm. 31–54
2nd stanza	Nun danket alle Gott, [...]	refrain or ritornello, chorale harmonization	A, mm. 55–64
	Er gebe uns ein fröhliches Herz, Und verleihe immerdar Friede zu unsrer Zeit in Israel.	verse, polyphonic passage	C, mm. 65–113
3rd stanza	Nun danket alle Gott, [...]	refrain or ritornello, chorale harmonization	A, mm. 114–23
	Und daß seine Gnade stets bei uns bleibe, Und erlöse uns, so lang wir leben.	verse, polyphonic passage	D, mm. 124–52
4th stanza / epilogue	Nun danket alle Gott, [...]	refrain or ritornello, chorale harmonization	A, mm. 153–62
	Alleluia.	verse, polyphonic passage	E, mm. 163–79

The chorale passages invite listeners to thank God and give reasons as to why they should. Those passages are scored for the full ensemble, while the more imitative passages function as verses. The imitative passages differ from each other, leaving the F-tonality in favor of C, G, and B-flat and feature paired or alternating voices. They also use the violins sparsely, and the *ad libitum* parts pause. The chorale sets the act of thanksgiving and benediction to music and the polyphonic passages follow with pleas.

Reading this text closely makes clear that the second stanza is central, especially the verse “Und verleihe immerdar Friede,” which includes the keyword “Friede.” This line of comes in the middle of the entire text (line 8 of 15), and is also the verse on which Schütz focused in his concerto. The word “Friede” is only mentioned once in the text; however, in the concerto, it is repeated over a passage of twenty-two measures (out of 179). The “Friede” section” (mm. 87–110) is the core of the concerto; its onset coincides with a change in meter from 3/2 to 4/4 after the line “Er gebe uns ein fröhliches Herz” (May He give us a joyful

heart). As seen in musical example 4.2 (mm. 65–86), the line is set polyphonically; however, this passage is confined to the Tenor primus and secundus and almost recalls a bicinium as the two voices take turns singing melodic phases in relatively long note values. By including a bicinium-like passage in his *Konzert*, Schütz made his composition a pedagogical tool. In Schütz’s case, the bicinium is not an educational aid for singing contrapuntal music but it teaches about God’s (or the elector’s) role in the peace process.

Musical Example 4.2. Heinrich Schütz, “Nun danket alle Gott” (SWV 418), mm. 65–71.

This stark shift in textural density and metric pulse, following the line “Er gebe uns ein fröhliches Herz,” not only emphasizes the ever-repeated half-verse (“Und verleihe immerdar Friede”) but also highlights the beginning of a new section, shown in musical example 4.3. The Bassus presents the text for the first time (mm. 87–89), which then is imitated in the three lower voices (Tenor secundus, Tenor primus, and Altus enter) until, finally, the Cantus primus and secundus enter and the line is brought to an end with all voices active. The musical settings of this verse follow a similar pattern. All reiterations of

the verse start off with ascending stepwise motion setting the words “und verleihe immerdar” syllabically in six eighth notes and one quarter note. The word “Friede” is emphasized with two half notes. In each reiteration of the line, the melodic phrase cadences on “Friede” which accents the word even more. Schütz strings together the different cadences at the word “Peace.” Often, two consecutive cadences can be read as plea and sanction, especially since the first cadence creates tension that is resolved with the second cadence, frequently in the form of a fifth descent.⁵⁶ Moreover, given the nascent major-minor tonality of early Baroque theory and practice, it seems fitting that the plea stops on the “minor” mode or *cantus mollis* while the sanction lands on the “major” mode or *cantus durus*.

⁵⁶ This cadence leaping down a fifth or up a fourth also was called *Bassklausel*, or using Lorenzo Penna’s terminology from his *Li primi albori musicali* (1672), *cadenze del primo ordine*. It gives a strong sense of closure and also establishes tonalities that Schütz touches upon in this stanza. Using modern terminology, we find D major in m. 89, C major in m. 92, F major in m. 101, G major in m. 110, F major in m. 113. For more information on Penna’s terminology see Gregory Barnett, “Tonal Organization in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, ed. Thomas S. Christensen, The Cambridge History of Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 446–48.

Musical Example 4.3. Heinrich Schütz, "Nun danket alle Gott" (SWV 418), mm. 85–94.

85

Violinum primus

Violinum secundum

Altus

Tenor primus

Tenor secundus

Bassus

fröh - li - ches Herz,
und ver - lei - he im - mer - dar Frie - dc, Frie - dc,

Organum Violon

90

und ver - lei - he im - mer - dar Frie - de, Frie - de, Frie - de,
und ver - lei - he im - mer - dar Frie - de, Frie - de,
und ver - lei - he im - mer - dar Frie - de, Frie - de,
und ver - lei - he im - mer - dar Frie - de,

These ever-repeating half-note cadences, as well as the basso continuo that mostly accompanies in half notes, establish a sense of *alla breve*. The eighth-note patterns in the vocal parts are imitated by the violins and function as an embellishment. This all helps to foreground the word “Peace.” Hans Joachim Moser used the term *Spruchband* to describe single words that stand out of a polyphonic fabric.⁵⁷ In the case of Schütz’s “Nun danket alle Gott,” Moser’s banderole fittingly describes the setting of the word “Peace.” For long stretches of the concerto, “Friede” is the only word that is easily understandable—as if printed on a banderole.

⁵⁷ Hans Joachim Moser, *Heinrich Schütz: Sein Leben und Werk*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), 503; Werner Breig, “Zum Werkstil der »Geistlichen Chormusik« von Heinrich Schütz: Teil 1,” *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, no. 18 (1996): 78–79.



Figure 4.3. Johann Rist, *Das Friedewünschende Teutschland*, title page, Hamburg: Heinrich Wärners Seel. Witwe 1649 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: P.o. germ. 1169 m). Licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0. The title page of Rist's *Das Friedewünschende Teutschland* depicts a call for peace.

In music and print culture, a banderole helped to orient the listener and the reader. In Schütz's composition, as in Johann Rist's title page to his play *Das Friedewünschende Teutschland* (figure 4.3), the peace banderole functions as a stabilizing anchor.⁵⁸ The visual banderole frames the outcry of personified Peace. Schütz's *Spruchband* stands in contrast to its sonic environment. Neither Schütz's nor Rist's exclamations blur into the cacophony of war that surrounds each one. In both Rist's title page and Schütz's concerto, the word "Friede" shines forth.

The concerto's "Friede"-section" climaxes in a last half-note bass clausula that is not accompanied by sixteenth notes in any other voice (musical example 4.4, mm. 109–110). After this section, a chorale-like ritornello with the text "Nun danket alle Gott, Der große Dinge tut an allen Enden" (Now let everyone thank God, Who does great things to all ends) represents another shift (musical example 4.4, m. 114). The solemn homophony without any embellishments and the 3/2 meter of the refrain stand in stark contrast to the polyphonic, ornamented, and celebratory section in 4/4 meter. Encircled by the homophony of the refrain, the lively 'Friede'-section seems like a slowly rising outburst of joy, ease, and certitude.

⁵⁸ Johan Rist, *Das Friedewünschende Teutschland: In einem Schauspiele öffentlich vorgestellet und beschrieben* (Hamburg: Heinrich Wärners Seel. Witwe, 1649), Durch einen Mitgenossen der Hochlöblichen Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft [Johann Rist]. Nun zum letzten mahl auffgeleget und mit etlichen neünen schönen Liederen, benebenst ammühlingen auff dieselben, auch neügesetzten Melodeien [Komp.: Johann Michael Jacobi] vermehret und gebessert, accessed August 13, 2018, <https://app.digitale-sammlungen.de/bookshelf/bsb00092548>. In print culture, the banderole gained popularity in the sixteenth century. Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, *Überlieferungsgeschichten: Paradigmata volkskundlicher Kulturforschung* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 33–34.

Musical Example 4.4. Heinrich Schütz, “Nun danket alle Gott” (SWV 418), mm. 107–114.

How did Schütz’s *geistliches Konzert* change the historiography of the Peace of Westphalia for seventeenth-century Saxons? The collection *Symphoniae sacrae III* can be interpreted as Schütz’s ingratiation of himself with John George I. This is also indicated in the collection’s dedication and an accompanying letter—all given to John George I on January 14, 1651.⁵⁹ Schütz wrote the dedication that directly followed the title page (2rv) in the form of a letter, which was typical for the seventeenth century. However, the dedication’s length of two pages surpasses the usual length of a single page, which shows that Schütz included information beyond the formulaic elements of a dedication.⁶⁰ In the

⁵⁹ The beginning of Schütz’s letter from January 14, 1651, mentions the publication of the *Symphoniae sacrae III*. Heinrich Schütz and Gregory S. Johnston, *A Heinrich Schütz Reader: Letters and Documents in Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 181–86.

⁶⁰ Rudolf Rasch, “Composers, Patrons, and Dedications: From Arcangelo Corelli to Pietro Antonio Locatelli,” in *Music and Power in the Baroque Era*, ed. Rudolf Rasch, Music, Criticism & Politics Volume 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 400–401.

dedication, Schütz thanked the elector extensively for his support throughout Schütz's life and the war years.⁶¹ The reality differed from the dedication. As shown by Gregory Johnston and Mary Frandsen through their analysis of documents and extant letters from Schütz to John George I, the elector was by no means a constant supporter of the arts.⁶² Schütz used the dedication to "reach" the ruler through musical publication. He had a heightened interest to be in John George's special favor for at least two reasons. Professionally speaking, Schütz hoped to retire as court composer; personally, he wanted to ensure that the musical ensembles he had struggled to keep together during the war years would not fall apart during the upcoming transition in sovereigns.⁶³ To summarize, Schütz's dedication did not bring the wished-for outcome—his request to retire was denied—but the inscription might have helped to form a positive image of John George I, as is corroborated in my reading of "Nun danket alle Gott" and broadsheets discussed below.

Changing the Past—the (Self-)Portrait of the Saxon Elector John George I

This image of the elector that Schütz painted in the publicly accessible dedication, intentionally or not, can also be found in "Nun danket alle Gott." In both, Schütz emphasized the story of John George I as the sovereign who led Dresden into peace and who believed in the arts and supported them. The very last concerto of the *Symphoniae sacrae III* can be understood as double syntax (here in the form of an enjambement), which

⁶¹ In the dedication, Schütz named several reasons for doing so: for instance, John George I supposedly supported the arts throughout the Thirty Years' War; he gave Schütz the freedom to serve at the Danish court for some time and supported his journeys to Italy for training purposes. Schütz concluded his dedication with good wishes for John George I's health so that he would be able to enjoy his now peaceful lands, but also to support the arts further. Schütz and Johnston, *A Heinrich Schütz Reader*, 177–79.

⁶² Ibid., 112–13; Mary E. Frandsen, "Music in a Time of War: The Efforts of Saxon Prince Johann Georg II to Establish a Musical Ensemble, 1637–1651," *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, no. 30 (2008); Heinrich Schütz and Gina Spagnoli, *Letters and Documents of Heinrich Schütz, 1656–1672: An Annotated Translation*, Studies in Music 106 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1990), 5.

⁶³ Elector John George I himself (1585–1656) was of old age in 1650.

means that the reader or listener cannot be sure of how to interpret the sentence structure when it flows over a line ending, as in the case of “Und verleihe immerdar Friede.”⁶⁴

Regarding the double syntax in “Nun danket alle Gott,” I suggest the equalization of God and ruler. The repetition of the line “and continually grants peace” by no means stresses God as the agent of the Peace of Westphalia. The “he” is detached from God; the stark contrast between the ‘Friede’-section and the autonomous refrain emphasizes that peace and God are not necessarily connected. It is conceivable to insert John George I in the verse to get to the core of the concerto’s message: “John George I continually grants peace.”

More than twenty years before his *Symphoniae sacrae III*, Schütz already had composed a concerto that emphasized both God and the sovereignty as entities in power regarding war and peace. Schütz authored the double choir concerto “Da pacem Domine” (SWV 465) for the Electoral Assembly, or *Kollegtag* in Mühlhausen in 1627, during a time in which Saxony was still neutral and pacifist. In this concerto, one choir pleads God for peace, and the second choir addresses the electors as “bringers and guardians of peace.”⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Tom Furniss and Michael Bath, *Reading Poetry: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 82.

On the title page of the Saxon publication *Instrumentum Pacis Caesareo-Gallicae* we find a similar incident. Below the title of the pamphlet, the frontispiece includes “Mit Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen gnäd. Freyheit” (With the Elector of Saxony graciously to freedom). This statement leads us to believe that the elector had a big impact on the peace negotiations. *Instrumentum Pacis Caesareo-Gallicae: Oder Friedens-Schluß/ So von der Röm. Keyserl. und AllerChristl. Königl. Maj. Maj. als auch des Heil. Röm. Reichs Extraordinari-Deputirten, und anderer Chur- Fürsten ... Abgesandten zu Münster in Westphalen/ am 14.(24.) Octobris im Jahr 1648. ... unterschrieben und bekräftiget ... Nach dem wahren Original/ wie es bey dem Chur-Mäintzischen Reichs-Directorio deponiret worden/ Teutsch und Lateinisch* (Leipzig: Timotheus Ritzsch, 1648), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle; VD17: 14:006545Z, accessed April 9, 2020, <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/urn/urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:1-360239>.

⁶⁵ Schütz and Johnston, *A Heinrich Schütz Reader*, 48; Hanheide, *Pace*, 27–28. The text of Choir 2 addresses and hails the sovereigns and the emperor. It also includes the lines “Vivant tria fundamina pacis” and “Vivant tria tutamina pacis.” For a close reading of the text and musical analysis, see Heidrich, “Friedensmusik bei Heinrich Schütz,” 180–85; Steude, “Heinrich Schütz’ Psalmkonzert ‘Herr, der du bist vormals genädig gewest’,” 147. For more information on the amalgamation of the religious and political realm in musical compositions, see Markus Rathey, “Symbolische Kommunikation und musikalische Repräsentation: der Friede von Nijmegen (1679) im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Kompositionen,” *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, no. 32 (2010): 108.

Some seven years after the *Kollegtag* in Mühlhausen, in 1635, the elector made his mark, from the Saxon perspective, as a peaceful prince by signing the Peace of Prague. It was he who concluded peace with the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II (in absentia; r. 1619–37).⁶⁶ Although the Peace of Prague did not end the Thirty Years' War, it did conclude the civil war among the imperial estates.⁶⁷ Like the culture of music, print culture shaped the image of sovereigns and influenced the canonical narration of history. In the case of John George I, his image as a peaceful prince started to evolve before the Peace of Westphalia was signed.

⁶⁶ *Abdruck Des FriedensSchlusses Von der Röm. Käys. Mayt. und Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachssen let/c. zu Prag auffgerichtet Den 20./30. Maii Anno 1635.* (Dresden: Bergen, 1635), accessed March 5, 2020, <http://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10893572-9>. See also Mark Hengerer, *Kaiser Ferdinand III. (1608–1657): Eine Biographie*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs 107 (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 115.

⁶⁷ Moreover, it was also John George I who received Upper and Lower Lusatia as land gains, not through military interventions but peace negotiations which makes him even more of a peaceful prince. He not only established peace, but did it by way of non-violent negotiations. Uwe Miersch, "Aus der neueren Geschichte der Oberlausitz: Dreißigjähriger Krieg und Nachkriegszeit, Wechsel zu Kursachsen," accessed March 4, 2019, <http://www.dresden-und-sachsen.de/oberlausitz/geschichte3.htm>.

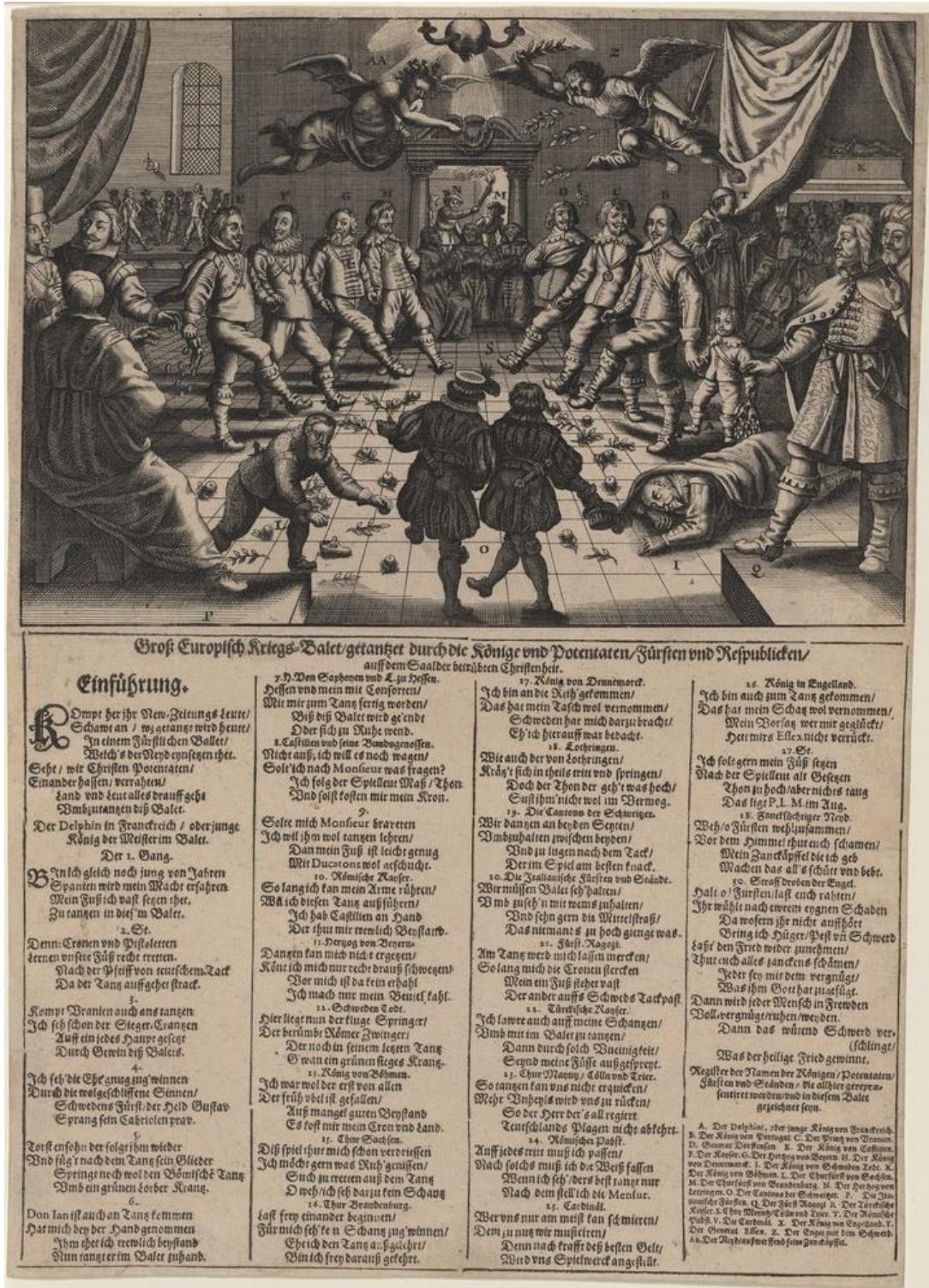


Figure 4.4. Groß Europisch Kriegs-Balet/ getanzet durch die Könige und Potentaten/ Fürsten und Republiken/ auff dem Saal der betrübten Christenheit, [S.I.]: [s.n.], [1643/44] (377 x 272 mm, Kulturstiftung Sachsen-Anhalt, Kunstmuseum Moritzburg Halle an der Saale). Used with permission. Photography: Kulturstiftung Sachsen-Anhalt. The dancers in this broadsheet perform ballonnés.

In the earlier 1640s, a broadsheet from Leipzig depicted peace negotiations as a ballet, a dance genre reserved for courts (figure 4.4).⁶⁸ The broadsheet conflates constellations of political power with dance; the latter was an elementary part of early modern court ceremonials and often included the demonstration of power. On the broadsheet, spectators sit and stand around two rows of four dancers who perform *ballonnés*.⁶⁹ The right row is comprised of sovereigns and military personnel (the individuals are identified by capital letters in the broadsheet's engraving and the key in the lower right corner): Louis XIV of France (A), John IV of Portugal (B), Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange (C), and the Swedish Generalissimo Torstenson (D). The deceased Gustav Adolf of Sweden lies rolled-up in a carpet at their feet. The left row of dancers is composed of sovereigns Philip IV of Spain (E), the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III (F), Maximilian I, Elector of Bavaria (H), and Christian IV of Denmark (G). While the emperor, kings, princes, electors, and the general are partaking in a merry dance, the Elector of Saxony John George I (L) is bowing toward the ground as personified Envy (AA) is throwing down apples of discord. In Greek mythology, it is Eris, the Goddess of Discord, who angrily tossed a golden apple into a wedding party to which she was not invited. The apple bore the inscription “Kallisti” (For the most beautiful/fairest). As a consequence, the guests argued who should possess it. In the broadsheet, this can be interpreted in two ways. Either John George I was the only one not invited to join the ballet or for that matter the peace

⁶⁸ Kulturstiftung Sachsen-Anhalt, Kunstmuseum Moritzburg Halle, *Groß Europisch Kriegs-Balet/ getantzet durch die Könige und Potentaten/ Fürsten und Republiken/ auff dem Saal der betrübten Christenheit.* (1643/44), accessed November 6, 2019, <https://nat.museum-digital.de/index.php?t=objekt&oges=69928>.

⁶⁹ Engraver Johann Georg Puschner crafted a series of prints depicting dance. One of those engravings shows the dance step of the broadsheet and describes it as “balones.” These plates were published in Gregorio Lambranzi, *Neue und Curieuse Theatricalische Tanz-Schule* (Nürnberg: Johan Jacob Wolrab, 1716). A modern edition of 1966 makes Puschner’s work accessible. Gregorio Lambranzi, *New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing* (New York: Dance Horizon, 1966), With all the Original Plates by Johann Georg Puschner; translated from the German by Derra de Moroda, Part II, 5.

negotiations, and this is why he gravitates toward the apples of discord as a means of fighting for his rights. As the fairest and most just, he should receive the apples as recognition for his appearance; figuratively, he should receive praise for his politics. Or, the image represents John George I trying to fix the peace by picking up the apples of discord. In the latter interpretation, John George I does not join the merry-making of the dancers but listens to the warning and the call for peace that the angel with a sword (Z) is giving in the last stanza of the text below the image.

Of course, long before the negotiations in Münster and Osnabrück started, peace treaties were negotiated. For instance, print media captured the above-mentioned bilateral Peace of Prague of 1635—a peace treaty that outraged different war parties, foremost the Reformed Churches. The anonymous broadsheet *Deß H. Römischen Reichs von Gott eingesegnete Friedens=Copulation* (The peace marriage of the Holy Roman Empire, blessed by God; figure 4.5) celebrating this peace treaty offers a view of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II and John George I as coequal.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Sign. Einbl. V,8 a-94, *Deß H. Römischen Reichs von Gott eingesegnete Friedens=Copulation* ([S.1.], 1635), accessed April 1, 2021, <https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0008/bsb00089749/images/>.

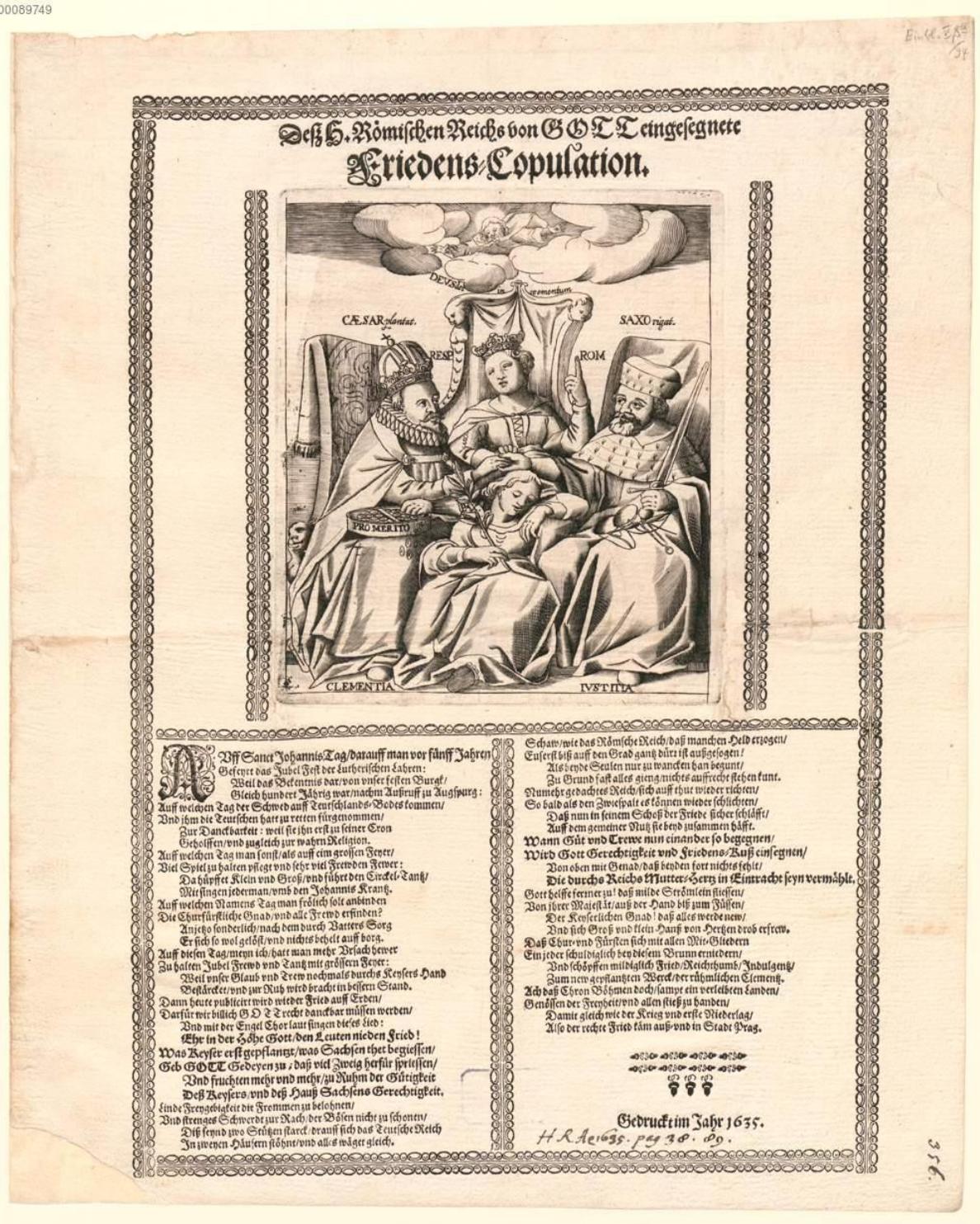


Figure 4.5. Deß H. Römischen Reichs von Gott eingesegnete Friedens-Copulation, [s.l.], 1635 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München: Einbl. V,8 a-94). Licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0. This broadsheet shows the marriage between Saxony and the Holy Roman Empire.

On the broadsheet *Friedens=Copulation*, the personification of the Holy Roman Empire—Res publica Roma—occupies the central and highest throne while Peace rests at her feet with an olive branch, and Ferdinand II and John George I join hands while Rome blesses the “Copulation” via her right hand.⁷¹ The word “Copulation” was synonymous with the act of marriage in early modern times. With her left hand, Rome points toward heaven where we see God consecrating the peace treaty. God is thus included in the broadsheet but plays a secondary role to the emperor and the elector who made the peace manifest. The text below the image explains the broadsheet and its Latin script.⁷²

Most striking is the fact that Emperor Ferdinand II and Elector John George I are depicted symmetrically and at the same size. This hints towards the importance of Saxony for the Habsburg monarchy. Such equal depiction was not the norm, because size and positioning were tantamount to power. Inside the Holy Roman Empire, Saxony was second only to the Habsburg lands in territorial importance.⁷³ It was more common to depict the emperor as an enlarged, elevated, and centered figure relative to the electors.⁷⁴ Even in

⁷¹ The Holy Roman Emperor bears the caption “Clementia” (clemency, mercy) whereas for the Elector of Saxony we read “Iustitia” (justice). The allegorical figure in the middle is “Pax” (peace). The Holy Roman Emperor gives away (to Saxony?) coins according to merit (“pro merito”). Together, the two political forces combine the characteristics of a good sovereign. Furthermore, we see the inscriptions “Caesar plantat” (the Emperor plants) and “Saxo rigat” (Saxony waters [can also be translated as “conducts”]). Hence, with the effort of the Habsburgs and the Wettins, the Empire will flourish again. See Helmut Lahrkamp, *DreiBigjähriger Krieg, Westfälischer Frieden: Eine Darstellung der Jahre 1618–1648 mit 326 Bildern und Dokumenten* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlagsbuchhandlung GmbH & Co., 1997), 119.

⁷² In a Lutheran sentiment, the text also alludes to the Peace of Augsburg 1555 which made both Catholicism and Lutheranism the religions of the Holy Roman Empire.

⁷³ The cooperation between Saxony and the Habsburgs has a tradition. Already in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Electors of Saxony, Moritz and August (Albertine branch of the Wettin dynasty), cooperated with the Habsburgs. Saxony exchanged support for Austria against the Turks with support of the Habsburg against the Ernestine line of the house of Wettin. Thomas Nicklas, *Macht oder Recht: frühneuzeitliche Politik im Obersächsischen Reichskreis* (F. Steiner, 2002), 81–82, 99.

⁷⁴ For instance, in Abraham Aubry’s copper plate print “Teutschlands fröhliches zuruffen/zu glückseliger Fortsetzung/der mit Gott/in regensburg angestellten allgemeinen Versammlung des H.Röm. Reiches obersten Haubtes und Gliedern” (Nürnberg 1663/64), the emperor is depicted, larger than the electors and in an elevated, central position. Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 379.

comparison with other European sovereigns, the emperor's proportions are often larger, and his location higher and more central. For instance, *Danck=Gebet* (figure 4.6), a broadsheet for the Peace of Westphalia from about 1648, shows the more usual political power structures.⁷⁵ The oversized Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III (r. 1637–57) is placed front and center, with Christina of Sweden and Louis XIV on his right and left, respectively.



Figure 4.6. *Danck=Gebet für den so langgewünschten und durch Gottes Gnade nunmehr geschlossenen Frieden*, [S.I.]: [s.n.], [1648] (Landesbibliothek Coburg: Ta 10#12). Used with permission. In this broadsheet, the emperor is depicted oversized and placed front and center.

⁷⁵ Landesbibliothek Coburg, *Danck=Gebet für den so langgewünschten und durch Gottes Gnade nunmehr geschlossenen Frieden* ([S. 1.], [1648]), accessed November 7, 2019, <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:70-dtl-0000030574>.

Judging by the typographic decorative edging and the entire structure, the print *Danck=Gebet* comes from the same workshop as the broadsheet for the Peace of Prague *Friedens=Copulation* (figure 4.5). Hence, the symmetrical depiction of Emperor Ferdinand II and John George I is indeed a peculiarity. The 1648 broadsheet's full title is *Danck=Gebet für den so langgewünschten und durch Gottes Gnad nunmehr geschlossenen Frieden*, which translates to “Prayer of thanksgiving for the long desired and through God's mercy attained peace.” The title itself is reminiscent of “Nun danket alle Gott,” but the broadsheet turns up still more clues in its textual exhortations to singing and graphical references to Biblical concordances.⁷⁶ The incipits, intentionally or not, moreover recall Rinckart's and Schütz's hymn texts as well as the “Gloria Patri” doxology (Luke 2:14), whose performance is chronicled for the Dresden peace celebration in the *Hofmarschallamt* report.

⁷⁶ For instance, see the broadsheet's text: “darumb singen wir nun deinen Namen” (this is why we sing your name).

Table 4.2. Text incipits of Danck=Gebet für den so langgewünschten und durch Gottes Gnad nunmehr geschlossenen Frieden, [S.I.] [1648].

Dancket dem Herren (Ps 118:1)	<u>Ehre sey GOTT in der Höhe (Luk 2:14)</u>	Seine Güte wehret ewiglich (Ps 118:1-4)
	<u>Fride auff Erden (Sir 50:25, Luk 2:14)</u>	
Nun Lobet alle Gott (Sir 50:24)	<u>Menschen einwolgefallen (Luk 2:14)</u>	Der grosse Dinge Thut an allen Enden (Sir 50:24)

Key:

Schütz, SWV 418

Rinckart, "Nun danket alle Gott"

Gloria Patri Doxology

Thus, the broadsheet serves as an indicator that Schütz indeed composed his "Nun danket alle Gott" for the Peace of Westphalia. Moreover, the broadsheet might have functioned as a reminder of Schütz's concerto, Rinckart's hymn text, or the official peace celebration and, hence, is an example of intermediality inasmuch as one medium could evoke memories of the other medium.

Schütz's concerto and the broadsheets included here emphasize a Saxon narrative of the peace that followed the Thirty Years' War. In examining Schütz's "Nun danket alle Gott" as well as its dedication, and by looking at depictions of the Saxon elector and his relationship to the House of Habsburg during the Thirty Years' War, we come to see an alternative historical narrative. Schütz's concerto, with its words and the telling way the

composer set it to music, can be read as Connerton's "insurance against [...] cumulative questioning."⁷⁷ The performativity of Schütz's work discouraged critical scrutiny and evaluation of the actual situation of Saxony and John George's importance as the arbiter of the peace process.

In visual arts, John George I was projected as an active apple-picking and peace-enforcing elector. With all that, his identity shifts from the not-too-influential Elector of Saxony to the *Friedensfürst* (peaceful prince) of Europe, whom Saxony greeted joyously as the carter of the triumphal chariot upon his return from Nuremberg on June 24, 1650 to attend the official Dresden peace celebration (figures 4.7 and 4.8).

⁷⁷ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 102.



Figure 4.7. Johann Müller (1620–94), Lang=verlangte Friedens=Freude/... Herrn Johann Georgen/ Hertzogen zu Sachsen ... übergeben, [Dresden?]: [s.n.], [1650] (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 241). Licensed under CC BY-SA. The Elector of Saxony is crowned with a laurel wreath.

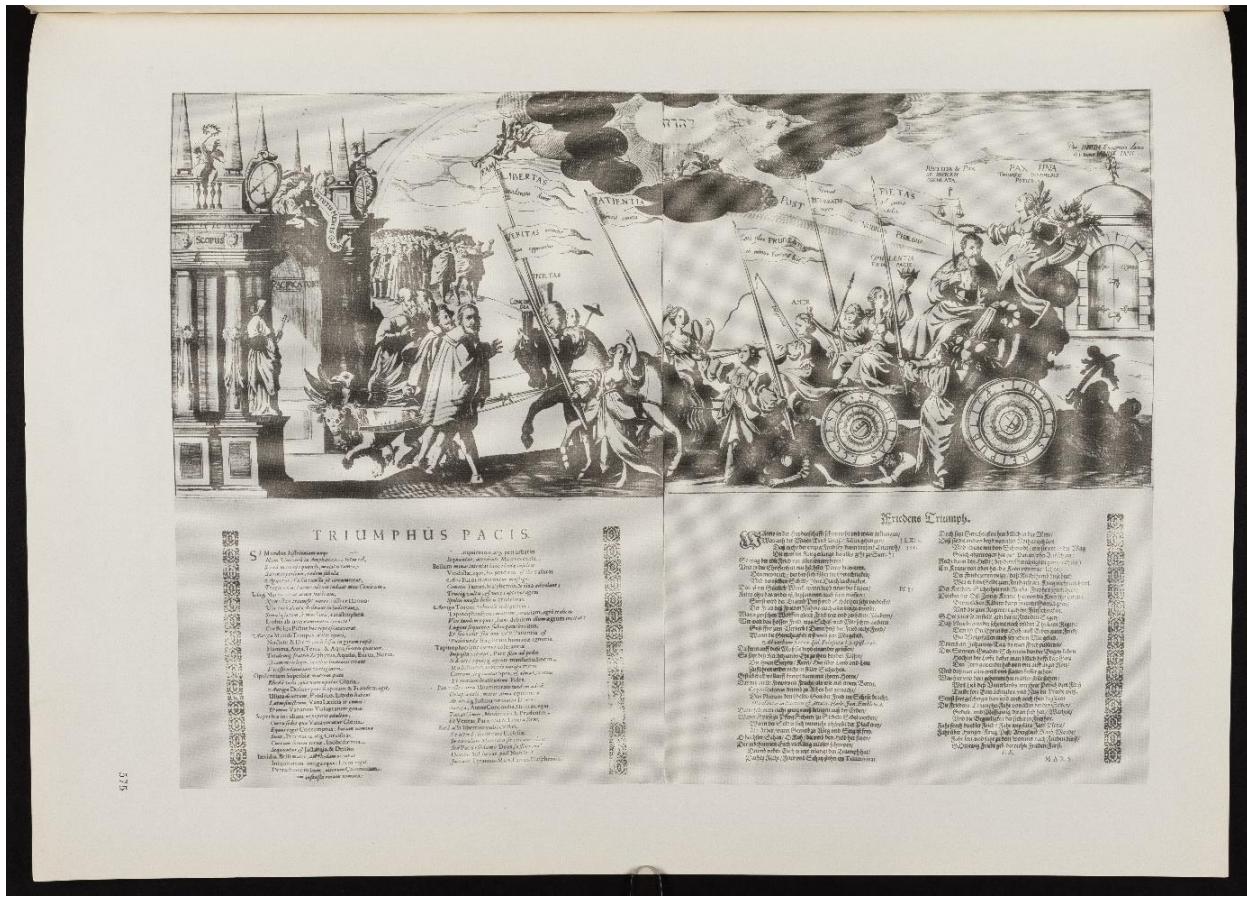


Figure 4.8. *Triumphus Pacis*. Friedens Triumph, [Kursachsen]: [s.n.], [1650] (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 249.1). Used with permission.⁷⁸ In this broadsheet, the Temple of Janus is depicted.

The broadsheets *Lang=verlangte Friedens=Freude* and *Triumphus Pacis* both depict the elector's return to his territory and emphasize the image of John George as peace maker.⁷⁹ Since both broadsheets originated in Saxony, it is logical to assume they were

⁷⁸ Although Wolfgang Harms included the broadsheet *Triumphus Pacis* in his catalogue of broadsheets *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter* that are held at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, the librarians in Wolfenbüttel could not locate said broadsheet with the call number IH 249.1. Either, Harms erroneously cited a wrong call number, or the broadsheet was bound into a print or manuscript during or after Harms's work on his catalogue. Thus, this illustration here is a high-resolving image of the catalogue. Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 574–75.

⁷⁹ Johann Müller, *Lang-verlangte Friedens-Freude: Dem Durchlauchtigsten Hochgeborenen Fürsten und Herrn/ Herrn Johann Georgen/ Hertzogen zu Sachsen/ Jülich/ Cleve und Berg ... Zu schuldiger Ehrerweisung und Glückwünschung wegen deß ... Jubel-Frieden-Jahres/ so nach Christi Geburt das 1650ste war/ Gehorsambst und Unterthänigst verfertiget und übergeben/ von Johann Müllern/ Kunstbeßissen* (Leipzig: Lanckisch, 1650), Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel: IH 241, accessed September 29, 2020, <http://digilib.hab.de/drucke/ih-241/start.htm>; Harms, Schilling and Wang, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Band 2: Historica*, 547–77.

designed to the elector's liking. *Lang=verlangte Friedens=Freude* is even dedicated to the Saxon elector. They are based on the final engraving in Maarten van Heemskerck's collection *Circulus vicissitudinis rerum humanarum* from 1561. Heemskerck figured the chariot with Peace as its charioteer (see figure 4.9).⁸⁰ *Circulus vicissitudinis* shows the ever-changing circle of human life with peace as its final stage, which again is superseded by the first stage of prosperity. Thus, by illustrating John George as personified Peace, the Saxon prints imply that the elector had reached the final and supreme stage of humanity. The broadsheets from Saxony are more concrete and representational than the purely metaphorical engraving by Heemskerck; both Saxon illustrations refer to an actual historical situation and *Lang=verlangte Friedens=Freude* shows the city of Dresden in the background.

⁸⁰ Heemskerck's cycle *Circulus vicissitudinis rerum humanarum* shows in nine engravings the continual stages of history, which metaphorically are leading the chariot of life: personified Prosperity, Pride, Envy, War, Poverty, Humility, and finally Peace (plus a title page) are depicted as charioteers. It was created for the procession for the feast of the Circumcision (1 January) in Antwerp in 1561. See Maarten van Heemskerck and Hieronymus Cock, "Triomfwagen met Vrede (Pax)," in *Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: Online Collection*, ed. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam; *Circulus Vicissitudinis Rerum Humanarum*, 1564 (series title), object number: RP-P-1911-439, accessed March 4, 2019, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.322748>.



Figure 4.9. Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), Triomfwagen met Vrede (Pax), Antwerp: [s.n.], 1564 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: RP-P-1911-439). Licensed under CC0 1.0. This engraving shows the last stage of the circle of human life.

Like Heemskerck's work, the Saxon imitations brim over with symbols. In *Lang=verlangte Friedens=Freude*, we see five victory columns that are reminiscent of Trajan's Column in Rome commemorating the Roman emperor Trajan (r. 98–117). The broadsheet *Triumphus Pacis* not only depicts John George I as personified Justice moving toward a triumphal arc, but also offers a representation of a closed Temple of Janus—a symbol of peace—which John George had closed in passing. Schütz's preface in the manuscript of *Da pacem Domine* (SWV 465), composed for the *Kurfürstentag* in Mühlhausen, thematizes the symbol of the Temple of Janus as well:

The undefeatable Emperor Ferdinand may live, and the holiest Electors of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, the most glorious Electors of Bavaria, Saxony, and Brandenburg, Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, the sublime seven men, the Lords of our German land, joyous protectors and *bringers of peace!* So that those, with the support and help of the highest and eternal God, *after the Temple of Janus is tightly locked, stabilize the altar of peace and freedom in the Imperial Mühlhausen;* Heinrich Schütz, chapel master of the most august Elector of Saxony pleads for this and expresses his wish in nine voices.⁸¹

In summary, throughout the Thirty Year's War, John George's image was forged to portray an image of the "peaceful prince;" that is to say, of an elector who is closing the Temple of Janus and leading Saxony into a burgeoning future (which Saxony indeed had after the Swedes had left). The elector could create this representation of himself indirectly through the help of allies, such as the Holy Roman Emperor, who was favorably disposed toward John George, but also directly through printing presses and the court composer Heinrich Schütz. Both music, the paratext in scores, and visual illustrations focused on the favorable consequences of John George's good deeds. Instead of acknowledging wartime, the peace celebration and the media evaded the topics of war and suffering in Saxony. Nevertheless, media used the power of past broadsheets, music, and symbolisms such as the Temple of Janus which originated from ancient sources and were used throughout history.⁸² In this way, the past could slowly but surely be forgotten and rendered, but the presence and future were still anchored in a long bygone past. In short, Saxony's commemoration of the Peace of Westphalia by way of the Dresden *Friedensfest*, music, and print media was forward-looking while it portrayed the elector's image to be a bringer of peace.

⁸¹ As quoted in Hanheide, *Pace*, 28. [My emphasis.]

⁸² Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, "Einleitung: Friedensrepräsentationen in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Die Tonkunst* 13, no. 1 (2019): 4.

Remembering the Past—the Jewish Community and the Students during the Battle of Prague (1648)

This chapter concludes with a case study of the Battle of Prague (July 25–November 1, 1648), which was the last military campaign of the Thirty Years’ War. The Swedish offense against Prague took place while the negotiations of the Peace of Westphalia were well under way and continued even after the first news of the peace arrived at the front lines. The front line on the Bohemian side largely consisted of non-professional soldiers, mostly burghers, students alongside their professors, and the Jewish community. Although not allowed to serve in the military, the Jewish community had an essential role as firefighters and in providing weapons and gun powder. Presumably, it was the art collection of Rudolph II (1552–1612) that enticed the Swedish to loot the Prague Castle—an art theft known today as “Pražská loupež umění.” Sweden and Bohemia concluded the official armistice on November 29, 1648, and the Swedish army withdrew as late as November 3, 1648, but some Swedish troops stayed in Prague until September of the following year.

The diverse Pražané captured the events of the two-month-long siege in chronicles, diaries, statues, and songs. Both the literal as well as the architectural monuments are still alive today. The written sources, which include many reprints and range from 1648 to the mid-nineteenth century, serve as material to reconstruct the events of Prague. The history of the monuments commemorating the battle shows that the discussions about the Battle of Prague were numerous as well as long-lasting and are still ongoing.

Another facet of the Battle of Prague was its ambiguous ending, which left the population of Prague in doubt of peace. Like Nuremberg’s population, Prague’s burghers needed time to believe that peace had indeed come to the Bohemian region. The Battle of Prague ended after the majority of the Swedish army withdrew from the Bohemian capital. However, Prague’s population stayed cautious and leery, believing this to be a ploy.

Celebrations started timidly, but were numerous, diverse, and spread out over two years. A landmark of these celebrations was the festivity in the Jewish community in July 1650, at the second anniversary of the Swedish attack on the Malá Strana and the Hradčany, as well as the inauguration of the Marian column in fall of the same year. During these official acts, the peace was finally announced.

In this last part of the chapter, I argue that it is necessary to disentangle the Bohemian sources to get to the root of the Battle of Prague and its aftermath. During the Battle of Prague and for the two subsequent years, Prague's population recorded their memories in songs and chronicles and celebrated their victory. During this time, the who and what of their commemorations shifted. While from the beginning until shortly after the end of the siege, the focus lay on the fate and the bravery of the Pražané and thanksgiving for the peace, in 1650 the celebrations and inaugurations of monuments centered around the ongoing battle of the Counter-Reformation and praise of the emperor. Of course, as the sources demonstrate, Prague's population was diverse and thus their accounts offer different perspectives even if we look at a specific moment in time. However, this shift from commemorating the people of Prague to honoring the emperor and Catholicism is visible across the diverse sources, be it Catholic or Jewish, written by a soldier, a burgher, or the emperor himself.

In the following section, we will encounter the Peace of Westphalia from a Bohemian perspective through the lens of songs, celebrations, and monuments. First, two songs give an impression of coverage during the Battle of Prague and show how the experience differed for the Jewish community and the soldiers. Second, the various celebrations that occurred from November 1648 to September 1650 highlight yet again that the Thirty Years' War did not end with the signing of the peace treaty in Münster or the Nuremberg Agreement. Furthermore, these celebrations shine a light on who and what was celebrated

after the siege of Prague and how this changed over time. Finally, we will see that monuments, even if torn down, have the ability to keep memories, discussions, and stories alive into the present day.

Below, I give an incomplete overview of the literature and music composed as a response to the Battle of Prague. The authors ranged in age, economic status, and religious confession; they offered different perspectives on a single event. For instance, the student Jan Norbert Zatočil von Löwenbruck (c. 1630–1691), who fought as a musketeer in the student legion, the so-called Academic Legion, wrote a diary in Czech that he published later in his life in 1685 so that the events would be remembered in the Czech language.⁸³

⁸³ Zatočil was also known as Zatočil z Löwenbrucken. Jan Županič and Michal Fiala, “Zatočil z Löwenbrucken | Nová šlechta v českých zemích a podunajské monarchii,” Stránky archivovány národní knihovnou ČR Stránky archivovány národní knihovnou ČR, accessed July 30, 2020, <http://www.novanobilitas.eu/rod/zatocil-z-loewenbrucken>.

Zatočil's chronicle was republished since its first publication in 1685. For instance see Zatočil z Löwenbrucku, Jan Norbert, *Leto- A Denno-Pja, To Gest: Celého Královského Starého a Nowého Měst Pražských, Léta 1648: Patnácté Neděl Dnem Nocy Trwagjčyho Obleženj Ssweydskeho. Prawdivé a Vbezpečliwé Wypsání, Neyprw Léta 1685. Nynj pak z nowa, ... wytisstěný* (Praha: Jan Arnolt z Dobroslawjna nákl. Henrycha Albrechta, 1703) and Zatočil z Löwenbrucku, Jan Norbert, *Leto- a denopis celého královského Starého i Nového měst Pražských léta Páně 1648 patnácte neděl, dnem i nocí trvajícího obležení Švédského pravdivé a ubezpečlivé vypsání léta 1685* (Praha: Emil Šolc, 1914).

In the nineteenth century, Zatočil's diary was translated into German and republished in two parts in the *Monatschrift der Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen*. Zatočil von Löwenbruk, Johann Norbert, “Tagebuch der Belagerung Prags durch die Schweden im J. 1648 (April): Aus dem in böhmischer Sprache verfaßten Original in Auszug gebracht von Johann Ritter v. Rittersberg,” *Monatschrift der Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen* 1 (1827): 24; Zatočil von Löwenbruk, Johann Norbert, “Tagebuch der Belagerung Prags durch die Schweden im J. 1648 (Juni): Aus dem in böhmischer Sprache verfaßten Original in Auszug gebracht von Johann Ritter v. Rittersberg,” *Monatschrift der Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen* 1 (1827).

The impromptu soldiers of the Academic Legion went down in history as *the heroes of the battle*, which was already implied in the anonymous *Praga caput regni*. Zdeněk Hojda describes *Praga caput regni* as a propagandistic piece of the Counter-Reformation: Through the victory against the Swedes, Prague made the first step to “betterment,” which will eventually lead to conversion to Catholicism. *Praga caput regni studiis asperrima belli* (Pragae, 1649), SLUB Hist.urb.Germ.956; Zdeněk Hojda, “Der Kampf um Prag 1648 und das Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges,” in Bußmann; Schilling, *1648 - Krieg und Frieden in Europa*.

Another personal chronicle in Czech was written by poet and historian Václav František Kocmánek (Wenzel Franz Kocmanecius): *Relací, jak jest se při vzetí Menšího Města pražského a potom dále následujících dnův při obležení Starého a Nového Města dálo*. Kocmánek's manuscript was edited and published as late as the twentieth century. See also Jiřina Šedinová, “Hebrejský literární pramen k oblezení Prahy v roce 1648,” *Časopis Národního muzea v Praze* 156 (1987): 41; Řada historická; Zdeňka Tichá, ed., *Kroniky válečných dob: Lamentací země moravské, Paměti prostějovské, Paměti Kocmánkovy, Paměti Harantovy* (Praha: Mladá fronta, 1975).

The *Schwedesch lid* (Swedish song) gives an account of the events in Prague in song form, serving the function of a newspaper for the Yiddish-speaking communities in Bohemia.⁸⁴

The Prague Jew Jehuda Leb ben Jošua authored the Hebrew-language chronicle *Milchama be-šalom* (War in peace) in the years following the Peace of Westphalia.⁸⁵ His chronicle also includes a description of the celebration held in Prague in 1650—this celebration was both for the Jewish and Christian communities. An anonymous Jesuit wrote a diary in Latin in which he gave his perspective on the events in Prague.⁸⁶ The Augustinian friar Daniel Václav Himlštejn (his monastic name was Jiljí od sv. Jana Křtitele [Giles of Saint John the Baptist], ?1605–1661), from the monastery in Zderaz, Prague, added to the Latin collection of chronicles.⁸⁷ I will end this list of literary monuments with a mention of German-language sources comprised of a contemporary secular song, two reports, and a nineteenth-century chronicle, “Ach weh du armes Prag” (Oh no, you poor Prague), *Grundtliche*

Even though it was not published before the twentieth century, Kocmánek’s chronicle was discussed in the Bohemian Academy of Science in the nineteenth century. Königlich-Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, ed., *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Prag: Jahrgang 1859. Januar - Juni* (Prag: Kath. Gerzabek, 1859), 2020, 62–63.

⁸⁴ Simon Neuberg, ed., *Das ‘Schwedesch lid’: Ein westjiddischer Bericht über Ereignisse in Prag im Jahre 1648*, jidische schtudies - Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprache und Literatur der aschkenasischen Juden 8 (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 2000); Original- und lateinschriftlich ediert, mit Einleitung und Kommentar versehen und herausgegeben von Simon Neuberg, 1.

⁸⁵ For more information on Jehuda Leb ben Jošua’s life, see Šedinová, “Hebrejský literární pramen k oblézení Prahy v roce 1648,” 43. Šedinová dates the chronicle between the years 1650–54. Šedinová, “Hebrejský literární pramen k oblézení Prahy v roce 1648,” 41–44.

⁸⁶ The diary is called *Compendiosa relatio eorum, quae a 26. Julii ad usque 3. Novembris, circa parvae partis Pragensis occupationem, et aliarum duarum civitatum obsidionem et oppugnationem in dies evenerunt anno 1648*. Šedinová, “Hebrejský literární pramen k oblézení Prahy v roce 1648,” 41–42.

A German translation of the Jesuit’s diary was published in 1828 as part of several articles on the Battle of Prague in the *Monatschrift der Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen*. M. M[illauer], “Fernere Beiträge zur Geschichte der Belagerung der k. Hauptstadt Prag durch die Schweden im Jahre 1648: Ein gleichzeitiges Tagebuch darüber,” *Monatschrift der Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen* 2, Juni (1828).

⁸⁷ Himlštejn’s chronicle *Brevis relatio acis Pragensis cum Parva Parte a Suecis captae, et quid deinceps singulis diebus ibidem et in loca civitate extraque notatum dignum utrinque contigerit* was published in Latin. See Alfred Jensen, *Smärre bidrag till det trettioåriga krigets historia (1639–1648)* (Göteborg: Zachrisson, 1910), accessed July 30, 2020, https://digital.ub.umu.se/resolve?urn=urn:19a_000023:0059, 56–87; Martin Svatoš, “Jiljí od sv. Jana Křtitele: Trojčízajónost v českém prostředí,” accessed July 31, 2020, <https://www.advojka.cz/archiv/2006/47/jilji-od-sv-jana-ktitele>.

Relation, and a report written by Count Rudolf von Colloredo (1585–1657), one of the celebrated heroes of the Battle of Prague, to be sent to the emperor.⁸⁸ Last but not least, a chronicle titled *Der Schwede vor Prag* (The Swede outside of Prague) retells the history of the Swedish attack for Austrian's youth.⁸⁹

All of these literary monuments convey a similar picture of the Battle of Prague: Brave burghers fighting in temporary companies for their city and their lives. The Swedish army who captured the Prague Castle had an overwhelming number of soldiers and weapons, and a great deal of gunpowder. Nevertheless, the Swedes could not enter the Old Town since the company under Count Colloredo consistently fought off the enemy when they tried to cross the Charles Bridge. The written sources, however, differ in what they focus on, depending on the author and the target audience.

The extant songs on the Battle of Prague give insight into the siege from a close temporal distance and, thus, provide a rather raw and unrefined experience. As might be expected, sources from authors of different confessional or societal groups emphasize certain events over others. For instance, the Jewish sources—the *Schwedesch lid* and *Milchama be-šalom*—include more about the fate of the Jewish community. The

⁸⁸ The song “Ach weh du armes Prag” is published in Johannes Bolte, “Kleine Mitteilung. Zum deutschen Volksliede,” *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 13 (1903): 217, accessed August 3, 2020, <https://books.google.com/books?id=dWMKAAAAIAAJ>. See also August Hartmann, ed., *Historische Volkslieder und Zeitgedichte vom sechzehnten bis neunzehnten Jahrhundert: Erster Band: Bis zum Ende des dreißigjährigen Krieges* (München: Beck, 1907) Mit Unterstützung der historischen Kommission der K. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, <https://archive.org/details/historischevolk00kommgoog/page/n4/mode/2up>, accessed August 2, 2020, 333–35; *Grundtliche Relation: Desen so Sich von 26. Iulij. Alsz Königs Marck die Klein Seitten/ sambt dem Präger Schloß ein bekommen/ Biß auf Den 2. Novembris desz 1648 Jahrs. sonderlich Bey Belägerung Aldt vndt Newer Stadt Prag/ zu getragen/ vndt wie endtlichen der Schwedische Generalissimus Pfaltz Graff Carl Gustavus, mit Schaden dar vor Abzuziehen ver vrsachet worden.* ([Prag], 1648), TU Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek: Gü 10715, accessed July 20, 2020, <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Gue-10715-5/0001>; M. M[illauer], “Fernere Beiträge zur Geschichte der Belagerung der k. Hauptstadt Prag durch die Schweden im Jahre 1648 (Fortsetzung): Ein Bericht vom k. k. Feldmarschall Grafen Colloredo darüber,” *Monatschrift der Gesellschaft des vaterländischen Museums in Böhmen* 2, Oktober (1828).

⁸⁹ Isidor Proschko, *Der Schwede vor Prag: Historisches Gemälde vom Jahre 1648 mit Bildern aus der alten Königsstadt Prag*, Oesterreichische Volks- und Jugendschriften zur Hebung der Vaterlandsliebe V (Wien: Manz'sche k. k. Hof-Verlags- und Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1877).

Schwedesch lid retells in 88 rhyming stanzas (AABBA) the events of Prague. It was printed at least twice and represents one of about fifty extant “historical songs” in Yiddish from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that can be classified as *khidushim lider* or “news songs.”⁹⁰ These *khidushim lider* retell and remember a current, often catastrophic event. According to Chava Turniansky, their main purpose was “an immediate, realistic portrayal of an event for a contemporary public.”⁹¹ However, some of these songs were sung in commemoration of the event’s anniversary, often to a well-known melody.⁹² In the case of the *Schwedesch lid*, there are still enigmas to solve. We do not know whether it was sung at the celebrated anniversary of the Swedish attack in 1650 (the reprint might signal that it was part of the active repertoire) or to which tune(s) the text was sung.

The *Schwedesch lid* offers a recounting of the Battle of Prague from a Jewish perspective. Like many of the other texts, the song mentions the initial attack of the Swedes, how Count Colloredo fled from the besieged New Town to the Old Town, and then drummed up and put together an army of students. The song praises the courage of the students and their professors.⁹³ The *Schwedesch lid*, however, also tells about the contributions of the Jewish community to the city’s defense. The Prague Jews supported the fight against the Swedes financially by paying high dues and by working as firefighters.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Chone Shmeruk, *Prokim fun der yidisher literatur-geshikhte* (Tel-Aviv 1988), 93, as cited in Evi Butzer, Nathanja Hüttenmeister, and Wolfgang Treue, “Ich will euch sagen von einem bösen Stück ...’: Ein jiddisches Lied über sexuelle Vergehen und deren Bestrafung aus dem frühen 17. Jahrhundert,” *ASCHKENAS - Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur der Juden* 15, no. 1 (2005): 25.

The *Schwedesch lid* is extant in two sources. The Bodleian Library in Oxford, UK, stores the only complete print of the *Schwedesch lid*. An incomplete and different print can be found at the “Bibliothek Wagenson” at the University of Erlangen, Germany. Neuberg, *Das ‘Schwedesch lid’*, 1.

⁹¹ Chava Turniansky, “Yiddish ‘Historical’ Songs as Sources for the History of the Jews in Pre-partition Poland,” *Polin: a Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies* 4 (1989): 42.

⁹² Butzer, Hüttenmeister and Treue, “Ich will euch sagen von einem bösen Stück ...’,” 25, 46.

⁹³ Neuberg, *Das ‘Schwedesch lid’*, stanzas 12–15.

⁹⁴ Ibid., stanzas 21–23, 29–31.

The song does not shy away from mourning the casualties among the Jewish community. For instance, only the Jewish sources recount the death of a Jew at the hands of an Imperial soldier.⁹⁵ In short, in the Yiddish and Hebrew sources, the *Schwedesch lid* and the chronicle *Milchama be-šalom*, the deeds of and fatalities among Prague's Jews take up more space than in other sources. And yet, the author of the *Schwedesch lid* feared the destruction of Prague as a whole, not only the Jewish ghetto, and recounted how the Jewish and Christian Pražané fought the Swedes side-by-side.

Like the *Schwedesch lid*, the anonymous German-language song “Ach weh du armes Prag” recounts the Battle of Prague, although only in twelve stanzas. “Ach weh du armes Prag” was published as an easily portable octavo in four leaves. The print is adorned with a woodcut depicting a soldier or a herald. Neither printer nor year are given.⁹⁶ The stanzas in both songs follow the same rhyme scheme, so they could have been sung to the same tune. (The tune of “Ach weh du armes Prag” remains unknown, but its incipit was used to signify the tune of other songs, so it must have been well-known beyond Prague and the year 1648.)⁹⁷ Due to their structural similarity, Simon Neuberg suspects the *Schwedesch lid* to

⁹⁵ Neuberg, *Das 'Schwedesch lid'*, stanza 25. A recount of this murder can also be found in *Milchama be-šalom*. This chronicle states that the Imperial soldier went to the gallows the following day, July 29. Neuberg, *Das 'Schwedesch lid'*, 88.

⁹⁶ The song was published with two other secular songs in a print. *Drey schöne neue Weltliche Lieder. Das Erste: Ach weh du armes Prag, etc. Das Ander: Ich bin ein armer Cavalier, etc. Das dritte: Wie geschicht mir, bin ich truncken, etc.* as cited in Hartmann, *Historische Volkslieder und Zeitgedichte vom sechzehnten bis neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 335. Hartmann mentions that the print is held at the Salzburg Museum (formerly Carolino-Augustum). Unfortunately, I could not confirm that. Hartmann, *Historische Volkslieder und Zeitgedichte vom sechzehnten bis neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 335.

⁹⁷ For instance, the anonymous prints *Drey schöne Geistliche Lieder* and *Ermunternde Geistliche Seelen-Lust* include each a song sung to the tune “Ach weh du armes Prag.” See *Drey schöne Geistliche Lieder: Das Erste: Menschen-Spiegel oder Todten-Tantz. Im Thon: Ach weh du armes Prag; Das Ander: Mein Geschrey geht durch die Lüfft, biß es Gott zu Ehren geht, [etc.]; Das Dritte: Ich habe die gantze Nacht gewacht, allerliebstes Jesulein, [etc.]* ([S.1.], [s.n.], [s.a. ca. 1700]), accessed August 3, 2020, <https://www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/id/1858481>; *Ermunternde Geistliche Seelen-Lust, oder Neu-vermehrtes Gesang-Büchlein In welchem Neben den gebräuchlichsten Kirchen-Gesängen, auch viel andere, theils neue und sonderbare, Geist- Lehr- und Trostreiche Lieder [...] zu finden*, 4th ed. (Altdorf: Trew, 1686), accessed August 3, 2020, <https://books.google.com/books?id=ZdxhAAACAAJ>, 215.

be a response to “Ach weh du armes Prag.”⁹⁸ The Jewish author of *Schwedesch lid* could well have reacted to the German-language song, especially because of its antisemitic stanza, in which Jews are accused of enriching themselves during the siege. Both songs were current and were most likely sung during or right after the Battle of Prague. However, whereas the *Schwedesch lid* gives information about the end of the siege, the German-language song ends in the midst of clashes.

The twelfth and final stanza of “Ach weh du armes Prag” depicts the silencing of music and merry-making in light of the Swedish bombardment:

Bey mancher Gasterey
Musten Spilleut die meng seyn,
Musicanten mancherley;
Aber jetzt hört man anders singen,
Nichts dan Stück und Mußqueten klingen,
Damit ist man kostfrey.⁹⁹

During some time in the pubs
There had to be many jesters,
Musicians of all kinds;
But now we hear other kinds of singing,
Nothing but bombs and muskets sound,
Then no one has to pay.

The author of the song “Ach weh du armes Prag” gave *their* impression of the events in Prague. The antisemitism and the defense of soldiers, in general, suggest that the author was most likely a Catholic soldier. Besides the initial attack of the Swedes, the author emphasized the changing soundscape, admired the strength of the Swedish army, and pointed to the fact that, notwithstanding the economic status, all members of the Prague population had to fight and endure the siege. The author also derided the cowardliness of an Imperial commander who was fleeing the battle scene. Both the German and Yiddish song seem to target commoners—soldiers, literate and illiterate burghers, or Jews who did

Moreover, Johannes Bolte names four instances of songs sung to the tune of “Ach weh du armes Prag.” Hence, the tune must have been well known in the seventeenth century. He, furthermore, mentions that the song “Ach weh du armes Prag” was published as late as c. 1700 in the collection *Gantz neuer Hans guck in die Welt*, published by Johann and Jonathan Felseckern in Nuremberg. Bolte, “Kleine Mitteilung. Zum deutschen Volksliede,” 218.

⁹⁸ Neuberg, *Das ‘Schwedesch lid’*, 98–99.

⁹⁹ Bolte, “Kleine Mitteilung. Zum deutschen Volksliede,” 218. [My emphasis.]

not necessarily speak Hebrew—and are reminiscent of an eyewitness commentary that does not reflect on the events. The *Schwedesch lid* and “Ach weh du armes Prag” were used to inform the commoners about the siege, help them digest it, and provide remembrance.

Prague celebrated its victory in stages, which mirrors the initial wariness of the Pražané and their disbelief in true peace. Interestingly, most of these stages include some kind of vow to remember the Battle of Prague eternally. Many celebrations also included praising Emperor Ferdinand III for the peace, often done in conjunction with the singing of well-known hymns. The first celebratory moments happened after the Swedes withdrew from Prague on November 1, 1648. According to the diary written by the student and musketeer Zatočil, the church bells started ringing and called the Prague’s Catholic population into the Church of Our Lady before Týn (Týnský chrám) and the Church of St. Henry and Kunigunde, respectively, as soon as the news reached Prague’s Old and New Town.¹⁰⁰ The city rejoiced by singing “Herr Gott, wir loben dich” (*Te Deum laudamus*), and the magistrates of the Old and New Town vowed to annually celebrate All Saints Day in “eternal remembrance” with the entire population of Prague including servants and all guilds.¹⁰¹ Already in this first timid celebration of the peace, a vow was made to remember the event for all times in an annual celebration of a traditional Catholic feast day. This vow amalgamated confessional discord in Prague and the victory of Prague.

According to Proschko’s nineteenth-century chronicle, the news from Osnabrück reached Prague on November 3, 1648. The city welcomed the messenger who announced the Peace of Westphalia with another outburst into “Herr Gott, wir loben dich.” Prague was

¹⁰⁰ Zatočil names the church of St. Henry (St. Heinrichskirche). It is safe to assume that he described the Church of St. Henry and Kunigunde (Kostel sv. Jindřicha a sv. Kunhuty).

¹⁰¹ Zatočil von Löwenbruk, Johann Norbert, “Tagebuch der Belagerung Prags durch die Schweden im J. 1648 (Juni),” 34–35.

jubilant and praised the emperor.¹⁰² Three days later, on November 6, the withdrawal of the Swedes and the peace was celebrated with church services and processions, including a German-language sermon preached at the church of St. Henry and Cunigunde.¹⁰³ The mass at St. Henry and Cunigunde was followed by a celebratory procession of thanksgiving. The parade consisted of generals, soldiers, students, and countless burghers who passed the remnants of war on their way to the Týnský chrám. There, Father Florius celebrated a Pontifical High Mass and read a sermon in Czech. The service ended with a communal singing of “Tebe Bože chválíme” (*Te Deum laudamus*) and other Czech hymns.¹⁰⁴

The accounts of chorale singing after the Swedish withdrawal are congruent with the music performed at the metropolitan cathedral of St. Vitus—the seat of the archbishop—in 1648, which was limited to chorales sung by a small number of choristers. After Prague’s artistic heyday under Rudolph II, the early seventeenth century looked and sounded rather meager. St. Vitus did not have an instrumental ensemble and choir until 1651, when Ferdinand III endowed an ensemble of twelve musicians to perform figural music. At about the same time, students at Jesuit schools learned to sing and play, and through Jesuit connections new musical scores reached Prague, which led to new artistic

¹⁰² Proschko, *Der Schwede vor Prag*, 133.

¹⁰³ The sermon was based on the biblical verse “Wenn du erzürnt gewen sein wirst, o Herr, wirst du dich deiner Barmherzigkeit erinnern” (When you will have been angry, o Lord, you will remember your mercy). This verse refers to Deuteronomy 4:25–31. *Ibid.*, 132.

¹⁰⁴ František Krásl, ed., *Arnošt Hrabě Harrach, Kardinál Sv. Církve Římské a Kníže, Arcibiskup Pražský: Historickokritické Vypsání Náboženských Poměrů V Čechách Od Roku 1623–1667*, Dědictví Sv. Prokopa w Praze 20 (Praha: Dědictví Sv. Prokopa, 1886), 546–47. Although Krásl presumably described the life of the Count and Archbishop of Prague Arnošt Vojtěch z Harrachu (Ernst Adalbert von Harrach, 1598–1667), Harrach was not present in Prague in November 1648. Thus, the masses and procession took place without the archbishop. As Harrach’s Italian and German language diaries show, the Swedish troops led by Hans Christoffel von Königsmarck (1600–1663) took the archbishop captive in the night of July 26, 1648. Eventually Harrach was freed on September 7, 1648, and immediately left Prague. See Ernst A. von Harrach, Katrin Keller and Alessandro Catalano, eds., *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667): Band 3: Diarium 1647–1654*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs 104/3 (Wien: Böhlau, 2010), 149–76; Ernst A. von Harrach, Katrin Keller and Alessandro Catalano, eds., *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667): Band 5: Tagzettel 1644–1654*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs 104/5 (Wien: Böhlau, 2010), 529–31.

advancements. The Loreta in Prague was another space of the cultivation of figural music thanks to financial support of the aristocracy.¹⁰⁵

December 10, 1648, signaled some kind of normalcy with the reopening of the university. According to Proschko, the Academic Legion dissolved; the students gathered and then marched to military music to the Old Town Square, where they returned their weapons. The military music honored the students one last time before they left the Academic Legion and returned to their studies. From the square, they continued to the Carolinum from where their journey as soldiers had started months earlier. There the students and Count Colloredo acknowledged the university flag as a sign of victory—now riddled with holes because of the Swedish cannon shots. According to a nineteenth-century description of the Battle of Prague, this flag was kept in the university hall to “eternally remember” the students’ bravery.¹⁰⁶ Like the congregation in the previous example singing specific hymns, the students used means already endowed with well-known codes—military music, processions, a contorted oath of allegiance pledged to the university flag—to celebrate and commemorate the Battle of Prague.

From December 1648, the documentation of events in the sources takes a hiatus until September 1649. The *Schwedesch lid* mentions the complete pull-out of Swedish troops from Prague on September 30, 1649 and the subsequent *fraid-schis* (cannon shots of joy).¹⁰⁷ 1649 and 1650 mark the years in which several commemorative monuments were built: the Old Town Bridge Tower—the entrance to the Charles Bridge—was adorned with

¹⁰⁵ Robert L. Kendrick, *Singing Jeremiah: Music and Meaning in Holy Week*, Music and the Early Modern Imagination (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 65; Jiří Štefan, “Hudba v katedrále v období baroka,” in *Pražské arcibiskupství 1344–1994: sborník statí o jeho působení a významu v české zemi*, ed. Zdeňka Hledíková and Jaroslav V. Polc (Praha: Zvon, 1994), 197–98.

¹⁰⁶ Proschko, *Der Schwede vor Prag*, 139–40.

¹⁰⁷ Neuberg, *Das ‘Schwedesch lid’*, stanza 82–83.

a memorial panel remembering that this tower was the last target of the Swedes and that this will not be the last sign of Prague's bravery.¹⁰⁸ (A second inscription can still be found on the Charles Bridge today recalling the Battle of Prague: "Rest here, walker, and be joyous: you can stop here willingly, but the Swedes and their Vandalic ferocity were stopped unwillingly.")¹⁰⁹ The famous painter Karel Škréta (1610–74) and an Augustine friar named Jindřich honored Jiří Plachý, the Jesuit professor who led the Academic Legion, with a painting and a statue, respectively. Eternalizing the Jesuit Plachý in a statue quasi- eternalized Catholicism. Furthermore, Emperor Ferdinand III decreed the construction of a Marian column on the Old Town Square for eternal remembrance.¹¹⁰ The Marian column and the statue of Plachý are examples of the melding of patriotic concerns with efforts of the Counter-Reformation. It seemed that the Jesuits, supported by Ferdinand III, won on both the confessional and military frontline.¹¹¹

For 1650, we have Jewish and Catholic accounts of grand celebrations. Although these accounts remember the events from the perspective of the confessional divide, they also show how the who and what of the celebrations changed after the end of the Battle of Prague. In July 1650, all Swedish troops left Bohemia and Moravia and the peace seemed

¹⁰⁸ The inscription reads: "Haec turris Gothici fuit ultima meta furoris/ Sed fidei non est haec ultima meta Bohemae." Zatočil von Löwenbruk, Johann Norbert, "Tagebuch der Belagerung Prags durch die Schweden im J. 1648 (Juni)," 39.

¹⁰⁹ "SISTE VIATOR, SED LUBENS, AC VOLENS UBI SISTERE DEBUIT, SED COACTUS GOTHORUM, AC VANDALORUM FUROR."

¹¹⁰ Krásl, Arnošt Hrabě Harrach, Kardinál Sv. Církve Římské a Kníže, Arcibiskup Pražský, 546–47. Kalina dates the edict on April 22, 1650, which would mean that the column was built in the subsequent year. Ferdinand specified the shape as well as the monument's location. The Marian column in Prague should resemble the Marian column in Vienna. Walter F. Kalina, "Die Mariensäulen in Wernstein am Inn (1645/47), Wien (1664/66), München (1637/38) und Prag (1650)," *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, 2004, 59; Zatočil von Löwenbruk, Johann Norbert, "Tagebuch der Belagerung Prags durch die Schweden im J. 1648 (Juni)," 39.

¹¹¹ For more information on the amalgamation of the Battle of Prague and the Counter-Reformation, see Howard Louthan, "The Charles Bridge and Czech Identity," *The National Council for Eurasian and East European Research*, 2003, 7–8; Title XIII Program.

to have developed into a positive peace. In his chronicle *Milchama be-šalom*, Jehuda Leb ben Jošua describes the festivities of July 24, 1650, the second anniversary of the Swedes conquering the Malá Strana and the Hradčany. All Pražané, notwithstanding their economic, social, or religious strata, celebrated loudly and proclaimed peace with joy. Drums, trumpets, and *Frejdšus* (cannon shots of joy) infused Prague's soundscape. The author praised the emperor for his goodwill toward Jews and Christians of all kinds, which probably was a performative act only. According to the chronicle, the Jewish community received permission to hold merriment, which included processions in the Jewish ghetto. Jewish men dressed up in festive clothing. They carried two banners through the streets of the city as a sign of freedom to all nations, and between the two banners, they carried a canopy and a Torah scroll beneath it. Furthermore, musicians played different musical instruments, including cymbals and trumpets. The synagogue singers sang "Mi še-berach," the Jewish prayer for healing, which is traditionally uttered before the Torah is read. The author emphasized that the prayer was sung in honor of the emperor, his son, and all the nobility. Yet again, it is the emperor who is praised while the community joyfully celebrated themselves. In the evening, they lit a *Frejdfojr* (fire of joy) by burning a tower built specifically for this purpose so it could be seen from afar. Finally, after two years of occupation by the Swedish army, it was a fire of joy, not burning buildings hit by cannonballs that illuminated the city. It seemed like the Prague Jews truly believed there was peace for once.¹¹²

In all these events, we observe Prague's population processing, gathering, celebrating with hymns, bursting out in joy; all of this in conjunction with eternal remembrance and the praise of the emperor. It seems as if the Pražané drew on what they

¹¹² Šedinová, "Hebrejský literární pramen k oblézení Prahy v roce 1648," 45–46.

knew (the music, processions) and what they were expected to do (thank God and the emperor) in order to be merry and celebrate.

The memory attached to certain practices and monuments changed over time and, as we will see, is still debated today. On September 30, 1650, the Marian column, the symbol of victory, but also of the Counter-Reformation, was unveiled in a solemn ceremony at the Old Town Square. The statue in itself—the wrestling angels and devils adorning the pedestal as well as the inscription—refers to the military and confessional fight.¹¹³ Ferdinand III commissioned not only the Marian column but also decreed regular processions from the Týnský chrám to the column on all Saturdays and Marian feast days. The canon of St. Vitus led these processions and conducted the singing of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary.¹¹⁴ The Jesuits and their students, in collaboration with the city council, were also involved in the processions to the Marian column. Starting from the Clementinum, they processed to the Old Town Square on Marian feast days.¹¹⁵ Although the devotional practice—and thus the Counter-Reformation—was not held in favor by all residents, the city council supported these devotional acts by roping off the statue and by cordoning off the Old Town Square during processions. No market was to be held during the prayer meeting and no traffic was allowed on the square. Moreover, they forbade the

¹¹³ “VIrgInI genItrICI sIne orIgInIs Labe ConCeptae et LIberatae UrbIs ergo. Caesar pIVs et IVstVs hanC statVaM ponIt” (The pious and righteous emperor erected this statue for the Mother of God who had conceived without the hereditary sin and for the liberation of Prague.). The inscription also functioned as chronogram. The capital letters in the inscription refer to Roman numbers and indicate the year of the erection of the Marian column, which was 1650. Proschko, *Der Schwede vor Prag*, 145–46. Before the cornerstone of the statue was laid, Ferdinand III relocated the public court from the Old Town Square. The Marian column seemed irreconcilable with the location of the *Blutsgericht* of Prague in 1621. Kalina, “Die Mariensäulen in Wernstein am Inn (1645/47), Wien (1664/66), München (1637/38) und Prag (1650),” 60–61.

¹¹⁴ Proschko, *Der Schwede vor Prag*, 146.

¹¹⁵ Zdeněk Hojda, “Der Kampf um Prag 1648 und das Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges,” in Bußmann; Schilling, *1648 - Krieg und Frieden in Europa*; Zatočil von Löwenbruk, Johann Norbert, “Tagebuch der Belagerung Prags durch die Schweden im J. 1648 (Juni),” 39.

Jews from entering the Old Town Square during processions.¹¹⁶ The meaning of the statue shifted quickly from celebrating the victory of the Pražané over the Swedish army to being a monument of the Counter-Reformation and Catholicism.

The Marian column seems to traverse meaning and memory. First, in 1650, the meaning changed from being the place of celebrating and remembering the fight against the Swedes to offering a space for Catholic prayer meeting, thus for counter-reformational thoughts and ideas. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the meaning changed drastically yet again. In 1918, when Czechoslovakia declared independence from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, a crowd tore the column down in a spontaneous act since they saw it as a monument of the Catholic Habsburg overlords in Bohemia. In 1990, the Společnosti pro obnovu mariánského sloupu na Staroměstském náměstí v Praze (Society for the re-erection of the Marian column) was founded.¹¹⁷ In 1993, it installed a memorial panel in the ground at the column's original location. It read, "Here stood and will stand again the Marian column."¹¹⁸ And, indeed, in 2020, a copy of the Marian column was erected on Prague's Old Town Square.¹¹⁹

The debate over whether this column is a monument in remembrance of Prague's bravery in the Thirty Years' War or whether it signifies the Counter-Reformation or the Habsburg overlords will continue. This statue engaged and still engages many individuals

¹¹⁶ Kalina, "Die Mariensäulen in Wernstein am Inn (1645/47), Wien (1664/66), München (1637/38) und Prag (1650)," 60.

¹¹⁷ Společnosti pro obnovu mariánského sloupu na Staroměstském náměstí v Praze, accessed August 4, 2020, <https://www.marianskysloup.cz/>.

¹¹⁸ "ZDE STÁL A OPĚT BUDE STÁT MARIÁNSKÝ SLOUP." The city magistrates ordered the words "and will stand again" to be removed. Kalina, "Die Mariensäulen in Wernstein am Inn (1645/47), Wien (1664/66), München (1637/38) und Prag (1650)," 61; Společnosti pro obnovu mariánského sloupu na Staroměstském náměstí v Praze, "ZDE STÁL A OPĚT BUDE STÁT MARIÁNSKÝ SLOUP," accessed August 4, 2020, <https://www.marianskysloup.cz/clanky/aktuality/zde-stal-a-opet-bude-stat-mariansky-sloup.html>.

¹¹⁹ ORF.at, "Kopie der Mariensäule in Prag aufgestellt," accessed August 3, 2020, <https://www.orf.at/stories/3168349/>.

and their memories, including those who pass by the statue, those who read about the statue, those who were involved in efforts of its re-erection, and those who were opposed to having a copy of the statue in the Old Town Square. Regardless of what thoughts the Marian column evokes in individuals, it is a monument that still moves the Pražané. Thus, the chroniclers and writers of songs and diaries might have achieved their goal of eternally remembering the Battle of Prague.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I investigated how Nuremberg, Dresden, and Prague welcomed the Peace of Westphalia in 1650. Although all three cities theoretically celebrated the same event, on closer consideration, it becomes clear that each city had their own story to commemorate: Nuremberg solemnized the conclusion of the *Friedensexekutionskongress*, Dresden praised the returning elector and his role in the peace process and the Peace of Westphalia, and Prague celebrated not only the victory over the Swedes but the bravery of Prague's population and the Counter-Reformation.

In all cases, media, including music, were used to construct and now help us reconstruct a historical narrative. Different media captured the numerous peace processes and celebrations in Europe, which enable us today to comprehend these events on a deeper level. Reenactments of events, such as the crossbow tournament in Nuremberg that brought together erstwhile enemies in a “silent” sportive competition, are only possible thanks to broadsheets as well as Klaj and von Birken’s writings. The analysis of chronicles, songs, and monuments lets us grasp Prague’s fate in the 1648 fighting of the Swedes and their subsequent celebrations. Although the various authors described the events from their

own confessional and temporal points of view, the chroniclers and songwriters gave an image that largely overlapped.

Media also functioned as historical and political agents. Broadsheets, songs, sheet music, or reports recounted, commented on, and thus shaped the contemporaneous understanding of the course of events. Schütz's *Symphoniae sacrae III*, official celebrations, and broadsheets forged an image of John George I's story as a peaceful prince that was specific to Saxony. Through such media, Saxony and its elector re-narrated and improved its image. John George painted himself as an active force of the peace process, both musically and through images. In short, various media tell different stories of the peace process, and there are different stories in media. Thus, only when taking into account the complexity of the media themselves, their usage, and the multiple stories implied by them, can we come closer to understanding the situation of Europe in the time of the Thirty Years' War.

Sonic media, in particular, were involved in the writing of historiography. Songs and concertos helped to transmit and support information. For instance, in Prague, the songs on the Battle of Prague recounted the Swedish attack and the bravery of the burghers, the chorales reinforced the rectitude of the Counter-Reformation, while in Saxony John George I's power and importance were strengthened through Schütz's *geistliches Konzert*. Soundscapes, too, played an important role. They assisted in progressing wartime into a time of peace, as the story of Nuremberg's *Steckenreiterklippe* exemplified. The stick horse incident made the changing soundscape of Nuremberg after the *Friedensexekutionstag* more tangible.

This chapter emphasized the broad range of music and media that accompanied the final steps of the peace process in 1650. Music was both commissioned by sovereigns and composed by commoners. Rulers and commoners wanted *their* truths to be remembered,

and music helped to do so. Music transcends the events at which it is performed, be it a devotional procession to a Marian column to thank the Blessed Virgin Mary for defeating the Swedes, or the procession of the envoys to the Nuremberg Castle to sign the Nuremberg Agreement. In both incidents, music was one piece of the puzzle that made the peace—this new era that did not simply start with signing the Treaty of Westphalia—fathomable. And maybe most importantly, music was readily available, easy to disseminate, and touched the mind and body.

CONCLUSION

Choir singers congregate under the sweeping ceiling of an imposing cathedral. They are about ten members of a well-established ensemble with a long tradition, all wearing identical garb. Together they are waiting for the cue to start singing one of the most important concerts of the year, the concert for Christmas Eve. The space around them is sprawling, it is sacred, the access is extremely limited, hardly anyone is allowed to be inside, yet it carries so much meaning for so many people. With this concert, these singers and the music they perform bring the memory of a decades-long tradition to thousands of people, while also commemorating the present moment, and presenting hope for the future.

This highly directed event did not take place in the early modern period, but rather on December 19, 2020, as the first concert held at the Notre-Dame cathedral after the 2019 Notre-Dame de Paris fire. The concert was broadcast on Christmas Eve 2020 to French households via television (and it reached the entire world via livestream).¹ Indeed, the musicians did wear specialized garb—construction gear and safety helmets due to the risk of falling debris. Like the fire eighteen months earlier, this event filled the newspapers, the online news, and prompted social media users to tweet about their reactions to hearing music resound for the first time in *their* cathedral.² The diocese called it a “highly symbolic

¹ The Chœur d'adultes of Maîtrise Notre-Dame de Paris with soprano Julie Fuchs, cellist Gautier Capuçon, and organist Yves Castagnet sung and played under musical director Henri Chalet. Stéphane Bern and Jean-Pierre Devillers, *Notre-Dame de Paris - Le Concert de Noël* (France.tv studio; France Télévisions, 2021), video, accessed February 11, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GtIbhHxu1fU&t=455s>.

² For coverage in newspapers and TV, see, for instance, Dagmar Breitenbach, “Notre Dame: Christmas Concert in an Empty Cathedral,” Deutsche Welle, accessed February 11, 2021, <https://www.dw.com/en/notre-dame-christmas-concert-in-an-empty-cathedral/a-55810526>; “Christmas Eve Concert Held in Paris’ Fire-Wrecked Notre Dame,” Fox News, accessed February 11, 2021, <https://www.foxnews.com/world/christmas-eve-concert-held-in-paris-fire-wrecked-notre-dame>; Zeenat Hansrod, “Notre-Dame Cathedral Holds First Christmas Eve Concert Since 2019 Fire,” rfi, accessed February 11, 2021, <https://www.rfi.fr/en/france/20201224-notre-dame-cathedral-holds-first-christmas-eve-concert-since-2019-fire-covid-19>.

concert [...] marked with emotion and hope.”³ This concert and the reactions to it show that there is not only a past, but also a present and future for the French landmark.

Though separated by hundreds of years, the case studies explored in this dissertation bear striking similarities to the effect of the 2020 Christmas concert performed by the Maîtrise Notre-Dame de Paris. I choose this Christmas concert as an example of the long tradition of commemorative events, similar to the commemorations we have encountered in this dissertation, albeit not in the wake of such losses. The long tradition I have cited ranges from the celebratory centenary of the Reformation that remembered the arduous history of Protestantism to the thanksgiving events after the totalizing Thirty Years’ War. The concept of large-scale transregional commemorations was new in the early modern period. Nevertheless, the broad notion was already captured in the fourth century by St. Augustine in his *Confessions*:

Perhaps it might be said rightly that there are three times: a time present of things past; a time present of things present; and a time present of things future. For these three do coexist somehow in the soul, for otherwise I could not *see* them. The time present of things past is memory; the time present of things present is direct experience; the time present of things future is expectation.⁴

By only slightly changing St. Augustine’s quote, namely by exchanging the sensory channel of seeing for one of hearing or listening, in this case by exchanging the word “see” with “hear,” St. Augustine’s altered quote can be made to address one matter dealt with in this dissertation.

This dissertation looks behind the scenes of St. Augustine’s subjective past, present, and future and the corresponding memory, direct experience, and expectation. I have

³ “Choir of Notre Dame Sings in Cathedral For First Time Since Fire For Christmas Eve Concert,” Washington Times, accessed February 11, 2021, <https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2020/dec/24/notre-dame-cathedral-choir-sing-inside-church-chri/>.

⁴ St. Augustine, *Confessions: Book Eleven*, accessed March 4, 2021, <http://www.ourladyswarriors.org/saints/augcon11.htm>, Book 11, Chapter 20, Heading 26.

researched seventeenth-century commemorations, their music, media, and the order of these events. The reconstruction of those ceremonies of remembrance made clear that their specific procedures and music and media that accompanied them had the ability to prompt remembering of a past, making a present fathomable and a future imaginable. For instance, the communal music-making during the Protestant jubilee equipped the congregation members with a sense of a shared identity, in essence encapsulating what was before and what will be after 1617. In other words, the sensual experiences of hearing, seeing, touching, and moving were able to create seventeenth-century historiographies both for communities and individuals.

I have shown that political and religious rulers used music and soundscapes to write their own history. The specificity with which the music was chosen for certain events is not as obvious as the content of, say, a treaty, fiat, or order. Still, it is clear that music and soundscapes played a significant role in historiography. Sovereigns directed commemorative events in the minutest details, leaving nothing to chance, from commissioning and selecting music for the event to determining the ringing of the church bells, the noise of the market, the specific ensemble performing (commissioned) musical pieces, and the location. Through these events, shared cultural memory was planted among the attendees as well as their environment at large. For instance, the celebration of the Protestant jubilee of 1617 in Dresden and the entirety of Saxony helped the Saxons share a common memory of an event. The event itself commemorated the past and prefigured the future of both Protestantism and the reoccurring celebration of the Reformation. The Elector of Saxony, John George I, offers another example of deliberate writing of historiography. Using the tools of commissioned music, its staged performance, and media in general, he painted a new and improved image of himself as a peaceful prince that stood the test of time.

Neither the concept of historiography nor the notion of saving memory for future generations was new in the seventeenth century, as we see in the quote by Heinrich Oraeus (1584–1646) from the third volume of the *Theatrvm evropævm*:

The memory of past things should not be left to perish / but at all times memorized / and not only remembered / but [brought to paper] because the memory of the people is by nature very weak and ramshackle / and easily again forgets / finds and drops / whatever [the memory] has already forgotten and ingested / this is why the noteworthy things were brought to paper / were chronicled / and in open chronicles and history books / not only of the contemporary world / but also and especially for the memory of the progeny and as news for eternity enclosed.⁵

Although in a different manner than Oraeus, this dissertation also tackles historiography. Like the twenty-one-volume chronicle *Theatrvm evropævm*, the dissertation has an archival function. It collects and retains information and data. However, mere data does not have value. The data needs to be transformed into memory and knowledge; this is what this dissertation hopes to accomplish as well. By (re)creating memory and remembering, a skill that the cultural anthropologist Aleida Assmann attributes to humankind alone, we, as humans, can locate ourselves in our temporal, historical, and geographical frameworks.⁶ Thus, we are constantly adjusting and readjusting the relations between the past, the present, and the future.⁷

⁵ “Die Gedächtniß vergangener Dingen soll man freylich nicht undergehen lassen / sondern allezeit in frischen Gedächtniß erhalten / und nicht allein im Gedächtniß erhalten / sondern weil die Gedächtniß der Menschen ohne das in der Verderbung der Natur sehr schwach und baufällig / und leichtlich wider vergißt / finden und fallen läßt / was es schon einmal recht vergaßt und eingenommen / derowegen so sollen denckwürdige Sachen auch zu Papier gebracht / auffgezeichnet / und in offenen Chronicken und Geschicht-Büchern / nicht allein der gegenwärtigen Welt / sondern auch und vornemblich den Nachkommen zur Gedächtniß und Nachricht zu ewigen Tagen beygelegt werden.” Henricvs Oraevs, *Theatrvm evropævm, oder, Aussführliche/ vnd warhaffte beschreibung all vnd jeder denckwürdigen Geschichten/ so sich hin vnd wider in der welt/ fürnamlich aber in Europa/ vnd teutschen landen/ so wol im religion- als prophan-weswn ... zugetragen haben ...: Das ist / historischer Chronicken / Dritter Theil ... Continuatio III* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Wolffgang Hoffmans Buchdruckerey, 1639), 4r–4v.

⁶ Aleida Assmann, *Formen des Vergessens*, Historische Geisteswissenschaften. Frankfurter Vorträge 9 (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2016), 42.

⁷ Ibid., 8.

The parts of this dissertation that reconstruct history (not memory!) are not dependent on social memory.⁸ However, the parts that aim to reconstruct memory need—and can rely on—social memory. Pierre Nora writes that “memory is, above all, archival. It relies entirely on the materiality of the trace, the immediacy of the recording, the visibility of the image.”⁹ Contrary to Nora, I believe that past memory can be brought to our present time not only through material traces but also through traces of social memory that are still extant—even after four hundred years. In order to revitalize memory from the early modern period (or any past time), we need “the materiality of the trace” but the materiality can lead to sparks of social memory that are still alive among us.

We twenty-first-century humans can comprehend past memory, if only to a certain extent, by kindling our own social memory, especially when the material presented touches our own experiences and past. Of course, the traditions, gestures, and habits of the early modern period that make up seventeenth-century social memory are not the ones of the twenty-first century. However, some of them have stayed with us, transformed through time, and, thus, are still present. As long as emotions are involved, we can speak of memory. It is not until the emotions are detached from the past that we have to speak of history.

The webbing of material traces and residues of social memory allow us a glimpse into seventeenth-century commemorative practices. These practices existed not only in an institutional form but also in private or individual forms. Through researching musical sources and media, this dissertation has demonstrated that the end of the Eighty/Thirty

⁸ Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, 14. In his article “History as Cultural Memory,” Marek Tamm argues that it is most fruitful to understand history as a particular form of cultural memory. In this argumentation, Tamm follows Peter Burke, and Jan and Aleida Assmann’s approach to history and memory. Marek Tamm, “History as Cultural Memory: Mnemohistory and the Construction of the Estonian Nation,” *Journal of Baltic Studies* 39 (2008): 500.

⁹ Nora, “Between Memory and History,” 13.

Years' War was not only perceived as the singular seismographic event that we today encounter in history books. Depending on the circumstances, it was captured in a countless number of ways. While institutional commemorations could have a pan-European significance, private commemorations offered diverse opportunities for individual processing of the past. However, any form of commemoration—no matter how seemingly insignificant—can develop into *lieux de mémoire* as defined by Pierre Nora. Institutional commemoration had the ability to establish a transregional “place of remembrance,” whereas private forms of commemoration could lead to a myriad of *lieux de mémoire*.

Even though the longevity of individual music practices might seem to be shorter than that of material goods, such as architectural structures or even paper, the practices were nonetheless universal and meaningful in early modern societies and are significant still today. This holds true beyond the limits of communicative memory. However, the embodied form and the ephemerality of performed music seem to have generally made its dissemination and safe-keeping more difficult; but, often, quite the opposite has been the case. Embodied music is largely free of cost and can be transmitted without the fear of censorship and thus prevailed for more than three or four generations. Moreover, it was able to transport more than just a text, tune, rhythm, or meter. Embodied music could also transport a sense of belonging.

Actively performed music proved to be an accessible and direct way of coping with the changes, accompanying atrocities, but also the joyful celebrations of the seventeenth century. With songs or hymns especially, citizens could express their diverging views, mock the other political or religious party, connect to their “own people” and identity, and (re)establish a bond to the past, to the present, and imagine a future. For instance, the Dutch song *Klaegh-ende troost-liedt op de vreede* exemplifies this process vividly. With the help of songs, soldiers might have been able to fathom their new reality after a lifetime of

war when the Peace of Münster was announced in 1648, while still feeling connected to their stratum of society. Songs were powerful because they were readily available to everyone, no matter the class, educational background, confession, or political view. They were also diverse and fit the local taste, occurrences, and (musical) language. They existed, traveled, and were transmitted in an embodied form and, thus, touched the mind and body.

The investigation of seventeenth-century commemorative musical practices unveils the religious and political relationships, aspects of local and universal power dynamics, and the processes of establishing both the individual and cultural memory of this period in history. The study of both the Protestants' and the Catholics' approaches to observing the centenary of the Reformation demonstrated that music can strengthen religious and political relationships by othering and by a shared musical practice that implies a sense of belonging to a group. These approaches functioned on a regional and a transregional level, played a part in connecting to the past, and helped to predict a future. My examination of the music of the Eighty/Thirty Years' War has introduced a new in-depth look behind the curtains of European power dynamics. Some media illustrated the Europe-wide force ratio, while others were orientated toward local relations. The former was mostly conducive to cultural memory, while the latter could lead to all levels of memory—inner, social, and cultural.

The case studies also showed that commemorative explorations did not always proceed as planned. For instance, the Catholic reaction to the Protestant jubilee was not intended to commemorate the centenary and thus does not fall under the normative forms of commemoration. Yet, the Catholic songs and publications indirectly reminded its audience of the jubilee, which can hardly have been the Catholics' aim. The broadsheet "Marthin Lvther. Nuhn Muess es Ia gewandert sein" functions as example. It illustrates distinctly that commemoration and especially commemorative media can develop a life of

their own. Eventually, the Catholic broadsheet mocking Luther was used to celebrate the Day of St. Martin. The initial producers of commemorative media cannot know how the recipient will receive their media. They cannot predict how the audience, the listener, the singer, the reader, and the transmitter will use the media and whether these media will eventually develop into a medium of memory.

Exploring these media of memory of the early modern period showed that media can function as a vessel of memory. The vessel can have an infinite number of forms. It can have the form of a tune, the personal memory of a specific performance, a trope, or a broadsheet. Similarly, the content of the vessel can vary infinitely. The filled vessel then can activate, produce, and preserve individual, communicative, and cultural memory. Thus, these vessels are involved in writing historiography. By exploring archival sources across disciplines at the nexus of memory residues—including objects, musical traditions, staged events, and regional and transregional standpoints, we can gain a greater understanding of how a certain exposition of the past forms *our* past, present, and future.

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und Mit vielen schönen außerlesenen Newen Ge=sängen gezieret: Auch zur Befol[r]derung des KirchenGottes=dienstes mit beygesetzten Melodien / Nebest dem Basso Continuo verfertiget Von Johann Crügern Gub: Lus: Direct. Mus. In Berlin ad D. N. In Verlegung des Auctors und Christophers Runge / Gedruckt zu Berlin Anno 1647. Berlin: Christopher Runge, 1647.

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submisso adscripta ac dedicata / à / Johanne Staden, ad B. Laurent I Organista. / Noribergae / Typis Balthasaris Scherffii / Impensis ipsius Auctoris. / MDCXVII. /
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M[agistrum] Hieronymvm Theodoricvm, / Limpurgischen Pfarrern daselbsten. / Gedruckt zu Nürnberg/ bey Johann Fri=derich Sartorio. Nürnberg: Sartorius, Johann Friedrich, 1621. D-Mbs 4 Liturg. 697 ah#Beibd.2. Accessed February 23, 2021. <https://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10989634.html>.

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