

Music and Lutheran Devotion in the Schütz Era

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In the sixteenth century, musical settings of two sorts of German texts – chorales and scripture verses – emerged as a distinctively Lutheran musical response to the Reformation. Both types of pieces can be regarded as consequences of Luther's calls for congregational participation in worship, and for worship resources in the vernacular. The resulting vast repertoires of »Choralbearbeitungen« and »Spruchmotetten« have come to be closely associated with Lutheranism, and rightly regarded as fundamental to its musical identity. But the music inventories of Lutheran courts, Latin schools, and city churches reveal that the sixteenth-century repertoire also included numerous Latin motets, many of which flowed from the pens of such Catholic composers as Josquin, Clemens non papa, and Lasso¹. Many of these texts were also drawn from the Bible, and thus this Latin repertoire also contributed significantly to the body of settings of scripture in Lutheran use.

Early in the seventeenth century, however, Lutheran composers began to expand the range of their textual options by engaging musically with devotional texts. These took the form of prayers – personal supplications that give voice to the individual Christian's ardent expressions of love for Christ in particular². With these prayers, a third type of text – the devotional text – entered the Lutheran repertoire. Musical settings of these Christocentric prayers quickly gained a permanent place in the repertoire of sacred music, and came to constitute a considerable body of music; from the opening years of the century until the emergence of Pietism around 1680, between 700 and 800 settings of devotional texts circulated among Lutherans, mostly in the form of motets and sacred concertos³. This extensive seventeenth-century repertoire also includes music from both sides of the confessional divide. Most of the works by Catholic composers, however, were adopted for Lutheran use without alteration⁴. Such devotional music appears in many prints and in manuscript collections, together with settings of chorales and passages of scripture – music that one might regard as more typically Lutheran. The presence of these devotional works in such large numbers, however, testifies to their centrality in the Lutheran repertoire, and suggests that they too should be regarded as »typically Lutheran«, even though their intimate and often ardent texts set them apart from most of the repertoire. Their presence in these collections reveals a new interest in and emphasis on personal spirituality on the part of Lutherans, and their cultivation

1 This and similar observations throughout this study are based on the author's examination of over one hundred music inventories and other records from Lutheran churches, Latin schools, Kantoreien (Adjuvanten choirs) and court musical ensembles.

2 Early in the eighteenth century, similar devotional texts begin to appear in cantata libretti, now in combination with scriptural passages and chorales; the libretto of Bach's *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland* (BWV 61) forms a prime example.

3 In general, the only works excluded from these numbers are settings of sixteenth-century chorales addressed to Christ, and settings of the Song of Songs (see n. 5).

4 For a discussion of Marian texts that were altered for Lutheran use, see Mary E. Frandsen, *Salve Regina/Salve Rex Christe: Lutheran Engagement with the Marian Antiphons in the Age of Orthodoxy and Piety*, in: MD 55 (2010), pp. 129–218.

represents an important aspect of lay engagement with devotion, in particular mystical devotion, during the era of Lutheran piety. Together with new devotional arias and hymns (both the monophonic originals and later harmonizations), these works form an important aspect of the musical response to Lutheran piety in the seventeenth century⁵.

Although this new devotional music emerged shortly after 1600, its roots can be traced back to the middle of the previous century, when Lutheran theologians began to write and compile edifying literature for lay people in the form of prayer books, devotional manuals, collections of meditations and sermons, and similar resources. Books of this nature, which enjoyed great popularity, continued to appear into the eighteenth century; many titles were reprinted dozens of times⁶. These devotional books bear witness to an emphasis on a highly interiorized sort of piety (»Frömmigkeit«) among Lutherans that continued well into the eighteenth century. For the Schütz era, some of the most significant authors and editors of this literature include Andreas Musculus (1514–1581)⁷, Martin Moller (1547–1606)⁸, Philipp Nicolai (1556 to 1608)⁹, Johann Arndt (1555–1621)¹⁰, Johann Gerhard (1582–1637)¹¹, and Ludwig Dunte (1597 to 1639)¹². Several of these theologians' works saw many editions in numerous languages. And significantly for the musical repertoire of the seventeenth century, much of this devotional literature is infused with the language and concepts of medieval mysticism¹³. While Musculus and Moller included only excerpts of medieval prayers and meditations, many of which they had revised and emended¹⁴, the four later theologians authored texts in which they incorporated themes and ideas borrowed from various medieval

5 Song of Songs texts, which were interpreted allegorically as Christological texts, are often associated with bridal mysticism, and also form part of the larger devotional repertoire; see the discussion in Isabella van Elferen, *Mystical Love in the German Baroque: Theology, Poetry, Music*, Lanham (Maryland) 2009 (= Contextual Bach Studies 2), pp. 160–175. In the present study, only direct (non-allegorical) prayers to Christ are considered, as they form the majority of texts in the repertoire.

6 See the survey of literature in Paul Althaus d. Ä., *Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur*, Gütersloh 1927; reprint Hildesheim 1966. Other important early examinations of this literature include Hermann Beck, *Die Erbauungsliteratur der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands von Dr. M. Luther bis Martin Moller*, Erlangen 1883, and Constantin Große, *Die alten Tröster. Ein Wegweiser in die Erbauungsliteratur der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Hermannsburg 1900.

7 *Precandi formulae piae et selectae*, Frankfurt/Oder 1553; subsequent editions (from 1559) entitled *Precationes ex veteribus orthodoxis Doctoribus*. See the discussion of the various editions in Angela Baumann-Koch, *Frühe lutherische Gebetsliteratur bei Andreas Musculus und Daniel Cramer*, Frankfurt/Main etc. 2001 (= Europäische Hochschulschriften 23/725), pp. 35–37. For this study, the author consulted an edition published in Leipzig in 1575.

8 *Meditationes sanctorum patrum* I and II, Görlitz 1584 and 1591.

9 *FrewdenSpiegel deß ewigen Lebens*, Frankfurt/Main 1599; *Theoria Vitae Aeternae, Das ist: Historische Beschreibung deß gantzen Geheimnisses vom ewigen Leben*, Hamburg 1606.

10 *Vier Bücher von wahrem Christenthumb*, Magdeburg 1610; *Paradiß Gärtlein Voller Christlicher Tugenden*, Magdeburg 1612.

11 *Quinquaginta Meditationes Sacrae*, Jena 1606 [Latin], *Meditationes Sacrae*, Magdeburg 1607 [German].

12 *Wahre und rechtmässige Übung des Christenthumbs*, Lübeck 1630.

13 Musculus is often credited with having introduced medieval mysticism into Lutheranism with his publications of the 1550s; see Baumann-Koch (note 7), p. 12. Elke Axmacher, however, identifies Martin Moller as the »most important disseminator of medieval mysticism into Protestantism«: *Die Rezeption mittelalterlicher Mystik durch Martin Moller*, in: *Jb für Schlesische Kirchengeschichte*, Neue Folge 68 (1989), pp. 5–26, here p. 6.

14 On the emendations and omissions made by Musculus and Moller, see Baumann-Koch (note 7), and Axmacher (note 13), both *passim*.

writings. All sought consciously to bring medieval mysticism into a new Lutheran context, and to reconcile it with Lutheran justification theology¹⁵.

As the new, introspective sort of spirituality displayed in these devotional books gradually took root in Lutheran lay religious culture, it began to manifest itself in hymns and other music for home devotions, and in sacred art music for public worship services. As the seventeenth century progressed, devotional music assumed an increasingly important place in the repertoire performed during Lutheran liturgies. While these devotional pieces never supplanted settings of scripture and chorales in the overall repertoire, they did come to represent between ten and fifty percent of the selections in a significant number of music prints, and were equally well represented in the manuscript collections of many Lutheran institutions. But despite their near ubiquity in the Lutheran repertoire of the seventeenth century, these devotional works have received little scholarly attention, with the result that the picture of Lutheran art music during this period remains incomplete. In an effort to begin to address this lacuna in scholarship, the following essay traces the first appearance of such pieces, and examines their relationship to Lutheran piety, and the role they played in the sacred music of the Schütz era.

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The history of Christocentric devotional music in the Lutheran context seems to begin with Melchior Franck (1579–1639), Kapellmeister at the court of Coburg. As Anna Amalie Abert pointed out many years ago, Franck included a considerable number of musical settings of mystical-devotional texts – more than a third of the total – in his *Tomus tertius melodiarum sacrarum* of 1604¹⁶. In his selection, Franck shows a distinct preference for prayers of a penitential nature. One of his motets is a setting of the prayer »O Domine Jesu Christe, memento quod tu dixisti«, the source of which remains unidentified. In two other motets, Franck set the text »O Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te in cruce vulneratum«, drawn from the second petition of the traditional Passion prayer of St. Gregory, which appears in the *Precationes* of Musculus¹⁷; it also appears in a popular music anthology with which Franck was probably familiar: Caspar Hassler's *Sacrae symphoniae, diversorum excellentissimorum authorum* (Nürnberg 1598), in a setting by Giovanni Gabrieli¹⁸.

15 On this subject see Baumann-Koch (note 7), pp. 35–435; Axmacher (note 13), pp. 5–26; Theodor Mahlmann, *Die Stellung der unio cum Christo in der lutherischen Theologie des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: Matti Repo and Rainer Vinke (eds.), *Unio. Gott und Mensch in der nachreformatorischen Theologie*, Helsinki 1996, pp. 72–199; Matti Repo, *Die christologische Begründung der Unio in der Theologie Johann Arndts*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 249–274; Johann Anselm Steiger, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637). Studien zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit des Kirchenvaters der lutherischen Orthodoxie*, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1997 (= *Doctrina et pietas*, Abt. I, Johann Gerhard-Archiv 1), pp. 17–124; and Martti Vaahtoranta, *Restauratio Imaginis Divinae: Die Vereinigung von Gott und Mensch, ihre Voraussetzungen und Implikationen bei Johann Gerhard*, Helsinki 1998.

16 Anna Amalie Abert, *Die stilistischen Voraussetzungen der »Cantiones sacrae« von Heinrich Schütz*, Wolfenbüttel 1935 (= *Kieler Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 2), p. 98.

17 Musculus, *Precationes* (note 7), pp. 136–137. The opening petition of the prayer begins »O Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te in cruce pendentem«.

18 A setting also appears in Hans Leo Hassler's *Sacri concentus quatuor, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 et 12 vocum*, Augsburg 1601, 2/1612.

Melchior Franck, »O Domine Jesu Christe« (*Tomus tertius melodiarum sacrarum*, 1604)

O Domine Jesu Christe,	O Lord Jesus Christ,
adoro te in cruce vulneratum,	I worship you [who have been] wounded on the cross,
felle et aceto potatum, deprecor te,	[who have] drunk gall and vinegar, I entreat you,
ut vulnera tua sint remedium animae meae.	that your wounds might be the remedy for my soul ¹⁹ .

The most striking work in this collection, however, is the lengthy three-part motet on the text »O bone Jesu, o piissime Jesu, O Jesu Fili Mariae virginis«. At least three other Lutheran composers – Heinrich Schütz, Andreas Hammerschmidt, and Julius Johann Weiland – would later set brief excerpts from this extended prayer to Christ; Franck, however, seems to have been the only Lutheran to set the prayer in its entirety²⁰. In dividing the text into three parts, Franck may well have followed the pattern of sixteenth-century composers such as Philipp de Monte, whose three-part setting of the text also appears in Hassler's 1598 anthology²¹; Franck's textual divisions conform to those of de Monte²². Franck may also have found this deeply penitential prayer with its soft mystical overtones in a devotional book, but he did not draw it from the collection of Musculus, for there one finds a different version of this »Oratio ad Jesum«²³.

Melchior Franck, »O bone Jesu« (*Tomus tertius melodiarum sacrarum*, 1604)

Prima pars

O bone Jesu, o piissime Jesu,	O good Jesus, o most kind Jesus,
o dulcissime Jesu,	o most sweet Jesus,
O Jesu fili Mariae virginis,	O Jesus, son of the Virgin Mary,
plene misericordia ²⁴ et pietate,	full of mercy and pity.
O dulcis Jesu, secundum magnam	O sweet Jesus, according to thy great
misericordiam tuam miserere mei.	loving-kindness, have mercy on me.
O clementissime Jesu,	O most merciful Jesus,
deprecor te per illum sanguinem pretiosum	I pray thee that by that precious blood
quem pro nobis peccatoribus effundere voluisti,	which Thou willingly shed for our sins,

19 Unless otherwise indicated, the translations of Latin texts are by Nicole Eddy.

20 Schütz: SWV 52–53, 308, and 471; Hammerschmidt: *Dritter Theil geist- und weltlicher Oden und Madrigalien*, Leipzig 1649; a motet entitled »O bone Jesu« also appears in Hammerschmidt's *Motettae, unius et duarum vocum*, Dresden 1649, and may also be a setting of this text; Weiland: *Deuterotokos, Hoc est sacratissimarum odarum partus*, Bremen 1656. Monteverdi and other Italian composers also set portions of this prayer.

21 De Monte's motet also appears in the anthology edited by Georg Victorinus, *Thesaurus litaniarum. Quae a praecipuis hoc aevo musicis [...] compositae*, Munich 1596.

22 The same divisions appear in an earlier setting of the text (à 19) by Robert Carver (ca. 1487– after 1566).

23 *Precaiones* (note 7), pp. 50–51 (attributed by Musculus to Bernhard of Clairvaux), opening: »O bone Jesu, o dulcis Jesu, O Jesu fili Mariae virginis, plenus misericordia et veritate, O dulcis Jesu miserere mei, secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. [...] Hoc nomen Jesus, nomen dulce est, hoc nomen Jesus, nomen salutare est. Quid est enim Jesus nisi Salvator?« According to Baumann-Koch (note 7, p. 138 n. 432 and p. 442 ff.), the version of the meditation published by Musculus also appears in Daniel Cramer's *Flores fragrantissimi meditationum precumque sacrarum, Ex Hortulo Animae Veteri [...] excerpti*, Hamburg 1611; Baumann-Koch indicates that the version published by both Musculus and Cramer agrees word for word with the version in the earlier Catholic prayer book *Hortulus animae* (she cites an edition published in Nürnberg in 1516).

24 Most versions of the text give the word as »misericordia«.

ut abluas omnes iniquitates meas:
 et in me respicias miserum et indignum,
 humiliter veniam petentem,
 et hoc nomen dulce Jesu invocantem.
 O bone Jesu, nomen dulce,
 nomen Jesu, nomen delectabile,
 nomen Jesu, nomen confortans;
 quid est enim Jesu nisi Salvator?²⁵

Secunda pars

Ergo Jesu, propter nomen sanctum tuum,
 esto mihi Jesus, et salva me:
 non permittas me damnari,
 quem tu de nihilo creasti.
 O bone Jesu, ne perdat me iniquitas mea,
 quem fecit omnipotens bonitas tua.
 O dulcis Jesu, recognosce quod tuum est,
 et absterge quod alienum est.
 O benignissime Jesu, miserere mei
 dum tempus est miserendi,
 ne damnas me in tempore judicandi.
 Quae utilitas in sanguine meo,
 dum descendero in aeternam corruptionem?
 Non mortui laudabunt te Domine,
 neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum.

Tertia pars

O amantissime Jesu²⁶, o mitissime Jesu.
 O Jesu, dimitte me intrare
 in numerum electorum tuorum.
 O Jesu, salus, in te credentium.
 O Jesu, solatium, ad te confugentium.
 O Jesu, dulcis remissio omnium peccatorum.
 O Jesu, fili Mariae Virginis,
 infunde in me gratiam²⁷, sapientiam,

Thou wilt wash away all my offenses:
 and look upon me, a miserable and unworthy sinner,
 as I humbly come to seek
 and call upon the sweet name of Jesus.
 O name of Jesus, sweet name,
 name of Jesus, beloved name,
 name of Jesus, comforting name;
 for what is Jesus but a savior?

Therefore, Jesus, for the sake of Thy holy name,
 be to me Jesus, and save me:
 let me not be damned,
 whom Thou hast made out of nothing.
 O good Jesus, let not my sin ruin me,
 whom thou madest in Thy omnipotent goodness.
 O sweet Jesus, recognize in me what is thine,
 and remove what is foreign.
 O most kind Jesus, have mercy on me
 when it is time for mercy,
 do not condemn me in the time of judgement.
 Of what value is my blood
 when I descend into eternal corruption?
 The dead will not praise Thee, Lord,
 nor all those that descend into hell.

O most loving Jesus, o most gracious Jesus,
 O Jesus, admit me to enter
 into the number of Thy elect.
 O Jesus, my health, in Thee I believe.
 O Jesus, my comfort, in Thee I take refuge.
 O Jesus, sweet redeemer of all sins.
 O Jesus, son of the Virgin Mary,
 pour into me grace, wisdom,

25 The text also resonates with a passage from Augustine's *De contritione* ch. 5: »Jesu, propter nomen tuum fac mihi secundum nomen tuum. Jesu, obliviscere superbum provocantem, respice miserum invocantem nomen dulce, nomen delectabile, nomen confortans peccatorem, et nomen beatae spei. Quid est enim Jesus, nisi Salvator? Ergo propter temetipsum [...]« (MPL 40, col. 946).

26 Franck omits the second phrase, »o desideratissime Jesu« (o most desirable Jesus).

27 Baumann-Koch (note 7, p. 139 n. 436) points out that Musculus »certainly did not understand this pouring in of grace in the sense of a pouring in of a gratia habitualis, which Luther rejected« (»Musculus verstand diese Eingießung der Gnade sicherlich nicht im Sinne der Eingießung einer gratia habitualis, die von Luther abgelehnt wurde«). She points out (ibid., p. 140) that in his German version of this prayer for the *Betbüchlein*, Musculus made a number of changes,

charitatem, castitatem, et humilitatem,
 ut possim te perfecte diligere,
 te laudare, te perfrui, tibi servire
 et in te gloriari;
 et omnes, qui invocant nomen tuum,
 quod est Jesus.

charity, chastity, and humility,
 that I may perfectly love thee,
 praise Thee, value Thee, serve Thee
 and glory in Thee;
 and all who call upon Thy name,
 which is Jesus.

Three years later, in 1607, Franck brought out his *Melodiarum sacrarum*, a set of motets for 5–12 voices. Here the percentage of devotional settings is much lower than in the *Tomus tertius*; the collection includes only one setting of a penitential prayer, »Domine Jesu Christe, respicere digneris super me, miserum peccatorem«, among its thirty-five motets. In the same year, however, another early contribution to the devotional repertoire appeared, Stephan Faber's *Cantiones aliquot sacrae trium vocum* (Nürnberg 1607)²⁸. In contrast to Franck, however, Faber drew his texts from a highly mystical source, the hymn »Jesu dulcis memoria«; as a result, he seems to have been the first Lutheran composer to have focused on a mystical text. Faber set twenty-four stanzas drawn from the hymn in twelve two-part tricinia, and underlaid both Latin and German texts. Five years later, in 1612, Andreas Hakenberger set twenty-two stanzas drawn from the same hymn, also as tricinia²⁹. Hakenberger was himself a Catholic, but served as Kapellmeister in Lutheran Danzig. His collection was first published in Leipzig, suggesting that it was directed at the Lutheran market; the 1628 reprint appears in a number of Lutheran inventories. Although both collections may be seen as didactic in nature (Faber's in particular is intended to teach students the qualities of the twelve modes), both nevertheless served to expose youths to this important devotional text, which in its entirety constitutes »a logically constructed treatise on the pre-mystical and the mystical steps [to union with Christ]«³⁰. According to Walter Blankenburg, no other medieval mystical text enjoyed more musical settings in the seventeenth century than »Jesu dulcis memoria« (the »Jubilus Bernhardi«)³¹. Neither Faber nor Hakenberger, however, set the entire text as it circulated at the time³².

and omitted this sentence entirely, all to avoid any misunderstanding on the part of his »non-learned readers« (»nicht-gelehrten Lesern«).

28 Modern edition by Andreas Traub, Munich 2001 (= Denkmäler der Musik in Baden-Württemberg 10). According to Traub (p. xvi), the author of the German paraphrase remains unknown; it may have been Faber himself. See also Werner Braun, »Jesu, dulcis memoria« in *Tonsatzreihen zwischen 1600 und 1650: evangelische Autoren*, in: JbLH 44 (2005), pp. 163–173, here pp. 164–166.

29 *Odaria suavissima ex mellifluo D. Bernardi Jubilo*, Leipzig 1612, Frankfurt/Main 2/1628. See Werner Braun, »Jesu, dulcis memoria« in *Tonsatzreihen zwischen 1600 und 1650: katholische Autoren*, in: Herbert Schneider (ed.), *Mittelalter und Mittelalterrezeption: Festschrift für Wolf Frobenius*, Hildesheim etc. 2005, pp. 173–190, here pp. 185–187.

30 Heinrich Lausberg, *Der Hymnus »Jesu dulcis memoria«*, Munich 1967, p. 363: »ein logisch aufgebauter Traktat über die vormystischen und die mystischen Stufen [zur Einswerdung mit Christus]«.

31 Walter Blankenburg, *Zur Bedeutung der Andachtstexte im Werk von Heinrich Schütz*, in: SJb 6 (1984), pp. 62–71, here p. 68: »[...] kein zweiter auf die mittelalterliche Mystik zurückgehender Text wurde im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts so vielfach musikalisch bearbeitet wie der *Jubilus Sancti Bernhardi de nomine Jesu*«. On the musical settings of this important hymn, see the two studies of Braun cited in notes 28 and 29.

32 The number of stanzas in the hymn in sources published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries typically ranges between forty-seven and fifty; the hymn has forty-seven stanzas (two of which are identical) in Georg Fabricius's *Poetarum veterum ecclesiasticorum opera Christiana*, Basel 1564, but forty-eight in Johann Arndt's *Paradis Gärtlein* (note 10). The version published in the popular Catholic prayer book of Jacob Merlo Horstius, *Paradisus animae chris-*

And while Hakenberger does maintain the original order of the selected stanzas, so that his *tricina*, if performed in sequence, convey a sense of the mystical narrative inherent in the hymn, Faber does not. Instead, he pairs together various stanzas with related content (see the text to the fourth motet, »Hypophrygius«, below³³):

Prima pars (st. 13/11³⁴)

Amor Jesu dulcissimus
et vere suavissimus,
plus millies gratissimus
quam dicere sufficimus.

The love of Jesus [is] most sweet
and truly most agreeable,
more than a thousand times
more pleasing than we are able to say.

Secunda pars (st. 24/19)

Desidero te millies,
mi Jesu, quando venies?
Me laeto quando facies;
et de te quando saties?

I desire you a thousand times,
my Jesus, when will you come?
When will you make me happy;
when will you fill me up out of yourself?

In 1613, Franck made additional contributions to devotional music with his *Viridarium musicum*³⁵; here settings of prayers to Christ comprise almost thirteen percent of the collection³⁶. For this group of compositions, the composer selected a greater variety of prayers than seen in his earlier prints. He included

tianiae, Cologne 1630, 2/1644, includes fifty stanzas, while the version published by Jean Mabillon in *S. Bernardi Abbatis Primi Clarevallensis, Et ecclesiae Doctoris, Opera omnia, in sex tomos distributa*, Paris 1667–1669, has only forty-eight.

33 (1) Jesu du lieb und lieblichkeit,
mein tausent freud zu aller zeit,
dein lieb ich nit außsprechen kan,
ob ich schon will das beste than;
(2) Wol tausent mal verlanget mich,
ach Jesu mein wann sih ich dich,
wann wirstu dann erfreuen mich,
mit deiner schön holdseliglich.

34 Philipp Wackernagel published a version of the poem with fifty stanzas, forty-eight of which he took from the version published by Mabillon in 1667, and two others that appeared in the version published by Georg Fabricius in 1564 (note 32); see Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied. Von der ältesten Zeit bis zum Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts* 1, Leipzig 1864, reprint Hildesheim 1964, pp. 117–119. In 1944, André Wilmart collated versions of the poem found in nearly ninety manuscripts, and published a definitive version with forty-two stanzas; he also included a version of seventy-nine stanzas that incorporates all of the stanzaic material that he encountered: *Le »Jubilus« dit de Saint Bernard*, Rome 1944, pp. 146–155, 183–197. Both the Wackernagel and Wilmart numberings are included in this study (as x/x), as the settings under consideration include some stanzas excluded by Wilmart that appeared in contemporary versions of the hymn.

35 *Viridarium musicum, continens amēnissimos et fragrantissimos ex sacra scriptura decerptos flosculos, quos ad Dei ter Optimi Maximi laudem, Ecclesiae usum quotidianum, depellendamque animae tristissimae melancholiam internam*, 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. & 10. *vocibus, harmonia suavissima composui*, Nürnberg 1613.

36 The previous year, Franck published his *Suspiria Musica/Hertzliche Seufftzen und Inbrünstige Gebetlein zu Jesu Christo unserm Erlöser und Seeligmacher*, Coburg 1612, the title of which suggests that it also includes settings of devotional texts. The author has not yet seen this volume.

another motet on the portion of the Prayer of St. Gregory that he had set in 1604, as well as settings of the joyous Easter hymn, »Jesu nostra redemptio«, and the confident motto of St. Bernhard, »Turbabor sed non perturbabor, quia vulnerum Christi recordabor«, a setting of which Schütz later included in his *Cantiones sacrae* (with the phrase »Salvatoris mei« for »Christi«)³⁷. Franck also included a setting of part of the *Rhythmica oratio* of Arnulf of Louvain (d. 1250), an extended poetic meditation on Christ's body as He hangs on the cross which figures prominently in Buxtehude's *Membra Jesu nostri*³⁸. Franck may have drawn the text from the volume of Samuel Cuno, *Oratorium B. Bernhardi Abbatis Clarevallensis Latino-germanicum*, which first appeared in Halle in 1609 and was reprinted there in 1610³⁹. For his setting, which is likely the first musical treatment of a portion of this hymn by a Lutheran composer, Franck selected stanzas from the final section of the hymn, »Ad faciem« (»To the face«), the same portion that later served as the basis for Paul Gerhardt's famous German paraphrase »O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden«⁴⁰. In these stanzas (below), the speaker looks ahead to his own death, which suggests that Franck's selection may well have been inspired by one of the books on the ars moriendi that were authored by Martin Moller, Johann Gerhard, and others⁴¹.

Melchior Franck, »Morti tuae tam amarae« (*Viridarium musicum*, 1613)

Morti tuae tam amarae
grates ago, Jesu chare;
qui es clemens, pie Deus,
fac quod petit tuus reus,
ut absque te non finiar.

For your death so bitter
I give thanks, dear Jesus;
you who are merciful, pious God,
bring about that which your petitioner entreats,
namely that I not be separated from you.

37 The maxim, which does not appear in Musculus, derives from Sermon 61 on the *Canticum canticorum* of St. Bernhard of Clairvaux: »Peccavi peccatum grande: turbabitur conscientia, sed non perturbabitur, quoniam vulnerum Domini recordabor«; Heide Volckmar-Waschk, *Die »Cantiones sacrae« von Heinrich Schütz: Entstehung, Texte, Analysen*, Kassel etc. 2001, p. 218. Volckmar-Waschk cites Theo Bell (*Divus Bernhardus. Bernhard von Clairvaux in Martin Luthers Schriften*, Mainz 1993, p. 231, n. 249), who points out that Luther seems not to have known this text derived from Bernhard, as he always attributed it to Augustine, and cited it a number of times. The text appears in the works of Luther at least five times in at least four related formulations, none of which is identical to the versions set by Franck and Schütz: »Turbabor, sed non perturbabor, quia vulnerum domini recordabor« (WA 8, 602, 28–29; WA Br 12, 193, 91–92); »Turbabor, sed non conturbabor, quia speravi in dominum« (WA 39 / 2, 99, 3–4); »Turbabor (inquit), sed non perturbabor, Vulnerum Domini recordabor« (WA 54, 114, 22–23); »Turbabor, sed non perturbabor, quia vulnerum dei recordabor« (WA Tischreden 5, 280, 1–2); citations from Bell (ibid.) and Heiko Oberman, *Headwaters of the Reformation: Initia Lutheri—Initia Reformationis*, in: ibid. (ed.), *Luther and the Dawn of the Modern Era: Papers for the Fourth International Congress for Luther Research*, Leiden 1974, pp. 40–88, here p. 85, n. 3.

38 See Desideer A. Stracke SJ, *Arnulf van Leuwen, O[rdo] Cist[er]ciensis] versus gelukz[alige] Hermann Jozef, O[rdo] Praem[on]stratensis]*, in: *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 24 (1950), pp. 27–50, 133–169.

39 See Ernst Koch, *Die Bernhard-Rezeption im Luthertum des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: Kaspar Elm (ed.), *Bernhard von Clairvaux. Rezeption und Wirkung im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden 1994 (= *Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien* 6), pp. 333–351, here 344–345. Koch indicates that the volume includes both »Jesu dulcis memoria« and the *Rhythmica oratio*, in both Latin and German.

40 Melchior Franck, *Acht lateinische Motetten*, ed. by Knut Gramß, Wolfenbüttel 1993 (= *Das Chorwerk* 140), pp. 16–23.

41 Martin Moller, *Manuale de praeparatione ad mortem*, Görlitz 1593; Johann Gerhard, *Enchiridion consolatorium morti ac tentationibus in agone mortis opponendum*, Jena 1611.

Dum me mori est necesse,
 noli mihi tunc deesse;
 in tremenda mortis hora
 veni, Jesu, absque mora,
 tuere me et libera.

While it is necessary for me to die,
 do not then abandon me;
 in the terrible hour of death,
 come, Jesus, without delay;
 watch over me and free me.

One of Franck's textual selections, however, highlights the potential hazards of lay engagement with medieval mystical texts that had not been sanctioned or edited by Lutheran theologians. The prayer »Domine Jesu, noverim me, noverim te« (below) is rife with expressions of longing and desire for Christ, as well as of self-abnegation, all of which stem from the mystical tradition. Contemporary Lutheran theologians, however, cautioned their readers to keep the role of self-denial in its proper perspective. While Johann Gerhard (for example) embraced »the abnegation of the self and the imitation of Christ as integral aspects of the new obedience resulting from faith«, he also »at the same time, warned against imagining that these sorts of asceticism are to be regarded as the same as the principal means to godliness – the sermon and the sacraments – or can be of a meritorious nature«⁴². In this prayer, however, the Gospel context emphasized by Gerhard is missing entirely, as neither Word nor Sacrament receives any mention.

Melchior Franck, »Domine Jesu Christe« (*Viridarium musicum*, 1613)

Domine Jesu Christe,
 noverim me, noverim te,
 nec aliquid cupiam nisi te,
 ut odio habeam me et amem te.
 Quicquid agam propter te.
 Humiliem me et exaltem te,
 Nihil cogitem nisi te.
 Mortificem me, et vivam in te.
 Quaecumque veniant,
 accipiam a te.
 Persequar me, sequar te,
 semper optem sequi te.
 Fugiam me, confugiam ad te,
 dignus sim, defendi a te.
 Timeam mihi, timeam te,
 simque de electis a te,
 Diffidam mihi, fidam in te.
 Obedire velim propter te.

Lord Jesus Christ,
 let me know myself, [and] let me know you,
 and let me desire nothing except you,
 so that I hold myself in contempt and love you.
 Let me do everything on account of you.
 Let me abase myself and exalt you,
 let me think of nothing except you.
 Let me mortify myself and live in you.
 And whatever [things] may come,
 let me receive [them] from you.
 Let me take vengeance on myself, let me follow you,
 let me always desire to follow you.
 Let me flee myself, let me seek refuge with you,
 let me be worthy to be defended by you.
 Let me fear myself, let me fear you,
 and let me be [one] of those chosen by you,
 let me distrust myself, let me have faith in you.
 Let me want to obey [because of] you.

⁴² »Allerdings ist Gerhard aufgrund seines Studiums der mystischen Tradition bereit, »sui abnegatio & Christi imitatio« als integrale Bestandteile des aus dem Glauben folgenden neuen Gehorsams programmatisch in den Mittelpunkt zu rücken. Er zählt darum die »Beteubung vnnnd Zehmung des Leibes« unter die »Hülffsmittel«, die zur Gottseligkeit führen [...]. Gerhard warnt aber gleichzeitig davor, sich einzubilden, daß derartige Askese den vornehmlichen Hilfsmitteln wie der Predigt und den Sakramenten gleichzuachten sei oder verdienstlicher Art sein könnte«, Steiger (note 15), pp. 79–80. See also Steiger's discussion of Luther's criticism of self-abnegation on p. 65.

In nullo afficiar nisi in te.
 Aspice me, ut diligam te,
 voca me, ut videam te,
 et in aeternum potiar te. Amen.

Let me be influenced by no one except by you⁴³.
 Look on me so that I might love you,
 call me, that I might see you,
 and so that I might possess you forever.

Given the devotional nature of much of the content of this volume, it is not insignificant that Franck, by including the phrase »Ecclesiae usum quotidianum« in the title, recommended these pieces for use during the worship service. Various hymnologists have advanced the view that new hymns of this era, many of whose texts spring from the same mystical-devotional sources, were not sung in public liturgies until very late in the seventeenth century⁴⁴. Thus the introduction of motets and sacred concertos with devotional texts into a worship context at this early date would represent an important development, one that bridged the private and public realms of Lutheran spirituality.

In the same year, Franck's colleague in Coburg, the cantor Heinrich Hartmann, published his *Ersten Theil Comfortative sacrae symphoniacae*⁴⁵. While Hartmann drew the majority of his texts from scripture, he also included settings of several devotional texts, including a motet on the fourth stanza of Martin Moller's mystical hymn »Ach, Gott, wie manches Herzeleid«, in which the suppliant delights in the sweetness of the Name of Christ (see the text below)⁴⁶. Moller's hymn first appeared in the second edition of his *Meditationes sanctorum Patrum* I (Görlitz 1587), and was subsequently also included by Johann Arndt in his popular and widely disseminated prayer-book of 1612, the *Paradiß Gärtlein*⁴⁷, as well as in many hymnals. The hymn became very popular in the era of piety; both Franck and Johann Thüring included settings of stanzas in collections that appeared a few decades later (discussed below).

Heinrich Hartmann, »Jesu mein Herr und Gott allein« (*Erster Theil Comfortative sacrae symphoniacae*, 1613)

Jesu mein Herr und Gott allein,
 Wie süß ist mir der Name dein.
 Es kan kein trauren sein so schwer,
 dein süsser Nam erfreut viel mehr.
 Kein Elend mag so bitter sein,
 dein süsser Trost der linderts fein.

Jesus, my Lord and God alone,
 How sweet your name is to me.
 There can be no sorrow so great,
 your sweet name delights much more.
 No distress may be so bitter,
 your sweet comfort soothes it well.

43 Literally »let me be influenced in no one except in you«.

44 See, for example, Irmgard Scheidler, *Geistliches Lied und persönliches Erbauung im 17. Jahrhundert*, in: Dieter Breuer (ed.), *Frömmigkeit in der frühen Neuzeit. Studien zur religiösen Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, Amsterdam 1984 (= Chloe: Beiheft zum Daphnis 2), pp. 129–155, here pp. 135–140.

45 The collection was reprinted in 1618.

46 The text itself includes some quotations from »Jesu dulcis memoria«. On the sources of Moller's hymn text and its mystical theology, see Elke Axmacher, *Mystische Frömmigkeit und reformatorische Theologie. Zu Martin Mollers Lied »Ach Gott, wie manches Herzeleid«*, in: Alfred Dürr and Walther Killy (eds.), *Das protestantische Kirchenlied im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Text-, musik- und theologiegeschichtliche Probleme*, Wiesbaden 1986 (= Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 31), pp. 39–47.

47 Arndt, *Paradiß Gärtlein* (note 10). In the edition published in Magdeburg in 1615, the hymn appears on pp. 680–685 as »Ein LobSpruch des Namens JESU«; Moller is not identified as the author.

Hartmann also included a motet on the text »Ach, mein herzliebes Jesulein«, the thirteenth stanza of Luther's Christmas hymn, »Vom Himmel hoch«. While the congregational hymn continued to be sung throughout the seventeenth century, this stanza was frequently excerpted and treated to a polyphonic setting during this era of piety, due to its association with the mystical idea of »the indwelling of Christ in the hearts of men«⁴⁸.

The year 1615 saw several collections that made only minor contributions to the devotional repertoire. For his *Reliquiae sacrorum concertuum*, an anthology of polychoral motets of Giovanni Gabrieli and Hans Leo Hassler⁴⁹, the Nürnberg anthologist Georg Gruber selected the motets »O Jesu Christe« and »O Jesu mi dulcissime« of Gabrieli. Both are written in a corporate voice; the first, in which Christ is addressed as the »archbishop of the church«, represents a petition for intercession with the Father, protection from enemies, and eternal life, while the second is a mystically tinged panegyric to the Christ child. In the same year, Hakenberger published his *Sacri modulorum Concentus*⁵⁰; while he drew most of his texts from scripture, Hakenberger also included an eight-voice setting of a text drawn from the opening section (»Ad pedes«) of the *Rhythmica oratio*, »Dulcis Jesu, pie Deus, ad te clamo licet reus«. 1615 also saw the publication in Leipzig of Johann Hermann Schein's *Cymbalum sionium*. Schein drew all but one of the texts for these eight-voice motets from scripture; the above-mentioned section of the Prayer of St. Gregory, »O Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te in cruce vulneratum«, forms the sole exception.

Far more intimate in tone than the works from 1615 are the devotional pieces in Franck's *Geistlichen Musicalischen Lustgartens Erster Theil* of the following year. Here the composer devotes about a third of the collection to settings of Christocentric texts, and once again recommends the music for use in worship⁵¹. Ten of the texts are drawn from a hymn steeped in Passion mysticism, »Herr Jesu Christ, der du für mich am Oelberg kämpffst so ängstiglich«, the author of which remains unidentified (see the example below). This text, like Latin and German settings of the *Rhythmica oratio*, resonates strongly with sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Lutheran devotional writings, for Passion contemplation forms one of the predominant themes in these volumes⁵². Essential to both the Passion meditations in this

48 See Markus Rathey, *Johann Rudolph Ahle 1625–1673, Lebensweg und Schaffen*, Eisenach 1999, pp. 190–196, esp. p. 192. Other seventeenth-century composers who set this stanza of Luther's hymn include M. Altenburg, Ahle (three settings), Bernhard, Capricornus, M. Coler, J. J. Drückenmüller, M. Franck, H. Grimm, Hammerschmidt, J. A. Herbst, G. Hoffmann (two settings), Knüpfer, A. F. Roscius, Rosenmüller, Sartorius, Scheidt (two settings), Schelle, M. Schildt, J. Schop, S. Seidel (two settings), M. Seidemann, D. Selich, and C. Werner. Some of these compositions are not extant, but appear in music inventories.

49 *Reliquiae sacrorum concertuum Giovan. Gabrielis, Johan-Leonis Hasleri, utriusque praestantissimi Musici* [...], Nürnberg 1615.

50 *Sacri modulorum Concentus de festis solemnibus totius anni et de tempore qui octonis vocis non minus instrumentorum quam vocum harmonia, choris & conjunctis & separatis, suaviter concini possunt*, Stettin 1615.

51 Franck's title reads *Geistlichen Musicalischen Lustgartens Erster Theil: Darinnen allerley schöne liebliche Harmonien, von Psalmen vnd andern trostreichen Texten zu singen, so Gott dem Allmächtigen zu sonderlichem Lob, Ehr vnd Preiß, vnd seiner Kirchen zur Auffbauung, publicè vnd privatim, so wol voce als instrumentis zu musiciren vnd zu gebrauchen* [...].

52 See, for example, Baumann-Koch (note 7), pp. 174–207 (on the Passion prayers in Musculus's collections); Elke Axmacher, *Praxis Evangeliorum. Theologie und Frömmigkeit bei Martin Moller (1547–1606)*, Göttingen 1989 (= Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 43), pp. 168–189 (on Moller's *Soliloquia de passione Jesu Christi* of 1587); Axmacher, »... daß Passio Christi sey Satisfactoria, Meritoria, Monitoria«. *Die Passionsgebete in Johann Arndts »Paradiesgärtlein«*, in: idem, *Johann Arndt und Paul Gerhardt, Studien zur Theologie, Frömmigkeit und geistlichen Dichtung des*

literature and the Passion texts set to music is the Christian's metaphorical presence before the cross, upon which hangs the crucified Christ. As Steiger has pointed out, »already for Luther this was the first and most important act of pastoral care and the *ars moriendi*: to imagine Christ on the cross before oneself and to find comfort in this image«⁵³.

Melchior Franck, »Herr Jesu Christe« (*Geistlichen Musicalischen Lustgartens Erster Theil*, 1616)

Herr Jesu Christe, Gottes Lamb,
der du da hangst am Creutzes stamm,
zwischen Himml vnd Erden außgespant,
vns allen bietend deine Hand,
trägst so ein hertzliches verlangen,
all arme Sünder zu vmbfangn,
Küß mich auch mit dem Kusse dein,
schleuß mich in dein fünff Wunden nein,
daß ich fürm Sathan sicher sey,
vnd aller meiner Sünden frey.
Für solch dein vnaußsprechlich Lieb,
ich mich dir gantz zu eygen gib,
mach mich tüchtig, daß ich mög dir
hertzlich dancksagen für vnd für.

Lord Jesus Christ, Lamb of God,
you who hang there on the trunk of the cross,
stretched out between heaven and earth,
offering your hand to us all,
you bear such a heartfelt desire
to embrace all sinners;
Kiss me also with your kiss,
enclose me in your five wounds,
that I might be safe from Satan,
and free from all my sins.
For such thy inexpressible love,
I devote myself entirely to you;
make me able, that I might
sincerely give you thanks for ever and ever.

Passion prayers and meditations in devotional books and in music from this era focus on the salvific and healing properties of Christ's blood and wounds, and often employ the »mystical senses« – the Christian's ability to see, hear, smell, taste, and touch Christ (in this case, as He hangs on the cross) – to add a sense of immediacy. These »mystical senses« are clearly reflected in Franck's »Herr Jesu Christe«, which also trades on familiar Bernardinian mystical allegories in the speaker's use of Song of Songs 1:2 (»O that you would kiss me with the kiss of your mouth«) to express his desire for Christ's kiss, and his desire to be enclosed in Christ's wounds. Both allegories were taken up by Luther in the service of justification theology⁵⁴, and later by theologians such as Arndt and Gerhard in the service of mystical theology. In his *Paradiß Gärtlein*, Arndt weaves the kiss into an ecstatic prayer in which the suppliant expresses the desire for Christ's mystical presence: »O you ever-blooming rose, o you paradise of all sacred, heavenly bliss; o you most sweet fruit from the pleasure garden of God, let me taste you forever; kiss me with the kiss of your mouth.«⁵⁵ And Gerhard explains that »divine comfort, the *consolatio* imparted by the Word of God, is the kiss with which the Bridegroom Christ (Song of Songs 1:2) as Pastor caresses the Bride«⁵⁶. St. Bernard also allegorized the dove in the cleft of the rock (Song of Songs 2:14) as the Christian taking refuge in the wounds of Christ; this theme, in the justification context established by Luther, appears

17. *Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 2001 (= Mainzer hymnologische Studien 3), pp. 43–71; Steiger (note 15), pp. 81–92; van Elferen (note 5), pp. 94–95, 125–126.

53 Steiger (note 15), p. 86.

54 Ibid., p. 63–64.

55 See the citation with the longer excerpt from this prayer below.

56 Steiger (note 15, p. 66), quoting Gerhard's *Zwei kleine Trostreiche Tractätlein* (Jena 1624).

already in Gerhard's *Meditationes sacrae* of 1606 (Latin), and is developed much more extensively in his writings from 1624 and 1631⁵⁷; it also appears in Arndt's *Paradiß Gärtlein*⁵⁸.

Between 1611 and 1621, the cantors Abraham Schadaeus and Erhard Bodenschatz each edited multi-volume anthologies of polychoral motets⁵⁹. The collections of Bodenschatz in particular would prove to be mainstays of the Lutheran Latin school repertoire for more than a century, but those of Schadaeus were also owned by a significant number of Lutheran institutions. Although the overall percentage of devotional texts is rather low in these volumes, one does find several settings of penitential prayers to Christ, particularly in the volumes of Schadaeus⁶⁰.

Carl Luython, »Domine Jesu Christe« (*Promptuarii musici* I, 1611)

Domine Jesu Christe,	Lord Jesus Christ,
respicere digneris super me,	may you deign to look down on me,
miserum peccatorem,	a wretched sinner,
oculis misericordiae quibus respexisti	with the eyes of pity with which you looked on
Petrum in atrio,	Peter in the courtyard,
Mariam Magdalenam in convivio,	Mary Magdalene at the meal,
et latronem in crucis patibulo.	and the thief on the gibbet of the cross.
Concede mihi, omnipotens Deus,	Allow me, all-powerful God,
ut cum Petro digne fleam,	that together with Peter I might fittingly weep,
cum Maria Magdalena perfecto amore	together with Mary Magdalene might love you
te diligam,	with a perfect love,
et cum latrone	and together with the thief
in secula seculorum te videam.	might see you in eternity.

In the years and months just prior to the publication of Schütz's *Cantiones sacrae*, at least two other collections appeared in which devotional works of a mystical nature predominate. In Copenhagen in 1620, the Danish composer Thomas Schattenberg published his *Jubilus S. Bernhardi de nomine Jesu Christi*, a collection of four-voice motets with texts drawn mainly from the hymn »Jesu dulcis memoria«⁶¹. Schattenberg's

57 See the discussion in Steiger (note 15, p. 63–69), in which he discusses this allegory in Luther, as well as in Gerhard's *Tractätlein* of 1624 and *Postilla Salomonaea* of 1631.

58 For example, in prayer no. 16 (note 10; 1615 ed., p. 76): »Umb die Ruhe der Seelen in Gott und Christo: »Komm, meine Taube, meine Taube in den Steinrißen und Felslöchern, das sind deine Wunden, HErr Jesu! O du Felß deß Heils, in welchen meine Seele ruhet [...].« (Come, my dove, my dove in the cleft of the rock and covert of the cliff, these are your wounds, Lord Jesus! O you rock of salvation, in which my soul rests [...].)

59 Abraham Schadaeus (ed.), *Promptuarii musici* I–IV, Strasbourg 1611–1617; Erhard Bodenschatz (ed.), *Florilegium Portense*, Leipzig 1618; *Florilegii musici portensis [...] pars altera*, Leipzig 1621.

60 Schadaeus, vol. I: »Domine Jesu Christe, exaudi me«; Gabrieli, »O Jesu mi dulcissime«; Leoni, »O Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te in cruce pendentem«; Luyton, »Domine Jesu Christe«; Nocetti, »O suavitas et dulcedo«; Walliser, »Domine Jesu Christe non sum dignus«; vol. II: Bagni, »O Domine Jesu Christe«; Bianciardi, »O pretiosum et admirandum«; Piccioni, »O Jesu mi dulcissime«; Stefanini, »Ardens est cor meum«; Valcampi, »O quam suavis est«; Vecchi, »O dulcis Jesus«. Bodenschatz included just two settings of sections of the Prayer of St. Gregory and several older penitential texts.

61 Thomas Schattenberg, *Jubilus S. Bernhardi*, ed. by Esther Barfod et al., Copenhagen 1988 (= Musik i Danmark på Christian IV's tid 7). The edition includes a translation of the Latin text by Sten Ebbesen. See also the discussion in Braun (note 28), pp. 166–168.

collection includes thirty-nine motets; nos. 1–2 and 38–39 are settings of Christocentric devotional texts that are independent of the hymn, and serve as a frame for the hymn settings in nos. 3–37; in the opening motet, the speaker's expression of an insatiable desire for Christ establishes the mystical tone that infuses the entire collection⁶²:

<p>O dulcissime Jesu, nobilissime Salvator, Christe, vulnera animam meam. O piissime Jesu, amator mei, inebria cor meum incendio amoris tui, desidero te millies, ah, mi Jesu, quando me laetum facies?</p>	<p>O sweetest Jesus, most noble savior, Christ, wound my soul. O most pious Jesus, my lover, inebriate my heart with the fire of your love. I desire you a thousand times, ah, my Jesus, when will you make me glad?</p>
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In nos. 3–37, Schattenberg set forty-two different stanzas of the hymn, six of which appear in two different compositions. Most of the motets include just one stanza of the text, but in a few compositions, Schattenberg combined two, three, or even five stanzas; in all but one of these combinations, however, he presents groups of successive stanzas in order⁶³. But in his overall approach to the set, Schattenberg (like Faber) subjected the hymn text to a considerable amount of manipulation, and devised his own order for the presentation of the stanzas, and thus his own version of the mystical narrative.

Another collection of interest here appeared just months before Schütz's *Cantiones sacrae*: Rostock cantor Daniel Friderici's *Viridarium musicum sacrum*, the preface of which is dated January 1625. Here well over a third of the 53 motet texts are prayers to Christ (including a number addressed to the baby Jesus). Penitential texts, however, are generally absent; instead, one finds a number of expressions of the same sort of intimate relationship with Christ that one finds in »Jesu dulcis memoria«, and a similar emphasis on the joy of loving Christ, expressed in effusive language. In fact, some texts, such as no. 13 (below), are clearly allusive of the famous hymn. Friderici's volume is also notable in that it doubles as a miniature devotional manual: each piece is prefaced by a German maxim (»Spruch«) in the form of a rhymed couplet that sums up the content of the accompanying Latin motet text. Some of these maxims are based on scripture, while others appear to be freely composed.

Daniel Friderici, »Jesus laetitia« and maxim (*Viridarium musicum sacrum*, 1625)

Maxim:

<p>Mein Jesus mir viel lieber ist, Denn Honigseim zu jeder frist.</p>	<p>My Jesus is much more dear to me than virgin honey at any time.</p>
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Motet text:

<p>Jesus laetitia est in corde, in mente voluptas. Jesus in ore mel est, Jesus in aure melos.</p>	<p>Jesus is joy in the heart, pleasure in the mind. Jesus is honey in the mouth, Jesus is a melody in the ear⁶⁴.</p>
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62 Translated by Sten Ebbesen.

63 In no. 8, the five stanzas are not successive: 23/18, 21/16, 28/23, 11/10, 36/31. In addition, in two motets (nos. 19 and 34), Schattenberg combines lines from two different stanzas.

One of the most prominent German Lutheran composers to engage musically with devotional texts was of course Heinrich Schütz. Schütz's first foray into the area of Christocentric prayer is probably his motet *Jesu dulcissime*, SWV Anh. k, a parody of a Gabrieli motet that Schütz may have composed before 1625⁶⁵:

<p>Jesu dulcissime, salve fugientes ad te, Christe longanimis, exaudi nos deprecantes, O Jesu dulcissime, paternae gloriae splendor, noli nos condemnare, sed libera nos, et defende nos ab hostium insidiis, et dona nobis vitam aeternam. Alleluia.</p>	<p>Sweetest Jesus, save us who are fleeing to you, long-suffering Christ, hear us who are entreating you, Oh, most sweet Jesus, splendor of the glory of the Father, do not condemn us, but liberate us, and keep us from the snares of our enemies, and give us eternal life. Hallelujah.</p>
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With its corporate voice and supplicatory tone, the text of Schütz's *Jesu dulcissime* closely resembles the sort of prayers to Christ preferred by Lutheran composers and anthologists of the early seventeenth century discussed above. However, the suppliants' twofold appeal to »sweetest Jesus« also lends this text a muted mystical quality, for Christ's »sweetness« is a common mystical trope⁶⁶. In fact, the opening phrases in lines 1 and 3 above are likely allusions to an internal stanza (»O Jesu mi dulcissime«) of the mystical hymn »Jesu dulcis memoria«.

In his *Cantiones sacrae* of 1625, however, Schütz ventured into a considerably different realm of Lutheran spirituality. It is well known that in this collection of motets (or sacred madrigals) Schütz set a number of medieval devotional texts, many of which derived ultimately from three volumes, the pseudo-Augustinian *Manuale, Meditationes, et Soliloquia*⁶⁷. Schütz probably drew most of his texts from the compilation of Andreas Musculus, *Precationes ex veteribus orthodoxis doctoribus*⁶⁸. The Dresden Kapellmeister is the first Lutheran composer to have shown a musical interest in the texts published by Musculus, which had been in Lutheran circulation already for seven decades at the time of the publication of the *Cantiones sacrae*⁶⁹. Despite its age, however, Musculus's collection still enjoyed currency in the

64 Compare stanzas 1/1 and 23/18 of the hymn: »Jesu dulcis memoria, dans vera cordi gaudia, sed super mel et omnia eius dulcis praesentia« (Sweet is the memory of Jesus, giving true joys to the heart; but sweet is his presence above honey and all things); »Jesu decus angelicum, in aure dulce canticum, in ore mel mirificum, in corde nectar angelicum« (The angelic beauty of Jesus is a sweet song to the ear, marvelous honey to the mouth, an angelic nectar in the heart).

65 See Werner Breig: *Heinrich Schütz' Parodiemotette »Jesu dulcissime«*, in: Heinrich Hüschen and Dietz-Rüdiger Moser (eds.), *Conviviorum musicorum – Festschrift Wolfgang Boetticher zum 60. Geburtstag*, Berlin 1974, pp. 13–24. The motet is based on Giovanni Gabrieli's *O Jesu Christe, o archiepiscopo Ecclesiae*.

66 See, for example, the discussion of »dulcedo« (sweetness) as a theme in the hymn »Jesu dulcis memoria« in Heinrich Lausberg, *Zum Hymnus »Jesu dulcis memoria«*, in: Otto Semmelroth, with Rudolf Haubst and Karl Rahner (eds.), *Martyria, Leiturgia, Diakona*, Mainz 1968, pp. 361–369, here p. 363.

67 The collection circulated under the name of Augustine, but actually included writings of Anselm von Canterbury, Hugo von St. Viktor, Bernhard von Clairvaux, as well as Augustine (some of the Soliloquies), and other writers; see Blankenburg (note 31), p. 64.

68 See Volckmar-Waschk (note 37), pp. 15–24, and Abert (note 16), pp. 2–3.

69 Schütz was also one of the few composers to engage with Musculus; only in the later *Theatrum musicum* of Samuel Capricornus, which appeared posthumously in 1669, do we find a comparable selection of these meditations. Other composers who set passages likely drawn from Musculus include Johann Rosenmüller, whose »Amo te, Deus meus, amore magno«, »Christum ducem, qui per crucem«, and »O dulcis Christe« appear in his *Andere Kern-Sprüche*, Leipzig 1652–1653, and David Pohle, whose »Amo te, Deus meus« is found in the Düben collection (S-Uu vmhs 82: 35 no. 6).

seventeenth century: in the 1630s, the chancellor in Upper Hesse, Anton Wolf, wrote to his son (then studying in Jena) and exhorted him to maintain an active life of prayer, and recommended that he use the »Augustinian« prayers published by Musculus⁷⁰.

In the *Cantiones sacrae*, Schütz concentrates his attention on the more penitential expressions found in these medieval writings; in this respect, he is continuing in the tradition already established by composers such as Melchior Franck. But as Heide Volckmar-Waschk has revealed in her detailed study of the collection, one aspect of Schütz's publication sets it apart from others of this era, for the first eleven motets (nos. 1–18) form »[a] closed, symmetrically organized block of motets [...] in which five motets [SWV 53–64] speak of the temptation of men, and five motets [SWV 66–70] express their hope in God and in salvation through Christ. [...] In the center, however, stands a motet [»Heu mihi, Domine« SWV 65], which, in the penitent recognition of one's own guilt, marks (in a manner of speaking) the passage from temptation to hope«⁷¹. In its inclusion of a progressively ordered series of compositions Schütz's collection is quite remarkable, and stands apart from most of the other seventeenth-century prints that include devotional texts. As a rule, the texts in these collections do not form any sort of progression, but are included in random fashion together with settings of scripture and chorales. The only exceptions to this are complete settings of the hymn »Jesu dulcis memoria« in consecutive order, which achieve an analogous narrative shape.

Schütz opens his collection with the two-part motet »O bone, o dulcis, o benigne Jesu«, which exemplifies the penitential focus of the medieval texts in the volume. He drew this prayer from a passage that Musculus attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, but which does not appear in the works of the latter⁷². From the passage given in Musculus, Schütz formed a prayer in which the suppliant entreats a »good, sweet, and kind« Christ for forgiveness of sins and salvation:

Schütz, *Cantiones sacrae*, nos. 1–2 (SWV 53–54)⁷³

Prima pars

O bone, o dulcis, o benigne Jesu, te deprecor per illum tuum sanguinem pretiosum, quem pro nobis miseris effundere dignatus es in ara crucis, ut abjicias omnes iniquitates meas.	O good, o sweet, o good Jesus, I implore you by your precious blood, that you would consider [it] for worthy, for us pitiful ones to shed [your blood] on the altar of the cross, in order that you might cast down all of my offences.
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70 Baumann-Koch (note 7), p. 38: »Liebes Kind, ich beschließe gegenwärtigen Brief mit dieser Lehr, daß du nämlich das heilige Gebet in großem Befehl haben und sehr oftmals allerandächtigt brauchen wollest. Bete aus des Augustini in dem Musculo befindlicher precatation vielmals um Gnad, daß der heil. Geist dir also beistehe, ut nunquam non labia tua Deum non collaudent, mens meditetur, vita glorificet, anima benedicat [...]«

71 Volckmar-Waschk (note 37), p. 42–43: »[ein] geschlossene[r], symmetrisch angelegte[r] Motettenblock [...], in dem] fünf Motetten [...] von der Anfechtung des Menschen sprechen, und fünf Motetten [...] ihre Hoffnung auf Gott und die Erlösung durch Christus ausdrücken [...]. Im Zentrum aber steht eine Motette, die in dem bußfertigen Bekenntnis der eigenen Schuld gewissermaßen den Übergang von der Anfechtung zur Hoffnung markiert.«

72 Many years later, Schütz would again draw upon this same text in his *O bone Jesu, fili Mariae virginis* (SWV 471). See note 23 above on the different versions of this text.

73 English translations of the *Cantiones sacrae* by the author, based on the German translations of Volckmar-Waschk (note 37).

Secunda pars

Et ne despicias humiliter te petentem,	And that you would not despise him who bids you humbly,
et hoc nomen tuum sanctissimum	and to this, your most holy name,
Jesus invocantem.	Jesus, appeals.

In its focus on such penitential prayers, Schütz's collection distinguishes itself significantly from those of later Lutheran musicians, who preferred expressions of longing, desire, and mystical love for Christ. Although one finds many such expressions in the *Manuale, Meditationes, et Soliloquia*, Schütz here seems to have largely eschewed setting this sort of prayer⁷⁴. Thus the suppliant in Schütz's *Cantiones sacrae* is still much more the remorseful sinner in search of forgiveness than the love-sick soul seeking blissful union with Christ who would soon come to dominate Lutheran devotional music. A few prayers in the collection, however, do reveal the latter orientation, and in this respect, Schütz's collection adumbrates the later repertoire. When one compares »O bone, o dulcis, o benigne Jesu« to »Dulcissime et benignissime Christe« (no. 15, below), for example, one sees that the suppliant has moved beyond his urgent plea for forgiveness, and would now purge himself of everything except the love of Christ⁷⁵. And then in »Veni, rogo in cor meum« (no. 31, below), he expresses his longing for mystical union: »come, I bid you, into my heart, and with the abundance of your joy and delight intoxicate my soul, that I might forget everything that is only earthly«. Both »Dulcissime et benignissime Christe« and »Veni, rogo« fully characterize the texts that one finds in Lutheran devotional music after ca. 1635; such expressions predominate in the concertos and motets published by Ambrosius Profe in the 1640s, for example. But whereas many similar texts in later collections focus on the desire for the mystical experience itself, and make little or no reference to the suppliant's arrival at the point of mystical union as part of a spiritual journey through contrition and pardon, Schütz contextualizes these expressions as the culmination of this journey, the consequence of repentance and forgiveness.

Schütz, *Cantiones sacrae*, no. 15 (SWV 67)⁷⁶

Dulcissime et benignissime Christe,	Sweetest and most gracious Christ,
infunde, obsecro,	earnestly I bid you,
multitudinem dulcedinis tuae	pour the fullness of your sweetness
et charitatis tuae pectori meo,	and your love into my breast,
ut nihil terrenum,	that I might nothing earthly,
nihil carnale desiderem vel cogitarem	nothing fleshly desire or have in my mind,
sed te solum amem,	except only to love you,
te solum habeam in ore	and to have you alone in my mouth
et in corde meo.	and in my heart.

⁷⁴ Baumann-Koch (note 7, pp. 38–39 and passim) indicates that in his Latin version, Musculus included some prayers that the reader would have to read through the lens of Lutheran theology, and apparently trusted his educated readers to do so; however, in his German version of the prayers (the 1559 *Betbüchlein*), which was aimed at »simple Christians«, Musculus made extensive changes to bring the texts into harmony with Lutheran theology.

⁷⁵ Musculus, however, significantly dampened the passion of the suppliant by sharply reducing the chain of superlatives found in the original text; in the *Meditationes*, the text reads »Dulcissime, benignissime, amantissime, charissime, pretiosissime, desiderantissime, amabilissime, pulcherrime: infunde, obsecro, multitudinem dulcedinis tuae« etc.; MPL 40, col. 931.

⁷⁶ Source: Musculus, *Precationes* (note 7), p. 41, from the *Meditationes*, ch. 36.

Schütz, *Cantiones sacrae*, no. 31 (SWV 83)⁷⁷

Veni, rogo, in cor meum,
 et ab ubertate voluptatis tuae inebria illud,
 ut obliviscar ista temporalia.
 Adiuva me, Domine, Deus meus,
 et da laetitiam in corde meo,
 veni ad me, ut videam te.

Come, I bid you, into my heart,
 and intoxicate it with the fullness of your joy,
 so that I might forget these temporal things.
 Help me, Lord, my God,
 and give me joy in my heart,
 come to me, that I might see you.

One characteristic of the texts Schütz selected for his 1625 collection remained typical throughout the century, however: despite the fact that many chapters in the pseudo-Augustinian writings are addressed to God rather than Christ, prayers and petitions addressed to God the Father are drawn primarily from the Psalms. Although medieval writers regularly appealed to God in effusive, superlative-laden prayers, the seventeenth-century Lutheran composer did not; when addressing God, his language remained much more sober. In fact, the entire repertoire of devotional sacred art music includes very few settings of non-scriptural texts addressed to God. In stark contrast, the prayers to Christ found in the music collections of seventeenth-century Lutherans betray the considerable influence of various medieval writings in their intimate, ardent language. At times the prayers are drawn directly from these sources, as in Schütz's collection; more often, however, they seem to have been freely written in direct imitation of various mystical-devotional works, or compiled from passages drawn from the medieval texts.

In the year following the appearance of Schütz's *Cantiones sacrae*, Melchior Franck published another set of motets based on »Jesu dulcis memoria«⁷⁸. Franck, however, was the first Lutheran court Kapellmeister to set all forty-eight stanzas in the order found in the hymn⁷⁹. As Faber had done earlier in the century, Franck set the Latin original, and also provided the text in German. However, he underlaid two German versions for each Latin strophe (see below)⁸⁰. On the title page Franck indicated that the pieces were intended to promote both piety and industry in the young⁸¹. Unfortunately, only the

77 Source: Musculus, *Precationes* (note 7), p. 167, from the *Soliloquia*, ch. 23.

78 *Assaphus Bernhardinus, lingua binus voce trinus, hoc est jubilus D. Bernhardi poeticus, sancta devotione hactenus commendatus, ternis vocibus, utroque stilo tam latino quam germanico emphatico tamen compositus*, Nürnberg 1626. Werner Braun (note 28, pp. 168–171) discovered this previously unknown print of Franck.

79 Franck's source for the Latin text remains unknown; he sets the same forty-eight stanzas (in the same order) as given in Arndt's *Paradiß Gärtlein*, but some textual differences exist between the two (the author consulted an edition of Arndt published in Magdeburg in 1615).

80 Braun (note 28, pp. 168–169) postulated that the text stemmed from the circle of Johann Matthäus Meyfart (1590–1642), then rector at the Gymnasium Casimirianum in Coburg, and pointed to the fact that in his *Tuba novissima* of 1626, Meyfart quoted str. 48/41 of the Latin hymn, and appended two German strophes. These German strophes are not identical to those in Franck's setting, however. Braun also indicated (*ibid.*, p. 169, n. 30) that in his *Das himmlische Jerusalem* of the following year, Meyfart quoted the same Latin stanza, and appended a somewhat different German version; this version also does not agree with that used by Franck (the author examined an edition of Meyfart's volume from 1664). In his study of Meyfart's life and works, Erich Trunz makes no mention of these paraphrases, but admits that he has not examined most of Franck's works for »Meyfartiana«; *Johann Matthäus Meyfart. Theologe und Schriftsteller in der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, Munich 1987, p. 362 n. 48.

81 Braun (note 28), p. 169. The inscription on the title page reads »Ed ad Promovendum tum pietatem, tum industriam juventutis literaria editus«.

Cantus part book survives from this collection, but its music clearly demonstrates that in many cases Franck created highly florid settings of musical intensity that match the fervor of this mystical text.

Franck, »Tunc amplexus« (*Assaphus Bernardinus*, 1626)

Tunc amplexus, tunc oscula,
 quae vincunt mellis pocula,
 tunc felix Christi copula,
 sed in his parva morula.

Then there will be embraces, then there will be kisses,
 which exceed draughts of honey;
 then there will be the happy union with Christ,
 but there is a small delay in these things.

Da wird Er hertzlich küssen mich,
 vor Hönig das nicht neme ich,
 als denn werd ich mit ihm vereynt,
 die zeit ein kleines stündlein scheint.

Then he will kiss me affectionately,
 with kisses sweeter than honey⁸²,
 as then will I be united with him,
 the time seems like the twinkling of an eye⁸³.

Freundlich wird Er empfahen mich,
 mit mir sich freuen inniglich,
 ich will auff diese hertzhlichkeit
 verziehen noch ein kleine zeit.

He will receive me kindly,
 will rejoice with me very intimately,
 I will wait for this affection
 yet a little while.

In these collections of Schattenberg, Friderici, Schütz, and Franck from the 1620s, the percentage of devotional texts is considerably higher than in the majority of the other prints surveyed so far. And in their passion and intimacy, the prayers set in these four prints far exceed those in the majority of others published by this date. But while they might represent the first peak in the history of Lutheran devotional music, these four prints do not seem to have exerted an immediate influence on sacred music: publications with musical settings of devotional texts do not increase markedly until more than a decade after the appearance of these four collections, and no one followed Schütz's lead in the exploration of these pseudo-Augustinian sources.

As the decade of the 1620s wore on, however, Lutheran composers did continue to engage with these devotional texts. In 1627, Franck brought out his collection *Rosetulum musicum*, in which he set Christocentric prayers in a fifth of the compositions. Perhaps most interesting here is his homophonic setting of Meyfart's »O Jesu, wie ist dein Gestalt«, a Passion hymn written in imitation of (or inspired by) the *Rhythmica oratio*⁸⁴. Like his earlier setting of a portion of the Latin text, Franck's musical treatment of a German version of this text may also be the first by a Lutheran composer. In his selection of Meyfart's hymn, Franck may have been influenced by the fact that Passion meditation continued to form a strong theme in devotional books of this period. In his *Schola pietatis* of 1622, for example, Johann Gerhard recommended the Passion as a theme for meditation, and provided various models for his readers to follow, including the by-now familiar *Rhythmica oratio*⁸⁵. Franck's setting includes ten stanzas; the first

82 Lit.: »I would not mistake [his kisses] for honey.«

83 Many thanks to Gregory Johnston and Gerhard Dünnhaupt for help with the translation of this stanza.

84 Trunz indicates that Meyfart quoted the first line of the German hymn in his *Rhetorica*; the hymn was also published in the Gotha *Cantionale Sacrum* of 1646–1648 (reprinted 1657). Trunz (note 80, pp. 280–281, 290–291, 362 n. 48) also points out that the hymn borrows its meter and rhyme scheme from Philipp Nicolai's »Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern«.

85 See Udo Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen 1995 (= Beiträge zur historischen Theologie 91), p. 48.

and last form the introduction and conclusion to the work, while the internal stanzas are addressed to the seven *membra*. Franck makes the association with the medieval text explicit by prefacing seven of the eight interior stanzas with Latin titles borrowed from the hymn: »Ad pedes«, »Ad genua«, »Ad manus«, »Ad latus«, »Ad pectus«, »Ad cor«, »Ad faciem«⁸⁶. Meyfart's intimate, unaffected poetry captures the emotions of the suppliant who stands metaphorically before the cross, and in this respect looks forward to the famous German paraphrases of the *Rhythmica oratio* by Johann Rist and Paul Gerhardt.

Franck, »O Jesu, wie ist dein gestalt« (*Rosetulum musicum*, 1627), str. 2: »Ad pedes«

Weil du denn angeheftet bist,
Erscheine ich zu dieser Frist,
zu schawen deine Wunden:
Die du für mich an diesem Stamm,
O Gottes Sohn, O Gottes Lamb,
gar williglich empfunden;
setz mich
erstlich
ohne Schewe,
doch mit Rewe
zu den Füßen,
wil aus Gegenlieb sie küssen.

Because you have been crucified,
I shall appear at this appointed time
to behold your wounds,
which you on this trunk,
O Son of God, o Lamb of God,
so willingly suffered for me;
I shall set myself,
before all else,
without fear,
yet with remorse,
at your feet;
I shall kiss them out of reciprocal love⁸⁷.

In the following year, it seems that only Johann Staden published any settings of devotional texts in a music collection; his *Harmoniae novae* include sacred concertos on such penitential prayers as »Mi Domine Jesu«, »Veni, Domine Jesu Christe«, and »O Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te in cruce vulneratum«. In 1629, however, Melchior Franck made yet another significant contribution to the repertoire with his *Votiva columbae Sioniae suspiria*; of its eighteen compositions, twelve comprise settings of the stanzas of Moller's mystical hymn »Ach, Gott, wie manches Herzeleid«⁸⁸. Significantly, Franck's German subtitle, which alludes to the anguish created by the ongoing war, also provides one of the first examples of the use of the word »devotion« (»Andacht«) in the title of a collection of sacred art music: »devotional sighs of the heart of the much afflicted, worthy Christendom, written in some comforting little rhymed prayers, and to be used profitably in Christian churches, schools, and at home in the approaching distressing times, to ward off well-deserved punishment«⁸⁹. With such subtitles, composers could easily associate the works included in the collection with the larger »Frömmigkeitsbewegung«. The subtitle is also significant in its inclusion

⁸⁶ The title »Ad manus« is associated with two stanzas (hence there are eight interior stanzas rather than seven).

⁸⁷ Thanks to Gregory Johnston for help with the translation.

⁸⁸ Some of the stanzas require four voices, while others require eight. Another 1629 print may also include devotional works: Erasmus Widmann, *Piorum suspiria: andechtige Seufftzen unnd Gebet umb den lieben Frieden* [...]; *darbey auch etliche nach der [...] viadanischen Art gesetzte Moteten*, Nürnberg 1629. The author has not yet been able to examine this collection.

⁸⁹ *Andächtige Hertzenseufftzer der hochbetrangten werthen Christenheit / in etlichen Trostreichen Reimgebetlein verfasst / vnd zu bevorstehenden betrübten Zeiten / vnd Abwendung der wolverdienten Straffen / in Christlicher Kirchen / Schulen vnd zu Hauß nützlich zu gebrauchen*. Widmann's 1629 volume also uses the term in the title (see n. 88). Most of the earlier examples of the use of the term »Andacht« date from the 1620s, and involve collections of »Hausmusik« by composers such as M. Altenburg and S. Besler.

of Franck's recommendations for the use of the collection; while these may well have been advanced primarily for marketing purposes, they also provide evidence of the view that Christocentric devotional music was appropriate for performance in both public worship services and in private surroundings⁹⁰.

The noticeable increase in activity in the realm of Lutheran devotional music in the 1620s was followed by sustained cultivation during the following decade. Franck continued his series of regular contributions with his *Dulces mundani exilij deliciae* of 1631, in which he included settings of three Christocentric texts among the twenty-eight motets, the majority of which are settings of scripture⁹¹. Three years later, Johann Thüring of Willerstedt also selected devotional texts for a number of compositions in his *Sertum spirituale musicale*. These include a Christologized version of Ps. 73:25, »Herr Jesu, wenn ich nur dich habe« (Lord Jesus, if I only have you) as well as the sixth stanza of Moller's ever-popular hymn »Ach, Gott, wie manches Herzeleid«⁹², and a prayer, »O Jesu mein Trost«, in which the individual expresses his longing for the joy of eternal life in Christ's presence in language that is somewhat Arndtian in conception⁹³:

Johann Thüring, »O Jesu mein Trost« (*Sertum spirituale musicale*, 1634)

O Jesu mein Trost, mein Frewde, mein Wonne, du aller Liebster, aller Schönester, aller Holdseeligster in meinen Augen, laß mich sehen den Tag der ewigen Wonne, den Tag der Frewden und deß Heils den du gemacht hast, daran wir uns frewen und frölich seyn sollen.	O Jesus, my comfort, my joy, my delight, you most dear, most beautiful, most lovely in my eyes, let me see the day of eternal delight, the day of joy and of salvation, which you have created, on which we shall rejoice and be joyful.
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On his title page, Thüring included an extended subtitle in which, like Franck, he suggested performance contexts for his pieces, and also sought to associate his works with the important concept of devotion (»Andacht«): »thirty lovely pieces which, because of [their] beautiful underlaid sacred texts, can [...] be sung pleasantly and joyously in all Christian and honorable gatherings for the awakening of the special devotion and joy of the heart«⁹⁴.

Two years later, in 1636, the first volume of Schütz's *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* appeared on the market. At this time, as Schütz himself conceded in his preface, the »continual, dangerous events of war« had

90 Music for the home, or »Hausmusik«, also formed an important part of the musical response to Lutheran piety. Franck's colleague in Coburg, Johann Dilliger, published a significant amount of such music; his collections include settings of texts similar to those under examination here. For example, his *Musica Christiana-Cordialis-Domestica, Oder/Christliche Hauß vnd Hertzens MUSICA*, Coburg 1630, includes works for three and four voices, nearly a fifth of which are dedicated to Christ. Most of the texts are German, but the collection also includes some Latin penitential prayers, including »O Jesu Christe, miserere mei, o misericordissime Jesu, sis mihi Jesus Domine, Salvator amantissime, o Jesu mi dulcissime, ah noli me despiciere, etiamsi peccator maximus, o bone Jesu, miserere mei« (Oh Jesus Christ, pity me, oh, most merciful Jesus, be Jesus for me, oh Lord, most loving Savior, Jesus, my sweetest one, do not, I pray, disdain me, even if I am the greatest sinner, oh good Jesus, pity me).

91 »Ach, mein Herr Christe, Gottes Sohn«, »O Jesu Christe, Gottes Sohn«, and »Auf dein Zukunft, Herr Jesu Christ«.

92 Also set by Hartmann in 1613 and Franck in 1629; see the text above.

93 Compare the excerpt from Arndt's *Paradiß Gärtlein* below.

94 *Dreissig lieblicher Cantionen so wegen schönen unterlegten geistlichen Texten in allen Christlichen und Ehrlichen Zusammenkunfften zu Erweckung sonderlicher Hertzens Andacht und Freude anmutig und fröliche können gesungen [...] werden.*

devastating consequences for the »praiseworthy [art of] music«⁹⁵. Now more than a decade after the appearance of the *Cantiones sacrae*, Schütz included only two settings of devotional texts, both now in German translations: a deeply mystical prayer from the *Manuale* in the version of Martin Moller, »O süßer, o freundlicher, o gütiger Herr Jesu Christe« (SWV 285), and a text from the *Meditationes*, which he had already set in Latin in his *Cantiones sacrae*: »Siehe, meine Fürsprecher ist im Himmel« (SWV 304)⁹⁶. For the majority of the concertos, however, he selected psalms and other scriptural texts.

In the two years between the appearance of the first and second volumes of Schütz's *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* (1636 and 1639), at least six other prints appeared, three of which included settings of Christocentric prayers⁹⁷. The first of these are the two volumes of so-called »Nordhausen concertos«, the work of one or more anonymous editors that appeared in 1637 and 1638, and that include many few-voiced works by Italians such as Viadana and Finetti, as well as Germans such as Schein, Scheidt, and Schütz himself⁹⁸. In these volumes, the portion of settings of Christocentric texts totals about seven percent, and a number of those included reveal a distinct move away from the penitential and toward an increasingly mystical manner of expression. For example, volume I is apparently the earliest Lutheran print to include a setting of the medieval communion prayer »Transfige, dulcissime Jesu«, here as a concerto by Viadana⁹⁹. In volume II, the editor(s) included Monteverdi's setting of a portion of the »Oratio ad Jesum« set in its entirety by Franck back in 1604, and in part by Schütz in 1625 (see both texts below).

Lodovico Viadana, »Transfige, dulcissime Jesu« (*Fasciculus primus geistlicher wolklingender Concerten*, 1638)

Transfige, dulcissime Jesu,

medullas et viscera animae meae

suavissimo ac saluberrimo

amoris tui vulnere,

vera, serenaque,

et apostolica sanctissima caritate,

ut languat et liquefiat anima mea

solo semper amore et desiderio tui,

te concupiscat et deficiat in atria tua,

Pierce, O most sweet Jesus,

the marrow and inmost part my soul

with the most delightful and healthful

wound of Thy love,

with true, serene,

and most holy apostolic charity,

that my soul may ever languish and melt

with love and longing only for Thee,

that it may yearn for Thee and faint for Thy courts,

95 Schütz GB, p. 135: »Welcher gestalt vnter andern freyen Künsten / auch die löbliche Music / von den noch anhalten-den gefährlichen Kriegs-Läufften in vnserm lieben Vater-Lande / Teutscher Nation / nicht allein in grosses Abnehmen ge-rathen / sondern an manchem Ort gantz niedergeleget worden [...]«. Translation from Gregory S. Johnston, *A Schütz Reader* (forthcoming from Oxford University Press).

96 The Latin version of 1625 (»Ecce advocatus meus«) is clearly addressed to God concerning Christ; the German version is written in a more anonymous third-person form of address.

97 The three that include no specifically Christocentric devotional pieces are Tobias Michael's *Musicalische Seelenlust* II, Leipzig 1637, Michael Lohr's *Neue Teutsche Kirchen Gesänge* II, Dresden 1637, and Caspar Kittel's *Arien und Cantaten*, Dresden 1638.

98 See Werner Braun, *Bemerkungen zu den »Nordhäusischen Concerten« von 1637/38*, in: *SJb* 25 (2003), pp. 85–104. The dating of the extant volumes is curious: vol. I is dated 1638, while vol. II carries the date 1637. Either the date of vol. I was misprinted, or it represents a second edition.

99 The so-called »Oratio Sancti Bonaventurae« or Prayer of Saint Bonaventure (1218–1274). Two settings appear in Pirna 54a, which may be earlier; see below.

cupiat dissolvi et esse tecum.
 Da ut anima mea te esuriat,
 panem Angelorum,
 refectionem animarum sanctarum;
 panem nostrum cotidianum,
 supersubstantialem,
 habentem omnem dulcedinem
 et saporem,
 et omne delectamentum suavitatis.

and long to be dissolved and to be with Thee.
 Grant that my soul may hunger after Thee,
 the bread of angels,
 the refreshment of holy souls,
 our daily
 and superstantial bread,
 having all sweetness
 and savor
 and every delight of taste¹⁰⁰.

Claudio Monteverdi, »O bone Jesu« (*Fasciculus secundus geistlicher wolklingender Concerten*, 1637)

O bone Jesu, o piissime Jesu,
 O Jesu, fili Mariae Virginis,
 plene misericordiae et pietatis.
 O Jesu, nomen dulce, nomen delectabile,
 nomen confortans;
 quid est enim Jesu nisi Salvator?
 Ergo Jesu, propter nomen sanctum tuum,
 esto mihi Jesus, et salva me.

O good Jesus, o most kind Jesus,
 O Jesus, son of the Virgin Mary,
 full of mercy and pity.
 O name of Jesus, sweet name, beloved name,
 comforting name;
 for what is Jesus but a savior?
 Therefore, Jesus, for the sake of Thy holy name,
 be to me Jesus, and save me.

The second volume also includes an intensely mystical, anonymous setting of two stanzas (28/23 and 31/26) from »Jesu dulcis memoria«, in both Latin and German. In the first stanza, the suppliant is seeking Christ, while in the second, he has found Him, and has progressed to the experience of mystical union. Here the text has been expanded with encomiastic prose insertions that function in the manner of tropes (the added texts, which are nearly identical in the two stanzas, appear in italics below):

Anonymous, »O Jesu mi dulcissime« / »O du süßer Jesu mein« (*Fasciculus secundus geistlicher wolklingender Concerten*, 1637)

O Jesu mi dulcissime,
 spes suspirantis animae,
Jesu, fortis, mitis, et admirande:
 Te quaerunt piae lacrymae,
 te clamor mentis intimae.
O Jesu, adorande,
fortissime, piissime, mitissime,
suavissime, charissime, dulcissime,
o Jesu.

Oh, my sweetest Jesus,
 hope of the sighing soul,
Jesu, strong, gentle and worthy of wonder.
 pious tears seek you,
 the cry of the innermost mind seeks you.
Oh, Jesus, you who are to be adored,
the strongest, the most pious, the most gentle,
the most pleasing, the most dear, the sweetest,
oh, Jesus.

Jam quod quaesivi video,
 quod concupivi teneo.

Now I see that which I have sought,
 I hold that which I have desired;

100 Text and translation (with some alterations) from <http://www.preces-latinae.org/thesaurus/PostMissam/Bonaventurae.html>.

Jesu, fortis, mitis, et admirande:

Amore Jesu languéo,
et corde toto ardeo.

O Jesu honorande,

fortissime, piissime, mitissime,
suavissime, charissime, dulcissime,

*O Jesu*¹⁰¹.

Jesus, strong, gentle, and worthy of wonder.

I languish with the love of Jesus,
and I wholly burn in my heart.

Oh, Jesus, you who are to be honored,

the strongest, the most pious, the most gentle,
the most pleasing, the most dear, the sweetest,

oh, Jesus.

Also worthy of note is the dedication to the second volume, in which the unknown editor makes a close association between music (in the form of sacred concertos) and devotion: »Consider it indeed undeniable, that through such beautiful concertos a greater devotion will ever and always be awakened than through [motets]«¹⁰². The dedication also indicates that Duke Georg of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, the volume's dedicatee, heard pieces from these collections in services in his chapel, and also during services celebrated during the »princely meeting« (»fürstliche Convent«) held at Pentecost 1635 in Nordhausen, and that they were eventually heard in cities (presumably city churches) as well.

The association between music and devotion is also inherent in the design of both volumes of the anthology, for each piece is accompanied by a concise, two-line prayer. Thus, like Friderici's *Viridarium musicum sacrum*, both Nordhausen volumes are themselves designed to double as devotional books. In this manner they resemble some of the hymnals of the period¹⁰³. Monteverdi's »O bone Jesu«, for example, is accompanied by the sentence »Most gentle Jesus, son of the spotless Virgin, save me; I will rejoice in your name«¹⁰⁴. As the examples below reveal, the brief prayer encapsulates the text of the concerto, and may have been conceived to help the singer establish the proper mental affect before performing the concerto.

Concerto incipits and prayers from *Fasciculus secundus geistlicher wolklingender Concerten*, 1637

Concerto no. 18 (Anonymous)

Incipit: »Liebstes Jesulein, liebliches Mündlein, schöner als alle glänzende Sternlein.« (Dearest little Jesus, loveliest little face, more beautiful than all shining little stars.)

Prayer: »Jesule, lucidulus, stellis fulgentior ipsis, ne me, nam morior, desere, defer opem!« (Little Jesus, you who are a shining little one, brighter than the stars themselves, do not forsake me, for I am dying, but bestow your help!)

101 German text: »O du süßer Jesu mein, meinr armen Seelen Hoffnung allein, *Jesu starcker frommer vnd Wunderbahrer*: Mein Augen thränen stets nach dir, nach dir schreyt meines Hertz Begier. *O Aller höchster Jesu, du stärckester, du frömmester, du freundlichster, du lieblichster, du liebester, du süsster, O Jesu*. Nu, was ich such daß sehe ich, wornach ich trachte, daß findet Jesu. *Jesu starcker* [...]. Mein Hertz liebt dich gar ängstlich, mein Seel windet sich fäst vmb dich, *O Jesu voller Ehren, du stärckester* [...].«

102 *Fasciculus secundus* (1637), dedication, [i]: »Massen ja vnleugbar / daß durch solche liebliche Concerten eine grössere Andacht je vnd allezeit erwecket wird / denn etwas durch [Moteten].« The quote occurs in the context of a comparison of motets and sacred concertos.

103 See Ingeborg Röbbelen, *Theologie und Frömmigkeit im deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gesangbuch des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen 1957 (= Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 6), p. 64; Patrice Veit, *Das Gesangbuch als Quelle lutherischer Frömmigkeit*, in: Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 79 (1988), pp. 206–229, here p. 207.

104 »Virginis intactae Fili mitissime Jesu Me salva: Hoc nomen gaudet habere tuum.«

Concerto no. 35 (Anonymous)

Text: »O Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei, qui passus es pro nobis, miserere mei.« (Oh, Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, who suffered for us, have mercy on me.)

Prayer: »Coram te ploro, te pauper et orbis adoro: Jesu Gnate Dei, sit tibi cura mei.« (I weep before you, I, poor and bereft, adore you: Jesus, Son of God, have a care for me.)

Concerto no. 47 (Anonymous)

Incipits: »O Jesu mi dulcissime« / »O du süsser Jesu mein«¹⁰⁵ (O my sweetest Jesus / O you my sweet Jesus)

Prayer: »Quem quaeram potius, quam te, dulcissime Jesu, in cujus mea sors statque caditque manu?« (Whom should I seek other than you, sweetest Jesus, in whose hand my fate both stands and falls?)

In the late 1630s, another composer who would quickly become an important player in the market for devotional music made his first appearance: the organist Andreas Hammerschmidt of Freiberg, later organist in Zittau. In 1638, Hammerschmidt published the first of five volumes entitled *Musicalische Andachten* (1638–1653); the first volume apparently enjoyed such strong sales that a reprint was issued already the following year¹⁰⁶. By characterizing these five volumes as »musical devotions«, Hammerschmidt responded to the ever-increasing demand for devotional materials, and drew a connection with devotion even more explicitly than his predecessors had done. In this first volume, the devotional content forms fourteen percent of the collection, twice that of the Nordhausen anthologies. The prayers to Christ set by Hammerschmidt here display a range from simple »Christologized« psalm verses to expressions of mystical love. For example, in one concerto, Hammerschmidt set two verses from Ps. 73, but with Christ as addressee, as Thüring had done in 1634: »O Lord Jesus Christ, if I only have you«¹⁰⁷. In another concerto, he set an unidentified chorale stanza in which the suppliant beseeches Christ for eternal life:

O frommer Gott, Herr Jesu Christ,
weil du sogar barmhertzig bist,
ich bitte dich demütiglich,
mit deinem Trost erquicke mich,
gib mir nach diesem Creutz und Leid,
die ewige Frewd und Seligkeit.

O gentle God, Lord Jesus Christ,
because you are so merciful,
I beg you most humbly,
revive me with your comfort,
give me, after this affliction and suffering,
eternal joy and blessedness.

But Hammerschmidt also included a setting of a prayer, »O Jesu mein Wuntsch«, in which the formulation of the exhortation to Christ also recalls the long chains of superlatives found so commonly in the *Manuale* and *Meditationes*¹⁰⁸.

105 See the text and translation above.

106 Further reprints appeared in 1651 and 1659.

107 »O Herr Jesu Christe, wenn ich nur dich habe«.

108 Compare the following passage from the *Meditationes*, ch. 37 (»Precatio ad Christum Dei desiderio flagrans«): »Dulcissime, benignissime, amantissime, charissime, pretiosissime, desiderantissime, amabilissime, pulcherrime, ascendisti in coelum cum triumpho gloriae, sedes ad dexteram Patris«; MPL 40, col. 933.

Andreas Hammerschmidt, »O Jesu mein Wuntsch« (*Musicalischer Andacht Erster Theil*, 1638)

O Jesu mein Wuntsch, mein Heil, mein Leben, mein Trost, meine Frewde, meine Zuversicht, O Jesu, ich preise dich, du Gnadenkönig, daß du alles was zu meiner Seelen Seeligkeit von Nöthen ist, vollbracht hast, Alleluja.	O Jesus, my desire, my salvation, my life, my comfort, my joy, my confidence; O Jesus, I praise you, you King of grace, that you have accomplished everything that is necessary for the salvation of my soul, hallelujah.
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Did the content of these volumes from Hammerschmidt and the anonymous Nordhausen editor(s) inspire Schütz to increase the number of devotional settings in his second collection of *Kleine geistliche Konzerte*? In this volume, which appeared in 1639, such prayers now constitute more than a fifth of the total content. Here Schütz again set texts from the *Meditationes* and *Soliloquia*, now often in German translations, and also set prayers found in other sources. But in this volume he was also one of the first to include texts that draw upon multiple sources; as the century progressed, such composite texts would become quite common. For example, in »O Jesu, nomen dulce«, a deeply felt meditation on the Name of Jesus, the text opens with lines from the »Oratio ad Jesum«, but then continues with expressions that are developed primarily from the hymn »Jesu dulcis memoria«¹⁰⁹. In the third line of the text, »quid enim canitur suavius«, the text's compiler effects a seamless transition from the meditation to the hymn (see the text and its sources below)¹¹⁰.

Schütz, »O Jesu, nomen dulce«, SWV 308 (*Kleine geistliche Konzerte II*, 1639)

O Jesu, nomen dulce, nomen admirabile, nomen confortans, quid enim canitur suavius, quid auditur jucundius, quid cogitatur dulcius, quam Jesus, Dei filius. O nomen Jesu, verus animae cibus, in ore mel, in aure melos, in corde laetitia mea. Tuum itaque nomen, dulcissime Jesu, in aeternum in ore meo portabo.	O Jesus, sweet name, name full of wonder, comforting name, what more dulcet can be sung, what more pleasant can be heard, what is sweeter to contemplate than Jesus, Son of God? O name of Jesus, true food for the soul, honey in the mouth, a song in the ear, joy in my heart. Then will I, o sweetest Jesus, keep your name in my mouth for eternity. ¹¹¹
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Sources:

1. Pseudo-Bernard, »Oratio ad Jesum«: O nomen Jesu, nomen dulce: nomen Jesu, nomen *delectabile*: nomen Jesu, nomen confortans. Quid enim Jesus est, nisi Salvator?¹¹²
2. Ps. 8, 10: Domine Dominus noster, quam *admirabile* est nomen tuum in universa terra.

109 The prayer also has lines in common with Monteverdi's motet »O bone Jesu« (see text above).

110 Compare the excerpt from the »Oratio ad Jesum« to str. 2 of »Jesu dulcis memoria«.

111 English translation developed by the author from the German translation in *Heinrich Schütz: Kleine geistliche Konzerte* (Weser-Renaissance Bremen, Manfred Cordes, dir.); cpo 999 675-2, 2000.

3. »Jesu dulcis memoria«, Str. 2/2:
 Nil canitur suavius,
 nil auditur jucundius,
 nil cogitatur dulcius,
 quam Jesus Dei filius.
4. Bernard of Clairvaux, »Sermone XV super *Canticum canticorum*«, ch. 6: »Nec tantum lux est nomen Jesu, sed est et cibus«.
5. »Jesu dulcis memoria«, Str. 23/18, lines 3, 2, 4:
 in ore mel mirificum,
 in aure dulce canticum,
 in corde nectar angelicum.
6. Ps 85:12: Confitebor tibi, Domine Deus meus, *in toto corde meo* et glorificabo *nomen tuum in aeternum*.
7. Ps 88:2: Misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabo [...] veritatem tuam *in ore meo*.

Of the other devotional texts in this volume, only »Bone Jesu, verbum Patris« (SWV 313) shares its rapturous tone with »O Jesu, nomen dulce«. For the most part, however, the theme of penitence continues to dominate Schütz's textual choices, in contrast to the three prints discussed above; in »O misericordissime Jesu« (SWV 309), for example, the suppliant brings an urgent plea to Christ for the salvation of his soul:

O misericordissime Jesu,
 o dulcissime Jesu,
 o gratiosissime Jesu,
 o Jesu, salus in te sperantium,
 o Jesu, salus in te credentium,
 o Jesu, salus in te confugientium,
 o Jesu, dulcis remissio omnium peccatorum,
 o Jesu, propter nomen sanctum tuum
 salva, salva me, ne peream.
 O, o Jesu, miserere, dum tempus est miserendi,
 neque me damnes in tempore judicandi.
 Si enim admisi, unde me damnare potes,
 tu non amisisti, unde me salvare potes.
 Sis ergo mihi Jesu,
 propter hoc nomen tuum,
 et miserere mei,
 fac mihi secundum hoc nomen tuum,
 respice me miserum invocantem
 hoc nomen amabile tuum: JESUS.

O most merciful Jesus,
 o sweetest Jesus,
 o most gracious Jesus,
 o Jesus, salvation of those that put their trust in thee,
 o Jesus, salvation of those that believe in thee,
 o Jesus, salvation of those that seek refuge in thee,
 o Jesus, sweet remission of all sins,
 o Jesus, for thy blessed name's sake
 save, save me that I might not perish.
 O, o Jesus, have mercy, whilst mercy may be given,
 that I not be condemned on the Day of Judgment.
 It is my own fault that thou canst condemn me,
 yet thou cease not to save me.
 Therefore be Jesus to me
 for thy name's sake,
 and have mercy on me,
 for thy name's sake behold me,
 poor wretch, as I call upon
 thy dear name: JESUS.

112 Schütz may have drawn this text from another musical setting, or from a devotional book, such as that of Jacob Merlo Horstius (note 32); in an edition published in Cologne in 1716, the text appears on pp. 403–404. On the version of this text published by Musculus, see note 23.

After ca. 1630, Lutheran cantors also began to collect settings of Christocentric prayers in manuscript, a trend that provides further evidence of the growing Lutheran interest in »musical devotion«. In a manuscript anthology from the city of Pirna (near Dresden)¹¹³, for example, the settings of Christocentric prayers, which are predominantly works of Italian composers, show the same new intensity and mystical inclination that one finds in the prints of the 1630s. For example, this volume includes settings of the »Transfige« prayer by Bastian Miserocca and Seraphinus Patta¹¹⁴. Among the works in another Pirna manuscript, Mus. Pi 8, one finds a number of mystically-oriented prayers, including two by anonymous composers, »O amantissime, o dulcissime Jesu Christe« and »O bone Jesu, o dulcissime [Jesu]«¹¹⁵.

These prints and manuscripts of the 1630s signal the beginning of a long period of increased interest in mystical devotional texts among Lutherans, a period that lasted from around 1635 until at least 1680. Between 1640 and 1649 alone, at least sixteen prints with such content were published: six volumes of predominantly Italian motets and concertos edited by the Breslau organist Ambrosius Profe¹¹⁶, three prints of Hammerschmidt¹¹⁷, including his best seller, the *Musicalische Andachten Ader Theil*¹¹⁸, two prints of Johann Rudolf Ahle¹¹⁹, prints of Heinrich Grimm, Johann Werlin, Christoph Werner, and Johann Rosenmüller¹²⁰, and a collection from Dresden, *Varii variorum*, the work of an unidentified editor. This trend increased in the 1650s and 1660s with publications by Weiland, Havemann, Capricornus, Rosenmüller, Ranisius, Ahle, Hammerschmidt, Sartorius, Pflieger, and Jahn. In these collections, Christocentric devotional texts always constitute between fifteen and fifty percent of the content; the share reaches one hundred percent in complete settings of »Jesu dulcis memoria«, such as those by Capricornus (1660), Jahn (1664), and Kress (1680). At this same time, cantors and Kapellmeisters amassed extensive manuscript collections that included numerous motets and concertos with devotional texts, many of which were composed by Italians. One thinks, for example, of the collections of St. Michael's School in Lüneburg, and that of the court of Brandenburg-Ansbach¹²¹. And evidence of the regular

113 The manuscript is now housed in SLUB (Mus. Pi 54a, only the basso continuo part survives); see Wolfram Steude, *Die Musiksammlunghandschriften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts in der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek zu Dresden*, Wilhelmshaven 1974 (= Quellenkataloge zur Musikgeschichte 6), pp. 188–192; the manuscript also includes a copy of Schütz's *Symphoniae sacrae* I of 1629. Of the 206 pieces in the manuscript, only about four percent have devotional texts in the form of prayers addressed to Christ; far more prevalent here are settings of texts from the Song of Songs, which comprise fourteen percent of the collection.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 189 (Miserocca, »O dulcissime Jesu transfige«) and p. 190 (Patta, »Transfige dulcissime Jesu«). The latter may have been copied from Donfrid's *Promptuarium musicum* I of 1622.

115 *Ibid.*, pp. 180–183.

116 RISM B I 1641², 1641³, 1642⁴, 1646³, 1646⁴, and 1649⁶.

117 *Musicalische Andachten* II, Freiberg 1641; *Dialogi, oder Gespräche zwischen Gott, und einer gläubigen Seelen*, Dresden 1645; *Motettae, unius et duarum vocum*, Dresden 1649. Hammerschmidt's *Geistlicher Dialogen Ader Theil*, Dresden 1645, contains primarily settings of Opitz's poetic paraphrases of the Song of Songs, and is not included here.

118 To date, the author has found this print in more music collections (forty-one) than any other; it was reprinted in 1651 and 1659, and was purchased by some institutions as late as the 1670s.

119 *Harmonias protopaideumata*, Erfurt 1647, *Himmel-süsse Jesus-Freude [...] aus dem Jubilo B. Bernhardi*, Erfurt 1648.

120 Grimm, *Vestibulum Hortuli Harmonici sacri*, Braunschweig 1643 (published posthumously); Werlin, *Melismata sacra*, Nürnberg 1644; Werner, *Praemessa musicalia*, Königsberg 1646; and Rosenmüller, *Kern-Sprüche* I, Leipzig 1648.

121 Max Seiffert, *Die Chorbibliothek der St. Michaelisschule in Lüneburg zu Seb. Bach's Zeit*, in: SIMG 9 (1907–08), pp. 593–621; Richard Schaal, *Die Musikhandschriften des Anbacher Inventars von 1686*, Wilhelmshaven 1966 (= Quellenkataloge zur Musikgeschichte 1).

performance of devotional music in liturgies during the 1660s and 1670s survives from at least one Lutheran musical center, the Dresden court¹²².

Absent from these later printed collections is the emphasis on penitence, confession, and forgiveness of sins so frequently encountered earlier in the century. Instead, these collections display a firm preference for ardent expressions of unquenchable love for Christ, and the desire for His mystical presence. In this way they clearly distinguish the Lutherans of this era from their co-religionists of earlier decades. Now entirely typical are texts such as these set by Donati (and published by Profe) and Hammerschmidt¹²³:

Ignazio Donati, »Dulcis amor, Jesu« (Profe, *Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien*, 1641)¹²⁴

Dulcis amor, Jesu,	Sweet love, Jesus,
dulce bonum, dilecte mi,	sweet goodness, my beloved,
languo pro te.	I languish before you.
Sagittis tuis confige me,	Pierce me with your arrow,
moriar pro te,	that I might die for you,
O mi Jesu,	o my Jesus,
tu spes, tu lux, tu vita,	you hope, you light, you life,
tu bonitas infinita.	you infinite goodness.

Hammerschmidt, »Jesu, ach du mein allerliebster« (*Musicalischer Andachten Dritter Theil*, 1642)

Jesu, ach du mein allerliebster, bester,	Jesus, ah, you my dearest, best,
und höchster Schatz,	and highest treasure,
sey mir nahe im Gemüthe, nahe im Hertzen,	be near to me in my mind, near in my heart,
nahe im Munde, nahe im Ohren,	near in my mouth, near in my ear,
nahe in der Hülffe,	near in help,
denn ich bin krank vor Liebe.	for I am sick with love.
Jesu, ohne dich sterbe ich,	Jesus, without you I die,
wenn ich aber deiner gedencke,	but when I think of you,
werde ich lebendig.	I become alive;
Jesu, ach du Leben meiner Seelen,	Jesus, ah, you life of my soul,
wie hertzlich verlanget mich nach dir,	how I do desire you with all my heart,
wie sehn ich mich nach dir,	how I long for you,
wenn werde ich kommen,	when will I come
und vor dir erscheinen?	and appear before you?
O du meine Frewde,	O you my joy,

¹²² See below.

¹²³ One body of repertoire does represent an exception to this partiality toward mystical prayers, however: settings of de-Marianized texts (in particular the Marian antiphons) that appear in seventeenth-century manuscript collections, whose texts are somewhat more penitential in nature. Overall these account for about ten percent of the devotional repertoire. See Frandsen (note 4), pp. 182–197.

¹²⁴ From Donati's *Motetti in concerto* (Venice 1616; reprinted 1622, 1626); see Kristin M. Sponheim, *The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661) and the Transmission of Italian Music in Germany*, Ph. D. Diss. Yale University 1995, p. 231.

warumb verbirgestu dein Antlitz vor mir,
dessen ich doch so hertzlich begehre?

why do you hide your face from me,
which I so desire with all my heart?

In both of these prayers one encounters the sort of rapturous language typical of Johann Arndt, particularly as found in his *Paradiß Gärtlein* (see the text below). While scholars have examined the influence of Arndt's popular prayer book on contemporary hymnody¹²⁵, its impact on sacred art music has yet to be assessed. Yet this and other texts discussed in this essay strongly suggest that the anonymous authors of these prayers drew upon both the style and the font of ideas in Arndt's collection, which was itself influenced by various medieval mystical texts.

O Jesus Christ, my love, my joy, my light, my salvation, my ornament, my king, my shepherd, my bridegroom, my eternal high priest, my life, my wisdom, my peace and tranquillity, my soul, my righteousness, my sanctification, my salvation, my offering, my advocate, my throne of grace, my own mediator, my own helper in time of need, my own hope, my highest treasure, my strong protection, and my own refuge, how shall I worthily praise you? [...] Come, my joy, into my heart, and delight me; come, you comfort of all the nations, and comfort me; come, my love, and revive me; come, my life, and strengthen me; come, my light, and enlighten me; come, my sweetness, that I might taste your pleasantness; come, you beautiful, precious figure, that I might see you; come, my loveliness, that I might hear you; come, you noble flower, that I might smell you [...]. O you ever-blooming rose, o you paradise of all sacred, heavenly bliss; o you most sweet fruit from the pleasure garden of God, let me taste you forever; kiss me with the kiss of your mouth [...].¹²⁶

The prominence of mystical prayers such as these set by Donati and Hammerschmidt in a repertoire whose primary performance venue was the Lutheran liturgy raises important questions about the role of private devotion in general, and mystical devotion in particular, in public worship services at this time. In this regard, a consideration of common musico-liturgical practices together with the content of various devotional books reveals some potential associations that are ripe for exploration. A number of seventeenth-century theologians, for example, exhorted Lutherans to meditate during church services, particularly before and after the sermon and during the distribution of Holy Communion¹²⁷. And Nicolai,

125 Patrice Veit (note 103, pp. 210–211), for example, points out that the prayers in Arndt's *Paradiß Gärtlein* served as models for »countless« hymns.

126 Johann Arndt, *Paradiß Gärtlein*, Magdeburg 1615, pp. 651–652, »In praise of our Lord Jesus Christ because of his love and blessings« (»Ein Lob vnsers HErrn JESu Christi / wegen seiner Liebe vnd Wolthaten«). German Text: »O Jesu Christe, meine Liebe, meine Frewde, mein Liecht, mein Heyl, mein Schmuck, mein König, mein Hirte, mein Breutgam, mein ewiger Hoherpriester, mein Leben, meine Weißheit, mein Friede vnd Ruhe meiner Seelen, meine Gerechtigkeit, meine Heiligung, meine Erlösung, mein Opffer, mein Fürsprecher, mein Gnadenthron, mein einiger Mittler, mein einiger Nohthelffer, mein einige Hoffnung, mein höchster Schatz, mein starcker Schutz, vnd einige Zuflucht, wie sol ich dich wirdiglich loben? [...]. Kom meine Frewde, in mein Hertz, vnnd erfrew mich, kom du Trost aller Heyden, vnd tröste mich, kom meine Liebe vnnd erquicke mich, kom mein Leben vnd stercke mich, kom mein Liecht vnnd erleuchte mich, kom meine Süßigkeit, daß ich deine freundlichkeit schmecke, kom du schöne edle Gestalt, daß ich dich sehe, kom meine lieblichkeit, das ich dich höre, komm du edle Blume, daß ich rieche, [...]. O du immerblüende Rose, O du Paradiß aller Geistlichen Himlischen Wollust, O du aller süsseste Frucht aus dem Lustgärtlein Gottes, laß mich dich ewig schmecken, küsse mich mit dem Kuß deines Mundes [...].«

127 See Sträter (note 85), pp. 57–58, 70, 80–81, 87–93.

Arndt, and Gerhard all identified the sermon (the preaching of the Word) and Holy Communion as the principal loci of mystical union¹²⁸. Quite strikingly, these are the precise liturgical junctures at which sacred art music was performed in many Lutheran churches. While the types of records that could establish whether devotional music was presented at these points in the liturgy generally do not survive (if they ever existed), the frequent performance of such works, often with mystical content, in the context of the Gospel and sermon can be documented for a slightly later period in at least one prominent Lutheran chapel, that of the Saxon court in Dresden¹²⁹. For most locations, however, one must rely on the ownership of devotional music, as reported in inventories, as a potential indicator of its use in liturgies.

At the same time that Lutheran musical interest in mystical prayers to Christ began to surge, however, Schütz seems to have retreated from texts of this nature, and turned back to scripture for his important and well-received collections of the late 1640s. Outside of three compositions that appeared in anthologies published by Profe, including his devotional concerto »O du allersüßester und liebster Herr Jesu«, Schütz did not publish any music between 1639 and 1647. And when he reentered the market in the late 1640s with his *Symphoniae sacrae* II of 1647 and *Geistliche Chormusik* of 1648, both of which were very successful, he included no settings of Christocentric prayers. Thus after 1639, Schütz appears to have largely withdrawn from the front ranks of a new and important development in Lutheran music, despite the burgeoning market for such compositions. During the decade of the 1640s, the prints of Hammerschmidt and other composers sold extremely well, as did the anthologies of Profe; all aroused significant interest among cantors and Kapellmeisters. But Schütz apparently opted not to take advantage of this trend, a decision that is both noteworthy and difficult to explain.

In the third part of his *Symphoniae sacrae* (1650) and in the *Zwölf geistliche Gesänge* (1656; edited by Christoph Kittel), however, Schütz made a few additional contributions to the repertoire of devotional music with three settings of stanzas from different German poetic paraphrases of »Jesu dulcis memoria«. In the view of Blankenburg, these later works demonstrate that »Schütz never completely escaped the burning intensity and ardor of such piety, as it is reflected in the *Cantiones sacrae*, even if he became more serene and sober with age«¹³⁰. Blankenburg's observation is particularly well borne out in the piece that represents Schütz's final return to the realm of Christocentric devotion, his sublime late motet, »O bone Jesu, fili Mariae Virginis« (SWV 471), composed sometime after 1660¹³¹. The text, a compilation of excerpts from various sources that include the hymn »Jesu dulcis memoria«, the *Manuale* and *Meditationes*, the »Transfige«, and other mystical prayers, stands as a miniature compendium of devotional thought¹³². In light of its late date of composition, complex text, fervent manner of expression, stylistic

128 See Steiger (note 15), pp. 74–75, 88–90, 101–102 and pass.; van Elferen (note 5), pp. 192–208 and pass.

129 See Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden*, New York 2006, pp. 419–432. Orders of worship for the court chapel from the 1660s and 1670s (found in court diaries) reveal that twenty to thirty percent of the morning services throughout the year included at least one sacred concerto (out of a possible two) with a devotional, often mystical text; these percentages increased slightly during the Trinity season. In addition, compositions with devotional texts were frequently performed at Vespers on feast days.

130 Blankenburg (note 31), p. 67: »Vorstellen kann man sich nun aber gut, daß Schütz von der glühenden Intensität und Inbrunst solcher Frömmigkeit, wie sie die *Cantiones sacrae* widerspiegeln, nie wieder völlig losgekommen ist, auch wenn er beim Älterwerden abgeklärter und nüchterner wurde.«

131 Bruno Grusnick dated the piece, which is found in the Düben collection, to ca. 1664; see *Die Dübensammlung: Ein Versuch ihrer chronologischen Ordnung*, in: *STMf* 46 (1964), pp. 27–82, here p. 53.

132 In this manner is the text not unlike the devotional texts set by Albrici and Peranda that were so popular at the

variety, and musical splendor, one might easily regard »O bone Jesu« as the culmination of Schütz's life work in this area – perhaps as his »devotional swan song«.

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In these musical realizations of Christocentric prayers, Lutheran composers and anthologists, like the hymn-writers of the period, responded to new directions and developments in Lutheran spirituality. The musical consequences of this response came to constitute an extensive repertoire of devotional music, the nature of which raises a host of complex and intriguing questions. For example, what factors might explain the long period of gestation between the introduction of mystical texts in Lutheran devotional literature and their first appearance in music? Why did Lutheran composers focus so exclusively on prayers to Christ, which form only one portion of the body of prayers found in the devotional books¹³³? Why did they first explore more penitential prayers, and then turn their attention to those with more overtly mystical content, and why did this shift occur in the 1630s? Were these devotional texts cultivated more heavily in courts than in schools and city churches? Did they enjoy more popularity in some Lutheran regions than others? Given the period in which this repertoire began to emerge, one also wonders how its appearance might relate to the protracted war that gripped the region. At first glance, the connection between the two phenomena appears elusive, as an attempt to map the patterns detected in the musical repertoire onto historical events reveals: settings of penitential prayers begin to appear about fifteen years before the outbreak of the war, and the new attention to mystical prayers begins during some of the war's worst years, when one might expect to see an increased focus on penitence and supplication¹³⁴. And finally, how well did Lutheran lay people – including composers – understand the Lutheran interpretation of mysticism and mystical union, which differed in certain respects from the traditional Catholic understanding? Are all of the texts in Lutheran circulation – whether set by Lutherans or by Catholics – compatible with this interpretation¹³⁵? To what extent were Lutheran composers influenced by the musical approaches of Italian composers, particularly in the setting of devotional texts, and do the settings of mystical texts by the former differ appreciably from those of the latter¹³⁶? These are just some of the fascinating questions to be addressed in a longer study of this repertoire.

Dresden court at this time; see Mary E. Frandsen, »Schütz and the Young Italians at the Dresden Court« *Revisited: Roman Influences in »O bone Jesu, fili Mariae virginis« (SWV 471)*, in: *SJb* 26 (2004), pp. 133–154.

133 This stress may well be related to the stress seen in contemporary prayer books. Baumann-Koch (note 7, p. 100) points out that Musculus's collections have a distinct Christological focus, and include more prayers to Christ than to God or the Holy Spirit; the chapter devoted to Passion prayers is the longest section in both his Latin and German prayer book.

134 This contrasts with sermons of the war years, which frequently focused on penance; see Sträter (note 85), pp. 80–81. On the relationship between Lutheran hymnody and the impact of the war and other crises (climate, agricultural, etc.) on the population, see Hans-Georg Kemper, *Das lutherische Kirchenlied in der Krisen-Zeit des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: Dürr and Killy (note 46), pp. 87–108.

135 See, for example, »O Amor qui semper ardes« by Samuel Capricornus (*Theatrum musicum* I, 1669) and Axmacher's (note 13, pp. 14–23) discussion of Moller's Lutheran interpretation of this text (drawn from the pseudo-Augustinian *Manuale*). Similarly, see the settings of »Amo te, Deus meus« by Johann Rosenmüller (*Andere Kern-Sprüche*, 1652–1653) and David Pohle (S-Uu 82:35/6) and Baumann-Koch's (note 7, pp. 128–129) discussion of the distance between this text (which is drawn from the pseudo-Augustinian *Meditationes*) and Lutheran theological precepts.

136 Recently van Elferen (note 5, pp. 231–263) has argued that Lutherans attempted to convey aspects of the Lutheran understanding of mystical union in their own settings, and analyzes some works of Schütz, Schein, and Buxtehude from this perspective.

Although these musical settings of Christocentric prayers never formed the majority of works in Lutheran use during the seventeenth century, they did command a healthy share of the market, and regularly appeared in prints and manuscript collections alongside musical realizations of more traditional texts. And just as not all theologians shared the same level of enthusiasm for medieval mystics as did a number of their colleagues, not all composers elected to engage musically with this Christocentric prayer literature¹³⁷. Those who stood apart from this sort of devotional repertoire, however, may still have viewed their settings of scripture and chorales as musical responses to Lutheran piety, and thus their works should be viewed as contributions to the same basic enterprise¹³⁸. But it was the prayer settings of Franck, Schütz, Hammerschmidt, and their contemporaries that forged the closest musical connection with the Lutheran piety movement, and that laid the groundwork for the musical engagement with devotional texts throughout the century.

137 In the period under discussion here, these include Melchior Vulpius, Michael Praetorius, Christoph Demantius, Johann Crüger (in his figural music; his hymnal *Praxis pietatis melica*, however, included much new devotional hymnody), Schein, Scheidt, Michael Lohr, Tobias Michael, Thomas Selle, Johann Vierdanck, and others. For a discussion of a popular prayer book that does not betray the influence of medieval mysticism, Johann Habermann's *Christliche Gebette für allerley Not und Stende*, Wittenberg 1567, see Christopher Boyd Brown, *Devotional Life in Hymns, Liturgy, Music, and Prayer*, in: Robert Kolb (ed.), *Lutheran Ecclesiastical Culture 1550–1675*, Leiden 2008, pp. 205–258, here pp. 247–253.

138 On this subject see Janette Tilley, *Gospel Settings in Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Germany: Meditation in the Service of Musical Homiletics*, in: *SJb* 31 (2009), pp. 147–163, and *Meditation and Consolatory Soul-God Dialogues in Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Germany*, in: *ML* 88 (2007), pp. 436–457.