Gospel Settings in Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Germany: Meditation in the Service of Musical Homiletics

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The connections between piety, hermeneutics, and music in Lutheran Germany of the seventeenth century have recently been sketched and debated with increasing historical acuity. The once strict dichotomy between "early" Pietism and Lutheran Orthodoxy has been largely dismissed and we benefit from more nuanced discourse about the period, led by historians of religion and the intense queries they have initiated about Pietism's origins and precedents[1]. An understanding of both the continuities and the disruptions of devotional writings, traced from Luther through to Spener, presents a much more sophisticated picture of the intersections between music and pious activity. In particular, a deepened understanding of early eighteenth-century theology and hermeneutics has driven insightful analyses of the eighteenth-century cantata[2]. Our understanding of the cantatas of Bach, Handel, and Telemann has been enriched as we come to understand better the cultural and religious climate in which the works participated.

But what happens when we consider the repertoire of the generations active before the early eighteenth century with as much attention to contemporary devotional and homiletic practice? If we are willing to look at seventeenth-century sacred music for contemporary significance – and if we are willing to entertain the notion that Bach's musical-homiletic works did not emerge without precedent – devotional necessity may emerge as an impetus for the musical shape taken by earlier liturgical works.

Settings of the Gospel texts by mid-seventeenth-century *Kantoren* and *Kapellmeister* reflect the rich variety of musical styles available to composers across Lutheran Germany. Commonalities of musical style, textual treatment, and large-scale form are difficult to pinpoint, and a picture of such diversity emerges that we can only speak of a unified "genre" with great diffi-

1 Jonathan Strom provides the most comprehensive summary of research and current trends in the history of Pietism. Jonathan Strom, *Promises and Problems of Pietism Research*, in: Church History 71 (2002), pp. 536–554. For specific connections between devotion and music see Christian Bunners, *Kirchenmusik und Seelenmusik: Studien zu Frömmigkeit und Musik im Luthertum des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen 1966 (= Veröffentlichungen der Evangelischen Gesellschaft für Liturgieforschung 14), and his *Zusammenhänge von Frömmigkeit und Musik in der Zeit Buxtehudes*, in: Arnfried Edler and Friedhelm Krummacher (eds.), *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik seiner Zeit. Bericht über das Lübecker Symposion 1987*, Kassel etc. 1990 (= Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 35), pp. 54–66. Bunners calls for a more nuanced conception of piety that exhibits any number of regional and personal variants between the poles of Orthodoxy and Pietism. Hartmut Lehmann demonstrates that in the case of Buxtehude, at least, there is no historical evidence to support a connection with "early" Pietism at all. See Hartmut Lehmann, *Buxtehude und der frühe Pietismus*, in: Edler and Krummacher ibid., pp. 67–76.

2 Space does not permit a complete list of recent studies. Some of the most important works include Eric Chafe, *Analyzing Bach Cantatas*, Oxford 2000; Renate Steiger, *Zum theologischen Verständnis von Telemanns Passionsoratorium Seliges Erwägen*, in: Martina Falletta etc. (ed.), *Georg Philipp Telemanns Passionsoratorium Seliges Erwägen zwischen lutherischer Orthodoxie und Aufklärung: Theologie und Musikwissenschaft im Gespräch*, Frankfurt/M. 2005, pp. 156–277; Renate Steiger, *Gnadengegenwart: Johann Sebastian Bach im Kontext lutherischer Orthodoxie und Frömmigkeit*, Stuttgart 2002.

culty[3]. Some commonalities appear to emerge, however, among works based on but not limited to the weekly Gospel pericope. These "multi-hybrid forms", as Krummacher has labeled these proto-cantatas, employ New and Old Testament texts, new poetry, familiar hymns, and utilize a wide range of musical styles from affective recitative-like passages to large concerted choral sections. Given the difficulty with which they fit into musical-generic moulds, Gospel settings may be more meaningfully examined within the larger literary and devotional culture to which music contributes. Gospel settings demonstrate musical and textual variety not for purely musical reasons, but as a means of moving the congregation's heart and mind to wilful acts of devotion though meditation.

Music as a Devotional Aid

Musicians and theologians alike describe the power of biblical verse combined with music to revive the soul and bring about edification and devotion. By so doing, they confirm the role of music as a devotional aid. In a period often characterized by devotional uncertainty and even crisis[4], the stakes could not have been higher. It was vital for defenders of figural music to demonstrate music's ability to cultivate devotion and piety lest it be discarded as mere pleasurable diversion.

The devotional book and hymn-writer Johann Heermann (1584–1647) was adamant that liturgical music could help arouse the hearts of the laity[5]:

> We should keep it [music] for the sake of its loveliness through which the human mind is delighted. A church hymn through heart-breaking words and appropriate melody often moves the heart more than that which is simply spoken. Augustine, upon arriving in Milan and hearing the prayerful hymns of the bishop Ambrosius, realized [this for] himself for they affected his heart to such an extent that he shed burning tears over them. And the common man does not understand such things; his heart will be moved through them and thus awakened to greater devotion and ardor: above all when the songs are sung following St. Peter's intentions, are made with spirit and intelligence, and sung with a particular religious gravity and elegance.

3 Friedhelm Krummacher (*Die Choralbearbeitung in der protestantischen Figuralmusik zwischen Praetorius und Bach*, Kassel u. a. 1978 [= Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 22]) speaks to this diversity of forms in his discussion of Gospel settings vis-à-vis the development of the cantata.

4 For a variety of approaches to the "crisis theory" in seventeenth-century Europe, see for example Hartmut Lehmann, *Das Zeitalter des Absolutismus: Gottesgnadentum und Kriegsnot*, in: Henneke Gülzow and Hartmut Lehmann (eds.), *Christentum und Gesellschaft* 9, Stuttgart etc. 1980, pp. 17–19 and 105–113; Klára Erdei, *Auf dem Wege zu sich selbst: Die Meditation im 16. Jahrhundert: Eine funktionsanalytische Gattungsbeschreibung*, Wiesbaden 1990 (= Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung 8), pp. 1–16; Udo Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: Johannes Wallmann (ed.), *Beiträge zur historischen Theologie* 91, Tübingen 1995, pp. 9–33.

5 "Behalten sollen wir sie vmb der Liebligkeit willen/ dadurch des Menschen Gemütte erfrewet wird. Ein Kirchen-Gesang von Hertz-brechenden Worten vnd gutter Melody beweget das Hertze offters mehr/ als was schlecht hin geredet wird. Augustinus/ da er gen Meyland kommen/ vnd die andächtigen Kirchen-Gesänge des Bischoffs Ambrosij gehöret/ bekennet selber/ sie seind ihm dermassen zu Hertzen gegangen/ daß er darüber heisse Thränen vergossen. Vnnd ob schon der gemeine Man solches nicht verstehet/ wird ihme dennoch dardurch sein Hertze gerühret/ vnd desto mehr zur Andacht erweckt/ vnd brünstig gemacht: bevorauß wann die Lieder/ nach S. Pauli Vermahnung/ Geistlich vnd Geistreich gemacht sind/ vnd mit einer sonderlichen Kirch-gravitet vnnd Anmuth gesungen werden." Johann Heermann, *Sechserley Sontags-Andachten: Oder Was fromе Christ-Hertzen an dem heiligen Sontage betrachten / thun vnnd lassen sollen* [...], Breslau 1642, p. 163.

Music's high status among seventeenth-century Lutherans can be traced to the Reformer himself, an accomplished musician who, on a number of occasions, declared music "next to theology"[6]. Perhaps the most comprehensive defense of music in the seventeenth century was given by the Strasbourg theologian Johann Conrad Dannhauer (1603–66). His writings and the debate surrounding the theology of music in general have been explored elsewhere in detail and hardly need more than a brief summary here[7]. Dannhauer offers familiar arguments in favour of music, claiming it could counteract the devil, awaken or strengthen the spirit, offer comfort, and give a glimpse of heavenly music[8]. Dannhauer writes in defense of instrumental music, but for him, sacred music is never very far from the Word[9]:

> For although strings and flutes can have no meaning *per se* through which a Christian can be edified in faith and Christianity, they do awaken the spirit, arouse devotion, divert the mind and emotions from worldly cares, make the heart calm and capable of receiving the divine *afflatus* and affection through the accompaniment of the Word.

Referring to the Psalms specifically, Dannhauer insists that student singers understand the texts and that pure instrumental music should echo the vocal performance[10].

Neue Frömmigkeit: Meditation and Seventeenth-Century Devotional Practice

The spirit of devotional rejuvenation – the *neue Frömmigkeit* or "new piety" – that swelled in the seventeenth century sought to inflame the hearts of otherwise passive Christians and effect more Christian behavior on a day-to-day basis. The means, given in the hundreds of devotional volumes published in the century, owes much to a renewed interested in contemplation and meditation. For many writers concerned with cultivating an authentic devotion, meditation offered a technique for focusing thoughts and moving what was heard and recited into the heart to stimulate Christian behavior.

6 Robin A. Leaver (*Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*, in: *Lutheran Quarterly Books*, Grand Rapids (Michigan) 2007, p. 65 and passim) notes these places and gives a comprehensive view of Luther as musician, composer, and liturgical reformer.

7 See especially Joyce L. Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque*, New York 1993; Bunners 1966 (footnote 1).

8 Johann Conrad Dannhauer, *Catechismus Milch Oder Der Erklärung deß Christlichen Catechismi, Erster Theil* [...] ("Die Sechs und dreissigst/ vnd vber das Dritte Gebott Die Eylffte Predigt/ Von der Musica oder dem Lobsingen deß Namen Gottes"), Straßburg 1642, pp. 521–522. Many of Dannhauer's arguments echo sentiments expressed in Luther's proposed treatise on music and can be traced as far back as Medieval writers including Tinctoris. See Leaver (footnote 6), p. 65–103.

9 "Mit Psalmen/ das ist/ mit Seitenspielen/ die man mit Fingern berühret/ wie das Griechische Wort solchen Verstand mit sich bringt/ dann ob zwar wol Seiten und Pfeiffen *per* se und ihrer Natur nach/ keinen Verstand mit sich führen/ dadurch ein Christ im Glauben und Christenthumb möchte erbauet werden; So erwecken sie doch den Geist/ muntern auff zur Andacht/ *divertiren* das Gemüth und *Affecten* von von weltlichen Sorgen/ machen das Hertz ruhig und fähig die Göttliche *afflatus* und Bewegung durch Begleitung über ihn gerathen." Dannhauer, *Catechismusmilch* [...] *achter Theil* ("Die Fünff vnd zwantzigste Predigt von Der Lehre der Psalmen vnd geistlichen Liedern"), Straßburg 1658 [1673], p. 547.

10 "Wie es dann zu Behülff dessen/ besser wäre/ daß die verständliche geistliche Music vocal vorher und allein erschalle/ deren die Instrumental folgen/ nach dem alten methodo, die Sänger vorher." Dannhauer ibid., p. 553.

Interest in meditative devices and pious practice has been traced across confessions in the seventeenth century[11]. In Lutheran Germany, meditation gained wide appeal early in the century through writers such as Martin Moller (*Meditationes sanctorum Patrum*, 1584–1591) the Orthodox dogmatist Johann Gerhard (*Meditationes Sacrae*, 1606), and the reform-minded Johann Arndt (*Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum*, 1605–1610). The Arndtian reform movement traced through his defenders and students through to Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) and the Pietist movement certainly cemented personal meditation in certain Lutheran circles as a key activity in the practice of true Christianity.

Luther himself advanced meditation as one of the three inseparable practices of Christian life: *oratio*, or reading of scripture; *meditatio*, or contemplation and rumination; and finally *tentatio*, the endless human struggle between temptation and salvation. Luther's three activities are bound together and meant to be experienced and practiced simultaneously, unlike the sequential stages of medieval models. Other than this vague directive, Luther wrote little on the specific practice of meditation itself. His meditation on Christ's Passion may, however, be viewed as a model followed by several seventeenth-century writers. As Günter Butzer has demonstrated, two themes or organizational principles emerge from Luther's Passion meditation: *compassio* and *imitatio Christi*[12]. The first involves the imagination of the event, engaging the memory, the senses, and the intellect. Here the historical actions are made contemporary, as though they happened in the present for all to see, leading to compassion for Christ's suffering. But true compassion is not to be mistaken for sentimental pity. Luther warns not to be distracted by the superficial and sentimental[13]:

> Some feel pity for Christ, lamenting and bewailing his innocence. They are like the women who followed Christ from Jerusalem and were chided and told by Christ that it would be better to weep for themselves and their children.

Compassion comes only by recognizing and understanding the cause of Christ's suffering – human sin. "You must get this thought through your head and not doubt that you are the one who is torturing Christ thus, for your sins have surely wrought this."[14] Christ's suffering is made personal, for it is caused not by human sin in a general and abstract sense, but by the very sins of every individual.

A century later, Ludwig Dunte (1597–1639) echoes Luther, instructing the reader to imagine Christ in his suffering in the most realistic way possible, since it was the sinner's own misdeeds that cost Jesus his life[15]. Through this intense visualization, the Christian can arrive at a

11 See Erdei and Sträter (footnote 4).

12 Günter Butzer, *Rhetorik der Meditation. Martin Mollers „Soliloqvia de Passione Iesu Christi" und die Tradition der eloquentia sacra*, in: Gerhard Kurz (ed.), *Meditation und Erinnerung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Göttingen 2000 (= Formen und Erinnerung 2), pp. 57–78.

13 Martin Luther, *A Meditation on Christ's Passion*, in: Martin O. Dietrich (ed.), *Devotional Writings* 1, Philadelphia 1969 (= *Luther's Works* 42), pp. 7–8.

14 Ibid., p. 9.

15 "Muß ein Christ betrachten die Ursach des Leidens Christi/ welche ihn zu diesem vielfältigen und schweren Leiden gebracht/ nemlich/ nicht sein eigene Schuld (denn er ja das Gezeugniß seiner Unschuld auch in seinem Leiden selbst zum öfftern von seinen Feinden gehabt) sondern unsers Schuld und Sünden/ die er auff sich geladen/welche GOtt sein himmlischer Vater ihm zugerechnet/ und ihn also [...] für uns zur Sünde gemacht/ daher er ihn auch so jämmerlich zerschlagen und zugerichtet/ als wenn er alle Sünde der gantzen Welt selbst in eigene Person begangen hätte/ daß er erbärmlich schreien muß am Creutz/ GOTT

close relationship with Christ, despite physical and temporal distance, and be moved to love Christ (*compunctio amoris*). As Dunte explains[16], the Christian

> nevertheless sees this [Christ's suffering] in living faith and before his eyes, that to this end he is moved and urged to love him, he who allowed himself to be crucified, and out of love happily does what would please this, his disciple.

Through inner love of Christ and compassion should emerge *imitatio Christi* – the wilful decision to change behaviour inspired by the movement of the soul. Thus the meditation consists of a juxtaposition of the external, sensory, and effective visualisation and the internal, sensitive, and affective result on the soul[17].

The two simultaneous actions of the meditation are found in much devotional literature of the seventeenth century. In his popular *Vorschmack göttlicher Güte* (1653) and posthumous *Harpffe von Zehen Seyten* (1658), Joachim Lütkemann (1608–1655) advances Psalm 34:9, "Taste and see the goodness of the Lord", as a central and literal theme, calling on readers to engage all of their senses[18]: "For man has two senses, external senses and inner senses. Through the external faculties of creatures, such as the brilliance of the sun, the scent of flowers, the song of birds, the taste of honey", Lütkemann implies, God's goodness and presence is initially encountered and comprehended. But the external sensory experience of God through sight, smell, sound, and taste is only a first step in full understanding[19]:

> The inner senses belong to God. When God allows himself to be seen internally in spirit, there appears a wonderful bright light in the soul; when he allows himself to be heard, we feel internally such comfort that the body and soul are delighted. When he allows himself to be tasted, we perceive an inner sweetness the likes of which the outer senses cannot attain.

Much variety exists in devotional literature. Most seventeenth-century authors employ elements of meditation without explicit reliance on a strict formal theory; without the strict progression of medieval meditation or Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, Lutheran meditations could take on a wide variety of appearances. Nor do writers consistently use terms, often avoiding

habe ihn verlassen." Ludwig Dunte, *Wahre und rechtmessige Ubung Des Christenthumbs* […](Lübeck 1630), Wittenberg 1678, p. 547.

16 Ludwig Dunte, *Wahre und rechtmessige Übung des Christenthumbs* (Lübeck 1630), p. 483: "[…] dennoch im lebendigen Glauben solches erblickt und ihm vor Augen stellet/ zu dem Ende/ daß er hiedurch gerühret und angetrieben werde/ denselben zu lieben/ der sich für ihn hat kreutzigen lassen/ und aus Liebe gern zuthun/ was diesem seinem Liebhaber gefallen möchte."

17 Butzer (footnote 12), p. 63.

18 Detlef Klahr, *Joachim Lütkemanns 'Harfe von zehn Saiten'. Ein lutherisches Erbauungsbuch aus der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: Hans-Jörg Nieden and Marcel Nieden (eds.), *Praxis Pietatis: Beiträge zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit. Wolfgang Sommer zum 60. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart etc. 1999, p. 204.

19 "Denn der Mensch hat zweyerley Sinne/ außwendige Sinne/ und inwendige Sinne. Durch die äusserliche Kräffte in den Creaturen/ als den Glantz der Sonnen/ den Geruch der Blumen/ den Gesang der Vögel/ den Schmack des Honigs. Die innerliche Sinne gehören für GOtt. Wenn GOtt sich inwendig sehen leßt im Geist/ entsehet ein helles wunder schönes Licht in der Seelen; Wenn Er sich hören läst/ empfinden wir inwendig solchen Trost/ das Leib und Seel erfreuet wird. Wenn Er sich schmecken läst/ empfinden wir innerlich eine Süssigkeit/ derlgeichen man durch äusserliche Sinne nicht erlangen kan." Joachim Lütkemann, *Harpffe Von Zehen Seyten/ Das ist: Gründliche Erklärung Zehen Psalmen Davids* […], Wolfenbüttel 1658, p. 147. See Klahr (footnote 18), p. 211.

the term "meditation" in favour of *Andacht* or *Betrachtung*. Nonetheless, the strategies mentioned here appear with some consistency in books of devotional exercises[20].

Amid this bounty of devotional terminology and genres, sermons and devotional books organized around the liturgical calendar are among those that employ meditative devices to engage the reader. With scripture as their starting point (*oratio/lectio*), contemplations on the gospels invite the reader to imagine the biblical scene in all its visual, aural, tactile, and even olfactory dimensions (*compositio loci*). Authors inspired by more mystical trends such as Olearius or Herberger imitate the personal discourse (*colloquium*) of internal meditation with prayers and inward conversations spoken directly as though from the mouth of the reader. The reader is often addressed as "die liebe Seele" (the dear Soul), and the voice may change, speaking at some points directly to the *Seele* and at others to Christ through the *Seele*. A concluding, decisive prayer calling for Christ's assistance or asserting faith typically ends the sermon or *Andacht*. As we shall see, these strategies coincide with those employed by composers of liturgical cycles.

A very brief look at one such sermon may serve as a demonstration of meditative strategies employed in the service of devotional and exegetical literature. Christian Hoburg's thirty-seven-page sermon for the First Sunday after Trinity offers an extended example of meditative techniques applied to Gospel exegesis[21]. A spiritualist, mystic, and reformer, Hoburg (1607–75) was inspired by the writing of Johann Arndt, among others, and was an important figure for the Pietist Philipp Jakob Spener[22]. Hoburg breaks the Gospel text down into small fragments, each of which serves as a topic for the imagination to explore. The phrase "Der Reiche aber starb auch und ward begraben" (The rich man died and was buried) prompts Hoburg to imagine what the Rich Man's funeral might have been like. He contemporizes the scene, drawing on seventeenth-century funeral practices to paint the image of the Gospel story before the mind's eye; he describes mourners in long coats, bells, a funeral sermon, music, and a banquet[23]. He then explains and interprets the passage's moral content in an intimate conversational tone, often referring directly to the reader as "Liebe Seele" (Dear Soul). He makes statements, poses rhetorical questions, and leads the reader to a personal understanding. Finally, Hoburg closes the section with a prayer to Jesus Christ, asserting that the lesson in the segment has been taken to heart and asking for God's grace to have faith or live

20 A great deal of Lutheran devotional literature from this period concerns itself with mindful, prayerful activity outside the Sunday services. Thus, we find prayers and meditations for specific life events and for reflections throughout the day, year, and in particular circumstances (floods, famine, war, etc.) in Martin Moller's *Meditationes sanctorum Patrum* (2 vol. 1584–1591), Johann Gerhard's *Meditationes Sacrae* (1606) and *Schola Pietatis* (1622), Johann Arndt's *Vier Büchern von wahren Christentum* (1605–1610), Ludwig Dunte's *Wahre und rechtmessige Ubung Des Christenthumbs* (1630), Christian Scriver's *Gottholds Zufällige Andachten* (1663), and Johannes Olearius's *Christliche Bet-Schule* (1665), to name some of the most popular works. Others are organized around the weekly scriptural readings such as Balthasar Meisner's *Meditationes Sacrae, Oder Geistliche Andachten/ Uber die Evangelien der Jährlichen Sonn-und Festtagen* (1659) and Matthias Winckelmann's *Manna Spirituale, Das ist: Geistliche Himmel-Speise/ Aus Gottes heiligen Wort* (1675).

21 Christian Hoburg, *Postilla Evangeliorvm Mystica. Das ist: Verborgener Hertzens-Safft Aller Sontags- und Fest-Evangelien Durchs gantze Jahr: In Andachten und Seelen-Gesprächen das Herz in der Krafft Gottes zu reinigen zu erleuchten zu stärcken und mit dem Herzen Gottes zu vereinigen in Zeit und Ewigkeit* [...], Leipzig [?] 1650, pp. 266–303.

22 Friedrich-Wilhelm Bautz, art. *Hoburg, Christian*, in: *Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* 2, Hamm 1990, cols. 911–914. Available on-line <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/h/hoburg_c.shtml> Accessed January 16, 2008.

23 Hoburg (footnote 21), pp. 280–281.

according to the lesson. While Hoburg's sermons might be analyzed in traditional rhetorical terms, his graphic depictions, modernizations of the Gospels, and extremely personal reflections show his engagement with contemporary meditative literature. The physical manifestations of the Rich Man's funeral, Lazarus's illness and death, and other graphic elements of the story – easily comprehensible by even his least erudite readers – serve as a launching point for metaphysical contemplations and introspection.

Musical Settings of the Gospels

The two poles of meditative literature – the external sensory and the internal contemplative – appear to be at work behind several musical settings of Gospel cycles of the mid to late seventeenth century. The Gospels provide fertile ground for textual troping and for musical-rhetorical treatment that in many ways applies the methods of meditation to a musical idiom. While no musical composition could approach sermons and devotional literature in terms of depth and sophistication of theological ideas, musical settings display the concise application of meditative practice, perhaps intended to awake the congregation's affections through musical, as well as textual means.

The Gospel cycle by Augustin Pfleger (ca. 1635– after 1686) is unusual among cycles by North German composers for its level of textual variety, a quality more common among his central German contemporaries[24]. Scriptural passages from both the Old and New Testament are juxtaposed with familiar hymns, scriptural paraphrase, and new poetry to create a pastiche of nearly unrivalled complexity and exegetical nuance.

Exemplary of this varietal richness is Pfleger's setting for the First Sunday after Epiphany[25]. The Gospel reading tells of the twelve-year-old Jesus lost in the temple and his parents' search for him (Luke 2:42–52). The composition draws together biblical texts from both the Old and New Testament in addition to the central verses from the Gospel reading. All of the excerpts are united by a common *topos* – the search for Christ – which is the central theme of the Gospel. Once again, the meditational juxtaposition of external and internal, sensory and sensitive, effective and affective manifests: over the course of the piece, Mary and Joseph's

24 Pfleger composed at least seventy-two settings of the Gospel readings, one for each Sunday and major feast day of the year, apparently dedicated to the city of Flensburg. The collection was never published as a cycle during his lifetime; it exists as a set of three volumes of anonymous manuscript parts and twenty-one pieces in tablature in the vast collection of sacred music owned by the Swedish music collector, Gustav Düben (ca. 1628–90) (Uppsala universitetsbibliotek, Caps. 72–74 and Tablature vol. 85:32). Düben's manuscripts now reside in the university library in Uppsala, Sweden, his son, Anders, having made a gift of the collection in 1732. One additional piece and three concordances can be found in the Bokemeyer collection in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek Mus. ms. 30 257). See Fritz Stein, *Ein unbekannter Evangelienjahrgang von Augustin Pfleger*, in: Hans Joachim Zingel (ed.), *Festschrift Max Schneider zum 60. Geburtstage*, Halle 1935, pp. 126–136; Annemarie Nausch, *Augustin Pfleger: Leben und Werke. Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Kantate im 17. Jahrhundert*, Kassel etc. 1954 (= Schriften des Landesinstituts für Musikforschung Kiel 4); Bruno Grusnick, *Die Dübensammlung: ein Versuch ihrer chronologischen Ordnung*, in: STMf 46 (1964), pp. 27–82 and 48 (1966), pp. 63–186.

25 A modern edition of this piece appears in Fritz Stein (ed.), *Augustin Pfleger (ca. 1635–ca. 1690) Geistliche Konzerte Nr. 12–23 aus dem Evangelien-Jahrgang*, Kassel 1964 (= EdM 64), p. 1–16. Stein's transcriptions of the first twenty-three pieces of the Church year were published in 1961 (*Augustin Pfleger (ca. 1635–ca. 1690) Geistliche Konzerte Nr. 1–11 aus dem Evangelien-Jahrgang*, Kassel 1961 [= EdM 50]) and 1964, but no other modern transcriptions have appeared since then.

search for the child Jesus is transformed into a more general and yet more personal search for Christ by the allegorized faithful soul.

Soprano 2 (Maria), Bass (Joseph) (Lk 2:48) Siehe, dein Vater und ich haben dich mit Schmerzen gesuchet.	See, your father and I have been searching for you in great anxiety.
Soprano 1 (Jesus) Was ist's, was ist's, daß ihr mich gesuchet habt?	What made you search for me?
Soprano 2, Bass Dein Vater und ich haben dich mit Schmerzen gesuchet.	Your father and I have been searching for you in great anxiety.
Soprano 1 (Lk 2:49 and Joh 6:39) Was ist's, was ist's, daß ihr mich gesuchet habt? Wisset ihr nicht, daß ich sein muß in dem, das meines Vaters ist? Das ist aber der Wille des Vaters, der mich gesendet hat, daß ich nichts verliere, von allem, was er mir gegeben hat.	What made you search? Did you not know that I was bound to be in my Father's house? This is the will of the Father who sent me, that of all that he has given me I should lose nothing.
Alto (Anima Fidelis), Tenor (Joh. 3:16b) Alle, die an ihn glauben, sollen nicht verloren werden, sondern das ewige Leben haben	Everyone who has faith in him may not die but have eternal life
Soprano 1,2; Alto; Tenor; Bass sondern das ewige Leben haben.	but have eternal life.
Soprano 2, Bass (Lk 2:48) Ich habe dich mit Schmerzen gesuchet.	I have been searching for you in great anxiety.
Soprano 1 (Mt 7:7b) Suchet so werdet ihr finden.	Seek, and you will find
Tenor (Song of So 3:1) Ich suchte des nachts in meinem Bette, den meine Seele liebet. Ich suchte, ich suchte, aber fand ihn nicht.	Night after night on my bed I have sought my true love; I have sought him but not found him
Soprano 1 Suchet, suchet, wo werdet ihr finden.	Seek, and you will find.
Soprano 2, Bass Ich habe dich mit Schmerzen gesuchet.	I have been searching for you in great anxiety.
Tenor Ich suchte, aber ich fand ihn nicht.	I have sought him but not found him.
Soprano 1 Suchet, suchet, so werdet ihr finden.	Seek, and you will find.
Tenor (Song of So 3:3b) Habt ihr nicht gesehen, den meine Seele liebet?	Have you seen my true love?
Soprano 1 Suchet, suchet, so werdet ihr finden.	Seek, and you will find.
Tenor (Song of So 3:3b) Habt ihr nicht gesehen, den meine Seele liebet?	Have you seen my true love?
Soprano 1 Suchet, suchet, so werdet ihr finden.	Seek, and you will find.
Tenor (Song of So 3:4) Da ich ein wenig vorüber kam, da fande ich, den meine Seele liebet	Scarcely had I left them behind me, when I met my true love.
Soprano 1 Suchet, suchet, so werdet ihr finden.	Seek, and you will find.
Tenor da fande ich, den meine Seele liebet.	When I met my true love.

Soprano 1 (Lk 2:49 and Lk 19:10 altered)[26]	
Wisset ihr nicht, daß ich sein muß in dem, das meines Vaters ist? Ich bin kommen, zu suchen und selig zu machen das, das verloren war.	Do you not know that I was bound to be in my Father's house? I have come to seek and save what is lost.
Soprano 1,2; Alto; Tenor; Bass (Mt 6:10 and Joh 3:15 altered)[27]	
Vater, dein Will' geschehe auf daß alle, die an dich glauben, nicht verloren werden, sondern das ewige Leben haben.	Father, thy will be done that everyone who has faith in you may not die, but have eternal life.

At the top of each manuscript part Pfleger clearly identifies the character represented by each solo voice: the first soprano represents Jesus, the second soprano depicts Maria (Mary), the bass is Joseph, and the alto sings the role of the *Anima Fidelis* or the Faithful Soul. The use of a soprano voice to represent Jesus instead of the ubiquitous bass is no doubt a reference to the twelve-year-old boy of the story – a convention Pfleger maintains throughout this Gospel cycle. Pfleger does not give a title to the tenor part, but we may presume it to be a musical extension of the *Anima Fidelis* because it enters with the alto. Pfleger's decision to use a tenor as well as an alto to represent the Soul may stem from a desire to balance the musical forces in the piece that would otherwise be too heavily weighted to the higher register: Jesus, Mary, and one representation of the Soul are all high voices. Moreover, when Jesus converses with the Soul later in the piece he does so with the tenor, likely to create a balanced musical effect and to make the dialogue musically convincing.

Pfleger presents the story of Mary and Joseph's search for their missing son Jesus as a "life-like" depiction, without the narrative introduction of the Evangelist and with appropriate voice types for each speaking character. After the scene has been established, the Soul (A, T) enters, commenting on the biblical event by pointing out the scene's moral significance: "Whoever believes in him shall not perish, but will have eternal life" (John 3:16b). Acting as a representation of the faithful Christian, the personified Soul allows the devout Christian – i.e. the listener – actually to be present in the historic scene.

As a first step in a formal meditation, the imagination of the scene (*compositio loci*) should allow the meditator to engage all of his or her senses. In effect, the meditator both evokes and contemporizes the scene by projecting him or herself into it. Pfleger's *compositio loci* evokes the scene through naturalistic vocal types and moments of affective text-setting that express the emotions underlying the text. By introducing the personified character of the *Anima Fidelis*, the faithful Christian and listener is projected directly into the scene – a witness to the events.

Following the imagination of the scene, Pfleger constructs an intimate, personal reflection derived from the meditative *colloquium*. Using verses from the Song of Songs alternating with Jesus' repeated reminder, "seek and you will find," the dialogue explores the central themes of the Gospel story – loss, search, and discovery. The common interpretation of the Song of Songs as an allegorical dialogue between Christ and the believing Soul brings to the piece a personal and tropological element derived from this popular book of Scripture. Here we find a move toward personal introspection that relates the historical situation to its moral applica-

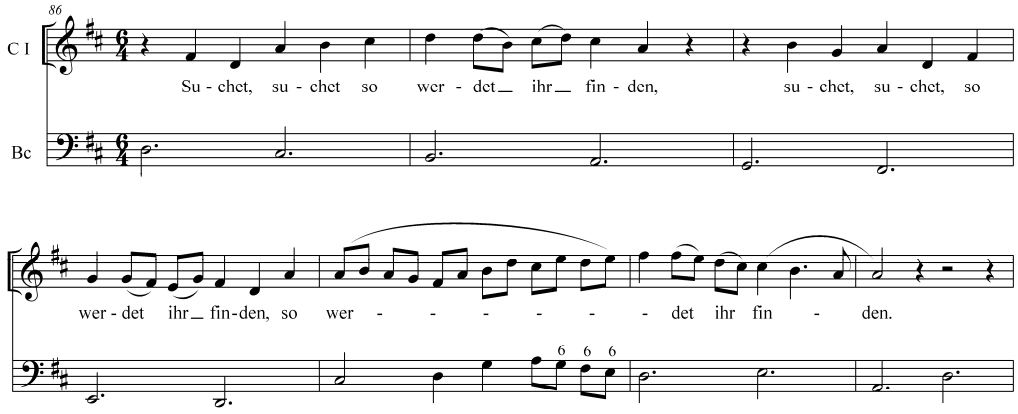
26 Luther's translation reads: "denn des Menschen Sohn ist kommen, zu suchen und selig zu machen, was verloren ist." The *New English Bible*: "The Son of Man has come to seek and save what is lost."

27 Luther's translation reads: "auf daß alle, die an ihn glauben, nicht verloren werden, sondern das ewige Leben haben." *New English Bible*: "everyone who has faith in him may not die but have eternal life."

tion for the listener: Mary and Joseph's search for Jesus in the Gospel serves as a reminder of the Christian's inner and personal search for Christ.

Throughout the dialogue, the unalterable truth of Jesus' words is expressed by a likewise fixed musical setting. A scalar descending bass line ranging an octave and simple melody accompany every one of Jesus' statements of the verse "seek and you will find" (Example 1). The notion of searching is musically represented in this section by large-scale harmonic movement away from the final D, reaching its farthest point with Jesus's third refrain on E and returning to D by Jesus's second to last statement. The Soul's (tenor) statements are rarely harmonically static and tend to end inconclusively, matching the interrogatory character of the text. At the tenor's third entry, for example, the descending bass pattern is left incomplete by the Soul, ending on the fifth (E), only to be concluded by the soprano who brings the line and its harmonic centre back to its final, A (see Example 2). At the end of the dialogue, the Soul finds and embraces Jesus and the truth he asserts when the Soul's music mimics that which Jesus has sung all along (Example 3). The Soul, that is, the listener or the devout Christian, finds Jesus after the long, searching dialogue. We could go so far as to say that the Soul's musical mimicking of Jesus represents an act of the will, since the Soul makes the decisive move not only to find Jesus, but to act like him by borrowing his musical voice. Now that the Soul finally listens to and imitates Jesus, the piece can come to its positive conclusion.

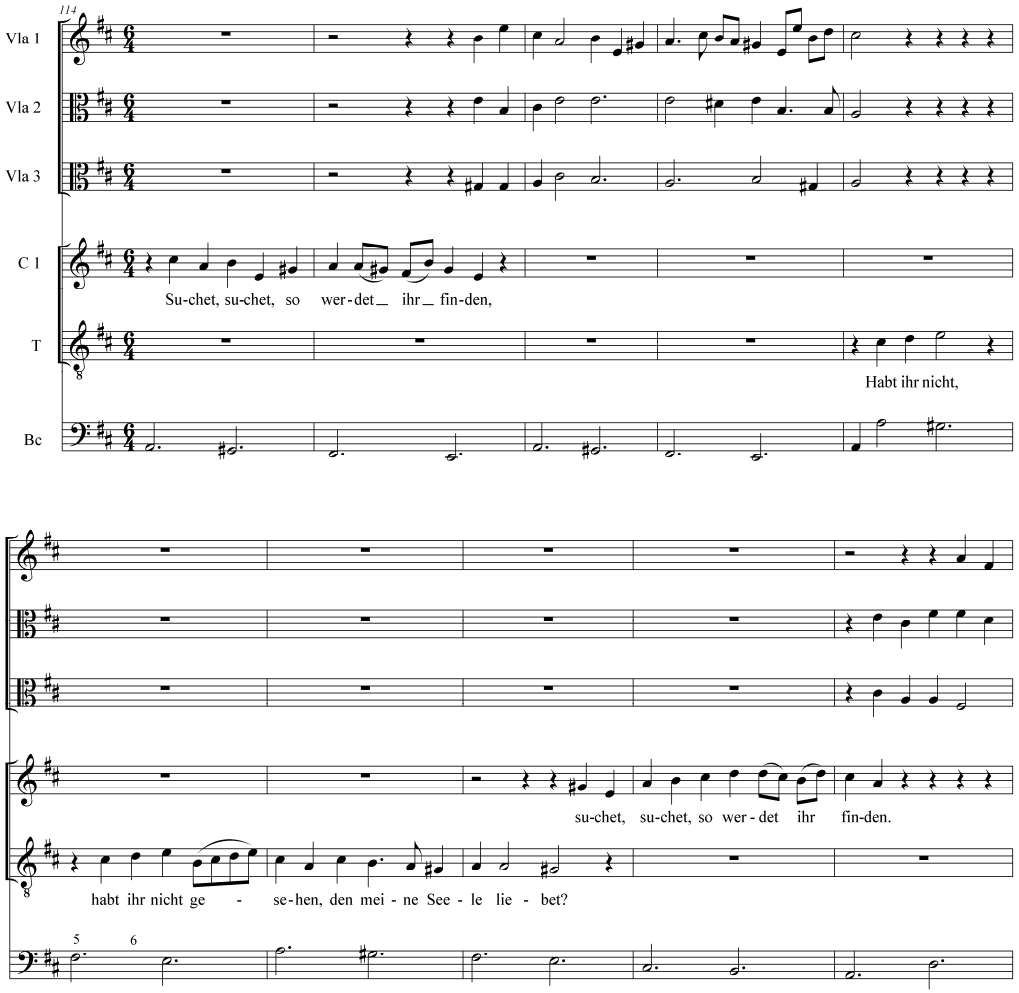
Example 1: Augustin Pfleger, "Siehe, dein Vater und ich", mm. 86–92, vocal line only



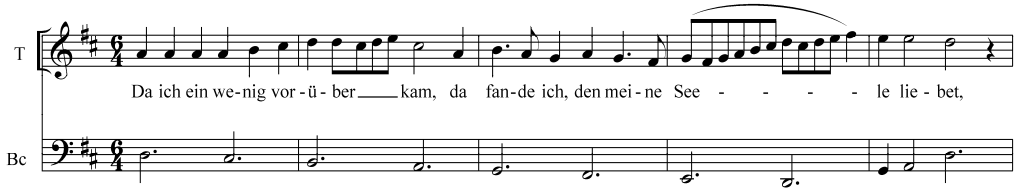
Parallel to the closing resolution of devotional meditations, Pfleger's piece ends with a confirmation of faith, here based on John 3:15: "everyone who has faith in you may not die, but have eternal life." The alteration of Scripture from *ihn* (him) to *dich* (you) demonstrates the significant change that has occurred in the piece. What began as a musical enactment of a Gospel scene is transformed into a highly personal and meditative dialogue between the Soul and Jesus that quite literally ends with musical *imitatio Christi*. It concludes with an affirmation of the piece's central tenet spoken directly – and even intimately – to God himself as a sort of concluding prayer.

Pfleger's composition is effective not only as an application and expression of meditation in a musical composition, but as a means of inspiring such meditation in the listener. As a

Example 2: Pfleger, "Siehe, dein Vater und ich", mm. 114–123.



Example 3: Pfleger, "Siehe, dein Vater und ich", mm. 132–136, vocal line only



represented participant in the musical meditation, the listener is encouraged to identify with the words of the *Anima* and be similarly moved to seek Christ and have faith, as the final lines declare. Thus Pfleger's piece is a sort of guided meditation, which the congregation might follow and participate in privately. Musical, poetic, and rhetorical means combine to lead the

listener to increased personal devotion above and beyond what a simple musical setting of the Gospel story alone could achieve.

Not all settings of the Gospels engage contemporary pious activity vis-à-vis meditation through such a highly developed textual pastiche as Pfleger's does. A number of cycles of Gospel settings by central German composers seem to find a balance between the limited musical resources of most mid-century chapels and churches and the increasing interest in personal piety espoused by their clergy and patrons.

Wolfgang Carl Briegel (1626–1712) was in a particularly good position to explore the potentially fruitful relationship between private devotion and music as *Kantor* and *Kapellmeister* at the Sachsen-Gotha and later Hessen-Darmstadt courts. Under Duke Ernst the Pious (1601–1675) in Gotha and later his son-in-law Landgrave Ludwig VI of Hessen-Darmstadt (1630–1678), Briegel was charged with the renewal of sacred music at the court chapels. Gotha itself became an important centre of religious renewal in the seventeenth century after Duke Ernst, a supporter of the reformer Johann Arndt, instituted a comprehensive program of church and school reforms seeking to foster greater personal piety[28]. Darmstadt, too, would become one of the earliest to support the Pietist program of Philipp Jakob Spener[29].

Briegel published eight collections of pieces based on the annual cycle of Gospels or Epistles, the earliest of which explores the simple juxtaposition of external and internal elements of meditative practice while later cycles embrace the wholly lyrical poetic style favoured by turn-of-the-century cantata writers[30]. In his setting for the fourth Sunday after Epiphany from the first volume of the *Evangelische Gespräch* (1660), Briegel combines highly descriptive music with new poetry to augment the Gospel story, creating a highly affective *compositio loci*. The work concludes with a simple reflection on the scene, instructing the Gospel's lesson in more explicit terms.

The Gospel story for the fourth Sunday after Epiphany, the storm at sea, is brief in Matthew's account (Mt 8:23–27), which was in standard Lutheran usage at the time.[31] In the four verses devoted to this story, the apostles and Jesus are at sea when they encounter a terrible storm. Jesus, asleep during the storm, is awakened by the fearful apostles. He calms the winds and the sea, but not before admonishing the apostles for their lack of faith. The apostles marvel: "What sort of man is this, that even winds and sea obey him?" (Mt 8:27). Briegel's setting of the episode employs a relatively small musical force consisting of two canti, two tenors, a bass, two violins, and continuo. The small musical forces belie the composition's imaginative setting. Briegel's depiction begins directly with the central event. The first direct

28 Martin Brecht, art. *Pietismus*, in: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 26, Berlin and New York 1996, p. 610. See also Veronika Albrecht-Birkner, *Reformation des Lebens: Die Reformen Herzog Ernsts des Frommen von Sachsen-Gotha und ihre Auswirkungen auf Frömmigkeit, Schule und Alltag im ländischen Raum (1640–1675)*, Leipzig 2002 (= Leucorea-Studien zur Geschichte der Reformation und der Lutherischen Orthodoxie 1).

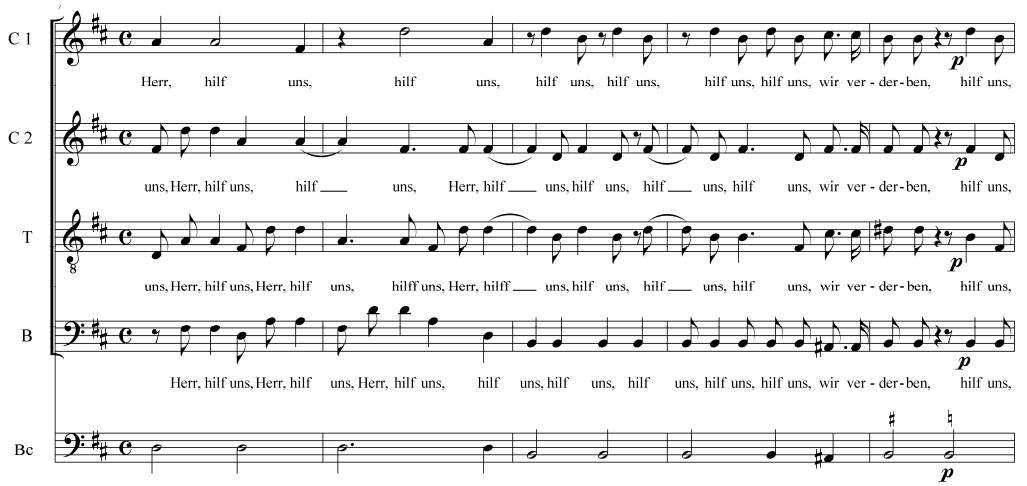
29 Brecht ibid., p. 613. A *collegium pietatis* was formed already in 1675 and Countess Elisabeth Dorothea was in personal contact with Spener by 1679. See Elisabeth Noack, *Wolfgang Carl Briegel: Ein Barockkomponist in seiner Zeit*, Berlin 1963, p. 74.

30 *Evangelische Gespräche* I–III (Mühlhausen and Darmstadt 1660–1681), *Evangelischer Blumengarten* I–IV (Gotha 1660–1669), *J. S. Kriegmanns Evangelisches Hosianna* (Frankfurt/M. 1677), *Musicalische Trostquelle* (Darmstadt 1679), *Musicalischer Lebensbrunn* (Darmstadt 1680), *Christian Rehefelds evangelischer Palmenzweig* (Frankfurt/M. 1684), *J. G. Braunens* [...] *Cithara Davido-Evangelica* (Giessen 1685) and *Concentus apostolico-musicus* (Giessen 1697).

31 See also Lk 8:22–26 and Mk 4:35–41.

words of the Apostles "Herr, hilff uns wir verderben" ("Save us, Lord, we are perishing," set CCTB) are set with syncopation and rocking motion to depict the storm-tossed and fearful apostles (Example 4). Notice especially the extremely wide range in the bass voice as it sinks over an octave from d^1 down to B in measures eight and nine. The awkward eighth rests in the three upper voices, and especially Briegel's placement of rests on strong beats in the Cantus I line, give this passage a gasping, breathless quality that graphically evokes the drowning apostles.

Example 4: Wolfgang Carl Briegel, "Herr hilff uns," mm. 7–11



Briegel goes on to characterize the terrified apostles with new poetry[32]. The apostles express their fear in couplets of iambic pentameters filled with imagery of engulfing waves and tempestuous forces that all but drown them:

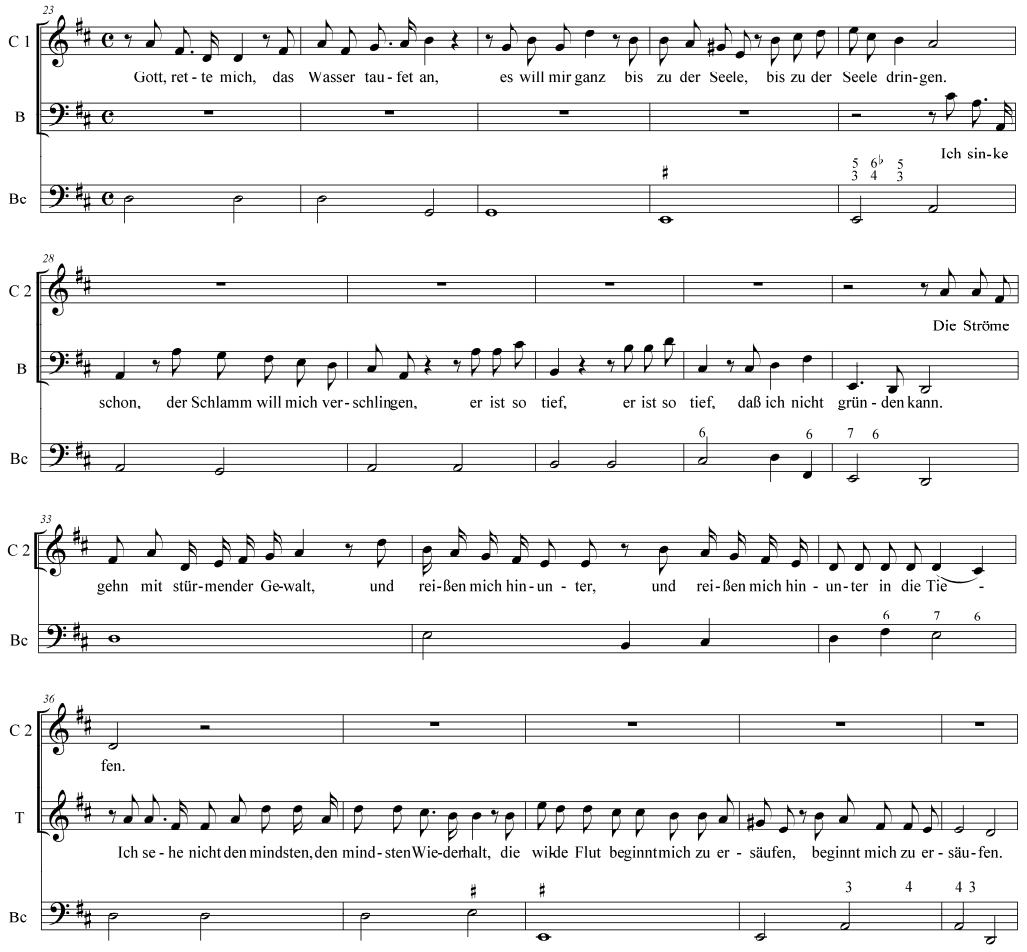
Gott rette mich, das Wasser tauffet an,	God save me, the water engulfs me
Es will mir ganz bis zu der Seele dringen.	it will penetrate right to my soul.
Ich sincke schon, der Schlam wil mich verschlingen,	I am already sinking, the mud will devour me
Er ist so tieff, daß ich nicht gründen kann.	It is so deep, I cannot get a foothold
Die Ströme gehn mit stürmender Gewalt	The currents move with tempestuous force
Und reissen mich hinunter in die Tieffen.	and pull me down into the deep.
Ich sehe nicht den minsten Wiederhalt,	I cannot see the least security
Die wilde Fluth beginnt mich zu ersäuffen.	the wild flood begins to drown me.

In these four couplets, Briegel continues the musical-pictorial devices from the opening measures (Example 5). The first apostle (C1) struggles upward, "floundering" with leaps of thirds and fifths but hampered by a strong descending pull at the end of the musical line. The bass entry gives an extraordinarily graphic musical depiction of the apostle sinking under the waves. His first words, "Ich sincke schon" ("I am already sinking"), are set to an enormous

32 Much of the imagery in these lines is based on Psalm 69:2: "Ich versinke in tiefem Schlamm, da kein Grund ist; ich bin im tiefen Wasser, und die Flut will mich ersäufen." ("I sink in deep mire, where there is no foothold; I have come into deep waters, and the flood sweeps over me.")

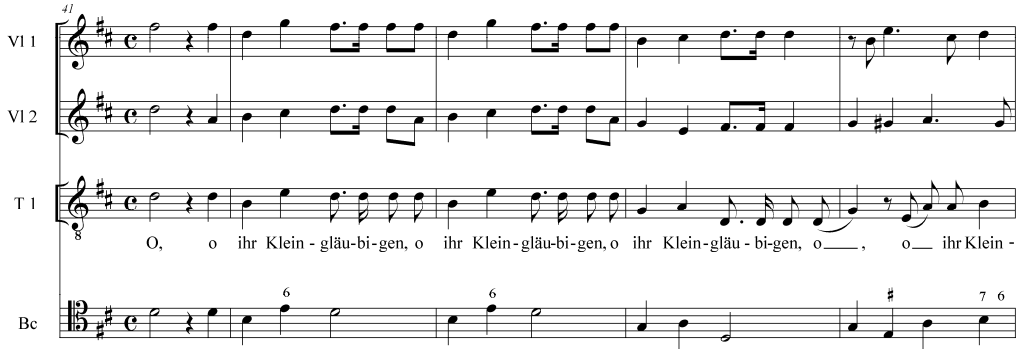
downward leap of a tenth, and on each of the words "tief" ("deep") the melody leaps down a ninth. The bass's entry is accompanied in the continuo part by a gradually ascending line that depicts his struggle to stay above the water. The line is eventually terminated by a large downward leap to the final D in the closing cadence. Here, as in the opening phrase "Herr hilff uns" ("Lord, save us"), the bass voice is required to cover an enormous range, this time spanning two full octaves from d^1 to D. Further text-setting devices are evident in the second cantus part, where the words "stürmender Gewalt" ("tempestuous force") are treated to rapidly ascending and descending scalar sixteenth notes. In the final couplet sung by the second tenor, Briegel again uses long descending lines to portray the sinking apostle. More subtle are the sighing figurations on the words "die wilde Fluth beginnt mich zu ersäuffen" ("the wild flood begins to drown me"), which convey a sense of breathlessness and exhaustion in the gradually sinking and drowning apostle.

Example 5: Wolfgang Carl Briegel, "Herr hilff uns", mm. 23–40

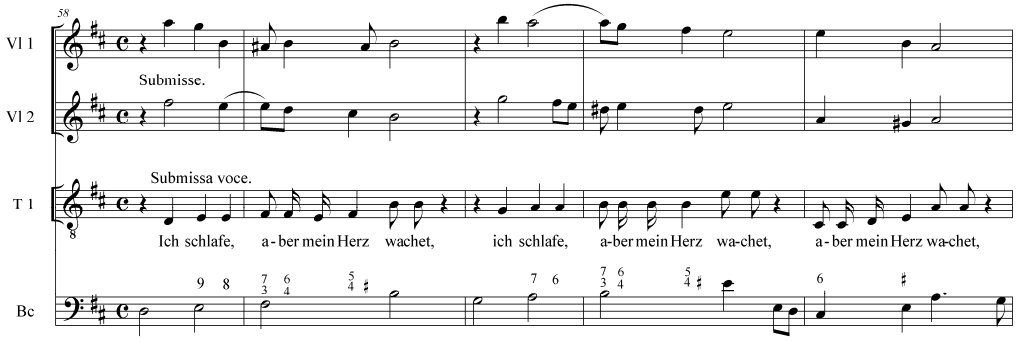


Jesus, sung by the first tenor, calms the terrified apostles with two biblical verses from the Old and New Testament: "O ihr Kleingläubigen warumb seyd ihr so fürchtsam" ("Why are you fearful, O you of little faith?") from the Gospel reading itself, and "Ich schlaffe aber mein Herz wachet" ("I sleep but my heart is awake") from the Song of Songs[33]. Jesus is accompanied here by the ubiquitous paired violins, commonly found in contemporary settings of the Passion story. In contrast to Passion narratives, however, Jesus here has the relatively high tessitura of a tenor, rather than singing in the expected bass range. This high register, together with an elevated continuo part, marks Jesus as "above" the terrestrial apostles. Jesus's response is calm and characterized by an easy ascending motion, in contrast to the struggles and wide leaps of the apostles's cries. His music creates a sense of harmonic stability through repeated cadential figures (Example 6 and 7).

Example 6: Briegel, "Herr hilff uns", mm. 41–45



Example 7: Briegel, "Herr hilff uns", mm. 58–62



In the final part of this musical *compositio loci*, taken directly from the Gospel pericope, the apostles ask: "Was ist diß für ein Mann, daß ihm Wind und Meer gehorsam ist?" ("What sort

33 Mt 8:25 and Song of So 5:2 (New King James Version).

of man is this? Even the winds and the sea obey him?" Mt 8:27). The apostles musically answer their own question by changing from their earlier alla breve to triple meter (3/1). The long-established reference of *tempus perfectum* to the Trinity – and, by extension, to Jesus – would not have been lost on contemporary audiences, particularly in the context of the divine service. Further, the reference to Christ in the apostles's final music points to their renewed faith and, by extension, to the faith that this story asks of its listeners. This final passage is notably calmer than the apostles's earlier music. Local moments of word-painting appear with the words "Wind und Meer" as the apostles sing a turning, legato musical line.

Directly following the musical image described above and concluding the composition is Briegel's adaptation of the music and text from verse twelve of Paul Speratus's chorale "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her" ("Salvation Unto Us has Come"). Briegel presents the music of the chorale in an imitative figural setting for full five-part chorus (Cantus 1,2; Tenor 1,2; Bassus) and two violins with continuo, reworking the melody to fit a new harmonic structure and imposing a regal dotted-rhythm motive to the phrases[34].

Ob sich's anließ, als wollt er nicht,	Even if it seemed that he did not wish [you] well,
Laß dich es nicht erschrecken,	Do not let it frighten you,
Denn wo er ist am besten mit,	For there, where he is most truly present,
Da wil Ers nicht entdecken,	He does not wish to reveal it,
Sein Wort laß dir gewisser sein,	Be all the more assured of his word,
Und ob dein Herz sprech lauter nein,	And though your heart may say only no,
So laß doch dir nicht grauen.	Do not be terrified.

"Es ist das Heil" is one of the earliest Protestant chorales and was included in the *Acht Lieder Buch* of 1524, the first collection of Lutheran hymns. The chorale remained popular for several centuries and can still be found in most modern Lutheran hymnals. Briegel uses only a single verse, but the congregation would no doubt recognize this familiar hymn and recall the other thirteen verses during the performance or later during their reflection on the piece and the service as a whole. The chorale is primarily didactic, explaining the central Lutheran principles of "Law" and "Gospel" in an explicit and easily understood manner. Marred by original sin, the chorale explains, man cannot uphold God's Law and as a result faces God's wrath and judgement (vv. 1–4). Salvation is possible through the Gospel – that is, Christ's sacrifice (vv. 5–6) – but as the chorale makes clear, salvation comes through faith in Christ alone and not good works – a central tenet of Lutheran theology (vv. 9–10). An allegorical reading of the Scriptural story informed by this chorale likens the storm to God's wrath (Law) and the apostles to suffering man, whose salvation is possible only through faith in the redemptive power of Christ (Gospel). The use of the first-person voice in the chorale creates a close personal correspondence with the listener, lending the story its moral significance: individual human suffering, like that of the apostles, may be overcome only through personal faith in Christ.

The homiletic and catechetical strength of these Gospel settings is significant. Although their means (and therefore their musical forms) may have differed – witness the great variety of *Historien*, *Dialogen*, and sacred concertos outlined by Krummacher – composers of Gospel settings were generally charged with the same task: the edification of the congregation and

34 My thanks to Maria Snyder for this translation.

praise to God. As the immediate precursor to the eighteenth-century cantata, seventeenth-century Gospel settings, too, served a real devotional need, and we might find compelling reasons for their particular shape by looking at the pious culture they were intended to reinforce. For composers associated with patrons or cities that advanced devotional rejuvenation, as was the case with both Pfleger and Briegel, that pious culture was coloured by deepening interest in meditation as a means to spiritual renewal. Indeed, as cultural products, these compositions participated in the contemporary discourse of devotion, exegesis, and pious activity by enacting pious acts themselves. The meditative qualities of some Gospel settings – the juxtaposition of sensory exploration stemming from scripture with contemplative elements encouraging wilful acts of devotion and changes of heart and behaviour – suggest deep engagement with a very specific devotional culture.

Friedrich Blume, eager to locate devotional and dogmatic necessity in the pre-Bach sacred repertoire, identified two trends in dialogic compositions of the seventeenth century, naming them either realistic-dramatic, as in the case of Heinrich Schütz's dialogues, or idealistic-dogmatic, as exemplified by Andreas Hammerschmidt[35]. While this polarization, like the presumed dichotomy between orthodoxy and pietism that inspired it, accurately represents neither the scope of the extant repertoire nor Lutheran experience of the mid-seventeenth century, the play between these two was indeed conceptualized and articulated by devotional writers via meditation. That this play between the external and internal should also be found in musical settings confirms a closeness between music and devotional practice that is worth revealing.

35 Friedrich Blume, *Das monodische Prinzip in der protestantischen Kirchenmusik*, Leipzig 1925, p. 139.