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Representing the Emperor in Sound: Sacred Music as Public Image for Ferdinand III at the End of the Thirty Years' War

Emperor Ferdinand III stands before us in a relaxed yet commanding pose, meeting our gaze with a firm, confident gaze of his own (see fig. 1).¹ His full armour reminds us that he was general of the imperial army in the mid-1630s. On the table to his left sits his helmet, in front of which is a map diagramming the Battle of Nördlingen of 6 September 1634. At Nördlingen, Ferdinand had personally led the army in one of the most triumphant Catholic victories of the Thirty Years' War.²

This portrait by the Emperor's court painter Frans Luyckx encapsulates well Ferdinand III's public image in the late 1630s, during the early years of his reign. The Battle of Nördlingen served as the foundation of his image as a strong, powerful, invincible warrior. An important part of this image was the Habsburgs' legendary Catholic piety: Representations repeatedly stressed that Ferdinand's success on the battlefield was preordained by God Himself, a gift of divine providence. For example, in a painting by Cornelius Schut created for a triumphal arch in honour of Ferdinand III's cousin and military ally the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain (without whom the victory at Nördlingen would not have been possible), the two generals ride side-by-side on rearing horses over the bodies of their slain enemies while the Virgin Mary and baby Jesus smile down on them from heaven (see fig. 2).³ Ferdinand III's powerful, victorious image appeared throughout Europe in a variety of media, such as paintings, engravings, medals, pub-

¹ Frans Luyckx, Ferdinand III, oil painting on canvas, c.1639, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Gripsholm; colour reproduction in Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling (eds.), *1648, War and Peace in Europe*, 3 vols. ([Münster], 1998), iii. 73 (fig. 151).

² For more information on the Battle of Nördlingen, see Geoffrey Parker (ed.), *The Thirty Years' War*, (London and Boston, 1997), 127–128; William P. Guthrie, *Battles of the Thirty Years War: From White Mountain to Nordlingen, 1618–1635* (Westport, Ct, 2002), 259–296.

³ Cornelius Schut, Victory at Nördlingen, oil painting on canvas, 1635, Ghent, STAM; colour reproduction in Bussmann and Schilling, *1648*, iii. 119 (fig. 353). The arch was erected for the Cardinal-Infante's joyous entry into Ghent on 27 January 1635.



FIGURE 1. Frans Luyckx, Ferdinand III, c.1639. Oil on Canvas, 214 × 141 cm.
© the National Museum, Stockholm



FIGURE 2. Cornelius Schut, *Victory at Nördlingen*, 1635. Oil on Canvas, 226 × 160 cm. STAM Gent, inv. 711

lished panegyrics,⁴ fireworks, spectacular theatrical events (including ballets and operas),⁵ and perhaps most famously, in Claudio Monteverdi's Eighth Book of Madrigals, the *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi*, dedicated to Ferdinand III in 1638.⁶

This image, however, proved difficult to maintain as the Thirty Years' War entered its final decade.⁷ In 1638, the French army began a successful military campaign along the Rhine and by 1640 had conquered much of the Rhineland, leaving the empire vulnerable from the south. Meanwhile, the powerful Swedish army led a devastating campaign in the eastern realms of the empire, occupying Bohemia in 1639 and conquering much of Silesia and Moravia in the early 1640s. On 2 November 1642 the imperial army suffered

⁴ Examples include Antonino Collurafi, *L'aquila coronata overo la felicità sospirata dall'universo* (Venice, 1637); Matthias Jacobus, *Arma virtutum quae serenissimo, potentissimo, et invictissimo principi ac Domino, Domino Ferdinando Tertio [...]* (Breslau, [1637]); Albertus Pallantius, *Serenissimo, potentissimo Principi, ac Domino, Domino Ferdinando III. [...] cum Rex Romanorum eligeretur, inauguraretur et coronaretur Panegyricus* (Cologne, 1637); and Guglielmo Plati, *La gloria, panegirico per le grandezze di Ferdinando III. re de' romani eletto* (Milan, 1637).

⁵ Examples include the play *Emulacion de los elementos y aplauso de los dioses* (Vienna, 1635), performed in Vienna in February 1635, arranged by Ferdinand III's wife in celebration of his victorious return from Nördlingen; an unnamed ballet by Valeriano Bonvicino performed in Regensburg on 4 January 1637 in celebration of Ferdinand III's coronation as King of the Romans (libretto in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 9931 and detailed description in *Le quattro relazioni seguite in Ratisbona nelli tempi sotto notati* [Vienna, 1637]); and the opera *Il trionfo* by Luigi Manzoni (libretto) and Lorenzo Molardi (music), performed in Rome in February 1637, arranged by Maurizio of Savoy (the Cardinal Protector of the Holy Roman Empire) in honour of Ferdinand III's coronation as King of the Romans (description and full libretto in Luigi Manzoni, *Applausi festivi fatti in Roma per l'elezione di Ferdinando III al regno de' romani* (Rome, 1637), 74–87).

⁶ Claudio Monteverdi, *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi [...] libro ottavo* (Venice, 1638); modern edition in idem, *Madrigals, Book 8: Madrigali guerrieri et amorosi*, ed. Gian Francesco Malipiero with a preface and new translations by Stanley Appelbaum (New York, 1991). For information on how the print glorifies Ferdinand III, see Andrew H. Weaver, 'Divine Wisdom and Dolorous Mysteries: Habsburg Marian Devotion in Two Motets from Monteverdi's *Selva morale et spirituale*', *Journal of Musicology* 24 (2007), 237–271, at 243–244.

⁷ The information about the war in this paragraph is drawn from William P. Guthrie, *The Later Thirty Years War: From the Battle of Wittstock to the Treaty of Westphalia* (Westport, Ct, 2003), 58–144; Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, 145–158; and Konrad Repgen, 'Ferdinand III., 1637–1657', in Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (eds.), *Die Kaiser der Neuzeit, 1519–1918: Heiliges Römisches Reich, Österreich, Deutschland* (Munich, 1990), 149–157.

the first in a series of truly crushing defeats at the Second Battle of Breitenfeld, losing over 10,000 men. Nördlingen proved to be the last major imperial victory of the war, and in 1645 even the city of Vienna would be besieged by the Swedish army after another disastrous battle.

The early 1640s thus marked a critical turning point in Ferdinand III's reign, a true crisis that required a significant rethinking of political policy if the Emperor were to successfully end the war with his reputation and sovereignty intact. This political crisis was accompanied by a corresponding crisis in the Emperor's representation. On the most practical level, the rising costs of the war made it increasingly difficult for Ferdinand to spend money on the lavish artworks and theatrical events that had helped craft his image in the 1630s. Tellingly, no operas or ballets were produced at court from 1642 until 1648,⁸ nor are there any grand portraits that can be securely dated to the mid-1640s. In fact, the one portrait that can be dated to this time, by the Flemish artist Jan van den Hoecke (who had entered the service of Ferdinand's brother Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in 1644), is strikingly different from the militant images of the 1630s (see fig. 3).⁹ This small painting is as austere as the earlier paintings are sumptuous: against an unadorned, neutral background, marked only by a hint of colour from the red drapery in the upper left corner, sits a bare-headed Emperor wearing only plain black garments, a white lace collar, and the pendant of the Order of the Golden Fleece around his neck. The comparison to the portrait by Luyckx could hardly be more shocking.

As intimated by Hoecke's painting, during the 1640s Ferdinand III embarked on a conscious effort to revise his image, both so that his rivals would not laugh at the obvious disparity between his victorious image and the unvictorious reality and also to send the message that he was willing to negotiate to end the war. But any revision to the image of a reigning monarch posed a significant challenge, for the Emperor had to ensure that the change would not cost him his power and respect in the eyes of his subjects and peers.¹⁰ Not only was it crucial that Ferdinand's image continue to present him as a strong, capable leader, but it was also necessary to account for the role of

⁸ See the list of theatrical events held at the Habsburg court in Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert* (Tutzing, 1985), 439–440.

⁹ Jan van den Hoecke, Emperor Ferdinand III, oil painting on canvas, c. 1644–1647, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; colour reproduction in Bussman and Schilling, *1648*, iii. 424 (fig. 1216).

¹⁰ The importance of continuity in representations of a monarch's image is discussed, in a Habsburg context, in Maria Golubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle, and Text* (Mainz, 2000), 7, 9–10.



FIGURE 3. Jan van den Hoecke, Emperor Ferdinand III, c.1644–1647.
Oil on Canvas, 74.5 × 61 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

his Catholic piety in his representation. If the Emperor's earlier military triumphs had been the result of divine providence, then how could one explain his seeming abandonment by God during the 1640s? Further complicating

the matter is the fact that Ferdinand's image had always played an important role in his larger Counter-Reformation programme of uniting his realm under the banner of the Catholic Church.¹¹ In changing his image, the Emperor had to ensure that his representations would continue to communicate to his subjects the importance of remaining loyal Catholics. This essay examines the strategy and primary means by which Ferdinand III responded to this representational crisis.

REVISING THE EMPEROR'S IMAGE

The strategy that Ferdinand III adopted to address these issues was to morph his image as a powerful warrior into that of a comforting, protective father, someone whose every actions were done for the sake of keeping his subjects safe. In this way he sought to maintain not only his position of authority but also the image of a strong leader, of someone who knew what needed to be done in order to end the war and restore safety and security to his realm. This safety could be assured, moreover, by Ferdinand's continued prayers to God for assistance, even during this difficult time when it may have seemed that the Lord had turned His back on the Empire.¹² By asserting complete confidence that God was still on the Emperor's side, this revised image aimed to prove that Ferdinand's reign was still blessed by the guiding hand of divine providence. It also made it possible for him to maintain his

¹¹ On this issue of 'confessionalisation' and Ferdinand III's re-Catholicisation programme, see Robert Bireley, 'Confessional Absolutism in the Habsburg Lands in the Seventeenth Century', in Charles W. Ingrao (ed.), *State and Society in Early Modern Austria* (West Lafayette, In, 1994), 36–53; idem, 'Ferdinand II: Founder of the Habsburg Monarchy', in R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas (eds.), *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1991), 226–244; idem, *Religion and Politics in the Age of the Counterreformation: Emperor Ferdinand II, William Lamormaini, S. J., and the Formation of Imperial Policy* (Chapel Hill, Nc, 1981); Robert Douglas Chesler, 'Crown, Lords, and God: The Establishment of Secular Authority and the Pacification in Lower Austria, 1618–1648' (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1979); R.J.W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700: An Interpretation* (Oxford, 1979); and Kurt Piringer, 'Ferdinand des Dritten Katholische Restauration' (Diss., Univ. of Vienna, 1950). These issues are also discussed in Andrew H. Weaver, 'Piety, Politics, and Patronage: Motets at the Habsburg Court in Vienna During the Reign of Ferdinand III (1637–1657)' (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 2002), 1–4, 10–37.

¹² This strategy guides one of the few panegyrics published in Ferdinand III's honour during the 1640s: Everhard Wassenberg, *Panegyricus, sacratiss. Imperatori Ferdinando III. dictus* (Cologne, 1647).

Counter-Reformation position and stress to his subjects the importance of remaining devout Catholics.

Thus the strategy; the main means through which this strategy was enacted was through Ferdinand's patronage of sacred music. As is well known, the Emperor had long maintained a sumptuous Italianate chapel, and even when the difficulties of the war forced him to stop funding the production of massive artworks and theatrical productions, he never stopped supporting his musicians.¹³ By shifting the focus of his artistic patronage from secular spectacle to sacred music, Ferdinand was able to emphasize the increased role that his faith in God played in his new image as a protective father. Of all artistic media, moreover, music was the one most able to reach the widest number of people through the widest variety of means. Whether as a mere sonic emblem of grandeur, as an embellished sermon or oration, or even as a printed text, music was capable of spreading Ferdinand's image to everybody, from the most noble prince to the most common peasant, in a way not possible with any other art form.

Sacred music served as representation in a number of different ways, the most obvious being public performances by Ferdinand's chapel. The Emperor celebrated Mass and Vespers regularly in the churches of Vienna and outlying areas.¹⁴ On these occasions his participation in the service was combined with the spectacular ritual of the Catholic liturgy and the music of his chapel to present his pious image to anybody present in the church. The musical performance itself was able to speak to listeners on three different cognitive levels. On the broadest level, that which affected even the illiterate peasant, music evoked Ferdinand's power, majesty, and piety through sheer sound, be it the impressive massed forces of grand large-scale works, the affective beauty of individual solo voices, or the combination of both of these in the *stile concertato*. On the middle level, a composer could clarify the message of a work by emphasizing important words, especially those that were most likely recognisable even to listeners not fluent in Latin, words such as 'Domine', 'Jesu', 'Virgo', and the like. Finally, to educated listeners who did understand Latin—and who comprised Ferdinand's primary target audience of other rulers, ambassadors, and the nobles of his court—a

¹³ On Ferdinand III's musical patronage, see Weaver, 'Piety, Politics, and Patronage', esp. 54–90.

¹⁴ On the Habsburgs' tradition of stational worship, see Friedrich W. Riedel, *Kirchenmusik am Hofe Karls VI. (1711–1740): Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Zeremoniell und musikalischem Stil im Barockzeitalter* (Munich, 1977); Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword and Lyre: Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II of Habsburg (1619–1637)* (Oxford, 1995), 33–37 and 43–44; and Weaver, 'Piety, Politics, and Patronage', 102–118.

musical work could function as an effective oration, with the music heightening the text and sometimes even providing messages not apparent in the words alone.

Beyond the musical performance, another very important method through which music served as representation was through its dissemination via print. A collection of large-scale sacred music published by a court musician during a difficult time, for instance, could impart a message of confidence and grandeur. More importantly, a motet book could present a collection of texts directly relevant to the Habsburgs' situation and the Emperor's public image, and this message could be made explicit through such paratextual elements as the title page, dedication, and other features of the publication.¹⁵ Ferdinand III knew well how to exploit the representational potential of print, and throughout the 1640s a steady stream of publications, both by his musicians and by non-court musicians, did much to enact the shift in his image from victorious warrior to pious, protective father.

FERDINAND III'S IMAGE IN A MOTET BY GIOVANNI FELICE SANCES

For the rest of this essay we turn to a single motet that exemplifies the specific ways in which sacred music contributed to Ferdinand's public image during the 1640s: *Audi Domine* for four voices by the imperial composer Giovanni Felice Sances (c.1600–1679).¹⁶ Sances published this motet in November 1642, shortly after the devastating Battle of Breitenfeld, in his *Motetti a 2, 3, 4, e cinque voci*, a motet book with an explicit connection to the Habsburgs and the Thirty Years' War.¹⁷ On the title page (fig. 4), for

¹⁵ The significance of dedications and other paratexts is discussed in detail in the essays in Ignace Bossuyt, Nele Gabriëls, Dirk Sacré, and Demmy Verbeke (eds.), „*Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?*”: *Dedicating Latin Works and Motets in the Sixteenth Century* (Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 23; Leuven, 2008).

¹⁶ The best biography of Sances is in Steven Saunders' introduction to Giovanni Felice Sances, *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci (1638)*, ed. Steven Saunders [Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 126] (Middleton, Wi, 2003), pp. ix–xii. See also Peter Webhofer, *Giovanni Felice Sances (ca. 1600–1679): Biographische-bibliographische Untersuchung und Studie über sein Motettenwerk* (Rome, 1964) and Thomas D. Culley, *Jesuits and Music, vol. 1, A Study of the Musicians Connected with the German College in Rome During the Seventeenth Century and of Their Activities in Northern Europe* (Rome and St Louis, Mo, 1970), 141–143.

¹⁷ Giovanni Felice Sances, *Motetti a 2, 3, 4, e cinque voci* (Venice, 1642); modern edition in idem, *Motetti a 2, 3, 4, e cinque voci (1642)*, ed. Andrew H. Weaver [Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 148] (Middleton, Wi, 2008).



FIGURE 4. Title Page of Giovanni Felice Sances, *Motetti a 2, 3, 4, e cinque voci* (Venice: B. Magni, 1642), Basso Continuo partbook. Como, Archivio Musicale del Duomo

instance, the name that stands out the strongest is that of the Emperor; at first glance, in fact, the title of the book seems to be ‘Motetti di Ferdinando III’. Also significant is the dedicatee: Count Vilem Slavata, grand chancellor of Bohemia and member of the Emperor’s Privy Council. As a converted Protestant who had become one of the most ardent and vocal Bohemian supporters of the Catholic church (and of Habsburg authority), Slavata served as a shining example of the Habsburgs’ re-Catholicisation efforts at work.¹⁸ Slavata also draws the readers’ attention to the Thirty Years’ War, for he was one of the men who had miraculously survived being hurled out of an upper story window at the infamous Defenestration of Prague of 1618 that had sparked the war.

The text of *Audi Domine* relates directly to the Habsburgs’ situation in the early 1640s. The motet opens with a recurring refrain, beseeching the Lord to hear the hymn and prayer being offered ‘today’ by His servant. Following each statement of the refrain come the actual prayers, each of which is given in the form of a conditional statement: provided that the Lord’s people are penitent and pray to Him, then He shall act in their favour, granting a request that was surely on many lips during the early 1640s: He ‘shall liberate them from the hands of their enemies’:

Audi Domine,
audi hymnum et orationem
quam servus tuus orat
coram te hodie.

Hear, O Lord,
hear the hymn and prayer
that Your servant prays
in Your presence today.

Domine, Domine,
si conversus fuerit populus tuus
et oraverit ad santuarium tuum,
tu exaudies de caelo Domine,
et liberabis eum
de manibus inimicorum suorum.

O Lord, O Lord,
if Your people repent and return to You
and pray in Your sanctuary,
You shall hear them from heaven, O Lord,
and shall liberate them
from the hands of their enemies.

¹⁸ For more information on Slavata, see Henry Frederick Schwarz, *The Imperial Privy Council in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Ma, 1943), 343–347 and Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (New Studies in European History; Cambridge, 2009), 51–74.

Audi Domine,
audi hymnum et orationem
quam servus tuus orat
coram te hodie,
ut sint oculi tui aperti
et aures tuae intentae.

Hear, O Lord,
hear the hymn and prayer
that Your servant prays
in Your presence today,
so that Your eyes are open
and Your ears are attentive.

Domine, Domine,
si peccaverit in te populus tuus
et confessus egerit penitentiam
veniensque oraverit in isto loco,
tu exaudies de caelo Domine,
et liberabis eum
de manibus inimicorum suorum.¹⁹

O Lord, O Lord,
If Your people sin against You
and having confessed, do penance
and coming to this place, pray,
You shall hear them from heaven, O Lord,
and shall liberate them
from the hands of their enemies.

As obviously relevant to the Habsburgs' situation as this seems, such an interpretation does not necessarily follow logically from the original source of the text. Drawn from the Old Testament book of 1Kings (3Kings in the Vulgate), the text does not appear in a warlike or even in a penitential context; rather, it is the public prayer spoken by King Solomon at the consecration of the grand temple he built to house the Ark of the Covenant. Devout Catholics would have been aware of this original context, for Sances' entire text appears in the Catholic liturgy as a responsory during Matins for the dedication of a church. A number of prominent earlier composers, including Hans Leo Hassler and Giovanni Gabrieli, also wrote settings of this text, which circulated throughout Europe in early seventeenth-century printed anthologies.²⁰ Sances' music, however, completely reinterprets this standard liturgical and biblical text, even to the point of transforming the prayer into a true miniature drama.

On the surface, the musical structure of the motet is entirely predictable, as Sances mirrors the repetitive structure of his text with recurring music: the refrain is sung to identical music on both occasions, and each petition opens with a similar figure on 'Domine'. Even within this predictable framework, Sances nevertheless creates much musical interest. Note, for instance, the extreme stylistic contrast between the refrain and the

¹⁹ Responsory, Matins, Dedication of a Church. The text is drawn originally from 1Kings 8 (3Kings in the Vulgate); the refrain is from verses 28–29, and the other sections are freely adapted from the following verses.

²⁰ Gabrieli's motet was published in *Promptuarii musici, sacras harmonias sive motetus V. VI. VII. et VIII. vocum [...] pars altera* (Strasbourg, 1612), and Hassler's motet was published in *Reliquiae sacrarum concertum Giovan Gabrielis, Johan-Leonis Hasleri, utriusque praestantissimi musici* (Nuremberg, 1615).

petitions (see ex. 1): the former, scored for the upper three voices, is in an austere, homophonic *da cappella* style; the music is plodding and regular, with cadences punctuating every line. The petitions, however, are scored for a solo bass, who sings in an intense and affective recitative style. In stark contrast to the refrain, these sections feature phrase structures, rhythms, and harmonies that are extremely irregular, disjointed, almost incoherent. There are very few authentic cadences, and the cadential moments that do occur are fleeting. The harmonies, in fact, only add to the dramatic intensity; at the end of the first petition (bars 21–26), the rising melodic line is enhanced by the introduction of sharps that push the music beyond the controlling *mollis* harmonies, increasing the tension until the sharp-ward move is crushed in bar 24 by the sudden appearance of B $\flat$.²¹

EXAMPLE I. Sances, *Audi Domine*, bars 1–26

Canto
Au - di Do - mi - ne, au - di hym - num et o - ra - ti - o -

Alto
Au - di Do - mi - ne, au - di hym - num et o - ra - ti - o -

Tenore
Au - di Do - mi - ne, au - di hym - num et o - ra - ti - o -

B.c.
Au - di Do - mi - ne, au - di hym - num et o - ra - ti - o -

5
nem quam ser - vus tu - us o - rat co - ram te ho - di - e, quam ser - vus

6
nem quam ser - vus tu - us o - rat co - ram te ho - di - e, quam ser - vus

[$\sharp$]

²¹ My use of the terms *mollis* and *durus* draws upon Eric Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (New York, 1992).

Ex. 1. *Continued*

9

tu - us o - rat co - ram te ho - di - e.

tu - us o - rat co - ram te ho - di - e.

tu - us o - rat co - ram te ho - di - e.

Basso

Do - mi-ne, Do - mi-ne,

6 6 6 5

[#]3 4 [#]3

14

si con - ver - sus fu - e - rit po - pu - lus tu - us et o - ra - ve -

[#]

18

rit ad san - tu - a - ri - um tu - um, tu ex - au - di - es de cae - lo Do - mi-ne, et

7 [#]6

22

li - be - ra - bis e - um de ma - ni - bus in - i - mi - co - rum su - o - rum.

5 6 5 6

[#]

Within the solo bass petitions, Sances vividly depicts the tortured mind of the anguished soul, of someone who can barely think clearly enough to form coherent thoughts. In essence, Sances has transformed the bass singer into an ‘actor’, who is introduced by (and perhaps sings on behalf of) the other voices. This has important implications for an interpretation of the

motet: who, we must wonder, does this actor represent? If the motet were performed in a neutral religious context to an audience with no knowledge of the composer or his patron, one might say that the bass soloist represents an officiating priest. With knowledge of the biblical source of the text, we could also surmise that the bass singer embodies King Solomon. However, bearing in mind the politicized context of Sances' publication, we cannot overlook the possibility that the bass singer represents none other than Ferdinand III himself, a pious 'servant' before God with the authority to present this prayer on behalf of his people. It is undoubtedly significant that the 'servant' comes across as rather blameless in the situation, and that his prayers are essentially directed not to the Lord but to the people, who are instructed that their repentance and prayers (not to mention, we might add, their conversion to Catholicism) are necessary before they can be saved. Indeed, when we listen to this work with a full sense of its immediate historical context, we are hearing the Emperor's voice, offering a public prayer on behalf of his suffering people.

Although Sances' music distances the work from its biblical source and offers this new interpretation, the origin of the text nonetheless adds an important layer of meaning. Though the work may present the voice of Ferdinand III, an educated listener would still have been aware that these were the words of the sage Old Testament king. Sances' motet in fact conflates Ferdinand III and King Solomon, embodying multiple voices into the single figure of the bass soloist. The motet therefore projects an image of the Holy Roman Emperor that is modelled upon the revered, wise, and just Old Testament monarch. Other artworks from later in Ferdinand's reign confirm that this identification with King Solomon was an important part of his image. On 20 February 1656, for instance, a drama presented by the students of the Jesuit College in Vienna depicted events from the life of King Solomon, explicitly connecting the Old Testament king to Ferdinand III.²² This connection is apparent already in the title, which incorporates both Ferdinand III's and Leopold I's personal mottos. An identification of the Emperor with Solomon also appeared on a triumphal arch erected by the citizens of Regensburg for the Emperor's joyous entry into that city in December 1652 for an imperial

²² *Regiae virtutes seu initia regni Salomonis pietate & justitia, consilio & industria, duce sapientia semper felicia* (Vienna, 1656). Only a scenario survives, a facsimile edition of which is in Elida Maria Szarota (ed.), *Das Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet: Eine Periochen-Edition*, vol. 2, *Tugend- und Sündensystem*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1980), i. 51–62, with commentary in ii. 2167.

diet.²³ One section of the arch provides an image of the Emperor seated upon what is explicitly labelled as the ‘imperial throne’ (*thronum caesareum*). The throne is flanked by lions, thereby drawing an immediately recognizable comparison with the throne of Solomon. This interpretation is explained, moreover, in a poetic description of the arch published in 1653.²⁴

Audi Domine does more, however, than simply identify Ferdinand III with King Solomon, for it also proclaims an important message from the Emperor to his subjects, in effect providing an answer to the Emperor’s prayer. Consider, for example, the end of the second solo bass passage (ex. 2). In bars 58–59, the recurring phrase ‘tu exaudies de caelo Domine’ is sung to exactly the same motive heard earlier, in bars 19–21. As before, the phrase ends on an E major triad, but instead of pushing ahead into the intense rising line of the previous solo section, it cadences smoothly with a falling fifth to A, the first authentic cadence to A in the entire motet. The harmonies have again pushed sharp-ward; in fact, with this cadence the harmonic framework of the motet has shifted entirely, from the *cantus mollis* to the *cantus durus*. This harmonic shift is amplified by other musical changes. Upon reaching this cadence, all four voices join together for the first tutti texture in the motet. The overall style also changes: From here to the end of the work the melodies are organised into coherent, rhythmically active phrases articulated by imitative repetitions of recognizable motives, a style completely unlike anything heard thus far in the work.

²³ Wolfgang Kilian, *Vera delineatio portae triumphalis, quam invictissimo Rom. Imperatori Ferdinando III; cum parta pace in Germania, sua Caes. Maiestas, primum verbem Ratisp. ad Comitia ingrederetur, laudatiss: senatus ibidem, in signum submissa gratulationis, et summa devotionis, erigi curavit Anno 1652. d. 12. Decemb.* (n.p., [1653]). An exemplar of this large broadsheet is sewn into the final pages of the Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek’s copy of Christian Adolph Balduin, *Poetische Entdeckung der Ehren-Pforte welche dem allerdurchleuchtigsten, großmächtigsten und unüberwundlichsten Römischen Keyser, auch zu Hungern und Böhmen König, u. u. Ferdinand dem Dritten unserem allergnädigsten Herrn zu aller-unterhänigsten Ehren und Glückwünschung, als seine Keys. May. nach geschlossenen allgemeinen Teutschen Frieden zu den in Regenspurg angestellten ersten Reichs-tag ihren Keys. Einzug gehalten, von einen Löbl. Rath daselbst auffgerichtet worden* (Regensburg, 1653).

²⁴ Balduin, *Poetische Entdeckung*, sig. A^v: ‘Das auff der Seiten steht, das ist **des Keyzers Thron**, / Auff den der Keyser sitzt als König Salomon, // Mit Löwen umb und umb. [...]’(emphasis original).

EXAMPLE 2. Sances, *Audi Domine*, bars 49–62

49 Basso Do-mi-ne, Do - mi - ne, si pec - ca - ve - rit in te po - pu - lus tu - us et con - fes - sus

B.c.

54 e - ge - rit pe - ni - ten - ti - am ve - ni - ens - que o - ra - ve - rit in i - sto lo - co, tu ex - au - di - es de

59 Canto Tu ex - au - di - es de cae - lo Do - mi - ne, tu ex

Alto Tu ex - au - di - es de cae - lo Do - mi - ne,

Tenore Tu ex - au - di - es de cae - lo Do - mi - ne,

cae - lo Do - mi - ne, tu ex - au - di - es de

By the end of the second solo bass section, the dolorous mood that has completely dominated the motet has been successfully expunged, allowing the work to conclude in a positive vein. Despite the entirely supplicatory and yearning tone of the text, the music ends with a sense of confidence; the conditional future tense has been fully transformed *by the music alone* into a positive vision of the future. It is surely significant that one of the phrases that stands out the strongest in the concluding four-voice texture is ‘et libera-

bis eum' ('and you shall liberate them'). In bars 66–67, these words are sung by the upper two voices in homophony while the other two voices rest, and two bars later the homophonic figure is repeated by the alto and tenor over a long held note in the bass.

Within this single work, then, Sances masterfully provided an effective representation of his employer: not only did it enhance Ferdinand III's image by identifying the Emperor with King Solomon, but it also allowed him to speak directly to his subjects, offering a prayer for their salvation while simultaneously communicating an optimistic message of comfort, hope, and unwavering faith in God. It was precisely this message on which Ferdinand III relied to help steer him successfully through the troubled final years of the Thirty Years' War.