

»Sonet vox tua in auribus meis«: Song of Songs Exegesis and the Seventeenth-Century Motet¹

by

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The centrality of the Song of Songs as a source of texts in the early Seicento motet repertory, both German and Italian, is no secret. Passages from the canticle had a long history in polyphonic settings, apparently beginning with the late thirteenth-century versions preserved *inter alia* in the seventh fascicle of the Montpellier manuscript². Obviously, the early fifteenth-century cantilena motet represents the first real flowering of canticle settings in the Western repertory³. Although the book had been marginally present among the texts set by important sixteenth-century composers (for instance, the 11 canticle settings among Lassus' ca. 770 motets represent only 1.2% of his output), Palestrina's Fourth Book of Motets (1583/84), a widely reprinted volume that approached the text of the entire book in a selective but cyclical fashion, represents the point of departure for the canticle's popularity around 1600⁴.

Several scholars have provided accounts of the numerous and noteworthy Song of Songs settings in such figures of the early Seicento as Giovanni Francesco Capello and Alessandro Grandi, composers working in Venice or the Veneto⁵. But the Italian use of canticle texts was perhaps even wider outside Venice: there were some 126 settings in Milan, and at least 70 in Bologna in the printed concerto and *stile antico* repertory of the first three decades of the new century⁶. Editions dominated by canticle motets include: Adriano Banchieri's 1610 *Vezzo di perle a 2-3*, 18

1 An earlier version of this paper was given at the annual conference of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, St. Louis, April 1993. The essay is dedicated to H. Wiley Hitchcock on the occasion of several events in 1993.

2 See the motet *Anima mea/Descendi in hortum/Alma*, no. 265 in Montpellier, Faculté de Médecine H 196 (*Mo*) (with a related piece in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 135, no. 5 and Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Lit. 115, no. 25) and *Descendi in [h]ortum meum*, no. 313 in *Mo* (also Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek 3471, no. 3; all catalogued in Gilbert Reaney, *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music: 11th-Early 14th Century*, München-Duisburg 1966 [= RISM B IV 1]).

3 For a discussion of this repertory in the context of Marian exegesis of the canticle, see Shai Burstyn, *Fifteenth-Century Polyphonic Settings of Verses from the Song of Songs*, Ph. D. diss. Columbia University 1971, and his *Early 15th-Century Polyphonic Settings of Song of Songs Antiphons*, in: *Aml* 49 (1977), pp. 200-227.

4 Palestrina's cycle comprises the *Motetorum quinque vocibus liber quartus* (Rome 1583/84), a volume with some 10 reprints between 1585 and 1613.

5 On Grandi's canticle settings, see Jerome Roche, *Alessandro Grandi: A Case Study in the Choice of Texts for Motets*, in: *JRMA* 113 (1988), pp. 274-305, at p. 288.

6 The figures for the Milanese repertory (defined as the motet production of composers working in the diocese of Milan from 1600 to 1630) are taken from this writer's unpublished catalogue of Milanese printed editions. For the Bolognese settings (and for many other points) I am grateful to Craig Monson.

motets dedicated to nuns in Piacenza; 16 of 23 pieces in Serafino Patta's 1609 *Sacra cantica concinenda*; 6 settings in both Felice Gasparini's 1607 and Giulio San Pietro del Negri's 1616 collections; and of course the 7 settings in Schütz' *Symphoniae sacrae I*⁷. The canticle would have musical reflections as late in the new century and as geographically distant from Italy as Dieterich Buxtehude's cantata cycle *Membra Jesu nostri* BuxWV 75, whose texts from the pseudo-Bernardine *Rhythmica oratio* are strongly infused with canticle imagery⁸. Rather than providing a full overview of the Italian and oltramontane settings here, I seek to elicit some of the cultural associations, some of the symbolic and allegorical meanings in the seventeenth century for the canticle, along with their musical reflections. Perforce, I will concentrate on Italian and Italianate composers – among them the anniversaries of 1993: Monteverdi, Frescobaldi and Charpentier – although other composers, among them Schütz, will be invoked.

Many have sought composers' attraction to the book in its highly charged and graphic sexual language, rather as if it provided the only way to set racy texts under supposedly strict ecclesiastical censorship after the Council of Trent⁹. Others have sought to find liturgical assignments for canticle passages that repeatedly recur in polyphonic settings: »Vulnerasti cor meum«, »Quae est ista?«, »Nigra sum«, »Adjuro vos, filiae Jerusalem«. The use of Song of Songs excerpts in the post-Tridentine breviaries is important. But the liturgical placement of canticle texts does not account for the choice of canticle passages with rather obscure assignments – or with no liturgical assignment at all – for polyphonic settings¹⁰. Nor does the *liturgi-*

7 The Italian editions are: Adriano Banchieri, *Vezzo di perle musicali modernamente conteste alla regia sposa effigiata nella sacra cantica*, op. 23 (Venice 1610, with a now-lost Milanese reprint of the same year), dedicated to Madre Flavia Clemenza Gazzi, »concertatrice industriale« at S. Maria dalla Neve in Piacenza; Serafino Patta, *Sacra cantica concinenda* a 1-3 (Venice 1609); Felice Gasparini, *Concerti ecclesiastici* a 2-3 (Milan 1608); and Giulio Santo Pietro del Negri, *Musica ecclesiastica concertata* (Milan 1616). Banchieri and Gasparini were members of the Olivetan branch of the Benedictines, while Patta belonged to the Cassinese congregation of the same order. For another Milanese edition with canticle motets, see the *Concerti e canzone* (Milan 1629) of Gaspar Pietragrua (6 settings).

8 For the Buxtehude cycle, see the facsimile ed. by Bruno Grusnick, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Membra Jesu Nostri*, Kassel s. d. (1987), and the discussion in Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, New York 1987, p. 141.

9 Noel O'Regan's comments on a canticle motet by the Roman Felice Anerio are typical: »*Vidi speciosam* sets a text from the Song of Songs, a source of erotic verse, which because of its biblical pedigree was a safe and therefore popular quarry for late 16th-century composers« (liner notes to the recording, Hyperion 66417 [1990]). A similar view can be found in the standard overview of the Venetian and Lombard repertoires: Jerome Roche, *North Italian Church Music in the Age of Monteverdi*, Oxford 1984, p. 46 (»The Song of Songs was a well-explored quarry for composers of the more sensuous type of motet, for it was the nearest biblical text to the love-poetry of the period; this affinity seems to have attracted composers, particularly those experienced in the secular field«). In light of the centrality of the canticle's »rocky« imagery (2:14, discussed below), the idea of the book as a post-Tridentine erotic quarry is ironic to say the least.

10 For instance, *Vulnerasti cor meum* (Song of Songs 4:9) has no assignment in the post-Tridentine Roman or Ambrosian breviaries. *Adjuro vos, filiae Jerusalem* (5:8), together with *Dilectus meus candidus* (5:10) has the sole assignment of responsory 3 (with its verse) for Matins of the feast of the Purity of Mary. I have used the *Breviarium romanum, ex decr. sacrosancti concilij Trid. restitutum ...*

cal explanation address the fact that the text of most Song of Songs motets is longer than their source in the various post-Tridentine breviaries¹¹. Still other scholars have preferred to view the canticle as a paean to Christian married love¹².

These fairly direct lines of explanation are countered by the fact that the primary mode of Western interpretations of the book until the advent of modern Biblical criticism in the eighteenth century was allegorical, not literal¹³. Thus we need to turn to the traditions of canticle exegesis and contemporary literary theory to explain its centrality to seventeenth-century thought and to illuminate what canticle passages might have meant to the men and women who composed and sang them. Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain why the one book of the Bible whose subject is an incoherent dialogue narrative of seemingly incestuous love, a book that avoids any reference whatsoever to sin, salvation, justice or mercy – indeed, it is the one Biblical text that eschews any mention of the word »God« – why precisely this book should have proved to be among the most popular sources of motet texts in an era of Protestant reform and Catholic renewal (we might say at a time of religious »confessionalization«) in early modern Europe¹⁴.

The book consists of a long series of passionate statements of love, longing and lament, encased in a discontinuous and often puzzling narrative sequence. If chapters 1 and 2 of the text largely treat the mutual love of a man and women, chapter 3 turns to the quest for and praise of the male spouse. The abrupt breaks in the dia-

(Venice 1685), and (for composers working in Ambrosian-rite institutions), the *Breviarium ambrosianum Caroli S. R. E. Cardinalis ... iussu editum* (Milan 1604).

- 11 For instance, the enormously popular *Surge propera, amica mea* (2:10) in most Milanese polyphonic settings includes more text than is comprised by the various liturgical items (largely Matins responses for Marian feasts) that begin with this verse. For another case, see the Monteverdi *Nigra sum* cited below.
- 12 This interpretation is of course quite prominent in Protestant settings of canticle passages, for instance Leonhard Lechner's *Das erst und ander Kapitel des Hoheliedes Salomonis*, in his *Neue Geistliche und weltliche Teutsche Gesang sampt zwayen Lateinischen* (1606), ed. Walther Lipphardt (*Leonhard Lechner Werke* 13, Kassel 1973, pp. 3-19), viewed by its editor as stemming from a Stuttgart court wedding (p. ix, n. 16).
- 13 The classical study of medieval canticle exegesis is Friedrich Ohly, *Hohelied-Studien: Grundzüge einer Geschichte der Hoheliedauslegung des Abendlandes bis um 1200*, Wiesbaden 1958. On one specific theme of interpretation, see Helmut Riedlinger, *Die Makellosigkeit der Kirche in den lateinischen Hoheliedkommentaren des Mittelalters*, Münster 1958. For a consideration of the book's centrality to a wide variety of themes in the Catholic mystical tradition, one to which I am indebted, and an argument for canticle commentaries as a central genre of medieval literature, see now E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity*, Philadelphia 1990. There is almost no work on Song of Songs interpretations (besides those of the Spanish mystics) in the early modern period; for an overview, see Roland E. Murphy, *The Song of Songs: A Commentary on the Book of Canticles or the Song of Songs*, Minneapolis 1990, pp. 32-38.
- 14 On the paradoxical nature of the text, see Matter, *The Voice*, p. 49. On the pan-European phenomenon of confessionalization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Paolo Prodi, *Controriforma e/o riforma cattolica: superamento di vecchi dilemmi nei nuovi panorami storiografici*, in: *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 31 (1989), pp. 227-237; and Wolfgang Reinhard, *Confessionalizzazione forzata? Prolegomeni ad una teoria dell'età confessionale*, in: *Annali dell'Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trento* 8 (1982), pp. 13-38. For the unsatisfactory nature of the term »Counter-Reformation« to describe trends in Catholic sacred music in the century after 1550, see Monson, *Catholic Reform, Renewal and Reaction*, in: *New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

logues of the lovers (cf. the utter lack of transition between 2:7 and 2:8, or 5:1 and 5:2), along with apparently interpolated scenes (3:1-5), render the text suitable for recombination and reworking, inasmuch as there is almost no narrative progression to be followed. The canticle is written entirely in the first person, but its shifts of speaker among male, female, and group perspectives led Christian commentators as early as the second century to assign named speakers («Sponsus», «Sponsa», and two «Chorus», one male and one female) to the text (although there is no trace of this in the original Hebrew; indeed, Talmudic commentaries tended towards a sort of historical/soteriological interpretation)¹⁵.

Polyphonic settings in seventeenth-century Italy and Germany tended to emphasize certain verses, especially those in chs. 2, 4 and 5, not necessarily the most important, to the exclusion of others, especially those of chs. 6-7. Furthermore, regardless of liturgical or even literal sense, the canticle was a prime candidate for centonization and even for composers' changes to the Vulgate text, as we shall see below.

For canticle exegesis, we need to begin at the beginning – quite literally with the Greek Patristic figure Origen (c. 180-254)¹⁶. His commentary and homilies established an allegorical mode of reading the canticle in which the female speaker symbolized the individual soul, while the male voice stood for Christ. Further Greek figures, like the fifth-century monk John Cassian, elaborated another of Origen's interpretations, one in which the female voice of the book symbolized the Church as a whole as the Bride of Christ. Cassian's theory of allegory would be key for medieval exegesis. But Origen's influence on canticle interpretation was decisive: it can be found in Gregory the Great and in the ninth-century exegete Haimo of Auxerre. Later medieval commentaries provided a wealth of allegorical associations for the other phenomena of the book, most notably the ecstatic descriptions of the natural world – the consummation of the spouses' love in a garden – towards the end.

The flowering of twelfth-century spirituality privileged the canticle among Biblical texts. Here, the major figure is certainly Bernard of Clairvaux; his 86 homilies that explicate the book only up to the beginning of ch. 3 were central on several points: the interpretation of the book as referring to the individual soul; the association of certain details with Christ's Passion or with the Eucharist; and the apparently paradoxical linkage of the canticle's erotic language and imagery precisely with the state of monastic virginity¹⁷. Bernard's sermons would remain popular

15 For medieval Jewish interpretations of the canticle, which interpreted the spouses' love as a historical celebration of important events in God's relationship with Israel, see the overview in Murphy, *The Song of Songs* (see note 13), pp. 28-32 and the comments in Burstyn, *Fifteenth-Century Polyphonic Settings* (see note 3). The title of Salomone Rossi's 1622/23 Hebrew liturgical collection, *Ha-Shirim Asher Li'Shlomo (The Songs of Solomon)* is a play on words, possibly with reference to the popularity of the Old Testament book among Rossi's Gentile musical contemporaries; the edition does not contain any canticle settings.

16 For Origen, see the convenient summaries in Matter, *The Voice* (see note 13), pp. 20-48, and Murphy, *The Song of Songs* (see note 13), pp. 16-21.

17 Bernard's *Sermones super Cantica Cantorum* can be found in the first two volumes of his *Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq et al., Rome 1957-58. For the growing association between the Song and the ex-

until the eighteenth century¹⁸; unsurprisingly, the Song of Songs would remain central to the Cistercian tradition, and I shall have occasion to remark one late and noteworthy musical reflection of this aspect.

By the thirteenth century, at least four different levels of canticle exegesis had been established (Fig. 1). These would continue to function throughout our period. They include: (1) the personal, or tropological approach, with the important subcategory of monastic virginity. In this view, the female spouse (*Sponsa*) with her passionate desires and longings is seen as the Christian's soul in its desire for Christ, and the canticle's expressions of mutual love as that soul's (*Anima*) fulfillment in Him. In the monastic subcategory of this approach, precisely – and paradoxically – the erotic union of the two spouses is symbolic of the male and increasingly the female monk's earthly chastity as sign of her/his marriage to Christ; noteworthy again is the specific casting of the Christian or the monk/nun as female; (2) the ecclesiological view, in which *Sponsa* symbolized the Church in its corporate union with its Savior, along with two lesser but musically prominent modes: (3) a Marian exegesis, in which the *Sponsus* and *Sponsa* are Christ and His Mother, and finally, beginning with Alan of Lille in the twelfth century, (4) a Mary Magdalen-based view, in which the longings of the female spouse were seen as representing the Magdalen's search for her dead Lord and her love for Him, as portrayed in the Gospels.

All four of these levels are present in the intellectual background to the Seicento motet repertory, along with several others listed. Certainly the tradition of canticle exegesis did not cease: even Luther penned a lengthy interpretative commentary. Written at the height of the confessional strife in Germany, the reformer's explanation offered a political interpretation of the book which, however, seems not to recur in the Lutheran motet or sacred concerto repertory¹⁹. Several other canticle explications – including the long commentary written by the Roman Theatine, Michele Ghisleri (1609), Gaspar Sánchez' 1616 tropological interpretation, and the exegesis authored by the South Netherlands Jesuit and teacher at the Collegio

pression vocation of monastic virginity (especially female monastic chastity), see John Bugge, *Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Ideal*, The Hague 1975 (= International Archives of the History of Ideas, Series Minor, 17), pp. 59-67. Bugge notes the widespread use of the canticle by English women mystics and visionaries around 1400 to describe their own spiritual states, a phenomenon perhaps not unrelated to the flowering of canticle motets in the early fifteenth century.

- 18 For instance, Bernard's homilies would figure among the 139 books owned by the Augustinian nuns of S. Caterina alla Chiusa in Milan in 1581; see Danilo Zardin, *Mercato librario e letture devote nella svolta del Cinquecento tridentino: Note in margine ad un inventario milanese di libri di monache*, in: Raponi, N. and A. Turchini (ed.), *Stampi, libri e letture a Milano nell'età di Carlo Borromeo*, Milan 1992, pp. 135-246, no. 100.
- 19 Luther's *In Cantica Canticorum brevis, sed admodum dilucida enarratio* can be found in the so-called »Weimarer Ausgabe« of his *Werke*, Bd. 31, Abt. 2 (Weimar 1914), pp. 586-789. In marked contrast to the entire Western tradition, the reformer's commentary views the canticle as a love song between Solomon (i. e., the ideal Lutheran ruler) and his political state. In general, however, Lutheran musical settings of the canticle have been considered with some justice as largely epithaliamal, not political.

Fig. 1: Levels of allegorical meaning for the Song of Songs available in the seventeenth century

Both 1A and 4 also with specific connections to nuns; 5-8: less common; in 1-4, 7: Sponsus = Christ; in 5: Sponsus = Solomon; in 6: Sponsus = Trinity (varying interpretations of Chorus)

Title (Cassian's term)	Interpretation	Leading exponents
1. Personal (tropological)	Sponsa as individual soul	Many Catholic: Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross, F. Borromeo; »pre-Pietist« Lutheran
1A. Monastic	Sponsa as female or male monk	Cistercian tradition; Borromeo; Luis de Leon, Teresa of Avila
2. Ecclesiological (<i>allegoria</i>)	Sponsa as Church	Anglican and some Lutheran; Cornelius a Lapide
3. Marian	Sponsa as Mary	Ghisleri; Cornelius a Lapide
4. »Magdalenic«	Sponsa as Mary Magdalen	Borromeo; Magdalen hymn tradition
5. Political	Sponsa as Solomon's (i. e. Protestant ruler's) state	Luther
6. Eschatological (anagogic)	Sponsa as the saved (end-time) Church	Cornelius a Lapide
7. Christological	Sponsa as Christ's own humanity	Cornelius a Lapide
8. Epithalamial	Both spouses as Christian married couple	Lutheran

Romano, Cornelius a Lapide (1637) – would be published in the seventeenth century, insuring the continuation of allegorical modes of reading the book²⁰. But in the works of the major late sixteenth-century Catholic mystics – Teresa of Avila, John of the Cross, Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi – the book became the key proof-text in the individual Christian's search for an often mysterious and unattainable God,

²⁰ Seventeenth-century canticle commentaries include: Michael Ghisleri(us) [not identical with Pope Pius V], *Commentarii ... in Canticum Cantorum Salomonis*, Venice 1609; Paris 2/1618; Gaspar Sánchez, *In canticum canticorum commentarii*, Lyon 1616; and Cornelius a Lapide, *In canticum canticorum*, Rome 1637, rpt. in *Commentarii in Scripturam Sacram* 4, Lyon/Paris 1875, pp. 357-750. Noteworthy is the extreme length of the major interpretations, those of Ghisleri (964 folio pages) and Cornelius a Lapide (393 double-column pages), each generated by one of the shortest books of the Old Testament. My thanks to the staff of Burke Library, Union Theological Seminary, for access to a copy of the 1618 edition of the Ghisleri, from which I cite.

with concomitant emphasis on such passages as the opening of ch. 3 and the final raptures of chs. 7-8 as referring to ultimate spiritual union with Christ²¹.

Here, I will take the three canticle commentaries and frequent epistolary references to the book written by one philosopher-bishop, music patron, and key figure in north Italian politics, ecclesiastical and secular, namely Federigo Borromeo of Milan (in office 1595-1631) as both reflective of contemporary attitudes towards the canticle and as illuminative of a host of musical settings in northern Italy²². For instance, Borromeo's printed treatise on Christian optimism, *I tre piaceri della mente cristiana* (Milan 1625, a work directed primarily to the 75% of Milanese patrician daughters who became nuns in this period) is suffused with the canticle. Borromeo advised his female monastic charges: »Now hear the dialogues of the canticle, which can bring relief from any affliction: *Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea sponsa*« ('You have wounded my heart, my sister, my spouse'; 4:9)²³. There are some thirteen polyphonic settings of this verse in the Milanese repertory alone. Borromeo's book holds to the tropological interpretation: »Certainly the following is true: the Sponsa represents all those souls devoted and dear to God«²⁴. But before proceeding to an examination of some musical settings in Milan and elsewhere, I must draw attention to several features of the canticle text that interact with Seicento genres and aesthetics.

First is the book's puzzling narrativity. The sequence of first-person statements that comprise the book, and the constant switching of literary voice (Sponsus, Sponsa, the two »Choruses«) had two effects in the Seicento. The first is to link the canticle to the traditions of musical dialogues²⁵. For instance, the very first Milanese

21 The Spanish tradition of canticle exegesis or paraphrase, largely in the tropological mode, includes Teresa of Avila's *Conceptos del Amor de Dios sobre algunas Palabras de los Cantares* and John of the Cross's *Cantico Espiritual* (the latter available in: Crisogono de Jesus et al. [ed.], *Vida y Obras de San Juan de la Cruz*, Madrid 1973, pp. 691-882).

22 The commentaries, all in manuscript, include the following: *Notae in librum Canticum Canticorum Salomonis* (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana [henceforth BA] F. 26 inf.); *Interpretatio Cantici Canticorum secundum editionem Caldeam* (BA, R. 180 inf.); and *Observationes in Job et Isiam et Cantica Canticorum* (BA, G. 309 inf.). For Federigo as music patron and canticle exegete, see ch. 5 of my *Genres, Generations, and Gender: Nuns' Music in Early Modern Milan, c. 1550-1706* (Ph. D. diss. New York University 1993). For the omnipresence of canticle quotes and tags in the prelate's letters to nuns, see the correspondence excerpted in Carlo Marcora, *Lettere del card. Federico Borromeo alle claustrali*, in: *Memorie storiche della diocesi di Milano* 11 (1964), pp. 177-423.

23 »Nunc Canticorum colloquia audite, quae medicinam afferre possunt huiusmodi plagis: *Vulnerasti cor meum, soror mea sponsa, vulnerasti cor meum*«. I cite from the Latin version of this treatise, *De christianae mentis jocunditate*, Milan 1632, Bk. I, ch. 7 (p. 20). On the destination of the work, see Alessandro Martini, »*I Tre Libri delle Laudi Divine*« di Federico Borromeo: *Ricerca storico-stilistica*, Padua 1975, p. 192. For the explanation of this verse as the Christian soul's »wounding« of Christ by conforming to His Passion and humility, see Ghisleri, *Commentarii* (see note 20), pp. 580-581. Borromeo's cloistered correspondents would often quote the canticle in their letters to the prelate.

24 »Certissime tendendum est hoc ... Ideo Sponsa illa Canticorum designat animas omnes addictas, charasque Deo...«, *De christianae mentis jocunditate*, Bk. II, ch. 11.

25 For the initial overview of musical dialogues based on the canticle, see Howard E. Smither, *The Latin Dramatic Dialogue and the Nascent Oratorio*, in: *JAMS* 20 (1967), pp. 403-433, at p. 409. Frits Noske, *Saints and Sinners: The Latin Musical Dialogue in the Seventeenth Century*, Oxford 1992,

concerto edition to include sacred dialogues, Giovanni Ghizzolo's 1611 *Concerti all'uso moderno*, includes two such colloquies, both with canticle texts²⁶. Indeed, Domenico Mazzocchi's *Dialogo della Cantica* (1664, but written much earlier) makes this formal association between the canticle and the genre of the dialogue explicit²⁷. Michel de Certeau's pathbreaking *La fable mystique* has drawn attention to the dialogue as the preferred genre and method of seventeenth-century spiritual literature, a form whose conventions and dialectic shaped the Christian soul's speech-acts with its Creator into a process of self-understanding and eventual mystic union²⁸. Under the influence of the canticle, the dialogue became the preferred form for spiritual literature. Thus the implicit (and well-nigh universal) dialogic associations of canticle passages by 1600 also require us to pay particular attention to speaker and literary voice in the analysis of any canticle motet. Furthermore, the underlying structure of varied alternating refrains throughout the book (»Adjuro vos«; »Veni, dilecte mi«; »Quam pulchra es«) would also serve as the formal basis for the dialogue motet as a whole and even for the *salmo arioso* as practiced in the 1640's by Gasparo Casati, Chiara Margarita Cozzolani, and others²⁹.

Second, the physical setting of the canticle in a sort of wonderland of rural delights, culminating in the final consummation of love in a classic *hortus deliciarum* (8:5 ff.), marks the book as pastoral *par excellence*. In Borromeo's words: »The nature and characteristic of this work is a pastoral song, or an eclogue or idyll, however we may call it; its subject is Divine love«³⁰. In early Seicento Italy, the implication of this point is again twofold: on one hand it links the canticle's narrative logic (what there is of it) to the conventions of the pastoral as defined by Guarini (and rather differently by Marino). On the other, the book's delight in physical love and the beauty of the natural world, even on a superficial, non-allegorical level, is closely allied to the view of Christian optimism espoused by Philip Neri and his disciple

pp. 47-50 and *passim*, provides a helpful discussion of a number of Italian canticle dialogues, especially those of Grandi.

- 26 The pieces in question are *Quae est ista?*, a Marian work, and *Heu quem diligit anima mea*, a dialogue that sets Mary Magdalen's lament at Christ's Tomb to the words of the canticle's Sponsa (for a later example, see below).
- 27 This work, along with the rest of Mazzocchi's *Sacrae concertationes* (Rome 1664) is available in Wolfgang Witzemann's edition (Domenico Mazzocchi, *Sacrae concertationes*, Köln 1975 [= *Concentus musicus* 3], no. 9, pp. 63-73).
- 28 Michel de Certeau, *La fable mystique*, Paris 1982, pp. 216-225, characterizes the dialogue as the typical genre and method of seventeenth-century spiritual literature, with notable examples found in Spanish, French and Italian mystics.
- 29 The Song of Songs is unified by a series of phrases which are varied upon repetition (»Adjuro vos, filiae Jerusalem«, at 2:7 and 3:5; »Quam [or ecce] tu pulchra es«, at 1:14, 4:1, 6:3; 7:6, and so on). The varied refrain is found in much of the dialogue repertory of the 1620's; it also figures in the Lombard psalm repertory of the 1640's; see for instance the *Laudate pueri* in Casati's *Messa e salmi concertati a 4-5* (Venice 1644) and several Vespers settings in Cozzolani's *Salmi a otto*, op. 3 (Venice 1650).
- 30 »Quanto alla natura et alla qualità di questo componimento egli è Carmen pastorale; ovvero Egloga ovvero Idylium come chiamare lo vogliamo ... quanto al soggetto sicuramente è l'amore divino«, *Notae in librum Canticum Cantorum Salomonis* (see note 22), BA F. 26 inf., f. 272.

Borromeo³¹. This emphasis on nature's goodness – including sexuality – as emblematic of Divine benignity would find musical expression in an entire generation of »floral« motets, at first based on the imagery and language of 7:11-13 (»Veni, dilece mi, egrediamur in agrum ... mane surgamus ad vineas; videamus si floruit vinea ...«)³². The pastoral nature of the book would even have direct musical results, such as the bucolic wind-instruments (*fiffari* [transverse flutes], the puzzling cornettini [probably *cornetti muti*], and dulcians) chosen by Schütz for the scoring of four canticle settings in *Symphoniae sacrae* I³³.

Third, the varied use by figures like Borromeo of the four allegorical levels outlined above marks seventeenth-century interpretation of the Song as essentially polyvalent. A given passage set as a concerto according to context or interpretative tradition may have had one primary referential meaning, Marian, personal, or monastic. But the plethora of allegorical levels, and the wide (and better-distinguished) variety of audiences in the post-Tridentine or post-Reformation world meant that any passage was capable of functioning on several levels simultaneously. Indeed, both Ghisleri's and Cornelius a Lapide's explications present parallel interpretations³⁴. I shall have occasion to examine at least one musical case of this allegorical polyvalence.

31 On Christian optimism and the delight in nature as the basis of Borromeo's aesthetics, see Pamela M. Jones, *Federico Borromeo as a Patron of Landscapes and Still Lifes: Christian Optimism in Italy, ca. 1600*, in: *Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), pp. 261-272, and now *eadem*, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan*, Cambridge 1993, pp. 9-10 and *passim*.

32 For Federigo Borromeo's encouragement of Jan Brueghel the Elder in the creation of the pictorial genre of the Madonna and Child inside a garland of flowers, see Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana*, pp. 84 ff.

33 *In lectulo per noctes/Invenerunt me*, SWV 272-273, calls for three »fagotti«, instruments whose pastoral nature is clear in most of the early Seicento iconographic representations. *Anima mea liquefacta est/Adjuro vos, filiae Jerusalem*, SWV 263-264, calls for two »Fiffaro o Cornettino«. The written range of these parts is a-e-flat"; Michael Praetorius (*Syntagma musicum* II, *De Organographia*, Wolfenbüttel 1619, rpt. Kassel 1958 [= *Documenta musicologica* I, 15], p. 35) identifies the »Querpfeyffe« as »Italis Traversa vel Fiffaro« and (p. 22) gives the lowest note of the bass transverse flute as g. The »cornettino« designation is more problematic in light of the tessitura of SWV 263-264; Praetorius lists the range of this instrument (»kleiner Zink«) as e'-e". But if we take the »cornettino« as a misunderstanding of Schütz's instructions (Magni, Schütz's Venetian printer, had in fact not produced any other volumes of the *motetti con stromenti* subgenre into which the *Symphoniae sacrae* fall, and the cornettino was little used in Italy) referring to another »pastoral« instrument, the *cornetto muto*, the range fits perfectly (the instrument being pitched in g). This solution can be heard to excellent effect on the recent recording by Concerto Palatino, Accent ACC 9178/79D (1992). In either case (bass transverse flute or *cornetto muto*), the muted and pastoral timbre of the motet's instrumental accompaniment is reinforced by the cross-fingerings necessary for the frequent e-flats and a-flats. My thanks to Bruce Dickey for his ideas on SWV 263-264.

34 For each verse of the canticle, Ghisleri provides: (1) a literal and philological reading; (2) an ecclesiological view (Sponsa as Church); (3) a tropological sense (Sponsa as »Anima sancta«); (4) a Marian interpretation; and (5) a summary of the patristic and medieval views. Cornelius a Lapide's exegesis includes the first four of these, designating different views as »principalis«, »partialis«, or »adequatus« depending on their centrality to the verse under discussion, and interweaving the theme of Christ's marriage to His own humanity into the explication.

Finally, it is helpful to outline the course of canticle settings as a whole. In northern Italy, the first wave seems to take place around 1610 (examples may be found in the sacred concerto prints of Banchieri, G. P. Cima, Gasparini, and Patta). The canticle made a second resurgence in the later 1620's, both in the *motetto con stromenti* and a 2/a 3 subgenres (Grandi, Banchieri, Leone Leoni; in Rome, Frescobaldi and Massenzio)³⁵. Although the small-scale concerto seems to predominate, yet a number of large-scale concertato settings (like Michelangelo Grancini's *Adjuro vos, filiae Jerusalem* from 1631, scored for seven high voices and dedicated to two musical nuns at the Augustinian house of S. Marta in Milan) also survive³⁶. With the noteworthy changes in the motet repertory around 1640, canticle settings *stricto sensu* begin to fall off in favor of new, freely-composed (so-called »paraliturgical«) Latin texts.

Certainly the Marian exegesis of the canticle is central to much of the seventeenth-century motet repertory, at least in Italy, France, and the Catholic regions of the Holy Roman Empire. One familiar example is Monteverdi's 1610 *Nigra sum*, from the Vespers (Fig. 2). The liturgical takeoff point for this text is the third Vespers antiphon for feasts of the Virgin in both the Roman and the Mantuan breviaries, and its obvious reference is Marian³⁷. Most noteworthy – and increasingly typical – is the motet's expansion of the antiphon text, an expansion that mixes the canticle's two literary voices, those of the male and the female spouse.

Fig. 2: Claudio Monteverdi, *Nigra sum* (1610)

Monteverdi	Song of Songs	Liturgical use
Nigra sum sed formosa, filiae Jerusalem: Ideo dilexit me rex et introduxit in cubiculum suum	1:4 (Sponsa)	Ant. III, Feasts BMV per annum (+ »me«)
et dixit mihi: Surge, amica mea, et veni.	1:3 (Sponsa) deest	
Iam hiems transiit, imber abiit et recessit, flores apparuerunt in terra nostra.	2:13 (Sponsus) + »speciosa mea« 2:11 (Sponsus)	
Tempus putationis advenit.	2:12 (Sponsus)	

Monteverdi's setting follows this division of literary voices faithfully; if the opening section, comprising the words of the canticle's female spouse, outlines mode 8 in the ambitus and structural cadences (on C) of its melodic line (Ex. a

35 After the 1610 *Vezzo di perle* (see note 7), Banchieri would return to the Song of Songs for the three *Sinfonie sopra la Cantica* for voice and instrument to be found in his *Dialoghi, Concerti, Sinfonie* op. 48 (Venice 1625). In Frescobaldi's 1627 motet book (cited below, n. 44) there are four canticle settings.

36 The Grancini piece is found in his *Sacri fiori concertati*, Milan 1631.

37 The Roman breviary assignment of this opening (»Nigra sum, sed formosa, filiae Jerusalem: ideo dilexit me Rex, et introduxit me in cubiculum suum«) is as antiphon 3 for Vespers and Lauds of Marian feasts throughout the year, and as antiphon 7 for Matins of the Common of female saints.

and c)³⁸, then the shift to the male spouse's words (»surge«) marks an abrupt *com-mixtio tonorum*, moving from mode 8 to the authentic mode 7 (Ex. b). The bulk of the Sponsus' words are set in this authentic *cofinalis* (the ambitus of the vocal part after »surge« ranges from e to f') (Ex. c); this section features frequent internal cadences on that mode's tenor (D), along with a remarkable recitation-tone on the same pitch for the words »tempus putationis advenit«, »the time of pruning has come«. This phrase was taken in contemporary exegesis as referring to the passing of the old Law and the coming of the new Law through the Incarnation of Christ (in Marian terms, the Annunciation)³⁹. In this sense, Monteverdi's highlighting of the »tempus putationis« phrase by its suspension on the recitation tone of the mode (over a descending bass) is analogous to the public proclamation and ritual re-creation of the Incarnation and Redemption, namely the Elevation of the Host at Mass. The repetition of the melodic gesture (mm. 24-28 and 34-38) is of course paralleled by the double Elevation (of the bread and the wine) during the Canon of the Mass. Perhaps *Nigra sum* was originally conceived, not as a Vespers item (antiphon substitute) but rather as an Elevation piece to accompany the six-voice Mass (although the point is often forgotten, this latter was specifically designated as a Marian work on the edition's title-page: »Sanctissimae virgini missa senis vocibus ...«).

Monteverdi's setting of the Sponsus' words also employs a far more *durus* pitch content, with notated c#, g# and even d# in the vocal part, and the male spouse's reply is underlined by being repeated *in toto* (mm. 18-28 and 28-38). The entire effect of the musical division between the two literary voices in Monteverdi's »monodic« setting is to make *Nigra sum* into a dialogue a 1, a form not unknown in both the secular and sacred repertory of the early Seicento⁴⁰. But the explicit gender-based division of the dialogue's voices – the Sponsa's words with a more *mollis* pitch content and in the plagal *cofinalis* of the *tetrardus*, while the Sponsus is allotted a more *durus* spectrum and is set in the authentic mode – reveals Monteverdi's sensitivity to both literary voice and the associations of sexual roles⁴¹.

38 Noteworthy, as well, is Monteverdi's setting of the opening textual contrast (»Nigra sum, sed formosa« / »I am dark, but comely«) to the octave leap between d and d' that defines the ambitus of mode 8. My examples are transcribed from the 1610 edition.

39 See Ghisleri's explication, redolent of the vocabulary of the canticle itself, *Commentarii* (see note 20), pp. 332-333 (»Expositio IIII, De Tertia Sponsa, quae est B. Maria«): »Surge, neve moreris venire, quo te voco, instat enim partus eijs, quem gestas in ventre: iam legis hiems transiit, imber doctrinae Prophetarum abiit, & recessit, cum primum, quod intra te est, Verbum carnem assumpsit ... iamque & flos campi, ac lilium convallium in te progemmavit Christus filius Dei: Advenit iam & tempus putationis, quo per eundem Dei filium universi a mundo resecentur errores, & redemptione omnia amputentur peccata«.

40 For some monodic secular dialogues, see John Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue in the Age of Monteverdi*, Ann Arbor 1982, 1: 181-82. Several pieces (*Si bona suscepimus, Quid agit Domine?*) in Ignazio Donati's *Secondo libro de motetti a voce sola* (Venice 1636) are essentially dialogues a 1.

41 For some theoretical reflections of male/female dichotomies in the Monteverdi-Artusi controversy, viewed in a classically structuralist and biologically reductionist framework, see now Suzanne G. Cusick, *Gendering Modern Music: Thoughts on the Monteverdi-Artusi Controversy*, in: JAMS 46 (1993), pp. 1-25.

Monteverdi, *Nigra sum*

a) mm. 1-9

Ni-gra sum sed for-mo-sa fi-li-ae for-

mo-sa fi-liae for-mo - - sa ni-gra sum

b) mm. 20-40

et intro-du - xit in cu-bi-cu-lum su-um et di-xit-

mi - hi: Sur

ge sur - - ge, sur-ge sur-ge a-mi-ca sur-

ge a-mi-ca mea a-mi-ca mea surge sur-ge et ve-ni

c) Ambitus Cadences Sharps

"Nigra sum ... dixit mihi"

"Iam hiems ... advenit"

As can be seen in *Nigra sum*, the various centonizations of »Surge propera, amica mea« (»Rise quickly, my love«; 2:10) were quite popular in the early Seicento. Another setting published in the same year as Monteverdi's piece, Giovanni Paolo Cima's (found in his Milanese *Concerti ecclesiastici*) proceeds from this verse to 2:14 (»Columba mea, in foraminibus petrae, in caverna maceriae, ostende mihi faciem tuam, sonet vox tua in auribus meis; vox enim tua dulcis, et facies tua decora« / »My dove, [come] in the rock's clefts, in the cavern of the wall, show me your face, let your voice sound in my ears; for your voice is sweet, and your face lovely«). The motet is dedicated to a Benedictine nun musician, Donna Paola Ortensia Sorbellona at the house of S. Vincenzo in Milan, and the setting of the verse among the rocks and crags inspired Cima to an echo motet (in line with the cavernous-hiding-place of Echo in classical legend). But the reference to the dove hiding in clefts and caverns had been taken since Bernard as an image for the Christian soul seeking refuge in Christ's wounds, and the entire set of associations

– doves, rocks, wounds, and music – is made explicit in the peroration to part 3 of Giovanbattista Marino's *Diceria sacra seconda: La musica* (1613)⁴².

The primary perceptual emphasis in the canticle is on touch and taste. Thus, the occasional passages like this one that refer to the voice and auditory perception take on a special, almost metamusical, meaning in polyphonic settings. Frescobaldi's 1627 *Vox dilecti mei* is a two-section motet with added Marian text (Fig. 3)⁴³.

Fig. 3: Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Vox dilecti mei*, from *Liber secundus ...* (Rome 1627)

Prima pars	[Sponsa:] Vox dilecti mei pulsantis: [Sponsus:] Aperi mihi, soror mea sponsa. Vulnerasti cor meum in uno oculorum tuorum.	(Song of Songs 5:2 and 4:9)
Seconda pars	Quam pulchra es et speciosa, Virgo. Veni amica mea, quia amore tuo languo.	(free) (cf. Song of Songs 5:8)

This work relies on a sort of collage of favorite passages, the textual complex again without liturgical assignment in the post-Tridentine breviary⁴⁴. Frescobaldi's opening seems to highlight the »beating« or »pulsantis« quality of the Sponsus' voice in its long melismas and clearly differentiated motives. This opening also switches between the literary voices of the Sponsa and the Sponsus (Sponsa: »Vox dilecti mei« ... Sponsus: »Aperi mihi«). Noteworthy in contrast to *Nigra sum* is Frescobaldi's reliance on motive and phrase structure, not modal differentiation, in order to set the switch in literary voice. In its freely centonized text and Marian invocation, *Vox dilecti mei* is not atypical of Roman approaches to the canticle.

So far, we have considered several different uses of the canticle: personal, monastic, Marian. Yet one increasingly important interpretation, noted already, was that of identifying the book's Sponsa with Mary Magdalen⁴⁵. This is certainly

42 »E sicome la voce è stromento con cui si palesa e publica l'interno concetto dell'animo, così Cristo è mezo, per cui si comunica a noi la paterna volontà...E finalmente, se Eco abita nelle concavità de' sassi e nelle profondità delle grotte, ecco la pietra incavata: *petra autem erat Christus*; ecco le spelonche profonde: *in foraminibus petrae et in caverna maceriae*«, from Giovanbattista Marino, *La musica. Diceria seconda sopra le sette parole dette da Cristo in croce*, in: Pozzi, G. (ed.), *Dicerie sacre e La strage de gl'innocenti*, Turin 1960, at pp. 330-331.

43 The piece is found, along with three other canticle settings, in the *Liber secundus Diversarum Modulationum*, Rome 1627. Its incomplete preservation (Cantus II is missing) excludes it from Christopher Stemberidge's exemplary edition, Girolamo Frescobaldi, *Motetti a 1, 2, e 3 voci con continuo* ([Padua] 1987). For a remarkable depiction of Mary above an imaginary (Sevillian) landscape including »her« symbols (towers, gardens) taken from the canticle, see Francisco de Zurbarán, *The Immaculate Conception* (c. 1660; Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland; see also the discussion in Rosemary Mulcahy, *Spanish Paintings in the National Gallery of Ireland*, Dublin 1988, pp. 89-91).

44 Although the clear reference of Frescobaldi's text is Marian, there is no item in the post-Tridentine Roman breviary, even for feasts of the BMV, that utilizes both literary voices present in 5:2 (»Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat, vox dilecti mei pulsantis: aperi mihi, soror mea, amica mea...«).

45 For the early history of this exegesis, see Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved* (see note 13), p. 167, and Joseph Szövérfy, 'Peccatrix quondam foemina': A Survey of the Mary Magdalen Hymns, in: *Traditio* 19 (1963), pp. 79-146, at p. 111. For a general overview of the figure of the Magdalen in Seicento

best known from Mazzocchi's *Dialogo della Maddalena*, which intersperses the Gospel narration with the questing passages of the canticle's female spouse in order to express the Magdalen's lament for the missing Christ⁴⁶. The final section of this piece begins with a double-choir setting of 8:7 (»Aquae multae non poterunt extinguere caritatem« / »Many waters cannot drown love«), a passage that occurs after the spouses' love has been consummated. In tropological mode, the Magdalen (and the Christian) have found Christ, and the passage was viewed as a triumphant conclusion referring to the Magdalen's unflinching love for her Lord as a model for the individual Christian to emulate. Indeed, the figure of Mary Magdalen was conflated with the female spouse of the canticle in the writings of both Federigo Borromeo and the nuns of his diocese⁴⁷.

It is impossible to discuss canticle settings in the seventeenth century without brief mention of the other well-known versions: Mazzocchi's *Dialogo della Cantica*, which sets largely the questing passages of the female spouse as solos in the context of Christological devotion (hence following the tropological interpretation), and of course the settings in Schütz's *Symphoniae sacrae* I. Here, I can only focus on one seemingly puzzling text in this latter: the two-part *In lectulo per noctes / Invenerunt me custodes*, based (with some textual variants) on 3:1-4 (Fig. 4)⁴⁸. In almost all canticle exegeses, Protestant and Catholic, this passage had one overwhelming meaning: the individual soul's search for Christ, and the frustrations and anguish – »per noctes« meaning quite literally, in John of the Cross's famous words, the »black night of the soul« – involved therein. The ideas of rising and circling the city, and being found by the watchmen, were taken as references to the world's misunderstanding of this search, while 3:4 (»inveni quem diligit anima mea«) referred to the final reunion with Christ after the way of negation.

Schütz's setting, with its obstinate cadences on G in *cantus mollis*, and its ecstatic repetitions of »inveni quem diligit anima mea«, underlines this profound spiritual quest. Schütz added the long final section, centonizing the »Egredimini filiae

literature, see Salvatore Usvia, *Il tema letterario della Maddalena nell'età della Controriforma*, in: *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 24 (1988), pp. 385-424.

46 Also in the *Sacrae concertationes* (see note 27), no. 16.

47 For the Easter dialogue of Chiara Margarita Cozzolani (1650), another motet in which the lamenting Magdalen uses the literary and musical language of the canticle's Sponsa, and one which highlights the diffusion behind cloistered walls of this assimilation of Mary Magdalen to the female spouse, see my *The Traditions of Milanese Convent Music and the Sacred Dialogues of C. M. Cozzolani*, in: Monson, Craig A. (ed.), *The Crannied Wall: Women, Religion and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*, Ann Arbor 1992, pp. 211-33, at p. 222.

48 Schütz's omission of the word »meo«, and his changing of »vigiles qui custodiunt civitatem« to »custodes civitatis«, are found in no transmission of any Latin version of the Bible; see the critical edition of the Song in: Monks of S. Geronimo [Rome] (ed.), *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem...iussi Pii PP. XII 11, Libri Salomonis* (Rome 1967), p. 184. In general, the minor deletions or changes (found also in the Monteverdi *Nigra sum*: »introduxit [deest: me]«) relative to the standard Latin text, which are apparent in a number of canticle motets, probably do not indicate a separate textual transmission for musical versions of the Song (indeed, there is no corpus of canticle centonizations that circulated independently from the motet repertory). More likely, these minor differences of syntax and vocabulary reflect the fact that composers often relied on their memories for the canticle text.

Fig. 4: Heinrich Schütz, *In lectulo / Invenerunt me* SWV 272-273 (*Symphoniae sacrae* I, 1629)

Schütz	Song of Songs
(SWV 272)	
In ▶lectulo◀ per noctes	lectulo meo
▶quem diligit anima mea quaesivi◀	quaesivi quem diligit anima mea
▶nec respondit mihi.◀	Quaesivi illum, et non inveni
Surgam, et circuibo civitatem	
Per vicus et plateas	
Quaeram quem diligit anima mea,	3:1-2
(SWV 273)	
Invenerunt me ▶custodes civitatis◀	vigiles qui custodiunt civitatem:
▶[deest]◀	»Num quem diligit anima mea vidistis?«
Paululum cum ▶pertransirem◀ eos,	pertransissem
Inveni quem diligit anima mea	
Tenui, nec dimittam illum,	3:3-4a
Egredimini, filiae Herusalem,	cf. 3:11
et congratulamini mihi,	
Cantate dilecto meo	
cum laetitia, cum jubilo,	
cum cythara.	all deest

Hierusalem« phrase from other canticle verses (3:10-11) and providing melodic rhyme between the words »inveni« and »cantate«, thus shifting the motet's emphasis from the dark night of the spiritual quest to the rapturous – and musical – union of God and the soul⁴⁹.

With the changes in the Italian repertory around 1640, canticle settings *stricto sensu* would fall off, at least in Italy. However, even the new texts would often make some sort of verbal reference to the book; G. C. San Romano's 1670 solo motets, for instance, include two pieces beginning »Hiems iam transit« and »Adiuro vos« whose texts are not taken from the book⁵⁰. Meanwhile, Fig. 5, from a 1642 solo motet by Cozzolani, shows another use of canticle language and imagery in an apparently newly-written motet text, again with Marian connotations.

In Germany, other reflections include the 16 poetic paraphrases of the book that appeared from 1608 to 1722, (including the very influential one by Martin Opitz) and Buxtehude's cantata cycle⁵¹. Indeed, one can find some 30 Latin and 11 ver-

49 For a discussion of the other canticle settings in light of the *Symphoniae sacrae*'s inspiration and Italian reception, see my 'Ein italienisches Stundenbuch': Notes on the Origin and Italian Context of Schütz's *Symphoniae sacrae* I, forthcoming.

50 The San Romano pieces are in his *Il primo libro de motetti a voce sola* (Milan 1670).

51 For the German paraphrase tradition, see Martin Goebel, *Die Bearbeitungen des Hohen Liedes im 17. Jahrhundert, nebst einem Ueberblick über die Beschäftigung mit dem Hohen Liede in früheren Jahrhunderten* (Halle 1914), with a list of poetic reworkings at pp. 33-53. More research on German vernacular canticle motets would undoubtedly reveal which paraphrases might have influenced composers.

Fig. 5: Chiara Maria Cozzolani, *Concinant linguae*, from *Concerti sacri* op. 2 (Venice 1642), excerpt

Cozzolani	Song of Songs
... Frondeant arbores, floreant lilia, rubeant rosae, germinent campi, rideant prata. Surgat auster; perflent venti, flumina plaudant Resonant valles cantibus avium ...	[Sponsa:] Surge, Aquilo; et veni, Auster; perfla hortum meum, et fluant aromata illius. 4:16

nacular canticle incipits in the post-1650 German repertory of concertos a 3 and larger⁵². Best-known is Johann Christoph Bach's *Meine Freundin, du bist schön*, which uses the Song in its epithalamial interpretation⁵³. If the German settings largely reflect personalized and/or nuptial interpretations of the text, the Anglican tradition would swing back to an ecclesiological interpretation of the canticle⁵⁴. Thus, thinking ahead to another anniversary, Purcell's large-scale verse anthem with a Song of Songs text, *My beloved spake* (Z. 28), should probably be taken as a celebration of the Church of England. As part of the Anglican crusade against the threat of Catholic royal succession in the last years of Charles II's reign, the canticle is used here in an aggressively anti-Papal vein.

Finally, several of the themes mentioned here – Christian optimism, monastic exegesis, polyvalent allegory, liturgical centonization or expansion, switching of literary voices – recur in one of the chronologically latest but most remarkable settings of any canticle passages, Charpentier's *Quatuor Anni Tempestates*, H. 335-338, his »Four Seasons«⁵⁵. These four high-voice duets each set a long, centonized canticle text, one for each season of the year, with appropriate physical images (harvest and eating for autumn). Fig. 6 gives the text for »Autumn«. Certainly the derivation of this cycle has seemed obscure⁵⁶.

52 The repertory is well catalogued in Diane Parr Walker and Paul Walker, *German Sacred Polyphonic Vocal Music Between Schütz and Bach: Sources and Critical Editions*, Detroit 1992. My count includes only Latin and German incipits taken from the canticle, excluding those pieces which feature canticle tags in the body of the literary text.

53 The piece, copied along with an epithalamial program by Ambrosius Bach for what Max Schneider called the »Altbachisches Archiv«, can be found in his edition, *Altbachisches Archiv 2, Kantaten*, Leipzig 1935, rpt. Wiesbaden 1966 (= EdM 2), pp. 91-135, with a revised edition ed. by H. Bergmann (Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1987).

54 E. g., Lancelot Andrews' Pentecost sermon (1615), in reference to 2:14 (»Rise, my dove, my fair one and come away«): »The Holy Ghost is a Dove, and He makes Christ's Spouse, the Church, a Dove; a term so oft iterate in the Canticles ...« (Andrews, *Works* 3, Oxford 1854, rpt. New York 1967, p. 254).

55 Found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Res. Vm¹. 259, vol. 21, ff. 88-97v, and listed in H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Les Oeuvres de/The Works of Marc-Antoine Charpentier: Catalogue Raisonné*, Paris 1982, pp. 264-265. I shall return presently to the instrumental *Prélude pour l'été*, H. 336a (scored for 3 recorders, another pastoral connotation).

56 Even Hitchcock, to whose work we owe the rediscovery of Charpentier, notes that the series is »puzzling because the ecclesiastical connotations are unclear«, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Oxford 1990 (= Oxford Studies of Composers 23), p. 46.

Fig. 6: Marc-Antoine Charpentier, *Autumnus* (H. 337) from *Quatuor anni tempestates* (H. 335-338; 1685)

Charpentier	Song of Songs	Benedictine use
[Sponsa:] Osculetur me osculo oris sui; Quia meliora sunt ubera tua vino, / Fragrantia unguentis optimis, Oleum effusum nomen tuum; Ideo adolescentulae dilexerunt te nimis.	1:1-2	
[Sponsa:] Introduxit me rex in cellam vinariam; Ordinavit in me caritatem.	2:4	1st Lesson/April
[Sponsa:] Veniat dilectus meus in hortum suum		2nd Lesson/July
Et comedamus fructum ponorum suorum. /	5:1	
[Sponsa:] Vulnerasti cor meum, dilecte mi, sponse mi In uno oculorum tuorum, in uno crine colli tui.	4:9	2nd Lesson/June
[Sponsus:] Comedamus favum cum melle nostra, Bibamus vinum cum lacte nostro. Comedite, amici, et bibite; Et inebriamini.	Comedi favum cum melle meo, Bibi vinum meum cum lacte meo. Comedite, amici, bibite Et inebriamini carissimi. 5:1	2nd Lesson/July

———— = major sectional divisions. / = internal cadences within sections.

Yet there is a liturgical take-off point for these motets, and it is no surprise to find it in the Benedictine and Cistercian traditions, especially in light of Bernard of Clairvaux's emphasis on the canticle. The essential idea is that of correlation between temporal progression and canticle excerpts. In the seventeenth-century Italian and French monastic breviaries of these two orders, lessons for Matins of the Saturday Office of the BMV are organized into a monthly pattern. For April through October, the first two lessons of this Hour employ large sections of the canticle, and Charpentier's texts, as can be seen from Fig. 6, occasionally overlap with these readings⁵⁷. Typical of his practice, Charpentier seems to have expanded and systematized this liturgical and seasonal canticle association into a complete annual cycle.

57 The sequence is as follows: April's lessons comprise Song of Songs 2:1-7 and 2:8-13; May is 2:13-17 and 3:1-4; June, 4:1-4 and 4:7-10; July, 4:11-15 and 5:1-3; August, 5:4-7 and 5:8-12; September, 6:1-5 and 6:8-12; October, 7:6-9 and 7:10-12. I have taken the assignments found in the *Breviarium monasticum Pauli V. Pont. Max. auctoritate recognitum pro omnibus sub Regula Sanctissimi Patris Benedicti militantibus* (Venice [1613]) for Italian sources; and the *Breviare monastique ... a l'usage des Religieuses Benedictines ... Partie d'Été* (or *Partie d'Hiver*) (Paris 1703) for French Benedictine use.

Once again, there is composer's or compiler's freedom with the text; all the motets include the words of both the male and female spouse, and in *Autumnus* the Vulgate's reading »comedi favum cum melle meo« (5:1) is congregationalized into first-person plural. This is especially noteworthy in that this passage was universally taken by Catholic tropological exegesis as referring to the soul's union with God, specifically through the Eucharist⁵⁸. Charpentier's shift to plural number makes it clear that the text refers to congregational union in the sacrament. In light of all these factors – the monastic exegetical tradition, the Marian point of departure, the references to a congregation whose goal was union with God, the scoring for two high sopranos, and the liturgical connection – it seems justifiable to postulate that the original version of these ravishing duets was written for the Cistercian female monastery of l'Abbaye-aux-Bois in Paris, an institution for which some of his other Latin-texted works were composed, and one whose order was more completely identified with the canticle and its exegesis than any other⁵⁹.

There can be no doubt that, for the men and women of the Seicento, the Song of Songs was the key text that encapsulated and provided a poetic expression for their internal experiences of God, their spiritual aridity and fullness, and even their view of salvation. Indeed, in Cornelius a Lapide's 1637 commentary, there is a specifically apocalyptic interpretation of the Song's narrative, in which the various parts of the canticle provide an allegorical and progressive dramatic account of the past, present and future soteriological history of the human race⁶⁰. It is no wonder, then, that the book provided a source of highly-charged imagery, one open to personal recombination and centonization for a multiplicity of meanings, and one that inspired musical men and women to some of the most stunning motets of early modern Europe. Although the meanings of the canticle were polyvalent – another argument in favor of its musical treatment – still, ironically, the motive that most modern commentators have invoked, namely the purely erotic and anti-censorial appeal of the text, is precisely the one for which there is no contemporary evidence.

But on broader levels the musical expression of the canticle was vital, as well. The categorization of the individual Christian as female through the tropological identification of the soul with the canticle's *Sponsa* fits in well with the pan-European feminization of piety in the seventeenth century, both in terms of the promi-

58 A possible translation of this congregational shift would be: »We [Vulgate: I] have eaten honeycomb with our [Vulg: my] honey; we [Vulg: I] have drunk our [Vulg: my] wine with our [Vulg: my] milk«. For the Eucharistic exegesis, which uses the metaphors of eating and drinking to express the internal reception of Christ, see the comments of Cornelius a Lapide in reference to this verse, *Commentarii* (see note 20), pp. 581 ff.: »Porro corpus Christi in Eucharistis recte dicitur favus ...«.

59 There are no independent instrumental parts in the music Charpentier composed for the Abbaye-aux-Bois or for any other female monastery. Hence, the instrumental prelude for »Summer« (H. 336a), which Hitchcock dates to 1687-97, and which includes a bass recorder, was likely to have been composed later, for a performance by the one ensemble for which Charpentier worked that used this instrument: the musical chapel of the Grand Dauphin. On the use of this instrument in that ensemble, see Catherine Cessac, *Marc-Antoine Charpentier*, Paris 1988, p. 134.

60 Cornelius a Lapide divides the canticle's narrative into five »acts« (»partes dramatis«: 1:1-2:8; 2:8-3:6; 3:6-5:2; 5:2-6:3; and 6:3 to the end), which recount the entire salvational history of the human race, from the Fall of Man to the Last Judgment.

nence of female mystics and the place of women in various expressions of Catholic and Protestant Quietism⁶¹. Perhaps the most striking case of this is Fig. 7, a passage that opens a motet by the Novarese *maestro* Gasparo Casati. This reworks the canticle by casting the individual Christian soul (and singer) in the language of the female spouse but, contrary to all tradition, portrays the male Sponsus as the Blessed Virgin⁶². But the ongoing use of the book in monastic music – the Olivetans Banchieri and Gasperini, for instance – and the growing association of canticle motets with nuns (including such composers as Cozzolani and the Clarissan Sister Alba Trissina in Vicenza) also underline the use of the canticle as an emblem of specifically female monastic spirituality⁶³.

Fig. 7: Gasparo Casati, *Assurgite de vineis*, from *Scelta de' ariosi ... motetti* (Venice 1645), opening.

Assurgite de vineis,	Rise from the vineyards,
asurgite de montibus	rise from the mountains
Filiae Hierusalem	o daughters of Jerusalem,
obsecro vos, adjuro vos:	I implore you, I adjure you
Exclamate, nunciate	exclaim, tell
Dilectae Mariae	beloved Mary
quia amore languet Anima,	that my soul languishes for love
deficit spiritus, moritur cor;	my spirit fails, my heart dies
in Maria languet anima	my soul languishes for Mary
in Maria cadit spiritus	my spirit ceases for Mary
in Maria moritur cor.	my heart dies for Mary.

Finally, the revival of essentially medieval modes of thought seen (and heard) in the various musical avatars of the canticle throughout the Seicento highlights the intellectual distance of early modern ideology from post-Enlightenment thought. The relative paucity of canticle commentaries after 1500, and the book's remarkable appearance in polyphonic settings, together suggest that there are important aspects of seventeenth-century culture that are best – or perhaps only – accessible through music. In that sense, the polyphonic fortunes of the canticle provide a last flowering of pre-modern world-views in a century that was to witness the end – at least temporarily – of this kind of allegory in post-medieval Europe.

61 On women's religious life in the Seicento, see now most of the essays collected in: Calvi, Giulia (ed.), *Barocco al femminile*, Rome 1992. The examples of the French *dévotées* and of the primarily female composition of Jansenism and German Pietism are too well-known to require comment here.

62 The piece is a solo (Canto) motet, published in Casati's posthumous *Scelta de' ariosi, vaghi e concertati motetti* (Venice 1645). In light of the freedom with received notions of text-setting and traditions found in Casati (and in other of his Lombard contemporaries), this inversion of exegetical tradition is perhaps not uncharacteristic of the changes of the 1640's.

63 For the setting of *Vulnerasti cor meum* (and the other works, including a three-voice *Anima mea liquefacta est*) by Trissina (at the monastery of Aracoeli in Vicenza), see Leone Leoni, *Sacri fiori [...] libro quarto* (Venice 1622), with a forthcoming modern edition of *Vulnerasti* in: Glickman, S. and M. F. Schleifer (ed.), *Women Composers: A Historical Anthology* (Boston), vol. 2.