Introduction

Clio, gesta canens, transactis tempora reddit.

Ausonius

The German word 'Geschichte' is an ambiguous entity, denoting both 'story' and 'history' as things that happened ('geschehen') once upon a time. But while these two connotations have become clearly separated over the past two centuries or so, early seventeenth-century German writers often made no such distinction. Instead, they used the term interchangeably with the Greek-derived 'Historie' to refer indiscriminately to stories that took place either in reality or in the imagination. History, overseen by the muse Clio, converged with poetry in its story-telling impulse and didactic intent; like a mythological tale, historical writing could instruct readers about virtues and vices through engaging narrative. The conflation of the concept's dual meanings is highlighted in the preface to a German translation of Nicolas de Montreux's hugely popular pastoral novel *Schäffereyen Von der schönen Juliana* (*Bergeries de Juliette*) of 1615. The pastoral, as the prototypical narrative mode of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, enabled the representation of real-life concerns in allegorical form; hence, the editor explained, although Aristotle had outlined the virtuous life in an unadorned manner, others have 'described this art in veiled and metaphorical ways, often in the guise of a history, because there are many who wish to read nothing but histories, be they true or invented'.[1] From this perspective, fables, historical tales and biblical parables all shared the same truth value. Like scriptural truths, history could elucidate the past, provide exemplars for the present, and be used to speculate about the future. Human history and ancient myths were both embedded in the all-encompassing timeline of the Bible: in a comprehensive chronicle of world events published in Frankfurt in 1630, the historian and theologian Johann Ludwig Gottfried

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[1] 'Dargegen haben andere / weise hochverständige Personen / eben diese Kunst verdeckter unnd verblümbter Weise fürgebracht und beschrieben: Etliche in Gestalt einer History / weil deren viel sind / die nichts anders als Historien / sie seyen gleich wahr oder gedichtet / lesen wöllen', Nicolas de Montreux, *Die Schäffereyen Von der schönen Juliana*, trans F. C. von Borstel (Frankfurt: Hoffmann, 1615), preface, no page.

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promised to 'fuse pagan histories diligently with holy and divine
history'.[2] His account accordingly begins at the moment of Creation
and adopts the traditional subdivision into four monarchies (Assyrian,
Persian, Macedonian, Roman) borrowed from the biblical Book of
Daniel.

This integrated world, in which fiction and fact, faith and knowledge,
art and life were regarded as intertwined and closely analogous, forms the
setting for the four stories told in this book. Their main protagonist is
Heinrich Schütz, Capellmeister at the electoral court in Dresden (Saxony)
for the largest portion of his life, from the 1610s to his retirement
in the 1650s.[3] Each of my four chapters focuses on a particular occasion
or piece of music from the composer's lifetime, and each elucidates
different ways in which musical sounds or performances affirmed various
facets of this cohesive early seventeenth-century worldview. Affirmed or,
alternatively, challenged; for the smooth integration of religious, mytho-
logical and scientific realms was already beginning to fall apart by the time
Gottfried's world history appeared in print. His introduction explicitly
distinguishes his historical method from mere stories:

Because in all histories, sacred and secular, the accurate and specific listing of
dates and years is very important, without which histories are as if lifeless, and
become like fables ... thus I have sought to do my best in this matter, so that
readers may know properly in which year after the Creation of the world, before
or after the birth of Christ, each story took place.[4]

Moreover, Gottfried admitted that the inherited 'four monarchies' model
had been increasingly contested in recent times, a challenge that issued
from the splitting of human and ecclesiastical history from divine history
in the aftermath of the Reformation. These fractures become immediately
evident in the first moment considered in my opening chapter, the 1617
celebration of the Reformation centenary, one of the most significant
musical occasions in Schütz's early Dresden career. In many ways, the
event strove to cover up any fissures that had appeared, by refashioning

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[2] 'Heydnische Historien / welche wir zu gleichem ende in dieser unser Chronica mit den Heiligen
und Göttlichen fleissig coniungiren', Johann Ludwig Gottfried, *Historische Chronica: oder
Beschreibung der führnembsten Geschichten*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt: Merian, 1630), vol. I, preface,
no page. See also Anthony Grafton, *What Was History? The Art of History in Early Modern
Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 167–73.

[3] As Joshua Rifkin has pointed out, he should more accurately be called 'Henrich'; in this volume,
I retain the more familiar version of his name. See Joshua Rifkin, 'Towards a New Image of
Henrich Schütz – 1', *Musical Times* 126 (1985), 651–8, 651.

[4] 'Und weil in allen Historien / Geistlich und Weltlich / sehr viel an gewisser und richtiger
Verzeichnus der zeit und Jahr gelegen / ohn welche die Historien gleichsam todt / unnd den
Fabeln ehnlich sind ... als habe ich mich beflissen / in diesem stückh mein bestes zu thun / damit
der Leser fein nachrichtlich wissen möchte / in welchem Jahr nach erschaffung der Welt / vor oder
nach Christi Geburt / ein jegliche Geschicht ... sich begeben', Gottfried, *Historische Chronica*, vol.
I, preface, no page.

Luther's historical intervention as part of a larger divine trajectory towards the ending of the Fourth Monarchy (the Roman one headed by the Pope) and the expected arrival of the Final Judgment. The musical contributions for the celebration – some of them published two years later in Schütz's *Psalmen Davids* – underlined this connection by mimicking the imagined booming soundworld of the Apocalypse. But ultimately this storyline failed to convince, as the centenary ceremonies happened shortly after a visit by the Catholic ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, Emperor Matthias, to much the same accompaniment of polychoral music and cannon fire. Luther's reforms had created two opposing political factions who both claimed an exclusive hold on spiritual truth; whether their narratives were true or false formed a matter of vital importance, since they determined if Christian souls would be saved or not.

These post-Reformation conflicts revealed both the fallibility of human judgment and the centrality of interpretation in approaching any biblical or historical narrative. The insight that all stories would be read and reread by different readers at different times, piling 'interpretation upon interpretation', is prevalent in humanist writings from Erasmus of Rotterdam onwards.[5] Take Ovid's fable of Daphne, set to music by Schütz in 1627 for a Saxon wedding celebration in Torgau, and topic of my second chapter. In order to reimagine some of the contemporary meanings of the drama, which combined mythological and biblical references into an allegorical tour de force, I have had to envisage an audience hearing and interpreting musical statements by Schütz, who had himself read Martin Opitz's libretto, who had derived his text from reading Ottavio Rinuccini's libretto of the same name, who in turn took his story from some version of the original Ovidian fable, as read by an Italian Renaissance editor or translator – not to mention all the later historians who, since the early nineteenth century, have added their own readings to that one-off performance, and, like myself, continue to do so today. History thus emerges as a 'multi-layered, palimpsest-like textuality', a 'congeries of stories' that bear a more or less close relationship to the lives lived by real people in the past.[6] Schütz's *Dafne* is particularly revealing here, because at the centre of all the stories around this musical act, there is no longer any actual sound, since virtually all musical traces of the event have vanished. Perhaps imagination has therefore played a larger part than usual in writing and rewriting the tale of *Dafne*; but any reanimation of a historical moment necessarily works around such awkward absences. The piece and its colourful later history can

[5] Timothy Reiss, *Knowledge, Discovery, and Imagination in Early Modern Europe: The Rise of Aesthetic Rationalism* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 75. See especially Desiderius Erasmus, *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum commentarii duo* (Paris: Ascensianis, 1512).

[6] Beverly Southgate, *Postmodernism in History: Fear or Freedom?* (London: Routledge, 2003), 49; Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), ix.

therefore stand as synecdoche for the reception of Schütz more generally – a virtually blank page that became increasingly filled in nineteenth- and twentieth-century history books. In Hayden White's formulation, 'history must construct its objects of study rather in the way that ... in physics, electrons must be posited on the basis of the trails they leave in a bubble chamber, rather than by direct observation'.[7]

White's simile is an evocative one, but it also has its limitations, since historical stories will always differ according to the preoccupations of the teller, whereas the first requirement of a successful scientific experiment is to be endlessly replicable. In the context of the Thirty Years War, which enveloped the territories of the Holy Roman Empire from 1618, this problem of unbiased reporting of recent events became especially pressing. Most news pamphlets announced their contents as 'accurate', 'thorough' or 'reliable': a newssheet recounting a battle of 1623 between the Catholic General Tilly and Protestant forces promised a 'truthful and credible' account, and a chronicle of German events of the year 1628–9 offered a 'brief but truthful narration'; crucially, however, this 1629 history was still conceived as an 'Erzehlung', a story told by one witness from one particular standpoint.[8] The burgeoning news industry around the war thus further undermined any trust in history as a singular, divinely directed path towards humanity's salvation. Other kinds of certainties were thrown into question too; in particular, the unprecedented scale of the atrocities engendered an abrupt demystification of traditional Lutheran notions of death as a peaceful passage to another life. My third chapter, which revisits the funeral of Heinrich Posthumus Reuss in Gera in 1636, for which Schütz wrote his *Musicalische Exequien*, investigates these transformations in conceptions of death, memory and eternity in the wake of the ongoing war. My story about the *Exequien* suggests that, like contemporary allegorical depictions of the wonders of heaven, the music accompanying Reuss's burial could still inspire its listeners to hold on to a comforting vision of eternal bliss, even if it accentuated their increasing separation from these anticipated joys.

In the end, however, the catastrophe of the war required new narrative strategies and symbols, just as the geographical and scientific discoveries of the past century or two had necessitated revised models of the earth and the universe that integrated novel findings into existing worldviews. Initially, this epistemological expansion brought with it a deep suspicion

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[7] Hayden White, 'Foreword: Rancière's Revisionism', in Jacques Rancière, *The Names of History: On the Poetics of Knowledge*, trans. Hassan Melehy (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), viii–ix.

[8] *Warhafftige und Glaubwürdige Zeitung. Von der Schlacht / so ohne langsten den 6. Augusti diß lauffenden 1623. Jahrs ... vergangen* (Newburg: Danhauser, 1623); *Annale Nuclei Historici. Das ist: Jars-Chronica: Kurtze doch waarhafftige Erzehlung / Was sich ... Sowol inn / als ausserhalb Teutschenlandes ... begeben und zugetragen* (Nuremberg: Dulden, 1629).

about the idea of the 'new'; it also drew attention, however, to the potential of human agency in advancing the history of the world, including the history of music, where the 'new' style, invented around 1600 to much negative publicity from its detractors, had become a fashionable and accepted entity by mid-century. My final chapter retraces these shifts in early modern attitudes towards novelty, using Schütz's motet collection *Geistliche Chor-Music* of 1648 as an ambivalent marker of the new era ushered in after the Thirty Years War ground to a halt that year. The composer's preface gives voice to contemporary anxieties over the changing status of the new, while the pieces contained within offer a sonic remembrance of a better past left behind in a questionable race of progress. Such anxieties are encapsulated, too, in the image on the front cover of this book (reproduced again in Chapter 3), which first appeared in a volume of stories by the German poet Georg Philipp Harsdörffer in 1647. The most dreaded modern war implement, the cannon, is shown in the guise of an outlandish beast – a 'rhinoceros without the horn' – that turns the old, civilised world into smoke and ruins, accompanied by an implied trumpet-and-drum soundtrack that could signify anything from battle action to the triumph of peace or the end of the world.[9] Like the famous composite fruit and vegetable heads painted some decades earlier by the Italian artist Giuseppe Arcimboldo, who is invoked in Harsdörffer's accompanying text, at first glance the picture seems to corroborate the fundamental correspondence between the world's micro- and macrocosms; at closer range, however, that unity disintegrates into a fragmentary illusion. The image's multiple meanings are held together once more through the power of allegory, the key device by which all stories, past or present, could appear interlinked.

The term 'histories' in my title, then, acknowledges the multiplicity of stories that make up the four historical instances considered here, as well as the role of narrativity in my own attempts to reconstitute these early seventeenth-century musical sounds in and around Dresden. But the plural also refers to the manifold reception histories into which Schütz's music has fitted over the centuries, from the reactions of his first listeners to early music groups recording his works for audiences today. The shorter 'paraphrases' following each of the main chapters delve into the later transformations of these moments and their meanings, as they were gradually absorbed into a master narrative of German music history that emerged over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That master narrative has been increasingly deconstructed since the 1990s, but I am only partly interested here in rescuing Schütz from his reputation as a

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[9] 'Rhinocerot / (jedoch ausser dem Nasenhorn)', Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Frauenzimmer Gesprechspiele: so bey Ehr- und Tugendliebenden Gesellschaften / mit nutzlicher Ergetzlichkeit / belibet und geübet werden mögen*, 8 vols. (Nuremberg: Endtner, 1644–57), vol. VII, 13.

German Lutheran orator that he acquired over the years; I am concerned, too, with the stories themselves and what they reveal about the people, times and places from which they originated. My choice of the term 'paraphrase', inspired by George Buchanan's widely popular poetic rewriting of the biblical Book of Psalms, *Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis poetica* (first published in 1571), is intended to capture the endless possibilities of reformulating and elaborating the same historical facts and narratives, both by previous writers and by myself.[10] The paraphrases thus pursue different routes through roughly the same terrain, picking out four stories of Schütz reception in German historiography from around 1830 through the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich and its aftermath. They are arranged topically rather than chronologically, tied to the themes of the chapters to which they belong: Paraphrase 1 discusses the myth of Schütz as a preacher of Lutheran dogma and the role of the Protestant church in the revival of his music after the First World War; Paraphrase 2 traces the emergence of *Dafne* as the 'first German opera' in the context of narrowing ideas about German national identity and operatic genres; Paraphrase 3 narrates the invention of Schütz as a saviour of German art through war and adversity, turning him into a national hero worthy of commemoration in images and busts; and Paraphrase 4 examines how early twentieth-century performers and writers addressed the troubling gap between Schütz's old music and contemporary communities of listeners, culminating in the invention of musical rhetoric in the 1940s as the key to his foreign language.

Throughout the book, then, I regard the idea of 'reception' as starting from the first moment of performance onwards, when interpretations begin to accumulate, and I investigate different strata of these readings, taking inspiration from another possible derivation of 'Geschichte' as 'that which is stacked up' ('geschichtet').[11] The alternating structure should allow readers either to approach each chapter and paraphrase as a pair, or to treat the four main chapters and four interludes as separate entities to be read across. In the early seventeenth-century stratum, I set out to recreate some of the meanings engendered in the initial acts of performing and listening; to this end, my chapters shift the attention from the score as a stable object to its sounding realisations, from a close focus on the words of Schütz's compositions and their assumed message of Lutheran faith, towards wider preoccupations among his audiences and their horizons of expectation. By starting not from the texts themselves but what surrounds them – people, ideas, social and political realities – I have sought to

[10] George Buchanan, *Psalmorum Davidis Paraphrasis poetica*, ed. Nathan Chytraeus (Herborn: Corvinus, 1588).
[11] See Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, 'Geschichte, n.', in *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, 16 vols. (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1854–1960), vol. V, col. 3857.

elucidate how music's ambiguities of signification could vividly engage with aspects of current life while at the same time offering an escape from its discontents. Since very few actual identities or reactions of Schütz's first listeners are recorded, the chapters take a more circumstantial approach to reassembling these past meanings, drawing on a range of sources more or less closely related to the particular event, to Schütz, or to music: from poetic dedications, theological pamphlets and political broadsheets to treatises on astrology and geography. They generally cover a limited chronological span around each of the four dates, and are drawn from German – often specifically Saxon – authors and publishers; unless otherwise noted, translations of these documents are my own.[12]

By the time of Schütz's rediscovery in the early nineteenth century, many more writings specifically related to the composer survive, and my paraphrases thus build on a more circumscribed body of materials, mainly excerpted from music journals of the time. They pay close attention to the changes in critics' language when talking about Schütz, to the shifting adjectives and metaphors used to capture the sound of his music or reinvent his character. While aiming to outline the role of important individuals and local circles in this Schütz revival – key figures are briefly described and referenced when they first appear in the text – I use these sections primarily to reconstruct broader trends in Schütz performance and historiography across nineteenth- and twentieth-century Germany. And although some of these past narratives have struck me as implausible or even inhumane, and therefore in need of revision, I agree with Anselm Gerhard in trying to avoid a simplistic 'inquisitorial stance'.[13] Ultimately, rather than overturning the erroneous judgments of others in order to reinstate an elusive original, the stories told here constitute one more possible reformulation, one more paraphrase around the impenetrable and endlessly fascinating chaos of historical reality.

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[12] For all translated documents, the original material is provided in the footnotes. In the excerpts, I have retained the original spelling and punctuation as far as possible, including the '/' widely used in older German Fraktur script, which usually stands for a comma.

[13] 'inquisitorische Haltung', Anselm Gerhard, 'Musikwissenschaft – eine verspätete Disziplin', in *Musikwissenschaft – eine verspätete Disziplin? Die akademische Musikforschung zwischen Fortschrittsglauben und Modernitätsverweigerung*, ed. Anselm Gerhard (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), 1–30, 14.

Trumpets and drums
(Psalmen Davids, 1617)

In the early months of 1617, Heinrich Schütz settled permanently into his post as music director at the Saxon court in Dresden, where he had been on loan from his former employer, Landgrave Moritz of Hesse, intermittently since 1614. After protracted wrangling between the Landgrave and the Elector of Saxony, Johann Georg I, Moritz eventually had to back down, and Schütz ended up attached to the Dresden court for over fifty years until his death in 1672. Shortly after this transfer, Schütz faced a considerable musical and organisational task: at the end of October 1617, Saxony staged extensive celebrations to mark the centenary of the Reformation. Instigated by the Calvinist Elector of Palatine and the theological faculty at the University of Wittenberg, most Protestant cities and principalities of the Holy Roman Empire participated in this first coordinated scheme to commemorate Martin Luther's legendary posting of his Ninety-Five Theses on 31 October 1517.[1] Looking back in 1716 to the 1617 celebration (and a subsequent Reformation jubilee in 1630), a Dresden court official recalled:

Concerning the extraneous liturgical ceremonies, hymns and the like, I have come to know from older people's reports that it all ended up as a great howl of jubilation, and the churches and schools were filled with it, as the 150th Psalm was played through very loudly with such drumming and timpani-ing, trumpeting, piping, fiddling and tooting that it sounded far and wide. Anyone who heard it heaped ridicule on it.[2]

His noise-filled narrative is probably exaggerated, its mocking tone stemming from the author's agenda to prevent another Reformation festival

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[1] See Hans-Jürgen Schönstädt, *Antichrist, Weltheilsgeschehen und Gottes Werkzeug: Römische Kirche, Reformation und Luther im Spiegel des Reformationsjubiläums 1617* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1978), 10–19.

[2] 'so viel die äusserlichen Kürchen-Ceremonien, Lieder und dergleichen anbetrifft, aus Erzehlung alter Leute mir bekannt worden, daß alles auf ein grosses Jubel-Geschrey hinaus gelauffen, und die Kürch- und Schul-Häuser damit erfüllet, auch zumal der ein hundert und funffzigste Psalm mit grossen Lermen durchdrommelt oder durchpaucket, durchtrompetet, durchpfiffen, durchfiedelt und durchblasen worden, daß es weit erschallet, und iederman, der es gehöret, sich dabey lustig gemachet', reported in Christian Gerber, *Historie der Kirchen-Ceremonien in Sachsen* (Dresden: Sauereßig, 1732), 222.

in 1717. For the Dresden court, we have no record of Psalm 150 being heard during the 1617 centenary at all. Even so, the psalm serves as an apt metaphor for the scale and lavishness of the celebrations. Its text enumerates a comprehensive list of musical instruments: the Lord should be glorified with trumpets and harps, with tambourines, strings and organs, with clashing cymbals. The psalm thus enlists the whole spectrum of musical sounds for the purpose of divine thanksgiving, a spectrum that was fully exploited for the 1617 event. Schütz himself wrote a colourful setting of Psalm 150 (SWV 38) at some point in his early career; richly scored for four vocal or instrumental choirs, it was published in his *Psalmen Davids* of 1619, which also contained those works that were – most likely – heard during the jubilee.

The Dresden festivities, meticulously planned and monitored by the authorities, stretched from Friday 31 October to Sunday 2 November. A church service was ordered for each day, preceded by Vespers and confession on 30 October. Clerics had to ensure that 'the music was arranged in an orderly fashion'; in addition to a set of well-known Lutheran hymns, the best possible figural music was required.[3] The large-scale pieces for the court chapel services are recorded – without the names of composers, but with the numbers of choirs and instruments involved – in a report by the Saxon chief court preacher Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg (Table 1.1). According to Hoë, they were performed by an ensemble that did ample justice to the stipulations of Psalm 150: 'eleven instrumentalists, eleven singers. Three organists, four lutenists, one theorbist, three organ boys and five discantists, alternating with all sorts of magnificent instruments, with two organs, two regals, three keyboards, plus eighteen trumpeters and two timpani'.[4]

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[3] 'mit den Gesängen auch gute Ordnung gehalten werde', *Instruction und Ordnung, nach welcher . . . das instehende evangelische Jubelfest solle gehalten werden* (Wittenberg: Helwig, 1617), no page. 'Figuralmusik' would have referred to anything more elaborate than simple chant or hymn settings.

[4] 'von 11 Instrumentisten / 11 Cantoribus. 3 Organisten / 4. Lautenisten / 1. Theorbisten / 3. Organisten Knaben / 5. Discantisten / mit abwechselung allereley sorten / von herrlichen Instrumenten / mit zweyen Orgelwerken / 2. Regalen / 3. Clavicymbeln / nebenst 18. Trompetern / und zweyen Heerpaucken', Matthias Hoë von Hoënegg, *ChurSächsische Evangelische JubelFrewde* (Leipzig: Lamberg, 1617), preface, no page. The report is reproduced in Christhard Mahrenholz, ' Heinrich Schütz und das erste Reformationsjubiläum 1617', *MuK* 3 (1931), 149–59, 150–52. From the information presented in Hoë's account, it seems safe to assume that Schütz was the author of at least two of the works listed in Table 1.1 – SWV 45 and SWV 43, both played on 2 November. While these two are certainly not representative for the whole of the *Psalmen Davids* (published two years later), their close association with the 1617 event makes them the focus of my investigation here. Other possible pieces from the *Psalmen Davids* heard at the centenary are SWV 47 and SWV 41, although for the latter a chorale concerto with similar specifications also exists by Michael Praetorius. Several further speculative attributions, suggested by Christhard Mahrenholz, have since been shown to be dubious. See Mahrenholz, 'Heinrich Schütz und das erste Reformationsjubiläum', 149–59; and Siegfried Vogelsänger, 'Michael Praetorius: Festmusiken zu zwei Ereignissen des Jahres 1617', *Die Musikforschung* 40 (1987), 97–109.

Table 1.1. *Large-scale concerted music without congregational participation sung at the Dresden court chapel during the 1617 Reformation festivities*

31 October
'Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied' – 7 choirs, trumpets and drums
Kyrie, Gloria – 7 choirs, trumpets and drums
'Jubilant hodie omnes gentes' – 5 choirs, trumpets
'Jubilate Deo' – 5 choirs
'Diß ist der Tag den der Herr gemacht hat' – 'per choros'
Magnificat – 6 choirs, trumpets and drums (interspersed with verses from the hymn 'Erhalt uns Herr bey deinem Wort')
'Verleih uns Frieden gnediglich' – 'per choros'

1 November
Kyrie, Gloria – 5 choirs
'Verleih uns Frieden gnediglich' – 'auf besondere Melodey', 5 singers, lutes and harpsichord
'Ein feste Burg' – 'auf imitation des Chorals', 5 choirs, trumpets and drums
'Nun lob mein Seel den Herren' – 'auf imitation des Chorals', 4 choirs [SWV 41]
Magnificat – 5 choirs
'Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr' – trumpets and drums

2 November
Kyrie, Gloria
'Nicht uns, Herr, sondern deinem Namen' – 3 choirs [SWV 43]
'Buccinate in Neomenia tuba' – 4 choirs 'mit groben Instrumenten'
'Jubilate Deo' – 4 choirs [SWV 47]
Psalm 136 – trumpets and drums [SWV 45]

* SWV numbers in brackets indicate likely authorship by Heinrich Schütz

What did the Dresden congregation, described by Hoë as a 'populous assembly' and composed of ordinary citizens as well as court members, make of this onslaught of musical sound?[5] Recent scholarship has carefully delimited the meaning and intent of Schütz's centenary compositions: they preach, but do not polemicise. Helga Robinson-Hammerstein states that 'the works themselves are artistic statements that reach beyond the time-bound character of current propaganda'; Markus Rathey concurs that they were 'divested of a primarily propagandistic inclination' through their choice of text.[6] Instead, Hammerstein finds, they were conceived as 'genuine proclamation of the Word' – sacred and evangelical, but

[5] 'in Volckreicher Versamlung', Hoë, *JubelFrewde*, preface, no page. On the makeup of the court chapel congregation, see Eberhard Schmidt, *Der Gottesdienst am Kurfürstlichen Hofe zu Dresden: Ein Beitrag zur liturgischen Traditionsgeschichte von Johann Walter bis zu Heinrich Schütz* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), 152–3.
[6] 'bei den Werken selbst handelt es sich um künstlerische Aussagen, die über das Zeitgebundene der aktuellen Propaganda hinausragen', Helga Robinson-Hammerstein, 'Sächsische Jubelfreude', in *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland*, ed. Hans-Christoph Rublack (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1992), 460–94, 474; 'schon allein durch die Wahl der von ihnen vertonten Texte . . . einer primär propagandistischen Ausrichtung enthoben', Markus Rathey, 'Gaudium christianum: Michael Altenburg und das Reformationsjubiläum 1617', *SJb* 20 (1998), 107–22, 120.