

Observations on the texts in Latin intoned by Heinrich Schütz

The devotional prayer »O bone Iesu«

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Heinrich Schütz composed important pieces of music on sacred and liturgical Latin texts: firstly the *Cantiones sacrae*, op. 4 (SWV 53–93) of 1625 and *Symphoniae sacrae* I, op. 6 (SWV 257–276) of 1629; an anthology of chants included in the *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* II, op. 9 (SWV 306–337) of 1639 and single tunes which appeared in anthologies, or as single texts, are also in Latin. Similarly to the output of other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors in Catholic as well as in Protestant countries, these texts, especially the ones which do not come from the Bible, set questions about their origin and the identification of the handwritten or printed sources used by the composer. Therefore, the compositions included in the *Cantiones sacrae* and in the *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* II must be especially considered also in relation to the tradition, and the processes through which it consolidated and spread itself, the way it was received and possibly adapted to the specific needs of musicians and different religious creeds.

The *Cantiones sacrae quatuor vocum cum basso ad organum*, published in 1625 and dedicated to prince Johann Ulrich von Eggenberg, are a collection of forty motets in Latin¹. The scholars who so far have paid attention to these compositions, have pointed to the *Sacra Biblia*, the psalms in particular, and to the *Precationes*, collected by the Lutheran theologian Andreas Musculus in a book of prayers destined to private worship, published in 1559, and then, repropoed in various subsequent editions², as the main sources of the text. According to Ferruccio Civra about half of the texts might have been taken from the Bible and the other half »ex veteribus orthodoxis doctoribus«, from the Catholic office of the dead and the »table prayers«³. Andreas Musculus, the curator of *Precationes*, thought he had mainly chosen texts belonging to St Augustine's writings, especially the *Meditationes*, the *Soliloquia*, or the *Manuale*, then ascribed to the Bishop from Ippona, but now correctly classified as pseudo-Augustine works⁴. In reality, the most recent research has led to modifying sensibly the pattern of attributions, since several textual correspondences have been found with later patristic sources, in particular the writings of the eleventh and twelfth centuries by Anselm from Aosta, Hugh of St Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux and John of Fécamp⁵.

1 Heinrich Schütz, *Cantiones sacrae 1625. Lateinische Motetten für vier Stimmen und Basso continuo*, Neuausgabe von Heide Volckmar-Waschk, Kassel etc. 2004 (=NSA 81/9), pp. 3–12.

2 *Precationes ex veteribus orthodoxis doctoribus. Ex Ecclesiae hymnis & canticis. Ex psalmis denique Davidis collectae & in certos locos digestae*, Frankfurt/Oder 1559. In reality, the first edition of the book of prayers collected by Musculus was published in Frankfurt/Oder in 1553 with the title *Precandi formulae piae et selectae ex veterum Ecclesiae sanctorum doctorum scriptis purissime congestae*.

3 Ferruccio Civra, *Heinrich Schütz*, Palermo 2004, p. 149, indicates the origin of the texts as follows: *Biblia sacra*, nn. 3, 9–12, 14–16, 19, 20, 26–29, 33–35; *Precationes*, nn. 1, 2, 4–8, 17, 21–25, 30–32; Catholic office of the dead, n. 13; Table Prayers, nn. 36–40; of uncertain origin, n. 18.

4 See Robert Kolb, *The Fathers in the Service of Lutheran Teaching. Andreas Musculus' Use of Patristic Sources*, in: Leif Grane, Alfred Schindler, Markus Wriedt (eds.), *Auctoritas patrum* II. *Neue Beiträge zur Rezeption der Kirchenväter im*

Schütz used the *Meditationes* and *Soliloquia* also in the *Anderer Theil Kleiner geistlichen Concerten mit 1.2.3.4. und 5. Stimmen Sambt beygefügetem Basso Continuo vor die Orgel*, published in 1639 and dedicated to prince Frederick III of Denmark, even though in this collection borrowings from the psalms, hymns and passages of the New Testament (Gospel and Letters)⁶ prevail. In the passages in Latin, instead, he inserted devotional prayers built by combining sentences and phrases from texts by different authors: Bernard of Clairvaux, pseudo-Bernard, psalms, the hymn *Iesu dulcis memoria* and prayers contained in the textbook *Paradisus animae christianae*, published in 1630 by the Catholic priest Jacobus Merlo Horstius, and then continuously republished until well into the nineteenth century⁷.

In the *Cantiones sacrae* and the *Kleine geistliche Konzerte II* the intonations of some sentences and incidental sentences extracted from the devotional prayer *O bone Iesu* get a special meaning. The prayer enjoyed wide popularity from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. In fact, the events marking the birth and evolution of this *pia oratio* exemplify how the text was received and transformed by the musicians who intoned it polyphonically throughout the centuries. Heinrich Schütz, in his turn, used a section of the prayer to intone the motet opening the *Cantiones sacrae*, the first part of which (SWV 53) is so formulated:

O bone, o dulcis, o benigne Iesu, te deprecor per illum tuum sanguinem pretiosum, quem pro nobis miseris effundere dignatus es in ara crucis, ut abjicias omnes iniquitates meas.

Whereas the *secunda pars* (SWV 54) continues like this:

Et ne despicias humiliter te penitentem, et hoc nomen tuum sanctissimum Iesus invocantem.

Schütz evoked the text of *Oratio ad Iesum* by inserting some adjectives and phrases in other motets of *Cantiones sacrae*, for example »dulcissime« and »amantissime« (SWV 56), »dulcissime« and »benignissime« (SWV 67), »hominum dulcis amator« (SWV 69), »piissimum filium« (SWV 73) and »nomen sanctum tuum, rex Criste fili Mariae« (SWV 77). The invocation »o bone Iesu, fili Mariae virginis, plene misericordia et pietate« is also the incipit of a subsequent composition with four voices and instruments (SWV 471), which continues later with a series of strophes of the pseudo-Bernardinian hymn *Iesu dulcis memoria*⁸. Broad excerpts of the devotional text are used in two of the *Kleine geistliche Konzerte II*, the composi-

15. und 16. Jahrhundert, Mainz 1998 (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, Beihefte 44), pp. 105–123.

5 See Paul Althaus, *Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur*, Gütersloh 1927; Angela Baumann-Koch, *Frühe lutherische Gebetsliteratur bei Andreas Musculus und Daniel Cramer*, Frankfurt/Main 2001 (= Europäische Hochschulschriften, 231/725); eadem, *Zur Rezeption patristischer Texte in den Gebetbüchern des Andreas Musculus*, in Ferdinand van Ingen, Cornelia Niekus Moore (eds.), *Gebetsliteratur der frühen Neuzeit als Hausfrömmigkeit. Funktionen und Formen in Deutschland und den Niederlanden*, Wiesbaden 2001 (= Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 92), pp. 227–258; Civra (footnote 3), pp. 149–153.

6 Heinrich Schütz, *Kleine geistliche Konzerte 1636/1639*, Abteilung 1: *Konzerte für Frauen- und Männerstimmen*, hrsg. von Wilhelm Ehmann und Hans Hoffmann, Kassel etc. 1963 (= NSA 10/1), p. XI.

7 *Paradisus animae christianae, Lectissimis omnigenae Pietatis delitiis amoenus: Studio et opera Iacobi Merlo Horstii Ecclesiae B. Mariae Virg. in Pasculo pastoris*, Köln 1630. The other consulted editions date from 1644, 1649, 1651, 1654, 1666, 1675, 1679 and 1698. See Mary E. Frandsen, *Music and Lutheran Devotion in the Schütz Era*, in *SJb* 33 (2011), pp. 41–73, here pp. 56–57, 66–67.

8 See Mary E. Frandsen, »Schütz and the young Italians at the Dresden court« revisited: Roman influences in »O bone Iesu, fili Mariae virginis« (SWV 471), in: *SJb* 26 (2004), pp. 133–154, here pp. 136–138.

tions for Tenor and basso continuo »O Iesu nomen dulce, nomen admirabilem, nomen confortans« (SWV 308), and, especially, »O misericordissime Iesu« (SWV 309):

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

In spite of recent contributions by various scholars, Heide Volckmar-Waschk and Mary E. Frandsen in particular, there has not been an orderly analysis yet, which has reconstructed the whole origin of this text, while both the recognition and the collation of the sources, which would be useful to find similarities and differences, are still incomplete⁹. Therefore, if we wish to reestablish the real identity of the *pia oratio*, research must restart from the testimonies of *Oratio ad Iesum*, which Schütz used, because the musician knew and used two different versions: one which ended in the *Precationes* by Andreas Musculus, who attributed the text to St Bernard, and the other which ended in *Paradisus animae christianae* by Jacobus Merlo Horstius. The recapitulatory reading of the two versions is the basis to start an assessment which will enable to clarify the degree of similarity between the different lessons, the reciprocal relationships and the possible presence of elements of contamination. On the basis of the outcomes obtained, by going backwards it might be possible to identify and collect the sources to reconstruct the path of the double tradition of the text, until the compositions by Heinrich Schütz.

Table 1: The text of the *Oratio ad Iesum* according to the first printed edition of the two manuals edited by Andreas Musculus and Jacobus Merlo Horstius¹⁰

Andreas Musculus, <i>Precationes ex veteribus orthodoxis doctoribus</i> , 1559, cc. 15 ^r –16 ^v	Jacobus Merlo Horstius, <i>Paradisus animae christianae</i> , 1630, pp. 581–582
Bernardus O bone Iesu, o dulcis Iesu, o Iesu fili Mariae virginis, plenus misericordia et veritate, o dulcis Iesu miserere mei secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. O benigne Iesu, te deprecor per illum sanguinem tuum pretiosum, quem pro nobis miseris peccatoribus effundere dignatus es <i>in ara crucis</i> , ut abicias omnes iniquitates meas et ne despicias humiliter te petentem, et hoc nomen <i>tuum sanctissimum</i> Iesus invocantem.	Oratio ad Iesum O bone Iesu, o <i>piissime</i> Iesu, o <i>dulcissime</i> Iesu, o Iesu fili Mariae virginis, <i>plene</i> misericordia et <i>pietate</i> , o dulcis Iesu secundum magnam misericordiam tuam <i>miserere mei</i> . O <i>clementissime</i> Iesu, deprecor <i>te</i> per illum sanguinem pretiosum, quem pro nobis miseris peccatoribus effundere <i>voluisti</i> , ut <i>abluas</i> omnes iniquitates meas et <i>in me respicias miserum et indignum</i> humiliter <i>veniam</i> petentem, et hoc nomen Iesu invocantem.

⁹ See Heide Volckmar-Waschk, *Die »Cantiones sacrae« von Heinrich Schütz. Entstehung, Texte, Analysen*, Kassel etc. 2001; Frandsen (footnote 8), pp. 136–138; eadem, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries. The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden*, Oxford 2006, pp. 121–122, 251–269; eadem (footnote 7), pp. 56–57, 66–67.

¹⁰ In column 1 the words and incidental phrases missing in Horstius's version are in italics. In column 2, instead, variations from, and additions to the version handed down by Musculus are in italics.

Hoc nomen Iesus, nomen dulce est; hoc nomen Iesus, nomen salutare est: quid est enim Iesus nisi salvator? O bone Iesu, qui me creasti et redemisti tuo proprio sanguine, ne permittas me damnari quem ex nihilo creasti.

O bone Iesu, ne perdat me iniquitas mea, quem fecit omnipotens bonitas tua. O bone Iesu, recognosce quod tuum est *in me* et absterge quod alienum est *a me*.

O bone Iesu, miserere mei dum tempus est miserendi, ne perdas me in tempore tui tremendi iudicii.

O bone Iesu, si merui miser peccator de vera tua iustitia poenam aeternam pro peccatis meis gravissimis, adhuc appello, confisus de tua iusticia vera, ad tuam misericordiam ineffabilem itaque misereberis mei, ut pius pater et misericors dominus.

O bone Iesu, quae enim utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendero in corruptionem aeternam? Non enim mortui laudabunt te, domine, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum.

O misericordissime Iesu, *miserere mei*.

O dulcissime Iesu, *libera me*. O piissime Iesu, *propitius esto mihi peccatori*.

O Iesu, admitte me *miserum peccatorem* inter numerum electorum tuorum. O Iesu, salus in te sperantium.

O Iesu, salus in te credentium, *miserere mei*. O Iesu dulcis, remissio omnium peccatorum *meorum*.

O Iesu, fili virginis Mariae, infunde in me gratiam tuam, sapientiam, charitatem, castitatem et humilitatem, *ac etiam in omnibus adversitatibus meis patientiam sanctam*, ut possim te perferre, diligere et in te gloriari ac delectari in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

O nomen Iesu, nomen dulce; nomen Iesu, nomen *delectabile*; nomen Iesu, nomen *confortans*: quid enim Iesus est nisi salvator? Ergo Iesu propter nomen sanctum tuum esto mihi Iesus et salva me: ne permittas me damnari quem *de nihilo* creasti.

O bone Iesu, ne perdat me iniquitas mea, quem fecit omnipotens bonitas tua. O *dulcis* Iesu, recognosce quod tuum est et absterge quod *tuum non est*.

O *benignissime* Iesu, miserere mei dum tempus est miserendi, ne *damnes* me in tempore *iudicandi*.

Quae utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendero in aeternam *corruptionem*? Non mortui laudabunt te, domine *Iesu*, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum.

O *amantissime* Iesu, o *desideratissime* Iesu, o *mitissime* Iesu.

O Iesu, *Iesu, Iesu*, admitte me *intrare in numerum electorum tuorum*. O Iesu, salus in te *credentium*.

O Iesu, *solatium ad te confugientium*. O Iesu, dulcis remissio omnium peccatorum!

O Iesu fili Mariae *virginis*, infunde in me gratiam, sapientiam, charitatem, castitatem, humilitatem, ut possim te *perfecte diligere, te laudare, te perfrui, tibi servire* et in te gloriari *et omnes qui invocant nomen tuum, quod est Iesu*. Amen.

In the wake of a study of 1927 by Hope Emily Allen¹¹, and after consulting a remarkable series of English and French handwritten sources of the fifteenth century, the Books of Hours in particular, in 1944 André Wilmart eventually proved that a meaningful portion of the devotional text comes from the final section of the *Meditatio ad concitandum timorem* by the Bishop of Canterbury Anselm from Aosta (1033/1034–1109)¹². To confirm his discovery, Wilmar compared the relevant part of the text by Anselm with *Oracio devota ad Christum Iesum*, copied in Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII of the British Library, coming from the Carthusian monastery of Sheen, near London, founded in 1441. In his edition Wilmart pointed out also the variations to the text of the *Oracio* appearing respectively in the version of Cotton. Vesp. Ms. E.1

11 Hope Emily Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography*, New York 1927 (= The Modern Language Association of America, Monograph Series 3).

12 André Wilmart, *Le «Jubilus» dit de Saint Bernard (étude avec textes)*, Rome 1944, pp. 264–268. See MPL 158, coll. 722–725. The text is also reproduced in Anselmo d'Aosta, *Orazioni e Meditazioni, con analisi e commento di Costante Marabelli*, Milan 1997, pp. 428–441.

of the same library and in the one of Ms. 39 of Douai, which also comes from Sheen. The following chart allows to check to which extent the text of the meditation by Anselm was received, adapted and widened in Sheen manuscript.

Table 2: The conclusive section of *Meditatio ad concitandum timorem* by Anselm from Aosta and *Oratio ad Iesum* according to the version of Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII (Wilmart's transcription)¹³

Anselm from Aosta, <i>Meditatio ad concitandum timorem</i> ¹⁴	London, British Library, Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII (sec. XV), f. 181
	Oratio
Iam ipse est, iam ipse est Iesus. Ipse idem est iudex, inter cuius manus tremo.	O bone Iesu. O piissime Iesu. O dulcissime Iesu.
Respira iam, o peccator; respira, ne desperes.	O Iesu fili summi dei patris. O Iesu fili Mariae virginis, plenus misericordia et pietate.
Spera in eo quem times. Affuge ad eum a quo aufugisti.	O dulcissime Iesu secundum magnam misericordiam tuam miserere mei.
Invoca importune quem superbe provocasti.	O clementissime Iesu, deprecor te per illum sanguinem tuum pretiosum, quem pro peccatoribus effundere voluisti, ut abluas iniquitatem meam et in me respicias miserum et indignum humiliter petentem, et hoc nomen Iesu invocantem.
Iesu, Iesu, propter hoc nomen tuum fac mihi secundum hoc nomen tuum.	O nomen Iesu, nomen dulce ; nomen Iesu, nomen delectabile ; nomen Iesu, nomen confortans .
Iesu, Iesu, obliviscere superbum provocantem, respice miserum invocantem.	Quis est enim Iesus nisi salvator?
Nomen dulce, nomen delectabile, nomen confortans peccatorem et beatae spei!	Ergo Iesu propter nomen tuum salva me ne peream ; et qui plasmasti me et redemisti me, ne permittas me dampnare quem tu ex nichilo creasti.
Quid enim est Iesus nisi salvator?	O bone Iesu, ne perdat me iniquitas mea.
Ergo Iesu, propter temetipsum esto mihi Iesus.	Rogo te, piissime Iesu, ne perdas me quem fecit omnipotens bonitas tua.
Qui me plamasti, ne peream . Qui redemisti , ne condemnes. Qui me creasti tua bonitate, ne pereat opus tuum mea iniquitate.	O dulcissime Iesu, recognoscere quod tuum est et absterge quod alienum est .
Rogo, piissime, ne perdat mea iniquitas quod fecit tua omnipotens bonitas .	O benignissime Iesu, miserere mei dum tempus est miserendi, ne dampnes me in tempore iudicandi .
Recognosce, benignissime, quod tuum est et absterge quod alienum est .	Que utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendero in eternam corruptionem?
Iesu, Iesu, miserere dum tempus est miserendi, ne damnes in tempore iudicandi.	Neque mortui laudabunt te, bone Iesu, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum .
Quae namque tibi utilitas in sanguine meo, si descendero in aeternam corruptionem?	
Necque enim mortui laudabunt te, Domine, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum .	O amantissime Iesu, o desideratissime Iesu, o mitissime Iesu, admitte me intrare in numerum electorum tuorum .
Si me admiseris intra latissimum tuae misericordiae sinum, non erit angustior propter me, Domine.	O Iesu, salus in te credentium. O Iesu, amor in te sperantium. O Iesu, solatium ad te confugiendum.
Admitte ergo, o desideratissime Iesu, admitte me intra numerum electorum tuorum ,	O Iesu, dulcis remissio omnium peccatorum!

13 The correspondences are in bold type.

14 See Anselmo d'Aosta (footnote 12), pp. 438–440.

ut cum illis te laudem, te perfruar et glorier in te inter omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto gloriaris per interminata saecula. Amen.

O Iesu, eterna sapiencia, infunde in me gratiam, sapienciam et caritatem, ut te possim perfecte diligere, te laudare, te perfrui, tibi servire et in te gloriar inter omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum, quod est Iesus, benedictum in secula seculorum. Amen.

The next two charts, instead, permit to check the versions whereby the text of the *Oracio* of Sheen (transmitted by Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII) was respectively adopted by Musculus and Horstius.

Table 3: The text of *Oratio ad Iesum* according to the version of Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII (Wilmart's transcription) and the printed version of the *Precationes* by Andreas Musculus¹⁵

London, British Library, Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII (sec. XV), f. 181	Andreas Musculus, <i>Precationes ex veteribus orthodoxis doctoribus</i> , 1559, cc. 15 ^r –16 ^v
<p>Oracio</p> <p>O bone Iesu. <i>O piissime Iesu. O dulcissime Iesu.</i></p> <p>O Iesu <i>fili summi dei patris.</i> O Iesu filii Mariae virginis, plenus misericordia et pietate.</p> <p>O dulcissime Iesu secundum magnum misericordiam tuam miserere mei.</p> <p>O clementissime Iesu, deprecor te per illum sanguinem tuum pretiosum, quem pro peccatoribus effundere voluisti, ut abluas iniquitatem meam et in me respicias <i>miserum et indignum</i> humiliter petentem, et hoc nomen Iesu invocantem.</p> <p>O nomen Iesu, nomen dulce; nomen Iesu, nomen delectabile; <i>nomen Iesu, nomen confortans.</i></p> <p>Quis est enim Iesus nisi salvator?</p> <p>Ergo Iesu <i>propter nomen tuum salva me ne peream;</i> et qui plasmasti me et redemisti <i>me</i>, ne permittas me dampnare quem <i>tu</i> ex nichilo creasti.</p> <p>O bone Iesu, ne perdat me iniquitas mea. <i>Rogo te, piissime Iesu, ne perdas me quam fecit omnipotens bonitas tua.</i></p> <p>O dulcissime Iesu, recognoscere quod tuum est et absterge quod alienum est.</p> <p>O benignissime Iesu, miserere mei dum tempus est miserendi, ne dampnes me in tempore iudicandi.</p>	<p>Bernardus</p> <p>O bone Iesu, o <i>dulcis</i> Iesu.</p> <p>O Iesu filii Mariae virginis, plenus misericordia et <i>veritate.</i></p> <p>O <i>dulcis</i> Iesu miserere mei secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.</p> <p>O <i>benigne</i> Iesu, te deprecor per illum sanguinem tuum pretiosum, quem pro <i>nobis miseris</i> peccatoribus effundere <i>dignatus es in ara crucis</i>, ut <i>abicias omnes</i> iniquitates meas et <i>ne despicias</i> humiliter <i>te</i> petentem, et hoc nomen <i>tuum sanctissimum</i> Iesus invocantem. <i>Hoc</i> nomen Iesus, nomen dulce <i>est; hoc</i> nomen Iesus, <i>nomen salutare est.</i></p> <p><i>Quid</i> est enim Iesus nisi salvator?</p> <p>O bone Iesu, qui me <i>creasti</i> et redemisti <i>tuo proprio sanguine</i>, ne permittas me damnari quem ex nichilo creasti.</p> <p>O bone Iesu, ne perdat me iniquitas mea, <i>quem</i> fecit omnipotens bonitas tua.</p> <p>O <i>bone</i> Iesu, <i>recognosce</i> quod tuum est <i>in me</i> et absterge quod alienum est <i>a me.</i></p> <p>O <i>bone</i> Iesu, miserere mei dum tempus est miserendi, <i>ne perdas</i> me in tempore <i>tui tremendi iudicii.</i></p> <p>O <i>bone Iesu, si merui miser peccator de vera tua iustitia poenam aeternam pro peccatis meis gravissimis, adhuc appello, confisus de tua iusticia vera, ad tuam misericordiam ineffabilem itaque misereberis mei, ut pius pater et misericors dominus.</i></p> <p>O <i>bone Iesu</i>, quae <i>enim</i> utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendero in corruptionem aeternam?</p>
<p>Que utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendero in eternam corrupcionem?</p>	<p>O bone Iesu, quae enim utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendero in corruptionem aeternam?</p>

¹⁵ In column 1 the words and incidental phrases missing in Musculus's version are in italics. In column 2, instead, variations from, and additions to the lesson handed down with Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII are in italics.

Neque mortui laudabunt te, bone Iesu, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum.

O amantissime Iesu, o desideratissime Iesu, o mitissime Iesu, admitte me intrare in numerum electorum tuorum.

O Iesu, salus in te credentium. O Iesu, *amor* in te sperantium. *O Iesu, solatium ad te confugiencium.* O Iesu, dulcis remissio omnium peccatorum!

O Iesu, eterna sapiencia, infunde in me gratiam, sapienciam et caritatem, ut te possim perfecte diligere, *te laudare, te perfrui, tibi servire* et in te gloriari *inter omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum, quod est Iesus, benedictum* in secula seculorum. Amen.

Non enim mortui laudabunt te, domine, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum.

O misericordissime Iesu, *miserere mei.* *O dulcissime* Iesu, *libera me.* *O piissime* Iesu, *propitius esto mihi peccatori.* O Iesu, admitte me *miserum peccatorem* inter numerum electorum tuorum.

O Iesu, salus in te sperantium. O Iesu, *salus* in te credentium, *miserere mei.* O Iesu dulcis, remissio omnium peccatorum *meorum.*

O Iesu, *fili virginis Mariae,* infunde in me gratiam *tuam,* sapienciam, charitatem, *castitatem et humilitatem, ac etiam in omnibus adversis meis patientiam sanctam,* ut possim *te perferre,* diligere et in te gloriari *ac delectari* in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Table 4: The text of *Oratio ad Iesum* according to the version of Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII (Wilmart's transcription) and the printed version of *Paradisus animae christianae* by Jacobus Merlo Horstius¹⁶

London, British Library, Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII (sec. XV), f. 181	Jacobus Merlo Horstius, <i>Paradisus animae christianae</i> , 1630, pp. 581–582
<p>Oratio</p> <p>O bone Iesu. O piissime Iesu. O dulcissime Iesu.</p> <p>O Iesu <i>fili summi dei patris.</i> O Iesu fili Mariae virginis, plenus misericordia et pietate.</p> <p>O dulcissime Iesu secundum magnum misericordiam tuam miserere mei.</p> <p>O clementissime Iesu, deprecor te per illum sanguinem <i>tuum</i> pretiosum, quem pro peccatoribus effundere voluisti, ut abluas iniquitatem meam et in me respicias miserum et indignum humiliter petentem, et hoc nomen Iesu invocantem.</p> <p>O nomen Iesu, nomen dulce; nomen Iesu, nomen delectabile; nomen Iesu, nomen confortans.</p> <p>Quis est enim Iesus nisi salvator?</p> <p>Ergo Iesu propter nomen tuum salva me <i>ne peream; et qui plasmasti me et redemisti me,</i> ne permittas me dampnare quem <i>tu</i> ex nichilo creasti.</p> <p>O bone Iesu, ne perdat me iniquitas mea. <i>Rogo te, piissime Iesu, ne perdas me quam fecit omnipotens bonitas tua.</i></p> <p>O dulcissime Iesu, recognoscere quod tuum est et absterge quod <i>alienum</i> est. O benignissime Iesu, miserere mei dum tempus est miserendi, ne dampnes me in tempore iudicandi. Que utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendero in eternam corruptionem?</p>	<p>Oratio ad Iesum</p> <p>O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu, o dulcissime Iesu, o Iesu fili Mariae virginis, <i>plene</i> misericordia et pietate.</p> <p>O <i>dulcis</i> Iesu secundum magnum misericordiam tuam miserere mei.</p> <p>O clementissime Iesu, deprecor te per illum sanguinem pretiosum, quem pro <i>nobis miseris</i> peccatoribus effundere voluisti, ut abluas <i>omnes</i> iniquitates meas et in me respicias miserum et indignum humiliter <i>veniam</i> petentem, et hoc nomen Iesu invocantem.</p> <p>O nomen Iesu, nomen dulce; nomen Iesu, nomen delectabile; nomen Iesu, nomen confortans.</p> <p><i>Quid enim</i> Iesus est nisi salvator?</p> <p>Ergo Iesu propter nomen <i>sanctum</i> tuum <i>esto mihi Iesus et</i> salva me: ne permittas me damnari quem <i>de</i> nichilo creasti.</p> <p>O bone Iesu, ne perdat me iniquitas mea, quem fecit omnipotens bonitas tua.</p> <p>O <i>dulcis</i> Iesu, <i>recognosce</i> quod tuum est et absterge quod tuum non est. O benignissime Iesu, miserere mei dum tempus est miserendi, ne damnes me in tempore iudicandi. Quae utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendero in aeternam corruptionem?</p>

¹⁶ In column 1 the words and incidental phrases missing in Horstius's version are in italics. In column 2, instead, variations from, and additions to the lesson handed down with Ms. Royal are in italics.

Neque mortui laudabunt te, bone Iesu, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum. O amantissime Iesu, o desideratissime Iesu, o mitissime Iesu, admitte me intrare in numerum electorum tuorum.

O Iesu, salus in te credentium. *O Iesu, amor in te sperantium.* O Iesu, solatium ad te confugiendum.

O Iesu, dulcis remissio omnium peccatorum!

O Iesu, eterna sapientia, infunde in me gratiam, sapientiam et caritatem, ut te possim perfecte diligere, te laudare, te perfrui, tibi servire et in te gloriari inter omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum, quod est Iesus, *benedictum in secula seculorum.* Amen.

Non mortui laudabunt te, *domine* Iesu, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum. O amantissime Iesu, o desideratissime Iesu, o mitissime Iesu, *o Iesu, Iesu, Iesu,* admitte me intrare in numerum electorum tuorum.

O Iesu, salus in te credentium. O Iesu, solatium ad te confugiendum.

O Iesu, dulcis remissio omnium peccatorum!

O Iesu *fili Mariae virginis,* infunde in me gratiam, sapientiam, charitatem, *castitatem, humilitatem,* ut possim te perfecte diligere, te laudare, te perfrui, tibi servire et in te gloriari *et omnes qui invocant* nomen tuum, quod est Iesus. Amen.

As we can observe, the version of Sheen handed down with Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII was reposed with remarkable similarity in the *Paradisus animae* by Jacobus Merlo Horstius, whereas the *Precationes* by Andreas Musculus differ sensibly in several points and different ways. Therefore it is necessary to find, when possible, the origin of the textual lines not ascribable to the meditations of Anselm from Aosta which, at the same time contributed to forming two different lessons, both appearing in repeated musical compositions. The identifications which have been possible until now can be seen in the following charts.

Table 5: The text of *Oratio ad Iesum* in the version adopted by Andreas Musculus and the relative sources¹⁷

O bone Iesu, o dulcis Iesu
o Iesu fili Mariae virginis
*plenus misericordia et veritate
miserere mei secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.*
O benigne Iesu te deprecor
per *illum sanguinem tuum pretiosum,*
quem pro nobis miseris peccatoribus effundere
dignatus es *in ara crucis*
ut *abicias omnes iniquitates meas*
et ne despicias humiliter te petentem
et *hoc nomen tuum sanctissimum Iesus invocantem.*
Hoc nomen Iesus **nomen dulce** est.

Hoc nomen Iesus *nomen salutare* est.

Quid est enim Iesus nisi salvator?

O bone Iesu **qui me creasti et redemisti**

tuo proprio sanguine

ne permittas me damnari *quem ex nihilo creasti.*

Ps. 137,2

Ps. 50,1

Or.; Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium*, XLVII,2

MR, *Missa votiva de passione*, Secreta

Ps. 50,2,11,13

Penitential Or.

Augustine, *Soliloquia*; Anselm, *Meditatio* II; Richard of St Victor, *Annotationes*; Anthony of Padua, *Sermo de Circumcisione*

Augustine, *In Ps. 51*; St Victor, *Annotationes*

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Penitential Or.

MR, *In festo Purificationis*; Augustine, *Manuale*, I, II

Hugh of St Victor, *De anima*, IV, II

¹⁷ The textual lines without a certain correspondence are in Roman type, borrowings from *Meditatio ad concitandum timorem* by Anselm from Aosta are in bold, and borrowings from other sources are in italics. Abbreviations: BR = *Breviarium Romanum*; MR = *Missale Romanum*; Or. = *oratio*; Ps. = *psalmus*.

O bone Iesu ne perdat me iniquitas mea quem fecit omnipotens bonitas tua.	Anselm, <i>Meditatio</i> II
O bone Iesu recognosce quod tuum est in me et absterge quod alienum est a me.	Anselm, <i>Meditatio</i> II
O bone Iesu miserere mei dum tempus est miserendi ne perdas me in tempore tui tremendi iudicii.	Anselm, <i>Meditatio</i> II
O bone Iesu, si merui miser peccator de vera tua iustitia poenam aeternam pro peccatis meis gravissimis adhuc appello <i>confisus de tua iusticia vera ad tuam misericordiam ineffabilem itaque</i>	Anselm, <i>Meditatio</i> II
<i>miserere mei ut pius pater et misericors dominus.</i>	Ezechiel 33,13
O bone Iesu, quae enim utilitas in sanguine meo, dum descendero in corruptionem aeternam?	Or. <i>Ineffabilem misericordiam tuam</i> ; Coronation oration; Eucharistic oration (twelfth century);
Non enim mortui laudabunt te, domine, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum.	Or. <i>Pro quacumque tribulatione</i>
<i>O misericordissime Iesu, miserere mei.</i>	Ps. 101,14; Zacharia 1,12; Augustine, <i>Confessions</i> , I,7
O dulcissime Iesu libera me.	Conclusive formula of orations and blessings; Augustine, <i>Sermo</i> 274; Pseudo-Bernard, <i>Planctus B. V.M.</i>
O piissime Iesu <i>propitius esto mihi peccatori.</i>	Anselm, <i>Meditatio</i> II
O Iesu, admitte me miserum peccatorem inter numerum electorum tuorum.	Anselm, <i>Meditatio</i> II
<i>O Iesu salus in te sperantium.</i>	Anselm, <i>Meditatio</i> II; Ps. 113,25
O Iesu <i>salus in te credentium</i> miserere mei.	Anselm, <i>Meditatio</i> II; Ps. 113,25
O Iesu dulcis <i>remissio omnium peccatorum meorum.</i>	Anselm, <i>Meditatio</i> XII
O Iesu fili virginis Mariae <i>infunde in me gratiam tuam</i> sapientiam charitatem castitatem et humilitatem ac etiam <i>in omnibus adversis meis patientiam sanctam ut possim te perferre diligere et in te gloriari ac delectari</i> in saecula saeculorum. Amen.	Luke 18,13
	Anselm, <i>Meditatio</i> II
	Anselm, <i>Meditatio</i> II
	Devotion to the Sacred Heart
	Hymn to John the Baptist; St Bonaventure, <i>Oratio</i>
	MR, prayer to consecration / communion
	BR, Orations to Praises
	St Bonaventure, <i>Diaetae salutis</i> , VII,I
	MR, <i>Gratiarum actio</i>
	Bernardine of Siena, <i>Ps. LV</i>

Table 6: The text of *Oratio ad Iesum* in the version adopted by Jacobus Merlo Horstius and the relative sources¹⁸

O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu, o dulcissime Iesu, o Iesu fili Mariae virginis, <i>plene misericordia et pietate,</i> o dulcis Iesu	Ps. 137,2
<i>secundum magnum misericordiam tuam miserere mei.</i>	Ps. 50,1

¹⁸ The textual lines without a certain correspondence are in Roman type, borrowings from *Meditatio ad concitandum timorem* by Anselmo d'Aosta are in bold, and borrowings from other sources are in italics. Abbreviations: BR = *Breviarium Romanum*; MR = *Missale Romanum*; Or. = *oratio*; Ps. = *psalmus*.

O clementissime Iesu,
deprecor te per *illum sanguinem pretiosum* quem
pro nobis miseris peccatoribus effundere voluisti
ut *abluas omnes iniquitates meas*
et in me **respicias miserum** et indignum humiliter
veniam petentem,
et *hoc nomen Iesu invocantem*.
O nomen Iesu **nomen dulce**

nomen Iesu **nomen delectabile**

nomen Iesu **nomen confortans**.

Quid enim Iesus est nisi salvator?

Ergo Iesu propter nomen sanctum tuum esto mihi
Iesus et salva me
ne permittas me damnari *quem de nihilo creasti*.

O bone Iesu ne perdat me iniquitas mea quem fecit
omnipotens bonitas tua.

O dulcis Iesu **recognosce quod tuum est et absterge**
quod tuum non est.

O benignissime Iesu miserere mei **dum tempus est**
miserendi ne damnes me in tempore iudicandi.

Quae utilitas in sanguine meo dum
descendero in aeternam corruptionem?

Non mortui laudabunt te, domine Iesu, neque
omnes qui descendunt in infernum.

O amantissime Iesu

o desideratissime Iesu

o mitissime Iesu.

O Iesu Iesu Iesu **admitte me intrare in numerum**
electorum tuorum.

O Iesu *salus in te credentium*.

O Iesu solatium ad te confugientium.

O Iesu dulcis *remissio omnium peccatorum*.

O Iesu fili Mariae virginis *infunde in me gratiam*
sapientiam charitatem castitatem humilitatem *ut*
possim

te perfecte diligere te laudare te perfrui tibi servire et
in te gloriari et omnes qui invocant **nomen tuum**,
quod est Iesus. Amen.

Or.; Augustine, *In Iohannis evangelium*, XLVII,2

Ps. 50,2,11,13

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Penitential Or.

Augustine, *Soliloquia*; Anselm, *Meditatio* II; Richard
of St Victor, *Annotationes*; Anthony of Padua, *Sermo de*
Circumcisione

Anselm, *Meditatio* II; Augustine, *De contritione*, 5;

Richard of St Victor, *Annotationes*

Anselm, *Meditatio* II; Richard of St Victor, *Annotationes*

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

MR, *In festo Purificationis*; Augustine, *Manuale*, I,II

Hugh of St Victor, *De anima*, IV,II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II; Ps. 113,25

Anselm, *Meditatio* II; Ps. 113,25

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Anselm, *Meditatio* II

Or. of blessing

MR, prayer to consecration / communion

BR, Or. to Praises

MR, *Gratiarum actio*; Anselm, *Meditatio* II

MR, *Gratiarum actio*; Anselm, *Meditatio* II

MR, *Gratiarum actio*; Anselm, *Meditatio* II

From the synoptic charts so far prepared, firstly we have to consider that Sheen's version itself, which was bequeathed with Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII and with the other sources examined by Wilmart, corresponds only partially to *Meditatio ad concitandum timorem*: neither the extensive introductory section nor the several additions inserted within the original text by Anselm from Aosta come from it. These interpolations, and those introduced in the next versions until the ones by Musculus and Horstius, stand out because

of their vocabulary and form, which were inspired by the ascesis and intimacy of the *devotio moderna*, the spiritual movement which was born in the Netherlands in the late fourteenth century, and mainly spread in Germany¹⁹. Since the Christo-centric vision characterizing that particular idea of spiritual life borrowed quite a few elements from St Bernard's mysticism (1090–1153), the *pia oratio* has often been attributed to Clairvaux founder. Actually, it is possible to establish some links for some words and invocations, as it happens with the incipit, which recalls another one already present in the treatise *De charitate* by St Bernard:

O bone Iesu, o benigne, o amabilis, o suavis, o dulcis, o amor Deus: quid dulcius, quid suavius, quid amabilius, quam vacare et videre quantum nos amaveris?²⁰

The similarities, however, do not go beyond some of the initial exclamatory phrases. The same limit concerns the correspondences pointed out by Alexandra Barratt who, in studying the phenomenon of the devotion to the holy name of Iesus in the Bridgettine monastery of Syon, founded in west of London in 1415, has identified a group of seven mystical prayers witnessed by Mss. 3600 of Lambeth Palace Library and Harley 494 of the British Library²¹. Two of them contain a series of invocations based on the exclamations »O Iesu« and »Domine Iesu Christe« which Barrat believes should be ascribed to some textual combinations used in separate intonations of the late Middle Ages. On one hand, in fact the incipit of the *Oratio ad Iesum* adopted by Jacobus Merlo Horstius, »o bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu, o dulcissime Iesu« corresponds to the trope framing put at the end of the rhythmic text in honour of the Eucharist, *Ave verum corpus natum* (fourteenth century). Instead, the incipit used by Andreas Musculus »o bone Iesu, o dulcis Iesu, o Iesu fili Marie virginis« should be ascribed to St Bernardine of Siena (1380–1444), as stated in various sources handing down this devotional prayer.

John Block Friedman also thinks that the text can correspond to the prayer »quam sanctus Bernardinus, confessor ordinis minorum, quotidie dicitur orasse flexis genibus«²². Among the several witnesses that have been consulted, he focuses on three English sources (Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. 0.3.10; York, Minster Library, Ms. Additional 2; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Latin Liturg. f. 2) containing a poetical passage directly addressed to Christ, introduced by the invocation »o bone Iesu, o dulcissime Iesu«²³. He maintains that the incipit corresponds to the one of the prayer *O bone Iesu*, but it does not either restore the text in its entirety, or explains whether it follows the lesson subsequently used by Musculus, or the one by Horstius, to which the only quoted sentence refers, though:

O nomen Iesu, nomen dulce; nomen Iesu, nomen dilectabile; nomen Iesu, nomen confortans.
Quid est Iesu nisi salvator? Ergo, Iesu, propter nomen tuum salva me.²⁴

The attribution of the *pia oratio* to St Bernardine of Siena can find an explanation in the devotion and the preaching of the Franciscan Friar Minor, who committed himself entirely to the name of Jesus to renew

19 See Battista Mondin, *Storia della teologia 3: Epoca moderna*, Bologna 1996, pp. 113–121.

20 See Frandsen *Crossing Confessional Boundaries* (footnote 9), p. 122 and footnote 66.

21 Alexandra Barratt, *Singing from the Same Hymn-Sheet: Two Bridgettine Manuscripts*, in Margaret Connolly, Linne R. Mooney (eds.), *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England*, Woodbridge 2008, pp. 139–159.

22 John Block Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners and Makers in the Late Middle Ages*, Syracuse 1995, p. 188.

23 Ibid.

24 See Table 1, col. 2.

the Church, giving priority to the centrality of the person of Jesus Christ. However, the work is considered to be spurious by critics who, talking about the *Oratio de nomine Iesu*, point out:

Quidam codices tardioris aetatis tribuunt sancto senensi, quidam Richardo de Hampole, plures sunt anonymi: clarus A. Wilmart favet origini anglicae saeculi XV; Bernardinus in suis operibus ignorat etiam textum S. Anselmi, cuius illa oratio est quaedam paraphrasis.²⁵

To complete the recognition, we must remember that another version of the prayer *O bone et dulcissime Iesu*, identified by Patrick Macey in Mss. 11051 of the Bibliothèque Royale of Bruxelles, Add. 27697 of the British Library, 1346 and 13290 of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris²⁶ of the fifteenth century, is connected to the devotion to the name of Jesus. The same text appears also in the *Thesaurus spirituale della beata vergine Maria*, edited in 1488 and reedited more than once with the addition of new poems by Bernardine de Busti (about 1450–1513), a Franciscan Friar Minor devoted to the name of Jesus, for whose festivity he composed the texts of the office and of the mass approved by Sisto V (1585–1590)²⁷. In the case of the *pia oratio*, moreover, Bernardine de Busti referred explicitly to the meditations of St Anselm, which, in reality, contributed very little to the formation of the text which, in its turn, is an autonomous version quite far from the ones used by Musculus and Horstius.

Table 7: The conclusive section of the *Meditatio ad concitandum timorem* by Anselm from Aosta and the *Oratio ad Iesum* according to the version of Ms. lat. 13290 (Macey's transcription)²⁸

Anselm from Aosta, <i>Meditatio ad concitandum timorem</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 13290, f. 150
Iam ipse est, iam ipse est Iesus. Ipse idem est iudex, inter cuius manus tremo. Respira iam, o peccator; respira, ne desperes. Spera in eo quem times. Affuge ad eum a quo aufugisti. Invoca importune quem superbe provocasti. Iesu, Iesu, propter hoc nomen tuum fac mihi secundum hoc nomen tuum. Iesu, Iesu, obliviscere superbum provocantem, res- pice miserum invocantem. Nomen dulce, nomen delectabile, nomen confortans peccatorem et beatae spei! Quid enim est Iesus nisi salvator? Ergo Iesu, propter temetipsum esto mihi Iesus.	O bone [et dulcissime] Ihesu, per tuam misericordiam esto mihi Ihesus. Et quid est Jesus nisi plasmator, nisi redemptor, nisi salvator?

25 S. Bernardini Senensis ordinis fratrum minorum opera omnia, [...] studio et cura PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad fidem codicum ed. 9: *Postillae in Epistolas et Evangelia. Selecta ex autographo Budapestinensi*, Florence 1965, p. 36*.

26 Patrick Macey, *Josquin, Good King René, and O bone et dulcissime Iesu*, in: Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the motet. Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, New York etc. 1997, pp. 213–242, here pp. 219–223, 238 and footnotes 12–19.

27 Antonio Alecci, art. *Bernardino de' Bustis*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* XV, Rome 1972, pp. 593–595.

28 See Macey (footnote 26). The correspondences are in bold.

Qui me **plamasti, ne peream**. Qui **redemisti**, ne condemnes. Qui me creasti tua bonitate, **ne pereat opus tuum mea iniquitate**. **Rogo, piissime, ne perdat mea iniquitas quod fecit tua omnipotens bonitas**.

Recognosce, benignissime, quod tuum est et absterge quod alienum est.
Iesu, Iesu, miserere dum tempus est miserendi, ne damnes in tempore iudicandi.
Quae namque tibi utilitas in sanguine meo, si descendero in aeternam corruptionem?
Necque enim mortui laudabunt te, Domine, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum.
Si me admiseris intra latissimum tuae misericordiae sinum, non erit angustior propter me, Domine.
Admitte ergo, o desideratissime Iesu, admitte me intra numerum electorum tuorum, ut cum illis te laudem, te perfruar et glorier in te inter omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto gloriaris per interminata saecula. Amen.

Ergo bone Ihesu per te plasmatus sum.
O bone [et dulcissime] Ihesu,
qui me plasmasti tua benignitate,
rogo te, ne pereat opus tuum mea iniquitate.
Ergo quaeso anhelo suspiro, **ne perdas quod tua fecit omnipotens divinitas.**
O bone Ihesu, **recognosce quod tuum est** et ne respicias quod meum est.
O bone Ihesu noli cogitare malum meum, ut obliviscaris bonum meum.
O bone Ihesu si ego miser peccator commisi per quod me damnare debes, tu misericordissime domine non amisisti, unde salvare me potes.
Et si secundum iustitiam tuam dannare me vis, ad tuam piissimam [et ineffabilem] misericordiam bone Ihesu appello que super exaltat iudicium.
Ergo quaeso: miserere mei bone et dulcissime Ihesu secundum magnam misericordiam [et pietatem] tuam.
Amen.

The existence of other versions of the *Oratio ad Iesum* or *pia oratio* cannot be excluded, but in those known until now the textual lines not ascribable to a certain source coincide mainly with the invocations to the name of Jesus: »o bone, benigne, dulcis (dulcissime), pie (piissime) amantissime, clementissime, misericordissime, mitissime Iesu, o Iesu fili Mariae«. They are formulated as a litany and have a paratactic syntax, the precise and prescribed terms can be easily learned by heart and they are also interchangeable, replaceable and multipliable. Therefore their formulation is part of the broad proliferation of invocations to the name of Jesus present in different combinations in devotional literature, according to a phenomenon constantly nourished by the typical forms of the mental prayer.

André Wilmart came to the conclusion that such text, where continuous formulaic expressions are mixed with other invocations and excerpts inspired by *Meditatio ad concitandum timorem* by Anselm from Aosta, was created in the fifteenth century in a Carthusian Abbey in England²⁹. However, he considered one lesson only, the lesson which got to Jacobus Merlo Horstius, whereas it would be important to manage to find, if possible, the modalities which contributed to forming several autonomous textual traditions, which appeared in several polyphonic compositions until the works by Heinrich Schütz. Therefore I am going to present a short review of the results which have been obtained through an investigation aiming to find the original sources of the text adopted by Musculus and the sources of the one evoked by Horstius. There are partial data, but they can be useful to show a certain direction research should go towards and deepen.

One of the earliest sources so far identified, where the text of the *pia oratio* later inserted literally also in the *Precationes* by Andreas Musculus turns out to be copied, is a Book of Hours *ad usum Sarum*, datable to about 1470, where the devotional prayer appears as *Oratio sancti Bernardini confessoris ordinis*

*minorum*³⁰. The same version, always classified *ad usum Sarum*, reappears in an office of the Virgin published in 1503³¹. But the fame and fortune of this text were mostly due to the fact that it was included in a very popular collection of prayers, *Hortulus animae*, published for the first time in Strasbourg in 1498³². This book of prayers, of which five versions are known, which counted as many as 53 known editions in the sixteenth century³³, contains biblical texts, litanies, penitential psalms and other devotional texts. It was mainly spread in Germany, where it also had the very popular version *Seelengärtlein*, which also had 36 editions and had its model in the Book of hour; actually it has the same disposition. In the consulted editions³⁴, the formulation of the text is always repropounded with no meaningful variations. Only a print of Antwerpen of 1533 presents a wider version, because it is enriched with further invocations such as »o suavissime, o clementissime, o piissime domine deus«³⁵. Moreover, all the editions of *Hortulus animae* which have been consulted connect the name of St Bernardine to this version of the prayer »quam quotidie dicitur orasse«. It appears also in a collection of prayers by Johann Lesentrit published in Bautzen in 1555³⁶, as a conclusion to another one dedicated to the adoration of the Eucharist of 1570³⁷, and also in a book of psalms, canticles and prayers edited in Antwerpen in 1610³⁸. The same version of the text and the same link are confirmed in the books of private prayers used in the kingdom of England from the sixteenth century³⁹.

This version of the *Oratio ad Iesum*, which appeared in the *Precationes* by Andreas Musculus and in 1611 also in the *Flores Fragrantissimi meditationum* of the Lutheran theologian Daniel Cramer (1568–1637)⁴⁰, was appropriated by the Protestant devotion, whereas it was expelled from the Catholic devotion, perhaps with the complicity of the bull *Quo primum tempore* whereby in 1571, Pius V forbade the offices of the Virgin Mary written or translated in vulgar, included the one published in Venice by

30 New York, Pierpont Library, Ms. 24, f. 69.

31 *Hore beate virginis Marie ad usum Sarum*, Paris 1503.

32 See Austra Reinis, *Reforming the Art of Dying. The ars moriendi in the German Reformation (1519–1528)*, Aldershot 2007 (= St Andrews Studies in Reformation History), pp. 40–41.

33 Peter Ochsenbein, art. *Hortulus animae*, in: Kurt Ruh etc. (ed.), *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, Berlin 2/1983, cols. 147–154.

34 See Lyon editions 1511–1513, 1516–1517 and 1549; Strasbourg 1503, 1507, 1508 and 1516; Nürnberg 1516, 1517 and 1521; Antwerpen 1533; Paris 1545 and Dillingen 1581.

35 Christianus Ischyrius, *Hortulus anime recens editus multo nimirum amenissimus: cum Ecphrasi et enaratione Septem psalmorum penitentialium. Psalmorum cursus Marie semper virginis. Psalmorum vigiliarum pro vita defunctis Cum haud parum multis minime penitendis ad Christianam pietatem adprime facientibus*, Antwerpen 1533, ff. 137^{r-v}.

36 Johann Leisentrit, *Christianae et piaae preces ex orthodoxae et catholicae Ecclesiae doctoribus in usum christianorum adolescentium congestae* [...], Bautzen 1555, cc. 21^r–22^r.

37 *Propositions, dictes et sentences contenant les graces, fruicts, prouffits, utilitez et louenges du tres sacré et digne sacrement de l'autel pour ceux qui le reçoivent en estat de grace, extraicts de plusieurs saints docteurs*, [Paris] 1570.

38 *Psalterium Davidis, cum canticis sacris & selectis aliquot orationibus: Serenissimorum Belgicae Principum mandato excusum*, Antwerpen 1610, pp. 595–598.

39 See William Keatinge Clay (ed.), *Private prayers, put forth by the authority during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The Primer of 1559. The Orarium of 1560. The Preces privatae of 1564. The Book of Christian prayers of 1578. With an Appendix, Containing the Litany of 1544.*, Cambridge 1851, p. 202.

40 Daniel Cramer, *Flores Fragrantissimi meditationum precumque sacrarum, ex Hortulo Animae Veteri, sed a Tribulis & lolio sollicitate repurgato, excerpti. Insertis haud paucis tam veterum quam recentium ejusdem speciei plantulis*: [...], Hamburg 1611. See Baumann-Koch (footnote 5), and Frandsen (footnote 7), p. 44 and footnote 23.

the Giuntas in 1570 and the prayers in Latin included in the *Hortulus animae*⁴¹. In the devotional practices of the Catholic church, however, the other version of the *Oratio ad Iesum* remained alive, the one which reappeared in *Paradisus animae* by Jacobus Merlo Horstius in 1630.

Besides the source (Ms. Royal 7 D. XVII) on which André Wilmart based his reconstruction of the prayer in the name of Jesus, the same text reappeared as *Oratio Bernardini confessoris* in a book of hours *ad usum Sarum* from Rouen of about 1430, with some short additions: »dulcissime, cordialiter et devote, nomen suave, qui plasmasti me et redemisti, usque in finem vite mee bonam perseverantiam, nomen tuum dulce«⁴². The version of the magnificent book of hours of Louis de Laval (1411–1489) is still closer to the version adopted by Horstius: it was copied and illuminated in the last third of the fifteenth century. In it the lexical additions of the previous book of 1430 were reduced⁴³. The variations in a bohemian book of psalms and prayers of 1453 are more numerous, instead: the text has the title *Oratio s. Ignatii qua Capistranus utebatur*, as a confirmation of a medieval tradition which nourished the idea of a special devotion of the Bishop and Martyr from Antiochia to the name of Jesus⁴⁴. In the early sixteenth century this very version of the text appeared in the Book of Hours *secundum ecclesiam Upsalensem* with such additions as »pie, bone et ineffabile Iesu, vera veritas et via et fructus ventris Marie matris«⁴⁵. It was then included in the premonstratensian missals (1530 and 1578)⁴⁶ and in books of litanies (1595)⁴⁷ as *Oratio sancti Bernardi*. As *Oratio ad Iesum* it appeared instead in a manual of prayers (1586) used by Renata of Lorraine, the wife of William V Duke of Bavaria (1579–1597), and edited by Dominique Mengin (1530–1595), one of the first Jesuits who explained he had taken his preces not »ex veteribus orthodoxis doctoribus« but »ex catholicis auctoribus«⁴⁸. The Irish writer and translator Richard Stanyhurst (1547–1618) ended up as a counterreformation supporter. He included the *Oratio ad Iesum* in a collection of *Psalmi, litaniae et orationes* aimed at the cult of the Eucharist⁴⁹. To support the sacrament of the Eucharist, Jesuits

41 See Giorgio Caravale, *Forbidden Prayer. Church Censorship and Devotional Literature in Renaissance Italy*, Farnham 2012, pp. 81–82.

42 København, Private collection, ff. 252^v–254^v.

43 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 920, f. 294. See Macey (footnote 26), p. 236. On the massive presence of *pia oratio* in the French books of hours see Victor Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 3 vols., Paris 1927; idem, *Supplément aux livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale (acquisitions récentes et donation Smith-Lesouëf)*, Mâcon 1943. For a useful update see Giacomo Baroffio, *Corpus Italicum Precum (CIP)*, <http://www.hymnos.sardegna.it/iter/iterliturgicum.htm>.

44 Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. n.s. 2806, ff. 5^v–6^r. See Ludovic Viallet, *Les sens de l'observance. Enquête sur les réformes franciscaines entre l'Elbe et l'Oder, de Capistran à Luther (vers 1450–vers 1520)*, Münster 2014 (= *Vita regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter. Abhandlungen* 57), pp. 152–154.

45 See Isak Collijn, *Oratio de nomine Jesu: Ett nytt Uppsala-Tryck före 1525?*, in: *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* 23–24 (1936–1937), pp. 165–173.

46 *Missale candidissimi ordinis Praemonstratensis*, Paris 1530; *Missale secundum ritum et ordinem sacri ordinis Praemonstratensis*, Paris 1578, f. 150^v. See H. J. Lentze, *Der Messritus des Praemonstratenserordens*, in: *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 17 (1951), pp. 5–27, here pp. 15–16.

47 *Litaniae catholicae ad Deum dominum nostrum, ad beatissimam virginem Mariam et ad omnes sanctos et alia quaedam pietatis exercitia*, Douai 1595, pp. 64–67.

48 *Enchiridion christianarum preces ex catholicis auctoribus collectum et statis horis atque temporibus accomodatum, in usum serenissimae Renatae ducissae Bavariae per r. p. Dominicum Menginum Societatis Iesu sacerdotem*, Ingolstadt 1586, pp. 250–253.

49 *Psalmi, litaniae et orationes quae coram augustissima eucharistia perapposite recitari possint*, Antwerpen 3/1598, pp. 83–84.

gave a boost to the devotion of the Forty Hours, a practice which spread all over the Catholic world between the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, which also included the *Obsecratio ad dominum nostrum Iesum Christum*. The oration, which appeared in a Venetian print of 1601, added two invocations to the version adopted by Horstius with them the individual prayer was turned into a collective supplication: »nomen sanctum Iesu pro me et toto populo invocantem« and the conclusion »exaudi quaeſo voces et preces servorum tuorum et miserere nobis«⁵⁰.

In reality, the version of the *Oratio ad Iesum* chosen also by Horstius turned out to be particularly useful for the counterreformation policy adopted by Jesuits who, between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, favoured its wide spread, above all in central European countries. Not only was the text suitable as a prayer to the Very Holy Sacrament, but since its origin it had also been conceived to honour Jesus's name, whose cult was given a boost by the Company of Jesus. The Company adopted St Bernardine's trigram as its emblem and dedicated the most important churches of the order to the Very Holy Name of Jesus. Moreover, the prayer became part of the educational path encouraged by Jesuits and so it passed from the celebration of the office and the mass in the manuals »instructionum atque exercitationum spiritualium«⁵¹, to penitential practices and practices of assistance to the sick, to the Catechism and ascetic treatises⁵². The wide spread and the persistence of this *pia oratio* is thus explained: it has reached our days in its diverse array of functions linked to liturgy, individual spirituality and practices of public devotion.

Its fame and continued use have contributed to keeping this devotional text of medieval origin alive, arousing the interest of several composers, who strengthened its spread in modern times with various polyphonic intonations. New indications about the fortune of the two versions leading to Andreas Musculus's *Precationes* and Jacobus Merlo Horstius's *Paradisus animae* have come out from a first investigation, enabling us to better contextualize Schütz's choices. In the chart below the information so far gathered on the polyphonic intonations of the devotional prayer *O bone Iesu*, from the first known examples of the early sixteenth century to Schütz's age can be found. We aim to help to reconstruct the path of the two different textual versions, through the choices made by a remarkable number of musicians (see Table 8 on p. 66 f.).

Except for the motet of Josquin Deprez, which uses the text identified by Patrick Macey so far appearing to be without continuity⁵³, we can observe that the two most widespread versions (M and H) had a long life, despite undergoing repeated additions and variations. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the composition of the papal singer Ninot le Petit intoned integrally the text in the lesson later received with M, whereas Robert Carver, who was active in the Augustinian abbey at Scone (Scotland), and Robert Fayrfax,

50 *Oratio quadraginta horarum ab ecclesia ad divinam implorandam misericordiam frequenter haberi solita; fidelium saluti tam publice quam privatim per quam utilis et apprime necessaria. Vulgo dicta il bon giorno. Per don Ferdinandum Bon Giornum siculum S. T. et I. V. D. verbique Dei concionatorem et prothonotarium apostolicum in luce edita*, Venice 1601, f. 56^r. The anthology, edited by Ferdinando Bongiorno, theologian, juriconsult and apostolic protonotary, is in the list of Alexander VI's forbidden books.

51 See *Thesaurus Precum ac Variarum Instructionum atque Exercitationum Spiritualium. Ex probatis Authoribus collectus*. Opera pp. Societatis Iesu. [...], Köln 1623 (first edition 1616), pp. 362–363.

52 Through a specimen research I have been able to identify forty editions of the 17th–19th centuries, many of which were either reprinted or republished, encouraged especially by Jesuits in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and in the regions of German language and culture.

53 See footnote 26.

a member of the royal chapel of Henry VII and Henry VIII, repropoed the text of the sources already consulted by Wilmart, to which H will be more faithful. Throughout the sixteenth century this textual tradition seems to have been favoured by Flemish composers: Cornelius Canis chose some sentences and Philippe de Monte intoned the whole version. They were both employed by the Augsburgs, like Petit Jean de Lastre, who chose the first sentence of M for his motet, though. The situation at Albert V's court seemed to be similar, where Ivo de Vento and Orlande de Lassus composed two lengthy motets for four voices on the *pia oratio*: the first used H and the second used M. The intonation of the German Melchior Franck, a chapel master of Prince Johann Casimir of Coburg, is also extensive: he integrally employed H with an insertion of M. The preference for version H became even stronger in the seventeenth century, when sections of different lengths of the *Oratio ad Iesum* were intoned by Catholic, mainly Italian, musicians, such as Paolo Agostini, Alessandro Grandi, Francesco Sammaruco, Claudio Monteverdi, Giovanni Maria Scorzuto, Giovanni Felice Sances and Michelangelo Grancino, but also by the English Richard Dering, who was in the service of the Catholic Queen Henrietta Maria and her husband, the Anglican Charles I.

Heinrich Schütz's work places itself at this stage with two textual choices, which faithfully reflected the real situation, fourteen years apart: the first (1625) proposed two short sentences of M and the second (1639) a more extensive and modified version of H. Both the textual tradition and the musical one had kept on nourishing the spread of both versions of the *pia oratio*, through a handwritten and printed production, which had become particularly intense in Germany. Thus Schütz had at his disposal the *Precationes*, but also diverse literary sources which had contributed to strengthening the circulation of *Oratio ad Iesum* beyond the divisions arising from the split between Protestants and Catholics. He could especially use the polyphonic compositions of several musicians working at different German and European courts, who also in the case of the *pia oratio* made some transversal choices. Schütz himself, after using the *Precationes* of the protestant Musculus in the *Cantiones sacrae*, dedicated to a Prince who had become Catholic, resorted to the *Paradisus animae* of the catholic Horstius in the *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* II offered to a Protestant prince. This occurred after his second stay in Venice (1628–1629), when after Giovanni Gabrieli now Claudio Monteverdi, Alessandro Grandi and the singer Leonardo Simonetti were working at St Mark's. Simonetti had edited the anthology *Ghirlanda sacra* (1625) where some meaningful examples of the new form of solo motet accompanied by few obliged instruments are gathered. Like Orlande de Lassus and Philippe de Monte, Schütz became interested in the different artistic and spiritual trends of his time thanks to his international experience, which enabled him to intone the different formulations of a textual tradition which had sprung from some common source and was still nourishing the expressions of individual and collective devotion in many parts of Europe.

Table 8: Polyphonic intonations of the devotional prayer *O bone Iesu* from 1505 to 1640⁵⁴

Author	Composition	Sources, bibliography, editions	M	H
Ninot le Petit (15 th –16 th sec.)	<i>O bone Iesu, o dulcissime Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices, in 2 parts	<i>Motetti libro quarto</i> , Venezia 1505, n. 16 RISM B I, 1505 ² GMM 87, pp. 66–83	x	
Josquin Desprez (ca. 1450–1521)	<i>O bone et dulcissime Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices	I-Rvat, 45, 1511–12, n. 16, ff. 119 ^v –202 ^r I-Bsp, XXIX, 1512–27, n. 110, ff. 71 ^v –72 ^v CH-SGs, 463, ca. 1540 (Discantus, Altus) D-Mbs, 41, ca. 1550 (6 voices) NL-Lga, 1442, ca. 1559 [<i>Motetti et carmina gallica</i>] Roma, [ca. 1521], ff. 3 ^v –4 ^r RISM B I, [ca. 1521 ⁷ , but 1524] (Altus) Macey (footnote 26), pp. 221–226 GB-Lbm, 1709, f. 53 ^v (Altus) GMM 17-2, p. 23	–	–
Robert Fayrfax (1464–1521)	<i>O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu</i> Motet			x
Robert Carver (ca. 1490–after 1546)	<i>O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu</i> Motet for 19 voices	GB-En, 5.1.15 GMM 16, pp. 1–20		x
Cornelius Canis (1500/10–1561)	<i>O bone, o dulcissime Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices	<i>Quatuor vocum musicae modulationes</i> , Antwerpen 1542, ff. 8 ^v –10 ^r <i>Sextus tomus Evangeliorum</i> , Nürnberg [1556], n. 7 RISM B I, 1542 ⁷ , [1556] ⁹		x
Petit Jean De Latre (ca. 1510–1569)	<i>O bone, dulcissime Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices	<i>Thesauri musici tomus quintus et ultimus</i> , Nürnberg 1564, n. 38 <i>Theatri musici</i> , [Geneve] 1580, f. 3 ^v	x	x
Ivo de Vento (ca. 1544–1575)	<i>O bone Iesu, o dulcissime Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices, in 4 parts	RISM B I, 1564 ⁵ , 1580 ⁴ <i>Liber motetorum quatuor vocum</i> , München 1571, n. 7 ISM A/1/9, [V 1116]		x
Orlande de Lassus (1523–1594)	<i>O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices, in 3 parts	<i>Lectiones sacrae novem</i> , München 1582, nn. 19–21 <i>Tertium opus musicum</i> , Nürnberg 1588, n. 10 RISM A/1/5 [L940; RISM B I, 1588 ⁵⁴ <i>The complete motets</i> 19, Middleton 2002, pp. XVI, 25–26	x	x

⁵⁴ In the last two columns the letter M corresponds to *Precationes* by Andreas Musculus, the letter H corresponds to *Paradisus animae* by Jacobus Merlo Horstius.

Marc'Antonio Ingegneri (ca. 1547–1592)	<i>O bone Iesu, miserere nobis</i> Motet for 4 voices	<i>Responsoria hebdomadae sanctae</i> , Venezia 1588 RISM A I/1/4, [I 45]	x	x
Philippe de Monte (1521–1603)	<i>O bone, o dulcissime Iesu</i> Motet for 6 voices, in 3 parts	<i>Thesaurus litaniarum</i> , München 1596, n. 11 (»Cantio sacra de nomine Iesu«) <i>Sacrae symphoniae</i> , Nürnberg 1598, n. 38 RISM B I, 1596 ² , 1598 ²	x	
Melchior Franck (1579–1639)	<i>O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices, in 3 parts	<i>Tonus tertius melodiarum sacrarum</i> , Coburg 1604 RISM A I/1/3, [F 1649]	x	x
Rudolph de Lassus (ca. 1563–1625)	<i>O Iesu benignissime</i> Motet for 4 voices	Frandsen (footnote 7), pp. 44–46 <i>Musica divina</i> 1 (1854), pp. 290–292 (»Per la festa del Santissimo Nome«)	x	
Paolo Agostini (1583–1629)	<i>O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices	GH-Lhm, 024 (Altus)	x	
Alessandro Grandi (1590–1630)	<i>O bone Iesu, o dulcissime Iesu</i>	<i>Klassische Kirchenwerke</i> , Bonn 1845, pp. 33–39 <i>Il secondo libro de motteti</i> , Venezia 1613 RISM A I/1/3, [G 3422]	x	
Richard Dering (ca. 1580–1630)	<i>O bone Iesu, o dulcis Iesu</i> Motet for 5 voices Motet for 2 voices and bc	<i>Cantiones sacrae quinque vocum</i> , Antwerpen 1617 and 1634 <i>Cantica sacra ad duas et tres voces</i> , London 1662, n. 4 RISM A I/1/2, [D 1317, 1318, 1321]	x	x
Francesco Sammartuco (?–1625)	<i>O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices and bc	<i>Corona di gigli et sacre rose</i> , Venezia 1619 RISM B I, 1619 ¹⁵	x	
Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643)	<i>O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices and bc	<i>Promptuarii musici pars prima</i> , Strasbourg 1622 RISM B I, 1622 ²	x	
Giovanni Maria Scorzuto (sec. XVII)	<i>O bone Iesu, o piissime Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices	<i>Ghirlanda sacra</i> , Venetia 1625, pp. 85–86 RISM B I, 1625 ² , 1636 ²	x	
Giovanni Felices Sances (1600–1679)	<i>Plagae tuae, domine</i> Motet for 3 voices and bc	<i>Motteti a una, due, tre e quattro voci</i> , Venezia 1638, nn. 18 e 26 RISM A I/1/7, [S 768]	x	
Michelangelo Grancino (1605–1669)	<i>O Iesu mi dulcissime</i> Motet for 3 voices and bc	<i>Motteti a una, due, tre e quattro voci</i> , Middleton 2003, pp. XXIX, XXXI, 99–111, 136–143	x	
Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672)	<i>O bone Iesu, o dulcissime Iesu</i> Motet for 3 voices <i>O bone, o dulcis, o benigne Iesu</i> Motet for 4 voices and bc, in 2 parts <i>O misericordissime Iesu</i> 1 voice and bc	<i>Sacri fiori concertati</i> [...] <i>opera sesta</i> , Milano 1631, n. 19 RISM A I/1/3, [G 3401] <i>Cantiones sacrae quatuor vocum</i> , Freiberg 1625, nn. 1, 2 RISM A I/1/8, [S 2279, NSA 8/9, pp. 3–12] <i>Kleine geistliche Concerte</i> II, Dresden 1639, n. 4 RISM A I/1/8, [S 2291, NSA 10/1, pp. 91–95]	x	x