

Heinrich Schütz and "det Store Bilager" in Copenhagen (1634)

by
MARA R. WADE

for Mogens og Ingrid Haugsted

Als beide im Dunkeln lagen, erzählte der Domorganist <Heinrich Albert>, wie schwer es gewesen sei, Schütz hierher zu bewegen. Sein Mißtrauen den Dichtern und ihren viel zu vielen Wörtern gegenüber habe sich während der letzten Jahre ausgewachsen. Nachdem ihm Rist nichts geliefert hätte und ihm mit Laurembergs Libretti am dänischen Hof nur schlecht gedient worden sei, habe er sich auf eines der Schottelschen Singspiele eingelassen. Dessen Wortgestelze verdrieße ihn immer noch. Nicht die Verwandtschaft mit ihm, einzig die Hoffnung, daß Gryphius womöglich Dramatisches, geeignet als Vorlage für eine Oper, lesen werde, habe seinen weitberühmten Vetter zum Abzweig nach Telgte verleiten können. Hoffentlich finde der eine oder andere Text Gnade vor seiner Strenge.¹

The goal of the present investigation is to refute the opinion held by both scholars and many others, including the twentieth-century polyhistorian Günter Grass, that the Saxon 'Kapellmeister' Heinrich Schütz was poorly served by poetic offerings in seventeenth-century Denmark. This misconception is due to the fact that all scholarship has ignored – for whatever reason – the importance of the Baroque festival at the Danish court in its complete cultural context. The views expressed by Grass reflect those in both Danish and German literary and musical reference works, which do not yet do justice to German festival culture at the court of Christian IV (1577-1648). The 400th anniversary of this monarch's accession (1588) provides an excellent occasion to examine more closely Danish-German cultural relations in the seventeenth century. Christian IV is remembered not only as the architect of Copenhagen and a generous patron of music, but also as the arranger of lavish courtly festivities characteristic of the German Baroque. Danish royal weddings were celebrated with a variety of dramatic, musical choreographic, and pyrotechnic offerings. Among the festivities which celebrated the marriages of Christian IV's numerous children, none was more lavish than "det Store Bilager," or the great wedding, which celebrated the nuptials on 5 October 1634 of Prince-Elect Christian (1603-1647) and Magdalena Sibylla (1617-1668), daughter of the Saxon Elector Johann Georg I. On this occasion, four evenings of theatrical performances preceded a pageant lasting three days, as well as tournaments on foot and on horseback. All these festivities were carefully organized around dynastic themes representative of the Danish royal house within a greater European context, and not only were appropriate to the marriage of the presumed successor to the Danish crown, but also glorified Denmark under the current monarch, Christian IV. The Dresden – and at that time also Copenhagen – 'Kapellmeister' Heinrich Schütz played a central role in the wedding celebrations at the Danish court. Schütz not only contributed his musical compositions, but also was responsible for the overall organization of the theatrical and pageant events.

Several printed texts in German, Danish, and Latin describe the two-week-long celebrations, which included all manifestations of Baroque courtly pageantry. These sources are:

1. <Jürgen Holst>, "Triumphus Nuptialis Danicus..." (Copenhagen: Holst, 1635 and 1648).² These two German imprints are not identical, although each contains basically the same description of the wedding. In the 1635 version the poetic items and the rules for the tournaments are collected under individual headings ("Beylage sub lit. A, B, <...>" etc.) at the end of the prose description of the festivities; in the 1648 version, these items are collated into the text. The 1635 imprint was used

for this study, since one copy of it is bound together with epithalamia, the two plays by Lauremberg, and the "Tragoedia von den Tugenden und Lastern." As such, this volume offers the most complete collection of items for the wedding festivities.³ The 1648 imprint contains portraits of the bridal pair and copper engravings of the fireworks and pageants, as well as brief descriptions of the plays; the descriptive prose text was not significantly changed. The 1635 version did not contain the comic peasant scenes from Lauremberg's dramas or the prologue from the tragedy as appendices, because these works were printed separately at the same time and there was no need to excerpt them.

2. <Christian Cassius>, "Relation von dem hochfürstlichen Beylager..." (Hamburg: Rebenlein, 1635).

3. <Jürgen Holst>, "Regiae Nuptiae <...>" (Copenhagen: Holst, 1637) is a Danish description of the wedding festivities without the poetic inserts, much like the 1635 German version of "Triumphus Nuptialis Danicus."

4. Charles Ogier <Carolus Ogerius>, "Ephemerides, Sive Iter Danicum, Svevicum, Polonium" (Paris: Petit, 1656).⁴ Ogier was in the entourage of the French ambassador and his diary offers a non-Danish perspective of the celebration of the wedding.

These texts, together with numerous other related materials still extant, offer a singularly rich portrayal of European courtly culture during the Baroque Age. Like the Stuttgart festivities in 1616, in which the German secretary to the English court, Rudolf Weckherlin, figure so prominently, the Danish-German wedding of 1634 provides a rare view of the political manifestations implicit in the public display of courtly culture to celebrate dynastic events.⁵ The celebrations for the Danish wedding in which Schütz figured so notably take on an even greater importance when viewed within the historical context of the European political situation during the Thirty Years' War. The theatrical presentations for the "Store Bilager" of 1634 portray an idealized role for Denmark as a mediator between opposing external forces, as a home for the Muses, and as a politically stable and prosperous realm in its own right.

The focus of the Danish wedding celebrations was provided by four theatrical works: a ballet, two musical comedies, and a morality play set to fireworks. Johann Lauremberg (1590-1658), a poet claimed by both Danish and German literary history, wrote the two musical dramas:

Zwo Comoedien/ Darinnen fürgestellt

I. Wie AQUILO/der Regent Mitternächtigen Länder/die Edle Princessin Orithyjam heimführet:

II. Wie die HARPYIAE von zweyen Septentrionalischen Helden verjaget; und König Phinéus entlediget wird.⁶

The individual plays also have separate title pages within the same printing: "Comoedia de Raptu Orithyjae" and "Comoedia de Harpyjarum Profligatione". The Saxon 'Kapellmeister' Schütz is presumed to have composed the music (none extant) for the comedies by Lauremberg as well as for the unnamed ballet by Alexander von Kückelsom which preceded them.⁷ Both Lauremberg and Kückelsom taught at the academy in Sorø established by Christian IV in 1623.⁸ An anonymous morality play, extant in both Danish and German, "Tragoedia. Om Dyder oc Laster Som udi hans Printzlige Naadis Bryllups Fest <...> hos det store Fyerverck bleff agerit" (n.p., n.d.), was to conclude the theatrical presentations.⁹ The German version of the play, "Tragoedia von den Tugenden und Lastern ..." (n.p., n.d.) seems to be identical to the Danish with a few small exceptions. This play was held on the square before the Copenhagen castle where the accompanying fireworks were also ignited. The Danish text seems to have been intended for the audience there, whereas the German version of the morality play, together with the German 'Singballet' by Kückelsom and the two musical comedies by Lauremberg, were for the inner circle of wedding guests, that is, for the select audience in attendance at the indoor pres-

entations held at Christianborg, for those privileged to be received at court. Although competence in the German language was not limited exclusively to court circles, the existence of this play in both Danish and German nonetheless indicates that it was intended for a truly public performance. In fact, the prologue of the morality play directly addresses a diversified audience: "... Fürsten unnd Herrn .../ Ritter unnd Rittermeßige Personen/ Gelehrte und Ungelehrte/ Frawen und Man/ Bürger und Bawren/ Jung und Alt <...>." Moreover, there are no poems dedicating the work to the royal couple, only the note on the title page, "beim grossen Fewrwerck Agiert Anno 1634. den 10. Octob. auff ihre Printzliche Gnaden Beylager." It is in keeping with the exclusively German character of the nuptial celebrations, that the German text was intended for the noble guests, while the Danish was for a broader public. The play which was directed at the populace of Copenhagen displays the most archaic dramatic structure, themes, and motifs. The morality play had very little music; on the other hand, the ballet and the two plays by Lauremberg are examples of the latest theatrical trends at European courts, and the musical execution of the works was highly praised.¹⁰ These three works also had the greatest role in imparting the political message to the foreign guests, whereas the concluding morality play was directed at domestic circles.

Christian IV spent over two million 'Reichstaler' on the celebration for his son and intended successor.¹¹ Invitations to the wedding were issued nearly a year before the event, which was first planned for August 1634.¹² Among those in attendance were the ambassadors of France, Poland, Spain, and Sweden, an imperial emissary of the Habsburg court (Duke Frederik III of Holstein-Gottorf), aristocrats from Schleswig and Holstein, as well as the expected Danish and Saxon nobility. The guests at the Danish wedding constituted one of the largest and most prominent gatherings of the representatives of European powers during the Thirty Years' War. The printed descriptions of the festivities by Holst, Cassius, and Ogier provide insights into the specifically diplomatic aspects of the nuptial celebrations, and additionally reveal much about the political dimensions of courtly representation.

The Saxon wedding party arrived on 1 October in 274 carriages and wagons, and totalled 532 persons.¹³ For the entry of the Saxon princess into Copenhagen, Schütz's cousin, Heinrich Albert (1604-1651) composed a work (text by Michael Behm) for discant and two violins.¹⁴ The religious ceremony occurred on 5 October 1634. That same evening a banquet was held from eight in the evening until midnight, followed by dancing until three o'clock in the morning, when the first of many firework displays were shot off, lasting until five a. m. The groom's bestowal of the 'Morgengabe' on the day after the wedding, then the reception of gifts from family members, and lastly gifts from invited nobility, officially symbolized the consummation and public acknowledgement of the union of the bridal couple, of Denmark and Saxony. The presentation of the ballet on 7 October began the theatrical festivities with political content representative of the succession of the Danish crown. The following two evenings were intended for the performance of the pair of comedies by Lauremberg, which together provide the central political message of the celebrations. They were supposed to be followed by the performance of the morality play; however, a hearty drinking bout at Christian IV's country castle, Rosenborg (TND, sig. Diii^B), and a violent storm (known in the history of Schleswig-Holstein as the "Burchardi Flut")¹⁵ interfered with the scheduled order of events. Thus the plays by Lauremberg – which treat a single theme – were not performed in the planned order. The ballet and the first comedy were indeed enacted on 7 and 8 October respectively. There was no performance the following night (9 October), and on the third night (10 October) the pyrotechnic morality play was staged as planned, followed two days later (12 October) by the second comedy.¹⁶ The printed descriptions by Holst emphasize the significance of the intended sequence of the theatrical works. All four works were part of a greater concept with political implications, carefully organized – largely by Heinrich Schütz – much

in advance of the wedding itself.¹⁷ The 'Singballet' by Kückelsom and the anonymous morality play were to function as artistic parentheses, as a symbolic framework, for the pair of comedies by Lauremberg, which delivered the political message of the entire celebration. The intended order of performance is important insofar as it underscores the thematic unity of the four pieces as individual components of a festival cycle.

The ballet, entitled merely "Kurtzer Einhalt und Bedeutung des Ballets, So der <...> Herr Fridrich <...> bey bevorstehendem Printzlichem Beylager nebens andern repraesentiren wirdt" (Copenhagen: n.p., 1634), drew on typical mythological events and figures presented in a series of tableaux with arias – a pastiche of choreographic and operatic elements. The work was really a 'Singballet,' that is, an operatic ballet, in that it combined mimetic, vocal, and instrumental elements of theater.¹⁸ The introduction to the ballet presents the mythical, historical background not only for this particular performance, but also for all the wedding festivities:

Nach deme Neptunus die Uffer seines Meers von allen Monstris gereinigt/ den blutigen Martem und Bellonam, durch Göttliche Hülffe gestillet/ und numehr/ Gottlob/ unter seiner Glückruhigen-Regierung/ die Fisch im Meer/ die Thier im Walde/ und Unterthanen im Lande/ durch sein immer-wachendes Auge/ zu aller Ruhe und Sicherheit gebracht: Entstehet darüber eine große Freude bey allen Fried-liebenden Menschen: Insonderheit aber bey den Göttern/ so sich zu bezeugung derselben aufs freundligsten beym Neptuno einstellen und alda vom Baccho und Ceres aufs köstlichste empfangen und tractieren lassen/ deroselben sie auch allerseits/ im aller Fröligkeit/ Friedfertiglich beruhen. (sig. Aii^A)

In this fashion, historical persons and events of the wedding assume mythological proportions which provide the analytical paradigm for the subsequent theatrical presentations. Neptune (an allegorical figure representative of Christian IV throughout the theatrical works) has cleared his realm of all monsters, including war and Mars, the god of war. The gods (that is, the noble guests in attendance) join him in celebrating peace. Most interestingly, this introduction does not state that the wedding provided the impetus for the representation of the Danish state to the outside world, but rather that the other "gods" wished to demonstrate their support of Neptune's, that is, the Danish peace. As an example of the most recent theatrical trends in Europe, this ballet provided a brilliant opening to the two-week-long nuptial celebrations.¹⁹ More importantly, however, it clearly established the political-allegorical construct of the courtly pageant. The ballet by Kückelsom presented on a mythological level the Danish model for the interpretation of the current world situation.

The musical features of the ballet assume even greater significance in view of the function of the work to set the context for all subsequent theatrical entertainments. The prologue of the ballet, which is in madrigalesque form to be sung by the entire chorus, is an invitation to the gods (the guests) to participate in the ballet and the other festivities. The remainder of the ballet is made up of three mythological interludes, each a convention of early pastoral musical theater appropriate to the wedding celebration. The first intermezzo depicts Pan and his satyrs who are interrupted in their singing, playing, and dancing by Mars' alarm. Pan hides himself in a hut, where Heracles' beloved Deianira lies sleeping. Upon his return from the hunt, Heracles drives the would-be adulterer Pan from the stage. This scene is closed by a chorus of Muses taken from the full chorus, who approve of Pan's punishment and praise the sanctity of marriage. As the last of the music of the Muses fades, Orpheus, who has been listening, bursts into a lamentation for his lost love Euridice to the accompaniment of his violin. This second interlude is the structural and thematic center of the ballet. After Orpheus' demise at the hands of the Bacchantes, Mercury enjoins the listeners to heed the allegorical message of the

play: that from an old love (Orpheus for Euridice), a new love and world order will arise. Mercury's song of ten strophes is followed by a "sonnet" for full chorus (with or without instrumental accompaniment) which reiterates the optimistic tidings.²⁰ In the printed account of the wedding festivities, Holst described the singer, Gregorio Chelli of Verona, who played Mercury, as follows:

Dieser war ein Eunuchus, und wuste seiner Stimme dermassen zu gebrauchen/ daß er nicht ohn verwunderung aller Zuhörer angehöret wurd: <...> ." (TND, sig. Di^B)

The two long solos by Orpheus and Mercury from this intermezzo certainly provided ample occasion to display the latest techniques of stage singing in monodic recitative style with broad use of lyrical singing and colorature.²¹ The third interlude of the ballet brings the reality of the Danish court to the level of the mythological events through a moral allegory. A half-brother of the groom, Ulrik Christian (1611-1640), portrayed a young cavalier, who, captured by vices, is guarded by a fierce dragon.²² Fama, together with Pallas, the goddess of wisdom, and four virtues, kills the dragon and rescues the cavalier. The virtues withdraw and sing praises as a full chorus. From the orb of the world which Atlas has brought on stage emerges Amor, who "wounds" the cavalier and the goddess with his arrows.²³ The new world order and love are at hand; Apollo invites the gods to celebrate the marriage of young Neptune, that is, Christian the Prince-Elect, and Pallas, that is, Magdalena Sibylla. Again, the contemporary element of the allegorical theme is emphasized in the prose description from the printed text of the ballet:

<...> sie <die Götter> geruheten würlklich des alten Neptuni uud <!> Palladis verwandschafft halber/ forthanen verwundeten zu helffen/ und diese Copulation mit Frewde/ Friede/ Gesundheit und aller Glückseligkeit zu zieren und zu begaben <...>. (TND; sig. Biii^A)

Thus the invited guests – who are also gods in the allegorical level of the operatic ballet – are enjoined to forget their quarrels and help the newly-wed couple, Prince Christian and his bride Magdalena Sibylla. The grand finale dance constituted the actual choreographic climax of the ballet in which the names of the bridal pair were symbolically joined. In this manner, the extension of the allegory was made tangible by the visual application to the Danish court and its attendant guests. Christian IV absented himself from the banquet held before the ballet and Christian the Prince-Elect, as heir and intended successor, took over the official role as host to the celebrations with the imperial and French ambassadors seated nearest to him (TND, sig. Di^B). In this manner the allegorical message represented in the mythological ballet, enacted by the Danish nobility (and professional singers) for their foreign guests,²⁴ mirrored the dynastic succession and transfer of political power implied in the marriage and celebrated at the banquet with the ballet.

As Angul Hammerich points out, there were three kinds of music for the ballet: instrumental dance music, choral music in madrigal form, and solo recitatives in the monodic style of the day.²⁵ The fact that from the ballet only the texts of the three solos by Orpheus, Mercury, and Apollo were included in the collected description of the wedding festivities (TND, sub lit. B, C, D) underscores their musical as well as thematic significance within the wedding celebration. A closer examination of the appendices reveals that only those poetic works from the festival cycle which were considered musical high points of the festivities were printed as supplements to the description by Holst (TND, 1635). These items are the works of greatest interest to the present discussion, since they are the showpieces of the theatrical works and the pageant, and indubitably were set to music by Schütz.²⁶ The three solos were focal points of the ballet – brilliant vocal numbers with instrumental accompaniment. Their position at the climax and conclusion of the work as well as their dazzling musical execution as depicted in Holst's descriptions emphasizes the importance of the allegorical message of the ballet itself and

sets the tone for the ensuing celebrations. From the outset of the nuptial festivities the themes of peace and prosperity in Denmark are depicted as natural attributes of the reign of the current monarch, Christian IV.

The complicated mythology of the two dramas by Lauremberg continues the theme of dynastic succession and provides a further interpretation of the role of Denmark in European affairs. In the dedication to the royal pair, the author compares them to Cadmus and Harmonia, whose wedding the gods and Muses graced with their presence in honor of the founding of Thebes. Lauremberg writes: "Diß Cadmische Frewdenfest wird an EE. Hoch-Fürstll. Durchll. wiederumb erneuert/ und der Welt abermahl fürgestellt" (TND, sig. (a)2^B). In a similar fashion, the numerous European guests honor this Danish wedding and recognize Denmark as a leader in world affairs. Both plays by Lauremberg draw on Classical mythologies of Boreas, the Northwind, although he is here called by his Latin name Aquilo, and the rape of Orithyja (Orithyia). Aquilo is the ruler of a frozen world in the North. Although he is young, his hair is white because of the snow, and he is dressed in gray. He complains that, just because his realm is cold and uninviting, it is unfair not to let him have a wife. In the course of several scenes, Jupiter explains how he has been more than fair to Aquilo and that he should consider his many gifts: his realm, although it has a harsh winter, is blessed with long days in summer to grow crops and raise livestock; the natural beauties of the kingdom are also undeniable. Moreover, Jupiter points out that because of disturbances (i.e., the Thirty Years' War) in neighboring lands, the Muses have chosen to reside in the septentrional kingdom, which is most powerful at sea. Only in one way was Aquilo not blessed – his land is incapable of producing grapes from which to make wine. Jupiter rationalizes this oversight by stating that he simply could not give one country everything, so he gave the Northern heroes sea power, not only that they might better defend their country, but also that they might import wine. Jupiter then gives his consent for Aquilo to bring a wife from a distant land; with the help of various gods and goddesses, Aquilo wins Orithyja. The first play is a very thinly veiled glorification of the Nordic lands – abounding in natural resources, a home for the arts, powerful at sea. Additionally, this play refers to the banquet and ballet from the evening before, thus making the courtly celebration the theme of the courtly musical drama. The exaltation of the Northern kingdom takes up the first three of the four acts of the Aquilo play; Orithyja appears only in the last act. Although the wedding provides the impetus for the festivities, the idealized role of the Danish monarch in domestic and foreign spheres is the real object of celebration here.

The myth of Boreas/Aquilo and Orithyja also provides the mythological structure for the second play, about King Phineus and the Harpies. Orithyja has borne the Northwind the winged heroes Calais and Zetes who, as protagonists of the second drama, have joined the Argonauts and in the course of their travels have freed Phineus from persecution by the Harpies. As the second play opens, the sirens sing Neptune's praises, and the sea god himself sings then of his realm; at the end of the prologue they all join in expressing good wishes to the royal pair.²⁷ The play itself focuses on the depiction of evil and chaotic forces loose in the world, the hybris of Phineus, and his punishment by the Harpies. The tone becomes more positive with the praise sung by Jason and his fellow sailors to Neptune as thanks for safety from the storm. The two heroes, sons of the Northwind, find Phineus nearly blind, starving because the Harpies have fouled his table and snatched away his food. The sons of Aquilo battle with the Harpies and disperse them; Phineus rewards them with a banquet in their honor. The harmonious world order is reestablished and Phineus proclaims the virtues of the North to the entire world. In this fashion, the second play projects the role of Denmark in world affairs: the future offspring of Christian the Prince-Elect and Magdalena Sibylla, as embodied in the heroes Calais and Zetes, free a persecuted king from the plague of the Harpies and restore order in his realm. Implicit in the drama is the projection of a possible role for Denmark

in future European affairs. The two dramas together portray in allegorical and mythological terms the new world order promised in the ballet. Aquilo and Orithyja are the royal couple Christian the Prince-Elect and Magdalena Sibylla; the septentrional kingdom is a prosperous Denmark over which Neptune/Christian IV keeps a watchful eye.

The mythological setting of the two plays provided numerous opportunities for musical interludes – the pastoral songs of hunters, nymphs, cupids, and satyrs as well as those of mountain goddesses and sailors. Schütz is believed to have composed the music to these works, which, as the second group of German dramatic texts to be set to music, play an important role in the history of the development of opera in that language. In 1633, through the Saxon emissary in Hamburg, Friedrich Lebzelter, the Prince-Elect initiated a request for Schütz's contributions to the celebration of the marriage.²⁸ The Dowager Electress Hedwig (1581-1641) served as an intermediary between the Prince-Elect and Johann Georg I concerning the appointment of Schütz to the Danish court.²⁹ Hedwig, Christian IV's sister, had been married in 1602 to Christian II (1583-1611) the Elector of Saxony, brother of Johann Georg I. On a trip to Dresden in 1631 Christian the Prince-Elect became personally acquainted with Schütz.³⁰ Perhaps on this occasion, Prince Christian had learned of Schütz's previous compositions for princely weddings there. Certainly, the festivities at the Dresden court were not unknown to Christian IV or to the Prince-Elect. Schütz had composed the music to the opera "Dafne" (text by Martin Opitz) for the wedding of another daughter of Johann Georg I, Sophie Eleanore, to Georg II, Landgrave of Hessen on 1 April 1627.³¹ Schütz's contributions to the "Store Bilager" of 1634 fall between "Dafne" and the "Singballet Orpheo", a text written by August Buchner, composed for another Saxon wedding – that of Johann Georg II – in 1638.³² Schütz had also provided the music for an earlier wedding which is relevant to the present investigation, that of Duke Frederik III of Holstein-Gottorf to Marie Elisabeth, daughter of Johann Georg I, on 21 February 1630. Duke Frederik, as the Habsburg emissary, and his entourage were present at the wedding of his wife's sister in Copenhagen in 1634. On a subsequent visit to Denmark 1642-44, Schütz also composed music for other Danish royal weddings. In his funeral sermon for Heinrich Schütz Martin Geier states:

Anno 1642. wiederumb nach Dennemarck daselbst beym Königl. Beylager und andern hohen Zusammenkunfften die Musicam dirigiren und vorstehen müssen <...>.³³

Payments to him as Danish Royal 'Kapellmeister' began 3 May 1642 and ended 30 April 1644.³⁴ During this time he directed music at the double wedding (6 November 1642) of Christian IV's twin daughters with Kirsten Munk – of Christiane (1626-1670) to Hannibal Sehested (1609-1666) and of Hedvig (1626-1678) to Ebbe Ulfeldt (1616-1682). Schütz was also in Copenhagen when Prince Frederik (later Frederik III, 1609-1670) married Sophie Amalie (1628-1685), daughter of Duke Georg of Braunschweig-Lüneburg on 1 October 1643.³⁵ Considered in light of the numerous other celebrations for both Saxon and Danish weddings, Schütz's endeavours at the "Store Bilager" of 1634 are important to the development of German musical drama as a genre, to contemporary understanding of the composer's role in the organizational and non-musical facets of the celebrations, and, in general, to present-day assessment of the Baroque courtly festival. The Danish wedding of 1634 is a significant chapter in Schütz's work, since it led to further engagements at the Danish court and influenced the subsequent development of German drama set to music as well. In this context the comedies by Lauremberg and the ballet by Kückelsom assume greater significance than previously accorded them.

The short ballet for Prince Christian's wedding, which contains a total of eleven Lieder, is in actuality the first 'Singballet' in German, since it predates Schütz and Buchner's "Orpheo" by four years. The basic themes of this earlier ballet also treat

the mythology of Orpheus and Euridice, and one of the main arias is sung by Orpheus. It also appears not to be coincidental that, in the second play by Lauremberg, a group of four shepherds, four shepherdesses, and six hunters sing and play a "Jagdliedt" by the author of "Dafne", Martin Opitz. This poem is not contained in other collections of Opitz's works and constitutes a heretofore unstudied addition to his oeuvre.³⁶ The Schütz-Opitz collaboration on the first German opera, followed by the insertion of an Opitz poem into another drama with music by Schütz, further illuminates the importance of these texts to German as well as Danish literary and musical history. Moreover, two strophic songs from the ballet are attributed to "J. M. C." and Lappenberg, in his edition of Lauremberg's "Schertzgedichte", states that a third poem, one from the Aquilo comedy by Lauremberg, "So viel der Blumen mann kan <sic> schawen <...>" is also by "J.M.C."³⁷ Both the 1635 and the 1648 printings of "Triumphus Nuptialis Danicus" attribute "Deß Phoebi Lied" from the ballet to "J. M. C." Moreover, there are at least two separate printings of the Kückelsom ballet itself, one of which also lists "J.M.C." as the author of the first poem of the play "Sonnet oder Invitation zum Dantz und Froligkeit." (This poem is not a sonnet, but rather a sixteen-line song of four strophes of rhymed alexandrines.) A thorough examination of persons in and around the court who might have written these poems reveals only one name which fits the set of initials: Johann Michael Corvinus, or as the later famous metrician and music theoretician is also known, Hans Mikkelsen Ravn (1610-1663).³⁸ "Kjøbenhavns Universitets Matrikel" lists Johannes Michaëlis Corvinus as a student of Johann Resen, matriculated on 7 June 1631,³⁹ where he studied theology and philosophy until 1634.⁴⁰ Though conclusive evidence for his authorship does not exist, the probability demands further investigation.

From the second of Lauremberg's comedies, "Wie die HARPYIAE von zweyen Septentrionalischen Helden verjaget; und König Phinéus entlediget wird", Lappenberg attributes a poem, "Liedt der Rhodope/von der schönen Orithyja," (III,ii) to Paul Fleming.⁴¹ This is in all likelihood a false attribution; the song Lappenberg cites is not an occasional piece with only the standard characteristics of a pastoral poem, but rather an integral part of the play. The "Liedt der Rhodope" – which consists of five strophes of six trochaic lines each, rhymed abbacc – reflects the themes and characters of the drama in which it occurs and clearly was written as a poetic insert for this particular play. Fleming's travels with the emissaries of Duke Fredrik III of Schleswig-Holstein to Moscow establishes the connection to the Danish court, but simultaneously renders the contribution of this particular poem to the wedding festivities unlikely. Lappenberg himself states that "<...> am 6. November <1633> <...> die Gesandtschaft verließ Hamburg."⁴² In Fleming's "Teütsche Poemata" (Lübeck, 1642) under the heading for works no longer extant, "Unter die Sonnetten gehören," is listed a poem, "Auff Printzen Christianen aus Dennemarcken/mit Fräulein Kh. Mar. Magdalenen vom churfürstlichen Stamme Sachsen Hochfürstlichen Beylager in Kopenhagen."⁴³ Fleming's contacts with Saxony and with Heinrich Schütz further support the notion that Fleming could have sent epithalamia to Copenhagen for the wedding of the Prince-Elect Christian and the Saxon Princess Magdalena Sibylle.⁴⁴ It is entirely possible that Fleming made a poetic contribution to the celebration of the Danish-Saxon wedding, but it is not at all certain that the "Lied der Rhodope" is from his hand. Since Lappenberg quotes no other sources for his attribution of the poem in Lauremberg's play to Fleming, it must be discounted on the basis of the present evidence.

Although "Dafne" is regarded as the first opera in the German language, comments by Schütz in his reply to Lebzelter indicate that the compositions he intended for the Danish court are equally important to the development of this genre. In a letter to Lebzelter of 6/16 February 1633, Schütz remarks that:

<...> Der H.<err> wolle auch, wann es einsten die Gelegenheit gibet, Ihre Hochfl. Durchl. vntterthenigst per discursum nicht ohnberichtet lassen, was massen auf meiner jüngsten in Italien gethanen reise ich mich noch auf eine absonderliche Art der Composition begeben hette, nemblich wie eine Comedi von allerhandt Stimmen in redenden Stylo übersetzt vndt auf den Schaw gebracht vndt singende agiret werden könne, welche Dinge meines Wissens (auf solche Art, wie ich meine) in Teutschland noch gantz ohnbekandt, bishero auch wegen des schweren Zustandes bey uns weder practiciret noch befödert worden <...> .⁴⁵

Schütz's second trip to Venice referred to here lasted from 1628 to 1630 and thus fell after the composition and performance of "Dafne", but before the royal Danish wedding.

Before or during this time, Claudio Monteverdi (1567?-1643), who held the position of Maestro di Cappella di San Marco in Venice from 1613, had set several texts to music, some of them dramas: the 'favola in musica' "L'orfeo," performed 22 February 1607 (text by Striggio) and printed in 1607 and 1615, "Arianna," (performed 1608), and "Ballo dell'Ingrate" (text by Rinuccini). Between 1616 and 1630 he wrote ten operas and ballets, among them "La Finta Pazza Licori" (a comic work, ca. 1627; lost), "Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda" (ca. 1624), "Armida" (ca. 1627), a new intermezzo (ca. 1627) for the courts in Parma and Ferrara (performed 1628), and "Proserpina" Rapita (1630, lost). Many of Monteverdi's works from this period were lost when the Habsburgs plundered Mantua in 1630.⁴⁶ Schütz, however, would have become acquainted with some, if not all, of these works during his stay in Venice.⁴⁷ As the above letter indicates, Schütz devoted his study there to the manner in which poetic texts, especially theatrical works, could be set to music. Moreover, his letter does suggest that "Dafne" did not include true recitative and that he clearly intended to draw on the new methods for the composition of future musical dramas. The two plays by Lauremberg for the Danish court, although not set to music in their entirety, do in fact incorporate the new techniques which Schütz learned in Italy. A closer examination of the texts reveals strophic songs "stylo oratorio" in the prologue of both the comedies by Lauremberg. In the prologue to the Aquilo comedy Hymnaeus welcomes the guests and praises the bridal pair. In the second play Neptune sings the prologue. Since the figure of the sea god Neptune allegorically represents Christian IV in the theatrical festivities, Schütz reserved his most innovative and brilliant musical techniques for scenes depicting the Danish monarch. Furthermore, Schütz and Buchner's 'Singballet' "Orpheo," written only four years after the Danish wedding, bears the following remark on the manuscript of the title page: "auf Italienische Manier."⁴⁸ Thus the arias in Kückelsom's ballet and in Lauremberg's comedies are the first operatic texts in German which reflect the most recent innovations in setting poetry to music in the Italian style. In addition to the three solos by Orpheus, Mercury, and Apollo from the ballet (TND, sub lit. B, C, D), there are also Hymnaeus' aria from the Aquilo play (sub lit. F), Apollo's closing song from the Orithyja play (sub lit. I), and, from the pageant, the "Thronus Veneris" (sub lit. M) and "Lied von der Macht der Liebe" (sub lit. P). This evidence refutes Niels Martin Jensen's assertion that Schütz wrote a "single 'Lied'" for the Great Wedding.⁴⁹ It is the present author's contention that all of the poetic works reprinted in "Triumphus Nuptialis Danicus" (1635) in the appendices (as sub lit. B, C, D, F, I, M, P) are to be considered poetic texts to musical works by Schütz, in which, for the first time, German texts were set to music in monodic style. At the very least, Schütz composed the above-named seven 'Lieder' for the royal Danish wedding.

That musical features played a prominent role in Lauremberg's dramas is suggested by the description of the festivities in "Triumphus Nuptialis Danicus" (1648). In an appendix to this printing "Was in dem Hoch-Printz. Beylager ist vorgelauffen und agiret worden," is a table of contents for the dramatic presentations, among

them two of the peasant scenes from the plays. The first rustic scene (item 3) is listed in the following manner: "Die erste Bawr-Comoedia/ vom Ringrennen/Thurnieren/ und Gammel Matz. Gesprächsweis agirt." This remark indicates that, in comparison to the main body of the plays, none of the comic scenes was sung, but only spoken. Although there is a good deal of prose text in the dramas proper – there is both spoken dialogue and song – clearly the music provided the climax of the work. Both plays have extensive musical interludes. They open with choral and ensemble vocal music before the prologue, which is also sung. There are choral strophes, individual strophic songs, and refrains for the full chorus before the first act of each play, allegorically glorifying both the bridal couple and Christian IV. Other musical interludes within the acts of the plays include solo strophic songs, some followed by a full chorus, as well as strophic songs in which individual verses are sung by different voices or groups of voices. For example, in the Aquilo play (III, vi), there is a 'Wechselgesang' between cupids and satyrs which is concluded by the full chorus. In the Phineus play, to cite a different example, there are no songs in the last act (IV), but Apollo sings a solo strophic song as the epilogue, which is concluded by the full chorus, singing "Vivat Christianus Quartus."⁵⁰ In addition to the preliminary vocal arrangements before the first act of each play, both plays have a total of five lengthy strophic songs each. All of the songs are incorporated into the main thematic structure of the drama and are not merely relegated to space between the acts and certainly not to the comic peasant scenes. Although choruses sometimes do close the acts, there are not necessarily 'Zwischenlieder' after each act. There are additional opportunities for vocal and instrumental music in the plays; this is indicated simply by the word "chorus" (with no specific text provided) or a fanfare is required: "Heerpauken und Trompeten." The main vocal interludes are lyric expressions of pastoral and mythological love themes consistent with the occasion for which the plays were performed. The fact that prominent German and Danish Baroque poets, not to mention Heinrich Schütz himself, are associated with these Lieder indicates their importance to the representation of courtly festival culture.

Schütz's responsibilities for the royal wedding went well beyond the composition of music, and included the organization of both the theatrical works and the subsequent pageant around allegorical-mythological themes. He arrived in Denmark on 6 December 1633, and preparations for the royal wedding began soon thereafter. In a letter from 18 December 1633, Christian IV stated that he had asked the engraver Simon de Paas to sketch a plan for the tournament, and he commanded that the musicians and choir boys be sent to Copenhagen so that they might begin working with Schütz.⁵¹ In another letter from 9 February 1634, the king also discussed further musical affairs at the castle in Copenhagen. As early as 14 February 1634, Christian IV assigned the painter Carl van Mander the task of creating stage scenery for the ballet:

Huorledis den Balletthe skal anordnis, derpaa Er Carll v: Manderen befahliid at gørre En affriidtz. Nu thuiffler leg inted paa, at densamme Io Er ferdig, Naar y den affoddrer.⁵²

On 19 February 1634, Christian IV stated in a letter that

<...> Dr. Lauremberg eller medicus paa Sorø <...> at én af dem eller begge tilsammen stafferer og forfaerdiger den Komedie, som Kapelmesteren angiver.⁵³

The medical doctor at the academy in Sorø was Joachim Burser (1583-1639).⁵⁴ Since Lauremberg alone applied for the 'Privileg' to print the two comedies, he alone signed the introduction to the plays (dated 31 March 1634), and signed the French poem in which he dedicated the two plays to Christian the Prince-Elect and Magdalena Sibylla, we must assume them to be the work of Lauremberg. Certain literary features also support this contention: the comic peasant scenes clearly anticipate

Lauremberg's later work "Veer Scherz Gedichte".⁵⁵ The fact that in 1655, long after Burser's death, Lauremberg wrote the first opera text "Arion" (in German) to be performed in Denmark, for the swearing of the oath of allegiance to Christian V (1646-1699), further indicates his competence in this area.⁵⁶

A letter from 28 February 1634 brought up an issue mentioned in earlier, as well as subsequent, letters about the staging of the nuptial ceremonies and the fireworks for the morality play. Christian IV wrote:

Ederss skriiffuelse haffuer Ieg Emphangiid, derhuoss ded affriidtz paa ded pulpetur, som capelmeisteren uille haffue giordt udi kyrcken paa Slottid, Saa Eptherdi Samme structur uuil koste En heell hab, Och man haffuer liidid eller ingen tiieniste deraff at foruenthe, Eptherdi dii Solennia all Skeer paa Sallen.⁵⁷

Clearly, Schütz had a say in all aspects of the staging of the works and dealt directly with Christian IV himself about the organization of the festival cycle. As early as 6 April 1634, advanced preparations for the comedies and the tragedy were under way. From Skanderborg, Christian IV wrote:

I skall taale med Capellmeisteren, At hand giiffuer fraa Siig, huad for Monstra der skall brugis udi dy thuende commedier, som hannem tiilskiickid Er at Ordinare, Paaded Siiman de paas En deell, Och Carll von Manderen ded andiid kunde teegne, huorepther Chriistoffer Suencke med hans Selskab med Pappen <til Fryvaerkeri> Siig kunde Retthe Och dermed gørre En Begiindelse.⁵⁸

In the same letter, the staging of all the works is mentioned again in a postscript:

Capelmeisteren tår ingen anden faciit gørre Siig, End at Baade Balletten, commedien Och Mascheraden och andiid Sliigdt ingen andensted skall haffue derris begiindelse uden fraa den Ende hen ymod kóckenid.⁵⁹

The court financial letters show further that on 15 September 1634 Lauremberg was paid "55 enk. Rdl.," "<...> som han igjen skal give til en Maler for et Theatrum, som skal bruges udi Komedien, han haver malet og stafferet for Kgl. Maj."⁶⁰ These excerpts from Christian IV's letters clearly demonstrate that the king himself was actively involved in both the planning and the preparation of the wedding festivities for his eldest son. Moreover, they indicate that the 'Kapellmeister' Heinrich Schütz had a great deal of responsibility in these preparations – much beyond the musical sphere. All aspects of the theatrical performances were submitted to Schütz for his consideration: the ballet, the fireworks, the comedies, the "monsters" for the morality play, and the location for the performance of these pieces. The four stage works – the ballet, the two plays by Lauremberg, and the morality play with its simultaneous fireworks – were all part of a carefully devised, unified concept for the celebration of the Danish wedding and of the ultimate succession of the monarchy. These plays were the core of the festivities and the focus of the guests' attention. A great deal of care was given to the juxtaposition of the allegorical themes and political content of these works. As 'Kapellmeister' in Copenhagen, Schütz coordinated all of the theatrical works and the pageant tableaux as a two-week-long festival.

Comic peasant scenes in both dramas might be considered an indication of the involvement of wandering troupes in the marriage celebrations. Each of the two musical dramas has comic Low German scenes spoken by rustic characters. These comic peasant scenes, which are an integral part of the mythological dramas, are direct precursors to Lauremberg's later popular success in the "Scherzgedichte". They do not merely relieve the heavy-handed allegory of the plays, but also underscore and reiterate the broader themes of all the festivities. For example, in the Aquilo play, the comic "interscenum" deals with two peasants, Drewes and Cheel, who go to a big foreign city, can not speak the language well, and can not find their lodgings again. They remark on the unusual and wonderful pageants in the city.

Cheel, who is completely ignorant of tournaments, tells about a strange sight and then describes – in hilarious terms – the "Ringelrennen". Thus the subsequent pageant festivities become themselves themes of the dramas. The self-reference provides the opportunity both for further comedy and for continued glorification of the courtly festival per se. In the second play about King Phineus, two peasants, Chim and Matz, enact the two comic scenes, which here are not called "inter-scenia," and are indeed actual scenes in the play. One of the peasant scenes deals with a wild boar which wreaks havoc in the surrounding fields and forests, and the other with a former servant of Phineus, who has been transformed into a bear. Again the comic scenes provide ample occasion for verbal humor and slapstick, while simultaneously representing the chaotic forces – depicted by the wild beasts – rampant in the world and which are subdued by the heroes Zetes and Calais (the future allegorical offspring of Christian the Prince-Elect and Magdalena Sibylla) from the North. These scenes directly contribute to the main plot line and support the political implications of the allegorical themes.

The above-mentioned pyrotechnic play, "Tragoedia von den Tugenden und La-stern", which was supposed to conclude the theatrical festivities, is an allegorical play about vices and virtues, about a good kingdom – symbolized by Hoffenburg – and a bad one, Trachenburg. The fireworks were elaborate – depicting dragons, lightning, the destruction of the castle of vices, as well as the usual flaming initials and rockets. The prologue to the play was spoken and not sung. There is no indication that there was any vocal music in the play, although there was some occasion for instrumental music, indicated simply by "musicieren."⁶¹ In themes and dramatic structure, this play was rather old-fashioned and relied strongly on the older tradition of morality plays. Whereas the ballet, which was an exceedingly modern presentation in the manner of the seventeenth-century French 'ballet de cour,' followed the marriage of the Prince-Elect, the morality play was performed after the second marriage celebrated during the festivities of 1634.⁶² On 10 October Christian von Pentz (1600-1651) married Sofie Elisabeth (1619-1657), duchess of Schleswig-Holstein and daughter of Christian IV and Kirsten Munk. Pentz was a 'Rigsgreve' and governor of Glückstadt (1630), a capacity in which he functioned as 'Statthalter' of Schleswig-Holstein. Since Pentz was a descendant of German nobility from Mecklenburg, his marriage constituted yet a further alliance between German-speaking lands and Denmark. Moreover, the marriage into a prestigious family from the duchies further enhanced domestic tranquillity in the Danish realm. Along with others, Christian von Pentz was knighted with the Order of the Elephant on 5 October 1634 in a ceremony preceding the royal marriage.⁶³ He enjoyed a stellar career, fulfilled many diplomatic missions on behalf of Christian IV, and rose to positions of power and influence in Denmark. It is not insignificant that the morality play with its admonition to follow virtue and avoid vice celebrated the marriage of lesser nobility, of a man who should be reminded of his duty to his king. In this piece, the dynasty is portrayed as protector of the cardinal virtues; the chivalric virtues are also allegorically implicit in the presence of the court society at the performance of the play. As in the Lauremberg plays, the benevolent and wise ruler suppresses the chaotic forces of vice and restores order in the world. The printed text in both Danish and German is an integral part of the performance, for it introduces the spectators to the world of the illusion – the gestures of the enacted play, the dialogue, and the illuminations – and enables them to understand the moral of the play. The Danish version of the allegorical play, "Tragoedia Om Dyder oc Laster" was printed again two years later for the performance at the wedding of Corfitz Ulfeldt (1606-1664) and Eleonora Christine (1621-1698), yet another daughter of Christian IV and Kirsten Munk.⁶⁴ Ulfeldt, who also became a member of the Order of the Elephant in 1634, rose to the position of 'Rigshofmester' (1643) the highest political, administrative position in Denmark. In 1651, Ulfeldt fled Denmark on charges of treason and his wife, Eleonora Christine,

was imprisoned by her half-brother Frederik III for remaining loyal to Ulfeldt.⁶⁵ The allegory of vices and virtues thus later became an actual drama in Danish history.

The four dramatic works – the ballet, the musical comedies, and the anonymous morality play – were integral parts of the two-week-long wedding celebrations. They were by no means separate from the rest of the festivities at court, but rather prepared the courtly audience for a phase of the representative pageantry in which the members of the noble audience themselves participated. As such, the stage works were of great significance in establishing the political-allegorical framework of the complete festival cycle, the tone of which was set by Christian IV himself in collaboration with Heinrich Schütz. The four theatrical pieces discussed here all anticipate the themes of the tournament pageant wagons. By subsequently participating in the pageants, the noble guests supported the ideals presented earlier in the nuptial celebrations. The themes of the theatrical works were then taken up in the eighteen pageant tableaux which preceded the tournaments. These pageant scenes were staged in the open air at the Amagertorv in Copenhagen. Only the fourth triumphal procession has received critical attention to date, since Schütz's music for it is extant.⁶⁶ All the pageant scenes deserve careful scrutiny both because of their individual merit and because of their intimate connection to the four dramatic entertainments and to the overall political and cultural connotations of the entire wedding celebrations.⁶⁷

All of the knights who were to participate in the tournament presented, singly or in groups, pageant wagons depicting mythological-allegorical scenes. For example, the initial triumphal procession was enacted by Christian IV himself, together with his son and heir. Here we encounter extrapolations of themes known to us from the dramatic works. The full description of this pageant tableau follows.⁶⁸

Der I. Aufzug.

Erstlich

1. Heerpaucker.) nicht verkleidet

10. Trompeter.)

4. Maestri di Campo, darunter 2. Hertzoge von Sonderburg / waren nicht verkleidet/ weiln sie den Königl. Aufzug und folgendes alle andere/ durch die Nebenschrancken der Rennebahn auff- und abführten.

Darauff kam der erste Triumphwagen/ wie ein schöner wohl zugerichteter Garten/ darinnen sassen 5. Musicanten/ alle verkleidet/ und musicirten lieblich. Dabey ein springender Brunn.

Folgte

Einer zu Pferde/ führte in der rechten Hand eine grosse Kugel/ darauff stund mit güldnen Buchstaben/ CHAOS.

Darnach kamen noch

4 zu Pferde/ alle wohl verkleidet/ waren die vier Elementen/ als Feuer/ Wasser/ Erde/ Luft.

Nach diesem folgte

Der ander Triumphwagen/ in form und gestalt grosser brausender Meerswällen; Am vordertheil saß Triton, sehr groß/ mit eim Horn im Munde/ Es gieng ein Mensch darunter/ der bließ auff einer Trompeten/ als wenn der Triton hätte auß seinem Horn geblasen. Hinden auff saß Protheus, hatte in der Hand einen grossen Bawm/ daran hieng ein Schlüssel.

Folgten noch

4. Triumpffwagen/ die bedeutten vier zeiten des Menschlichen Alters/ Als da seyn/ erstlich Pueritia, das ander Juventus, das dritte Virilis aetas, das vierde Senectus.

In dem ersten Wagen sassen junge Kinderchen/ sehr wohl verkleidet/ mit Kränzen auff ihren Häuptern. In dem andern junge Gesellen. In dem dritten junge Männer.

In dem vierden alte Männer.

Noch

Drey andere Triumphwagen.

Dann folgte

Templum Jani, sehr groß gebawet/ wie eine Kirche/ darinnen 10. oder 12 Musicanten
uber alle maaß lieblich musicirten. Aussen vor der Thür/ welche verschloß/ stund
Janus Bifrons mit dem Schlüssel.

Darauff noch

Ein ander Triumphwagen/ wurd gezogen von vier weissen Pferden/ die gingen neben
ein ander.

Darnach kamen

6. Verkleidete mit blawen Fahnen zu Fuß.

2. Zu Pferde mit blawen Fahnen.

Folgten

Beyde Herrn Mantenadorn, Ihr Mayt. und Printzliche Durchleuchtigkeit/ beyderseits
in Römischer kleidung/ von güldnen Stück/ sehr köstlich gemacht.

Noch

2. Zu Pferde mit blawen Fahnen.

Darauff

6. Patrinen, diese führten die Lantzen zu Pferde/ damit man nach dem Ringe
rennt/ und mußten in der Gegenbahn allezeit beyher reiten/ wann ihr Herr nach
dem Ringe rannte.

6. Handroße/ mit schönen gestickten Sätteln/ Zeugen und Federn geschmücket/
wurden geleytet von drey mit blawen und 3. mit rothen Rücken.

Zum Beschluß folgte

Ein schönes grosses Schiff/ mit 2. außgespannten Segeln/ darinnen war viel Schiff-
volck mit Rudern/ und allem andern Schiffsgeräthe. Das Schiff wurd fortgezogen
von dreyen Pferden/ die umbkleidet waren/ als wann es erschräckliche
Meerwunder gewesen.

Nach dem die Herrn Mantenadorn ihren Aufzug gesagter massen durch die
Schrancken geführet/ hielten sie zu ende der Rennbahn/ die ankommende
Adventurier zu empfangen.

The most lavish of all the triumphal scenes, this one combines in a new fashion elements known to us from the theatrical works: Denmark as a beautiful garden and a home for the Muses, especially that of Music. The four elements are united, yet threatened by chaos. The victor is the sea god, (Neptune=Christian IV) announced by Triton, trumpeter of the sea. Symbolically, Proteus, the son of Neptune who could foretell the future, is seated behind him, holding a huge tree (of the world = of Denmark?) from which hangs a golden key (to the temple of Janus, to peace?). Both real and mythological sea creatures allude to the image of Denmark as a seafaring nation. The natural succession of the Danish crown is also portrayed in the wagons representing the four ages of man. The mythological presentation of the Danish monarchy in domestic and allegorical terms shifts with the representation of the Temple of Janus. Here one can read the Danish self-interpretation of its role in seventeenth-century world affairs. The door to the temple is closed, signifying an empire at peace. Within the temple itself, musicians play, again representative of the cultural niveau of Danish lands in contrast to the war-torn outside world beyond Danish borders, the patronage of fine arts by the Danish monarchy, and, above all, the climate of peace in which one can pursue these artistic endeavors.

Surely, this image was not lost on the Saxon guests, whose land, due to an uncertain and indecisive foreign policy, had become the theatre of the Thirty Years' War. Saxony suffered greatly in the early 1630's, a fact which was reflected in the reduction of the Hofkapelle from forty members in 1630 to ten in 1639.⁶⁹ Heinrich Schütz himself wrote the following in his petition for permission to travel to Denmark:

Das absehen dieser meiner Reise were nochmals einig dahin gerichtet, denen Itzigen Kriegs vndt andern in vnserm lieben Vatterlande schwebenden, vndt mich auch mit betreffenden beschwerden vndt hindernüssen in meinem Studio eine zeitlang zu entweichen, vndt dero örter in Niedersachsen, wo möglich, ohne perturbation meines gemüths meine Profession mit allem fleis fortzustellen.⁷⁰

That this peaceable kingdom is Denmark and that this situation is due to the efforts of the current regime is underscored by the appearance of King Christian IV and his intended heir, Christian the Prince-Elect, in Roman military costume. The current king is the bulwark against evil forces in the realm and, by implication, his intended successor will continue to foster both peace and the arts. In a like manner, the themes of the theatrical works and their related allegories are taken up into all of the triumphal pageant tableaux. The subsequent participation of the noble wedding guests – there are pageant tableaux by the brothers of the bride, the Saxon Princes, for example – as authors and actors in the pageant unites the theater and pageant with a projected reality.⁷¹ The stage of fantasy becomes the stage of reality as the idealized world order depicted in the plays and pageants is transferred to the actual world of the Danish court. By participation in the pageant, the noble guests in attendance confirm the idealized role of Denmark presented to them in the dramatic works.

It is of great significance that the services of the most respected German composer of the day, Heinrich Schütz, were enlisted for this celebration. Although almost none of Schütz's music for this wedding is still extant, the stay in Denmark must have been a most productive time for the German composer. When later requesting permission from Johann Georg I to return to Denmark, he wrote (in a letter dated Dresden 1 February 1637) that

<...> vndt ich aber ohne des, meine besten Musicalischen sachen noch in Denemark, so wol auch mein gratial bey dem Printzen vndt andere Anforderung dero örter stehend habe, welche ohne meine persönliche gegenwardt, wie ich vermercke, mir wol schwerlich gefolget werden möchten <...>.⁷²

Among the things left in Denmark must have been both secular and sacred music, including the music for the dramas and the music played at the wedding ceremony.⁷³

This courtly representation of Denmark's position in a European context takes on special significance when the historical context is considered. In the late 1620's Denmark entered the Thirty Years' War and suffered a humiliating defeat in Lower Saxony which led to the Peace of Lübeck in 1629.⁷⁴ The much-admired son of Christian IV, Prince Ulrik (1611-1633), was murdered while crossing the army lines on 12 August 1633, a tragic event which prompted an outpouring of funerary occasional poetry, such as the dedication (11 September 1633) of Martin Opitz's "Trostgedichte in Widerwärtigkeit des Krieges" to Ulrik.⁷⁵ The illusory Peace of Prague was concluded in 1635.⁷⁶ The long-anticipated end of the war came only in 1648, the year in which Christian IV died. Undoubtedly, this combination of events prompted the republication of "Triumphus Nuptialis Danicus" at this time. The "Store Bilager" of 1634 demonstrates the cultural exchange – in the fullest sense of the word – between German-speaking lands and Denmark in the seventeenth century. In literature as well as in music Copenhagen was abreast of contemporary trends at all the major European courts. Heinrich Schütz, the most celebrated German composer of the time, was recruited to orchestrate the musical and dramatic presentations surrounding this event. Through him the Danish court gave impetus to the development of operatic forms in the German language as well as in Danish. Indeed, as the careful coordination of the stage works with the theatrical dimensions of the pageant tableaux indicates, Denmark set the standard for the Northern European Baroque courtly festival in the seventeenth century. The zenith

reached by the "Store Bilager" was unsurpassed until well after the close of the Thirty Years' War, when Dresden courtly festivities under Johann Georg II and August der Starke assumed a leading role. Here again one can trace the influence of Heinrich Schütz.

Notes

- 1 Günter GRASS, *Das Treffen in Telgte* (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1979), p. 59.
- 2 Subsequent references to the 1635 edition will be made within the text as (TND), together with the signature or item description.
- 3 This contradicts Kurt Gudewill's description of the sources for the wedding festivities in which he maintains that the 1648 version was previously unknown to Danish scholars (p. 75-76, 80). All of the sources given here are listed in *Bibliotheca Danica*, Vol. III (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1962), cols. 125-27. Many of Gudewill's misconceptions about the differences between the texts and their relative completeness are due to the fact that he thought he had unique copies. Apparently he did not know the copy used for the present study. Most of these items are not clearly catalogued in the Royal Library in Copenhagen, a factor which further obfuscates the problem. See Kurt GUDEWILL, "Der 'Gesang der Venuskinder' von Heinrich Schütz," *SJB* 6 (1984), 72-92.
- 4 The Latin description of the Danish part of the trip has been translated into Danish as: *Det Store Bilager i Kjobenhavn 1634*, ed. Julius CLAUSEN and P.Fr. RIST. *Memoirer og Breve*, Vol. 20 (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1914; Rpt. Copenhagen: Bang, 1969). The latter work also contains excerpts from *Regiae Nuptiae* (see item 3) as well as copies of the engravings from the 1648 German imprint.
- 5 See Ludwig KRAPP and Christian WAGENKNECHT, ed., *Stuttgarter Hoffeste*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1979).
- 6 <Johann LAUREMBERG>, *Zwo Comedien ...* (Copenhagen, 1635). See also DÜNNHAUPT, "Lauremberg," *Bibliographisches Handbuch der Barockliteratur*, Vol. II (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1981), item 14.
- 7 Niels Martin JENSEN, "Heinrich Schütz und die Ausstattungstücke bei dem großen Beilager zu Kopenhagen 1634" (lecture held at the International Schütz conference in Copenhagen 1985), erroneously maintains that the folk elements of the peasant scenes by Lauremberg and the "Tragödie von den Tugenden und Lastern" render it unlikely, if not impossible, for musical contributions by Schütz. No one, however, has ever asserted that Schütz composed music for the tragedy (vgl. MGG, Grove, Moser); and there is no provision for musical interludes in the peasant scenes of the comedies. The proceedings of this conference are forthcoming.
- 8 E.G. TAUBER, *Udsigt over Sorøe Academies Forfatning <...> (1623-1665)* (Copenhagen: Schultz, <1827>) and Torben GLAHN, *Soraner Biografier 1584-1737* (Sorø: Soransk Samfund, 1978).
- 9 GUDEWILL, "Venuskinder ...," p. 85 maintains that this work never appeared in print. It was actually printed twice: in 1634 and 1636.
- 10 JENSEN (see note 7) asserts that the theatrical presentations at the Great Wedding were more "eine volkstümliche als <...> eine höfische Kunst". This is certainly true for the tragedy, as I have indicated above, but is by no means the case with the ballet and the comedies.

- 11 Ludwig DAAE, *Om Humanisten og Satirikeren Johan Lauremberg*, (Christiania: Gundersen, 1884), p. 19.
- 12 C.F. BRICKA and J.A. FREDERICIA, *Kong Christian den Fjerdes egenhandige Breve 1623-1635*, Vol. 3 (Rpt. Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1969), item 247, pp. 217-18, dated 11 January 1634. Christian IV informs "Chur-Saxen" of whom he has invited.
- 13 Hans Joachim MOSER, *Heinrich Schütz*², (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), p. 131.
- 14 Extant as item 8 in Part V of his "Arien" (Königsberg, 1642) as "Bekehrung zum Herren Christo", a parody. See Heinrich ALBERT, *Arien*, 2 vols., ed. Eduard BERNOULLI, DDT, Vol. 12-13 (1902-3, Rpt. 1958). Vol. 12, p. ix and Vol. 13, pp. 154-57. After the great wedding of 1634, Albert himself wrote two musical dramas, "Clemonedes" (1635) and "Sorbuisa" (also known as "Prussiarchus," 1645).
- 15 Boy HINRICHS, Albert PANTEN, Guntram RIECKEN, *Flutkatastrophe 1634* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1985).
- 16 The title page of the comedies states that the plays were enacted on 7 <sic> and 12 October 1634. Other sources, however, "Triumphus Nuptialis Danicus" by Holst and "Ephemerides Sive Iter Danicum <...>" by Ogier, state that the comedies were presented on 8/18 and 12/22 October respectively. It was the second play by Lauremberg which was performed out of sequence and should have been staged on 9 October 1634.
- 17 Again, JENSEN (note 7) mistakenly implies that the works which Schütz was intended to compose for the Copenhagen court were beneath Schütz's musical stature and suggests that Schütz assigned them to the lutenist John Price. Since, for example, there is no single piece of music by Price extant, it is unwise to assume that a musician known first and foremost as an instrumentalist would have composed lyrical, musical texts. The same source quoted by Prof. Jensen (FÜRSTENAU p. 74) indicates unequivocally, however, that Schütz had little regard for Price's accomplishments; that would seem to preclude close collaboration between the two in Copenhagen. According to MOSER (p. 128) Price was responsible for music in the French and English styles, and only in extenuating circumstances for Italianate music. This would, in turn, exclude Price's composition of the music for the ballet and the comedies. See Moritz FÜRSTENAU, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen*, 2 vols. (Dresden: Kuntze, 1861; Rpt. Leipzig: Peters, 1971).
- 18 Werner BRAUN, "Das Ballett zum großen Kopenhagener Beilager 1634" (lecture held at the International Schütz conference held in Copenhagen 1985): "So läßt sich das Kopenhagener Ballett doch wohl als ein 'Singballett' auffassen und damit – für diese frühe Zeit – eher als italienisch denn als französisch beeinflusst, obwohl das Musterbuch für eine 'Introduction al ballo', Claudio Monteverdis Achtes Madrigalbuch, 1634 noch nicht vorlag." The proceedings of this conference are forthcoming.
- 19 The ballet was a prime example of a ballet de cour which grew out of the entertainments and intermedii with which courtly guests were entertained after a state banquet. Kückelsom's ballet displays the dramatic plot, enchantments, theatrical effects, and political-allegorical undercurrents characteristic of such works. See D.P. WALKER, "Ballet de Cour," MGG, Vol. I, cols. 1064-68; Werner BRAUN, "Zur Gattungsproblematik des Singballetts", *Gattung und Werk in der Musikgeschichte Norddeutschlands und Skandinaviens*, ed. Friedhelm KRUMMACHER and Heinrich W. SCHWAB, *Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft*, Vol. XXVI (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1982). See also BRAUN, note 18.

- 20 There are only eleven lines to this 'sonnet' in the printed text to the ballet <1634>. Since the strophic structure and rhyme scheme are carefully constructed in the manner of a sonnet, I assume that part of a strophe was omitted during printing.
- 21 Angul HAMMERICH, *Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof* (Copenhagen: Hansen, 1892), p. 113. Parts of his study were translated into German and appeared as: Catharinus ELLING nach Angul HAMMERICH, "Die Musik am Hofe Christians IV von Dänemark," *VfMw*, 4 (1893), 62-98.
- 22 Ulrik Christian's mother was Kirsten Madsdatter. Immediately following the "Great Wedding", he entered diplomatic services as the ambassador to Spain and France. In 1638 he was in Sweden and in 1640 he entered Spanish employ as "generalvagtmester." He was killed in 1640 at the battle of Meinertshagen against the Dutch.
- 23 Werner BRAUN, "<...> Kopenhagener Beilager 1634" (see note 18), divides the ballet into four parts. Because of the continuity between the *Voluptas* (BRAUN, part 3) and *Atlas* (BRAUN, part 4) scenes, the present author suggests only three divisions in the action.
- 24 See Torben KROGH, *Hofballeter under Christian IV og Frederik III, Studien fra Sprog- og Altidsforskning*, Vol. 180 (Copenhagen: Branner, 1939), pp. 15-22.
- 25 HAMMERICH, p. 113.
- 26 Cf. JENSEN, see note 7.
- 27 Perhaps the bass singer Johannes Lange sang the part of Neptune/Christian IV. See Hammerich, p. 102.
- 28 Schütz GBr, pp. 122-27 and Emil MARQUARD, ed. *Prins Christian (V.)s Breve*, Vol. I (Copenhagen: Gad, 1952), p. 84.
- 29 MARQUARD; pp. 85 and 192-93.
- 30 Heinrich Schütz og Danmark, *Catalogue of the Musikhistorisk Museum og Carl Claudius' Sammling* (Copenhagen: n.p., 1985), pp. 7-8.
- 31 Martin OPITZ, *Dafne* (Breslau: Müller, 1627). In March of 1635 Christian the Prince-Elect was asked to be the godfather of their daughter, Elisabeth Amalia (20 March 1635). See MARQUARD, p. 193.
- 32 August BUCHNER, *Ballet bey Churf. Johann Georgen des Andern gehaltenem Beylager / Von dem Orpheo und der Eurydice / 20. Nov. zu Gotha gehalten*, first edited and published by August Heinrich HOFFMANN VON FALLERSLEBEN, *Weimarisches Jahrbuch* 2 (1855), 13-39.
- 33 Martin GEIER, *Kurtze Beschreibung des Herrn Heinrich Schützens <...> Lebenslauff* (Rpt. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972), sig. Gii^B.
- 34 See Joshua RIFKIN, *Heinrich Schütz*, *New GroveD*, Vol. 17, p. 11.
- 35 GEIER (note 33). RIFKIN (p. 11) quotes Geier only in reference to the double wedding and does not mention Schütz in connection with Frederik's marriage. Schütz dedicated "Kleine Geistliche Concerte," Part II (SWV 306-37) to Frederik (1639), noting: "Zwar muß ich mich schemen/ mit einem so kleinen vnd schlechten Wercklein vor deroselben zu erscheinen/ Nun aber die Boßheit der ietzigen/ den freyen Künsten widrigen Zeiten/ meinen anderweit/ sonder Ruhm/ bey Handen habenden besseren Wercken/ das Liecht nicht gönnen wollen/ hat es bey diesem geringen für dißmal verbleiben müssen." Moreover, the title page of Kückelsom's ballet, for which Schütz wrote the music, cites Frederik as the ini-

- tiator. Surely, Schütz contributed musical compositions to the celebration of Frederik's marriage in Glückstadt.
- 36 Erich TRUNZ, Martin Opitz, *Weltliche Poemata* (1644), 2 vols. (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1967/1975) and *Geistliche Poemata* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1966); George SCHULZ-BEHREND, Martin Opitz, *Gesammelte Werke*, II/1-2, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins Stuttgart, Vols. 300-1 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1978); see LAPPENBERG, ed., *Schertzgedichte*, p. 172.
- 37 LAPPENBERG, ed., *Schertzgedichte*, p. 172.
- 38 On the title page of all his theoretical works from the 1640's, Ravn signed himself Johann Michael Corvinus. Cf. Werner BRAUN, "<...> Kopenhagener Beilager 1634" (see note 18). The fact that Schütz's name appeared only on the song for which he indubitably composed the music ("Venusberg") would support the argument that he did not write the texts for other works, otherwise this would have been indicated.
- 39 Birket S. SMITH, ed., *Kjøbenhavns Universitets Matrikel*, Vol. I (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1890), p. 106.
- 40 Nils SCHIØRRING, "Ravn," *Dansk Biografisk Lexikon*, Vol. 19, p. 282.
- 41 "Auch die eingelegten Lieder <...> erheben sich nicht weit über das Gewöhnliche, vielleicht mit einziger Ausnahme eines Liedes zum Preise Orithya, welches sehr an ähnliche Lieder Paul Flemings erinnert," (LAPPENBERG, ed., *Schertzgedichte*, p. 172). See also Paul FLEMING, *Deutsche Gedichte*, 2 vols., ed. J.M. Lappenberg, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Vols. 82-83 (Stuttgart, 1865), Vol. 82, pp. 308-309 and 538, and Vol. 83, p. 742.
- 42 LAPPENBERG, ed., *Deutsche Gedichte* (see note 41), Vol. 83, p. 867.
- 43 Sig. xxij^A. See LAPPENBERG, ed., *Deutsche Gedichte*, Vol. 82, pp. 537-38. There is also a sonnet on the death of Prince Ulrik (1633) listed among Fleming's lost works.
- 44 In 1632, Fleming had dedicated a poem to Schütz. See LAPPENBERG, ed., *Deutsche Gedichte*, Vol. 82, pp. 351-53.
- 45 Schütz GBr, pp. 125-26.
- 46 See Hans Ferdinand REDLICH, "Monteverdi," *MGG*, Vol. 9, cols. 511-31.
- 47 Wolfgang Osthoff discusses Schütz's encounter with Italian musical poetics, especially with the dramatic music of Monteverdi. See W. OSTHOFF, "Heinrich Schütz – die historische Begegnung der deutschen Sprache mit der musikalischen Poetik Italiens," *SJb*, 2 (1980), 78-102.
- 48 HAMMERICH, p. 112. "Composed by the electoral Kapellmeister Heinrich Schütz in the Italian manner", *RIFKIN* (note 34), p. 10.
- 49 JENSEN, see note 7. It is indeed problematic that the sources do not mention the degree of Schütz's musical participation in the wedding festivities. One must keep in mind, however, that the only work which cites his name contains the music, and not merely the text. Unfortunately, the printed sources which do not contain the musical notes also do not mention his name.
- 50 TND, 1635, sub lit. I. See also LAUREMBERG, *Zwo Comoedien* <...> sig. H^B.
- 51 BRICKA and FREDERICA, *Breve*, item 235, pp. 206-207.
- 52 *Ibid.*, *Breve* item 235, pp. 235-36.
- 53 See note 30, p. 10.

- 54 Dansk Biografisk Lexikon, Vol. IV, p. 366.
- 55 <Johann LAUREMBERG>, Veer Schertz Gedichte (n.p., 1652). See also DÜNNHAUPT, "Lauremberg," item 22.
- 56 <Johann LAUREMBERG>, Musikalisch Schauspiel/ Darinn vorgestellt werden die Geschichte Arions (Copenhagen: Morsing, 1655). See Johannes BOLTE, "Laurembergs handschriftlicher Nachlaß," Jahrbuch des Vereins für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung, 13 (1887), p. 44. See DÜNNHAUPT, "Lauremberg," item 23.
- 57 See BRICKA and FREDERICIA, Breve, item 276, pp. 240-42.
- 58 Ibid., item 289, pp. 252-53.
- 59 Ibid., item 289, p. 253.
- 60 Ibid., note 5, pp. 252-53.
- 61 The allegorical figures depicted on the engravings play various musical instruments. This is the subject of another work in progress by the present author.
- 62 There was yet another celebration during the "Store Bilager": on 10 October 1634 the daughter of Duke Philipp of Holstein, Christiane (22 September 1634 - 20 May 1701), was baptized.
- 63 TND (1635), sig. Ci-Civ^B.
- 64 Tragoedia Om Dyder oc Laster (Copenhagen: n.p., 1636).
- 65 From 8 August 1663 until 19 May 1685 she was held captive in the Blue Tower in Copenhagen. Her memoirs of her captivity, "Jammers Minde," were not published until 1869.
- 66 GUDEWILL, "Venuskinder <...>" (note 3), 72-92. See also TND (1635), sub lit. M.
- 67 The subject of a book in progress by the present author.
- 68 TND, 1635, sig. Ei^A-Eii^A.
- 69 FÜRSTENAU (note 17), p. 23 and Irmgard BECKER-GLAUCH, Die Bedeutung der Musik für die Dresdener Hoffeste (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971), p. 12.
- 70 Schütz, GBr, p. 120. Before his 1633 trip Schütz had petitioned Johann Georg I repeatedly for permission to travel to Lower Saxony. This letter continues with the request to go to Denmark.
- 71 This author strongly disagrees with GUDEWILL's (note 3) interpretation (p. 80) of the 'Ringelrennen' as a symbol of marriage, of the male (the lance) penetration of the female (the ring). Jousts and tournaments were a socially accepted form of military exercise and grew out of preparations for war. Gudewill is correct in his assessment of Holst's emphasis on the tournament, but for the wrong reason. In the context of the Thirty Years' War, the pre-Freudian political interpretation presented here must take precedence.
- 72 Schütz GBr, p. 137.
- 73 Henrik GLAHN and Søren SØRENSEN identified manuscript music from the seventeenth century found in the organ at the Clausholm castle church in 1964 as, among other things, eight pieces from Schütz's "Kleine Geistliche Konzerte." See The Clausholm Music Fragments, ed. Henrik GLAHN and Søren SØRENSEN (Copenhagen: Musikhistorisk Museum, 1974).
- 74 At the assembly in Mühlhausen in 1620, where the princes tried to unite the Protestant estates into a league against the Bohemians, the Protestants had been assured that secularized church properties would not be an issue. By 1624

Catholic powers wanted restitution of the North German bishoprics, three of which – Bremen, Verden and Osnabrück – Christian IV wanted for his sons. He was able to secure a position as head of the Lower-Saxon army. In the summer of 1628 Wallenstein defeated the Danes at the battle of Wolgast and in January of 1629 began the peace negotiations in Lübeck. In secret dealings at Güstrow, Wallenstein, aware that the Danes had been conquered only on land and not at sea, and that anti-imperialist factions urged Christian IV to continue the war in Lower Saxony, presented the Danish monarch with moderate terms: Christian IV was to refrain from interference in matters of the 'Reich' and his lands reverted to their pre-war status. The Peace of Lübeck was concluded 12 May 1629.

75 Opitz, in his role as a diplomat for the dukes of Liegnitz and Brieg met Ulrik on a mission 1633.

76 This was a separate peace concluded by Saxony and most of the Protestant estates with the Kaiser, in which all agreed to keep foreign (i.e., primarily Swedish) troops from the empire.