Mystical Love in the German Baroque

Theology, Poetry, Music

Isabella van Elferen

Contextual Bach Studies

A series of monographs exploring the contexts of Johann Sebastian Bach's life and music, with a particular emphasis on theology and liturgy.
Series Editor: Robin A. Leaver

Music has its own distinctive characteristics—melody, harmony, rhythm, form, etc.—that have to be fully appreciated if it is to be effectively understood. But a detailed comprehension of all these musical elements cannot reveal the significance of all the compositional choices made by a composer. "What?" and "how?" questions need to be supplemented by appropriate "why?" and "when?" questions. Study of the original score and parts, as well as the different manifestations of a particular work, have to be undertaken. But if such study is regarded as an end rather than a beginning, then the music itself will not necessarily be fully understood. One must go further. There are various contexts that impinge upon a composer's choices. Music is conditioned by time, place, and culture and therefore is influenced by particular historical, geographical, and social contexts; music written in fulfillment of a contractual agreement has an economic context; and so forth.

The music of Johann Sebastian Bach has been the object of intensive study and analysis, but in the past many of these studies have been somewhat narrow in focus. For example, the received view of Bach's music was to some degree incomplete because it was largely discussed on its own terms without being fully set within the contextual perspective of the musician's predecessors, contemporaries, and successors. It is only in fairly recent times that the music of these other composers has become accessible, allowing us to appreciate the nature and stature of their accomplishments, and at the same time giving us new perspectives from which to view a more rounded picture of Bach's genius.

The monographs in this series explore such contextual areas. Since much of Bach's music was composed for Lutheran worship, a primary concern of these monographs is the liturgical and theological contexts of the music. But Bach's music was not exclusively confined to these specific religious concerns. German culture of the time had more general religious dimensions that permeated "secular" society. Therefore, in addition to specific studies of the liturgical and theological contexts of Bach's music, this series also includes explorations of social, political, and cultural religious contexts in which his music was composed and first heard.

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In loving memory of my father, Guido

Odi et amo. Quare id faciam, fortasse requiris?
Nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior.
—Catullus

Freudvoll
Und leidvoll,
Gedankenvoll sein,
Langen
Und bangen
In schwebender Pein.
Himmelhoch jauchzend,
Zum Tode betrübt;
Glücklich allein
Ist die Seele die liebt!
—J. W. von Goethe

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Abbreviations

AS	*Martin Luther. Ausgewählte Schriften*. Ed. by K. Bornkamm and G. Ebeling (Frankfurt/Main: Insel Taschenbuch, 1995).
BWV	*Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis. Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2nd ed. Ed. by W. Schmieder (Wiesbaden 1990).
BuxWV	*Buxtehude-Werke-Verzeichnis. Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Dietrich Buxtehude*, 2nd ed. Ed. by G. Karstädt (Wiesbaden 1985).
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*. Ed. by Kurt Galling in Gemeinschaft mit H. Freiherr von Campenhausen, E. Dinkler, G. Gloege und K.E. Løgstrup. Ungekürzte elektronische Ausgabe der 3. Auflage (Berlin 2000, Digitale Bibliothek Band 12).
SchGBr	*Heinrich Schütz. Gesammelte Briefe und Schriften*, 2nd ed. Ed. by E.H. Müller (Hildesheim 1976).
SWV	*Schütz-Werke-Verzeichnis. Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Heinrich Schütz*. Ed. by W. Bittinger (Kassel 1960).
StA	*Martin Luther. Studienausgabe*. Hg. H.-U. Delius in Zusammenarbeit mit H. Junghans, R. Pietz, J. Rogge und G. Wartenberg (Berlin 1979ff.).
WA	*Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 65 vols. (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883–1993) [‘Weimarer Ausgabe’].

Series Editor's Foreword

The Victorians of the nineteenth century were somewhat discomforted by thoughts of love and sensuality in connection with religion. From their perspective, divine love and human love were totally different. In the same way that they separated the sacred from the secular, so they divorced their perception of divine love from their understanding of human love. Similarly, music was regarded as either sacred or secular and its communication of divine love was therefore considered to be quite different from—and consequently "purer" than—its expression of human love. This philosophical dichotomy became an almost universal paradigm to be applied to historical and other studies. Thus the parody masses of the Renaissance based on the melodies of love-songs were interpreted as invasions of the secular into the realm of the sacred.

Victorians, as well as their twentieth-century successors, were similarly somewhat uncomfortable with the numerous settings of the biblical Song of Songs that were prevalent in the seventeenth century in different confessional contexts, such as those of Alessandro Grandi (Catholic) and Heinrich Schütz (Lutheran), among others.[1] Here they took refuge in contemporary theological commentaries, which insisted that the subject matter of the biblical poetry of the Song of Songs was not a description of human love but rather a parable of divine love, expressed toward either the church as a whole or to the individual believing soul. As more of baroque vocal music became accessible from the second half of the nineteenth century, notably the cantatas of Buxtehude and Bach, it was discovered that instead of simply being settings of the text of the Song of Songs, the biblical imagery was developed and expanded in ways that seemed ambiguous with regard to divine and human love, and in which the distinction between sacred and secular was significantly blurred. Divine love was expressed in human terms and the musical style and form

of these representations of the relationship between Christ and the individual soul were indistinguishable from those employed to convey the mutual desire of two human, married lovers. From a nineteenth-century perspective the sacred/secular paradigm was immutable, therefore these earlier admixtures of the two must be interpreted as unfortunate encroachments of the secular on the sacred.

In any historical research there is always the danger of reading back into an earlier time the presuppositions and assumptions that appear to be self-evident in the later period. When that occurs, theory prevents rather than facilitates an objective understanding of the area being researched. Thus the polyphonic masses based on the *L'homme armé* melody, associated with the Burgundian Order of the Golden Fleece, rather than being examples of secular encroachment on the sacred—as interpreted by the nineteenth-century view of the distinction between sacred and secular—should be understood, as they were at the time they were created, as witnesses to the over-arching view of the sacred as embracing every aspect of human experience,[2] including that which later periods labeled "secular," such as the love expressed between husband and wife. Similarly, the Christ/soul dialogues in the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cantatas of Buxtehude, Bach, and others, which have been interpreted solely as a secularizing tendency, need to be viewed instead as intensifications of the sacred.

A simplistic understanding of the distinction between sacred and secular is thus inadequate to explain and understand the phenomenon of love poetry and its musical settings in a religious context in the baroque period. Such settings were the product of a long, multilayered and complex history. It begins with the love poetry that Petrarch addressed to his Laura, influenced by the ideals of chivalry; continues in seventeenth-century Lutheranism with a new awareness of Catholic medieval mystics, who made extensive use of the biblical Song of Songs, whose images were filtered through the particular Lutheran understanding of the "analogy of faith"[3]; and then expressed in distinctive textual and musical figures. This is the scope of this important book, which originated as a University of Utrecht PhD dissertation: *Von Laura zum himmlischen Bräutigam: Der petrarkistische Diskurs in Dichtung und Musik des deutschen Barock* (2003). By examining the major contours of the phenomenon of the images of love poetry, the author brings clarity and insight to bear on a subject that has hitherto been imperfectly appreciated.

Isabella van Elferen's research not only significantly explores this aspect of German baroque music, with particular reference to the music of Bach, it also opens up new avenues of understanding beyond the works that are specifically discussed here. In the process, aspects of received opinion are here proved to be either inaccurate or misleading, or both. For example, there is the almost universal overestimation of the parameters of Lutheran Pietism in which every

expression of warm devotional piety is labeled "Pietist" and works of dogmatic theology are described as "Orthodox," meaning the opposite of "Pietist." On the one hand, musicologists misinterpret seventeenth- and eighteenth-century cantata libretti that exhibit devotional intensity, whatever the sources, as being expressions of "Pietism."[4] On the other hand, many church historians find themselves in a quandary when they encounter an author like Johann Gerhard, who wrote both dogmatic theology and devotional literature, and thus have to resort to obfuscation by maintaining that Gerhard represents an untypical exception.[5] Pietism in Lutheranism was a specific movement of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that had a specific agenda that included more than personal piety.[6] There was a long line of continuity of Lutheran devotional writings—*Erbauungsliteratur*—from Luther himself and through the later generations of Lutheran theologians, including Johann Gerhard who is by no means an isolated example. It is therefore somewhat anachronistic to speak in terms of "early-," "proto-," or "pre-" "Pietism" with regard to this phenomenon, because one is defining it in terms that had yet to be established. A better designation for the developments of these complexities in the seventeenth century, as Dr. van Elferen posits here, is "Lutheran mysticism,"[7] devotional imagery strongly influenced by the writings of the medieval mystics but interpreted by specific Lutheran theology.

There is more, of course, in this significant study, an important contribution toward a fuller understanding of both the contexts as well as the contents of much of Bach's music.

Robin A. Leaver
Series Editor

NOTES

1. See, for example, Stephen Plank, "Music of the Ravish'd Soul," *The Musical Times* 136 (1995): 466–471.

2. See, for example, William F. Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece," *Early Music History* 5 (1985): 113–153, and Barbara Haggh, "The Archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece and Music," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120/1 (1995): 1–43, see also 121/2 (1996): 268–270.

3. Johann Gerhard divided up the chapters of the Song of Songs into appropriate sections to be read in private devotions alongside the epistles and gospels of the Sundays and festivals of the church year, a list that Johann Olearius reprinted at the end of his introduction to the Song of Songs in his commentary on the whole of the Bible: *Biblische Erklärung: darinnen nechst dem allgemeinen Haupt-Schlüssel Der gantzen heiligen Schrifft* (Leipzig: Tarnoven, 1678–1681), 3:1079–1080.

4. See, for example, Martin Geck, *Die Vokalmusik Dietrich Buxtehudes und der frühe Pietismus* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965).

5. See the discussion in Kent Heimbigner's Introduction to Johann Gerhard, *Theological Commonplaces: On the Nature of Theology and Scripture*, trans. and ed. Richard J. Dinda (St. Louis: Concordia, 2006), especially 16–20.

6. See Robin A Leaver, "Bach and Pietism," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 55 (1991): 5–22.

7. See also Wolfgang Herbst, *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Lutherische Mystik*, Ph.D. diss., Erlangen University, 1958.

Acknowledgments

After years of investigating "what love is" (Fleming) I am less and less certain that an answer to this question is possible. I am certain, however, of the joy of expressing my gratefulness to all those people who have helped and supported me during my search.

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in Wolfenbüttel, where there were always friends willing to walk and talk, wine and dine. In a similar fashion, the legendary late night gatherings of the international Bach community have helped me discover the human side of academic research. It was Anne Leahy who initiated these latter gatherings, and her generosity and laughter will continue to warm us after her cruel early passing. I warmly thank my friends Joost de Bloois, Mariacarla Gadebusch Bondio, Arja Firet, Monica Jansen, Martin van Gelderen, Mary Dalton Greer, Everhard Korthals Altes, Claus Kemmer, Bregtje Lameris, Robin Leaver, Michael Marissen, Cornelia Niekus Moore, Joost Poort, Yolanda Rodriguez Perez, Yael Sela, Kristine Steenbergh, Saskia Rolsma, and Matthias Weiß for keeping me awake.

* * *

Love is a fascinating research theme, whose manifold meanings naturally cannot be grasped by poetic metaphor or academic analysis. If only it *were* so simple that it manifests itself either in bitter heartache or in sweet unification! This passion appears infinitely more ambivalent and layered in the "love researcher's" daily life than in her historical sources. But thankfully there are solutions, too. My inestimable family has shown to me that love often rather takes the shape of patient confidence than that of bitter-sweet pain. For this I am immensely thankful to my parents Guido and Els van Elferen, and to my sister and her husband Marjolein and Ramon van den Heuvel. The love of my closest friends, Tom van Hal (partner in crime), Birgitte Loeff (partner from the cradle), and Klaske (four-legged partner), has been unfailing—and I daresay lifesaving at times. You helped me through the rough and steepy ways of life outside the academic ivory tower.

This book is dedicated to my beloved father, Guido, who proves to me every day that love conquers death. You have opened my heart and mind to art. Our talks about music and literature—most notably Bach and Reve, those disparate and yet oddly connected practitioners of mystical love—I eternally cherish, in love.

Introduction

Mystical Love in German Baroque Poetry and Music—Theme and Method

B	Mein Mahl ist zubereit’
	Und meine Hochzeittafel fertig.
	Nur meine Braut ist noch nicht gegenwärtig.
S	Mein Jesus redt von mir;
	O Stimme, welche mich erfreut!
B	Ich geh’ und suche mit Verlangen
	Dich, meine Taube, schönste Braut.
S	Mein Bräutigam, ich falle dir zu Füßen.
B/S	Komm, Schönste / Schönster, komm und laß dich küssen,
	Du sollst mein / Laß mich dein fettes Mahl genießen.
	Komm, liebe Braut, und / Mein Bräutigam, ich eile nun,
	Die Hochzeitkleider anzutun.

B	My banquet is prepared
	And my wedding table is ready.
	Only my bride is not yet present.
S	My Jesus speaks of me;
	O voice that fills me with joy!
B	I shall go and seek you longingly,
	My dove, loveliest bride.
S	My bridegroom, I fall at your feet.
B/S	Come, my lovely, come and let me kiss you,
	Enjoy my / Let me enjoy Your sumptuous banquet.
	Come, dear bride, make haste / My bridegroom, I hasten now
	To put on the wedding garments.

This text, a duet from Johann Sebastian Bach’s cantata *Ich geh’ und suche mit Verlangen* (BWV 49), describes the relationship between Jesus and the faith-

ful soul in terms of worldly love. The metaphors of the bride and bridegroom, the lover's desire, and the wedding feast derive from the imagery of baroque mysticism, which was taken up in Lutheran theology between the late sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Scholarly discussions of Bach's settings of mystical texts have made occasional references to the "deeply personal, ardent feeling" in Bach's musical articulation of such metaphor.[1] The music, like the original texts, was supposed to awaken associations with worldly, sensual love.[2] Yet, to date, the mystical elements in Bach's compositions have never been thoroughly examined and have been described only in allusions of a general nature, such as the aforementioned. Several fundamental questions therefore remain unanswered:

- Why do baroque mystical texts have secular undertones?
- What is the relationship between text and music in settings of mystical texts?
- Why does musical mysticism also appear to be a mixture of sacred and secular love idioms?
- How do such texts and compositions, sometimes labelled Pietist, fit into the Lutheran theology of Bach's time?
- Should Bach's choice of text be interpreted as a reflection of his personal religious preferences?

The musical and literary history behind Bach's representations of mystical love shows that cantatas such as *Ich geh' und suche mit Verlangen* are based on a rich compositional and poetic tradition. Johann Hermann Schein and Heinrich Schütz had already produced settings of medieval mystical texts and contemporary mystical–erotic poems; their works have also been accredited with "passionate intensity and ardour."[3] Dietrich Buxtehude's vocal oeuvre, which has even been referred to as "musical Pietism,"[4] appears to represent the zenith of this assimilation of mystical traditions into compositional technique. Cantata texts such as *Liebster, meine Seele saget* (BuxWV 70) seem to breathe an individualized devotion that is reflected in Buxtehude's compositional style. It has proved very difficult to identify and discuss the more precise musical characteristics of this devotion in the works of Schütz, Buxtehude, or Bach.

The connections between text and music in the German baroque have been studied a great deal over the last decades. The rediscovery of musical rhetoric has been fundamental to the research of these connections. The various theoretical treatises of *musica poetica* have been newly published and discussed,[5] and their role in the works of Schütz and Bach in particular has been thoroughly analyzed.[6] A second significant analytical trend in baroque musical research focuses on the theological background of the texts set. An understanding of Lutheran theology, from which many texts set by Schütz

and Bach derive, has led to a better understanding of their compositional processes.[7] But there are other significant cultural–historical factors apart from musical and theological conditions in the development of the musical expression of mysticism. In order to answer these questions, it is therefore necessary to devise a method that ties in with baroque theological research, yet is based on a much more extensive contextualization of individual works, composers, and traditions.

The aria by Bach cited earlier illustrates the problem. It can be observed that the metaphor of the wedding feast is taken from Matthew 22:2, that the dialogue between the faithful soul and Jesus is formulated here as a "proper love duet in a dance-like triple metre"[8] between soprano and bass, or that the strings of semiquavers in the aria represent the lovers' haste (see chapter 7). However, a highly significant complex of questions remains unanswered: *why* was mystical love represented both textually and musically as a love duet, and what position did this representation of love hold in contemporary theology? The fact that medieval bridal mysticism was revived through the Lutheran theology of Bach's time does not suffice to answer these and similar questions. However, if we recognize that the baroque love discourse described both secular and mystical love in images derived from petrarchism and that the musical articulation of these subjects conformed precisely to the petrarchan conventions of the concept and discourse of love, then the analysis is provided with an illuminating cultural–historical background. Contemporary poetics and the contemporary mystical discourse had just as much influence on the musical representation of mystical subjects as baroque principles of composition and theology. These should therefore be taken into account in analyzing the musical representation of mysticism.

The objective of this study is to examine the origins of baroque representations of mysticism, their secular undertones in text and music, and their conceptual correspondence against this background. Since music will be regarded explicitly as a reflection of cultural–historical conditions and art theory, musical representations of mystical love will be examined in the context of its contemporary literary and theological conception. To avoid arbitrary or speculative interpretation of the sources compared, the musical representation of love will be analyzed by means of the same methods as its poetic and discursive representation; in short, musical analysis will be made methodologically compatible with poetic analysis.

METHOD: "THERE IS NO ESCAPE FROM CONTINGENCY"[9]

How can a poem be compared with a musical composition? In the comparative analysis of such heterogeneous entities it is necessary to concentrate

initially on their points of correspondence; a legitimate starting point for a comparison between apples and pears is to establish that both are fruit. On the basis of this categorical correspondence the individual variations of the two fruits—form, structure, taste—may be compared. Similarly it can be established that poetic and musical representations of love are both artistic interpretations of a cultural–historical concept. Although the concrete forms of these representations are different, both are based on the historical understanding of the concept represented and on poetological conventions of expression. Against the background of these fundamental common characteristics both poetic and musical material can be analyzed. Through this concentric approach parallels and distinctions between the poetic and musical expression of love may be established.

My comparative analysis of the representation of love in both art forms begins with their points of correspondence. There were various parallels between poetry and music in the German baroque, both on a theoretical level and in terms of style. The expression of text was accorded crucial significance in the theory of composition. Theoreticians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries described the affective representation of a textual theme as the most important function of vocal and instrumental music based on text. To this end the content, structure, and imagery of a text all received precise musical equivalents. Baroque composition theory summed up the close associations between text and music under the designation *musica poetica* (chapter 2).

Because love is an affect, the exploration of the related poetics of poetry and music will subsequently examine the representation of affect. During the seventeenth century the rhetorical objective of *movere* gradually became the focal point of art theory. Baroque poetic and musical theorists devoted lengthy expositions to the artistic representation and arousal of human passions. Because of the fundamental analogy between poetry and *musica poetica*, comparable affective intensifications took place in both artistic languages: both poems and musical compositions could be affectively intensified through striking rhetorical figures, acute metaphors, technical virtuosity, pictorialism and sensuality, and a dramatic style of representation (chapter 3).

Within the context of these affect theories, the baroque concept of love will be examined more closely. Like all emotions, love may be regarded as a "historically and culturally variable constellation of values, ideas, and behaviours."[10] As a research topic, baroque love should accordingly be defined in cultural–historical terms: which "values, ideas, and behaviours" constituted love in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany? In order to place love in a historical context, love discourses of varying provenance will be analyzed. The assessment and discussion of love in theoretical writings on poetry and music and in theological and moral–philosophical treatises will be

compared. Comprehensive discourse analysis of various sources will provide an insight into the contemporary conception of love (chapter 4).

My thesis is that the musical representation of mystical love grew out of the integration of this cultural and historically reflected concept of affect into Baroque composition theory. For my comparisons, which aim to show how this conception of love was given poetic and musical form, I have blended the methodologies of discourse analysis and New Historicism with those of historical musicology.

In *Shakespearean Negotiations*, Stephen Greenblatt employs Foucauldian discourse analysis[11] in order to conceptualize literature as the product of cultural–historical conditions. Greenblatt understands literary utterances as "signs of contingent social practices" and argues that we should investigate

> how collective beliefs and experiences were shaped, moved from one medium to another, concentrated in manageable aesthetic form, offered for consumption. We can examine how the boundaries were marked between cultural practices understood to be art forms and other, contiguous, forms of expression. . . . The idea is not to strip away and discard the enchanted impression of aesthetic autonomy but to inquire into the objective conditions of this enchantment, to discover how the traces of social circulation are effaced.[12]

According to Greenblatt, the purpose of New Historicism is to reveal a "poetics of culture"[13] by means of the comparative analysis of heterogeneous sources of both historical and literary provenance. This methodology extends the concept of intertextuality from texts and text complexes to broader cultural areas: literary texts are compared with non-literary and even non-textual discourses in order to get closer to the social conditions and conventions underlying these utterances, understand them, and possibly define them.[14]

Comparative discourse analysis of differing cultural–historical source materials can prove equally fruitful in the study of religious themes. Religious practices and utterances are components of cultural history, and the discursive comparison of their linguistic or non-linguistic manifestations with literary or historical sources can yield illuminating insights.[15] Accordingly, a deeper understanding of baroque mysticism—a phenomenon that influenced many aspects of culture—can be gained through the examination of its cultural–historical premises. Poems and edificatory texts dealing with mystical love could be regarded as signs of a historical contingency stemming from devotional practices. The relationship between such devotional practices and their linguistic and poetic articulation should therefore be the starting point for the analysis of these songs. The questions regarding musical mysticism raised earlier require that musical compositions be included in such investigations as non-linguistic representations. The musical representation of mystical love is related to religious social history in the same way as its linguistic

representation; it merely employs different expressive resources in the concrete articulation of this theme. Consequently, in order to compare mystical representations in both media, the concept of intertextuality will be expanded to intermediality: in addition to linguistic utterances, musical articulations of this cultural–historical theme will be studied. The analysis will therefore employ practical tools that can be applied to both media.

My approach thus has a dual starting point. Firstly, I believe that the intertextual implications of music extend beyond the boundaries of musical representation. New Musicology has stated that music refers intertextually to its own history or background.[16] Like text, music functions as a self-referring system that is to a certain extent independent of its author (composer).[17] Given that musical expression is a cultural–historical entity, however, it is probable that this system encompasses not only musical but also extramusical elements. Like its textual representation, the musical expression of mystical love derives from the historical contingencies already described. By means of specific musical resources such as key, melody, harmony, rhythm, and tempo, it refers to the same cultural conditions and conventions as theological and poetic representations of this subject. If the relationship between the faithful soul and Jesus is represented textually by the metaphor of the bride and bridegroom, so it may be articulated musically through parallel melodies and complementary rhythms; if mystical joy can be expressed poetically in dactylic meter, so it can be reflected musically in triple meters (cf. chapters 6 and 7).

Secondly, it follows from these considerations that the connections between music and text are manifest on more levels than merely the hermeneutic or narratological plane of musical rhetoric. These levels of representation indicate the direct semantic relationships between word and setting; deeper-lying relationships between text and music are shown in the cultural and aesthetic practices that underlie both media. The musical conventions relating to the expression of mystical love could be seen in terms of a musical mystical discourse based not only on musical but also literary, discursive, and cultural–historical concepts and traditions. In order to include musical diction in discourse analysis, which is mostly language-oriented, the methods of analysis for both dictions must correspond. In my comparative analyses of poetic and musical representations of mysticism, the approach to both musical compositions and poems will be conceived fundamentally as an analysis of the component parts of the discourse. The analogous theoretical premises underlying poetic and musical representation in the baroque era make this intermedial discourse analysis possible.

The subject of this study is consequently not simply compositional technique or individual word-setting but rather the judicious combination of various musical parameters to create a musical love discourse. Taking the

contemporary conception of love as the starting point, the affective resources of the mystical love poem will be compared with those of *musica poetica*. The intermedial discourse analysis of baroque mysticism will allow a direct historical comparison between music and other cultural–historical objects.[18] In this way music can be understood not merely as a system referring exclusively to itself but as an integral component of cultural history.

The object of my analyses is to identify the linguistic and non-linguistic conventions of the baroque representation of love. My method of intermedial discourse analysis demands an extensive and varied range of sources. Consequently my investigations will draw on a large number of sources and authors.

This study is thematically determined by the literary and musical development of German petrarchism. The term "baroque" is used purely in order to contain within a single term the literature and music of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries. The period examined can be characterized through poetic and musical works in which the petrarchan discourse played a role. The analyses of poetry and poetics begin with Martin Opitz's *Deutschen Poeterey* (1624) and extend as far as the work of Barthold Heinrich Brockes (up to 1741) and the theorist Erdmann Neumeister (1707). The musical examples are taken from the vocal works of Johann Hermann Schein, Heinrich Schütz, Dieterich Buxtehude, and Johann Sebastian Bach. The works of these composers, which are all available in modern editions, offer characteristic examples of baroque musical love discourse; comparable vocal works by other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century composers are cited occasionally. The musical analyses are illuminated by musical–rhetorical writings ranging from Joachim Burmeister's *Musica Poetica* (1606) to Johann Mattheson's *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739).

The restriction of the research topic to a particular period has a historical–theological basis. The mystical application of petrarchan imagery is most striking in Lutheran devotion. In neither Catholic nor Pietist mysticism was the anthropological inequality of Christ and the believer, and therefore the impossibility of a perfect love union, so emphatically highlighted as in Lutheran devotion (cf. chapter 5). The love concept of Lutheran mysticism was affectively similar to that of petrarchism: in both cases love was a bitter-sweet emotion. Because this study concentrates on the petrarchan concept and discourse of bitter-sweet love, my analyses are thematically restricted to works that can be ascribed to seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Lutheran devotion. My theological sources are drawn in large part from the private library of Johann Sebastian Bach, which included many powerful examples of Lutheran devotional literature.[19] This collection gives an insight into the intellectual milieu of the Leipzig composer.

This temporal and theological demarcation leads to a further delimitation of a geographical nature. The most important theological, literary, and musi-

cal representatives of Lutheran devotion were active in northern and central Germany. For this reason the sources examined here are mostly drawn from the cultural and theological centers of Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Hamburg, and their surrounding areas.

INTENTIONALITY

One of the questions inevitably raised by my observations is whether the intertextuality of the baroque representation of love is intentional. Do Lutheran mystics deliberately refer to secular poetry and does Bach consciously draw on the madrigal style? It is difficult, if not impossible, to reconstruct the intentionality of a historical discourse. All linguistic expression derives from the "general text"[20] that developed out of cultural–historical conditions. Like other historical discourses, the baroque language of love may be attributed less to intention than to the development of this general text. Umberto Eco has argued that it is almost impossible to delineate the distinction between love "felt" and love "expressed," since a person cannot express herself other than as she has been taught by her linguistic environment:

> It is difficult to reconstruct the actions and feelings of a character surely afire with true love, for you never know whether he is expressing what he feels or what the rules of amorous discourse prescribe in his case—but then, for that matter, what do we know of the difference between passion felt and passion expressed, and who can say which has precedence?[21]

In the impressive love scene in *The Name of the Rose* Eco has demonstrated how the "rules of amorous discourse" can influence the linguistic expression of love. His main character, the novice Adson of Melk, can find no way of expressing his perceptions of physical love other than an apparently arbitrary list of descriptions of mystical love he recalls from his readings, ranging from the Song of Songs to Bernard of Clairvaux. His stumbling yet flowing descriptions are reminiscent of the associative language of stream-of-consciousness novels.[22] The reader cannot tell whether this is love "felt" or "expressed"—or both at the same time. It is precisely Eco's use of quotations and references that brings the scene to life and makes it convincing for the modern reader: for what other language of love could Adson have known? The question of intentionality is much less relevant to the discovery and description of a love discourse than the question of the cultural–historical factors of its evolution.

This study will examine the extent to which the secular and sacred representation of love in German baroque poetry and music are related to one another as artistic reflections of a cultural–historical love discourse. The

methodological objective of my research is the disclosure of the relationships between historical discourse and style in poetry and music. Thus musical mysticism in Johann Sebastian Bach's *Ich geh' und suche mit Verlangen* and other baroque vocal works will be investigated through intermedial cultural–historical contextualization.

NOTES

1. Renate Steiger, *Gnadengegenwart. Johann Sebastian Bach im Kontext lutherischer Orthodoxie und Frömmigkeit* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002), 48.

2. Walter Blankenburg, "Mystik in der Musik J.S. Bachs," in *Theologische Bach-Studien I*, ed. Walter Blankenburg and Renate Steiger (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1987), 57; Alfred Dürr, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Die Kantaten* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000), 661.

3. Walter Blankenburg, "Zur Bedeutung der Andachtstexte im Werk von Heinrich Schütz," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 6 (1984): 67.

4. Martin Geck, *Die Vokalmusik Dietrich Buxtehudes und der frühe Pietismus* [Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 15] (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), 10.

5. The theoretical treatises of Joachim Burmeister, Christoph Bernhard, Johann David Heinichen, Athanasius Kircher, Johann Mattheson, Lorenz Christoph Mizler, Johann Nucius, Michael Praetorius, Wolfgang Caspar Printz, Johann Gottfried Walther, and Andreas Werckmeister have all been published in modern editions; a few works, such as Johann Andreas Herbsts's *Musica Practica* and *Musica Poëtica* (Nuremberg 1642 and 1643), are still available in the original edition only.

6. Fundamental studies are Dietrich Bartel, *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre*, 3rd ed. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997); [Dietrich Bartel, *Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997)]; Rolf Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 3rd ed. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1995); Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Heinrich Schütz: musicus poeticus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959).

7. Significant studies in this field are Elke Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben." Untersuchungen zum Wandel des Passionsverständnisses im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* [Beiträge zur theologischen Bachforschung 2] (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1984); Albert Clement, *Der dritte Teil der Clavierübung von Johann Sebasian Bach. Musik—Text—Theologie* (Middelburg: AlmaRes, 1999); Steiger, *Gnadengegenwart*; Heide Volckmar-Waschk, *Die "Cantiones Sacrae" von Heinrich Schütz. Entstehung—Texte—Analysen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001).

8. Dürr, *Die Kantaten*, 661.

9. Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 3.

10. Gwynne Kennedy, *Just Anger. Representing Women's Anger in Early Modern England* (Carbondale/Edwardsville, 2000), 20.

11. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 3.

12. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 5.

13. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 5.

14. See also Moritz Bassler, "Einleitung: New Historicism—Literaturgeschichte als Poetik der Kultur," in *New Historicism. Literaturgeschichte als Poetik der Kultur*, ed. Moritz Bassler (Frankfurt, 1996), 14ff.

15. The cultural–historical interpretation of religious themes yields multifaceted findings. For instance, in *Figuring the Sacred. Religion, Narrative, and Imagination* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995) Paul Ricoeur gained an insight into the various levels of meaning of the text complexes of the Bible through historical discourse analyses. In *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987) Caroline Walker Bynum contextualized the religious eating habits of late-medieval women on an anthropological plane using the methods of New Historicism.

16. Regarding intertextuality in music see Robert Samuels, "Music as Text: Mahler, Schumann and Issues in Analysis," in *Theory, Analysis & Meaning in Music*, ed. Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 152–163.

17. See Jacques Derrida, "Living On: Border Lines," in *Deconstruction and Criticism*, ed. Harold Bloom, Geoffrey Hartman, Jacques Derrida, and J. Hillis Miller (New York: Continuum, 1979), 75–175.

18. The monodisciplinary nature of musical analysis could be one of the reasons why historical musicology has for so long been unable to find a way "out of analysis" (Joseph Kerman, "How We Got into Analysis, and How to Get Out," *Critical Inquiry* 7 [1980]: 311–331). Although occasionally other disciplines have been integrated into the consideration of the text or liturgical function, for instance, of the composition under examination, both concrete analyses and their findings mostly confine themselves exclusively to music.

19. On Bach's theological library see Robin A. Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek: eine kritische Bibliographie. Bach's Theological Library: A Critical Bibliography* [Beiträge zur theologischen Bachforschung 1] (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1983).

20. Derrida, "Living On: Border Lines."

21. Umberto Eco, *The Island of the Day Before* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995), 6.

22. Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose, including the Author's Postscript* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1994), 243–249. See also Eco's description of his mode of procedure in writing this scene in his *Postscript*, ibid., 521–522.

Chapter One

Petrarchism

Petrarquiser means to speak, like Petrarch, the language of love.

—Petrarch's *Canzoniere*[1]

PETRARCH'S *CANZONIERE*

Francesco Petrarch's *Canzoniere* is believed to have been completed shortly before the poet's death in 1374.[2] It contains love poems to Laura, a married and therefore unattainable woman. In the light, sonorous Tuscan dialect Petrarch repeatedly describes *dolce amaro*, the bitter sweetness of his hopeless love. His poems are based formally and motivically on medieval love poetry. The bitter-sweet of love had already been described by Sappho of Lesbos γλυκύπικρον, bitter-sweet) and Catullus (*dulcis amarities*), and later also by the medieval troubadours, the women mystics and the *dulce stil nuovo* of the thirteenth century.[3] Unlike in these love poems, however, in Petrarch's poetry the desire of the lover does not seem to seek ultimate fulfillment, but rather to serve a self-contained mind-set of psychological self-reflection. Petrarch made *dolendi voluptas*, painful pleasure, the main theme of his love poetry. His melancholy resignation seems on the one hand to lead at times to wallowing,[4] but on the other hand lends his poems a psychological depth that derives from the inner conflict between the sinfulness of love and the sense of powerlessness in the face of this passion.[5] This dimension of Petrarch's poetry was not attained in either the medieval love poem or the poetry of his imitators.[6]

Petrarch's poetry is characterized in every respect by antithesis. The poet has so thoroughly assimilated the subject of unattainable love that it dominates his poems thematically as well as formally and stylistically. Petrarch's

choice of Good Friday, April 6, 1327, as the date of his first encounter with Laura, and of St. Clara's Church in Avignon as the setting, is characteristic of the fundamental ambivalence of his poetry: in the sacred precincts of a church the poet experiences a worldly passion that he can neither avert nor influence. These opposing emotions—worldly joy versus religious guilt[7]—are described by Petrarch in Sonnet 3 (compare also Sonnet 62):

Era il giorno ch'al sol si scoloraro
Per la pietà del suo fattore i rai,
Quando i' fui preso, e non me ne guardai,
ché i be' vostr'occhi, donni, mi legaro

It was the day the sun's rays had turned pale
with pity for the suffering of his Maker,
when I was caught (and put up no fight),
my Lady, for your lovely eyes had bound me.[8]

Sonnet 3 exemplifies the tone of the entire *Canzoniere*. In endless new images the collection describes Petrarch's ambivalent experiences of a simultaneously joyful and painful passion, by which the poet is at once drawn and repelled. The theme of love's pleasurable pain is stylistically articulated through a concentration of antithesis and paradox. Not only the content but also the form of his poems reflects bitter-sweet love. The sonnet form, with its fourteen alexandrines in the rhyme scheme abba–cdc–dcd[9] and caesura, allows the poet to present his theme in stylized fashion. Parallel or chiastic syntax, word play (particularly on the name Laura) and rhetorical devices such as enumeration, exclamation, hyperbole, apostrophe, paradox, and above all oxymoron together furnish a judicious linguistic representation of this theme. Sonnet 134 is a typical and much-imitated example of the Petrarchan style:[10]

Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra;
e temo, e spero; et ardo, e son un giaccio;
e volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in terra;
e nulla stringo, e tutto 'l mondo abbraccio.

Tal m'ha in pregion, che non m'apre né serra,
né per suo mi riten né scioglie il laccio;
e non m'ancide Amore, e non mi sferra,
né mi vuol vivo né mi trae d'impaccio.

Veggio senza occhi, e non ho lingua, e grido;
e bramo di perir, e cheggio aita;
et ho in odio me stesso, et amo altrui.

Pascomi di dolor, piangendo rido;
Egualmente mi spiace morte e vita:
in questo stato son, donna, per vui.

I find no peace, and I am not at war,
I fear and hope, and burn and I am on ice;
I fly above the heavens, and lie on earth,
and I grasp nothing, and embrace the world.

One holds me jailed who neither locks nor opens,
nor keeps me for her own nor frees the noose;
Love does not kill, nor does he loose my chains;
he wants me lifeless but won't loosen me.

I see with no eyes, shout without a tongue;
I yearn to perish, and I beg for help;
I hate myself and love somebody else.

I thrive on pain and laugh with all my tears;
I dislike death as much as I do life:
because of you, lady, I am this way.[11]

Petrarch's metaphorical language is emotional, pictorial, emphatic, and immediately engaging. Love is presented as an emotional paradox, the lover as a restless yearner. The poet expresses the ambivalence of love in strings of sharp antitheses, as in Sonnet 134, or in more extended images. In the sweet pain of lovesickness or sleeplessness and in the voluntary powerlessness of a rudderless ship, tears and sighs go hand in hand with bliss. The lover's mixed feelings are central to these poems. He does not know whether he is awake or asleep, alive or dead, whether he wants to live or die of love.

In Petrarch's eulogy the adored Laura, who arouses these emotions, is elevated to a symbol of perfect love, part worldly and part divine.[12] She is the poet's sun, and with her enchanting eyes and blonde locks she is like an angel, but also like the Shulamith from the Song of Songs (verses 4, 6, 7) or the Virgin of medieval Marian poetry. The pictorial descriptions of Laura's eyes, cheeks, hair, and neck convey the lover's tender feelings, but at the same time provide a contrast to the heartache he suffers on account of this almost angelic, unattainable being.

After Laura's alleged death on April 6, 1348—21 years after the first meeting—the poet's passion is transformed into a sublimated spiritual love. In his cerebral adoration of the dead Laura, still as strongly present as ever in spirit, Petrarch unites his worldly desire with his religious aspirations: here it is not sensual but chaste love that is praised and lamented. Through this shift

the poetic soliloquy is gradually rounded off, and the *Canzoniere* reaches a natural conclusion.[13]

ITALIAN PETRARCHISM

Petrarch's love poetry was widely received from the sixteenth century onwards, first in Italy, then later in Spain, France, England, the Netherlands, and Germany also. Until the seventeenth and even eighteenth century, many translations and adaptations of Petrarch's works were produced in these countries; the number of love poems inspired thematically or stylistically by Petrarch is greater still. Within this profusion four schools of petrarchism may be distinguished, which differ somewhat in terms of style and content, but nonetheless have in common the theme of bitter-sweet or unattainable love. This petrarchan concept of love is characterized by the simultaneous pleasure and pain felt by the lover, sometimes highlighting his tendency to wallow in love's heartache.[14] Imitations of the *Canzoniere* often concentrate more on stylistic rhetoric, antithetical imagery, and physical beauty than on the psychological aspects of Petrarch's work. Hans Pyritz has described petrarchism as the "second internationally prevailing erotic system after Minnesang;"[15] this characterization emphasizes, alongside the poetological significance of petrarchism, the loss of originality and content of this school compared to its model.[16]

The first petrarchan school built mainly on the stylistic aspects of Petrarch's poetry. In the second half of the fifteenth century the Neapolitan *strambottisti* Carieto, Tebaldeo, and Serafino assimilated Petrarchan rhetoric and metaphor into their erotic mannerist style. Through this one-sided application, the poetic language of the *Canzoniere* lost a great deal in terms of both psychology and style.

In reaction to the lack of content of the first Neapolitan petrarchan school, a second school developed in northern Italy in the early sixteenth century, in which the Venetian humanist and poet Pietro Bembo played a decisive role. Bembo, the "segundo Petrarca,"[17] saw Petrarch's poetry as the poetological ideal of the Italian vernacular (*Prose della volgar lingua*, 1525). He systemized the poetic forms of the *Canzoniere*, Petrarch's sonorous Tuscan language, his rhetoric and careful syntax. Bembo put his poetic theories into practice in *Gli Asolani* (1505) and *Le Rime* (1530);[18] his successors include important Italian poets such as Lodovico Ariosto, Benedetto Varchi, and Torquato Tasso. Bembism normatized not only Petrarch's style but also the psychological depth of the Petrarchan conception of love. This thematic accentuation of love linked humanist love poetry directly and explicitly with Renaissance neo-Platonism. In his *Asolani*, Bembo related the Platonic as-

pects of Petrarch's conception of love—the transcendence of earthly, sensual love toward perfect spiritual love—to the moral and natural significance of the Florentine's love-oriented philosophy.[19]

The third Italian petrarchan school began, like the first, in Naples. In the second half of the sixteenth century concettists such as Costanzo, Tansillo, and Rota combined the erotic mannerism of the first petrarchists with Bembo's poetics. They produced an extremely stylized petrarchan love language, characterized by acuity and sensuality, which reached its zenith in the work of Giambattisto Marino. Marinism brought petrarchan antithesis to its peak in terms of both style and thematics. In extremely opposed compounds and oxymora, *dolce amaro* was presented with the strongest possible rhetorical and emotional effect. Favored marinist themes were love-battles and love-death. Marino's *La canzone dei Baci* (before 1590,)[20] a ninety-eight-verse depiction of a love-battle, is characteristic:

Una bocca omicida,
Dolce d'Amor guerrera,
Cui nature di gemme arma ed inostra,
Dolcemente mi sfida,
E schiva e lusinghiera,
Ed amante e nemica a me si mostra.
Entran scherzando in giostra
Le lingue innamorate;
Baci le trombe son, baci l'offese,
Baci son le contese;
Quelle labra, ch'io stringo,
Son l'agone e l'arringo;
Vezzi son l'onte, e son le piaghe amate,
Quanto profonde piú, tanto piú grate.

A murderous mouth,
Sweet warrior of Love,
Whom nature arms and adorns with jewels,
Sweetly challenges me,
And, both shy and enticing,
Loving and hostile, displays herself before me.
The enamored tongues
Enter the lists playfully;
Kisses are the trumpets, kisses the thrusts,
Kisses the fray;
Those lips which I press
Are the field and the arena;
Lovely the charges and loving the wounds,
The deeper they are, the more pleasing.[21]

Although this poem is obviously based on Petrarchan foundations, it could scarcely be further removed from the poetry of the *Canzoniere*. In seemingly endless strings of paradoxes Marino here takes petrarchan motifs to the extreme, sharpens the rhetorical and affective contrasts and replaces the introspective thematics of Petrarch and the bembists with worldly sensualism. Because of the markedly sensual tone of his poetry, Marino has been labeled "the poet of the five senses."[22] Not only the eyes, as in Petrarch's visual descriptions of beauty, but the other senses also are now "portals of love."[23]

Marino's poetry also distanced itself thematically from that of Petrarch, in that the Neapolitan focused not on his own psychology, but on that of the reader. Within the thematic framework of petrarchan love he sought by means of *novità* (novelty) and *acutezza* (acuity) not only to exceed the expectations of his public, but also to disturb the reader emotionally.[24] He made it his object to move his public affectively by means of an acute and rhetorically effective poetic art:

> È del poeta il fin la meraviglia
> (parlo de l'eccellente, non del goffo):
> chi non sa far stupir, vada a la striglia.[25]
>
> The poet's end is astonishment
> (I speak here of the excellent, not the clumsy poet):
> he who cannot amaze should turn to the curry-comb.

The psychological ambivalence of petrarchan love furnished an ideal starting point for Marino's poetic objectives, since the intensified petrarchan paradoxes and antitheses contributed to the affective impact of the poem. Even more effective, however, was the skillful presentation of emotionally powerful themes such as cruelty and suffering, which could arouse horror, but at the same time admiration for the poet's virtuosity. Marino's *La Strage de gl' Innocenti*,[26] a description of the massacre of the Holy Innocents in Bethlehem that is realistic down to the smallest gory detail, was conceived with this purpose in mind:

> Musa non più d'amor, cantiam lo sdegno
> Del crudo Re, che mille infanti afflitti
> (Ahi, che non pote avidità di regno)
> Fe'dal materno sen cade trafitti.
>
> Muse, no more of love, let us sing of the disdain
> of the cruel king who had thousands of unfortunate infants
> (ah, what are those greedy for power not capable of?)
> fall convulsed from their mothers' breasts.

The poetic language of *Strage de gl'Innocenti* combines a thematic accentuation of the human affects with powerful rhetoric and a visual style of representation. Marino always emphasized that the poem should strive to achieve with linguistic resources the visual power of painting.[27] *Strage* was conceived as a poetic reproduction of the painting of the same name by his friend Guido Reni. Marino's aesthetic of *meraviglia* (astonishment) thus united the motifs, stylizations, and imagery of humanist petrarchism with the concettism and affective design of contemporary mannerism. In early baroque poetics rhetorical *delectare* went hand in hand with *movere*.

In addition to the superficial mannerist imitations of Petrarch's motifs by the *strambottisti*, the conscientious imitation of the *Canzoniere* by Pietro Bembo's circle and the affectively intensified love poems of the marinists, an antipetrarchan movement also emerged in reaction to the widely prevailing petrarchan vogues. These poets parodied themes such as exaggerated physical beauty and lovesickness.[28] Thus by the end of the sixteenth century, two hundred years after Petrarch's death, four petrarchan schools of poetry had developed in Italy. All of these petrarchan genres were cultivated outside Italy as well.

Besides poetry, petrarchism also influenced other social forms. In the Italian Renaissance courts a stylized culture reigned. The courtier should have at his disposal a good general education, elegant manners, and a knowledge of modern arts.[29] In this milieu, consummate demeanor in etiquette and speech was a proof of one's command of courtly manners.[30] The declamation and invention of petrarchan love poems often functioned as an intertextual game using fashionable metaphors and language: it showed an understanding of both modern literature and correct comportment.[31] The musical performance of petrarchan poetry was also part of elegant comportment. Music added emotional effect to the poems, so that the music-making courtier could make a good impression on the ladies and at the same time exercise his mental equilibrium in neo-Platonic style.[32]

Thus petrarchism was not only the focus of poetic interest but had a social function also. As a result, courtly love discourses gradually acquired more and more petrarchan characteristics. The popular handbook for courtly etiquette, *Il Libro de Cortegiano* by Baldessare Castiglione (1528), illustrates how love was consistently described in petrarchan metaphors and images. The book is conceived in the form of a stylized dialogue. The protagonists, all courtiers, extol Petrarch as the poet "who wrote of his loves so divinely."[33] Further topics of conversation are the poisonous, enchanting power of a woman's flaming eyes, shooting arrows into the lover's heart and "remain hidden, as in war soldiers lie in ambush."[34] One of the speakers is Pietro Bembo, who sparks off fiery exchanges about the ideal woman and neo-Platonic love.[35] Castiglione's descriptions illustrate the influence fashionable petrarchan poetry had on the discourse and concept of love in Renaissance courtly culture. Bembo's

integration of the petrarchan conception of love into neo-Platonic philosophy provided a significant intellectual contribution to this development.[36] Finally, many artistic portraits of Francesco Petrarca and his Donna Laura continued to be created until well into the seventeenth century.

MUSICAL PETRARCHISM IN THE MADRIGAL

The musical genre of the madrigal, which was popular in Italy from the sixteenth century onwards, was closely associated with petrarchan love poetry. The texts set to this free song genre were almost exclusively petrarchan. Adrian Willaert's *Musica Nova* (1559), for instance, contained twenty-five madrigals, of which only one was not based on a text by Petrarch; Luca Marenzio only set texts either taken from the *Canzoniere* or written by Petrarch's imitators;[37] and in his later madrigal books Claudio Monteverdi concentrated on the later petrarchan poems of Guarini and Marino.[38] On this basis Bruce Pattison asserted that the madrigal was "one of the early fruits of petrarchan poetry."[39]

This concentration on petrarchan texts in the madrigal form has a firm historical background. As far back as the early 1420s Guillaume Dufay had set Petrach's *Vergine bella*; furthermore, the *improvvisatori* at the fifteenth-century Italian courts often took Petrarch's poems as the basis for their *poesia per musica*. From this improvisational music evolved the genres of the frottola and the strambotto, for which similar texts were employed.[40] The frottola is regarded, along with the chanson, as the direct musical precursor of the madrigal.[41] In their choice of text the early madrigalists assimilated the preferences of their predecessors. Moreover, since the significance and popularity of petrarchism continued to grow during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, petrarchan poems were also the most fashionable and easily obtainable texts. Thus in Italian Renaissance court culture these love poems were not only often written, read, and recited, but also set to music and sung.

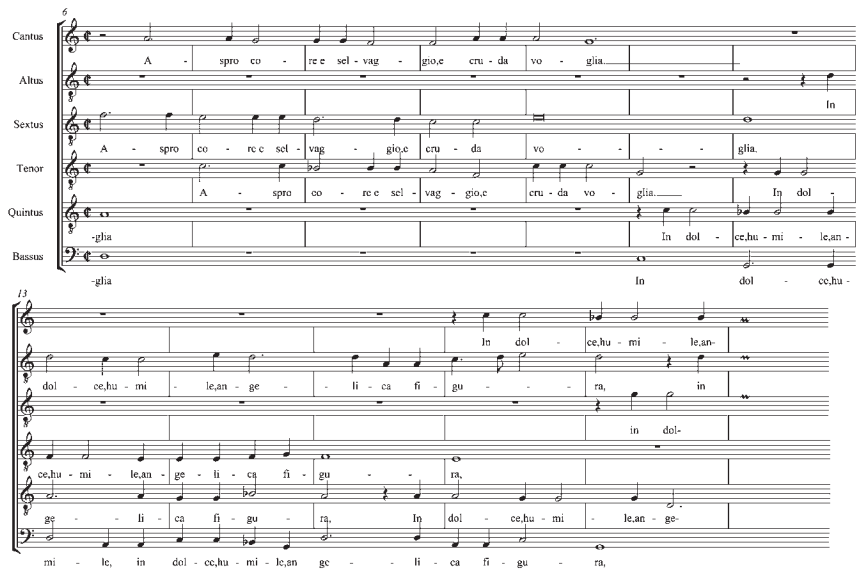
The musical idiom of the madrigal was every bit as expressive as its poetic idiom. All available musical parameters and expressive resources were employed in the musical formulation of poetically significant elements of petrarchan texts. Thus the timbre, meter, syntax, metaphor, and aesthetic of the various petrarchan schools were provided with musical equivalents through judicious use of modality, tempo, rhythm, polyphonic technique, melody, and chromaticism.

Sound as a Stylistic Resource

Dean T. Mace and Martha Feldman have discussed how Venetian madrigalists in the first half of the sixteenth century transferred Pietro Bembo's poetics to composition.[42] A significant part of these poetics was devoted to the affective value

(*valore sentimentale*)[43] of poetic sound. Variations (*variazione*) of meter, rhyme, vowel sounds, and consonant sounds should generate a constant harmonic alternation of poetic mood, shifting between seriousness (*gravità*) and pleasantness (*piacevolezza*).[44] In the Venetian madrigal all compositional resources contributed to the musical expression of the *gravità* and *piacevolezza* of Petrarch's poems. In this context both Mace and Feldman discuss Adrian Willaert's "Aspro core," the fourteenth madrigal from *Musica Nova*, which is a setting of Petrarch's Sonnet 265. The semantic oxymoron in the first two lines of the poem is also manifest in the sound of the vowels, consonants, and rhythms employed:

> Aspro core e selvaggio e cruda voglia
> In dolce humile, angelica figura.
>
> A fierce, ungracious heart, a cruel will
> in a sweet, humble, angelic form.[45]

In his musical representation of these lines, shown in example 1-1, Willaert achieves optimal contrast in sound by means of rhythm, harmony, and intervals. The hard trochees of the first line always fall on accented beats, while the softer iambs of the second line are set in gentle syncopations and thus acquire greater musical emphasis. The harsh consonants in the text of the first line are matched by an equally unpleasant musical sound, for Willaert formulates them as contrapuntal aberrations: a chain of sixth chords is resolved in fifths and augmented thirds.[46] The contrasting harmonic consonance in the

Example 1-1. Adrian Willaert, "Aspro core," bars 6–17.

second line reflects the soft, voiced letters of the text. The combination of sorrowfully descending melodies with pleasing parallel thirds in this passage seems to express the bitter-sweet ambivalence of love.[47]

Syntax

As a humanist and philologist Bembo strove through his writings for a revival of classical (Ciceronian) rhetoric and syntax.[48] In this aspect of his poetics he again drew on Petrarch, who sought to imitate all facets of classical rhetoric in his prose and poetry. The Venetian madrigalists, who demonstrated the same aspirations in their composition theory, used the flexible vehicle of polyphony to formulate musically the form, rhyme scheme, and rhetorical devices of Petrarch's poetry.[49] Parallel, chiastic, or antithetic syntactical constructions could be musically presented through repetition, inversion, or simultaneity of musical motifs. In this way the madrigal furnished an exact musical rendering of Petrarch's ambivalent rhetoric. In the words of Martha Feldman: "Just as Petrarch complemented his themes of spiritual uncertainty with an intricate verbal style, the Venetians turned to an unstable polyphonic web to achieve a parallel effect."[50]

In Willaert's madrigal "Pien d'un vago pensier che me desvia," a setting of Petrarch's Sonnet 169, the musical interpretation of the poetic syntax supports its semantic meaning. The eighth line of the text reads "Questa bella d'Amor nemica, e mia," adding syntactical depth to the petrarchan metaphor of the sweet enemy. Because of the interruptive placing of "d'Amor" and the comma before "e mia" the sentence may be interpreted in two different ways: it can be read either as "this beautiful enemy *of love and of mine*" or as "*my* beautiful love-enemy." This deliberately ambiguous syntax intensifies the semantic ambivalence of the line.[51] Willaert's setting of this line musically reproduces precisely this syntactical ambiguity through the polyphonic separation or combination of the grammatical units.

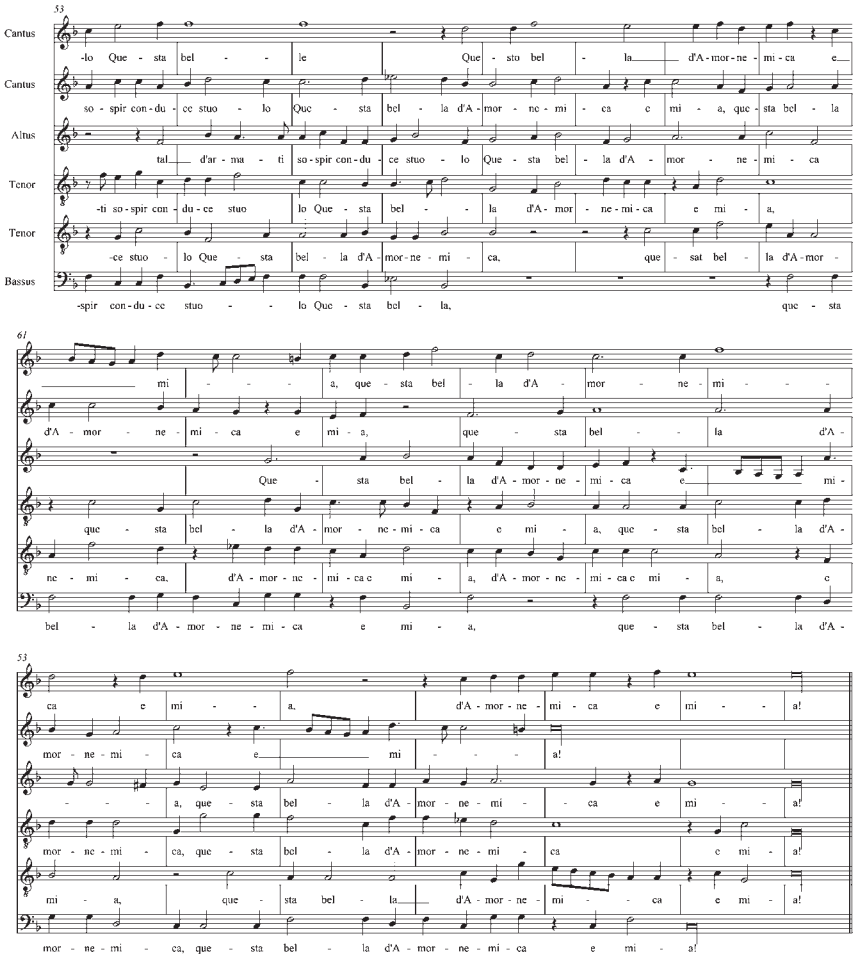
Initially soprano and bass sing only the words "Questa bella" together, as though to separate the beauty of the beloved from her uncertain relationship with the poet and to sharpen the antithesis between the two. The short anticipation of "Questa bella" makes the ambivalence of this clause, both semantic and syntactical, the focal point of the line.

Immediately afterwards all voices repeatedly sing "Questa bella d'Amor nemica," thus musically representing Laura as love-enemy and highlighting the second interpretation. However, the tenor then twice sings "d'Amor nemica e mia," so that the two grammatically co-ordinated attributes of "nemica" are equated musically also, favoring the first interpretation: "The enemy of love and of mine."

In the last repetition of the entire line "e mia" is separated from the other words in all voices by a rest. Through this musical emphasis of the poetic

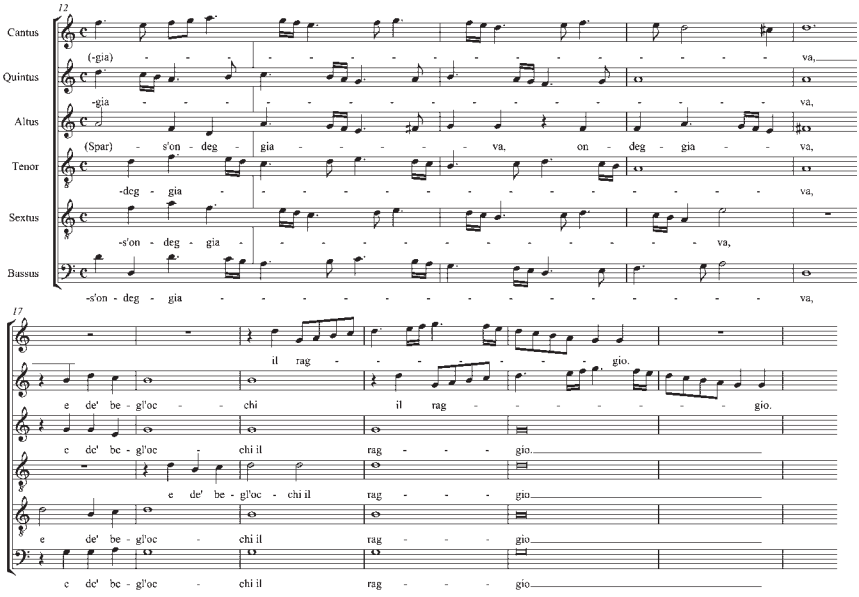
comma, the ambivalent relationship between the poet and the beautiful enemy is powerfully represented in the music. Here Willaert has reinforced the ambiguous syntax of the text in the music, thus eloquently reflecting the psychological depth of Petrarch's poem (see example 1-2).

Metaphor

In their settings of madrigal texts the generation of composers after Willaert, from Cypriano de Rore and Luca Marenzio to Luzzascho Luzzaschi and Claudio Monteverdi, concentrated equally on sound and syntax, but especially on the representation of petrarchan metaphor. These madrigalists

Example 1-2. Adrian Willaert, "Pien d'un vago pensier che me desvia," bars 53–73.

increasingly turned to the poems of the mannerist petrarchists of Naples. Their madrigals had the same richly contrastive and pictorial character as their texts. Petrarchan paradoxes and images received musical equivalents in pictorial formulations and affective diction.[52] Like the poetic motifs they represented, these madrigalisms gradually developed into a standardized idiom during the second half of the sixteenth century. On these grounds both petrarchan genres have been criticized in scholarly discussions for their lack of originality and artificiality.[53]

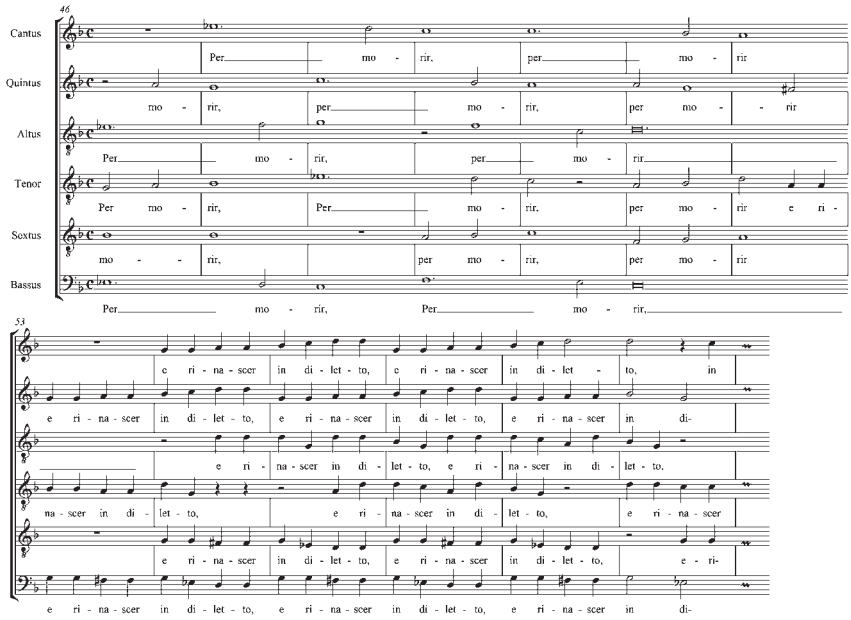
Petrarchan motivic groups often represented musically as pictorial madrigalisms are depictions of nature and of physical beauty. Luca Marenzio represents the eyes of the beloved in "Su l'ampia fronte," the thirteenth madrigal from his third collection (1585), as two breves at the same pitch—this word-painting, as actual *Augenmusik*, is thus visible rather than audible.[54] Similarly Tasso's petrarchan description of the physical beauty of the adored one, in this case her wavy (*ondeggiava*) golden locks and the radiance (*raggio*) of her eyes, is represented extremely pictorially by Marenzio (see example 1-3).

The emotional ambivalence of petrarchan love gave madrigal composers the opportunity to create the greatest possible antitheses on all musical levels. Rising and falling melodic motifs, consonant and dissonant harmonies, faster and slower tempi, duple and triple rhythms, polyphony and homophony are contrasted or combined to produce an ambivalent musical mood. The most common affective madrigalism represented the typical petrarchan simultane-

Example 1-3. Luca Marenzio, "Su l'ampia fronte," bars 12–22.

ity of life and death in love. In "Per duo coralli ardenti," no. 3 from Marenzio's first madrigal book (1580), the slow motion, descending melodies, chromaticism, and dissonance used to express death (*morir*) contrast sharply with the faster notes, rising melodies, and harmonic consonance at the word "life" (*rinascer*), as shown in example 1-4.

Marenzio's madrigalism is a typical instance of musical petrarchan diction that was also used to represent love-death.[55] The often radical chromaticism and dissonance that appear in this context in the madrigals of composers from Ferrara and the Neapolitan composers Fontanelli, Luzzaschi, and Gesualdo[56] matches the extravagant style of the mannerist and marinist petrarchists.

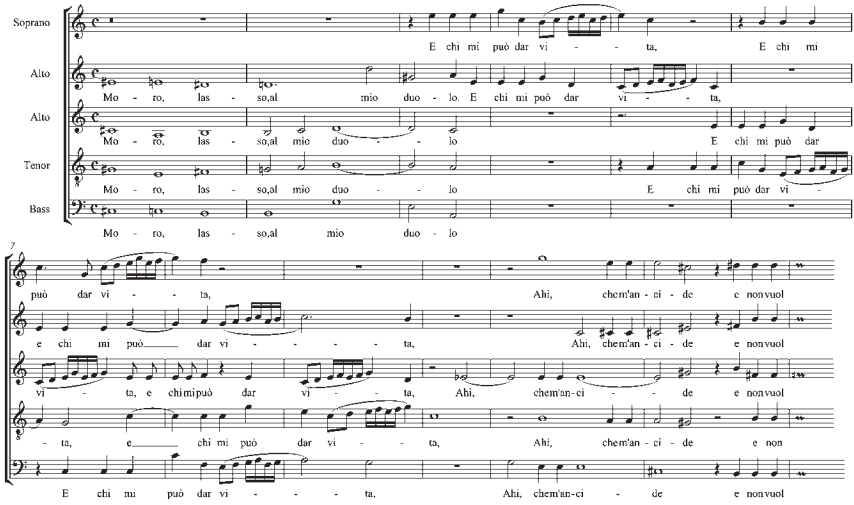
Marinism in the Late Madrigal

At the end of the sixteenth century Neapolitan petrarchism, also influenced by Marino's *meraviglia* aesthetic, developed into a virtuosic form. The reader of marinist poetry should be overpowered by its rhetorical acuity, antithetical metaphor, and richly affective thematics. The composers who set these poems created equally virtuosic madrigals in which all the stylistic resources of the genre were pushed to the extreme. The Neapolitan madrigalists of Carlo Gesualdo's circle set these texts, chiefly by Marino, in a stylized musical idiom that gave every textual motif a character of its own. In vivid madrigalisms,

Example 1-4. Luca Marenzio, "Per duo coralli ardenti," bars 46–58.

extreme dissonance and chromaticism, and almost enharmonic or even tonal harmony, the marinist metaphors of heartache and love-death were given a musical form whose rhetorical effect was at least as disturbing as that of the poetry it represented. On these grounds the Neapolitan madrigal has been labeled musical mannerism.[57]

One of Gesualdo's harmonically most extreme madrigals is "Moro, lasso," from his sixth madrigal book. The madrigal begins with an affective representation of the lover's heartache at the words "Moro, lasso" ("Let me die"). The dissonant effect generated by the extensive chromaticism, the modal shifts, the slow, chromatically descending parallel thirds between soprano and bass, and the fauxbourdon between alto and tenor express this theme almost palpably.[58] In bar 3, however, at the words "e chi mi puo dar vita" ("and who can give me life") consonant voice-pairings in short notes are introduced. The sudden contrast in musical mood heightens the affective power of the poem impressively, as shown in example 1-5.

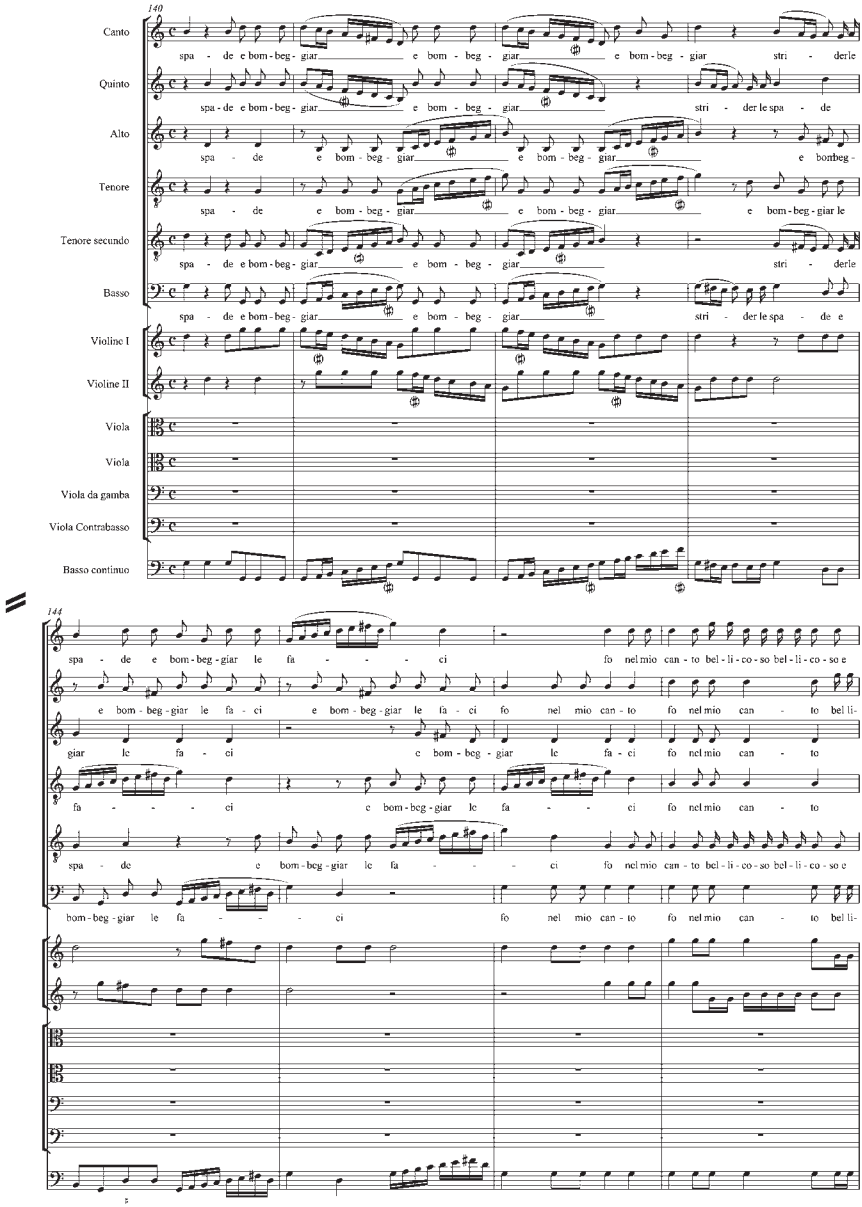
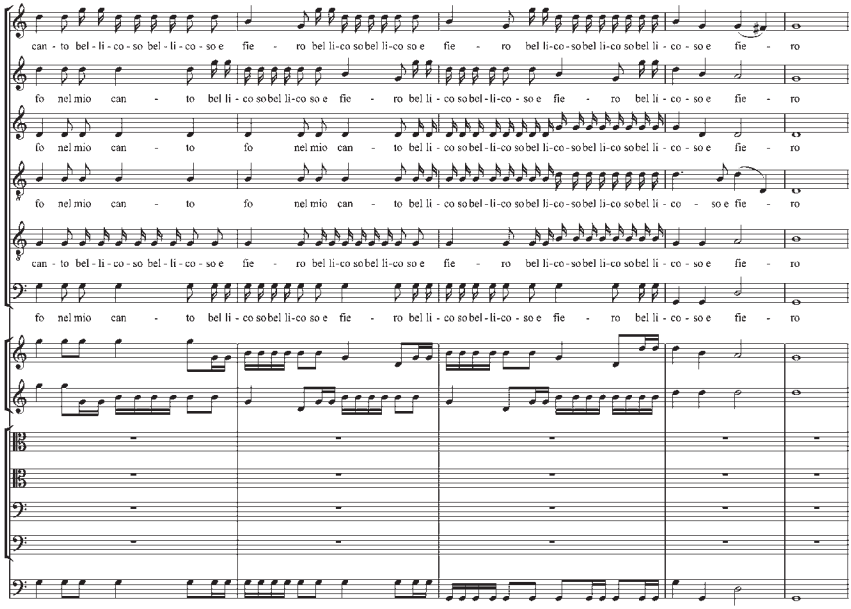
Karin Wettig has argued that Gesualdo's madrigals, characterized by a far-reaching "dolce-amaro mould," seem to aim at the deliberate amazement (*stupore*) of his listeners.[59] His virtuosic use and contrast of diverse compositional resources to this end reflect Marino's endeavors to surprise and amaze his audience through acuity and technical mastery. Thus these madrigals match their mannerist texts not only stylistically but also aesthetically.

Gary Tomlinson has shown how Claudio Monteverdi in his madrigal collections similarly transformed the petrarchan elements of the early madrigal into a musical equivalent of marinism. Unlike the madrigalists of southern Italy, Monteverdi incorporated concertato and monodic compositional tech-

Example 1-5. Carlo Gesualdo, "Moro, lasso," bars 1–12.

niques into his madrigalian polyphony. Monteverdi's seventh madrigal book (1619) marks a turning point in this development. In the settings of Marino's poems for two, three, and more voices in this collection, Monteverdi unites madrigalian diction with the attainments of the new operatic style. In a musical idiom that was at once vivid, affectively potent, and technically virtuosic, he created "a musical language that vividly conveys the ornamental hedonism of his texts."[60]

Like the early madrigalists, Monteverdi expressed Marino's antithetical metaphor in pictorial and affective motifs. Compared to Willaert, however, Monteverdi's madrigalisms seem oriented toward visualization rather than rhetorical intensification of the text. Like the imagery of the marinist poem, the often rapid alternation of short motifs in Monteverdi's madrigals generates a literal, almost iconic reproduction of the textual content.[61] The integration of elements of operatic style such as rapid, syncopated word declamation, continuo accompaniment, and abrupt changes of rhythm and tempo gives rise to an expressive musical idiom. Because this style of representation allows the rapid alternation of musical metaphors that are at once pictorial and affective, it is appropriate to both the metaphor and aesthetic of the marinist texts.

The technical virtuosity of marinist poetry is represented in Monteverdi's madrigals above all by a constant succession of fast, complicated melismas.[62] Because these demand great vocal mastery of the singers, it is not hard to understand why Christoph Bernhard labeled this style "luxuriant."[63] This virtuosity, as well as the visual and affective power of Monteverdi's madrigal style, reached its peak in his eighth madrigal book (1638). In this collection, which bears the typically marinist title *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi*, Monteverdi developed his "agitated style," the *stile concitato*. He used it particularly in the representation of love-war. In the madrigal "altri canti d'Amor, tenero arciero," which has war as its theme ("let others celebrate love, I celebrate Mars"), bombs and marching soldiers are represented most realistically in technically demanding madrigalisms. (See example 1-6.)

In brief, the Italian madrigal composers sought to achieve the greatest possible correspondence between text and composition. The stylistic characteristics of the petrarchan love poems and the affective connotations of poetic sound, rhetoric, and syntax were conscientiously worked out musically, while the petrarchan metaphors were matched by pictorial and affective madrigalisms. The madrigal also followed the thematic and aesthetic developments of petrarchism. Text and music of this genre move from a conscientious expression of psychological depth in the poetry of the early sixteenth century to a marinistic delight in style and affect at the end of the century. The madrigal style can therefore be understood as a musical love discourse, bearing as many petrarchan characteristics as its linguistic counterpart. The thematic

Example 1-6. Claudio Monteverdi, "Altri canti d'Amor," bars 140–152.

Example 1-6. Continued.

association between the madrigal and love poetry was so close that in his *Musurgia Universalis* Athanasius Kircher asserts that the principal affective goal of this genre is love:

> Madrigalescus animo ad amorem, compassionem, caeterasque molliores affectiones rapiendo maximè idoneus est.
>
> The madrigal is optimally suitable to move the soul to love, compassion and other tender affections.[64]

EUROPEAN RECEPTION OF PETRARCHAN TRADITIONS

During the sixteenth century Italian court culture began to spread throughout Europe. Spanish, French, English, Dutch, and German diplomats, courtiers, and artists imitated the Italian arts and lifestyle. As part of this development petrarchism and the madrigal style also spread across Western Europe. Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* was translated into six languages and often imitated. These developments led to the widespread reception of the poetry, musical settings, and love discourse of petrarchan traditions in Western Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[65]

The Spanish and French reception of petrarchism began in the early sixteenth century. The Spanish love poem, like its Italian counterpart, evolved

from the bembist style of Juan Boscàn (d.1542) into the marinism of Luis de Gongora (1561–1627). In French petrarchism a similar development is discernible.[66] The poems of the Lyon school, whose main representative is Maurice Scève (c. 1501–1560), have neo-Platonic characteristics. From the middle of the century the poets of the *Pléiade*, like the bembists in Italy, aspired to raise French poetry to the standards of antiquity. This end was achieved in the work of Joachin du Bellay (1522–1560) and Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585). Ronsards's later love poetry, oriented above all toward *carpe diem*, has much in common with Italian mannerism and marinism. Even around 1700 petrarchan elements may still be observed in the *galant* conception of love and its poetic expression in early French classicism (cf. chapter 4).

Around the middle of the sixteenth century Petrarch's poems were translated into English and imitated by Thomas Wyatt (1503–1542) and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1517–1547). During the Elizabethan period a vast number of petrarchan sonnet cycles was written by such famous poets as Philip Sydney (1554–1586), Edmund Spenser (1552–1599), and William Shakespeare (1564–1616). In the early seventeenth century a petrarchan mannerist style emerged in the love poetry of metaphysical poets such as John Donne (1572–1631). That the English conception of love was also influenced by petrarchan trends is shown by the love discourse in Shakespeare's dramatic works (*Romeo and Juliet*, *Love's Labour Lost*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*). Similarly, Henry Peacham's handbook for courtiers, *The Complete Gentleman* (1661), and Richard Burton's descriptions of the lover's desire in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (*The Third Partition. Love Melancholy*, 1632) are clearly based on the petrarchan concept of love. The madrigal also enjoyed great popularity in Elizabethan Britain. The number of madrigal books published in this period was perhaps even larger than the number of petrarchan poetry collections. The great English flowering of this genre is largely due to the madrigal composer, collector, and publisher Thomas Morley. Morley's endeavors marked the beginning of the great vogue of the English madrigal in the first decades of the seventeenth century, when composers such as Thomas Weelkes, John Wilbey, and Orlando Gibbons almost literally imitated the late Italian madrigal, both textually and musically.[67] Musical petrarchism was so closely tied with the poetry that Thomas Morley defines the madrigal solely in terms of its texts: "Use showeth that it is a kind of Musicke made upon songs and sonnets, such as Petrarcha and many poets of our time have excelled in" (cf. chapter 2).[68]

Petrarchism was introduced into Germany around 1600. In the late sixteenth century large numbers of madrigal collections were imported from Italy and gradually translated and imitated by German (poet-) composers. Furthermore, in the early seventeenth century many German poets and composers studied in Italy, France, and the Netherlands. German petrarchism developed especially through the translation and imitation of the Dutch neo-Latin poetry of

Justus Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558) and Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and the works of the French petrarchists du Bellay and Ronsard. It differed from the petrarchan love poetry of other European countries in its juxtaposition of petrarchan (Martin Opitz, Paul Fleming), mannerist (Gottfried Finckelthaus, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer), marinist (Christian Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau, Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, Barthold Heinrich Brockes), and spiritual (Johann Rist, Philipp von Zesen, Angelus Silesius) elements.

Because of this thematic and stylistic diversity, German petrarchism is often characterized by a double ambivalence. In addition to the petrarchan paradox of bitter-sweet emotions, the following poem by Paul Fleming also shows a certain ambiguity as to the identity of the beloved. In metaphors that recall both Italian petrarchism and the Song of Songs, a love that is part secular, part religious is described:

O Schönste der Schönen, Benimm mir dies Sehnen.
Komm, eile, komm, komme,
Du süße, du Fromme!
Ach Schwester, ich sterbe,
Ich sterb, ich verderbe!
Komm, komme, komm eile,
Komm tröste, komm heile!
Benimm mir dies Sehnen,
O Schönste der Schönen![69]

O fairest of all, assuage my desire.
Come, make haste, come, come,
Sweet one, pious one!
Ah, sister, I die,
I die, I am ruined!
Come, come, come quickly,
Come console me, come heal me!
Assuage my desire,
O fairest of all!

DEFINITION AND FUNCTION OF PETRARCHISM

Petrarchism can be defined in various ways, based on normative, structural, and functional grounds.[70] A structural or normative definition of the petrarchan tradition is problematic. Petrarchan poetry is extremely heterogeneous: bembist, mannerist, or marinist poems are not necessarily conceived as an imitation of the *Canzoniere*, but often rather imitate or comment on current conventions. It would be impossible to establish a structural dependence or even a normative

hierarchy of these poems that would correspond to historic conditions.

It is possible, however, to differentiate common characteristics within the great diversity of petrarchan poetic forms. The first is thematic: all petrarchan poetry concentrates on the expression of the emotional ambivalence of love. Principal themes are the lover's lament, desire, and the heartache of unrequited love. The second characteristic of petrarchan poetry is stylistic: the linguistic expression of these themes was conventionalized in rather rigid imagery and by the use of rhetorical elements. Petrarchism is characterized by accumulated antitheses and oxymora—ice-cold fire, voluntary imprisonment, and above all *dolendi voluptas*, agreeable suffering. This conception of love was so prevalent in the sixteenth century that it determined not only love poetry but also the contemporary cultural love discourses.

These two characteristics also apply to musical settings of petrarchan poems. The madrigal was set almost exclusively to petrarchan texts. It was therefore thematically connected to ambivalent love. Moreover, the compositional style of the madrigal was just as pictorial and rhetorical as its texts: the sound and syntax of the poems were precisely reflected in the music, and conventionalized petrarchan metaphors found equally conventional musical equivalents in illustrative or affective madrigalisms. The madrigal style therefore functioned as a musical love discourse.

Another possible definition of petrarchism rests on its functionality. Petrarchism had, on the one hand, a social role. The petrarchan discourse displayed the courtier's fine education and elegant manners in the form of an intertextual game. Thus, both at the Italian courts and later in other countries, petrarchism functioned simultaneously as entertainment and as the external manifestation of courtliness. On the other hand, petrarchan poetry also had a literary–historical function. In his famous article "European Petrarchism as Training in Poetic Diction" (1963), Leonard Forster has argued that the conventionalized poetic language of petrarchism served as a "training in poetic diction" in the stylistic instruction of novice poets.[71] Forster has shown that the countless, supposedly unoriginal love poems by Spanish, French, English, Dutch, and German poets served as a first exercise in vernacular poetry. The next chapter will discuss the extent to which petrarchism functioned as an artistic training in German baroque poetry. The functional analogies between petrarchism and the madrigal style, which played a similar role in the development of novice composers, will also be examined.

NOTES

1. Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (Breslau: Gründer, 1624). Facsimile, edited by Richard Alewyn (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1963), 27.

2. Regarding the origins of the *Canzoniere* see Gerhart Hoffmeister, *Petrarca* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1997), 86–90.

3. Regarding Petrarch's poetic antecedents see Leonard Forster, *The Icy Fire. Five Studies in European Petrarchism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 1ff; Hoffmeister, *Petrarca*, 95ff.; Hans Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik. Zur Geschichte des Petrarkismus*, 2nd. ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1963), 124–134.

4. Cf. Forster, *The Icy Fire*, 3: "The fundamental note of his poetry is therefore melancholy and resignation, in which for more than thirty years he may fairly be said to wallow."

5. Cf. Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik*, 137ff.

6. Cf. Hoffmeister, *Petrarca*, 96.

7. Regarding Petrarch's *accidia* (the medieval mortal sin of religious doubt) see the articles by Siegfried Wenzel and Hans Baron in *Petrarca* ed. August Buck (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976).

8. English translation by Mark Musa, *Petrarch: The Canzoniere or Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta. Translated into Verse with Notes and Commentary by Mark Musa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 5.

9. Regarding the development of the sonnet form in the German baroque see Volker Meid, *Barocklyrik*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), 60ff.

10. Throughout this study, a distinction will be made in all terms based on a writer's name; "Petrarchan," for example, will be employed to refer to Petrarch's own poetic style, whereas "petrarchan" designates that of his imitators.

11. Musa, *Petrarch*, 219.

12. Regarding Petrarch's portrayal of Laura see Hoffmeister, *Petrarca*, 90ff.

13. Cf. Hoffmeister, *Petrarca*, 96.

14. See Forster, *The Icy Fire*, chapter 1; Hoffmeister, *Petrarca*, 123; Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik*, 148 and 187ff.

15. Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik*, 147.

16. Cf. Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik*, 144: "It is Petrarch's tragedy that his inimitable creation became a textbook and that its huge and incalculable impact was generated by its transient elements."

17. In the words of Benedetto Varchi. Quoted in Gerhart Hoffmeister, *Petrarkistische Lyrik* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1973), 19.

18. See Hoffmeister, *Petrarkistische Lyrik*, 20ff.

19. See Kenneth R. Bartlett, Konrad Eisenbichler and Janice Liedl, (eds.), *Love and Death in the Renaissance* (Ottawa: Dovehouse, 1991); Jill Kraye, "Moral Philosophy," in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, 4th ed., ed. Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler, Jill Kraye (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996), 353–356; Nicolas J. Perella, *The Kiss Sacred and Profane. An Interpretative History of Kiss Symbolism and Related Religio-Erotic Themes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), chapter 5.

20. See James V. Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvelous. Giambattista Marino* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 8ff.

21. Translation by Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvelous*, 280.

22. Carlo Calcaterra, *Il parnaso in rivolta* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1961), chapter 1. Quoted in Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 169.

23. Hedwig Geibel, *Der Einfluß Marinos auf Christian Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau* (Giessen: Münchow, 1938), 24ff.

24. See Mirollo, *The Poet of the Marvelous*, 116–120.

25. Giambattista Marino, "*La Murtoleide*, Fischiata XXXIII," in *Giambattista Marino. Opere*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa (Milan: Rizzoli, 1967), 852ff.

26. The first edition of Marino's *Strage de gl' innocenti* dates from 1605. Marino continued to correct and revise this poem until his death in 1625.

27. Thus in *La Galeria* (Venice 1619) Marino created a poetic art gallery of paintings and sculptures of well-known artists.

28. On anti-petrarchism see Jörg-Ulrich Fechner, *Der Antipetrarkismus. Studien zur Liebessatire im barocken Lyrik* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1966).

29. See Wilfried Barner, *Barockrhetorik* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1970), 369ff.; Harald Steinhagen and Benno von Wiese, eds., *Deutsche Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts: ihr Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1984), Preface.

30. Cf. Steinhagen and Wiese, *Deutsche Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 25ff.

31. See Forster, *The Icy Fire*, 62–67; Hoffmeister, *Petrarca*, 122 and 125. Regarding such intellectual games in Germany cf. also Klaus Ley, "Castiglione und die Höflichkeit. Zur Rezeption des *Cortegiano* im deutschen Sprachraum vom 16. Bis zum 18. Jahrhundert," in *Beiträge zur Aufnahme der italienischen und spanischen Literature in Deutschland im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. A. Martino (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1990), 3–108; Rosmarie Zeller, *Spiel und Konversation im Barock. Untersuchungen zu Harsdörffers "Gesprächspielen"* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974).

32. See James Haar, "The Courtier as Musician: Castiglione's View of the Science and Art of Music," in *The Ideal and the Real in Renaissance Culture*, ed. Robert W. Hanning and David Rosand (New Haven 1983), 165–189.

33. Baldessare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier. The Singleton Translation: an Authoritive Text Criticism*, ed. Daniel Javitch (New York: Norton, 2002), 189.

34. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, 199.

35. Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Book 4.

36. John Charles Nelson, *Renaissance Theory of Love: The Context of Giordano Bruno's "Eroici furori"* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958).

37. See James Chater, *Luca Marenzio and the Italian Madrigal* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 19–35.

38. See Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*.

39. Bruce Pattison, *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance*, 2nd ed. (London: Methuen, 1970), 75; cf. also Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 190ff.

40. On these developments see James Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music in the Renaissance, 1350–1600* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), chapters 1 and 4. On the *improvvisatori* see also Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, Book 2.

41. On the historic connection between frottola and madrigal see Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, chapters 1 and 2; on madrigal and chanson see Haar, *Essays on Italian Poetry and Music*, chapter 3.

42. See Dean T. Mace, "Pietro Bembo and the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal," *The Musical Quarterly* 55 (1969): 65–80; Martha Feldman, "The Composer as Exegete: Interpretations of Petrarchan Syntax in the Venetian Madrigal," *Studi Musicali* 18 (1989): 203–238; Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal at Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

43. Pietro Bembo, *Prose della volgar lingua* (1525), 48. Quoted in Mace, "Pietro Bembo," 70.

44. See Mace, "Pietro Bembo," 70ff.; Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal*, 147–154.

45. Musa, *Petrarch*, 377.

46. Willaert's pupil Vincenzo Galilei was the first to discuss this breach of the rules of counterpoint. He argues that Willaert is here representing musically the "falsehood" expressed in the text. Vincenzo Galilei, *Fronimo dialogo, nel quale si contengono le vere, et necessarie regole del intavolare la musica nel liuto* (Venice 1586), 13. See Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal*, 250.

47. Descending parallel thirds became a common musical metaphor of bitter-sweet love in the Italian madrigal (cf., for example, Monteverdi, *Ahi, com' a un vago sol cortese giro*, Madrigal Book 5, bars 56–73). This representative device was also taken over outside Italy for the expression of love thematics (cf. chapters 6 and 7).

48. Cf. Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal*, 258ff.

49. See also Paolo Emilio Carapezza, "The Madrigal in Venice around the Year 1600," in *Heinrich Schütz und die Musik in Dänemark zur Zeit Christians IV. Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz in Kopenhagen 10.-14. November 1985*, ed. Arne Orbaek Jensen, and Ole Kongsted (Copenhagen: Engstrom & Sodring, 1989), 203.

50. Feldman, "The Composer as Exegete," 226.

51. Cf. Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal*, 248: "The disorientation of 'mia' comments on the slippery nature of the thing possessed; yet its dangling isolation, a structural means of semantic emphasis, accentuates at the same time the quality of possession."

52. On the difference between pictorial and affective madrigalisms see Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, 385.

53. E.g. Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 648.

54. In "Luci serene e chiare" from Monteverdi's fourth madrigal collection the eyes of the beloved are represented in exactly the same way at bars 1–2.

55. For instance in "Se quel dolor che va inanzi al morire," no. 3 from Marenzio's sixth madrigal collection (1595); also in many secular and sacred representations of love-death in the German baroque (cf. chapters 6 and 7).

56. For instance in "Moro, lasso" from Gesualdo's sixth madrigal book (see below).

57. See Maria Rika Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture, 1530–1630* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1979); Hubert Meister, *Untersuc-*

hungen zum Verhältnis von Text und Vertonung in den Madrigalen Carlo Gesualdos (Regensburg: Bosse 1973); Karin Wettig, *Satztechnische Studien an den Madrigalen Carlo Gesualdos* (Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1990).

58. Regarding Gesualdo's use of fauxbourdon technique see Wettig, *Satztechnische Studien*, 153–165.

59. Wettig, *Satztechnische Studien*, 253 and 256ff.

60. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, 186.

61. Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, 210.

62. Regarding Marinist virtuosity in Monteverdi's madrigals, Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, 182ff.

63. Christoph Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* ([n.p.], 1648), in reprint *Die Kompositionslehre H. Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Chr. Bernhard*, 3rd. ed., ed. Joseph Müller-Blattau (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 90: "Monteverdi indeed founded and fostered the *stylus luxurians communis*."

64. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X libros digesta* (Rome: Corbelletti, 1650), facsimile, ed. Ulf Scharlau (Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), A597, cf. A586.

65. Regarding the German reception of Castiglione see Ley, "Castiglione und die Höflichkeit."

66. On French petrarchism see Forster, *The Icy Fire*, 36ff.

67. On the English madrigal see Edward Doughtie, *English Renaissance Song* (Boston: Twayne, 1986); Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962).

68. Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London: Peter Short, 1597), reprint ed. R. Alec Harman (London: Dent, 1952), 294.

69. Paul Fleming, "O Schönste der Schönen," quoted in *Deutsche Dichtung des Barock*, ed. Edgar Hederer (Munich: Hanser, 1954), 52ff.

70. Hoffmeister, *Petrarca*, 118–125.

71. First published in *Italian Studies* 18 (1963): 19–32, reprinted in Forster, *The Icy Fire*, 61–83. Cf. Hoffmeister, *Petrarkistische Lyrik*, 31ff., where Forster's article is described as a "turning-point" in petrarchism research.

Chapter Two

Petrarchan Poetry and the Madrigal in Seventeenth-Century Germany

Import and Publication

The catalogues of the half-yearly book fairs at Frankfurt and Leipzig show that from the late sixteenth century to around 1620 a great deal of foreign poetry and music was imported into Germany.[1] The extensive import of madrigal collections by Italian composers such as Giacomo Gastoldi, Luca Marenzio, and Orazio Vecchio attests to the interest in this genre. From the third decade of the seventeenth century the import of madrigals gradually decreased and more and more foreign madrigal collections were published by German printers. The number of madrigals by German artists available at the fairs also increased. The catalogues for the years 1610–1630 show a great blossoming of German-language secular songs "in the style of Italian Madrigals."[2] Collections of such songs, chiefly by Hans Leo Haßler, Valentin Haußmann, Orlando di Lasso, and Johann Hermann Schein, were sold in large numbers in Leipzig and Frankfurt.

A similar development may be observed in the ratio of foreign to German works in the sale of poetry. Around 1600 the main trade was in works by Ovid, Virgil, and Heinsius, whereas in the period 1630–1650 many translations of this poetry and original works by German poets were sold. In particular the secular love poetry of Martin Opitz, Paul Fleming, and Johann Rist appear in almost every catalogue in this period. Thus the popularity of the musical madrigal was concurrent with that of its literary counterpart, the love poem.

Augsburg, Dresden, Erfurt, Leipzig, Munich, Nuremberg, and Wittenburg were home to major publishing houses. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, secular poetry and music were printed and published chiefly in Nuremberg,[3] while in the eighteenth century Leipzig became Germany's largest center of printing, publishing, and book distribution.[4] From the second half of the sixteenth century, when the Nuremberg publisher Georg Forster published

a collection of Italian madrigals with German texts (1555),[5] until well into the seventeenth century, Italian madrigals, canzonettas, and other secular songs were not only imported into Germany, but also printed and published in increasing volume. In the last decade of the sixteenth century an average of four such collections was published annually in Nuremberg.[6] Around 1600 the poet-musician Valentin Haußmann was particularly active in that city as collector, translator, and publisher of Italian madrigals and secular songs by the popular composers Gastoldi, Marenzio, and Vecchi. Haußmann also composed madrigals himself, settings of his own petrarchan love poems. His collections were sold and reprinted in large numbers. Outside Nuremberg also the madrigal was the most frequently published secular musical genre in this period.[7] The large collection of late sixteenth-century printed music in the possession of the Danzig collector Georg Knoff mainly comprised Italian madrigals.[8] A seventeenth-century list of music ordered by Heinrich Schütz also shows a striking preference for this genre: in 1632 the Dresden court *Kapellmeister* ordered from Naples sixteen madrigal collections, fourteen canzonetta collections, seven motet collections, one frottola collection, one Mass, and one lamentation.[9]

In the early seventeenth century many collections of German as well as Italian secular songs were printed, principally by Christoph Demantius, Melchior Franck, Hans Leo Haßler, Valentin Haußmann, Leonhard Lechner, Jakob Regnart, and Johann Hermann Schein. These songs are mostly listed under the headings "Teutsche Gesäng und Lieder" (German Songs and Airs) or "Weltliche Lieder" (Secular Songs) for four to six voices, "Madrigals," "Venuslieder," (Venus Songs) or "Tischgesäng" (Table Songs). The subheadings on the title pages of these collections, stating that the songs are composed "in the style of the foreign madrigal," "in the madrigalian manner" or, more specifically, "in the Neapolitan style," give the impression that the popular madrigal genre functioned as a model for these German collections. Sacred songs also bore such comments: thus Johann Hermann Schein's *Israelisbrünnlein* (Leipzig 1623, 1651) was composed, according to the title page, "in an . . . Italian madrigalian manner."

The printing of Italian and German poetry shows an analogous though chronologically slightly later development. Up to around 1630 German printers principally published imported works by Ovid, Virgil, and Heinsius; after that date they mainly published German poetry. From 1632 "Teutsche Poetische Bücher" (German Poetic Books) constituted a separate category in the catalogues of the Frankfurt and Leipzig book fairs. Under this heading appear mainly German love poems and sacred poetry by poets such as Martin Opitz, Gottfried Finckelthaus, Paul Fleming, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, and David Schirmer, along with translations of the secular poems of Philip Sidney and Torquato Tasso. In the second half of the seventeenth century the number

of translations declined, while the number of poetry collections of German origin grew. This shift indicates the increasing importance of German as a poetic language.[10]

In short, a similar trend may be observed in the print and circulation of poetry and music in the early German baroque. After a period of importing and printing mainly foreign works, there was a shift around the middle of the seventeenth century to the production and publication of German poetic and musical works. In both the importation of foreign works and the production of Germany poetry and music the madrigal and love poem proved the most popular secular genres. These preferences reflect the fashion elsewhere in Western Europe. The fact that the great heyday of the madrigal came after the invention of the art of printing is a possible reason for the enormous popularity of this genre in printed collections.

Foreign Studies of German Poets and Composers

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a number of German poets and composers studied in Italy, France, and the Netherlands. Most of them set out from cities and regions of Germany where foreign and German poetry and music was imported and printed.

The Nuremberg composer Hans Leo Haßler traveled to Venice in 1584, where he studied with Andrea Gabrieli, along with Gabrieli's nephew Giovanni. Haßler was the first German composer of secular canzonettas and madrigals. He wrote his own texts, which took the form of love songs or pastoral songs. In the seventeenth century two other Nuremberg composers, Johann Erasmus Kindermann (1634/5–1636) and Paul Hainlein (1647–1648), also spent some years in Venice.[11]

Apart from Nuremberg, studies in Italy were mostly undertaken from the electoral court in Dresden. By far the best documented are the visits of court Kapellmeister Heinrich Schütz to Venice. Between 1608 and 1612 he studied the madrigal style under the direction of Giovanni Gabrieli. The fruit of these studies was a madrigal collection published in Venice in 1611. The texts to Schütz's madrigals are mostly petrarchan love poems: ten of the nineteen madrigal texts are by Giambattista Marino, and the remaining poems include excerpts from Guarini's *Pastor Fido* and two texts written by the composer himself. In 1628–1629 Schütz traveled a second time to Venice and mainly studied the compositional technique of *stile concertato*.[12] Between 1610 and 1620 the German composers Johann Grabbe and Christian Clemsee also studied with Gabrieli. During their stay in Venice each published a collection of madrigals set to petrarchan love poems written by Italian poets or by themselves.[13] Schütz's Dresden pupils Gabriel Mölich (c. 1619),[14] Caspar Kittel (1624–1629), and Christoph Bernhard (c. 1649–1650 and 1656–1658) also studied in Italy.

At most German courts there were, moreover, Italian musicians, who instructed their German colleagues in modern performance and composition techniques. From 1550 until the late seventeenth century the Dresden court chapel, for example, always included Italian musicians as well as Germans. In a letter of 1653 Heinrich Schütz explained that among both the singers and the instrumentalists he always appointed at least one Italian "from whom the chapel choristers and German singers can pick up good habits."[15] Gina Spagnoli noted that the increase in Italian musicians in the Dresden chapel in the second half of the seventeenth century was so great that the positions of German *Kapellmeisters*, composers, and musicians were threatened. In 1666 the chapel was even divided into a German and an Italian group: the Italians appeared on Sundays and feast days, while the Germans played on weekdays and if the Italians were not available.[16]

Those German poets who were not tied professionally to Germany traveled mainly to the Netherlands, France, and Italy to study the poetic traditions of those countries. Martin Opitz studied from 1620 to 1621 in Leiden, where he met Daniel Heinsius. Heinsius was, along with Petrarch, Ronsard, and Scaliger, an important model for Opitz. Many of Opitz's followers also studied abroad: the Leipzig petrarchist Gottfried Finckelthaus traveled in the Netherlands from 1639 to 1641 and Philipp von Zesen worked as a translator there from 1642 to 1648. Between 1627 and 1631 the Nuremberg pastoral poet Georg Philipp Harsdörffer traveled through Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, and England, and paid an extended visit to Italy. Of the second generation of Silesian poets, Christian Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau studied in Leiden between 1639 and 1641, then traveled through the Netherlands, England, and France to Italy, where he was impressed and influenced by the love poetry of Marino. His fellow student and friend Andreas Gryphius visited the same countries. The Hamburg poet Barthold Heinrich Brockes, a later follower of Marino, traveled through Switzerland, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands between 1703 and 1704.

Circulation of Petrarchan Poetry and the Madrigal in Germany

During the seventeenth century petrarchan poetry and the madrigal blossomed in the cultural and publishing centers of the university cities Leipzig and Wittenberg, the Saxon court at Dresden, and the cities of Nuremberg and Hamburg.

Silesia, Leipzig, and Wittenberg

The first and extremely important representative of literary petrarchism in Germany was the Silesian Martin Opitz, whose poetry and poetics had a decisive influence on the development of German-language poetry. Opitz

explicitly strove to enhance the poetic potential of the German language and to raise German poetry to the level of Italian, Dutch, and French poetry. In his *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* (1624) he formulated precise instructions for the production of German poetic genres. He also translated poetry by Petrarch, Heinsius, and Ronsard into German and wrote poems of his own on this stylistic foundation.[17] Opitz's German-language poetics won a direct and enduring following, and his *Poeterey* was the most influential treatise on poetics of the German baroque.[18] Moreover, his poetic output was a favored source of texts for secular and sacred compositions; in all seventy poems by Opitz were set by nine different German composers.

Like Opitz, his pupils and followers mastered modern poetic conventions through practical exercises. The numerous German translations and imitations of Italian, Dutch, and French petrarchists from the first half of the seventeenth century are the fruits of such undertakings; thus the *Deutsche Epigrammata* (1648) by Johann Franck, who later became famous as a sacred poet, was a well-known secular song collection. The second generation of Silesian poets brought forth baroque writers such as Christian Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau, Andreas Gryphius, Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, and Benjamin Neukirch.[19] The work of these authors shows how the popularity of petrarchan and marinist love poetry endured into the first decades of the eighteenth century. Hofmannswaldau, Lohenstein, and Brockes in particular were self-declared imitators of Marino's poetry.

Many of the Silesian poets studied in Leipzig and published their first works there. In their poetry the Leipzig poets extolled student life and love, employing all the metaphors, thematics, and rhetorical figures that petrarchism had to offer. In the first half of the seventeenth century, love poems by Gottfried Finckelthaus, Paul Fleming, Georg Greflinger, Johann Hermann Schein, and David Schirmer were published in Leipzig.[20] German petrarchism reached its peak with the poetry of Paul Fleming, who developed a new German language of love in his translations and imitations of foreign authors.[21]

In Wittenberg, Saxony's second university city, the poetry and rhetoric professor August Buchner promoted the new German poetics. Buchner's writings on poetry are among the most influential of the seventeenth century. His students included important poets such as Simon Dach, Paul Fleming, Paul Gerhardt, Georg Greflinger, Johann Klaj, Justus Georg Schottelius, and Philipp von Zesen. In 1638, together with his friend Heinrich Schütz, Buchner created the ballet-opera *Von dem Orpheo und der Eurydice*, now lost. Of Buchner and Schütz's opera *Judith* only the libretto is extant.[22]

Two important seventeenth-century composers, Christoph Demantius and Andreas Hammerschmidt, were based in the Silesian region Lusatia. Both musicians combined Italian and German song forms in their secular output. Demantius, who studied in Wittenberg and spent much of his time in Leipzig,

published various collections of part-songs and madrigals between 1595 and 1615. He wrote most of the texts himself. The Zittau composer Andreas Hammerschmidt often visited Dresden and Leipzig, where he got to know Heinrich Schütz and his Leipzig students. The three parts of his *Weltlichen Oden oder Liebesgesänge* (1642–1643; Part 3 *Geist- und weltliche Oden und Madrigalien*, 1649) contained petrarchan love poems by Paul Fleming, Gottfried Finckelthaus, Ernst Christoph Homburg, Martin Opitz, Justus Georg Schottelius, and others. These song collections were very popular and were all reprinted several times during the seventeenth century. Hammerschmidt transferred to his sacred music the descriptive power and concertato techniques of the madrigal. He published two collections of choral part-songs entitled "Sacred Madrigals" (1641, 1652–1653). In his *Dialogi oder Gesprächen zwischen Gott u. einer gläubigen Seelen* (Dresden 1645) the sacred texts are articulated almost like a secular love dialogue, employing madrigalisms and concertato resources (cf. chapter 6).[23]

The works of the Leipzig poets were set many times as secular songs and madrigals. The collections of Demantius and Hammerschmidt have already been mentioned. The poet-composer Schein, who was Paul Fleming's teacher, combined both art forms. His poems and madrigals are conventionalized imitations of Italian art (*Venus Kräntzlein*, 1609; three parts of *Musica Boschareccia*, 1621–1628; *Diletti Pastorali*, 1624). Schein was the first artist to combine the madrigal style with sacred poetry; his collection of sacred madrigals *Israelisbrünnlein* (1623) is an early indication of the connection between the representation of secular and sacred love in the German baroque. All his works were reprinted several times.

Dresden

At the electoral court in Dresden, Italian and German arts flourished from the time of Johann Georg I (1611–1656) until the time of August the Strong (1694–1733).[24] Petrarchan poetry and the madrigal were the most popular secular genres at the seventeenth-century Dresden court. They were either bought from Italy or from other cities in Germany, or written by the court musicians and poets. Well-known seventeenth-century Dresden court poets are Constantin Christian Dedekind and David Schirmer. Schirmer studied in Leipzig and Wittenberg. As well as occasional verse, he wrote many petrarchan love odes and sonnets for the Dresden court. His five collections *Rosen=Gepüsche* (1650–1657), were reprinted several times. Dedekind was not only a poet, but also bass player and concertmaster in the Dresden court chapel. The texts of his famous song collection *Aelbianische Musen=Lust* (1657) were written by poets such as Martin Opitz, Paul Fleming, Gottfried Finckelthaus, Johann Rist, Simon Dach, David Schirmer, and Dedekind

himself. The music to which the poems were set combined the single-voice continuo song with the word-painting resources of the Italian canzonetta and madrigal.[25]

The Dresden Kapellmeister Heinrich Schütz was a friend of Martin Opitz, who wrote twelve German madrigal texts for him.[26] In 1625 and 1626 Opitz visited Dresden, where he worked with Schütz on a "*Sing-Comoedie*" entitled *Dafne* (first performance 1627).[27] Schütz also taught at least eleven pupils in Dresden and Leipzig.[28] Like Schütz himself, many of his pupils began their compositional output with settings of secular love poems, in which madrigalian techniques were integrated into the German song tradition. Thus in his single opus *Cantade und Arien* (Dresden 1638) Kaspar Kittel set love poems mainly by Martin Opitz, while Christoph Bernhard contributed to *Geharnschten Venus* (1660) by the petrarchist Kaspar Stieler. The petrarchan texts of Adam Krieger's highly popular *Arien* (Leipzig 1657, Dresden 1667, 1676) were written by poets such as August Buchner, Gottfried Finckelthaus, Georg Greflinger, Martin Opitz, Johann Rist, David Schirmer, and the composer himself.[29] Equally popular were the eight collections of secular and sacred arias by Schütz's cousin and pupil Heinrich Albert (1638–1650), settings of texts by the Königsberg poets Simon Dach and Robert Roberthin, as well as poems by Opitz and Albert himself. Similarly, Johann Theile's first work was a collection entitled *Weltliche Arien und Canzonetten* (1667), while Gabriel Mölich (1619) and Johann Klemm (1629)[30] employed the madrigal style in sacred madrigals.

Nuremberg

The city of Nuremberg has already been cited as an important center for the publication and printing of Italian and Italianate poetry and music. Many poets and musicians in this south-German city were active in promoting these art forms. In 1644 the Nuremberg poets had banded together in the *Hirten- und Blumenorden an der Pegnitz* (Order of the Society of Pegnitz Shepherds and Flowers), while some of the musicians joined the *Nürnberger Musikkränzlein* (Nuremberg Music Circle).[31] The most important members of the Pegnitz Order were Sigmund von Birken, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, and Johann Klaj; the Nuremberg pastor Johann Michael Dilherr, Johann Rist of Hamburg, and Justus Georg Schottelius of Wolfenbüttel were also associated with the society. Harsdörffer (*Poetischer Trichter*, 1647, 1648, 1653) and Birken (*Teutsche Rede-bind- und Dicht-Kunst*, 1679) produced influential treatises on poetry. The poetry of the so-called Pegnitz Shepherds is sonorous, often even playful, and mostly deals with pastoral themes. It was frequently set to music by the city's composers. While the Nuremberg composers of the early seventeenth century—Hans Leo Haßler, Valentin

Haußmann, Johann Andreas Herbst, and Johann Staden—were inspired by the Italian madrigal style,[32] the works of the composers working around the middle of the century—Paul Hainlein, Johann Erasmus Kindermann, and Sigmund Theophil Staden—are also characterized by concertato techniques. The two Nuremberg societies worked together on the preparation of secular and sacred song collections (1615 *Venusgarten*, Haußman and Haßler; 1640 and reprints *Göttliche Liebesflamme*, Dilherr and Kindermann), *Singspiele* (1644 *Seelewig*, in *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, Harsdörffer and S.Th. Staden),[33] oratorio-plays (1644 *Seelen-Music*, Dilherr and S.Th. Staden; 1644 various oratorio-plays by Klaj and S.Th. Staden) and a historic concert arranged by Sigmund Theophil Staden in 1643, in which all the poets and musicians of the city worked together.[34] In 1642 Johann Erasmus Kindermann published three song collections on sacred poems by Martin Opitz.

Hamburg

The north-German city of Hamburg enjoyed a flourishing cultural life in the seventeenth century. Organists such as Heinrich Scheidemann and Matthias Weckmann, and composers such as Christoph Bernhard, Johann Schop, and Johann Theile raised both secular and sacred music to a high standard. These musicians worked regularly with the well-known Hamburg poets Johann Rist and Philipp von Zesen.[35] Rist's devotional songs were popular throughout Germany. These songs often combined the contemporary secular love poem with mystical poetic traditions, transforming them into love odes to Jesus. They were set to music by Andreas Hammerschmidt (1651) and Johann Schop (various song collections) and were published many times in his lifetime. Buchner's pupil Philipp von Zesen also wrote secular and sacred love poetry; his collection *Gekreuzigter Liebesflammen Vorschmack* (1653) contained love poems to the crucified Christ. Zesen's poems were set to music by composers such as Johann Schop (1651 and 1653) and Schütz's pupils Heinrich Albert (1651) and Matthias Weckmann (two operas 1668, song collection 1670).[36] His sonorous poetry is comparable to that of the Pegnitz Shepherds in Nuremberg. Zesen was also famous for his poetic treatise, *Deutscher Helicon* (1640 and reprints), in which he continued the teachings of Opitz and Buchner.

Summarizing, similar tendencies may be observed in the petrarchan output of poets and musicians as in the import and printing of foreign works and the studies of German artists abroad. Just as petrarchism was a focal point in poetry, so the fashionable madrigal was a favored vehicle of musical performance and composition. These two genres were not only associated in Italy (chapter 1), they both spread through Germany at the same time, and poets and composers often worked on them together.

TEXT, MUSIC, AND *MUSICA POETICA* IN THE GERMAN MADRIGAL

"For *Music* has much in common with *Poesy*."[37]

The simultaneous import, circulation, and production of love poems and madrigals in seventeenth-century Germany had a basis in poetics and music theory. Text-setting and musical rhetoric held an important place in German baroque music theory. As the madrigal genre was distinguished by a close connection between poetic and musical representation, it furnished an excellent model for the demonstration of the compositional techniques of baroque text-setting.

Text and Music in *Musica Poetica*

Music and poetry were regarded as related art forms in German baroque art theory. The common objectives and expressive resources of the two were discussed and highlighted in both poetics and music theory.

There are many references to the setting of poems in seventeenth-century poetics. In his *Poeterey* Martin Opitz designates the "lyrica," epigram, and love poem ("the Sapphic songs") as particularly suitable and popular genres for musical setting.[38] In his *Poetischer Trichter* Georg Philipp Harsdörffer states that "the poet should understand music or the musician should be a poet."[39] He argues that rhyme is a common characteristic of poetry and music[40] and that music can both depict a text literally and express it affectively. To simplify such settings, the poet should tailor the word choice, structure, meter, and rhyme scheme of his poem toward potential musical setting.[41] Around the turn of the century the Hamburg poet and theologian Erdmann Neumeister extended and intensified the possibilities of the musical setting of contemporary poetry. In his treatise *Geistliche Kantaten statt einer Kirchenmusik* (1704) he emphasized the importance of freedom of poetic form in the libretti of secular and sacred cantatas. Neumeister regarded the cantata as a free expressive form in which linguistic and musical representation are united as in an opera, so that "both for poet and musician, no genre is more beautiful than this one."[42]

Baroque music theorists also highlighted the correspondences between poetry and music, and between poet and composer. They defined text-setting as music's primary objective. In his treatise *Musica Poetica* (1643) the theorist Andreas Herbst describes at length the resources with which the composer may set his text. He consistently refers to the composer as a "Musicus Poëticus" (musical poet):

> Zum ersten / soll ein *Componist* den Verstand deß Textes oder *Sen*tenz wol in acht nemen / denselben wol *examiniren* und betrachten / in welchem *Modo* nemlichen

er die *Harmoniam* oder den Gesang *componiren* und setzen will: Dann gleich wie ein *Poëta*, nicht eine jede *Materiam* in einem jeden *genere Carminis exprimi*ren und an den Tag geben kan. . . . Also ein *Musicus Poëticus* . . . wird nicht in einem jeden *Modo*, die jenigen *affecten* und Bewegungen / so der Text und *Sen*tenz erfordert / also leichtlichen herfürbringen und an den Tag geben können . . . .

Worauff soll man in den Worten oder Text sehen: Es sollen fürnemlich drey Stück in acht genommen werden / nemlich: . . . Auff den Unterscheid der Wörter. Auff der *Sylben accent*, und wie man die Wörter untert die Noten recht appliciren und unterlegen sollte. . . . Dieweil dann alle Lieblichkeit der Music / mehrentheils in Bewegung der Hertzen und Gemüther bestehet. . . . Erstlich müssen die *Verba* und Wort / nach welchen die *moduli* sollen *fingirt* und angestellet seyn / wol *ponderirt* und deroselben Natur und Eigenschafft fleißig in acht genommen und betrachtet werden.

First of all a composer should pay good heed to the meaning of the text or sentence, examine it, and observe in which mode he should compose and set the harmony or song: for just as a poet cannot express and make manifest every material in every poetic genre . . . so a *Musicus Poëticus* . . . cannot easily bring forth and make manifest the affects and emotions that the text and sentence demand in every mode . . . .[43]

What to look out for in the words or text: Three things above all should be heeded, namely: . . . The differentiation of the words. The syllabic accent, and how the words should be placed correctly under the notes. . . . For all music's charm lies chiefly in moving the heart and emotions. . . . First of all the *verba* and word, according to which the measures should be conceived and positioned, must be considered and their nature and character carefully heeded and observed.[44]

This poetically based understanding of music persisted into the eighteenth century. In 1708 the Leizpig music theorist Johann Gottfried Walther argues that the composer is comparable to a poet when he composes a melody:

. . . weil ein *Componist* nicht allein die *Prosodie* so wohl als ein Poët verstehen muß, damit er nicht wieder die *quantitaet* der Sylben verstoße; sondern auch, weil er ebenfalls etwas dichtet, neml. eine Melodey, von welcher er auch genennet wird *Melopoëta* oder *Melopoeus*.

Wenn ein *Componist* etwas mit einem *text componiren* will, muß er nicht nur die gantze Meinung deßelben, sondern auch die Bedeutung und Nachdruck eines jeglichen Wortes absonderlich verstehen. Die Worte soll der *Componist* so schicklich mit denen *Sonis* vereinigen, daß die *Soni* eben dieses auszudrücken scheinen, was die Worte bedeuten.

. . . for not only must a composer understand prosody as well as a poet, so that he does not contravene the number of syllables; but also he too is writing a poem, namely a melody, so that he is called a *Melopoëta* or *Melopoeus*.[45]

> When a composer wants to compose something with a text, he must understand not only its overall intent, but also the meaning and emphasis of each individual word. The composer should unite words and sounds so fittingly that the sounds seem to express exactly what the words mean.[46]

In *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739) music theorist Johann Mattheson states that the "Melopoet . . . must, as far as possible, be well-versed in the true art of poetry and its principles" in order to be able to create a "Sing=gedicht" (song-poem) from a text.[47]

This connection between music and poetry is formally based on the rhetoric that underlies both arts. The objectives of both poetry and music were *docere*, *movere*, and *delectare*; both poem and composition had at their disposal the style, structure, and devices of a rhetorical speech.[48] Harsdörffer's famous statement that poetry and rhetoric are "brother and sister, connected and associated"[49] and Neumeister's reminder that the poet should "seek his foundation in oratory"[50] have numerous parallels in music theory. Thus in his *Musices poeticae* (1613) the Silesian music theorist Johann Nucius recommends that composers should take both orators and poets as their models ("rhetorum imitationem"; "imitatonem poetarum").[51] For the same reasons Johann Georg Ahle, in his *Musikalischen Sommer-Gespräche* (1697), describes the composer as a "Melopoet," the composition as a "sung speech":

> Gleich wie die Redner in freier / und die Poeten in gebundener Rede allerlei Rhetorische Figuren gebrauchen; also bedienen sich auch mancher die Melopoeten in singender Rede.
>
> Just as orators in free speech and poets in verse use all manner of rhetorical figures, so some of these may also serve melopoets in sung speech.[52]

Johann Mattheson states that the only difference between a musical "sound-speech"[53] and a spoken oration is the concrete filling-out of the theme:

> Unsre musicalische Disposition ist von der rhetorischen Einrichtung einer blossen Rede nur allein in dem Vorwurff, Gegenstande oder Objecto unterschieden: dannenhero hat sie eben diejenigen sechs Stücke zu beobachten, die einem Redner vorgeschrieben werden, nemlich den **Eingang, Bericht**, **Antrag**, **die Bekräfftigung**, **Wiederlegung** und den **Schluß**. *Exordium, Narratio, Propositio, Confirmatio, Confutatio & Peroratio.*
>
> Our musical *dispositio* differs from the rhetorical structure of an ordinary speech only in theme, subject or object: hence it must observe the same six points that are prescribed for an orator, namely *Exordium, Narratio, Propositio, Confirmatio, Confutatio & Peroratio.*[54]

The close compliance and congruence of a musical composition with the content, structure, and objective of its text was embraced in German baroque music theory under the term *musica poetica*. This term, the title of treatises by Joachim Burmeister (1606), Johann Nucius (1613), and Andreas Herbst (1643) can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand it designates the "poetics"—meaning the theory of artistic creation—of composition;[55] on the other hand it refers to those aspects of composition theory that correspond to poetry, namely the associations between composition and poetry in terms of content, rhetoric, and style.[56] The two interpretations of *musica poetica* should, I think, be regarded not as mutually exclusive, but as complementary. The fact that composition was seen and described as a form of poetry is demonstrated by the relationship between the two art forms in terms of thematic expression and stylistic representation. The *musica poetica* presented in the treatises provided composers with guidelines for the creation of "poetic music" that corresponded thematically and stylistically with poetry.

These theoretical conditions furnish a possible context for the popularity of the madrigal genre in Germany in the early seventeenth century. Since text and music were thematically, rhetorically, and stylistically extremely closely associated in this form, the madrigal style provided a dynamic ideal of the desired correspondence between text and music.

The German Madrigal as Poetic and Musical Genre

The madrigal was one of the most popular song genres of the early baroque. It was, moreover, closely connected with the equally fashionable petrarchan love poem. German madrigals were almost exclusively settings of petrarchan poems, just like those imported from Italy. Conversely, translators and imitators of Italian poetry often explicitly recommended that their poems be set to madrigals or other genres similarly related to poetry.[57] German poetry and music theorists seem to have regarded the strong connection between text and music as one of the most important characteristics of the genre.[58] The definition of the poetic madrigal genre referred far more to freedom of form and suitability for musical setting than to the number of syllables or meter. In his treatise *Von den Madrigalen* (1653), poetic theorist Caspar Ziegler defined the madrigal as an astute poem in free form:

> So ist demnach ein *Madrigal* bey den Italianern ein kurtzes Gedicht / darinnen sie ohne einige gewisse *meusur* der Reime etwas scharfsinnig fassen . . . .
>
> Therefore a *Madrigal* is for the Italians a short poem in which they express something astutely without any definite measure of rhyme . . . .[59]

Ziegler gives formal characteristics of the genre, but at the same time emphasizes that these are not very firmly defined. A madrigal should have between five and fifteen or sixteen lines, which should have six to eight or ten to eleven syllables and in which blank verse may also be used; however, the ultimate decision on the form of the poem was up to the individual poet. Ziegler further explains that it is precisely this formal ambiguity that makes the madrigal suitable for musical settings:

> Ich muß aber zum Beschluß erinnern / das kein einziges *genus carminis* in der Deutschen Sprache sich besser zu der Musick schicke / als ein Madrigal. Denn darinnen läst sich ein *Concert* am allerbesten ausführen / und weil die Worte so fein in ihrer natürlichen *construction* gesetzt werden können / so kömbt auch die Harmony umb so viel desto besser und anmuthiger. Zwar / es sol sich ein Sonnet zur *Composition* auch nicht gar übel schicken: Aber das wil von dem Poeten vorhero sehr wohl ausgearbeitet und mit gröstem Zwange ungezwungen seyn. . . . Weil nun ein Madrigal viel freyer ist / und sich der Reime halber so sehr nicht binden darff / auch der natürlichen Art zu reden näher kömt / so mein ich / sol es einem *Componisten* auch viel leichter und besser auff seinem Chartelle / als ein Sonnet / fallen.
>
> In conclusion, however, I must reiterate that no single poetic genre in the German language is better suited to music than a madrigal. It is the best of all for concert performance, and because the words can be set so accurately within their natural construction, the harmony moves much better and more pleasantly. Nor is a sonnet badly suited to composition: but it must be very well worked out by the poet in advance and must forcibly be made to seem unforced. . . . For a madrigal is much freer and not so much bound by rhyme, and is closer to the natural manner of speaking, so I think it should fall in with a composer's plan much more easily and better than a sonnet.[60]

Heinrich Schütz, Ziegler's brother-in-law, wrote a preface to this treatise. The composer describes the madrigal in exactly the same way as Ziegler, in that he regards it as the genre most suited to musical setting. He says, however, that such free verse was still uncommon in the German language:

> . . . daß ob wol die Deutschen Componisten sich bishero vielfältig bemühet hätten der heutigen deutschen Poesie schöne Erfindungen mit guter Manier in die Musik zuversetzen / sie sich doch allezeit darneben beklagt hätten / daß das jenige *genus Poëseos*, welches sich zu Auffsetzung einer künstlichen *Composition* am allerbesten schickete / nemlich der Madrigalien bißhero von ihnen [den Deutschen Poeten] nicht angegriffen / sondern zurück geblieben were.
>
> . . . that although German composers have hitherto variously attempted to transpose the lovely inventions of today's German poetry into music with a good grace, they have at the same time constantly complained that the poetic genre

> that is best suited for setting to an artistic composition, namely the madrigal, has been hitherto not seized upon but neglected by [German poets].[61]

The poetic madrigal was apparently regarded more as a text for musical setting than a poetic genre. Only in the second half of the seventeenth century did the literary madrigal gradually develop as an independent genre also. Yet the early eighteenth-century definition offered by the Leipzig professor of politics, Johann Hübner, still refers exclusively to the original connections between the free form and the musical setting of the madrigal:

> Ein MADRIGAL ist eine Italiänische Art von Versen, da kurze und lange, gereimte und ungereimte Zeilen, wie es etwan die Materie mit sich bringet, unter einander gemenget werden, damit die Componisten desto besser abwechseln können.
>
> A MADRIGAL is an Italian style of verse where short and long, rhyming and blank lines are mixed together as the subject requires, so that composers may vary more easily.[62]

Contemporary descriptions of the musical madrigal show the same ambiguity in relation to form and refer in the same way to the connection between poetry and music in this genre. Michael Praetorius is of the opinion that the musical madrigal is derived from its literary counterpart. He provides a definition of the genre that is based on both form and subject matter of such poems. This is very similar to Thomas Morley's definition of the madrigal cited in the previous chapter:

> Die Madrigalia . . . haben jhren Namen nicht von der Melodey des Gesanges / sondern à *textu & versibus*. Dann Madrigale ist ein *Nomen Poematis*, und nicht *Cantionis*, welcher Text meistentheils aus dem *Francisco Petrarcha*, *Bocatio*, *Petro Bembo*, und *Dante*, genommen seyn.
>
> The madrigals . . . take their name not from the song's melody but from its text and verse. For madrigal is the name of a poem, not a song, whose text is mostly taken from Petrarch, Bocaccio, Bembo and Dante.[63]

The intimate connection between the literary and musical madrigal determined the definition of this genre until well into the eighteenth century. In his *Musikalisches Lexikon* Walther defines the madrigal first of all as a poetic and musical genre characterized by its freedom of form.

> *Madrigale* ist eine kurtze, aus freyen und ungezwungenen, auch meist ungleichen Versen bestehende Poesie, welche . . . nur einen zärtlichen und artigen Einfall von nöthen hat. Die Italiänische Schau=Spiele sind fast durchgehends

> Madrigalien; und muß in allen Zeilen, wo nicht ein gantzer, doch wenigstens ein halber *sensus* seyn. Die *Composition* über dergleichen Verse wird auch also genennet.
>
> The madrigal is a brief poem consisting of free and unforced lines, mostly unequal, which . . . requires only tender and delicate inspiration. The Italian plays are almost entirely madrigals; and there must be in every line if not a complete *sensus*, then at least half. The musical setting of this verse has the same name.[64]

Like Walther, Ziegler had earlier argued that the free form of the madrigal poem also made it suitable for opera:

> Sonsten aber wird ein Madrigal / (was die blossen Verse / nicht aber die *composition* belanget) dem *Stylo recitativo* fast gleich gemacht / und halt Ich besagten *Stylum recitativum*, wie ihn die Italianer in der Poesie zu ihren Singe/Comedien gebrauchen vor einen stets werenden Madrigal / oder vor etliche viel Madrigaln / doch solcher Gestalt / daß je zuweilen darzwischen eine *Arietta*, auch wohl eine *Aria* von etlichen *Stanzen* lauffe / welches denn so wohl der Poet als der Componist sonderlich in acht nehmen / und eines mit dem andern zu versüssen / zu rechter zeit abwechseln muß.
>
> Otherwise, however, a madrigal (as regards the verse but not the composition) is almost the same as *stylo recitativo*. The said *stylo recitativo* is employed by the Italians in the poetry for their sung comedies, either as one continuous madrigal or many madrigals, yet in such a form that sometimes an *Arietta* or even an *Aria* with several verses may take place between them, to which both the poet and the composer pay particular heed, and they must alternate the one with the other at the right moment in order to sweeten the one with the other.[65]

The most important characteristic of both the literary and the musical madrigal was thus a free form that made it easy to incorporate into other genres. Erdmann Neumeister states that he based his reform of the cantata libretto on this flexibility of the madrigal style.[66] Hübner also offers guidelines for the composition of cantata texts and arias, and argues, like Ziegler and Neumeister, that recitative texts for the most part have a madrigalian character: "Such a recitative is nothing else but a madrigal."[67] Mattheson was convinced that the musical madrigal style underpinned all secular and sacred musical genres because of its freedom of form and its connection between text and music:

> . . . der **Madrigal=Styl** gehöret sowohl dort [in der Kirche] als auf der Schaubühne, und in Sälen oder Zimmern zu Hause. Ja, er will zu diesen Zeiten fast in allem seyn. Oratorien, sogenannte Paßiones, Selbst=Gespräche, Unterredungen, Cavaten, Morgen= und Abend=Musiken, (*aubades* & *serenades*) *Cantaten*, Arien, und insonderheit die Recitativen (welche im Grunde das eigentliche ma-

> drigalische Wesen an sich haben) alles hat dieser Styl unter seiner Gewalt. Ja, die Opern selbst sind lauter historische Madrigale.
>
> . . . the madrigal style belongs both [in church] and on stage, and in halls or rooms at home. Indeed, it is in almost everything these days. Oratorios, so-called Passions, soliloquies, conversations, cavatas, morning and evening music *(aubades & serenades)*, cantatas, arias and especially recitatives (which fundamentally contain the true essence of the madrigal), this style has [them] all in its power. Indeed, even operas are merely historical madrigals.[68]

The madrigal was thus not a firmly defined poetic or musical genre in the German baroque. It was generally identified and defined on the basis of two characteristics. Firstly, it had a free poetic form; secondly, because of this freedom of form it was particularly suited to musical setting. The extensive expressive potential arising from its free form and its connection with music gave the genre a practical flexibility that allowed it to be used in other forms such as opera and cantata. After the initial translations and imitations of the early seventeenth century, collections of sacred madrigal poems were also published[69] and German composers gradually began to use sacred poems as well as secular love poems as madrigal texts. In German baroque *musica poetica*, oriented as it was toward text-setting, the madrigal furnished an ideal practice genre, in which both poet and composer could practice new conventions.

DIDACTIC FUNCTIONS OF PETRARCHISM AND THE MADRIGAL

Both petrarchan poetry and the madrigal style appear to have been associated with education. As illustrated above, many young poets and composers began their artistic output with the publication of a collection of secular love songs, even if they subsequently concentrated exclusively on sacred poems or music. Since such collections consist mainly of translations and imitations of works by petrarchists and madrigalists from Italy, France, and the Netherlands, these secular love songs appear to have constituted their first practical acquaintance with the new style.

Leonard Forster has argued that literary petrarchism functioned as a "training in poetic diction."[70] Forster explains the profusion and homogeneity of petrarchan poems in various European languages as stemming not merely from fashionable inclinations, but rather from explicit attempts to enhance the poetic potential of the vernacular languages and thus emancipate them from Latin. Italian, French, English, Dutch, and German poets translated and imitated Petrarch's work, which was written in the poet's native language and was very popular. The translation and imitation of Petrarch's poetry func-

tioned as a training in poetic practice, which was followed by the adaptation of the acquired idioms to the poet's own cultural requirements and conditions. Ultimately *imitatio* led to *aemulatio*, for on the foundations of this petrarchan training new traditions were built in the vernacular languages.[71]

For practical reasons, therefore, the poetic model had to be particularly suited to imitation. According to Forster, imitability was an important reason for the consistent choice of petrarchan models.[72] In the course of the sixteenth century petrarchan poetry had moved away from Petrarch's psychological love thematics and developed into a standardized system for representing love.[73] Moreover, through the repeated mutual imitation of Petrarch's European followers, petrarchan imagery acquired a semantic and stylistic independence that led to thematic impoverishment.[74] Petrarchan poetry is often unoriginal, its restricted idiom often mannered. These aspects of petrarchism have often led to negative evaluations among scholars. Demanding originality of these poems is misleading, however, for their object was not originality but gaining poetic experience. It was precisely because the petrarchan language was neither new nor original, but offered the poet a "ready-made universal scheme"[75] of metaphors, stylistic devices, and modes of expression, that it was suited to this purpose.[76]

Because of the extensive connections between poetry and music at the time—especially in the madrigal genre—it might be useful to examine the parallels between petrarchan poetry and the musical madrigal in terms of import, circulation, and assimilation in the light of these theories. The role of Heinrich Schütz, the "father of all German musicians,"[77] in the spread of musical reforms in Germany is comparable to that of Martin Opitz in poetry, who was regarded as "the excellent father of our German poesy."[78] The aim of both men was to raise the standard of German art. While Opitz recommended to this end the imitation of French and Dutch petrarchists, Schütz's pupils published only madrigals. The two popular and widely circulated genres were practically and thematically almost inseparably bound together. Moreover, the madrigal style, like petrarchan poetry, had at its disposal a standardized catalogue of motifs, madrigalisms, and rhetorical figures for the representation of love, which enhanced its imitability.[79] Since text and music in this genre corresponded extremely closely both thematically and stylistically, it also met the theoretical requirements of *musica poetica*. Therefore the madrigal, which is in several respects a musical appendage to petrarchism, may have functioned as a "training in musical diction" in a similar manner to its petrarchan texts.

Petrarchism as Training in Poetic Diction

> "For love is, as it were, the whetstone against which they sharpen their subtle wit."[80]

The normative poetics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of which Opitz's *Deutsche Poeterey* was the first manifestation, were based on the assumption that poetry was a system that could be learnt. In contemporary poetics, as in Opitz's treatise, this system was summarized in rules and instructions based on French, Italian, and Dutch poetry. Following the rhetorical tradition of *praecepta, exempla*, and *imitatio*, the structured imitation of such models furnished a stylistic training for novice poets.[81] Moving on from this didactic starting point, Harsdörffer adds that the translation and imitation of foreign poets would also assist in the desired enhancement of the poetic potential of the German language:

> Solche Wort müssen mehrmals nach den Gründen der Muttersprach erfunden und gefüget werden / welches einem jeden zu thun erlaubt / und gehört hieher die fleissige Lesung aller Poeten in fremden Sprachen / daß wir ihrer Reden Zierlichkeit / so wol als ihrer Erfindungen Artigkeit / in unsre Muttersprache wolverständig überbringen. . . .
>
> Alles was in fremden Sprachen löblich und zierlich / sol in unsre Teutsche Sprache überbracht werden.

> Such words must regularly be invented and incorporated in accordance with the rudiments of the mother tongue, which anyone may do, and a necessary part of this is the diligent reading of all poets in foreign languages so that we can judiciously transfer both the elegance of their speech and nicety of their inventions into our mother tongue. . . .
>
> All that is praiseworthy and elegant in foreign languages should be carried over into our German language.[82]

Models for imitation in German baroque poetics are predominantly petrarchan poems. In addition to his own poetry, Opitz particularly recommends the work of Ronsard and Heinsius; he famously stated that the love poem was an ideal exercise genre, since love offered the poet a rich source of inspiration:

> . . . weil die liebe gleichsam der wetzstein ist an dem sie ihren subtile Verstand scherffen / und niemals mehr sinnreiche gedancken und einfälle haben / als wann sie von jhrer Buhlschafften Himmlischen schöne / jugend / freundlichkeit / haß unnd gunst reden.

> . . . for love is, as it were, the whetstone against which they [poets] sharpen their subtle wit, and they will never have more ingenious thoughts and ideas than when they speak of courtship, heavenly beauty, youth, friendship, hatred, and affection.[83]

Such recommendations, but particularly translations and imitations of the petrarchan poems of Veronica Gambara, Heinsius, Ronsard, and Scaliger,

have led to Opitz's works being regarded as "the gateway through which petrarchism penetrated German poetry."[84] In metaphor and style Opitz's own love poems are as conventional as they are normative; his significance in German baroque poetics lies not in poetic originality, but rather in his work as translator and imitator, in his explicit normatization of the poetry of his models.[85] Later theorists such as Harsdörffer, Birken, and Zesen also particularly recommend as models secular and sacred love poems by Heinsius, Ronsard, Scaliger, and Opitz, in addition to their works.

Other influential vehicles of the petrarchan language of love were the so-called poetic treasuries (*poetische Schatzkammer*), which appeared either in poetic treatises or in independently published language encyclopedias. They provided poetic and discursive catalogues of the metaphors and idioms of all the famous German poets. The object of these extracts, enumerated with or without references, was to train and inspire novice authors. In these treasuries extensive lists of petrarchan metaphors appeared under headings such as "Love," "Being in Love," "Eyes," "Mouth," or "Breasts." Thus, for instance, under the heading "Love" Andreas Tscherning's *Schatzkammer* cites, among other things, a poem by Opitz: "wise folly / agreeable affliction / delicious poison / voluntary death / and sweet bitterness . . . ."[86] The recommendations in poetic treaties and the *Schatzkammer* made petrarchism the linguistic model of the German baroque love poem and discourse.[87] This discursive starting point remained influential until the eighteenth century (cf. chapter 4); in 1707 Erdmann Neumeister still maintained that Opitz's poetics were the foundation of contemporary German poetry and poetic theory:

> Doch weil das Werck noch nicht gantz gehoben / kam endlich Opitz / der untersuchte die Kunst=Griffe genauer Er hatte vor sich den gelehrten *Heinsium*, welcher die Holländische *Poesie* in Aufnehmen brachte. Weil nun beyde Sprachen einander gar nahe befreundet / versuchte jener im Hochteutschen / was dieser im Niederteutschen gethan / welches sich dann glücklich *practici*ren ließ. Und ihm / als einem geschickten Vorgänger sind bisher alle Poeten nachgegangen.
>
> But because the work was not yet fully advanced, at last Opitz appeared and examined artistic concepts more precisely. He had before him the learned *Heinsius*, who had brought Dutch poetry into high regard. Because both languages are indeed closely related, the former attempted to achieve in high German what the latter had achieved in low German, which fortunately proved possible in practice. And until now all poets have followed him as a skilful precursor.[88]

Because Neumeister also regarded imitation as an important part of poetic training, he gives many examples from his own poetry or that of other poets "so that they may serve my scholars to a certain degree for imitation."[89] As models for devotional poetry he commends the poetry of Johann Franck, Simon

Dach, Johann Heermann, Paul Gerhard, and Johann Rist.[90] For secular poetry Neumeister almost exclusively recommends the imitation of petrarchan and marinist poetry. Apart from his own works he mentions the poems of Christian Gryphius, Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, Benjamin Neukirch, and particularly, Christian Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau.[91] Neumeister defends writers of love poetry against their opponents with the argument that such poems gave many authors their first acquaintance with the rules of their art:

> Noch eins. Es werden manchmal Exempel von Liebes=Sachen mit unterlauffen Will aber darbey hoffen / daß sie weder als ein *scandalum datum* angesehen / noch als ein *scandalum acceptum* angenommen werden. Ich habe angemerckt / daß alle Poeten den Anfang von solchen *Galanter*ien gemacht. So wird man ja uns nicht in Bann thun? Wenn eine hohe und harte Betheurung erfordert würde / wolte ich sie mit gutem Gewissen ablegen / daß die unschuldigen Verse eine blosse *Theorie* sind / und von der *Praxi* nichts wissen / oder doch nur guten Freuden in ihrer *Passion* gedienet haben.
>
> Sometimes examples dealing with matters of love appear. I hope, however, that these will be regarded neither as *scandalum datum* nor as *scandalum acceptum*. I have observed that all poets begin with such *galanterie*. So will we then be proscribed for this? If a lofty and difficult vow were demanded, I would take it with a good conscience, on the grounds that these innocent verses are mere theory and know nothing of practice, or have only served good friends in their passion.[92]

Neumeister's comments seem to indicate that the love poem still played the role of a "training in poetic diction" in the early eighteenth century. Together with the rules laid down in normative poetics it furnished the practical starting point for the development of a new poetic tradition in the German language. It had at its disposal not only Petrarch's poetry but also its bembist, mannerist, marinist, and anti-petrarchan adaptations.[93] All these trends were imitated and rewritten by German poets. Some examples of this process follow here, starting with Martin Opitz's famous translation of Sonnet 132, "S'amor non è," which Leonard Forster called "the most petrarchan" of Petrarch's sonnets:[94]

Petrarch

S'amor non è, che dunque è quel ch'io sento?
Ma, s'egli è Amor, per Dio che cosa e quale?
Se bona, ond'è l'effetto aspro mortale?
Se ria, ond'è si dolce ogni tormento?

S'a mia voglia ardo, ond'è 'l pianto e lamento?
S'a mal mio grado, il lamentar che vale?

O viva morte, o dilettoso male,
Come puoi tanto in me, s'io no 'l consento?

E s'io consento, a gran torto mi doglio.
Fra sí contrari venti in frale barca
Mi trovo in alto mar, senza governo,

Sí lieve di saver, d'error sí carca,
Ch'I' medesmo non so quel ch'io mi voglio;
E tremo a mezza stae, ardendo il verno.

If it's not love, then what is it I feel:
but if it's love, by God, what is this thing?
If good, why then the bitter mortal sting?
If bad, then why is every torment sweet?

If I burn willingly, why weep and grieve?
And if against my will, what good lamenting?
O living death, O pleasurable harm,
how can you rule me if I not consent?

And if I do consent, it's wrong to grieve.
Caught in contrasting winds in a frail boat
on the high seas I am without a helm,

so light of wisdom, so laden of error,
that I myself do not know what I want,
and shiver in midsummer, burn in winter.[95]

Opitz

Ist Liebe lauter nichts, wie daß sie mich entzündet?
Ist sie dann gleich wohl was, wem ist jhr Thun bewust?
Ist sie auch recht und gut, wie bringt sie böse Lust?
Ist sie nicht gut, wie daß man Freudt auß jhr empfindet?

Lieb ich gar williglich, wie daß ich Schmertzen trage?
Muß ich es thun, was hilffts, daß ich solch trawren führ?
Thue ichs nicht gern, wer ists, der es befihlet mir?
Thue ich es gern, warumb, daß ich mich dann beklage?

Ich wancke, wie das Gras, so von den kühlen Winden
Umb Vesperzeit bald hin geneiget wird, bald her.
Ich walle wie ein Schiff, daß in dem wilden Meer

Von Wellen vmbgejagt nicht kan zu rande finden.
Ich weiß nicht was ich will, ich will nicht was ich weiß,
Im Sommer ist mir kalt, im Winter ist mir heiß.[96]

If love is nothing, how does it so inflame me?
If it is real, who knows what it does?
If it is right and good, why does it bring evil pleasure?
If it is not good, why does it bring joy?

If I love willingly, why do I suffer pain?
If I am compelled to do it, of what avail is my sorrow?
If I do not want to do it, who is it that commands me?
If I want to do it, why do I then lament?

I sway like the grass bent hither and thither
By the cool winds at evening.
I roll like a ship in the wild sea,

Tossed by the waves, unable to reach the shore.
I do not know what I want, I do not want what I know,
In summer I am cold, in winter I am hot.

Ulrich Schulz-Buschhaus has shown that in his translation Opitz emphasizes the lexical and geometric rather than the syntactic and rhetorical aspects of Petrarch's text.[97] Through its enumeration of parallel metaphors the poetry distances itself from the psychological shadings and stylistic richness of its original, in favor of accentuated affect and formal order. The poetic elements of the vocabulary and rhetorical argument may be summarized in rules and are therefore teachable. In this respect the decisions Opitz makes in his translation are characteristic of his normative poetics, oriented not toward originality but toward structured imitation.

Johann Hermann Schein's madrigal text "O sternen Äugelein!," the fourth part of *Musica Boscareccia III* (1628), functions as an exaggerated extension of German imitation poetics, in that here the petrarchan language itself has become the theme of the poem. In a hyperbolic depiction of the physical beauty of the beloved, the petrarchan idiom and its intensifying rhetoric are brought into play. To this end Schein has abandoned the restricted form of the sonnet:

O Sternen Äugelein!
O Seyden Härelein!
O Rosen Wängelein!
Corallen Lippelein!
O perlen Zeenelein!

O Honig Züngelein!
O Perlemutter öhrelein!
O Helffenbeinen Hälselein!
O Pomerantzen Brüstelein!
Bisher an euch ist alles fein:
Aber O du steinern Hertzelein!
Wie daß du tödtst das Leben mein?

O starry eye!
O silken hair!
O rosy cheek!
Coral lip!
O pearly tooth!
O honeyed tongue!
O mother-of-pearl ear!
O ivory neck!
O pomegranate breast!
Thus far everything about you is exquisite:
But oh, stony heart!
Why do you destroy this life of mine?

Schein's poem adheres thematically and stylistically to the texts of the Italian madrigalists. The chain of parallel exclamations and the epigrammatic honing in the last two lines seem little concerned with the expression of love, but rather betray the mannerist's delight in representation and virtuosity. Schein's poem is characteristic of the members of the Leipzig student circle, many of whom explored petrarchan language in an almost playful fashion in their first poetic works.

The German petrarchists of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries found a source of inspiration in the affect-laden poetry of Giambattista Marino. Paul Fleming, but more particularly Christian Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau, Daniel Casper von Lohenstein, and Benjamin Neukirch, produced love poems in which petrarchan *dolce amaro* was exaggerated to an extreme through sweeping use of contrast and rhetoric, while at the same time the subject of unattainable love was eroticized through sensual metaphor (for example in Hofmannswaldau's *Streit der schwartzen augen / rothen lippen / und weissen brüste* [Battle of black eyes / red lips / and white breasts]).[98] Hofmannswaldau calls Marino one of the great poets of his time, a model for younger poets: "Measure then Petrarch, for so long a plumb line for the poets who came after him, and Ariosto in his *Orlando*, Tasso in his *Jerusalem*, Guarini in his shepherd-plays, Marino in his *Adone* . . . ."[99] The affect-laden style of marinism was carried over into sacred poetry by Barthold Heinrich Brockes and others.

Lutheran mystical love poetry generated a special application of petrarchan love.[100] In the theological and poetic revival of medieval mysticism in seventeenth-century Lutheran devotion, motifs based on mysticism, the Song of Songs, and current theology were combined with petrarchan motifs, and Christ was extolled in the same way as the unattainable petrarchan beloved (cf. chapter 5). The theme of the following poem from Philipp von Zesen's *Deutsches Helikon* is that of the faithful soul waiting for Jesus, and is represented in anguished cries and metaphors of lovesickness:

1.
ER küsse mich und laße spüren
Den angenehmen lippen=tau:
Er laße mich den mund berühren /
Auf den ich gäntzlich hoff' und bau.
Das hertze mier für angst zerbricht /
Wo mier das widerfähret nicht.

2.
Nim mich zu dir in deinen garten /
O mein Rubin! o mein Topaß!
Da soll / o Schönster / auf dich warten
Der rosenkrantz ohn unterlaß.
Das hertze mier für angst zerbricht /
Wan mier dis widerfähret nicht.

3.
Ach! ach! wie krank ich bin für liebe /
o liebster Buhle / komm doch bald /
und mich nicht länger so betrübe /
Du meines lebens Aufenthalt!
Das hertze mier für angst zerbricht /
Wo mier das widerfähret nicht.

4.
Ach! komm zu hülfe meinem hertzen!
Ach! ach! wie bist du mir so gram:
Ach lindre meine liebes=schmertzen!
o Jesus! Schönster Bräutigam.
Das hertze mier für angst zerbricht /
Wo mier das widerfähret nicht.[101]

1.
If only he would kiss me and let me trace
The lovely lines of his lips:
If he would let me touch his mouth

On which I build all my hopes.
My heart breaks for fear
That this will not befall me.

2.
Take me to you in your garden,
O my ruby! O my topaz!
There awaits you, my lovely,
An unending garland of roses.
My heart breaks for fear
That this will not befall me.

3.
Ah! Ah! How sick I am with love,
O dearest lover, come quickly
And grieve me thus no longer,
My life's abode!
My heart breaks for fear
That this will not befall me.

4.
Ah! Come and aid my heart!
Ah! Ah! How angry you are with me:
Ah, soothe the aches of my love!
O Jesus! Loveliest bridegroom!
My heart breaks for fear
That this will not befall me.

Here Zesen draws on the entire language system of petrarchism in the expression of mystical desire; the poem differs from a secular love poem only in the identity of the beloved. The Lutheran mystical poem thus manifests itself as a new genre based on the imitation and religious rewriting of petrarchan poetry, in which *imitatio* has ultimately led to *aemulatio*.

The Madrigal as Training in Musical Diction

"Love [has] always been . . . the best schoolmistress in music"[102]

In his much-cited preface to *Geistliche Chormusik* (1648), Heinrich Schütz describes some practical aspects of baroque musical didactics. He states that counterpoint without continuo should be the basis of composition teaching, because this style includes all the techniques of composition. He exhorts all novice composers to practice first in classical counterpoint and only then to take on the newer styles. Here he recalls his own musical training with Giovanni Gabrieli, which he concluded with a madrigal collection:

Weil es aber gleichwol an dem / auch bey allen in guten Schulen erzogenen Musicis auser zweifel ist / daß in dem schweresten *Studio Contrapuncti* niemand andere Arten der *Composition* in guter Ordnung angehen / und dieselbigen gebührlich handeln oder *tracti*ren könne / er habe sich dann vorhero in dem *Stylo* ohne den *Bassum Continuum* genugsam geübet / und darneben die zu einer *Regulirten Composition* nothwendige *Requisita* wohl eingeholet / als da (unter andern) sind die *Dispositiones Modorum*; *Fugae Simplices, mixtae, inversae; Contrapunctum duplex: Differentia Styli in arte Musicâ diversi: Modulatio Vocum: Connexio subiectorum*, &c. . . .

Als bin ich hierdurch veranlasset worden derogleichen Wercklein ohne Basso Continuum auch einsten wieder anzugehen / und hiedurch vielleicht etliche / insonderheit aber theils der angehenden Deutschen Componisten anzufrischen / das / ehe Sie zu dem *conce*rtirenden *Stylo* schreitten / Sie vorher diese harte Nuß (als worinnen der rechte Kern / und das rechte Fundament eines guten *Contrapuncts* zusuchen ist) auffbeissen / und darinnen ihre erste Proba ablegen möchten: Allermassen dann auch in Italien / als auff der rechten musicalischen hohen Schule (als in meiner Jugend ich erstmahls meine Fundamenta in dieser Profession zulegen angefangen) der Gebrauch gewesen / das die Anfahenden iedesmal derogleichen Geist= oder Weltlich Wercklein / ohne den *Bassum Continuum*, zu erst recht ausgearbeitet / und also von sich gelassen haben / wie denn daselbsten solche gute Ordnung vermuthlichen noch in acht genommen wird.

But there is no doubt, even for well-trained musicians, that in contrapuntal studies no one can properly begin other styles of composition and handle them correctly or write a treatise on them unless he has previously practised sufficiently in the style without basso continuo and has also attained the requirements necessary for a regulated composition such as (among others) the *Dispositiones Modorum*; *Fugae Simplices, mixtae, inversae; Contrapunctum duplex: Differentia Styli in arte Musicâ diversi: Modulatio Vocum: Connexio subiectorum*, &c. . . .

I have here had occasion to take on once more just such a piece without basso continuo and perhaps in this way to encourage others, particularly budding German composers, that before they proceed to concertato style, they should first bite on this hard nut (since it contains the true kernel and true foundation of good counterpoint) and execute their first endeavour in it. In Italy too (where in my youth I first learnt the rudiments of this profession) it has been the custom in proper musical training that beginners have always first perfected and mastered this same small sacred or secular work without basso continuo. Presumably this same good order is still observed.[103]

The "small sacred or secular work" recommended by Schütz as a "first endeavour" in composition had been a madrigal collection for himself and many other seventeenth-century German composers.[104] The loose form of the madrigal and its varying, text-based structure offered novice composers the opportunity to try out all conceivable compositional techniques and represen-

tative resources.[105] Moreover, its capacity for text expression made the madrigal an ideal exercise genre for *musica poetica*, in which text-setting held an important place.[106] The fact that Schütz's pupil Gabriel Mölich described his first musical publication (1619) as "musical exercises"[107] indicates the didactic role of the madrigal style. Werner Braun and Konrad Küster have argued that the sacred madrigals of Schütz's pupils afforded exercises in compositional technique similar to the secular madrigals of the Gabrieli school.[108] Consequently, just as love functioned as a "whetstone" for wit (Opitz) for poets, so it was also a source of inspiration for composers. When composers fall in love with singers, they come up with "astonishing ideas,"[109] as Johann Mattheson writes a century later:

> Die Liebe trägt hierzu nicht selten das meiste reichlich bey, indem sie von ie her, auch ohne viel Regeln zu gebrauchen, die beste Lehrmeisterin in der Music gewesen ist. [Fußnote:] Nach dem wahren Sprich=Wort: *Amor docet Musicam.*
>
> Love often provides the richest contribution to this, since it has always been the best schoolmistress in music, even without applying many rules. [Footnote:] After the true proverb: *Amor docet Musicam.*[110]

Baroque composition theory, just like poetry, was presented in normative poetics by means of lucid rules that were of immediate use in teaching. Just as German poets strove to make the German language potentially compatible, so German music theorists sought to pass on compositional reforms, from Italy in particular.[111] The first work in the vast array of such theoretical writings was Joachim Burmeister's *Musica Poetica* (1606). Burmeister describes imitation as an important teaching method, which in music theory as in poetics was borrowed from rhetoric:

> Imitatio est studium & conamen nostra carmina musica ad Artificum exempla, per analysin destre considerata, effingendi & formandi.
>
> *Imitatio* is the study and endeavour to shape and form our compositions after the example of works by great artists, thoroughly examined through analysis.[112]

Schütz's pupil Christoph Bernhard also emphasized the importance of imitation in compositional training:

> Denn doch die *Imitation* der vornehmsten *Authorum* dieser *Profession* nicht weniger als in allen andern Künsten nützlich ja nöthig ist, als ein Theil der *Praxos*, ohne welche alle *Praecepta* ohne Nutzen sind.

> For imitation of the most distinguished authors of this profession is, no less than in other arts, a useful, indeed necessary part of practice, without which all precepts are useless.[113]

In conjunction with pedagogic imitation, excerpts from the works of famous composers were systematized in German music treatises. Burmeister describes how a contemporary composer can learn from the works of earlier masters:

> Wenn ich mir überlege, auf welche Weise der herrliche Schmuck der Musik, welcher die Dichtung umkleidet, erglänzt, so glaube ich, daß sich hierüber noch vollständiger und vollkommener Vorschriften zusammentragen lassen. . . . Wenn wir nämlich die Werke der alten Meister studieren, so findet sich kaum eins, an dem man nicht etwas Besonderes beobachten könnte. Wir sind aber verpflichtet, solche Beobachtungen schriftlich niederzulegen, für die Nachwelt zu sammeln . . . und ihnen den Character von Vorschriften zu geben. . . .
>
> When I consider the radiance of the splendid jewel of music that adorns poetry, then I believe that even more comprehensive and complete instructions contribute to this. . . . If we study the works of the old masters, there is scarcely one to be found in which one may not observe something extraordinary. But we are obliged to set down such observations in writing, to collect them for posterity . . . and to give them the character of instructions . . . .[114]

Burmeister recommends the imitation of sixteenth-century vocal compositions, particularly the expressive works of Orlando di Lasso. The examples he cites often relate to representative devices that were conventionalised as madrigalisms.[115] Later musical treatises also describe the madrigal as a stylistic model. Andreas Herbst refers in his *Musica Poëtica* to models by Haßler, Lassus, and Marenzio in particular. Athanasius Kircher repeatedly describes the late madrigal as the prototype of an elegant and at the same time affect-invoking style (*musica pathetica*).[116] In his *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* Christoph Bernhard rates the late madrigal style of Claudio Monteverdi in particular ("*stylus luxurians communis*") as the most important model for German composers. In Renaissance polyphony ("*stylus gravis*"), according to Bernhard, too little attention was paid to the expression of text,[117] while in monody ("*stylus theatralis*") the text was indeed the focal point[118]—although the texts for this style were as yet unavailable in Germany.[119] The examples in Johann Gottfried Walther's *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (1708) are drawn from the late madrigal and early Italian and German baroque, while Johann Mattheson observes, as stated above, that even in high-baroque composition theory the madrigal style is still present in all musical styles.[120] Since the popular madrigal style was adopted as an exercise genre in composition

teaching, the didactic recommendations of music theorists furnish a theoretical contextualization of already prevalent music practice.

In the textbooks of *musica poetica* the compositional processes to be learned are listed in a catalogue of musical examples, resembling the poetic treasuries. Because baroque vocal composition teaching was oriented toward rhetorical text-setting, these examples were often referred to as musical–rhetorical figures. In his *Ausführlichen Bericht vom Gebräuche der Con- und Dissonantien*, Christoph Bernhard states that these figures derive from compositions of earlier masters that should be imitated:

> 2) Biß daß auff unsere Zeiten die *Musica* so hoch gekommen, daß wegen der Menge der *Figuren*, absonderlich aber in dem neu erfundenen und bisher immer mehr ausgezierten *Stylo Recitativo*, sie wohl einer *Rhetorica* zu vergleichen.
>
> 3) Solche *Figuren* und Sätze aber, haben die alten *Componisten* zu ihrem Grunde . . . .

> 2) Music has progressed so much in our time that because of the profusion of figures, especially in the newly invented and hitherto increasingly embellished *Stylo Recitativo*, it could well be compared to rhetoric.
>
> 3) Such figures and passages are, however, based on the old composers. . . .[121]

Walther transcribes this paragraph almost word for word from Bernhard.[122] Both contrapuntal techniques such as fugue and fauxbourdon, and devices for text representation are systematized by means of various figures.[123] Thus musical contrast was designated as *antithesis*, exceeding the melodic ambitus as *hyperbole*, and general text-illustrating motifs as *hypotyposis*.[124] The use of this last figure was particularly prized by Burmeister:

> Hypotyposis est illud ornamentum, quô textus significatio ita deumbratur ut ea, quae textui subsunt & animam vitamque non habent, vita esse praedica, videantur. Hoc ornamentum imitatißimum est apud autheticus Artifices. Utinam eadem dexteritate ab omnibus adhiberetur Componistis.

> Hypotyposis is the ornament with which the meaning of the text is so clarified that the lifeless words of the said text seem to be endowed with life. This ornament is very common in the old masters. If only it were handled skilfully by all composers![125]

Such so-called rhetorical devices were standard in both the musical and poetic forms of the madrigal.[126] The terms for other musical–rhetorical figures derive not from rhetoric, but rather from pictorial or affective text representation. The circular movement of *circulatio* was a common text-illustrating figure in the madrigal; the emphatic pause figures of *suspiratio* and *tmesis* before or during a word was often used by the madrigalists to express the

sighing and yearning of a lover.[127] Other word-painting figures are *anabasis* and *catabasis*, rising and falling motifs; the chromatic steps of *passus duriusculus*; and *saltus duriusculus*, the sudden wide leap, which Christoph Bernhard labelled as the expressive device of *stylus luxuriantes*.[128] Finally musical rhetoric also included a group of ornamental figures such as *coloratura*, *trillo*, and *tremolo*, which are mostly described separately from the text-representing figures.

Many elements of the madrigal style were systematized in this way in the composition textbooks of the baroque and presented to novice composers in the form of a "musical treasury" as a source of inspiration. Because the theorists focused on different musical examples, their descriptions of the musical–rhetorical figures do not always correspond exactly. Rather than casting doubt on the existence of one single baroque doctrine of musical figures (*Figurenlehre*),[129] this fact suggests that the lists of examples of the various theorists should be regarded as individual teaching methods based on related principles (*Figurenlehren*, plural).[130] Together they constitute baroque composition theory's orientation toward text representation and rhetoric. The musical–rhetorical figures were ultimately to become superfluous as models, without losing their validity as a compositional principle. Burmeister emphasizes that his models are not bound to fixed intervals or harmonies, but serve as examples. The composer imitating these examples should ultimately be capable of creating rhetorical text settings himself. These should not adhere literally to the models, but should bear similar characteristics:

> Neminem *melopoieton* tyronum, praecepta formandorum ornamentorum sive figurarum musicarum hic spectaturum spero. Siquidem varietas omnium cuiusque magna et multiplex apud auctores deprehenditur, ut vix numerum eorum nobis liceat indagare. . . . non in iisdem intervallis et concentibus, sed similibus elaboratem. Ut tamen quadam velut manuductione tyronem ducamus, definitiones vel descriptiones ornamentorum expromimus. . . . Insuper et hoc addimus, si forte philomusus sollicitus foret scire, quando et quo loco harmoniae flosculis harum figurarum sint exornandae, et quando ea adhibendae, ibi philomusus textum alicuius harmoniae cuiusdam auctoris, et praesertim, quae alicuius ornamenti cultum et ornatum induisse videtur, probe consideret, arbitreturque sibi similem textum eadem figura esse exornandum quo ille alterius artificis textus est exornatus. Quodcum fecerit, textus ipse ei praeceptorum instar erit . . . .

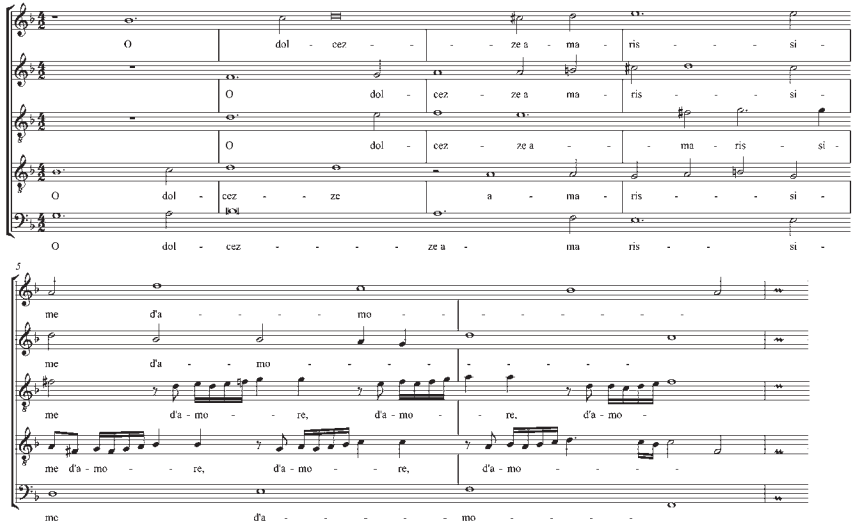
> I hope that the novice composer does not expect to find here rules for the formation of musical ornaments or figures. It is well known that their diversity is so great and abundant among composers that it is scarcely possible to discover their number. . . . they are not constructed of exactly the same intervals, but similarly: however, in order to provide the novice with a textbook, we present definitions and descriptions of the ornaments. . . . We should add that if a music

> student is keen to learn when and where to embellish harmonic pieces with the bloom of these figures, and when to use them, then he should study carefully the text of the harmonic works of a master composer, particularly a work in which a specific ornament is used clearly with elegance and decorum. He should then consider whether a similar text should be embellished with the same figure with which the text of this master composer is embellished. If he proceeds in this manner, then the text itself will serve him in place of rules . . . .[131]

Johann Nucius and Andreas Herbst also emphasized repeatedly that their composition teachings were conceived for musical beginners ("*tyroni*").[132] Therefore the musical excerpts presented in the composition textbooks functioned not as rules but as guidelines for novice composers, who should ultimately be able to produce similar representative devices independently.

The development of baroque composition theory is thus analogous to that of poetry: while German poets trained themselves stylistically through petrarchan translations and imitations, the madrigal style furnished a training in composition. Since in this way the madrigal style became "the source of musical language,"[133] the literary–historical significance of petrarchism as a stylistic training (Forster) may be transferred to musical petrarchism in the madrigal style. Both popular styles were extensively imitated; both were presented for educational purposes in textbooks and "treasuries." The following analyses of compositions by Heinrich Schütz and Johann Hermann Schein may clarify these parallels.

Heinrich Schütz demonstrated his mastery of the madrigal style in his Venetian madrigal collection. Through a consummate exploitation of musical parameters such as the characteristics of keys and intervals, tempo, rising and falling melody, pictorial and affective madrigalisms, he represents musically the various facets of his text. In the second madrigal of the collection "O dolcezze amarissime d'amore" ("O bitterest sweetness of love," SWV 2; see example 2-1), Schütz sets the petrarchan oxymoron of *dolce amaro* in a double motif.[134] At the words "o dolcezze amarissime" a slow tempo and extreme dissonance are employed alongside rising melodies and parallel thirds in an affective intensification of bitter-sweet. At "d'amore" rhythmically complementary motifs appear in semiquavers in the alto and tenor, which musically and thus also affectively offset the progressive accumulation of dissonance.[135]

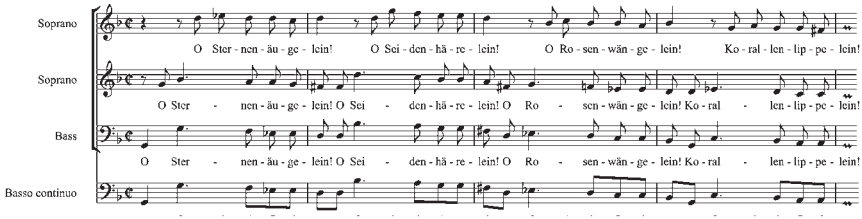
In this affective madrigalism the music enables a petrarchan form of representation that transcends the expressiveness of the text: here the joy and sorrow of love are in fact simultaneously audible. This artful, stylized interpretation of the text is typical of the late madrigal style. Schütz's madrigals, even in their extremely daring infringements of the rules, are not original, but reflect the wide-ranging stylistic potential of the madrigal style and its catalogue of madrigalian metaphors.[136] The starting point of the German madrigal, like the poetry of the German petrarchists, was not originality, but stylistic practice through imitation—Schütz's madrigals are apprentice works.

Example 2-1. Heinrich Schütz, "O dolcezze amarissime d'amore" (SWV 2), bars 5–7.

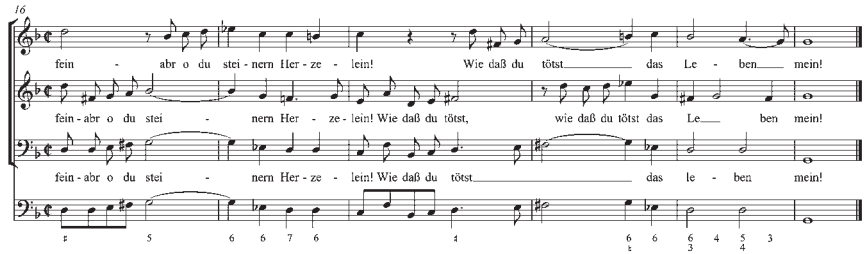
"O sternen Äugelein!," by Johann Hermann Schein, the text of which was analyzed earlier in this chapter, also focuses musically on form rather than content. The theme of this composition is not the lover's lament itself, but its representation. All the poetic devices are given musical equivalents. The enumerations are set in the form of sequences (termed *anaphora* or *repetitio* in the doctrines of musical–rhetorical figures) and imitations. The exclamations are preceded by dramatic pauses (*suspiratio*) and are harmonized in parallel movements (see example 2-2).

Schein sets the petrarchan caesura in the poem as a musical contrast (*antithese*) between the flowing parallel movement at the opening of the composition and the dissonances and larger intervals at the end (see example 2-3).

Like the text, the music of this madrigal is by no means new, but is characteristic of the mannerist style imitated by Schein in his secular song collections, which later also underpinned his sacred works.

The madrigal style, with its concern for text representation, was already being transferred to the representation of sacred themes in Germany in the early seventeenth century. Schütz's pupils Gabriel Mölich and Johann Klemm published sacred madrigal collections in 1619 and 1629 respectively; three collections by Andreas Hammerschmidt are known (two published in 1641; a third in 1652). Schein's *Israelsbrünnlein* (1623, 1651) and Schütz's *Cantiones Sacrae* (1625) and *Geistliche Chormusik* (1648) may also be regarded as sacred madrigals. The sacred madrigal does not differ in style from the secular: in these compositions the expressive texts of the Psalms and the Song of



Example 2-2. Johann Hermann Schein, "O sternen Äugelein!," bars 1–4.

Example 2-3. Johann Hermann Schein, "O sternen Äugelein!," bars 16–21.

Songs are represented with the same illustrative and affective devices as the petrarchan love poems in the secular madrigals.

Although Heinrich Schütz did not call his *Cantiones Sacrae* madrigals, he employs all the stylistic and representative elements of the madrigal style in setting the medieval texts of the *Meditationes Divi Augustini*. The text of the third part of the collection, "Inter brachia salvatoris mei" (SWV 82, *MDA* chapter XXIII, 2), is typical of medieval mysticism. The poem describes how meditation on the crucifixion awakens in the faithful soul the desire to be fully united with the loving Jesus. Because this was only possible after death, such desire led to a longing for death: the soul wishes to die and live again in the mystical embrace of the crucified Jesus (cf. chapter 5).

Inter brachia salvatoris mei
Et vivere volo, et mori cupio.
Ibi securus decantabo, exaltabo te,
domine, quiniam suscepisti me,
nec delectasti inimicos meos super me.

In the arms of my Saviour
I wish to live, and long to die.
There, free of care, I will sing, I will exalt You,
Lord, for You have protected me,
Nor did You set my enemies over me.

The composition begins with a visually striking depiction of the two loving

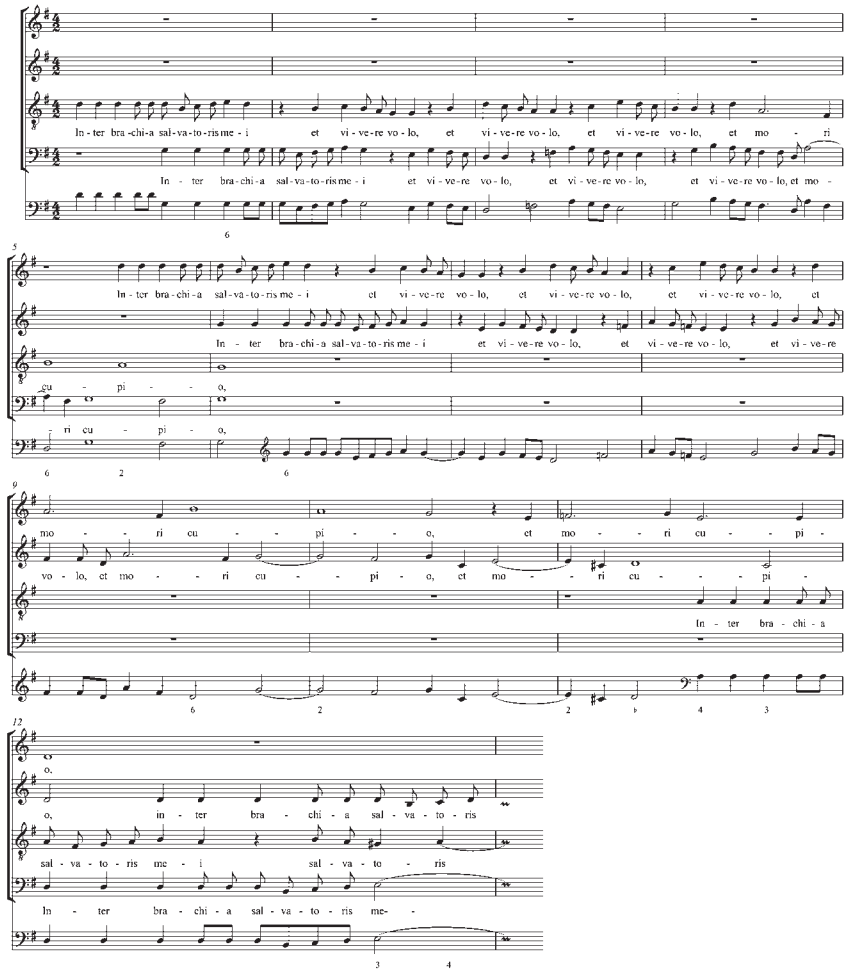
arms of Jesus. Two imitating pairs of voices sing of the two outstretched arms of the crucified Christ: the repeating opening notes seem to represent the cross, while the continuous circular movement (*circulatio*) and complementary rhythms of the melody represent the union of Christ and the faithful soul. The upper voices begin with the animated "life" motif, while the lower voices represent death in slow notes, dissonance, and chromatically rising sequences (*passus duriusculi*), so that a typical madrigalian double motif emerges, expressing the simultaneity of bitterness and sweetness in love-death (see example 2-4).

After this pictorial representation of the mystical embrace, Schütz again creates an extremely strong affective *antithese* between life and death through contrasting meter, tempo, homophony and polyphony, consonance, and chromatically intensified dissonance (see example 2-5).

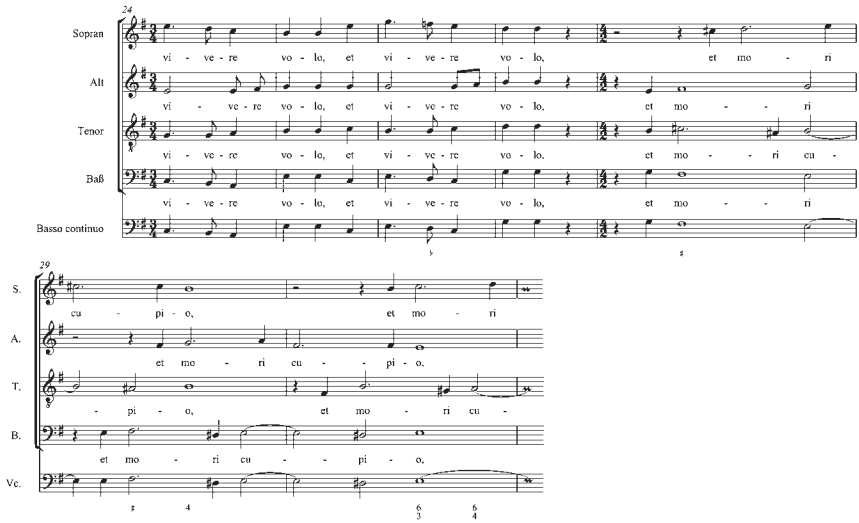
By ending the dissonant representation of death in a consonant cadence in the tonic key of G major, Schütz shows that death in Christ's arms signifies not the end of life, but a beginning.[137] Like the poets of his time Schütz here represents religious love as he would worldly love. While in poetry petrarchan imagery is employed to this end, the composer draws on musical love metaphors from the madrigal style. Thus in music a new diction also developed on the basis of imitation and transformation, which lifted the Italian conventions for the representation of secular love into the sacred love of German mysticism (cf. chapters 6 and 7).

CONCLUSIONS

German petrarchism developed parallel to and in conjunction with the madrigal style. The two genres were simultaneously received and assimilated. In the process both genres were also employed in a sacred context, as modes of representing secular love were transferred to the expression of sacred love. The literary–historical significance of petrarchism as a stylistic training can therefore be applied to musical petrarchism in the madrigal style: just as German poets trained themselves stylistically through petrarchan translations and imitations, the madrigal style served as a training in composition. On the stylistic foundations of these exercises a new poetic and musical style of representing love developed in Lutheran mysticism. Petrarchan love therefore had a practical function not only as a "whetstone of wit" (Opitz) for poets, but also as "the best schoolmistress in music" (Mattheson) for composers.

Various cultural–historical factors underlie these parallels. Firstly, the practical conditions for the spread of these genres were favorable. Both petrarchism and the madrigal were very popular and were printed extensively

Example 2-4. Heinrich Schütz, "Inter brachia salvatoris mei" (SWV 82), bars 1–12.

all over Europe.[138] The fact that the largest madrigal publisher in Europe was based in seventeenth-century Venice may have influenced Gabrieli's didactic choice of the madrigal;[139] correspondingly, a large number of madrigals were published in Germany.

Furthermore, the expressive resources of petrarchan poetry and the madrigal were thematically and stylistically almost inseparably bound together. The links between the two genres were also reflected in art theory. Expression of text and musical rhetoric were of decisive significance in German baroque music theory. The madrigal was described as a genre distinguished by the close association of poetic and musical representation. The compositional

Example 2-5. Heinrich Schütz, "Inter brachia salvatoris mei" (SWV 82), bars 24–30.

techniques of *musica poetica* could therefore be studied and imitated by means of examples drawn from the madrigal style.

The conventionalized modes of representation of petrarchism and the madrigal offered novice poets and composers a thorough stylistic training. In both styles the standardized language and rhetorical figures, the firmly established catalogues of metaphors and madrigalisms could be identified, defined, and therefore imitated. On the basis of this stylistic training, which was often executed in a free poetic or musical form, German artists built a new poetic and musical language.

Finally, both petrarchism and the madrigal style needed only a little formal rewriting to be applicable in a sacred context also. The rhetorical objectives of poetry and music were even more important in sacred thematics than in secular.[140] Martin Opitz famously stated that poetry should be regarded basically as "concealed theology and a lesson in divine matters."[141] In similar manner it was argued that music should serve theology. Martin Luther's assertion that music, after theology, deserved the highest honor,[142] was often quoted.[143] The expressively and rhetorically effective styles of petrarchism and the madrigal could quite easily be employed in sacred genres for such pedagogic purposes. The great significance of stylistic representation in these genres, which often seem rather mannered, gave rise to a relative abstraction of the actual theme of love. This emphasis on the style being imitated facilitated the application of the petrarchan and madrigal styles to Lutheran themes.[144]

NOTES

1. The fair catalogues are held by the Royal Library in the Hague, the Netherlands, and the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel, Germany; see also Gustav Schwetschke, *Codex Nundinarius Germaniae Literatae Bisecularis. Mess=Jahrbücher des deutschen Buchhandels von dem Erscheinen des ersten Mess=Kataloges im Jahre 1564 bis zu der Gründung des ersten Buchhändler=Vereins im Jahre 1765* (Halle: Schwetschke, 1850).

2. From the title of the collection *Newe teutsche Gesänge* by A. Hartenberger, as given in the Frankfurt catalogue for 1612.

3. Many collections of secular poetry and madrigals were published by Paul Kauffman in particular, who was a personal friend of Valentin Haußmann.

4. See Rudolf Jentzsch, *Der deutsch-lateinische Büchermarkt nach den Leipziger Ostermesskatalogen von 1740, 1770 and 1800 in seiner Gliederung und Wandlung* (PhD diss., Leipzig University, 1912); Helmuth Kiesel and Paul Münch, *Gesellschaft und Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert. Vorraussetzung und Entstehung des literarischen Marktes in Deutschland* (Munich: Beck, 1977).

5. Karl Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal. Geschichte seiner Entwicklung bis in die Mitte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed. (Walluf: Sändig, 1972), 13–14; Paul Cohen, *Die Nürnberger Musikdrucker im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (PhD diss., Erlangen University, 1927), 48.

6. See Cohen, *Die Nürnberger Musikdrucker*, 47–63.

7. This is shown by the catalogues of Georg Draudius, *Bibliotheca Librorum Germanicorum Classica. Das ist: Verzeichnuss aller und jeder Bücher / so fast bey dencklichen Jaren in Teutscher Spraach von allerhand Materien hin and wider in Truck aussgegangen* . . . (Frankfurt/Main: Kopff, 1611 and Frankfurt/Main: Emmel, 1625).

8. Martin Morell: "Georg Knoff: Bibliophile and Devotee of Italian Music in Late 16-Century Danzig," in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 103–126. The collection contains 267 works, of which more than 200 are Italian madrigals (mostly secular).

9. SchGBr, 115–118.

10. See also the afterword by Jörg Jochen Berns to his edition of Johann Georg Schottelius's *Ethica Die Sittenkunst oder Wollebenskunst* (Wolfenbüttel: Weiß, 1669, facsimile Bern: Francke, 1980), 19ff.

11. On Hainlein's stay in Italy see Willibald Gurlitt, "Ein Briefwechsel zwischen Paul Hainlein und L.F. Behaim aus den Jahren 1647–1648," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 24 (1912/13): 491–499.

12. See Denis Arnold, "The Second Venetian Visit of Heinrich Schütz," *The Musical Quarterly* 71 (1985): 359–374.

13. On the composition school of Giovanni Gabrieli see Siegfried Schmalzriedt, *Heinrich Schütz und andere zeitgenössische Musiker in der Lehre Giovanni Gabrielis* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1972).

14. No dates are available as yet for Gabriel Mölich.

15. SchGBr, 243.

16. Gina Spagnoli, "Dresden at the Time of Heinrich Schütz," in *The Early Baroque Era. From the Late 16th Century to the 1660s*, ed. Curtis Alexander Price (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993), 164–184.

17. Cf. Harald Steinhagen and Benno von Wiese, eds., *Deutsche Dichter des 17. Jahrhunderts: ihr Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Schmidt, 1984), 17.

18. On Opitz's poetics and their influence on German poetry see Volker Meid, *Barocklyrik*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), 2ff. and 74ff; Marian Szyrocki, *Die deutsche Literatur des Barock* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt 1968), 64–81.

19. See Gerhart Hoffmeister, *Petrarkistische Lyrik* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1973); Meid, *Barocklyrik*, 118ff.

20. On the Leipzig poets see Hoffmeister, *Petrarkistische Lyrik*, 69–73; Meid, *Barocklyrik*, 81–7; Szyrocki, *Deutsche Literatur des Barock*, 89–99.

21. The standard work on Fleming's poetry is Hans Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik. Zur Geschichte des Petrarkismus*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, 1963).

22. Buchner's text, ed. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, is given in *Weimarisches Jahrbuch für deutsche Sprache, Literatur und Kunst* 2 (1855):13–38.

23. On Hammerschmidt's songbooks see Anthony J. Harper, *German Secular Song-Books of the Mid-Seventeenth Century: An Examination of the Texts in Collections of Songs Published in the German-Language Area between 1624 and 1660* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 158–165.

24. Gina Spagnoli has shown that in spite of the rich cultural life at the Dresden court the Thirty Years War led to underpayment and poverty among the court musicians ("Dresden at the Time of Heinrich Schütz," 165–166). On musical life in Dresden see also Hans John, "Die Dresdner Kirchenmusik in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Heinrich Schütz und die Musik in Dänemark zur Zeit Christians IV. Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz in Kopenhagen 10.-14. November 1985*, ed. Arne Orbaek Jensen, and Ole Kongsted (Copenhagen: Engstrom & Sodring, 1989), 81–94.

25. See Constantin Christian Dedekind, *Aelbianische Musen=Lust*, facsimile ed. Gary C. Thomas (Bern: Lang, 1991), preface; Harper, *German Secular Song-Books*, 190–196.

26. Of these twelve madrigals only five are extant. Hans Joachim Moser took their titles from contemporary catalogues (preface to his edition of Schütz's German-language *Weltliche Lieder und Madrigale*).

27. Although *Dafne* is often called the first German opera, it was probably a *Sing-comoedie*, because, among other things, Schütz only discovered monody during his second Italian visit in 1628–1629; see Spagnoli, "Dresden at the Time of Heinrich Schütz", 164–184. Both score and libretto of *Dafne* are lost.

28. Christoph Bernhard, Caspar Kittel, Gabriel Mölich, Johann Klemm, Anton Colander, Adam Krieger, and Johann Schelle from Dresden; Johann Theile from Leipzig, Matthias Weckmann from Hamburg; Johann Jakob Löwe from Lüneburg; and Schutz's nephew Heinrich Albert from Königsberg. On these and other possible Schütz pupils see Konrad Küster, "Weckmann und Mölich als Schütz-Schüler," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 17 (1995): 39–62.

29. On Krieger's *Arien* see Harper, *German Secular Song-Books*, 196–205.

30. Klemm's collection is lost; Johann Gottfried Walther mentions it in his *Musikalisches LEXIKON oder Musicalische Bibliothec* [. . .]. (Leipzig: Deer, 1732), 342.

31. See Willi Nagel, "Die Nürnberger Musikgesellschaft," in *Monatsheft für Musikgeschichte* 27 (1895): 1–11. On the Pegnitz Pastoralists see Hoffmeister, *Petrarkistische Lyrik*, 74–75; E. Mannack (ed.), *Die Pegnitz-Schäfer. Nürnberger Barockdichtung* (Stuttgart 1968); Meid, *Barocklyrik*, 94–99; Szyrocki, *Deutsche Literatur des Barock*, chapter VIII.

32. See Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal*, 18ff.; also Johann Doppelmayr, *Historische Nachricht von den Nürnbergischen Mathematicis und Künstlern* (Nuremberg: Monath, 1730), 211 on Haßler, 227 on Herbst.

33. See James Haar, *The Tugendsterne of Harsdörffer and Staden: An Exercise in Musical Humanism* (Dallas: American Institute of Musicology, 1965) [Musicological studies and documents 14]; Peter Keller, *Die Oper Seelewig von Sigmund Theophil Staden und Georg Philipp Harsdörffer* (Bern: Haupt 1977).

34. See Willi Kahl, "Das Nürnberger historische Konzert von 1643 und sein Geschichtsbild," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1957): 281–303.

35. On the Hamburg poets see Hoffmeister, *Petrarkistische Lyrik*, 73ff.; Szyrocki, *Deutsche Literatur des Barock*, chapter IX.

36. On musical settings of Zesen's poems see Harper, *German Secular Song-Books*, 250–265.

37. Andreas Herbst, *Musica Poëtica Sive Compendium Melopoëticum. Das ist: Eine kurtze Anleitung / und gründliche Unterweisung / wie man eine schöne Harmoniam, oder lieblichen Gesang /nach gewiesen Praeceptis und Regulis componiren, und machen soll* (Nuremberg: Dümler, 1643), 84.

38. Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (Breslau: Gründer, 1624, reprint ed. Richard Alewyn, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1963), 22, 44, 45. On the connections between the poetry of Sappho and petrarchism, see Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik*, 124 ff.

39. Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 1* (Nuremberg: Endter, 1653, facsimile Darmstadt: Olms, 1969): 93.

40. Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 1*: 79.

41. Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 1*: 93ff.

42. Erdmann Neumeister, *Die allerneueste Art / Zur Reinen und* Galanten *Poesie zu gelangen. Allen Edlen und dieser Wissenschaft geneigten Gemüthern / Zum Vollkommenen Unterricht* [. . .], edited by Menantes [Christian Friedrich Hunold] (Hamburg: Liebernickel, 1707), 284. Also Ute-Maria Süßmuth Viswanathan, *Die Poetik Erdmann Neumeisters und ihre Beziehung zur barocken und galanten Dichtungslehre* (PhD diss., Pittsburg University, 1997), 81ff.

43. Herbst, *Musica Poëtica*, 101.

44. Herbst, *Musica Poëtica*, 111.

45. Johann Gottfried Walther, *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (Weimar: [n.p.], 1708, reprint ed. Peter Benary, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955), 75.

46. Walther, *Praecepta*, 158.

47. Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 6th ed. (Hamburg: Herold, 1739, facsimile ed. Margarete Reimann, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 101.

48. The standard works by Wilfried Barner, *Barockrhetorik* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1970), Joachim Dyck, *Ticht-Kunst. Deutsche Barockpoetik und rhetorische Tradition* (Bad Homburg vor der Höhe: Gehlen, 1966), and Ludwig Fischer, *Gebundene Rede. Dichtung und Rhetorik in der dichterischen Theorie des Barock in Deutschland* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1968) provide information on the relationship between poetry and rhetoric. There has been a great deal of argument on the subject of music and rhetoric. Dietrich Bartel, *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre*, 3rd ed. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997), Dietrich Bartel, *Music Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), Rolf Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 3rd ed. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1995), Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Heinrich Schütz: Musicus Poeticus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), Martin Ruhnke, *Joachim Burmeister. Ein Beitrag zur Musiklehre um 1600* [Documenta musicologica 1/10] (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955), and Arnold Schmitz, *Die Bildlichkeit der wortgebundenen Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Mainz: Schott, 1950) provide important contributions on the relationship between the two disciplines which, although disputed to some degree (e.g., Arno Forchert, "Musik und Rhetorik im Barock," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 7/8 (1985/1986): 5–21), are fully supported by recent investigations (Albert Clement, *Der dritte Teil der Clavierübung von Johann Sebasian Bach. Musik—Text—Theologie* [Middelburg: AlmaRes, 1999] and Anne Leahy, Text-Music Relationships in the "Leipzig" Chorales of Johana Sebastian Bach [Lanham: Scarecrow Press, forthcoming], should be mentioned here as significant findings). The historical background of baroque musical rhetoric in Italian humanism has been thoroughly discussed by Don Harràn, *In Search of Harmony. Hebrew and Humanist Elements in Sixteenth-Century Musical Thought* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1988), chapter II, and Claude V. Palisca, "*Ut Oratoria Musica:* The Rhetorical Basis of Musical Mannerism," in *The Meaning of Mannerism*, ed. Franklin W. Robinson and Stephen G. Nichols (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1972), 37–65.

49. Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 1*: preface, xiiij.

50. Neumeister, *Die allerneueste Art*, 511.

51. Johann Nucius, *Musices Poeticae sive de Compositione Cantus* (Neisse: Scharffenberg, 1613), F3v and G3 respectively.

52. Johann Georg Ahle, *Musikalische Sommer-Gespräche darinnen vom Grund- und Kunstmäsigen Komponieren gehandelt wird* (Mühlhausen: Pauli, 1697), 16. Quoted in Bartel, *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre*, 46. Interesting in this context is the fourth chapter of the second part of Johann Matthäus Meyfart's *Teutsche Rhetorica / oder Redekunst 2* (Coburg: Gruner, 1634), 12, in which the author calls oratory "a secret harmony or music" (Ein künstliche Rede ist eine heimliche Harmoney oder Musica). Meyfart describes how the orator can make his speech more impressive by an almost recitative-like declamation: "It is an incredible ornament, pleasure, joy, rapture and boldness if the orator can leap up to the seventh or sixth as musicians speak. How lovely and delightful it is to stay on the unison with sensible restraint, to sink to the second, third, fourth, fifth, and even the octave and ninth [. . .]" (Es ist eine unglaub-

liche Zierde/ Lust/ Frewde/ Wonne/ und Dapfferkeit/ wenn der Redener sich kan von unten auff in die Septimam schwingen/ oder die Sextam/ wie die Musicanten redden. Wie schön und lieblich ist es mit vernünfftiger Bescheidenheit/ *in unisono* bleiben/ in *secundam*, *tertiam*, *quartam*, *quintam*, auch wolgar in die *Octavam* weichen/ und *nonam* [. . .]), ibid., 13.

53. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 187.

54. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 235.

55. In Burmeister: "Musica Poëtica . . . est illa Musicae pars, quae carmen musicum docet conscribere . . . " (Joachim Burmeister, *Musica Poetica* [Rostock: Myliander, 1606, reprint ed. Rainer Bayreuther, Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2004], 1); in Walther: "*Musica Poëtica* . . . means what is called musical composition, or the art of inventing melody and blending together consonant and dissonant sounds" (Walther, *Musikalisches LEXIKON*, 434). See Harràn, *In Search of Harmony*, chapter II; Palisca, "*Ut Oratoria Musica*," 56.

56. This interpretation of the term *musica poetica* dominates modern literature on the baroque doctrine of musical–rhetorical figures (e.g., Eggebrecht, *Heinrich Schütz*; Ruhnke, *Joachim Burmeister*).

57. Thus in his preface to the first German translation (1636) of *Pastor Fido*, Statius Ackermann expresses the hope that his efforts will find a following among both poets and composers. See Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal*, 32.

58. Cf. Meid, *Barocklyrik*, 65.

59. Caspar Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen / Einer schönen und zur Musik bequemsten Art Verse / Wie sie nach der Italianer Manier in unserer Deutschen Sprache auszuarbeiten* (Wittenberg: Hartmann, 1685), 2. "*Meusur*" probably means "Mensur" (measure).

60. Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*, 16ff.

61. Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*, preface by Heinrich Schütz.

62. Johann Hübner, *Neu=vermehrtes Poetisches Hand=Buch, Das ist, eine kurzgefaste Anleitung zur Deutschen Poesie, Nebst Einem vollständigen Reim=Register, Den Anfängern zum besten zusammen getragen* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1720), 112.

63. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III. Termini musici* (Wolfenbüttel: Holwein, 1619, reprint ed. Willibald Gurlitt, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), 11ff.

64. Walther, *Musikalisches LEXIKON*, 376

65. Ziegler, *Von den Madrigalen*, 17ff.

66. For example, Neumeister, *Die allerneueste Art*, 246: "basically they [aria texts] should fit in beautifully with the music, like a madrigal."

67. Hübner, *Poetisches Hand=Buch*, 131.

68. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 78.

69. For example, Gottfried Feinler, *Poetisches Lust=Gartgin / in welchem CC. auf neue Teutsche Art gesetzte / Geist= und Weltliche POEMATA, als: Oden / Madrigalen / Sonnette / Uberschriften &c. zu finden* (Zeitz: Schuhmann, 1677); Johann Gottfried Olearius, *Erstlinge an Geistlichen Deutschen Liedern und Madrigalen* (Halle: Salfeldt, 1664). On the literary sacred madrigal see Vossler, *Das deutsche Madrigal*, 66–84.

70. Leonard Forster, *The Icy Fire. Five Studies in European Petrarchism* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 61–83.

71. In his article "Barocker Petrarkismus. Wandlungen und Möglichkeiten der Liebessprache in der Lyrik des 17. Jahrhunderts" Gerhard Hoffmeister has discussed the translation, imitation, rewriting, and re-creation of petrarchism in German baroque poetry: in *Europäische Tradition und deutscher Literaturbarock. Internationale Beiträge zum Problem von Überlieferung und Umgestaltung*, ed. Gerhart Hoffmeister (Bern: Francke, 1973), 37–55. See also Lea Goldberg, "Certain Aspects of Imitation and Translation in Poetry," in *Übersetzung und Nachahmung im europäischen Petrarkismus*, ed. Luzius Keller (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974), 27–33.

72. Forster, *The Icy Fire*, 83: " . . . the attraction of petrarchism to people who were trying to create a new poetic diction was that they needed something to imitate and here was something supremely imitable."

73. Cf. Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik*, 147.

74. On the isolation of petrarchan metaphors from their original meaning in German baroque poetry see Leonard Forster, "Petrarkismus und Neolatein," in *Der petrarkistische Diskurs. Spielräume und Grenzen*, ed. Klaus W. Hempfer and Gerhard Regn (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1993), 181.

75. Hans Pyritz, "Paul Fleming und der Petrarkismus," in *Deutsche Barockforschung: Dokumentation einer Epoche*, ed. Richard Alewyn (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1965), 338; also Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik*, 144–148.

76. Cf. Forster, *The Icy Fire*, 73: "What could be more imitable, more schematic, than the arsenal of conceits, based on clear visual images, which the Italians had elaborated out of Petrarch's work?"

77. Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg: [n.p.], 1740, reprint ed. Max Schneider, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), 75.

78. Sigmund von Birken, *Teutsche Rede-bind- und Dicht-Kunst / oder Kurze Anweisung zur Teutschen Poesy* (Nuremberg: Riegel, 1679, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), 183.

79. Cf. James Chater, *Luca Marenzio and the Italian Madrigal* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 49: "Such is the wealth of musical images, with motives and harmonic progressions assuming exact and unvarying meanings from one composition to another, that it is possible to compile a 'dictionary' of these musical devices with an explanation of their 'meanings'"; also Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 554: ". . . there was already in existence **a** supply of ready-made formulas, **a** sort of musical rhyming dictionary or a handbook of musical rhetoric."

80. Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*, 13.

81. See Barner, *Barockrhetorik*, 59–67, 285–291; Thomas Borgstedt, "Nachahmung und Nützlichkeit: Renaissancediskurse, Poeterey und Monumentsonette" in *Martin Opitz (1597–1639). Nachahmungspoetik und Lebenswelt*, ed. Thomas Borgstedt and Walter Schmitz (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2002), 53–72; Rudolf Drux, *Martin Opitz und sein poetisches Regelsystem* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1976), 21–25.

82. Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 1*: 90; Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 2* (Nuremberg: Endter, 1653, facsimile Darmstadt: Olms, 1969): 7ff.

83. Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*, 13.

84. Pyritz, *Paul Flemings Liebeslyrik*, 158.

85. See also Borgstedt, "Nachahmung und Nützlichkeit."

86. Andreas Tscherning, *Unvorgreiffliches Bedencken über etliche mißbräuche in der deutschen Schreib= und Sprach=Kunst, insonderheit der edlen Poeterey. Wie auch kurtzer Entwurff oder Abrieß einer deutschen Schatzkammer* (Lübeck: Volken, 1659), 248.

87. Ferdinand van Ingen defined this process as "structured intertextuality." Ferdinand van Ingen, "Strukturierte Intertextualität. Poetische Schatzkammern und Verwandtes," in *Intertextualität in der Frühen Neuzeit. Studien zu ihren theoretischen und praktischen Perspektiven*, ed. Wilhelm Kühlmann and Wolfgang Neuber (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 279–308.

88. Neumeister, *Die allerneueste Art*, 6.

89. Neumeister, *Die allerneueste Art*, 76.

90. Neumeister, *Die allerneueste Art*, 476.

91. Neumeister, *Die allerneueste Art*, 498.

92. Neumeister, *Die allerneueste Art*, 9. In the preface to his edition of Neumeister's treatise the publisher Menantes describes this passage as follows: "One hopes that it will not cause annoyance that many things are written of love herein. Whoever reviles us on this account may receive a polite seal on his mouth."

93. See Gerhard Hoffmeister, "Barocker Petrarkismus. Wandlungen und Möglichkeiten der Liebessprache in der Lyrik des 17. Jahrhunderts," in Hoffmeister, *Europäische Tradition und deutscher Literaturbarock*, 66: "In him [Opitz] the declining petrarchan trends of the national literature of neighbouring countries are brought together to provide for the last time a formal training for the young poets of an entire nation, while the motivic completeness of the concept of love (cf. P. Bembo) disintegrates further in the takeover."

94. Forster, *The Icy Fire*, 4.

95. English translation: Mark Musa, *Petrarch: The Canzoniere or Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta. Translated into Verse with Notes and Commentary by Mark Musa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 217.

96. "*Sonnet*. Auß dem Italienischen *Petrarchae*" in Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*, 48.

97. Ulrich Schulz-Buschhaus, "Emphase und Geometrie. Notizen zu Opitz' Sonnettistik im Kontext des europäischen Petrarkismus," in Borgstedt and Schmitz, *Martin Opitz*, esp. 78–82.

98. See Gerhart Hoffmeister, *Deutsche und europäische Barockliteratur* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1987), 147ff.; Meid, *Barocklyrik*, 118ff.; Szyrocki, *Deutsche Literatur des Barock*, 123ff.

99. Christian Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau, *Deutsche Übersetzungen und Getichte* (Breslau: Fellgibel, 1679), preface, 5.

100. This sacred love poetry has been described as "Christian petrarchism" (e.g., Hoffmeister, *Petrarkistische Lyrik*, 76ff.; Manfred Windfuhr, *Die barocke Bildlichkeit und ihre Kritiker* [Stuttgart: Metzler, 1966], 228ff.). However, although petrarchan elements do indeed play a decisive role in this poetry, they are formally equally important as elements of medieval mysticism and Lutheranism; the label "Lutheran mystical love poetry" is therefore less problematic.

101. Philipp von Zesen, *Deutscher Helicon* (Wittenberg: Röhner, 1641, reprint ed. Ferdinand van Ingen, Berlin: De Gruyter 1971), 168ff.

102. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 129.

103. SchGBr, 194.

104. Werner Braun and Siegfried Schmalzriedt have also argued that Schütz is probably referring here to madrigal collections (Werner Braun, "Schütz als Kompositionslehrer: Die "Geistlichen Madrigale" (1619) von Gabriel Mölich," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 7/8 (1985/86): 71ff.; Siegfried Schmalzriedt, "Giovanni Gabrieli als Lehrer," in Jensen and Kongsted, *Heinrich Schütz und die Musik in Dänemark*, 205).

105. Cf. Schmalzriedt, "Giovanni Gabrieli als Lehrer," 205: " . . . the secular form of the madrigal in the late 16th and early 17th century [was] a field of experiment for all technical and expressive innovations in composition."

106. Cf. Paolo Emilio Carapezza, "Schützens Italienische Madrigale: Textwahl und stilistische Beziehungen," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 1 (1979): 44–62; Konrad Küster, "Madrigaltext als kompositorische Freiheit: Zu Schütz' italienischen Madrigalen und ihrer Umgebung," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 15 (1993): 33–48.

107. Dedication of Mölich's madrigal collection (cited in Braun, "Schütz als Kompositionslehrer," 75).

108. Braun, "Schütz als Kompositionslehrer," 72; Küster, "Madrigaltext als kompositorische Freiheit"; Küster, "Weckmann und Mölich als Schütz-Schüler," 49–61.

109. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 129.

110. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 129.

111. Cf. Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 157ff.

112. Burmeister, *Musica Poetica*, 74.

113. Christoph Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* ([n.p.], 1648), in reprint *Die Kompositionslehre H. Schützens in der Fassung seines Shülers Chr. Bernhard*, 3rd ed., ed. Joseph Müller-Blatau (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1999), 90

114. Joachim Burmeister, *Musica Autoschediastike*, preface. Cited without page reference in Ruhnke, *Joachim Burmeister*, 144.

115. On madrigalisms in Burmeister's composition teaching see Palisca, "*Ut Oratoria Musica*."

116. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X libros digesta* (Rome: Corbelletti, 1650, facsimile ed. Ulf Scharlau. Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), A313, A544, A547, A586, A597, and B143.

117. Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, 90: ". . . in these it is more difficult to set the text, so they are more inclined to lead astray than guide."

118. Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, 83: "And because in this genre oration is the absolute mistress of harmony . . . "

119. Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, 90: "We Germans, however, have almost none of the delightful poems appropriate to such genres."

120. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 78.

121. Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, 147.

122. Walther, *Praecepta*, 152.

123. In 1664 the Tübingen poet-musician and professor of rhetoric Christoph Kaldenbach produced a dissertation on the musical rhetoric of Orlando di Lasso.

Hans-Heinrich Unger reveals musical–rhetorical figures in the madrigals of Marenzio (*Die Beziehungen zwischen Musik und Rhetorik im 16.–18. Jahrhundert* [Würzburg: Triltsch, 1941], 134ff.), Karin Wettig discusses rhetorical figures in the work of Gesualdo (*Satztechnische Studien an den Madrigalen Carlo Gesualdos* [Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1990], chapter III) and Willem Elders has traced the foundations of baroque musical rhetoric to the compositions of Lassus, Josquin, and even Dufay ("Music of the Early Netherlanders as Prototype of J.S. Bach's Rhetorical Language," in *Die Quellen Johann Sebastian Bachs: Bachs Musik im Gottesdienst*, ed. Renate Steiger [Heidelberg: Manutius, 1998], 91–104). Because of the madrigalian character of many musical–rhetorical figures, Arno Forchert concludes that they cannot be related to rhetoric at all ("Heinrich Schütz und die Musica Poetica," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 15 [1993]: 7–24). In my opinion, however, such investigations actually demonstrate the role of the madrigal style in the emergence of *musica poetica*. The expressive resources employed in the representation of text in this style furnish a suitable starting point for German baroque composition theory, which was similarly oriented toward text representation (cf. Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 98).

124. Cf. Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 139ff.

125. Burmeister, *Musica Poetica*, 62.

126. Arnold Schmitz has described *Hypotyposis* as a "collective figure for many pictorial madrigalisms" (*Die Bildlichkeit der wortgebundenen Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs*, 32).

127. For example, Siegfried Schmalzriedt, "'Quel dolce amaro.' Manieristische Ästhetik und Kompositionsweise in Schütz' Madrigalbuch von 1611," in *Alte Musik als ästhetische Gegenwart. Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongreß Stuttgart 1985 1*, ed. Dietrich Berke and Dorothee Hanemann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987), 38ff. In the poem "Nachtmusikanten," by Abraham a Sancta Clara, the *suspiratio* figure is directly associated with love songs: "Da fängt man alsbald an / Vor der Geliebten Tür / Verliebte Arien / Mit Pausen und Suspir." (Immediately one is at the door of the beloved, singing love songs with pauses and sighs.)

128. Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* (Müller-Blattau 1926), 78ff.

129. For example, Arno Forchert, "Madrigalismus und musikalisch-retorische Figur," in *Die Sprache der Musik. Festschrift Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller zum 60. Geburtstag,* ed. Jobst Peter Fricke (Regensburg: Bosse, 1989) [Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 165], 151–169.

130. In the context of rhetoric cf. Clemens Ottmers, *Rhetorik* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996), 155: "There is no doctrine of musical figures as such."

131. Burmeister, *Musica Poetica*, 56.

132. Nucius, *Musices poeticae*, F2, G2, G3v; Herbst, *Musica Poëtica*, 88, 99, 115.

133. Carapezza, "Schützens Italienische Madrigale," 47.

134. First discussed in Hans-Joachim Moser, *Heinrich Schütz. Sein Leben und Werk*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), 230ff.

135. On this passage see also Schmalzriedt, "'Quel dolce amaro'," 41; Wolfram Steinbeck, "Lyrik und Dramatik im italienischen Madrigal. Zur Sprachvertonung und Musiksprache bei Schütz und Monteverdi" in Jensen and Kongsted, *Heinrich Schütz und die Musik in Dänemark*, 220ff.

136. Steinbeck, "Lyrik und Dramatik im italienischen Madrigal," 218.

137. Heide Volckmar-Waschk also points out the "elated, dance-like character" of the instrumental techniques in this composition, which represent musically the believer's assurance of eternal life (*Die "Cantiones Sacrae" von Heinrich Schütz. Entstehung—Texte—Analysen* [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001], 226).

138. Cf. Forster, *The Icy Fire*, 62–67.

139. Cf. Schmalzriedt, "'Quel dolce amaro'," 209.

140. Cf. Leonard Forster, "Deutsche und europäische Barockliteratur," *Daphnis* 6 (1977): 31–53 1977, 44.

141. Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*, 7.

142. Luther, WA 50: 370ff.

143. For instance by Andreas Herbst, *Musica Practica Sive Introductio pro Symphoniacis. Das ist: Eine kurtze Anleitung / wie die Knaben / und Andere / so sonderbare Lust und Liebe zum singen tragen /auff jetzige Italienische Manier / mit geringer Müh / und kurtzer Zeit / doch gründlich können informiret und unterrichtet werden* (Nuremberg: Dümler, 1642), 1; and Johann Mattheson (Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, preface, 19).

144. Cf. Forster, *The Icy Fire*, 74: "But the novelty lay also in the device itself, and it was attractive *because* it was a device, because it could be imitated."

Chapter Three

Affective Expression in Poetry and Music

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophy saw the emergence of a growing interest in the human passions. The physiological characteristics of the passions or affects were described extensively in various philosophical treatises, such as René Descartes' *Passions de l'âme* (1649). The German ethics of Justus Georg Schottelius (1669), Christian Thomasius (1692/1696), and Christian Weise (1696) concentrated primarily on control or mastery of the affects as a Lutheran moral exercise.[1] In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Lutheran devotion, also, the personal emotions of the believer received increasing attention. Gradually faith was understood to involve personal experience that manifested itself emotionally. The pronounced turn toward introspection of seventeenth-century religiosity gave rise to an individualization and emotionalization of devotional genres (cf. chapter 5). Within these developments the affects became popular themes of poetry and music, and the stylistic diction in both arts was increasingly geared toward the arousal or suppression of the passions in the reader or listener.

The affective objectives of poetic or musical representation were extensively discussed in contemporary art theory. August Buchner argues that while the philosopher instructs his public with intelligible speech, the poet strives in addition to delight and amaze his reader:[2]

> Der Philosophus / und die da sonst lehren / sind begnüget / wenn sie ihre Meinung / andern zum Unterricht / mit verständlichen klaren Worten vorgebracht; Ein Poet aber / wie wol er gleichfals dahin zu siehen hat / daß seine Rede verständlich sey / so hat er doch über dieses sich zu bemühen / wie er schön / lieblich / und scheinbar mache / damit er das Gemüth des Lesers bewegen / und in demselben einen Lust und Verwunderung ob den Sachen / davon er handelt / erwecken möge / zu welchem Zweck er allzeit zielen muß.

> The philosopher and others who teach are satisfied if they have conveyed their meaning in clear, intelligible words for the instruction of others; but a poet, although he too must ensure that his speech is intelligible, must also strive to make it beautiful, charming and plausible, so that he can move the reader's heart and awaken in it pleasure and amazement at the subject in hand, to which end he must always aspire.[3]

Here Buchner describes the three rhetorical categories of *docere*, *movere*, and *delectare*, but particularly emphasizes the category of *movere*, moving the affects of the listener, as being characteristic of poetry. In his preface to Gotthilf Treuer's *Daedalus* Buchner explains how the three rhetorical categories work together in poetry with respect to the excitement of affect:

> Die ungemeine und zierliche Rede machet Verwunderung und Anmuth / die wolgefügten Sylben und ungezwungene Reime / dringen hindurch / und führen ein wolgeartes Gemüthe fort unter einer angenehmen Gewalt. . . . so kan es nicht fehlen / es muß den Leser dadurch kräfftig gebessert und unterrichtet / zugleich auch nützlich vergnügt und belüstiget werden.
>
> Unusual and elegant speech awakens amazement and delight. Well-chosen syllables and unforced rhymes penetrate through it and direct a well-disposed heart with agreeable force. . . . Then it cannot fail to improve and instruct powerfully, but at the same time also to amuse and entertain the reader productively.[4]

The ability to awaken emotions that were pleasant, but at the same time instructive, was a specific characteristic of poetry.[5] In the preface to his *Teutschen Rhetorica* Johann Matthäus Meyfart stated that these emotions could be very strong:

> Diese [die Redekunst] / wenn sie anhebet ihre Rüstung zuschwingen / zuerschüttern und zustreichen / müssen geschwinde die Donner aus dem gelehrten Munde loßbrechen / nicht anders / als ob in der Lufft die Wolcken versprüngen / und die erschreckliche Schläge mit dem entzündeten Fewer in unterschiedliche Ort sich verwendet hätten. Wohin ihr gefället / darf sie antreiben und führen; Wohin ihr gefället / darf sie abtreiben und wegführen. Bald erweichet sie den harten Menschen in sanffte Threnen / bald erhärtet sie den weichen Menschen in grawsame Felsen.
>
> When [rhetoric] begins to flourish, shake and strike its weapons, thunder must immediately erupt from the learned mouth, as if the clouds in the air had dispersed and frightful blows had expended themselves with flaming fire in various places. It can transport and lead whither it pleases; it can expel and eject whence it pleases. Sometimes it softens the hard man to gentle tears, sometimes it hardens the weak man into cruel rock.[6]

Through the power of his rhetoric the orator could sway the hearts of his listeners in any direction. The poet had even more power over the affects because "the human heart [is] further and sooner moved by metrical than non-metrical speech."[7] Like Buchner, Georg Philipp Harsdörffer argues that it should be the poet's goal to move the reader. He mentions quite definite affects:

> Die Rede soll zierlich und doch nach Beschaffenheit nachsinnig seyn; Massen wir in unser Sprache so schöne und eingriffige Wörter und Red=Arten haben / die durch die Hertzen schneiden / ihre Deutung prächtig und mächtig in den Sinn legen / das Gemüt kräfftig bewegen / zu Zorn anführen / zu den Grimm erbittern / zu den Neid vergallen / zu dem Gewalt bewaffnen; und im Gegenstande zu der Barmhertzigkeit ermilden / zu der Vergebung erweichen / zu der Vergessenheit bewegen / zu der Liebe erschmeichelen / zu der Freundlichkeit anhalten / und kan dem Menschen nichts zu Sinne kommen / daß ein Sprachkündiger nicht mit genugsamen Worten sattsam vorstellig machen wird.
>
> Speech should be elegant and yet fittingly reflective, inasmuch as we in our language have such beautiful and gripping words and idioms, which cut through the heart, communicate their meaning with splendour and might, powerfully move the heart, goad to rage, incense to fury, gall to envy, incite to violence; and on the other hand soften to mercy, mollify to forgiveness, move to pardon, cajole to love, urge to friendship. There is nothing a man can feel that a writer cannot amply present with modest words.[8]

By means of judicious style baroque poetry could move the heart to any desired affect. Such stirring of the emotions was regarded as the "heart and soul of eloquence."[9]

In music too all available stylistic resources were called upon to represent the affective theme of a text. The expressive qualities of music are described in many contemporary sources.[10] The theoretical foundations underpinning the evocation of affect in *musica poetica* were, as in poetry, the objectives of rhetoric: like the poet, the composer should strive to move the listener. As early as 1619 Michael Praetorius discusses this analogy between rhetorical and musical *movere*:

> Gleich wie eines *Oratoris* Ampt ist / nicht allein eine *Oration* mit schönen anmutigen lebhafftigen Worten / unnd herrlichen *Figuris* zu zieren / sondern auch recht zu *pronuncijren*, und die *affectus* zu *moviren*: . . . Also ist eines Musicanten nicht allein singen / besondern Künstlich und anmütig singen: Damit das Hertz der Zuhörer gerühret / und die *affectus* beweget werden / und also der Gesang seine Endschafft / dazu er gemacht / und dahin er gerichtet / erreichen möge.
>
> Just as it is an orator's task not only to embellish his oration with beautiful, charming, lively words and delightful figures, but also to pronounce correctly

> and to move the affects . . . so the musician must not only sing, but sing with artistry and charm. Thereby the heart of the listener is stirred and the affect is moved, and thus the song achieves the purpose for which it is made and towards which it is geared.[11]

Athanasius Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* (1650), which was translated into German in 1662 by Andreas Hirsch, deals at length with the musical representation, arousal, and shaping of human passions. Kircher believes that music has greater potential to excite affect than rhetoric and poetry. Although speech fashioned according to the rules of rhetoric can move the human heart, music can excite affect to a greater extent and can even "draw [the listener] out of himself,"[12] because it can employ for this purpose not only rhythm, meter, and rhetorical figures, but also melody and harmony.[13] Hirsch emphatically highlights the affective impact of music in his German summary of Kircher's treatise. The fact that he transcribes word for word the chapter on the "wondrous effect" of music, yet does not translate the chapter on mathematics and rhetoric, indicates the value placed on musical emotiveness in contemporary German music theory.

The emotions excited by music are also frequently described as powerful. Thus Johann Kuhnau argues that "it is in the musician's hands to sway the listeners' hearts as he wishes" and that music "has a certain control over the listeners."[14] Like the poet, the composer had power over the heart of the listener, which he could use to excite and influence the affects.

The artistic significance of affect gradually increased during the seventeenth century, until in the eighteenth century it became the principal object of poetic and musical representation. Johann Mattheson argued at length in several works that it was the "ultimate purpose" of composition "to excite all the affects, simply through the notes and their rhythm, defying the best orator";[15] "everything that is without commendable affect is nothing, does nothing, counts for nothing."[16] Like Kircher and Hirsch, Mattheson speaks in this context of the "wonderful effect" of music.[17] Without the expression and arousal of the affects music, according to eighteenth-century music theory, is empty and lifeless:

> Music, die nicht ans Hertz, nicht an die Seele dringt,
> Aus Tönen zwar besteht, doch nur die Ohren zwingt,
> Der nicht Natur und Kunst Klang, Anmuth, Krafft gegeben,
> Ist nur ein todtes Werck, es fehlt ihr Geist und Leben.
>
> Music that penetrates neither the heart nor the soul,
> Consists indeed of notes, yet sways only the ears;
> That to which nature and art have not lent sound, charm, strength,
> Is but a dead work, lacking spirit and life.[18]

The Leipzig literary critic Johann Christoph Gottsched also takes the view that the purpose of music is to express and excite affects. Music, according to Gottsched, can "propel [the listener] towards all the passions."[19] Gottsched credits music with greater impact in this respect than poetry, whose origin and purpose also lie in the human passions:

> Die Astronomie hat ihren Ursprung außer den Menschen, in der sehr weit entlegenen Schönheit des Himmels: die Poesie ihr gegen hat ihren Grund im Menschen selbst, und geht ihn also weit näher an. Sie hat ihre erste Quelle in den Gemüthsneigungen des Menschen. So als diese sind, so alt ist auch die Poesie: und wenn sie ja noch einer andern freyen Kunst weichen soll, so wird sie bloß die Musik, so zu reden, für ihre ältere Schwester erkennen.
>
> Astronomy has its origin outside of man, in the faraway beauty of the heavens: poetry, on the other hand, has its roots in man himself and therefore touches him much more closely. Its primary source lies in the human emotions. As old as these are, so old is poetry also: and if it must yield to another free art, then it will acknowledge music, so to speak, as its elder sister.[20]

With the growing artistic significance of the affects, music theory in particular offered more and more practical directions for the representation of the various affects in composition or performance. Upon these general guidelines the composer or performer could base his decisions regarding the expression of specific texts. Thus in his *Singe=Kunst* Christoph Bernhard provided a general list of the affects to be represented in vocal performance:

> [E]in guter Sänger oder Subtiler Musicus . . . muß bei dem Affect der Demuth und Liebe die Stimme nicht erheben: und hingegen bei Zorn, dieselbige ettliche Thone fallen lassen. Sonsten aber ist in dem *Stylo recitativo* in acht zunehmen, daß man im Zorn die Stimme erhebt, hingegen in Betrübnis fallen lasst. Die Schmertzen pausiren; die Vngedult raast. Die Freude ermuntert. Das Verlangen macht beherrscht. Die Liebe scharfsinnig. Die Schamhaftigkeit halt zurück. Die Hoffnung starcket sie. Die Verzweiflung vermindert sie. Die Furcht drücket sie nieder. Die Gefahr fliehet man mit schreyen. So sich einer aber in die Gefahr begibt, so führet er eine solche Stimme, die seinen Muht und Tapferkeit beweget.
>
> [A] good singer or subtle musician . . . must not raise his voice in conveying the affect of humility and love; in anger, on the other hand, he must not let the same few notes drop. Otherwise, however, it should be remembered that in stylo recitativo one raises the voice in anger, but lets it drop in sorrow. Pain pauses; impatience rushes. Joy enlivens. Desire brings submissiveness. Love brings acuity. Modesty holds back. Hope strengthens. Despair diminishes. Fear represses. One flees danger with cries. But if one willingly places oneself in danger, then one uses a voice that moves one to courage and bravery.[21]

Mattheson similarly described the affective characteristics of the various dance forms and Italian tempo indications:

> . . . da z. E. ein Adagio die Betrübniß; ein Lamento das Wehklagen; ein Lento die Erleichterung; ein Andante die Hoffnung; ein Affettuoso die Liebe; ein Allegro den Trost; ein Presto die Begierde &c. zum Abzeichen führen.
>
> . . . e.g. *Adagio* represents anxiety; a lament, mourning; *Lento*, alleviation; *Allegro*, consolation; *Presto*, desire, etc.[22]

The description of the affective characteristics of the different keys is also typical of the concept of affect in baroque music. The key characteristics had already been described in the Italian Renaissance and adopted by German theorists ranging from Christoph Bernhard and Wolfgang Caspar Printz to Johann Mattheson.[23] These and similar passages in theoretical works have given rise to a musicological debate over the existence of a "doctrine of affect" in baroque music theory. Rolf Dammann has argued that "the affects [are] precise values, which the composer must also know."[24] George Buelow, on the other hand, has refuted the existence of a fixed doctrine of affect in the sense of regulating poetics. Buelow believes that the musical representation of the affects was by no means firmly defined, and argues that each composer expressed his own affective concept:

> Throughout the Baroque, musical expression was certainly associated with the Affections. But how composers viewed this association, how they composed with affective considerations in mind, and indeed when they ignored that whole question, are questions as diverse and as different as are the musical outcomes of the Baroque. What is needed is to comprehend more exactly how composers understood their own principles of musical expression, and the answers will not come from assuming *a priori* an aesthetic straitjacket called the *Affektenlehre*, invented by musicologists in our own century.[25]

Scholarly opinion on musical affect has thus polarized around two opposing interpretations. A more differentiated reading of baroque music theory might show, however, that the musical representation of affect was neither rigorously laid down nor dependent upon the personal ideas of each individual composer. The representation and especially the arousal of the human passions was, as a rhetorical objective (*movere*), one of the most important topics of baroque music theory and poetics, without being reduced to rigid rules or regulations for standardized processes. Since Bernhard and Mattheson's guidelines derive from a cultural–historical situation in which the human passions furnished an important theme in poetics, music theory, philosophy, and religious devotion, they reflect components of the various contemporary

conceptions of affect. These guidelines, however, do not describe affective expression in so much detail that they can be interpreted as authorative instructions. The comparison of descriptions of affect in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources in the fields of philosophy, music theory, and poetics confirms that certain general concepts of affect existed in the German baroque period. In music–theoretical writings such as those of Bernhard and Mattheson these affective conventions functioned as guidelines for creating an affective framework, including general parameters such as tempo, harmony, and melodic outline. This general framework established the affective basis of a composition, the details of which could be filled in with specific motifs or word settings in accordance with the particularities of the (textual) theme of the work.

The question as to whether there was a so-called doctrine of affect, and to what extent this forced baroque composition into an "aesthetic straitjacket," should therefore be reformulated. It would be more insightful to examine the cultural conventions of the baroque age regarding the human affects and relate these various affective concepts to their artistic expression by means of philosophical, discursive, and stylistic comparison. This less rigorous approach offers the possibility to acquire deeper insights into baroque affective expression through the understanding of contemporary cultural–historical and aesthetic conventions concerning affect. Musical affective expression was based on the combination of specific musical parameters that formed an affective starting point for the composition, corresponding to contemporary conceptions of affect. In his *Musurgia* Kircher describes the three principal musical affects of joy, love, and sadness.[26] He gives general descriptions of the musical articulation of these affects, without prescribing these as rules. Musical parameters such as tempo, intervals, melodic process, and use of dissonance play a decisive role in Kircher's descriptions of affect in composition. A slow or fast tempo, larger or smaller intervals, rising or falling melodies, consonance or dissonance furnished the musical outline of an affective subject within which the composer could represent the specific characteristics of a particular theme. The musical representation of affect in the baroque thus emanated much more from general characteristics than from the musical–hermeneutic representation of fixed categories or individual words. Wolfgang Caspar Printz described this compositional approach in a passage transcribed word for word by Johann Gottfried Walther in 1708:

> Wenn aber eine Gemüths-Regung zu *exprimir*en ist / soll der *Componist* mehr auff dieselbe / als auff die einzeln Worte sehen / nicht zwar / daß er dieselben insonderheit gar nicht achten dörffte / sondern / daß er nur die Worte / welche der Gemüths=Regung zuwieder / nicht absonderlich *exprimir*en solle. Denn es wäre einfältig / wenn ich diesen Text: *Cede dolor, cede moeror lacrymaeque*

> *flentium*, wegen der Worte *dolor, moeror, lacrymaeque flentium* traurig setzen wollte; Da doch der gantze Text eine Fröligkeit andeutet.
>
> If, however, an emotion is to be expressed, the composer should attend more to that than to the individual words. Not that he should not give these any special consideration at all, but he should not express in an exceptional way words that do not particularly reflect the emotion. For it would be artless if I were to write a sorrowful setting of the text, *Cede dolor, cede moeror lacrymaeque flentium*, on account of the words *dolor*, *moeror*, *lacrymaeque flentium*, since after all the text as a whole suggests happiness.[27]

Walther describes how the overall affective theme of a text should determine the affective starting point of the composition. This starting point was articulated through a combination of different compositional parameters. For specific affective intensification of the musical representation within this framework the composer, like the poet, had at his disposal a colorful range of expressive resources. These will be discussed in the following section.

INTENSIFICATION OF POETIC AND MUSICAL EXPRESSION

In the course of the seventeenth century, poetic and musical representation was subjected to affective intensification. Under the influence of the philosophies of affect discussed above, poetic and musical diction became increasingly more intense and vivid, as the various resources of rhetoric and form were directed toward the representation and excitement of the affects.[28]

Elocutio

By moving the hearts of his listeners the orator, poet, or composer could make his speech became more convincing. This rhetorical *movere* could be worked out particularly effectively in *elocutio*.[29] Through a judicious "preparation and embellishment of the words"[30] the poet could represent the subject of his poem with great affective power by means of rhetorical figures and metaphors. The composer has even more expressive resources at his disposal in *elocutio*. Matheson explains that:

> Die Mittel und Wege der Ausführung und Anwendung sind in der Rhetorik lange so verschiedentlich und abwechselnd nicht anzutreffen, als in der Musik, wo man sie viel öffterer verändern kann, obgleich das Thema gewissermaßen dasselbe zu bleiben scheinet. Eine Klangrede hat vor einer anderen diese Freiheit voraus, und günstigere Umstände: daher bey einer Melodie der Eingang, die Erzählung und der Vortrag gar gerne etwas ähnliches haben mögen, wenn sie

> nur durch die Tonarten, Erhöhung, Erniedrigung und andre dergleichen merckliche Abzeichen, (davon die gewöhnliche Redekunst nichts weiß,) von einander unterschieden sind.
>
> The ways and means of execution and application in rhetoric are not nearly so diverse and varied as in music, where they can be modified much more often, even if the theme seems to a certain extent to remain the same. A musical speech has the advantage over other speech of this freedom and more favourable conditions. For with a melody the *exordium*, *narratio* and *elocutio* may well be similar, if they are differentiated only by keys, sharps, flats and similar distinguishing marks (which ordinary oratory does not have at its disposal).[31]

The effective objectives of the rhetorical outworking of a poetic or musical speech were increasingly intensified. In the tendency to direct *movere* more and more explicitly toward physiologically moving and influencing the listener, Georg Braungart recognizes an "anthropologisation of rhetorical affect semiotics" in the poetry of the early eighteenth century.[32] This development can be illustrated by the descriptions of the rhetorical figures in poetics and music theory, which evolved from being ornaments of speech to vehicles of representation and affect. In 1566 the rhetorician Johannes Susenbrotus describes them as deviations from simple speech that lend elegance and grace to oratory,[33] whereas in the mid-eighteenth century Gottsched regards them as "the language of the passions."[34] In their descriptions of rhetorical figures the seventeenth-century poetic theorists indicate precisely which figures are intended to excite affect.[35] *Apostrophe*, *exclamatio*, *interrogatio*, hyperbole, and repetition are generally powerful; other figures are associated with specific affects. Thus Meyfart writes of the *synecdoche* that it " . . . could either cajole the listener or strike up anger, envy, hate and fear in him."[36] The *epizeuxis* was, according to Meyfart, " . . . a mighty and powerful figure . . . and can move the emotions to pain, anger, amazement."[37]

In seventeenth-century music theory musical–rhetorical figures were also initially described as "ornaments,"[38] then increasingly as vehicles of affect. *Anaphora* (*repetitio*), *climax*, and *exclamatio* were defined as figures evoking affect by Kircher and Praetorius:

> Dicitur *ἀναφορά* sive *repetitio*, cùm ad energiam exprimendam una periodus saepiùs exprimitur, adhibeturque saepè in passionibus vehementioribus animi, ferociae, contemptus, uti videre est in illa cantilena notà: *Ad Arma, Ad Arma;* &c.
>
> The *ἀναφορά* or *repetitio* occurs if a period is repeated several times in order to lend the passage greater emphasis. This figure is often used in the case of violent passions such as affects of ferocity and contempt, as for example in a composition based on the following text: *Ad Arma, Ad arma* [To arms, to arms].[39]

> Vocatur Climax sive gradatio, estque periodus harmonica gradatim ascendens adhiberique solet, in affectibus amoris divini & desiderijs patriae coelestis . . . .
>
> The *climax* or *gradatio* is a musical period that rises stepwise and is often used in affects of divine love and desire for the heavenly kingdom.[40]

> *Exclamatio* ist das rechte Mittel die *affectus* zu *moviren*, so mit erhebung der Stimm geschehen muß.
>
> *Exclamatio* is the correct medium to move affect, as will happen when the voice is raised.[41]

As in poetic theory, some figures were associated with the representation of particular affects. The *epizeuxis*, for instance, was described by Walther and Mattheson as a figure suited to the expression of the more powerful emotions:

> Epizeuxis . . . ist eine rhetorische Figur, nach welcher ein oder mehr Worte sofort hintereinander emphatischer Weise wiederholt werden. Z.E. Jauchzet, jauchzet, jauchzet dem HErrn alle Welt; setzet man aber: jauchzet, jauchzet den HErrn alle, alle Welt; so ists eine doppelte Epizeuxis.
>
> *Epizeuxis* . . . is a rhetorical figure in which one or more words are repeated immediately after one another in emphatic manner, e.g. "Jauchzet, jauchzet, jauchzet dem HErrn alle Welt". If, however, one sets "Jauchzet, jauchzet den HErrn alle, alle welt", then it is a double *Epizeuxis*.[42]

> Denn, was ist z.E. gewöhnlicher, als die musikalische Epizeuxis oder Subjectio, da einerley Klang mit Hefftigkeit in eben demselben Theil der Melodie wiederholet wird?
>
> For what is more usual than the musical *Epizeuxis* or *Subjectio*, where a particular sound is repeated forcefully in the very same part of the melody?[43]

In addition to the rhetorical figures, purely musical figures were also attributed with affective impact. Thus in his definitions of *anaphora*, *climax*, *antitheton*, *catabasis*, and *suspiratio*, Kircher provides guidelines for the use of these figures in the expression of affect.[44] For instance, in his description of *suspiratio* as a special type of pause, he points out that this figure—as in the madrigal—could serve to express lamentation and sighing:

> Here *stenasmus* or *suspiratio* may be indicated, through which we express lamentation and sighing by means of quaver or semiquaver rests, which are for that reason called *suspiria*.[45]

In a similar manner, Andreas Werckmeister considers fauxbourdon an apt means to express sorrowful affects: "This they have called *falso bordon* and with it they sought to express a sad affect."[46] The affective functions of the musical–rhetorical figures gradually intensified so much that in the mid-eighteenth century Johann Adolph Scheibe wonders:

> Kann man wohl ohne sie [die Figuren] die Gemütsbewegungen erregen und ausdrücken? Keinesweges. Die Figuren sind ja selbst eine Sprache der Affekte.
>
> Can one excite and express the emotions without them [the figures]? By no means. The figures are themselves a language of affect.[47]

This functional development of the rhetorical figures illustrates the shift in aesthetic paradigms during the seventeenth century. The artistic objectives of poetry and music were increasingly geared toward the expression and excitement of human passions, and in this development the function of the rhetorical figures in *elocutio* shifted from the elegant embellishment of speech to the evocation of affect.

Argutia and Virtuosity

According to Buchner, of all the rhetorical figures and devices evoking affect, none makes "speech more splendid and also more lovely" than the metaphor.[48] By combining acuity and pictorialism the metaphor transcends the other figures in its affective power.[49] Meyfart explains that acute and affect-laden metaphors in speech move and influence the hearts of the listeners:

> Die Metaphoren / wann sie spitzfündig seyn / prangen stattlich: Wenn sie vernünfftig / unterrichten deutlich: Wenn sie hefftig / streichen gewaltiglich. Die Metaphoren dienen zu den Schmehen und Loben / zu den trösten und schrecken / zu den Warnen und drohen / zu den trawren und frewden.
>
> If metaphors are subtle, they shine splendidly; if they are sensible, they instruct clearly; if they are powerful, they strike forcefully. Metaphors serve for abuse and praise, consolation and fear, warning and threat, sorrow and joy.[50]

Harsdörffer in particular has discussed at length the rhetorical and affective impact of baroque metaphor. He repeatedly states that a poet should strive to amaze the reader through acuity:

> Wann man in eine Rede etwas unerwartes / daß sich doch zu der Sache schicket / einflechten kan / bringet es dem Leser oder Hörer ein grosses Belieben: dann / gleich wie man sich über einen unvorsehenen Fall verwundert / und wann solcher erfreulich ist belustiget; also ist es auch in der Rede: wann

> man einen seltnen Gedanken mit einmischen kan / oder ja ein unerwartes Wort / das doch deutlich und dem Inhalt gemäß ist / beybringet und nachsinnig mit einfüget.
>
> It is very agreeable to the reader or listener if one can weave into a speech something that is unexpected but appropriate to the subject. For just as one is amazed by an unexpected event, and feels happy if that event is joyful, so it is in oratory also, when one can include an unusual thought or when one can bring forward and include judiciously an unexpected word that is nonetheless clear and relevant to the content.[51]

For these reasons it was the poet's task to come up with the most unexpected and affect-laden metaphors. Through surprising, artfully applied imagery the rhetorical impact of the poem is intensified:

> Man verwundert sich nicht über einen zerlumpten Bettler / aber wol über desselben Bildniß, wenn es von einem guten Meister gemahlet ist: Also ist uns mehrmals das Gleichniß angenemer als die Sache selbsten . . . .
>
> One is not amazed by a scruffy beggar but is indeed amazed by a likeness of the same, if it is painted by a great master: thus often the likeness pleases us more than the thing itself . . . [52]

In placing such value on acute representation baroque poetics echo Marino's aesthetic of effect. Like *meraviglia*, German *argutia*[53] related not only to rhetorical *delectare*, but also to *movere*.[54] A particularly popular type of *argutia* in German metaphor was the compound word. The unexpected tying together of two or even three semantically very disparate components in one word had the purpose of moving the reader to surprise and amazement.[55] That the amazement excited by acuity could operate not only in a purely aesthetic context, but also in a devotional context, is shown in the work of Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg. In her prayerbooks "rare thoughts" and "unexpected words" (Harsdörffer) serve to stir religious feelings, as in this Communion hymn:

> 7. O Wunder=Mann' und rechtes Engel=hönig/
> du Purpur=milch aus unserm herzen=König/
> Lieb=flüssigs gold /aus seinen wunder=wunden!
> in dir hab ich all herz=begierd gefunden.
>
> 7. O wonder-man and true angel-honey,
> crimson-milk from our heart-king,
> love-molten gold from his wonder-wounds!
> In You have I found all my heart's-desires.[56]

Virtuosic, affectively intensified metaphor was one of the most important and most striking characteristics of baroque poetry. Exactly these splendid argutian chains of metaphors in the poetry of Greiffenberg, Hoffmannswaldau, and Lohenstein were dismissed as "bombast" by eighteenth-century critics.[57]

Acuity and virtuosity were highly valued in baroque music theory also. The *argutia* of the text found musical form in a use of dissonance and chromaticism that overstepped the rules, the pictorialism of the metaphors in illustrative and affective madrigalisms. The aim of such devices, like that of the text being set, was increasingly to stir the emotions of the audience. Thus Kircher describes how a judicious use of prohibited parallel fifths demonstrates the acuity of the composer and moves the hearts of the listeners:

> Talis est iudiciosissima subseques compositio Hieronymi Kapspergeri, in qua Auctor iudiciosè usus est duabus quintis ad suum intentum, & ad affectum movendum, quas tamen ea gratia collocavit, ut etiam peritissimus Musicus acutissimam aurem habeat oportet, quae illas, dum concinuntur, advertat, aut diiudicet; inveniet pariter intervalla quaedam iudicio imperitorum absona, quae tamen miram gratiam à rectè illa preferentibus, concilient auditorum animis . . . .
>
> Of such kind is the following extremely acute composition of Hieronymus Kapsberger, in which the composer employed two fifths to serve his purpose and to move the affect. Nevertheless he deployed these with such restraint that even the most experienced musician must have a particularly sharp ear to notice or recognise them when they are sung. In the same way certain intervals will be perceived as dissonant by those without understanding, yet greatly delight the hearts of listeners who understand them correctly.[58]

Through the proper use of such musical license the composer shows his judgment ("iudiciosissima") and acuity ("acutissimam", "musurgum acutum"). At the same time his stylistic virtuosity awakens, as in poetry, amazement, and emotion in his audience ("ad affectum movendum").[59]

Comparable statements may be found elsewhere in German music theory. Johann Andreas Herbst says that the rules of the plagal modes may be overstepped in order to set the affective theme of a text more effectively:

> Diese Regel aber ist im *figural* Gesang / an kein gewisses Gesetz gebunden: Sondern den Componisten frey gestelt / welcher nach Beschaffenheit der Wort und *Sentenz* die Gesänger pflegt anzufahen / und nach den *affecten* zu *accomodi*ren / daß dardurch der Zuhörer Gemüth und Hertzen lieblich eingenommen und beweget werden.
>
> In figural singing, however, this rule is not bound to a particular law, but the composer freely decides what the singer should do as befits the word and sen-

> tence and accommodates the affects, so that the listeners' hearts and feelings will be nicely captured and moved by it.[60]

Similarly, Wolfgang Caspar Printz writes that musical license such as overstepping a musical ambitus or the use of parallel sixths is permitted in the expression of affect.[61] Sometimes he indicates which specific affects are associated with the various licenses or musical figures. For instance, on false relation (*parrhesia*) he writes:

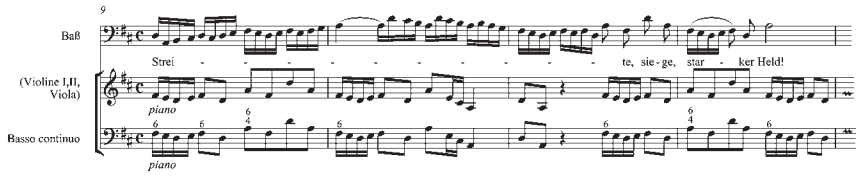
> Zum andern geschicht solches auch in wenig Stimmen / wenn man einen traurigen *Affectum* oder Gemüthes=Regung dadurch *exprimi*et und ausdrücket / dergestalt / daß das Gehör nicht verletzet / sondern vielmehr ergötzet / und zu einem süssen und annehmlichen Trauren gleichsam gezwungen werde. . . .
>
> On the other hand, this is suitable in some voices if one expresses and conveys through it a sad affect or emotion in such a way that the ear is not offended but rather delighted, and compelled, as it were, to feel a sweet and pleasurable sorrow. . . . [62]
>
> In Setzung *Relationis Non-Harmonicae*, wo sie *Tolerabilis* seyn solle / muß der *Componist* sonderlich vorsehen / daß selbige nicht sey wieder die Natur des *Affecten* oder Gemüths=Regung / welche er *exprimi*ren will / und daß sie mit einem süssen Trauren ins Gehör falle. Wird diese *Relatio Non-Harmonica* schicklich und wohl angebracht / umb eine traurige Gemüths=Regung auszudrücken / so ist selbige nicht allein keines weges zu verwerffen / sondern auch höchlich zu loben: Massen sie ein trauriges Stück über alle massen ziert / und die auffmercksamen Gemüther / gleichsam mit Gewalt zu einen annehmlichen / verliebten oder andächtigen Trauren zwinget.
>
> In setting false relation, if it is to be tolerable, the composer must particularly ensure that the same is not against the nature of the affect or emotion he wishes to express and that it falls with sweet sorrow on the ear. If this false relation is used properly and agreeably to express a sad emotion, then not only is it by no means to be spurned, but even to be highly praised. For it embellishes a sad piece beyond all measure and compels sensitive hearts to feel the sorrow of supposed love or devotion.[63]

Printz is of the opinion that the prohibited false relation is not only permissible in the musical representation of affect, but even desirable, because in this case it contributes to the arousal of quite specific emotions. It should be remarked that the paradoxical feelings of "sweet and agreeable sorrow" excited by false relation correspond to the petrarchan concept of love; false relation thus seems specifically suited to the expression of love. Werckmeister also states that false relation, though forbidden in the rules of counterpoint, may be used to evoke affect:

> Also kan man nach heutigen *Stylo*, da die *affectus animi* solten *moviret* werden / die *Relationes non-Harmonicas* nicht entrathen.
>
> Therefore in the modern style, since the affect of the soul should be moved, false relation is indispensable.[64]

Thus, just as in poetry unexpected and surprising metaphors or compounds amazed and moved the reader, so prohibited techniques and a judicious use of musical–rhetorical figures produced this effect in music.

Musical acuity and virtuosity could also evoke both worldly and religious emotion. In Johann Sebastian Bach's Advent cantata *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland* (BWV 62), for instance, Christ is presented as a biblical hero.[65] In the technically unusually demanding arias "Bewundert, o Menschen, dies große Geheimnis" and "Streite, siege, starker Held!," Bach uses compositional acuity and vocal virtuosity to represent the might of this hero. Dissonance, musical–rhetorical hyperbole, and syncopations combine with complicated vocal and instrumental melismas and a fast rhythm in an impressive musical metaphor (see example 3-1).

Like its poetic equivalent, this affect-laden, extravagant musical style was criticized in eighteenth-century music philosophy.[66]

Example 3-1. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Streite, siege, starker Held!" (BWV 62) 4th movement, bars 9–12.

Pictorialism

In addition to rhetorical power and acuity, the pictorialism of baroque poetry and music also contributed to their affective impact. It was emphasized in poetics and music theory that the poem and the composition should set their theme before the very eyes of the audience. On these grounds Harsdörffer called "poetry a speaking painting, but painting a dumb poetry,"[67] while Birken regarded poetry and painting as "twin siblings."[68] Both theorists compared the words, metaphors, and rhetorical figures of poetry with the color and the light and shade of painting.[69] If the poet uses these devices to create a pictorial poem, he may be sure of powerfully moving the hearts of his readers:

> Wie nun der Redner zu seinem Inhalt schickliche Figuren / abgemässne Wort und der Sachen gemässe Beschminkung und Beschmuckung anzubringen weiß

> / seine Zuhörer zubewegen: Also sol auch der Poët mit fast natürlichen Farben seine Kunstgedanken ausbilden / und muß so wol eine schwartze Kohlen aus der Höllen gleichsam zuentlehnen wissen / die abscheulichen Mord=Greuel eines bejammerten Zustandes aufzureisen; als eine Feder aus der Liebe Flügel zu borgen die Hertzbeherrschende Süssigkeit einer anmutigen Entzuckung zu entwerffen . . . .
>
> Just as the orator knows how to introduce to his content suitable figures, well-weighed words, and such embellishment and ornamentation as befits his subject in order to move his listeners, so also the poet formulates his artistic thoughts with almost natural colours. He must be able to borrow a black charcoal from hell to evoke the horrible deathly abomination of a lamentable plight, and a feather from Love's wing to draw the captivating sweetness of a delightful enchantment.[70]

Manfred Windfuhr has examined the pictorial, emblematic, and allegorical aspects of baroque metaphor and divided them into manifestations of affective-pathetic, mystical, decorative, acute, grotesque, and bombastic metaphor groups.[71] Very similar categories of imagery may be demonstrated in the music of the time, since composers sought to preserve this linguistic pictorialism in their settings. Johann Nucius argues that the composer should work like a painter and that his compositions should be brightly burnished with musical motion, ornaments, and rhetorical figures:

> Gleichwie ein Maler keine große Anerkennung durch eine getreue Wiedergabe der Haltung, Stellung und Farbe einer Gestalt gewinnt, sondern seinen Abbildungen die einzigartigen Gesten und Mienen wie auch gesonderter Farben verleiht und dadurch den Betrachter ergötzt, so kann auch die *Harmonia Musica* durch ununterbrochenen Gleichartigkeit und Mangel an ausschmückenden Verzierungen nicht nur kunstlos sein, sondern auch Langeweile bei den Zuhörern verursachen.
>
> Just as a painter wins no great recognition for a faithful reproduction of the pose, position and colour of a figure, but rather lends to his pictures extraordinary gestures and features and remarkable colours and in this way delights the observer, so also through uninterrupted uniformity and lack of decorative embellishments musical harmony may not only be artless, but may even bore the audience.[72]

In *Musica Poëtica*, Herbst makes a similar comparison between painting and composition.[73] In their effective pictorialism poetry and *musica poetica* both adhere to Quintilianus' *hypotyposis* concept. The rhetorical image, and therefore the poetic and musical image also, should place its subject clearly and distinctly before the eyes.[74] The more distinct and realistic a presentation is,

the greater its immediate affective impact. The musical–rhetorical *hypotyposis* encompasses, as explained in the previous chapter, all the pictorial aspects of baroque music: the circular movements of *circulatio*, the rising and falling melodies of *anabasis* and *catabasis*, the large or very small intervals of *saltus duriusculus* and *passus duriusculus*, all are the result of the endeavour to present something in such a way "that it can be seen rather than heard."[75]

Sensualism

Windfuhr has described the decorative pictorialism of the baroque as the "expression of a pronounced sensualism."[76] Both secular and sacred affective experiences were often expressed in sensual metaphors, in which the perceptions of the senses of sight, taste, and smell seem to intensify the emotion: "Open to me the eyes of my love / let me suck the honey of joy / Rose of Sharon / my joy / my delight / my pasture!"[77] Particularly in love poetry, as in this quotation from Franck and the poems of Lohenstein and Hofmannswaldau, the sensuous metaphors of marinism were popular vehicles for the representation of this sensualism.[78]

The philosophical background of this coupling of sensual perception with emotion lay in the emphatically physical affect concept of the seventeenth century. According to physiological humoral pathology, the human passions were generated by bodily impulses and likewise expressed themselves in physical reactions. The five senses were thus immediately associated with the excitement of affect. They were characterized as "non-spiritual bodily powers" or the "doors and portals" of the soul, wherein the eyes, ears, hands, nose, and tongue served as "physical tools."[79] Since emotions were physiologically induced, an accumulation of different sensual perceptions could result in an intensification of affect. This idea was expressed in the taste and smell metaphors of baroque poetry. It also led to music being attributed with greater affective power than the other arts, because it combined text and sound. Johann Mattheson quotes the poet Lohenstein in order to highlight the influence of music on the human soul:

> Lohenstein sagt: das Gesicht, der Geruch, der Geschmack und das Fühlen dienen dem Leibe; der einige Sinn des Gehörs aber ist unsrer Seele und unsern Sitten bestimmet und vorbehalten.
>
> Lohenstein says: sight, smell, taste and touch serve the body; only the sense of hearing is designated and reserved for our souls and our morals.[80]

Music adds the power of sound to that of the spoken word. In this context other senses are also sometimes associated with music. Bergmann's treasury mentions music "that tastes like heaven,"[81] and Herbst provides the

following description, focusing on digestion, of the physiological power of music:

> . . . dann je mehr die Stimmen *fug-* und wechselweiß einander folgen werden / je lieblicher / und gleichsam Honigsüß der Gesang den Ohren / so vom widrigen Thon fast Essig saur gemacht worden / fürkommen / und desto angenehmer machen wird: Dann gemeiniglich / . . . gleich wie die unterschiedliche Speisen in dem Menschlichen Cörper mancherley Geblüt *causiren* und zuwegen bringen: . . . Daß also und der gestalt / durch solche Gesänger / welche mit mancherley Verenderungen der Stimmen gezieret seyn/ die Hertzen und Gemüther der Menschen wundersam verwechselt / eingenommen und bewogen werden.
>
> . . . for the more flexibly and varyingly the voices follow one another, the nicer it is, and if the song falls with the sweetness of honey on the ear, then adverse notes could almost turn vinegar sour and make it all the more pleasing. For generally . . . just as different foods sometimes cause and precipitate humours in the human body . . . so human hearts and emotions are wonderfully changed, captivated and moved by songs that are embellished with certain changes of the voices.[82]

It is difficult to separate pictorialism and sensualism in the baroque arts because pictorial poems or compositions appeal to the sense of sight. Both were employed as a means of heightening affect in the rhetorical intensification of a poem or composition, and both are closely connected with the contemporary physiological concept of affect.

Representation of Cruelty and the Principles of Tragedy

Affectively powerful rhetorical devices, pictorial diction, and sensuous metaphor could be variously employed and combined in the baroque arts in accordance with the affective theme of a particular poem or composition. In the representation of suffering and cruelty particularly, these combinatory processes gave rise to extremely powerful forms of expression, which were admired because of the tension between horror and aesthetic pleasure they caused.[83] Barthold Heinrich Brockes' translation of Giambattista Marino's *Strage degli Innocenti* (*Verteutschter Bethlehemitischer Kinder=Mord des Ritters Marino*), for instance, is renowned precisely because of its detailed and affect-laden representation of this cruel story:

> Und unsre Leidenschafft empfindet nie so viel,
> Als wann ein Schrecken=Bild in unsern Sinnen schwebet.
> Dann schärfft man jedes Wort, als wie den leichten Stal,
> Soll jenes in die Seel', und diß ins Hertze dringen.
> Und so zeigt sich die Kunst, wenn auch erdicht'te Quaal

Ein Felsen=hartes Hertz zum Mitleid weiß zu zwingen.
Diß ist, was dein Gedicht uns mit Entsetzen weißt,
Durchdringender Verstand!

And our passions are never so moved
As when a scene of horror is suspended before our senses.
Then every word is sharpened, like the lightest steel,
So that this one penetrates the soul, that one the heart.
And so art reveals itself, when even poetic suffering
Can wring compassion from a rock-hard heart.
This is, as your poem horrifyingly teaches us,
Acute discernment![84]

Man kann nicht ohne Lust, doch auch nicht sonder Grauen,
Viel tausend Kinder hier erwürgt und blutig schauen.
Er zeiget durch und durch der Teutschen Sprache Krafft,
Und ein genaues Bild von jeder Leidenschafft.

One cannot look without pleasure, nor yet without horror,
On the many thousand infants slaughtered and bleeding here.
It reveals thoroughly the power of the German language
And an exact likeness of every passion.[85]

Marino's aesthetic premise that horror often goes hand in hand with pleasure (cf. chapter 1)[86] was taken up in German baroque poetry and has been described in scholarly debate as "*Greuelschwulst*" (horror-bombast).[87] The rhetorically and visually powerful representation of suffering, violence, and cruelty served the clear purpose of directly influencing the emotions of the reader. Thus, for instance, Hugo Max observes in relation to the sacred poetry of Martin Opitz: "The dense colours of the portrayal, the harsh antitheses and contrasts are intended to awaken horror and terror; and these in turn repentance and conversion."[88] Erwin Rotermund has argued that these affective objectives in baroque poetry derive partly from an interpretation of Aristotelian catharsis.[89] As in baroque drama, the atrocities represented in literature should awaken terror and compassion, leading ultimately to a Christian–Stoic command of affect.[90] In the words of Reinhard Meyer-Kalkus, drama revealed

> the representation of cruelty . . . as a sort of affect-therapy, a means of learning and mastering affect. The display of atrocities and inhuman suffering accordingly provokes—just like other Baroque *vanitas* representations—the contemplation of the Stoic cardinal virtue of constancy ("*constantia*") and of the consolation of the Christian message of redemption. The representation of cruelty thus serves a devotional purpose, tragedy makes possible "*consolatio tragoediae*" [the consolation of tragedy].[91]

According to Daniel Heinsius' teachings on tragedy, which played a significant role in German dramatic theory,[92] such consolation could be achieved by means of two levels of affect: the objective of the representation of cruelty should be either compassion (*misericordia*) or horror (*horror*).[93] Harsdörffer describes *consolatio tragoediae* in the chapter on drama in his *Poetischer Trichter*. In presenting violent themes the poet should strive to excite the greatest possible emotion in the spectators:

> Solches auszuwürken ist der Poet bemühet / Erstaunen oder Hermen und Mitleiden zu erregen / jedoch dieses mehr als jenes. Durch das Erstaunen wird gleichsam ein kalter Angstschweiß verursacht / und wird von der Furcht unterschieden / als welche von grosser Gefahr entstehet; dieses aber von einer Unthat und erschröcklichen Grausamkeit / welche wir hören oder sehen. Solche Gemütsbewegung findet sich / wann wir ein Laster scheuen ernstlich und plötzlich straffen / daß wir in unsrem Gewissen auch befinden; und wir werden zu Mitleiden veranlasst / wann wir einen Unschuldigen viel Ubel leiden sehen.
>
> To achieve such effects the poet must strive to excite amazement or grief or compassion, though the former more than the latter. Amazement causes a cold sweat of fear, as it were, and differs from the fear that arises in the face of great danger; this fear arises from an atrocity and shocking cruelty that we hear or see. Such an emotion is excited when we gravely fear a criminal and swiftly punish him as our conscience deems proper; and we are moved to compassion when we see an innocent person suffer much evil.[94]

Birken also believes that the literary representation of violence could function as a form of affect therapy. He argues that "those whose consciences are wounded will easily be moved to shudder through watching precipitate crimes."[95] The representation of cruelty should, as recommended by Daniel Heinsius, excite horror and compassion. These two emotional states correspond to two different means of moderating affect. Affect therapy through compassion is a gradual process, leading from empathy through reflection to mastery of affect or conversion; horror, on the other hand, evokes a shock-healing, since the audience's violent experience of the literary representation of cruelty brings about, through disgust and terror, spiritual cleansing.[96] The three rhetorical categories of *docere*, *delectare*, and *movere* are exploited to the utmost in such processes.[97] This type of catharsis proved particularly effective in devotional genres, as Brockes' *Kinder=Mord* and the baroque Passion meditation (see below) demonstrate.[98]

Although less scholarly research has been conducted in this field, elements of *consolatio tragoediae* were also operative in music at that time. Rolf Dammann has described "the rapid shifting of affects" in opera, leading the listener through "a series of affective stages";[99] the same effects may also be observed

in sacred musical genres such as the cantata and Passion. Because music was attributed with great affective powers, it was considered to have the capacity to teach the listener more effectively than any other art. "All other arts . . . are but mute preachers. They do not by any means move hearts and feelings so strongly, nor in such a variety of ways."[100] Mattheson invokes Luther's authority to prove that music's dominion over the human heart had a pedagogic function:

> Frage deinen Vater Lutherum, du Lutheraner! der wird dir verkündigen, was für ein herrliches, Göttliches Geschenk du an der Music habest! seine reine Lehre lautet so: ". . . Denn nach dem heiligen Wort GOttes nichts nicht so billig und so hoch zu rühmen und zu loben, als eben die Musica, nehmlich, aus der Ursach, daß sie aller Bewegungen des menschlichen Hertzens Regiererinn, ihrer mächtig und gewaltig ist; durch welche Bewegungen doch offtermahls die Menschen, gleich als von ihrem Herren, regieret und überwunden werden. Denn nichts auf Erden kräfftiger ist, die traurigen fröhlich, die fröhlichen traurig, die verzagten hertzhafft zu machen, die hoffärtigen zur Demuth zu reitzen, die hitzige und übermäßige Liebe zu stillen und zu dämpfen, den Neid und Haß zu mindern: und wer kann alle Bewegungen des menschlichen Hertzens erzehlen, welche die Leute regieren und entweder zur Tugend, oder zum Laster reitzen und treiben? Dieselbe Bewegungen des Gemüths im Zaum zu halten und zu regieren, sage ich, ist nichts kräfftiger, denn die Musica."
>
> Ask your Father Luther, O Lutheran! He will tell you what a splendid, Godly gift you have in music! " . . . For according to the sacred word of God, there is nothing so richly and so highly to be praised and extolled as music, namely because it regulates all movements of the human heart, has might and power over it; through which movements men are often indeed ruled and vanquished, as by their Lord. For nothing on earth has greater power to bring joy to the sorrowful, to give heart to the despairing, to reduce the hopeful to despair, to still and dampen ardent and excessive love, to lessen jealousy and hatred: and who can count all the movements of the human heart, that rule men and incite and impel them to either virtue or vice. To restrain and rule these same movements of the heart, I say, nothing is more powerful than music."[101]

Music has great power over the listeners' feelings, since it is capable to an overpowering degree of awakening or allaying specific affects in their hearts. Mattheson argues that these qualities are particularly desirable in sacred music because here, as in opera, the experience of powerful emotions should lead to mastery of affect:

> Ich habe sonst in der Kirche . . . eben die Absicht mit der Music, als in der Opera, nehmlich diese: Daß ich die Gemüths=Neigungen der Zuhörer

> rege machen, und auf gewisse Weise in Bewegung bringen will, es sey zur Liebe, zum Mitleid, zur Freude, zur Traurigkeit &c. . . . Hier allein, nehmlich bey dem GOttes=Dienst, sind gar hefftige, ernstliche, dauerhaffte und höchst=angelegentliche Gemüths=Bewegungen nöthig.
>
> Otherwise I have the same musical object in church . . . as in opera, namely this: To stir the emotions of the listeners, and arouse them in a certain way, be it to love, compassion, joy, sorrow etc. . . . Here alone, namely in the church service, powerful, serious, lasting and exceedingly fervent emotions are necessary.[102]

Mattheson's statements demonstrate significant parallels between the objectives of musical–dramatic genres and tragedy: in both, a powerful or even violent expression of affect should serve to instruct the public. The Leipzig music theorist Lorenz Christoph Mizler accordingly asserts that it "should be the ultimate aim of music now to excite, now to allay the human emotions."[103] The setting of texts with "powerful, serious, lasting and extremely fervent emotions" as their theme thus furnished a musical intensification of their affective impact. Susanne Bauer-Roesch has discussed how themes of violence and cruelty were articulated musically in baroque opera,[104] while the paraliturgical genre of the Passion shows how the musical representation of violence was used as a strongly affective pedagogic device in Lutheran instruction.

Baroque poets and composers had various stylistic resources at their disposal for the affective intensification of their poetic or musical language in accordance with the contemporary interest in human passions. By means of rhetorical figures, lavish, pictorial, or sensuous metaphors, and dramatic modification of affect, the emotional impact of a poem could be intensified. In Lutheran devotional genres, as some of the cited examples have already shown, such affective devices were frequently used for pedagogic purposes, so that the arousal of affect came to be the pedagogic core of Lutheran literary and musical devotional genres in the course of the seventeenth century. Since religious experience was increasingly defined as a personal emotional experience (cf. chapters 4 and 5), the arousal and swaying of the passions gradually gained greater significance as a pedagogic resource in poetic and musical devotional genres.

AFFECTIVE EXPRESSION IN DEVOTIONAL GENRES: THE PASSION MEDITATION

The devotional genre that demanded the greatest possible intensity of affect in poetic or musical language was the Passion meditation.[105] Because Christ's

death on the cross was regarded as the ultimate proof of God's love for mankind, the Passion story is the emotional zenith of Lutheran theology.[106] Consciousness of the immeasurable greatness of God's love and of his own unworthiness should awaken repentance and grateful reciprocal love in the believer.[107] On these grounds Luther emphasized the significance of active experience of affect in the Passion meditation.[108] This emotional purpose behind the Passion meditation was forcefully formulated by Lutheran devotional theologians of the baroque period, who recommended active religious participation of individual believers. Rostock theologian Heinrich Müller, for instance, writes, "We owe, after all, the greatest love to the crucified Jesus. Let us love him, for he has first loved us."[109]

Following these theological requirements, the affective objectives of the artistic Passion meditation were the awakening of admiration for Christ's death on the cross, repentance of sin, and grateful reciprocal love. Stylistic devices to achieve these effects were drawn from the palette of affective diction described earlier. In the preface to his *Postilla Salomonea*, the Lutheran theologian Johann Gerhard emphasizes the homiletic significance of effective rhetorical figures: " . . . rhetorical figures [may] be employed advantageously in the right place and at the right time, especially if the affects are to be moved."[110] Like the poetic theorists, Gerhard particularly mentions the *exclamatio* and *apostrophe* as affect-evoking figures, but at the same time warns against too much ornamentation of the sermon, which should be fashioned in simple rhetoric.[111]

Stylistic virtuosity was often used as an illustration of divine power in baroque sacred poems. In the entrance hymn to his spoken oratorio *Der Leidende Christus* (1645) Johann Klaj provides, by means of linguistic and formal acuity, an elaborate articulation of the believer's admiration for Christ's death on the cross. Klaj thematically and stylistically contrasts the image of spring as conqueror of winter with that of the suffering Christ as conqueror of death. He thus creates a continuous antithesis between the two sets of motifs, which unfold in contrasting metaphor and meter and virtuosic sound-play:

Wir holen Violen in blümichten Auen/
Narzissen entspriessen von perlenen Tauen/
Es grünet und grunet das fruchtige Land/
Es gläntzet im Lentzen der wässrige Strand.
JESU wie bistu gemütet?
Händ und Beine sind zerrissen/
Deine Schultern wundgeschmissen/
Und der gantze Leib sehr blutet.

We gather violets in flowery pastures,
Narcissi spring from the pearly dew,

The verdant land grows green and flourishes,
The watery strand glistens in spring.
JESUS, what state are you in?
Your hands and legs are torn,
Your shoulders are lacerated with wounds,
And Your entire body bleeds profusely.[112]

The acute thematic antithesis intensifies the affective impact of the poem. The cruelty of the crucifixion is impressed all the more effectively on the listener through the contrasting picture of spring. The artistic virtuosity of the poet thus intensifies the religious admiration aroused by the theme of the poem.

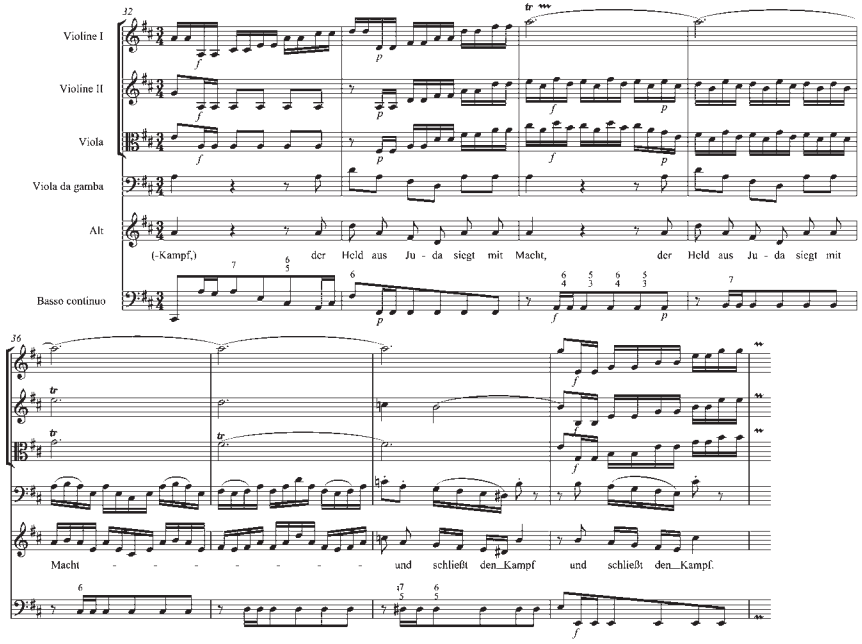
A similar effect is achieved in "Es ist vollbracht," Aria 30 from Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. John Passion*, the libretto of which is based on Brockes' Passion poem *Der für die Sünde der Welt / Leidende und sterbende JESUS*. As in the cantata *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland*, the text of this aria combines the theme of Jesus as conqueror of death with the image of the biblical hero.[113] The aria begins with an emphatic representation of Christ's death. All musical parameters are directed toward mourning, in the manner of a lamentation. At the words "Der Held aus Juda," however, the character of the aria changes radically. In a sudden shift to triple meter, fast tempo, powerful motifs in tutti strings, and the "war-like" trumpet key of D major,[114] Bach presents Jesus as a hero (see example 3-2).

Here the composer draws on the expressive resources of Monteverdi's *stile concitato* in order to represent Jesus as a conquering war hero, using every means at his disposal.[115]As in Klaj's poem, stylistic virtuosity produces an affective intensification of religious thematics.

Pictorialism and sensualism were also employed pedagogically in the Passion meditation. Luther had recommended a multimedial pedagogy: "In truth, the word and work of God cannot be held up before the common man too much or too often, whether it is sung and spoken, sounded and preached, written and read, painted and drawn."[116] In his *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens und Sterbens unsers HErrn Christi Jesu* (1611) Johann Gerhard emphasizes accordingly that a pictorial representation of the Passion story strengthens its evangelistic impact:

> . . . und in der Epistel an die Galater 3. bezeuget [Paulus] / daß er bey ihnen diese Historiam so fleissig getrieben / daß Christus jhnen gleichsam für die Augen gemahlet / als wenn er mitten unter jhnen gecreutziget were / und sie selbst gegenwertig unter dem Creutz Christi gestanden / da er dann in seiner Sprache ein herrliches Gleichnis gebrauchet / genommen von denen / welche ein Bild künstlich abconterfeyen / und mit lebendigen Farben ausstreichen.

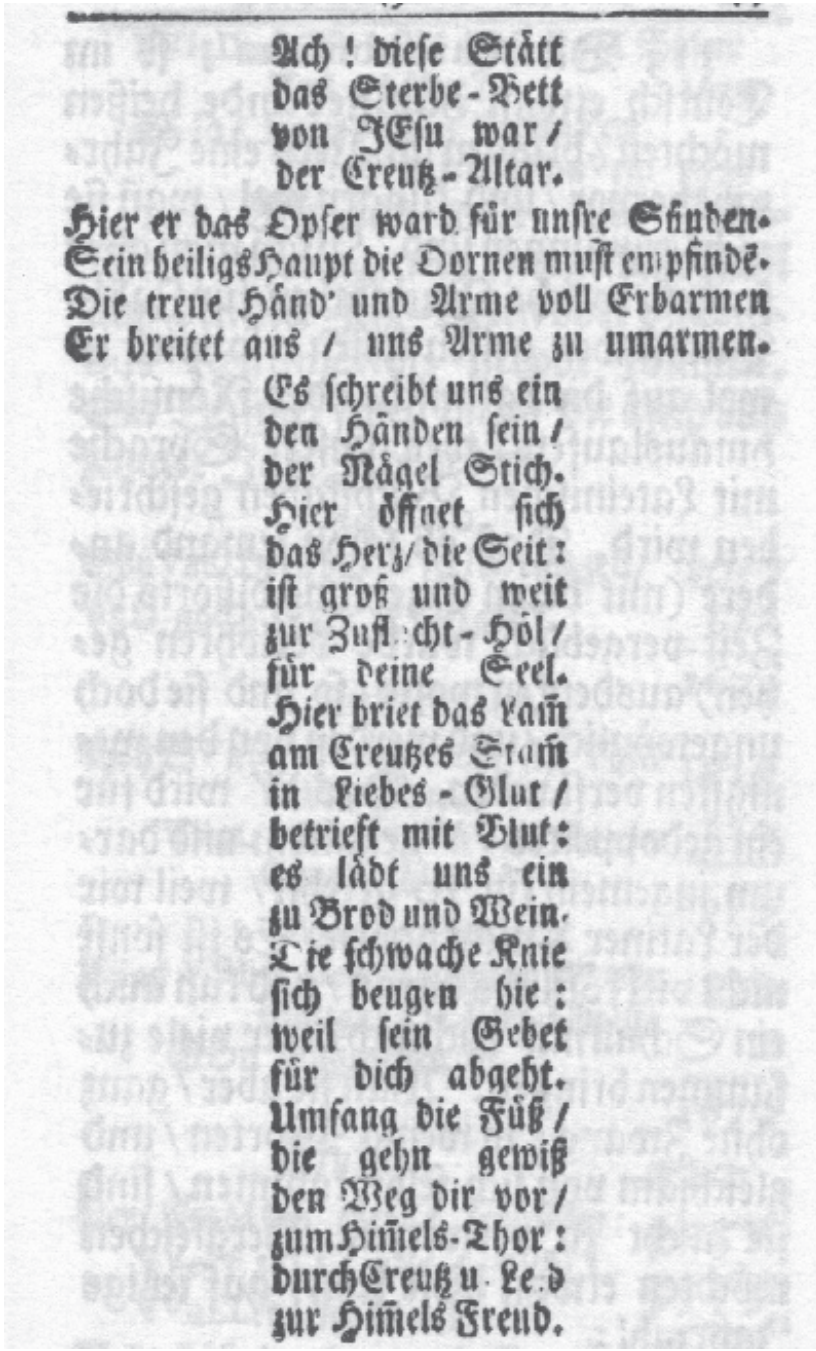
> . . . and in his Epistle to the Galatians Chapter 3 [Paul] testifies that he had so assiduously impressed this story on them that it was as though Christ was painted before their eyes, as if He were crucified in their midst and they themselves stood present in the flesh below Christ's cross. Thus he employed in his speech a splendid image borrowed from those who can artfully portray a picture and fill it with living colours.[117]

Through a pictorial style of representation the affective impact of the Passion is increased, because the believers have the impression that Christ was "crucified in their midst." According to Johann Jacob Rambach, such graphic descriptions of the Passion should make the suffering Christ a "solemn mirror" for the believer, who should "become one with the picture and suffering of Christ."[118] The following *Passionssalve* by Sigmund von Birken makes optimal use of these guidelines. The cruciform appearance of the poem adds a visual element to the Passion meditation, so that it has the effect of an emblem in which the acts of reading and seeing reinforce one another (see figure 3-1).

Example 3-2. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Es ist vollbracht" (*St. John Passion*, no. 30), bars 32–39.

Ah! This place
was the death-bed
of Jesus,
the cross-altar.
Here He became the sacrifice for our sins.
His sacred head was made to bear the thorns.
His faithful hands and arms, full of mercy,
He stretches out to embrace us wretches.
Our names are inscribed
On His hands
by the nails.
Here His heart
unlocks His Side;
it is large and wide
a refuge from Hell
for your soul.
Here the Lamb was burnt
on the wood of the cross
in love-flames
dripping with blood,
inviting us
to bread and wine.
Weak knees
bend here:
because His prayer
goes out for you.
Embrace His feet,
they surely walk
ahead of you
to Heaven's gate:
through cross and pain
to Heaven's joy.[119]

Birken's graphic poetic depiction of the crucified Jesus is emotionally effective because of the paradox between the content and purpose of the poem: it was precisely this image of the cruelly suffering Christ that was supposed to lead to conversion and reciprocal love. The visual correspondence between the poetic *ecce homo* and the cruciform representation intensifies the affective impact of this paradox: the crucified body of Christ, which must be mourned and exalted, but at the same time admired and loved, can actually be seen here.

The different levels of perception were bound together even more in the madrigal style than in pictorial poems such as this. Word, sound, and visual effects—in the shape of illustrative madrigalisms—were used in the affect-



Ach ! dieſe Stätt
das Sterbe-Bett
von JEſu war /
der Creutz-Altar.

Hier er das Opfer ward für unſre Sünden.
Sein heiligs Haupt die Dornen muſt empfinde.
Die treue Händ' und Arme voll Erbarmen
Er breitet aus / uns Arme zu umarmen.

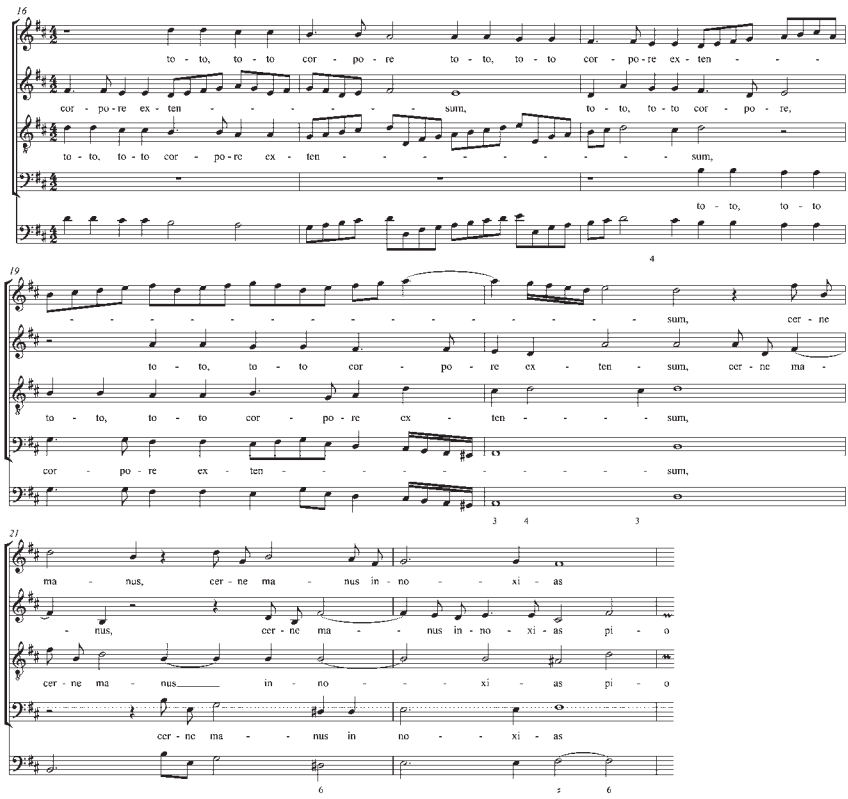
Es ſchreibt uns ein
den Händen ſein /
der Nägel Stich.
Hier öffnet ſich
das Herz / die Seit:
iſt groß und weit
zur Zuflucht-Höl /
für deine Seel.
Hier briet das Lam
am Creutzes Stam
in Liebes-Glut /
betrieft mit Blut:
es ladt uns ein
zu Brod und Wein.
Die ſchwache Knie
ſich beugen hie:
weil ſein Gebet
für dich abgeht.
Umfang die Füß /
die gehn gewiß
den Weg dir vor /
zum Himels-Thor:
durch Creutz u. Leid
zur Himels Freud.

Figure 3-1. Birken Passionssalve.

laden representation of a theme. The twenty-first part of Heinrich Schütz's *Cantiones Sacrae*, "Aspice, pater, piissimum filium," is a setting of the words of St. Augustine (SWV 73, *MDA*, chapter VII, 1). The text is an earnest plea to God to be reconciled with man for the sake of Christ's cruel suffering. The third part of the poem furnishes a direct contrast between the cruelty of the crucifixion and the love that on the one hand underpins the Passion and on the other hand brings reconciliation.[120]

Tertia et ultima pars
Reduc, domine deus meus,
oculos maiestatis tuae
super opus ineffabilis pietatis;
intuere dulcem natum, toto,
toto corpore extensum, cerne manus innoxias
pio manantes sanguine,
et remitte placatus scelera,
quae patrarunt manus meae.

Third and Last Part
Turn, O Lord my God,
Your majestic eyes
upon this work of ineffable love;
behold Your sweet Son,
His entire body stretched out, His innocent hands
streaming with Holy blood,
and kindly absolve the sins
my hands have perpetrated.

The "Aspice" (Behold) in the first line of the first part gives Schütz the opportunity to fashion a visual representation of the crucified Jesus. In the third part, from the words "super opus" to "manantes sanguine" he creates a short but effective *ecce homo* in pictorial and affective word-painting. The "ineffable love" of the crucifixion is articulated in homophonic, consonant declamation and a full cadence. While the quarter-note pause (*suspiratio*) suggests ineffability, the dialogue between soprano and lower voices functions as an affective intensification of Jesus's love. This affective motif is immediately followed by a madrigalian representation of sweetness in parallel thirds. The visual depiction of the crucifixion in lines 4–5 furnishes an unambiguous representation of the cruelties suffered by Jesus. In melodies that ascend and descend over an octave, the stretching out of Christ's body is represented in all voices. The soprano line, extended to "*a*," is a musical–rhetorical *hyperbole*, representing the excesses of torture by overstepping the musical ambitus. Equally pictorial is the cross figure that immediately follows in all voices at "cerne manus" (see example 3-3).

Example 3-3. Heinrich Schütz, "Aspice, pater, piissimum filium" (SWV 73), bars. 16–22.

Like Birken, Schütz creates here a visually striking Passion meditation, in which poetry, pictorialism, and music work together. The combination of three different representative forms in an extremely emotional prayer strengthens the pedagogic effectiveness of the composition. Here Christ's suffering is literally "painted before the eyes" (Gerhard) of compassionate listeners using not only verbal and visual, but also aural representative devices.

Sensual perceptions play a significant role in the Lutheran Passion meditation, not least because it deals with the physical suffering of Christ. Johann Klaj describes how the crucifixion incorporates all five of Christ's senses:

> Sie creutzigen alle Sinne des Leibes!
> Das Fühlen mit unaußdencklichem Schmertzen;
> Das Schmecken mit abgeschmackter Erdgalle;
> Das Riechen mit üblem Geruch auff dem Galgenberge;

Das Hören mit übellautendem Hohngespötte;
Das Sehen mit unverantwortlichem Beginn.[121]

They crucify all the body's senses!
Touch, with unthinkable pain;
Taste, with bitter gall;
Smell, with the foul reek of the gallows;
Hearing, with ill-tempered mockery;
Sight, with unpardonable undertaking.

Through this rhetorically powerful, graphic representation of the sensual aspect of the Passion the reader can experience an almost bodily compassion for Jesus; the *ecce homo* is here articulated as a physical *imitatio Christi*.[122] In his *Betrachtung über die Thränen und Seufzer Jesu Christi*, Rambach states that the emotional effects of the Passion meditation—repentance and reciprocal love—should also be physically expressed. He describes how during the Passion Jesus wept and sighed out of love[123] and how the Passion meditation should elicit similar tears and sighs in the believer, out of repentance and guilty reciprocal love:

> . . . damit also die Thränen und Seufzer JESU Christi ein fruchtbarer Same werden / daraus viele Buß=Thränen und heilige Seufzer aufgehen und erwachsen mögen.
>
> . . . so that the tears and sighs of Jesus Christ might be a fruitful seed, out of which many tears of repentance and holy sighs might arise and grow.[124]
>
> Opfert aber dieser Liebe keine andere Thränen, als solche, die aus der reinen Quelle der Liebe fliessen. . . . In eure Augen müssen keine andre Thränen, als Thränen der Liebe kommen.
>
> However, this love offers up no tears but those that flow from the pure wellspring of love. . . . No tears must come to your eyes but tears of love.[125]

The sensual and affect-laden representation of the Passion story—the cruellest theme imaginable from a Christian viewpoint—was also intensified pedagogically by dramatic effects. Opitz had described the Passion story as "the cruellest tragedy in all the world."[126] A century later Daniel Wilhelm Triller also emphasised in the preface to his German translation of Hugo Grotius' tragedy *Christus Patiens* (1723), that the Passion was very well suited to dramatic elaboration:

> . . . zumahl da fast die meisten Haupt-Affecten der Menschen in der Paßions-Geschichte vorkommen . . . ; also daß alle die drei Stücken, welche Aristoteles

zu einem Trauer-Spiel erfordert, das Erbärmliche, das Erschröckliche und Wunderbare hier zu befinden.

. . . Since most of man's chief affects occur in the Passion story . . . therefore all three required by Aristotle for tragedy—compassion, horror and wonder—may be found here.[127]

Triller's statements show that because of its cruel subject matter the Passion story could excite both compassion and horror in its audience. The Passion story could, as did baroque tragedy, engender *consolatio tragoediae*. Christ could thus, in the poetic sense, be presented as an innocently suffering tragic hero. Rambach's statement that the excitement of a "healing terror and grief" should be the "natural effect" of the Passion meditation[128] is significant in this light.

Triller adds to his guidelines the observation that "a live performance of this sort might sooner melt the hard heart of some sinner than if he listened to 50 feeble and boring sermons."[129] A dramatic articulation of the Passion story could therefore affectively intensify its pedagogic function to great effect. To enhance the arousal of "healing terror and grief," the components of cruelty and suffering were therefore explicitly and meticulously represented in the baroque Passion meditation. Above all the contrast between Christ's suffering and the love that underpinned this suffering was highlighted rhetorically. The following *Passionssalve* by Lohenstein has the apparent intention of leading the reader by means of affective shock to repentance and reform. The poem focuses on the mutilated, dying Jesus:

. . . Sein Haupt von feinstem Gold' ist eytricht und voll Beulen /
Die Tauben-Augen sind mit Speichel zugeklebt;
Sein Atemholen ist ohnmächt'ges Winseln / Heulen /
Weil ihm die dürre Zung' am Gaumen kleben bleibt . . .

. . . Aus seiner Nase trift geronnen schwartz Geblütte /
Die vor wie Äpfel roch / und Narden Öl stach weg;
Die Lippen / die vor Myrrh- und Rosen theilten mitte /
Sind braun und blau zerschwolln / zerkerbet und voll Fleck . . .

. . .

Wir riechen Gott itzt wol die wir für Sünden stincken /
Denn Jesus balsamet mit seinem Blutt' uns ein;
Daß unsre Seele könn' ihr heßlich Antlitz schmincken /
Muß sein faul Eyter uns die reinste Salbe seyn.

. . . His head, of finest gold, is purulent and bruised,
His dove-like eyes are pasted with spittle,

His breath is helpless whining and howling
Because his parched tongue cleaves to his palate . . .

. . . From his nose runs blackened blood,
What once smelt like apples and fragrant nard-oil is gone,
The lips that once imparted myrrh and roses
Are black and blue, swollen, cut and flaking . . .

. . .

We that stink of sin can now smell God,
For Jesus embalms us with his blood;
In order that our souls may paint their hideous faces,
His foul purulence must be our purest salve.[130]

With painstaking precision Lohenstein paints a horrifying picture. Like Birken, he contrasts the intended purpose of this poem with its form: Christ's dreadful suffering should strengthen the believer's grateful love for Him, and Jesus's agony "must be our purest salve." Here shock and revulsion awaken admiration for Christ, which in turn lead to conversion and consolation.

The following *ecce homo* by Heinrich Müller may be compared with Lohenstein's poem. Müller continually contrasts suffering, described with graphic brutality, with the love that underpins the Passion. While the representation of brutality evokes terror, the affective theme of love strengthens the emotional effect of the description. The theologian stipulates explicitly which emotions the Passion meditation should evoke: shock and compassion should lead to repentance and love.

Sehet/welch ein Mensch! Ach! . . . / ist denn euer blutdürstiger Grimm noch nicht gestillet? Habt ihr kein Erbarmen in euch? Seyd ihr Menschen / oder seyd ihr Wölffe / Bären / Löwen und Teuffel? Gehets euch nicht zu Hertzen / daß dieser Mensch so jämmerlich ist zugerichtet? Ihr sehet ja nichts an ihm / als lauter blutige Wunden und Eyter=Beulen. . . . *Ecce homo!* Sehet / welch ein Mensch! Er ist ja keinem Mensch mehr gleich. Hie möchte wol die Braut aufftreten auß dem Hohen L. Salom. Cap. 5. Wie herrlich hat sie da den Bräutigam Jesu beschauet / Aber / wie heßlich siehet er jetzt auß. Sehet doch! sein Haupt / das gleich seyn sol dem feinesten Golde / ist mit Dornen bewachsen / und mit Blut überschwemmet. Sehet doch! seine Haar=Locken / die kraus sollen seyn und schwartz / wie ein Rabe/ sind theils ausgerauffet / theils mit Blut bedeckt. Sehet! seine Augen / die da seyn sollen / wie Tauben=Augen an den Wasser=Bächen / mit Milch gewaschen / sind außgeweinet / und gantz verfinstert. Sehet! seine Lippen / die da sollen seyn / wie Rosen / die mit fliessenden Myrrhen trieffen / haben sich verblutet / und sind mit todt=bleicher Farbe angethan. Sehet! seine Wangen / die da sollen seyn / wie die wachsende Würtz=Gärtlein der

Apothecker / sind mit Speichel besudelt / und von vielen Schlägen aufgeschwollen. Sehet! seine Hände / die da seyn sollen / wie güldene Ringe voll Türckissen / sind gantz außgemergelt / lauter Haut und Knochen. Sehet! seine Gestalt / die da wie Milch und Blut seyn solte / ist voller Heßlichkeit. Mein Hertz / so hat deinen Jesum die Sünde zugerichtet. Tritt auch täglich auff diesen Schau=Platz / und halt deinen Jesum gegen einander.

Behold, what a man! Ah! . . . Is your bloodthirsty rage not yet stilled? Have you no compassion within you? Are you men, or are you wolves, bears, lions and devils? Does it not touch your hearts that this man was so mercilessly abused? All you can see of Him is bloody wounds and sores. . . . Ecce homo! Behold, what a man! He is like a man no longer. Here might well enter the bride from the Song of Solomon, Chapter 5. How magnificent she once thought her bridegroom, Jesus. But how hideous he looks now. But behold! His head, that should be finest gold, is covered with thorns and drenched in blood. His hair, that should be bushy and black as the raven, is partly torn out, partly covered with blood. Behold! His eyes, that should be like the eyes of a dove washed with milk by flowing streams, have wept themselves dry, their light is completely extinguished. Behold! His lips, that should be like roses, dripping with myrrh, are drained of blood and tinged with the pallor of death. Behold! His cheeks, that should be like the apothecary's spice garden, are defiled with spittle and swollen from many blows. Behold! His hands, that should be like golden rings set with beryl, are completely emaciated, mere skin and bones. Behold! His body, that should be like milk and blood, is full of hideousness. My heart, thus has sin abused your Jesus. Visit this scene daily and come face to face with your Jesus.[131]

Affectively powerful rhetoric, pictorial and acute metaphor, and a detailed representation of cruelty coincide in this *ecce homo* with the explicit intention of affectively disturbing the reader and stirring him to grateful reciprocal love for Jesus, his heavenly bridegroom. Such almost dramaturgically induced affect sequences correspond with those in baroque tragedy.

Georg Philipp Telemann's preface to the Passion libretto *Der für die Sünde der Welt leidende und sterbende Jesus* by Brockes shows that the musical Passion meditation is also articulated as a tragedy. The composer expresses the hope that his setting of the dramatic libretto will strengthen its affective impact:

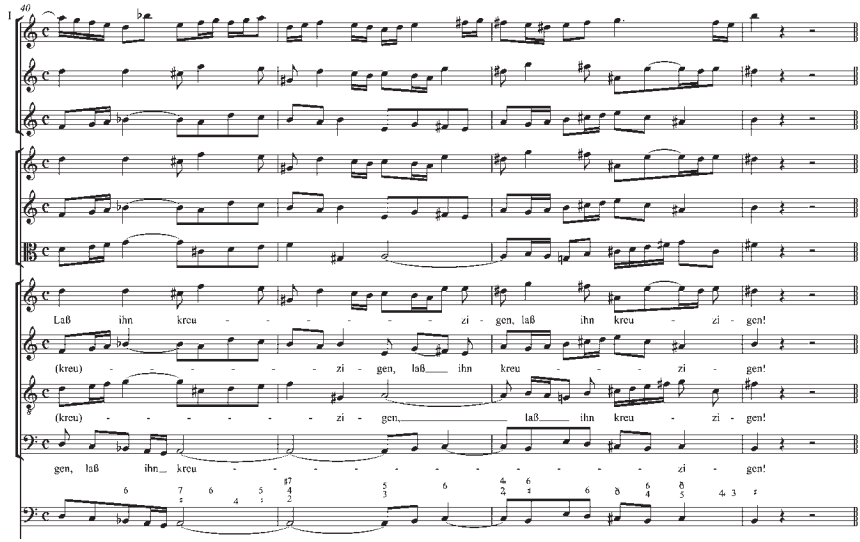
> Und dieses ist der Zweck der gegenwärt'gen Zeilen /
> Wo JEsus Leyden uns für Augen wird gestellt.
> Und endlich / wie er gar ins Todes Rachen fällt.
> Doch / wie ein schönes Wort noch grössern Nachdruck findet /
> Wann es die Harmonie zu unsern Ohren trägt /
> Und gleichsam unsern Geist mit doppler Gluth entzündet /
> So hab ich auch die Hand so solcher angelegt.

Hier wünsch ich: Daß mein Kiel mit Thränen sich benetzet /
Vielleicht so lockt er auch solch Naß bey andern raus.
Ach! wär ein Donner=Thon in meinen Satz gesetzet /
So würckt er auch vielleicht Erzittern / Angst und Grauß.
Jedoch / wer weiß / was er für Regungen erwecket?
Die Hand von Oben her führ' ihn an meiner Statt!

And this is the purpose of these lines,
Wherein Jesus' suffering is set before our eyes.
And how at last he fell victim even to Death's vengeance.
But just as a beautiful word finds greater emphasis
If borne by harmony to our ears
And enflames our spirits with doubled ardour,
So have I tried to do also.
Here I wish that my throat would be moistened by tears,
Perhaps then it would evoke such moisture in others also.
Ah! If only my text contained the sound of thunder,
Then it might perhaps produce trembling, fear and horror.
But who knows what emotions it may awaken?
May the hand from above direct it in my place![132]

Because music adds sound to the written text, the emotional effect of the representation is doubled ("enflames . . . with doubled ardour"): the audience can not only see Christ's suffering ("set before our eyes"), but also hear it. The composer accordingly expresses the wish that his Passion representation will excite "trembling, fear and horror" and that the hearer will weep tears of sorrow and repentance. Telemann's statements show that the musical Passion meditation had the same objectives as its literary counterpart. The representation of Christ's suffering should arouse powerful emotions, enhanced by sensual perceptions. Thus the sequence of affects found in baroque tragedy, leading from horror to *consolatio tragoediae*, also supports the musical Passion meditation.

The scourging and crucifixion scenes in Johann Sebastian Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* illustrate the parallels between the literary and musical Passion meditation. In the short chorus "Laß ihn kreuzigen" the persistent dissonance, fast tempo, and polyphonic voice-leading generate an affectively powerful expression of the violence and cruelty of Christ's condemnation. The many cross figures and voice-crossings add a visual element to this process (see example 3-4).

The chorus flows naturally by means of a V-I cadence into the chorale "Wie wunderbarlich ist doch diese Strafe." In this piece the emotional intensity of Christ's condemnation is contrasted affectively with its eschatological consequences: Jesus willingly suffers crucifixion in order to save mankind. The chorale represents a first moment of contemplation evoked by the vio-

Example 3-4. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Laß ihn kreuzigen" (*St. Matthew Passion*, no. 45b), bars 39–43 (Choir 1).

lence of the condemnation. Like the text, the music furnishes a contrasting theological resolution to the preceding chorus: through the dominant-tonic cadence the restless, dissonant polyphony is transformed into tranquil, consonant homophony.

The arioso and aria "Er hat uns allen wohlgetan"/"Aus Liebe will mein Heiland sterben" reflect further on Christ's great love, as cause, meaning, and eschatological consequence of his suffering. The musical expression of Christ's love in "Aus Liebe" will be described in detail in chapter 7. The affect-laden contrast between this aria and the immediately following repeat of "Laß ihn kreuzigen" and "Sein Blut komme über uns und unsre Kinder" is almost physically palpable. The two choruses furnish an emotional intensification of human guilt. They awaken in the listener, now painfully aware of the contrast between Christ's love and his own unworthy sinfulness, the affect of repentance.

The gospel then moves to the scourging. The emotional shift from horror to compassion and love in the recitative and aria "Erbarm es Gott!"/"Können Tränen meiner Wangen" forms the dramatic turning point of this section.

Rezitativ
Erbarm es Gott!
Hier steht der Heiland angebunden.
O Geißelung, o Schläg, o Wunden!
Ihr Henker, haltet ein!

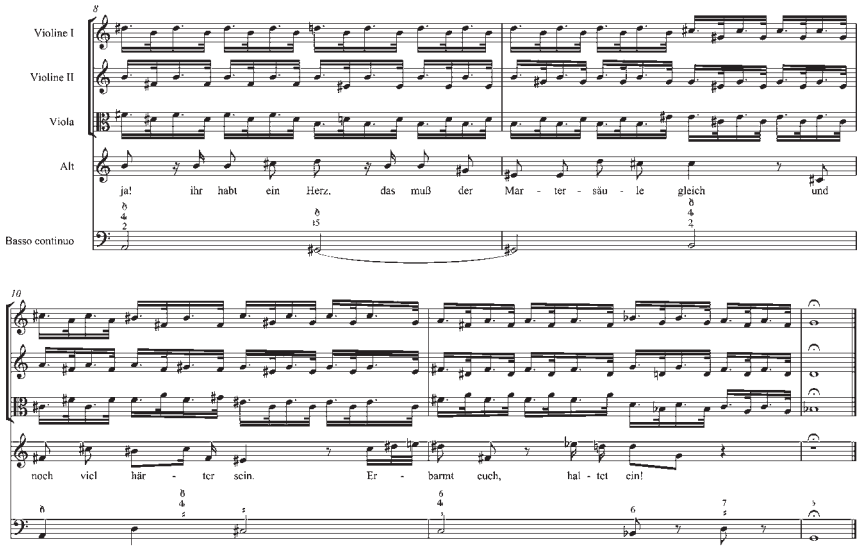
Erweichet euch der Seelen Schmerz, der Anblick solches Jammers nicht?
Ach ja! ihr habt Herz, das muß der Martersäule gleich, und noch viel härter sein.
Erbarmt euch, haltet ein!

Arie
Können Tränen meiner Wangen nichts erlangen,
o, so nimmt mein Herz hinein.
Aber laßt es bei den Fluten,
wenn die Wunden milde bluten,
auch die Opferschale sein!

Recitative
God, have pity!
Here the Saviour stands fettered.
Scourging, blows, wounds!
Tormentors, stop!
Are you not moved by such anguish, by the sight of such affliction?
Ah yes! You have hearts like the torturer's pillar, and harder even than that.
Have pity, stop!

Aria
If the tears on my cheek avail nothing,
Oh, then take my heart.
But let it also be the sacrificial vessel
Into which flows
The blood from His sweet wounds.

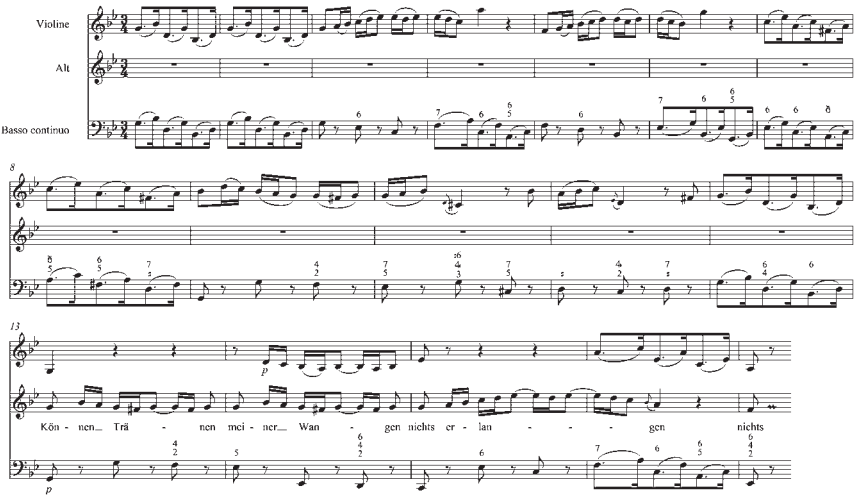
The arioso "Erbarm es Gott!" (see example 3-5) provides a graphic and extremely emotional representation of the scourging, in which visual scourging motifs are combined with affective devices such as extreme dissonance, chromaticism, fauxbourdon, and diminished intervals.[133] These unusual musical devices emphasize the excesses of the scene and through their affective power and graphic pictorialism draw the listener directly into the emotional shock that it provokes.

In the aria "Können Thränen meiner Wangen" the affects of horror and compassion presented in the arioso are transformed into repentance and love for Jesus. The believer's tears indicate, as Rambach describes, repentance and reciprocal love for Jesus. Love for Jesus is presented in the mystical metaphor of the love union with Christ in the believer's heart (cf. chapter 5): "Aber laßt es bei den Fluten, wenn die Wunden milde bluten, auch die Opferschale sein."

Example 3-5. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Erbarm es Gott!" (*St. Matthew Passion*, no. 51), bars 8–12.

("But let [my heart] also be the sacrificial vessel into which flows the blood from His sweet wounds.") The believer prays that the loving and reconciling blood of Christ might flow directly into his heart, there to bring forth physiological forgiveness, love, and mystical union.

The musical character of the aria is diametrically opposed to that of the expressive recitative, so as to create an effective rhetorical antithesis. The tempo grows calm, the *salti duriusculi* give way to smaller intervals in flowing melodies, and finally the musical scourging motifs, which now lead to the tonic G minor, are combined with motifs representing tears and sighs (see example 3-6).

The believer's readiness to participate emotionally both in the scourging and in Christ's love indicates that this aria represents the moment of consolation in the dramatic structure of this section. Through the cruelty of the Passion story, which is vividly, pictorially, and almost palpably represented, the listener's heart is moved from horror to compassion and from repentance to reciprocal love for Jesus.

The scene ends with a chorale in which the congregation, moved to reciprocal love for Jesus through the violent experience of cruelty and repentance, express their feelings. Paul Gerhardt's *passionssalve* "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" describes Christ's bleeding face in an agonizing but loving *ecce homo*. The last line, "gegrüsset seißt du mir," cadences onto a consonant chord that lends the chorale an intimate and loving character.

Example 3-6. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Können Thränen meiner Wangen" (*St. Matthew Passion,* no. 52), bars 1–16.

This section of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* clearly shows that in the musical Passion meditation, as in its poetic counterpart, a dramatic articulation of the cruelty of the Passion story and its affective contrast with Christ's love could function as a religious *consolatio tragoediae*. Shock and compassion lead here to repentance and reciprocal love. The means to this end is a rhetorically powerful, multimedial, and dramatizing representation of the gospel. The Passion meditation demonstrates how the affective intensifications of poetic and musical language that took place in the baroque era could effectively serve Lutheran devotion. The increasing sensitization and individualization of religious feeling in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries doubtless contributed to these developments in devotional literature. Elke Axmacher has argued that these theological developments rendered "the affective moment" in the baroque Passion meditation independent and absolute.[134] However, when she states that in the Passion representation of the early eighteenth century "empathy was taken for faith, shock for reform,"[135] she confuses theological content with its verbal representation. The purpose of the Lutheran Passion meditation was conversion through empathy. Affective shock aroused by a concentration on the horrific nature of the Passion story was the means to this end. The explicitness of the baroque Passion representation was thus not part of introspective theology, but a stylistic means of achieving introspection. Here literary–historical attainments support theological objectives, as poetic and musical affect is employed to achieve religious consolation.[136]

INTENSIFICATION OF THE LANGUAGE OF LOVE

German imitations of petrarchism and the madrigal in the early seventeenth century were based on the external, sometimes even mannered characteristics of a conventionalized language of love. During the seventeenth century these characteristics became increasingly directed toward rhetorical *movere*; under the influence of a growing philosophical, theological, and theoretical interest in the human passions, a poetic and musical style developed that was geared toward the expression and arousal of affect, leading to an affective intensification of representation in both secular and sacred genres. In the expression of love this signified a stylistic shift of emphasis from petrarchan and madrigalian play with words and sounds toward an emotionally intensified representation of the *affect* of love. The various excerpts from baroque love poetry in the previous chapter demonstrate this development. Furthermore, the example of the Passion meditation shows how the conceptual and stylistic conventions of the representation of love were extended beyond the boundaries of secular love into the realm of sacred love also. It should be mentioned in this context that precisely in the case of religious love there is no question of Christian–Stoic command of affect: love for Jesus or God was not to be moderated in any way, but on the contrary was to be stimulated and intensified. The following chapter will describe how the concept of secular and sacred love developed in the context of the cultural–historical and theoretical conditions described here.

NOTES

1. On the affects in seventeenth-century philosophy see Susan James, *Passion and Action. The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Werner Schneiders, *Naturrecht und Liebesethik. Zur Geschichte der praktischen Philosophie im Hinblick auf Christian Thomasius* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1971), 185–200.

2. On affect and baroque poetics see Rüdiger Campe, *Affekt und Ausdruck. Zur Umwandlung der literarischen Reden im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990); Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus, *Wollust und Grausamkeit. Affektenlehre und Affektdarstellung in Lohensteins Dramatik am Beispiel von 'Agrippina'* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); Erwin Rotermund, *Affekt und Artistik. Studien zur Leidenschaftsdarstellung und zum Argumentationsverfahren bei Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau* (Munich: Fink, 1972).

3. August Buchner, *Anleitung zur deutschen Poeterey* (Wittenberg: Wenden, 1665), 15.

4. Cited in Ferdinand van Ingen, "Strukturierte Intertextualität. Poetische Schatzkammern und Verwandtes," in *Intertextualität in der Frühen Neuzeit. Studien*

zu ihren theoretischen und praktischen Perspektiven, ed. Wilhelm Kühlmann and Wolfgang Neuber (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1994), 290.

5. See Joachim Dyck, *Ticht-Kunst. Deutsche Barockpoetik und rhetorische Tradition* (Bad Homburg vor der Höhe: Gehlen, 1966), 82ff.; Ludwig Fischer, *Gebundene Rede. Dichtung und Rhetorik in der dichterischen Theorie des Barock in Deutschland* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1968), 23; Volker Meid, *Barocklyrik*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), 40ff.

6. Johann Matthäus Meyfart, *Teutsche Rhetorica / oder Redekunst* (Coburg: Gruner, 1634), preface, 9.

7. Michael Bergmann, *Deutsches AERARIUM POETICUM oder Poetische Schatzkammer* (Jena: Mamphras, 1676), preface, A ij v.

8. Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 3* (Nuremberg: Endter, 1653, facsimile Darmstadt 1969), 34ff.

9. Johann Christian Männling, *Expediter Redner oder Deutliche Anweisung zur galanten deutschen Wohlredenheit* (Leipzig: Conradi, 1718), 276, cited in Dyck, *Ticht-Kunst*, 87, footnote 6.

10. On the affects in seventeeth- and eighteenth-century music theory see George Buelow, "Johann Mattheson and the Invention of the *Affektenlehre*," in *New Mattheson Studies*, ed. George J. Buelow and Hans J. Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 393–407; Rolf Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 3rd ed. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1995), chapter 4.

11. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III. Termini musici* (Wolfenbüttel: Holwein, 1619, reprint ed. Willibald Gurlitt. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), 229.

12. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X libros digesta* (Rome: Corbelletti, 1650, reprint ed. Ulf Scharlau. Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), B202ff.: ". . . ut animam extra se rapere videantur."

13. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, B141ff.

14. Johann Kuhnau, preface to *Biblische Historien* (1700), cited in Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 227.

15. Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Herold, 1739; facsimile ed. Margarete Reimann, 6th ed., Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 127. Compare 207: "Because meanwhile the proper purpose of all melody can be nothing else but a listening pleasure that moves the passions of the soul."

16. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 146.

17. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, preface, 19.

18. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, dedicatory poem of Johann Adolph Scheibe.

19. Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst*, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1751; facsimile Darmstadt 1962), 69.

20. Gottsched, *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst*, 67.

21. Bernhard, *Singe=Kunst*, 39.

22. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 208.

23. Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatis*, 94–97; Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Phrynidis Mitilenæus, Oder Satyrischer Componist 1* (Dresden: Mieth, 1696), 39ff.; Johann Mattheson, *Das Neu=Eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: [n.p.], 1713),

236–252. On key characteristics in the German baroque see Wolfgang Auhagen, *Studien zur Tonartencharakteristik in theoretischen Schriften und Kompositionen vom späten 17. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt 1983); Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, 2nd ed. (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1996).

24. Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 233.

25. Buelow, "Johann Mattheson and the Invention of the *Affektenlehre*," 404.

26. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, B142. An extensive description of Kircher's musical–physiological concept of affect is provided by Ulf Scharlau in *Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680) als Musikschriftsteller. Ein Beitrag zur Musikanschauung des Barock* (Marburg 1996).

27. Printz, *Phrynidis Mitilenæus 1*: 114; Johann Gottfried Walther, *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (Weimar: [n.p.], 1708, reprint ed. Peter Benary, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955), 158. In his inaugural address *Musica movet affectus* Kees Vellekoop (Utrecht: Faculteit der Letteren, 1994) shows that the musical representation of affect in the baroque was based on traditions of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. Thus *Musica enchiriadis* (c. 900) already describes the affective qualities of music in an appropriately unequivocal manner, while providing only general outlines of the musical articulation of individual affects (14ff.).

28. Cf. Gerhart Hoffmeister's description of "an intensified representation of affect by means of an often exaggerated and polished style that pulled out all the stops of acuity." Gerhart Hoffmeister, *Deutsche und europäische Barockliteratur* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1987), 148.

29. See Klaus Dockhorn, *Macht und Wirkung der Rhetorik* (Bad Homburg vor der Höhe: Gehlen, 1968), 49ff.; Dyck, *Ticht-Kunst*, 76ff.; Clemens Ottmers, *Rhetorik* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1996), 123–127.

30. Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (Breslau: Gründer, 1624, reprint ed. Richard Alewyn, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1963), title of chapter 6.

31. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, preface, 26.

32. Georg Braungart, "Sprache und Verhalten. Zur Affektenlehre im Werk von Christian Thomasius," in *Christian Thomasius (1655–1728). Neue Forschungen im Kontext der Frühaufklärung*, ed. Friedrich Vollhardt (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997), 367.

33. Johannes Susenbrotus, *Epitome troporum ac schematum et grammaticorum et rhetorum* (Antwerp 1566), see Dietrich Bartel, *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre*, 3rd ed. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997), 17ff.

34. Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Ausführliche Redekunst nach Anleitung der alten Griechen und Römer, wie auch der neuern Ausländer*, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1750), 273.

35. See also Dyck, *Ticht-Kunst*, 82–88; Rotermund, *Affekt und Artistik*, 30ff.

36. Meyfart, *Teutsche Rhetorica*, 112.

37. Meyfart, *Teutsche Rhetorica*, 255.

38. Joachim Burmeister, *Musica poetica* (Rostock: Myliander, 1606, reprint ed. Rainer Bayreuther. Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2004), 55. Compare chapter 2 in this book.

39. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, B144.

40. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, B145.

41. Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, 231.

42. Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musikalisches LEXIKON oder Musicalische Bibliothec* . . . (Leipzig: Deer, 1732), 228.

43. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 243.

44. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, B144ff.

45. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, B144.

46. Andreas Werckmeister, *Hypomnemata Musica* (Quedlinburg: Calvisius, 1697, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms 1970), 7.

47. Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), 683.

48. August Buchner, *Kurzer Weg=Weiser zur Deutschen Tichtkunst / Aus ezzlichen geschriebenen Exemplarien ergänzet / mit einem Register vermehret / und auff vielfältiges Ansuchen der studierenden Jugend izo zum ersten mahl hervorgegeben durch M. Georg Gözen* (Jena: Sengenwald, 1663, facsimile Leipzig 1977), 67.

49. On the affective impact of baroque metaphor see Rotermund, *Affekt und Artistik*, 102–129.

50. Meyfart, *Teutsche Rhetorica*, 81ff.

51. Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 3*: 64 (Harsdörffer cites Meyfart, *Teutsche Rhetorica*). Compare 25: "The poet in particular seeks ideas and idioms exceptional to common use in order to provide his poem with unexpected surprise, loveliness and instruction as befits invention . . . ."

52. Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 2*: 49.

53. *Argutia* is the usual term in German literature and literary studies for the Italian *acutezza*.

54. Compare Meyer-Kalkus, *Wollust und Grausamkeit*, 138ff.; Rotermund, *Affekt und Artistik*, 109ff.

55. On argutian compound words see Cristina M Pumplun, *'Begriff des Unbegreiflichen.' Funktion und Bedeutung der Metaphorik in den Geburtsbetrachtungen der Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg, 1633–1694* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995), 120–142.

56. Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg, *Des Allerheiligst= und Allerheilsamsten Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi Zwölf andächtige Betrachtungen* (Nuremberg: Hofmann, 1672), from "Vom H. Nachtmal," 46.

57. See Meid, *Barocklyrik*, 43; Manfred Windfuhr, *Die barocke Bildlichkeit und ihre Kritiker* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1966), 400–437.

58. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, A621. Andreas Hirsch does not transcribe this passage. In Johann Sebastian Bach's "Leipzig" Chorale "Von Gott will ich nicht lassen" (BWV 658) such "acute" parallel fifths have theological significance (see Anne Leahy, *Text-Music Relationships in the 'Leipzig' Chorales of Johann Sebastian Bach* (PhD dissertation, Utrecht: 2002; 97).

59. The example described by Kircher is, significantly, a madrigal with a marinist text: "Frá dolcezze di mort' e di dolore / In campo di piacer viue il mio core"

("Between the sweetness of death and of sorrow / my heart wanders in a battlefield of delight"), by Kapsperger.

60. Andreas Herbst, *Musica Poëtica Sive Compendium Melopoëticum. Das ist: Eine kurtze Anleitung / und gründliche Unterweisung / wie man eine schöne Harmoniam, oder lieblichen Gesang /nach gewiesen Praeceptis und Regulis componiren, und machen soll* (Nuremberg: Dümler, 1643), 82.

61. Printz, *Phrynidis Mitilenæus 1*: 36, 88.

62. Printz, *Phrynidis Mitilenæus 1*: 89.

63. Printz, *Phrynidis Mitilenæus 1*: 91.

64. Andreas Werckmeister, *Harmonologia Musica* (Frankfurt/Main/Leipzig: Calvisius, 1702, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms 1970), 37.

65. The metaphor of the mighty hero is taken from the Old Testament: Gen. 49:10 ("The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come"), Ps. 89:19 ("I have laid help upon one that is mighty"), Isaiah 9:6 ("mighty God"), Jer 20:11("But the Lord is with me as a mighty terrible one"). On the use of this metaphor in BWV 62 see also Martin Petzoldt, "Zur Frage der Textvorlagen von BWV 62 'Nun komm der Heiden Heiland,'" *Musik und Kirche* 60 (1990): 309.

66. In Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* and Scheibe's *Critischer Musikus*, for instance, such writing is sometimes dismissed as "bombast."

67. Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 3*: 101.

68. Sigmund von Birken, *Teutsche Rede-bind- und Dicht-Kunst / oder Kurze Anweisung zur Teutschen Poesy* (Nuremberg: Riegel, 1679, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), 73.

69. Birken, *Teutsche Rede-bind- und Dicht-Kunst*, 73; Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 3*: 36ff.

70. Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 3*: preface, Xiiij ff.

71. Windfuhr, *Die barocke Bildlichkeit*, chapter II.

72. Johann Nucius, *Musices poeticae sive de compositione cantus* (Neisse: Scharffenberg, 1613), F3.

73. Herbst, *Musica Poëtica*, 85.

74. Quintilianus, *Institutionis oratoriae*, VIII, 3, 72: "ad exprimendam rerum imaginem," cited in Bartel, *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre*, 183ff; see also Dyck, *Ticht-Kunst*, 55; Meyer-Kalkus, *Wollust und Grausamkeit*, 127ff.

75. Quintilianus, *Institutionis oratoriae*, IX, 2, 40: "Ab aliis ὑποτύπωσις dicitur proposita quaedam forma rerum ita expressa verbis, ut cerni potius videatur quam audiri." Cited in Bartel, *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre*, 183.

76. Windfuhr, *Die barocke Bildlichkeit*, 235.

77. Salomon Franck, *Geistliche Poësie* (Weimar: Müller, 1685), from "Andachts=Lied vor dem heiligen Abendmahl," 44.

78. See Rotermund, *Affekt und Artistik*, 110ff.

79. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, preface, 10ff. (quotation from Steel, editor of *Spectator* magazine).

80. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 12.

81. Bergmann, *Deutsches AERARIUM POETICUM*, 383.

82. Herbst, *Musica Poëtica*, 114.

83. See Harald Hendrix, "Vermakelijk, weerzinwekkend, fascinerend? De esthetiek van oud en lelijk in de Italiaanse renaissance en barok," in *Oud en Lelijk. Ouderdom in de Cultuur van de Renaissance*, ed. Harald Hendrix and Riet Schenkeveld-van der Dussen (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).

84. Barthold Heinrich Brockes, *Verteutschter Bethlehemitischer Kinder=Mord des Ritters Marino* (Tübingen: Schramm, 1739), 104, dedicatory poem by J. J. Surland.

85. Brockes, *Verteutschter Bethlehemitischer Kinder=Mord*, 107, dedicatory poem by C. F. Weichmann.

86. Giambattista Marino, *Strage degli Innocenti* (1620, German translation by Brockes, *Verteutschter Bethlehemitischer Kinder=Mord*, 301): "O ne la crudeltate ancor pietoso / fabro gentil, ben sai, / che ancor tragico caso è caro oggetto, / e che spesso l'orror va col diletto." (Compassionate even in cruelty, good painter, you know well that a tragic tale is yet a popular theme, and that horror often accompanies pleasure.)

87. Windfuhr, *Die barocke Bildlichkeit*, 323–327.

88. Hugo Max, *Martin Opitz als geistlicher Dichter* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1931), 147. Referring to the rhetorical impact of the language of affect in "O Ewigkeit / Du Donner Wohrt" by Johann Rist, Manfred Windfuhr similarly states that the poetic language has a religious function: "The word eternity alone was meant to frighten the reader, to be a sword 'that pierces the soul,' and to incite reflection and improvement" (Windfuhr, *Die barocke Bildlichkeit*, 199).

89. Rotermund, *Affekt und Artistik*, 23–28.

90. The affect-therapeutic aspects of baroque tragedy and its Christian–neo-Stoic foundations have been thoroughly discussed by Reinhard Meyer-Kalkus (*Wollust und Grausamkeit*) and Hans-Jürgen Schings ("Consolatio Tragoediae. Zur Theorie des barocken Trauerspiels," in *Deutsche Dramentheorien: Beiträge zu einer historischen Poetik des Dramas in Deutschland 1*, ed. Reinhold Grimm [Frankfurt/Main: Athenäum Verlag, 1971], 1–44). Also Markus Meumann and Dirk Niefanger, eds., *Ein Schauplatz herber Angst. Wahrehmung und Darstellung von Gewalt im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997); Thomas Rahn, "Gryphius' *Cardenio und Celinde*: Zwei dramatische Krankengeschichten," in *Die Affekte und ihre Repräsentation in der deutschen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Jean-Daniel Krebs [Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik series A, no. 42] (Bern: Peter Lang, 1996), 93–106; Schneiders, *Naturrecht und Liebesethik*, 214ff.

91. Meyer-Kalkus, *Wollust und Grausamkeit*, preface, 11.

92. Daniel Heinsius, *De Tragoediae Constitutione Liber* (Leiden: Elsevier, 1611). On the influence of this work on Opitz particularly, see Schings, "Consolatio Tragoediae," also Meyer-Kalkus, *Wollust und Grausamkeit*, 173–178.

93. Heinsius, *De Tragoediae Constitutione*, cited in Meyer-Kalkus, *Wollust und Grausamkeit*, 174ff.

94. Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter 2*: 82ff.

95. Birken, *Teutsche Rede-bind- und Dicht-Kunst*, 335.

96. Meyer-Kalkus also differentiates between "consolatory affect therapy" and

"intimidation pedagogics" (*Wollust und Grausamkeit*, 183). On shock treatment in the dramas of Gryphius see Rahn, "Gryphius' *Cardenio und Celinde*."

97. Cf. Schings, "Consolatio Tragoediae," 8: "Supported by *delectare*, *movere* serves to excite, *docere* to purge tragic affects."

98. Cf. Schings, "Consolatio Tragoediae," 16–24.

99. Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 264–265, cf. 218.

100. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 19ff.

101. Johann Mattheson, *Der musikalische Patriot / Welcher seine gründliche Betrachtungen / über Geist= und Weltl. Harmonien /samt dem / was durchgehends davon abhänget / In angenehmer Abwechselung zu solchem Ende mittheilet . . . .* (Hamburg: [n.p.], 1728), 50ff. Here Mattheson quotes WA 50, 368–374. Compare Walther, *Praecepta*, 75: " . . . by delighting the ears, the otherwise fickle mind is encouraged and purified so that it desires godliness . . . . And the human mind must inevitably be ruled and moved by a well-chosen piece of music."

102. Mattheson, *Der musikalische Patriot*, 106.

103. Lorenz Christoph Mizler von Kolof, *Anfangs=Gründe Des General Basses Nach Mathematischer Lehr=Art abgehandelt . . .* (Leipzig: [n.p.], 1739, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms, 1972), 20.

104. Susanne Bauer-Roesch, "'Zerknirschen / zerschmeissen / zermalmen / zerresssen.' Gewalt auf der Opernbühne des 17. Jahrhunderts," 154–169 in Meumann and Niefanger, *Ein Schauplatz herber Angst*.

105. Aspects of dramaturgy and multimediality in the baroque Passion meditation have been further investigated in Isabella van Elferen, "'Sie creutzigen alle Sinne des Leibes!' Multimediality, *consolatio tragoediae* and Lutheran Pedagogy in the German Baroque Passion Meditation," in *Multi-Media Compositions from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Margriet Hoogvliet. (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 121–143.

106. See Alister E.McGrath, *Luther's Theology of the Cross. Martin Luther's Theological Breakthrough*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Blackwell 1997), 148–175.

107. Johann Gerhard emphasized that it should awaken "guilty gratitude and love towards Christ" (*Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens unsers HErrn Christi Jesu nach den vier Evangelisten / Also angestellet / daß wir dadurch zur Erkenntnis der Liebe Christi erwecket werden / unnd am innerlichen Menschen seliglich zunehmen mögen* [Jena: Steinmann, 1611], preface, b).

108. See Christian Bunners, *Paul Gerhardt: Weg, Werk, Wirkung* (Berlin: Buchverlag Union, 1993), 176.

109. Heinrich Müller, *Evangelischer Hertzens=Spiegel / In Offentlicher Kirchen= Versammlung / bey Erklärung der Sonntäglichen und Fest= Evangelien / Nebst beygefügten Passion=Predigten* (Frankfurt/Main: Wust, 1679), 981.

110. Johann Gerhard, *Postilla: Das ist: Außlegung und Erklärung der Sontäglichen und fürnemsten Fest=Evangelien / über das gantze Jahr . . . .* (Jena 1652), preface, aIII. Cited in Pumplun, *"Begriff des Unbegreiflichen*," 237.

111. See Pumplun, *"Begriff des Unbegreiflichen,"* 232–245; Irmgard Scheitler, *Das geistliche Lied im deutschen Barock* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1982), 127–141.

112. Further analysis is provided by Conrad Wiedemann, *Johann Klaj und seine Redeoratorien: Untersuchungen zur Dichtung eines deutschen Barockmanieristen* (Nuremberg: Carl, 1966), 135ff.

113. Alfred Dürr argues that this image, in which Jesus is presented "not as a man of suffering but as executor of his Father's will," derives from the theology of John's gospel. *Die Johannes-Passion von Johann Sebastian Bach: Entstehung, Überlieferung, Werkeinführung*, 3rd ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 47–51.

114. Johann Mattheson is of the opinion that this key is "more cheerful and warlike, and the most comfortable of all for matters of encouragement" (*Das Neu=Eröffnete Orchestre*), 236–252. In the context of this aria Gottfried Scholz has suggested that the Italian "re" signifies "king" as well as the note d (*Bachs Passionen* [Munich: Beck, 2000], 99).

115. Cf. Michael Marissen's analysis of this aria (Michael Marissen, *Lutheranism, Anti-Judaism, and Bach's St. John Passion. With an Annotated Literal Translation of the Libretto* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1998], 18ff.). In his sacred concerto *Der Tod ist verschlungen in den Sieg* Matthias Weckmann similarly draws on *stile concitato* in the musical representation of Christ's victory over death. The same resources for expressing violence are also described by Susanne Bauer-Roesch, "'Zerknirschen / zerschmeissen / zermalmen / zerreissen.' Gewalt auf der Opernbühne des 17. Jahrhunderts," in Meumann and Niefanger, *Ein Schauplatz herber Angst*, 154–169.

116. Luther, WA 10.II, 458, 31ff.

117. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, preface, bv.

118. Johann Jacob Rambach, *Martini Lutheri Geistreicher Sermon Vom Leiden Christi . . . aufs neue herausgegeben von Johann Jacob Rambach* (Jena: Ritter, 1729), 8, 11.

119. Birken, *Teutsche Rede-bind- und Dicht-Kunst*, 145.

120. For an analysis of this composition in its entirety see Heide Volckmar-Waschk, *Die "Cantiones Sacrae" von Heinrich Schütz. Entstehung—Texte—Analysen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), 178–186.

121. Johann Klaj, from "Trauerrede über das Leiden seines Erlösers" (1650). Cf. the *ecce homo* by Martin Opitz: "Which of my bodily senses has not endured pain? Feeling? I am tormented by the lashes of the whips and by the nails. Taste? They gave me gall and vinegar to drink. Smell? I hang in this stinking place of carrion and rotting corpses. Hearing? My ears are full of the abuse and mockery of slanderers. Sight? I see my mother and my best-loved disciple weep and mourn." (Martin Opitz, *Uber das Leiden und Sterben Unsers Heilandes* [Breslau: Müller, 1628], Axiv–Axii).

122. On sensuality in the baroque *imitatio Christi*, see Meyer-Kalkus, *Wollust und Grausamkeit*, 198–213.

123. Johann Jacob Rambach, *Betrachtung der Thränen und Seufzer JESU CHRISTI / In zweyen Predigten Am X. und XII. Sonntage nach* Trinitatis, 1725*, in der Schul=Kirche in Halle angestellet* (Halle: Waysenhaus, 1731), 24, 88.

124. Rambach, *Betrachtung der Thränen und Seufzer*, preface, 9.

125. Rambach, *Betrachtung der Thränen und Seufzer*, 27.

126. Opitz, *Uber das Leiden und Sterben Unsers Heilandes*, Avvv.

127. Hugo Grotius, *Leidender Christus Trauer-Spiel*, p. B, cited in Elke Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben." Untersuchungen zum Wandel des Passionsverständnisses im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* [Beiträge zur theologischen Bachforschung 2] (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1984), 110.

128. Rambach, *Martini Lutheri Geistreicher Sermon Vom Leiden Christi*, 8.

129. Grotius, *Leidender Christus*, p. b4v ff., cited in Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben,"* 111.

130. Cited in Marian Szyrocki, *Die deutsche Literatur des Barock* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt 1968), 130.

131. Müller, *Evangelischer Hertzens=Spiegel*, 1069.

132. Barthold Heinrich Brockes, *Der für die Sünde der Welt / Leidende und Sterbende JESUS / Aus Den* IV. *Evangelisten / In einem* PASSIONS ORATORIO. . . . (Frankfurt/Main: Köllner, 1716), preface by Georg Philipp Telemann, x3vff.

133. Gottfried Scholz has emphasized the visual character of the recitative: "the musical 'drasticness' of the accompagnato recitative 'Erbarm es Gott' (51) can only be compared with Baroque paintings or sculptures representing the bleeding Jesus in the midst of his brutal tormentors" (*Bachs Passionen*, 63).

134. Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben,"* 111.

135. Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben,"* 210.

136. Therefore any "repudiation of love's passion," as Erwin Rotermund has described it, is alien to Lutheran devotion (Rotermund, *Affekt und Artistik*, 28).

Chapter 4

Affect and Discourse of Love

. . . but the greatest of these is Love.

—1 Corinthians 13[1]

THE AFFECT OF LOVE IN POETICS, MUSIC THEORY, THEOLOGY, AND MORAL PHILOSOPHY

The affect-oriented poetics and music theory of the German baroque placed a striking emphasis on the affect of love. Love was more often recommended for representation than the other affects and more extensive guidelines were provided for its artistic articulation. In addition to petrarchan and gallant fashions in poetry and music, further grounds for this artistic emphasis on the affect of love may be found in its broader cultural–historical context. Love was regarded as a highly significant emotion by contemporary theologians and moral philosophers, and hence formed the emotional core of Lutheran theology and ethics in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Poetics and Music Theory

The immense number of petrarchan, marinist, and gallant love poems of the period between 1600 and 1750 demonstrates the importance of love as a poetic theme. Some writers deplored the significance accorded to such "lascivious love." In his *Academische Neben=Stunden* (1713) Christian Friedrich Hunold, who himself wrote many love poems under the pseudonym Menantes, laments the fact that in secular love poetry "depravity is transformed into virtue,"[2] and that it seems inescapable because of its enor-

mous popularity: "Would to God that not all the bookshops were swamped with it!"[3]

The subject of love was just as popular in music: the vast production of love poetry was matched by an equally large output of madrigals and love songs. Music–theoretical writings sometimes provided lists of artistic affects, in which love ranked highly. In his *Musurgia Universalis* Athanasius Kircher systematically lists and describes the eight human emotions.[4] The German summary of *Musurgia* by Andreas Hirsch states:[5]

> Der menschlichen Affecten sind vornemlich 8. dann dahin können die andern / schier all gezogen werden / als Lieb / Leid / Freud / Zorn / Mitleiden / Forcht / Frechtheit / Verwunderung.
>
> The human emotions are principally eight, for nearly all the others may be drawn from these: love, sorrow, joy, anger, compassion, fear, boldness, amazement.[6]

The first three affects—the only ones for which Kircher provides thorough guidelines for musical setting—are love (*affectus amoris*), sorrow (*affectus doloris*), and joy (*affectus laetitiae*). Kircher describes love as the first affect, because love and hate are "the strongest affects of all."[7] In Hirsch's short compendium of Kircher's Latin treatise (he summarized its more than 1300 pages in barely 400), he translates every chapter dealing with love word for word, so that a larger proportion of Hirsch's book deals with love and what he terms "love music." This mere statistical emphasis on love demonstrates the value he placed on this affect.

Johann Mattheson also regarded love as the most important of the human passions; in *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* he describes it as "the highest and most powerful emotion in this world and beyond."[8] Mattheson states that love is the most commonly represented affect in music:

> Da ist nun die Liebe wol billig unter allen oben an zu setzen; wie sie denn auch in musicalischen Sachen einen weit grössern Raum einnimmt, als die andern Leidenschafften.
>
> For love may fairly be placed above all the others, since even in musical matters it takes up far more space than the other passions.[9]
>
> Die Liebe regieret [in der Oper] fast allemahl so hefftig, und mit solchen verwirrten Händeln darin, daß kaum andre Gemüths=Bewegungen, es wäre denn Kinder dieser offt unartigen Liebe, Raum darin finden . . . .
>
> [In opera] love almost always reigns so powerfully and with such complicated plots that there is little place in it for any other emotions, apart from the offspring of this often disagreeable love . . . .[10]

It has already been mentioned in chapter 2 that Mattheson regarded love as a source of musical inspiration, because it served as a practical source of inspiration for love-smitten composers and musicians.[11]

Theology

While secular love was a popular theme of poetry and music, sacred love was preferred above the other affects in Lutheran theology. Martin Luther stated many times that love was the basis of all relations between God and mankind. God sacrificed his only son out of love for the world, in order to save man from his sinfulness. With Christ's reconciling death on the cross God bestowed on man the gifts of faith and love. These two fundamental Lutheran concepts are insolubly bound together: God himself is love, therefore to believe in him is to experience divine love.[12] Through faith, divine love—which is not natural to man because of his sinful nature—is activated.[13] Therefore faith necessarily signifies the manifestation of love: "Wherever love leads, heart and body will follow."[14] An important aspect of the Lutheran *sola fide* rests upon this mutual dependence of love and faith. Only in faith can man experience divine love; therefore he can only fulfill the law of love through faith. Thus, although love is the foundation of the relationship between God and man, and the core of Luther's theology, it can only exist on earth through faith:

> Wir müssen Gott und den Nächsten lieben. Weil wir aber diese Liebe nicht haben, sondern entweder gewisse Anfänge oder lediglich Anfänge, so ist der Glaube der Stellvertreter und ergänzt das, was der Liebe fehlt, dadurch, daß er den Gott Christus empfängt, der selbst die Liebe ist.
>
> We must love God and our neighbour. However, because we do not have this love, but either sure rudiments or simply rudiments, so faith is the substitute and completes what love lacks by receiving the Lord Christ, who is Himself love.[15]

Only through faith can man experience and exercise divine love.[16] Neither, according to Luther, can be effective without the other; faith without love and love without faith are unthinkable in this theology.

In his pronouncements on the love between God and the believer Luther often uses the imagery of married love between a man and a woman. Thus he uses a metaphor of human love to describe the proclamation of the gospel as a consequence of the love of God:

> Es ist die Art aller Liebenden, von ihren Geliebten willig zu zwitschern, singen, dichten, komponieren und spielen und auf gleiche Weise auf dieselbe zu hören. Deshalb ist für diesen Liebhaber den Gerechten, seine Geliebte, das Gesetz

> Gottes, immer im Munde, immer im Herz und (wenn möglich) immer in den Ohren, denn,'Wer von Gott ist, der hört das Wort Gottes'.
>
> Every lover is ready to twitter, sing, write poetry, compose and play about his beloved, and similarly to hear about her. Thus this lover, the righteous man, always has his beloved, God's law, in his heart and (if possible) in his ears, for "He who is of God, hears God's word."[17]

Luther attributed enormous significance to marital love. Because it furnished an illustration of the love between God and man,[18] he described it several times as "the greatest and purest love" that exists on earth.[19] Luther's emphatically positive evaluation of marital love contributed to the high position it came to hold in seventeenth-century ethics.[20]

The individualization favored by Lutheran theology in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries generated further theological and discursive emphasis on love. As the most essential element of the nature of the triune God, love became one of the most accentuated components of devotional theology. The heightened significance of love may be observed both in devotional discourse and in the thematics of theological and devotional writings. Thus in his *Postilla Salomonea* Johann Gerhard finds suitable verses for every liturgical occasion in the Song of Songs. Equally significant is the title of Heinrich Müller's widely circulated *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme* (Divine Flames of Love), which opens with the following unequivocal lines:

> Hertz / auffwerts / und liebe deinen Gott! Er ist die Liebe selbst. Wer wolte die Liebe nicht lieben? Lieben must du / und mag so wenig deine Seele sein ohn Liebe / als dein Leib leben mag ohn Seele.
>
> Lift up your heart and love your God! He is love itself. Who would not love Love? You must love, and your soul can as little do without love as your body can do without your soul.[21]

Various fundamental Lutheran concepts are emphatically and repeatedly connected through love. Johann Arndt, a pioneer of Lutheran devotion, employs to this end the traditional analogy of the mirror. He describes human love as a reflection of God's love:

> Den *Affect* der reinesten und vollkommensten Liebe hat er in des Menschen Hertz gepflanzet, auf daß GOtt, welcher die Liebe selbst ist, durch die Liebe des Menschen kräfftig und thätig seyn könnte: Die vollkommene Gerechtigkeit, Heiligkeit und Wahrheit hat er in des Menschen Willen gelegt, daß er selbst seine Gerechtigkeit und Wahrheit durch den Menschen üben und erzeigen möchte.

> The *affect* of the purest and most perfect love was planted in man's heart so that God, who is love itself, can be powerful and active through man's love. He laid perfect righteousness, holiness and truth in man's will, so that He Himself could exercise and demonstrate His love through man.[22]

Later Müller used similar images to describe the principle of love of one's neighbor, made operative by God's presence:

> Daher kan Johannes recht schliessen: Weil GOTT aller Liebe Wesen und Uhrsprung ist / so ist die liebhabende Seele in GOtt / und GOtt in ihr. Die natürliche Liebe gehet aus GOTT / als aus dem Schöpffer und Erhalter der Natur / und wo sie ist / da ist GOtt nach seiner allgemeinen Gegenwart. Die Christliche Liebe entspringet aus GOtt / als aus dem Brunnen der neuen Geburt / und wo sie ist / da ist GOtt mit seiner Gnaden gegenwärtig. Ach! wer wolte nicht gern / daß GOtt mit seiner Gnaden in ihm wohnete / und wer wündschet nicht die selige Ruhe in GOtt? . . . Die Liebe ist das eigentliche Kennzeichen der Gegenwart und Gnade Gottes/ dabey prüfe / ob GOtt in dir sey?
>
> Therefore John can rightly conclude: Because God is the essence and origin of all love, so the loving soul is in God and God in it. Natural love proceeds from God as from the creator and upholder of nature, and where it is there is God, according to His universal presence. Christian love stems from God as from the wellspring of new birth, and where it is, God with His grace is present. Ah! Who would not want God with His grace to live in him, and who does not wish for blessed peace in God? . . . Love is the true sign of the presence and grace of God. Test thereby whether God is in you.[23]

Here Müller explains that the love that is found through faith and extends itself to one's neighbor is a proof of God's mercy and his presence in man. Through a theological accentuation of love he thus draws together the Lutheran concepts of grace, faith, and love of one's neighbor. The Nuremberg polyhistorian Erasmus Francisci goes a step further and even describes theology as a rhetoric of love:

> In der gantzen Liebes=Rhetoric / und Redner=Kunst des Glaubens / setzt es keine herrlichere Wort=Fügung / keine schönere noch anmutigere Red-Art / als diese: GOtt ist mein (in Christo) und ich bin sein.
>
> In the entire rhetoric of love and oratory of faith, there is no more splendid phrase, no more beautiful or delightful idiom than this: God is mine (in Christ) and I am His.[24]

Christ's suffering and death was the most significant of all such encounters in theological terms, because Christ's death on the cross furnishes the proof of the love the triune God bears for man. Love was therefore the core of Luther's

crucifixion theology.[25] Accounts of the Passion story in devotional literature and prayer books often concentrate almost exclusively on this love. Thus Heinrich Müller exclaims:

> Gott / der die Liebe selbst ist / gibt aus grosser Liebe der Welt / seiner Feindin / die gantz im Argen ligt / seinen eignen eingebornen Sohn zum Erlöser. O Lieb / über alle Liebe!
>
> Out of great love for this world, God, who is love, gives His enemy, who is completely sinful, His only begotten Son as Saviour. O love above all other love![26]

Because God gave his love to unworthy man, the Lutheran conception of God's love was a combination of repentance, gratitude, and reciprocal love. Meditation on the Passion story should, as stated in the previous chapter, awaken a "guilty gratitude and love for Christ."[27] In addition, meditation on the cross should also awaken love of his neighbor in the believer's heart: through the cross faith, and therefore love for God, is awakened and activated in man.[28] Love was the reason for Christ's death on the cross, but its result also. The cross should thus function as the vehicle of the love of which it was born.

The various components of Luther's Communion theology are based on and bound together by love. Communion furnished an active reminder of Christ's death on the cross, and the resulting justification and reconciliation were proofs of God's love for man. This love was made palpable in Communion: by eating and drinking his body and blood, sacrificed out of love, Christ united himself with the believer in love.[29] Luther therefore describes Communion as the sacrament of love.[30] It symbolized, according to Luther, the spiritual Communion of all Christians with God and with each other.[31] In this context he emphasizes that the word "Vereinigung" is the German equivalent of the Latin *communio*.[32] From a strictly theological viewpoint, however, the union in Communion should be regarded not as a love union, but rather as a union of faith: as stated above, sinful man needed faith as a means to receive and experience divine love. The *inhabitatio* of Christ in the heart of the believer took place in love, but it was brought about by faith.

In the Communion theology of Lutheran devotion the significance of love was further accentuated and intensified. Heinrich Müller begins his Communion meditation with the observation that Communion should function as a physical reception of God's love for the believer:

> Die Liebe Gottes lässt sich nicht daran begnügen / daß er dir durch sein Wort seine Wolthaten gibt / sondern er wil sich dir gern selbst geben / das ist der höchste Liebes=Grad. . . . Höher kan die Liebe nicht steigen / als wann sie dir ihr eigen Fleisch und Blut gibt / lässt sich von dir essen und trincken.

> God's love does not content itself with giving you His blessing through His Word, but seeks to give His very self to you. That is perfect love. . . . Love can reach no higher than to give you its own flesh and blood, and allow you to eat and drink of it.[33]

Love was thus not only an important affect in poetry and music, but was also from a theological viewpoint "the noblest inclination of the heart,"[34] the basis of God's relationship with man and a means of communication between the two spiritual lovers.

Moral Philosophy

The moral–philosophical view of love in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was based on that of contemporary theology. It derived from the Bible and theological writings and was communicated via devotional literature or moral–philosophical treatises. Lutheran devotional books often took stories from the Old or New Testaments as the starting point for moral reflection. The popularity of love as the theme of such reflections is attested by the overwhelming number of book titles relating to love. The Passion story was regarded as the most impressive love story in the Bible and a moral doctrine in itself. In the preface to his *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens und Sterbens unsers HErrn Christi Jesu* (1611) Johann Gerhard describes how the finest human virtues are represented in the Passion story. In it all the Christian virtues appear, and it should therefore be a model for the believer:

> . . . daß wir nemlich den Spiegel der herrlichen Tugenden Christi in der Passionshistoria sollen ansehen / als ein vorgeschreibenes Muster und Formular / daß wir uns auch im Leben und Wandel darnach richten / Da sehen wir . . . alles uns zum Exempel der Nachfolge / denn ob wir zwar dieselbe Vollkommenheit der Liebe / der Demut / Gedult / Sanfftmut unnd dergleichen Tugenden Christi in diesem Leben nicht erreichen können / jedoch sollen wir von ihm immerdar lernen.

> . . . we should regard the mirror of Christ's splendid virtue in the Passion story as a prescribed model and formula on which we should base our life and conduct. There we see . . . all we require as an example for us to imitate, for even if we cannot attain in this life the same perfection of love, humility, patience, gentleness and the rest of Christ's virtues, yet we should always learn from Him.[35]

Because Christ's love lay at the root of his Passion and reflection on the story of his sufferings should arouse reciprocal love in the heart of the believer, Gerhard repeatedly emphasizes that the faithful soul becomes the bride of Christ through the Passion meditation. Gerhard has given his *Erklährung* a pedagogic

structure, in that after every passage quoted from the gospel he adds an edificatory explanation. Thus his treatise could function not only as a reflection on the Passion but also, through *imitatio Christi*, as a moral doctrine. A century later Johann Jacob Rambach also states that reflection on the Passion story has the same pastoral function as a moral doctrine. This was accomplished through shock healing and affect therapy, as described in the previous chapter. If a man wishes to believe, then after the Passion meditation he should

> . . . das Leiden Christi nicht mehr ansehen, (denn das hat nun sein Werck gethan, und dich erschreckt;) sondern durchhin dringen, und ansehen sein freundlich Hertz, wie voller Liebe das gegen dir ist, die ihn dazu zwinget, daß er dein Gewissen und deine Sünde so schwerlich trägt. Also wird dir das Hertz gegen ihm süsse, und die Zuversicht des Glaubens gestärckt.

> . . . look no longer upon Christ's suffering (for that has now done its work, and shocked you), but penetrate beyond it and look upon His kind heart, see how full of love for you it is that it forces Him to bear so onerously your conscience and your sins. Thus your heart will sweeten towards Him, and the assurance of your faith be strengthened.[36]

The Passion meditation thus functioned not only as a passive affect therapy but also as an active moral doctrine that leads along the path to love.

The seventeenth-century moral–philosophical works of Wolfenbüttel scholar and philosopher Justus Georg Schottelius, Halle law professor and philosopher Christian Thomasius, and Zittau rector Christian Weise are derived from Lutheran ethics. These philosophers emphasize that ethics should be subordinated to theology.[37] Consequently, the decisive role of love in Lutheran theology also made it an important virtue in philosophy. On these grounds scholars have often labeled late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century moral philosophy as a love ethic.[38] The virtue of love was interpreted in various ways in philosophical writings of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the love between man and woman and that between God and mankind being only two types. In early-Enlightenment philosophy, politic *caritas* and platonic friendship were particularly highly valued.[39]

A large part of late seventeenth-century moral teaching was dedicated to love. Philosophers regard love and hate as the two most elementary emotions, from which all other affects derive;[40] of these two love is the principal affect.[41] In his *Ethica* Schottelius calls it "the first inclination of the heart."[42] Werner Schneiders has labeled Thomasius' moral teaching as "therapeutic love art" on account of its explicitly pedagogic intent.[43]

Thomasius and Weise regard *caritas* as the key to perfect happiness. They describe how man can achieve "bliss" through such "sensible love," which is the fruit of a virtuous, rational choice:

> Die eine davon ist diejenige / so gerade zur höchsten Glückseeligkeit führet / nemlich die vernünfftige Liebe anderer Menschen. Die andern drey aber sind die Liebe zur Wollust / die Liebe zur eitelen Ehre / und die Liebe zum Gelde. Diese dreye gehören an und vor sich selbst zur unvernünfftigen Liebe . . . .
>
> One of these is that which leads directly to the highest bliss, namely sensible love for others. The other three, however, are lustful love, love of vain honour and love of money. These three count, properly speaking, as foolish love . . . .[44]
>
> II. Was ist denn die Glückseligkeit? Der Zustand des Menschen wird also genennet / wenn er dasselbe würcklich besitzen und geniessen kan / was er von Hertzen liebet.
>
> II. What then is bliss? Man's condition is so called when he can truly possess and enjoy that which he loves with all his heart.[45]

Since sensible love and virtue were consequently directly related to one another,[46] late seventeenth-century moral philosophy regarded the man who aspired to bliss through love as naturally virtuous. Thomasius therefore defines love as the core of moral teaching.[47] For this reason he even sees love as the purpose of being human:

> So ist demnach der Mensch zur Liebe anderer Menschen geschaffen / weil er zum Friede geschaffen ist. Denn die Liebe und der Friede gründen sich in der Vereinigung menschlicher Gemüther.
>
> Therefore man was created to love others, because he was created for peace. For love and peace are based on the union of human feelings.[48]

Weise also believes that by its nature every love aspires toward union with the beloved:

> III. Was ist die Liebe? Es ist eine süsse Reitzung des Gemüthes / da wir gern mit demselben wollen vereiniget seyn / welches wir uns in Gedancken schön und vergnügt eingebildet haben.
>
> III. What is love? It is a sweet excitement of the heart, when we would like to be united with the one we have imagined with pleasure and delight in our thoughts.[49]

The aspiration toward such a love union provides an ethical basis for the yearning desire for the beloved lady described by secular love poets and the love union with Jesus described by sacred love poets. The fact that love always seeks union with the beloved inevitably means that it is only complete if reciprocated. Thus bliss can only be attained through requited love.

These moral–philosophical conditions of *caritas* also applied to other forms of love. As a lover and bestower of love, God's desire for man's reciprocal love was described extensively in devotional literature: "for when God loves, He wishes nothing else than to be loved in return; inasmuch as His love aspires to nothing but reciprocal love."[50] In Christian ethics, as in theology, the reciprocal love between God and man was regarded as the highest perfection of love and bliss.

> GOtt aber / der die Liebe selbsten ist / der höchste Liebhaber und höchste Gegenliebe / muß eintzig und über alles am allerhöchsten und brünstigsten gelibet werden.
>
> But God alone, who is love itself, the supreme lover and supreme reciprocal love, must be loved most highly and most arduously above all else.[51]
>
> Die Liebe GOttes ist die gröste Glückseeligkeit / und ihr muß alle Liebe zu den Menschen auffgeopffert werden.
>
> The love of God is the greatest bliss and all human love must be sacrificed to it.[52]

In moral philosophy as in theology this divine love is related to human love as a perfect image to its likeness, to be used as a model for higher things. In his dedication Thomasius describes this principle as a theological vindication of his philosophy:

> Und ob schon die vernünfftige Liebe nicht so vollkommen ist als die Christliche Liebe / so ist doch die vernünfftige Liebe so zu sagen ein Staffel / dadurch man zu der Christlichen Liebe gelangen kan / und wie derjenige GOTT ohnmöglich lieben kan / der nicht einmahl seinen Bruder liebet; Also kan derjenige ohnmöglich andere Menschen Christlicher Weise lieben / der nicht einmahl dieselben vernünfftig liebet.
>
> Although sensible love is not so perfect as Christian love, yet sensible love is, so to speak, a ladder by means of which Christian love may be achieved. The man who does not love his brother cannot possibly love God; therefore that man cannot possibly love others in a Christian manner, if he does not love them sensibly.[53]

Thus in moral philosophy the love between man and woman, as *figura* of the love between God and man, was highly valued: in an ideal marriage, love, reciprocal love, and common sense would be virtuously combined.[54] Like theology, moral philosophy warned that for the marriage partner an excessively physical love would be a sin against Christian law and also against common

sense, "for sometimes the desire to unite his body with that of his beloved, if it is not essential but incidental, can make sensible love foolish."[55]

Theological and philosophical reflections on love were closely related and were often combined in contemporary poetry. In 1721 Georg Christian Lehms, one of Johann Sebastian Bach's librettists, published the *Helden=Liebe der Schrifft*, a collection of poems based on love stories in the Bible. Lehms' motivation in choosing this theme reflects both theological and moral–philosophical viewpoints:

> Die Welt bestehet aus nichts, als eitel Liebes=Begebenheiten. Denn, weil sie durch dieselben allein ihre unumschränckte Macht behalt, und ohne den zärtlichen *Affect* der Liebe sich bald in eine wüste Einöde, oder den ersten *Chaos* verwandeln würde, müssen Liebes=Begebenheiten vorgehen, Ihren Ursprung führen sie aus dem Paradiese, oder, wo wir noch weiter gehen wollen, aus dem weisen Schlusse des allerweisesten Gottes . . . .
>
> The world consists of nothing but only love-matters. Because it is only through these that it can retain unlimited power, and because without the tender affect of love it [the world] would soon be transformed into a desolate wilderness or primeval chaos, therefore love-matters must take precedence. They have their origins in Paradise, or, as we will further explore, in the wise purpose of the most wise God.[56]

In accordance with contemporary theology and moral philosophy, Lehms deems secular love just as important as sacred love, because it was made operative on earth by God himself. Lehms' book is a poetic list of worldly "love matters" from the Old Testament that may be read as secular love stories.

In both theology and philosophy love was regarded as the most significant and most virtuous affect, since it represented the greatest Christian commandment, provided by God himself. Worldly love was thus seen as a reflection of divine love; along with Christian love of neighbor and *caritas*, the love between man and woman, as a virtuous, enduring love union, furnished the highest grade of this earthly love. These theological and moral–philosophical conditions form the ideological background to the emphasis placed on the affect of love in poetry and music.

THE AMBIVALENCE OF BAROQUE LOVE DISCOURSE

> " . . . that being sad and being in love are two quite closely related things."[57]

Descriptions of the affect of love reveal further parallels between poetics, music theory, theology, and philosophy in the seventeenth and eighteenth cen-

turies. Throughout this entire cultural expanse the love discourse was deeply colored by petrarchism and was defined as the simultaneous experience of opposed emotions. Because of the conceptual and discursive correspondences between secular and religious love, moreover, the thematic borders between the two are often blurred: in the bitter-sweet love discourse of the baroque period, it is not always clear whether secular or sacred love is being described.

Poetics and Music Theory

The poetic treasuries, or *Schatzkammern*, provide a sound impression of baroque poetic discourse. Under the heading "Love," Georg Philipp Harsdörffer's *Schatzkammer* lists ten pages of metaphors for the poetic description of various aspects of sacred and secular love. According to Harsdörffer, the difference between these two types of love is that while heavenly love calms the soul, earthly love causes disquiet:

> Die Liebe GOTTES ist das Leben / das der Seele Ruh kan geben: reiner Hertzen reine Flamm (Feuer / Brunst / Brand) der die Weisheit sucht zur Hand.
>
> God's love is the life that can give rest to the soul: the pure flame of a pure heart (fire / ardour / burning) that seeks wisdom to hand.[58]
>
> Liebe der Welt [ist eine] verführische Süssigkeit . . . Die Flamme greifft / frisst / rasst / brennt um sich . . . die Kranckheit wird beliebt . . . . Die tolle Liebe ist eine Verblendung der Sinne / eine Schul der Sünden / eine Verirrung / deß Verstandes.
>
> Worldly love [is a] seductive sweetness . . . The flame catches / devours / ravages / burns all around it . . . The sickness becomes beloved . . . . Mad love is a delusion / blindness of the senses, a school of sin, an aberration of the mind.[59]

Both types of love set the heart on fire, but while divine love leads to wisdom—and bliss—the fire of worldly love confuses the mind. The clear petrarchan provenance of the metaphors "seductive sweetness" and "beloved sickness" continues in a page-long list of petrarchan love metaphors:

> . . . der Gallen süsse saft. Die Lieb ist Feuer / o Abentheur ist Wasser auch im gleichen / bringt Hertzen Leid / und Hertzen Freud / die stets einander weichen. . . . Ein übersüsser Gifft. Ein angenemer Schmerzen. Ein Pfeil der allzeit trifft. . . . Ein Last der leicht zu tragen. Ein angenemes Kind. Ein Trauren nach Behagen. Ein Strick der Freyer bindt. Ein blind verfinstert Wesen. . . . Ein kluger Unverstand.
>
> . . . the sweet juice of gall. Love is fire—oh adventure!—and water, bringing in the same measure sorrow and joy, which always soften one another . . . A

> sickly-sweet poison. An agreeable pain. An arrow that always hits its mark. . . . A burden that is easy to carry. A pleasant child. A mourning for pleasure. A rope that binds the married man. A blind, darkened state. . . . A clever stupidity.[60]

In Michael Bergmann's much-used *Aerarium Poeticum* (1676), love is described as "The queen of our senses."[61] Bergmann's lists of metaphors under the headings of love-related concepts—being in love, being loved, eyes, lips, mouth, breasts, and so on—all derive from petrarchan poetry. A brief extract follows:

> Das süsse Liebes=Joch. Der innerliche Kampf. Ein wohlgeschmacktes Gifft. Die Kranckheit ohne Rath. Die Liebes=Gluth / Flammen / Marter. Die bitter=süßte Liebes=Pein. Du nimst / ô Braut! Mir meine Ruh / du reissest dier mein Hertz herzu . . . Du schmeckest die süsse Liebes=Kost. Des kleinen Schützer heisse Poltzen / die stecken gar zutieff in Mir / seither so ist Mir für und für von ihnen Leib und Sinn zerschmoltzen. Sein Hertz im Leibe bricht. Mein Hertze bleibet deine / dein Hertze bleibet meine.
>
> The sweet yoke of love. The inner struggle. A tasty poison. The illness without remedy. Love's fire, flames, torture. The bitter-sweet love-pain. You take from me my rest, O bride! You rip up my heart . . . You taste [of] the sweet food of love. The hot arrows of the little archer are embedded too deeply in me: therefore I languish body and soul for ever and ever. His heart breaks in his body. My heart remains yours, your heart remains mine.[62]

As in petrarchan poetry, features of sacred love may also be found in this discursive *Schatzkammer*: thus the last quotation is based on the Song of Songs 2:16/6:3. The petrarchan basis of the love discourse is apparent under other headings also. "Sleeping together" is a "sweet quarrel";[63] tears are "love's tribute," "the wellsprings of desire," and flow "from the broad stream of the sweetheart's eyes."[64] The eyes, "the light with which love is wont to kindle her fire," are compared to suns or stars, but also, in accordance with the tradition of the Song of Songs, to doves' eyes.[65]

In music also the affect of love was bitter-sweet. As described above, Athanasius Kircher regarded love, joy, and sorrow as the three principal affects, and provided thorough guidelines for their musical articulation. The *affectus doloris* and the *affectus laetitiae* are diametrically opposed to one another; the five other affects, which are antithetically ordered, are classified in the emotional field between these two opposites. The *affectus amoris*, however, contains an implicit antithesis. Kircher describes at length how the lover's "passions" are "contradictory":[66]

> Daher finden sich wunderwürdige *affectus* bei den Liebenden / sind traurig und freuen sich doch / sind frölich und trauren doch darbei / thun etwas böß / und sind doch frölich / etwas guts / und förchten sich doch.

> Therefore wonderful affects may be found in lovers. They are sad and yet rejoice, are happy and yet mourn, they do something evil and yet are happy, do something good and yet are fearful.[67]

> . . . Daher kommen die Contrari=*motus* und *affectiones* bei den Liebenden / hoffen und verhoffen / hassen und lieben / freuen und trauren / hertzen und schmertzen / lachen und weinen / reden und schweigen / erröthen und blaichen / erhitzen und frieren / nach dem die Gedanck ist von dem Geliebten / ja / das sich noch mehr zu verwundern / das Geliebte lieben und hassen sie zugleich / lieben wegen der Schönheit / hassen wegen ihres Unglücks / als einen heimlichen Dieb und listigen Mörder. Daher werden sie zugleich geängstiget und erquicket / wolten gern lieben und nicht lieben / nicht / weil sie nicht sterben wollen / wollen / weil es liebens werth / doch lassen sie sie stehlen und tödten / damit sie gefangen wieder los / getödtet wieder lebendig werden.

> Therefore lovers experience contradictory motions and affects. When they think of the beloved, they hope and despair, hate and love, rejoice and mourn, embrace and ache, laugh and weep, speak and are silent, blush and grow pale, burn and freeze. Yes, even more to be wondered at, they love and hate the beloved at the same time, love her for her beauty, hate her for their unhappiness, like a secret thief and a cunning murderer. Therefore they are at the same time fearful and uplifted. They want to love and not to love: want not to, because they do not wish to die; want to, because love is worth it. Yet they let themselves be stolen and killed, so that captive they will be free once more, dead they will live once more.[68]

The conception of love described by Kircher is typically petrarchan. The lover experiences the pleasure and pain of love at the same time, is powerless at the hands of conflicting emotions and is not even sure of himself in relation to his beloved. The conflict reads almost like a petrarchan poem; the last lines in particular recall Petrarch's famous sonnet "S'amor non è" (cf. chapter 2). The fact that Kircher analyzes several madrigals set to petrarchan love poems by Carlo Gesualdo as examples of the affect of love confirms the petrarchan orientation of his conception of love.[69]

While Kircher elsewhere compares the affect of love excited by music to that of piety and "amoris in Deum,"[70] he takes the representation of worldly love as his starting point in order to link it up with the representation of sacred love. This connection indicates that in music theory, as in theology and philosophy, the two types of love are regarded as related emotions, and similar in their concrete manifestations.

Johann Mattheson's descriptions of love are very similar to Kircher's statements. He too describes it as the simultaneous experience of different emotions, which should be represented musically according to their paradoxical nature:

> Wenn wir ferner erwegen, daß die Liebe eigentlich eine Zerstreuung der Geister zum Grunde hat, so werden wir uns billig in der Setz=Kunst darnach richten, und mit gleichförmigen Verhältnissen der Klänge (*intervallis n. diffusis & luxuriantibus*) zu Wercke gehen.
>
> If we further realise that love is actually caused by a diffusion of the spirits, then we can properly address it in the art of setting and get down to work with the appropriate relations of sounds (*intervallis n. diffusis & luxuriantibus*).[71]

This "diffusion," the simultaneous experience of opposing affects, points to a petrarchan simultaneity of happiness and sorrow. Mattheson clarifies this definition of love on the following page with the assertion that "being sad and being in love are two quite closely related matters."[72]

In his *Anleitung zur vollkommenen Erlernung des General-Basses* (1711) the Dresden Kapellmeister Johann David Heinichen states in several places that love is a "double" affect.[73] In complete accordance with the petrarchan discourse, he gives guidelines for the musical representation of "lovesick glances," "burning eyes," "love's sighs," seeking the beloved, the sweetness, or bitter-sweet of love.[74] By consistently choosing musical extracts dealing with love thematics to accompany his explanations on the *loci topici* Heinichen also highlights love thematically above the other affects.

Not only the bitter-sweet of petrarchan love poetry but also its sensuality was a constituent of musical love discourses. A large part of Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* is devoted to the humors and the physiological origins of human emotions (cf. chapter 3). In this context Kircher explains, among other things, how visual perception can awaken love at first sight. This "love-spell" operates, in accordance with petrarchan tradition, "through the eyes": "under each other's gaze they [the lovers] cast the light of their eyes on one another and with them their life-spirit."[75] Because sight perceives the external beauty of the beloved, the lover's soul is moved and these emotions in turn influence the external senses.

Thus physiology furnishes an affective–philosophical background for one of the most common petrarchan metaphors, that of the bewitching effect of the eyes. Another petrarchan metaphor, that of lovesickness, is also explained by Kircher in terms of the physiological nature of affect. As emphasized in philosophy also, love always desires to be loved in return, so that the union of the two lovers may lead to bliss or, in the musical discourse, to "love's harmony."[76] Therefore it is logical that unrequited love leads to unhappiness and even, because of its physiological nature, to sickness:

> Hieraus folget / warum Abwesend=Liebende solche grosse und gefährliche Zufäll erleiden / auch bis auf die Bleiche und Schwachheit: dann in dem 1. das Gemüt deß Liebenden ohnnachläsig an das Geliebte gedencket / und

dardurch die Speis nicht recht verkochet / also daß der gröste Theil als überflüssig ausgeworffen / der geringere aber der darzu noch roh und unverkocht ist / zur Leber geführet wird / da weil sie auch nicht recht ausgearbeitet wird / so wird gar wenig / auch nicht das beste Geblüt / durch die Blutadern in den Leib ausgeführet / dannenhero aus Mangel und Crudität der Speis / werden die Glieder geschwächet und bleich gefärbet. Die 2. Ursach ist / daß der Geist / welcher der Seelen Fuhrwagen / und ein sonderbares Instrument derselben ist / unnachläsig zu dem Bildnus deß Geliebten / so der Phantasy allezeit für Augen schwebet / sich hinziehet / und daselbsten sich resolviret: denselben nun zu erquicken / bedarf man gar viel reines Geblüts / wann aber das reine liechte Geblüt sich resolviret / so wird das grobe und schwartze den Gliedern und ihrer Nahrung hinderlassen: dardurch wird aber der Leib bleich und schwach / und der Liebende wird melancholisch / da die Melancholy aus solchem dicken und schwartzen Geblüt gezeuget wird / welche wann sie mit ihren Dünsten den Kopf einnimbt / so trücknet sie das Hirn / und kräncket die Seel mit greulichen Bildern / daraus entstehet die Veränderung der Puls / und eine gantz unrichtige Bewegung der Geister / daher underschidliche Affecten entstehen.

This is why separated lovers suffer such serious and dangerous disorders, even pallor and weakness. In the first place, the lover's mind thinks ceaselessly of the beloved and as a result the meal is not properly digested, so that most of it is discarded as waste. But the lesser part, which is raw and uncooked, goes to the liver. Then, because it is not properly digested, insufficient and inferior blood passes through the veins into the body. Therefore the limbs grow weak and pale because of the inadequacy and crudity of the meal. The second reason is that the spirit, which is the vehicle and special instrument of the soul, turns ceaselessly to the image of the beloved, so that the fantasy always hovers before his eyes, expanding and dissolving. Now to revive himself a great deal of pure blood is needed, but if the pure clear blood is dissolved, then coarse, black blood obstructs the nourishment of the limbs. In this way the body becomes pale and weak and the lover becomes melancholic, since this thick, black blood produces melancholy, and when its vapours reach the head it drains the brain and sickens the soul with horrible images, which cause a change of pulse and an utterly false movement of the spirit that induces various affects.[77]

Contemporary humoral pathology classified love under melancholy, in accordance with the petrarchan conception of yearning, torment, or suffering love.[78] Lovesickness was viewed as a form of melancholy, a physical disease that could be healed by means of physiological medicine. Because it combined sensual perceptions and harmonic proportions, music could function as a physiological affect therapy. In contemporary sources it is specifically discussed as a remedy for melancholy.[79] Kircher describes the role of music as a medicine for the melancholic disease of love:

> Hieraus folget / die Music sei zum allermächtigsten / die Liebs=Kranckheiten zu vertreiben / dann weil sie gemeiniglich *melancholici* werden / aus der Melancholia aber allerhand Zufäll entstehen / so ist gewiß / wann einer durch eine proportionirte Harmony / solch dicke *massam* deß melancholischen Geblüts zertrennen könte / würde er den Liebender zu voriger Harmony und Ordnung verbringen.
>
> From this it follows that music is most powerful in dispelling love sicknesses. For since these usually turn into melancholia, out of which all sorts of disorders arise, then surely if proportioned harmony could dissolve a thick mass of melancholy blood, it would restore the lover to his previous harmony and order.[80]

Many further contemporary theorists in music and medicine have discussed the healing effect of music. The musical healing of lovesickness is always mentioned explicitly and sometimes described at length in this connection.[81] As late as the mid-eighteenth century Ernst Anton Nicolai, professor of medicine at Halle, provides guidelines for the musical alleviation of lovesickness:

> Ist sie [die Liebe] aber zu heftig und kan ihres Gegenstandes nicht theilhaftig werden, so entstehet eine grosse Traurigkeit und es ist nichts leichter, als daß der Mensch in eine Melancholie, Aberwitz und Raserey verfällt. . . . Man hat vornemlich darauf zu sehen, daß das Gemüth auf andere Gegenstände gelencket, und der Affect geschwächt und unterdruckt werde. Die Musik soll diese heilsame Wirckung bey einem vornehmen Frauenzimmer in Franckreich gethan haben . . . . Und das hat um so viel eher geschehen können, da die Musik geschickt gewesen, einen angenehmen Affect zu erregen, wodurch nothwendig das Mißvergnügen ist geschwächt und vermindert werden.
>
> But if [love] is too powerful and cannot attain its object, then a great sadness is born and nothing is easier than for the person to fall into melancholy, madness and fury. . . . Above all it must be ensured that the heart is turned towards other matters and that the affect is weakened and suppressed. Music apparently had this healing effect on a woman in France . . . . And this could have happened much sooner, since music would have been able to excite a pleasant affect, through which dissatisfaction is necessarily weakened and reduced.[82]

Such statements demonstrate the general prevalence of the bitter-sweet concept of love derived from petrarchism on the one hand and the close connections between love, lovesickness, and music on the other. These associations were succinctly summarized in a poem by Paul Fleming:

> Der wollustvolle Klang
> verzaubert uns den Sinn
> und macht uns sehnend krank,
> doch durch ein süßes Weh.

Voluptuous sound
bewitches our senses
and makes us sick with desire,
though through sweet woe.[83]

Theology

In his *Geistlicher / Gold=Kammer / Der / I. Bussfertigen / II. Gott= Verlangenden / und / III. Jesus=Verliebten Seelen* Erasmus Francisci provides reflections on and descriptions of every form of sacred love. He consistently focuses his presentations of sacred love on the bitter manifestations of love highlighted in petrarchism. The faithful soul's experience of divine love has, in his opinion, four "levels":

> Der erste wird genannt eine *verwundete Liebe* / nemlich / wenn die Seel mit dem Strahl der Göttlichen Liebe verwundet wird . . . . Den andern Grad der wahren Liebe [ist] die *gefangene Liebe*. . . . . Die dritte ist eine *erkranckte* Liebe / (oder Liebes= Kranckheit) . . . . Die vierdte ist die *verzehrende Liebe*.
>
> The first is called a *wounded love*, namely because the soul is wounded by the radiance of divine love. . . . The next level of true love [is] a *captive love*. . . . The third is a *diseased* love (or love-sickness) . . . The fourth is a *consuming love*.[84]

Francisci unequivocally restricts biblical love to its bitter aspects: he also speaks of the "torment of blessed love."[85] Because of their exclusive emphasis on the agony of love, Francisci's pronouncements are at odds with medieval mysticism, with which they share certain metaphors (cf. chapter 5).

The affective ambivalence of love is particularly evident in the Passion story, in which Christ's love leads directly to his parting, suffering, and death. Heinrich Müller offers a definition of love that corresponds to the second level of love in Francisci's list, for he argues that it is "love's wont to make the lover the servant of the beloved."[86] Such "captive love" (Francisci) recalls the "willing captivity" of petrarchism. According to Müller this is why Christ took on the "guise of servant."[87] Similarly Johann Gerhard argued in his earlier Passion meditation that Jesus was "taken captive" in the Garden of Gethsemane not by the soldiers but by his love.[88] Johann Jacob Rambach, in his *Betrachtung der Thränen und Seufzer Jesu Christi*, argued that Jesus' tears and sighs during the Passion sprang from his love—were indeed palpable proof of it (cf. chapter 3). Thus the same external characteristics were ascribed to sacred and secular love:

> O wie heiß müssen diese Thränen gewesen seyn, da sie durch die Liebe, die eine Flamme des HErrn ist, zubereitet worden.

> Oh, how hot must these tears have been, since they were prepared with love, which is a flame of the Lord.[89]

As in secular love, so apparently in the realm of sacred love likewise "being sad and being in love are two quite closely related matters" (Mattheson). In the Passion meditation this conceptual ambivalence acquires an additional semantic level through the combination of earthly parting and eschatological salvation in Christ's crucifixion. Rambach accordingly describes Jesus' love, the source of his tears and sighs, as a truly bitter-sweet emotion:

> Sehet diese traurige Liebe, und diese liebreiche Traurigkeit war der Ursprung dieser Thränen.
>
> Behold this sad love, and this loving sadness was the origin of these tears.[90]
>
> Wie demnach seine Thränen aus keinem andern Brunnen, als aus dem Affect einer traurigen Liebe daher geflossen; so haben auch seine Seufzer keinen andern Ursprung gehabt, als den Affect eines innigen Mitleidens.
>
> Therefore just as his tears flowed from no other source than the affect of a sad love, so also his sighs had no other origin than the affect of inner compassion.[91]

Here Rambach's use of the word "affect" clarifies his statements in terms of contemporary descriptions of affect in art theory and philosophy. As stated in the previous chapter, human emotions were increasingly defined as affective fields; the same apparently applied to Christ's emotions. For the poet or composer working on the Passion—Johann Sebastian Bach had Rambach's book in his possession[92]—such statements provided guidelines for the artistic articulation of the subject: Jesus was moved by the *affect* of love. This should, in accordance with artistic conventions governing this affect, be represented musically as bitter-sweet.

In the sacred love discourse, intensified expression of affect and marinist metaphor are most evident in descriptions of the power of love. Like the marinist love idiom, such descriptions are aimed at the affective involvement and amazement of the reader through rhetorical accentuation and intensification of this power. In the following extract from Francisci's *Geistlicher Gold=Kammer*, for example, divine love is described as an astonishing work of art:

> O wunderbare und unerschätzliche Krafft der Liebe! Sie neiget den höchsten GOtt zur Erden; erhebt das Gemüt nach dem himmlischen Vatterlande. Sie leimet und knüpffet GOtt und Menschen zusammen / zur ewigen Herrlichkeit. Sie macht GOtt zum Menschen; den Menschen zum GOtt: den Zeitlichen ewig: den Unsterblichen sterben; den Sterblichen unsterblich: den Untersten /

> zum Obersten; den Niedrigsten / zum Höchsten: den Feind / zum Freunde: den Knecht / zum Sohn: den Abscheulichen / herrlich und glorwürdig: das Kalte / feurig: das Tunckle / hell; (das Finstere / liecht;) das Harte / flüssig. Denn meine Seele ist zerschmoltzen. (Meine Seele ist herausgegangen nach seinem Wort!) O wundersames Wort! O Hertz=erfreuliches Wort!
>
> O wonderful and inestimable power of love! It inclines the most high God towards earth; lifts the heart towards the heavenly fatherland. It cements and binds God and man in eternal splendour. It makes God man, and man God; the temporary eternal; the immortal to die, the mortal immortal; the lowest highest, the humblest greatest; the enemy a friend; the servant a son; the repulsive splendid and glorious; coldness fiery; darkness bright; (blackness light); hardness liquid. For my soul is melted. (My soul has gone out after His Word!) O wonderful Word! O heart-gladdening Word![93]

Francisci describes how divine love awakens admiration. It is capable of this affective impact not only because of its strength, but because it can, as in petrarchan traditions, inflame, illumine, and melt a dark and stony heart. The rhetorically powerful accumulation of antitheses and pictorial metaphors in his description of love derives from the affect-laden marinist love discourse.

In Georg Christian Lehms' collection *Helden=Liebe der Schrifft*, mentioned above, the "love-incidents" of the Old Testament were poetically articulated in such a way that they bore all the characteristics of secular love stories. Lehms' description of the Pharaoh's love ode to Sarah takes the form of a marinist lover's lament:

> So war demnach ein Blitz aus deinen schönen Sonnen
> Der Räuber meiner Lust / der Ursprung meiner Pein;
> . . .
> Der Seuffzer Ebb und Fluth war in des Hertzens Gründen /
> Der Klagen Ach und Pein / der Grillen trüber Dunft /
> Der Schmertzen Grausamkeit in meiner Brust zu finden /
> Diß alles aber macht der Seelen heisse Brunst.
>
> Therefore a flash from your beautiful suns
> Was the robber of my happiness, the source of my pain;
> . . .
> My sighs ebbed and flowed in the depths of my heart;
> The woeful ache of lamentation, the dark vapour of caprice,
> The pains of cruelty resided in my breast,
> Yet all this makes the soul hot with ardour.[94]

In his preface Lehms explains that he based his descriptions of love on well-known secular love poems. He cites the petrarchan poetry of Opitz and

Ziegler as well as the gallant poet Hunold (Menantes) as his literary models;[95] evidently the theological and philosophical parallel between earthly and sacred love described in the previous section also gave rise to a discursive connection between the two.

Like secular love, sacred love also had sensual characteristics; it expressed itself physically and entered the body via the senses. Heinrich Müller regarded visual perception as a first step toward love: "the eyes are ushers of love."[96] In his *Göttlichen Liebes=Flamme* Müller states that God gave man the external senses so that he could experience His love in the "Book of Nature":

> Diese Liebe zu empfinden hat Gott uns alle innere uns äussere Sinne / Kräffte / Glieder anerschaffen. Ach! das grosse Creatur=Buch hat so viel tausend Blätter als Geschöpffe GOttes / darauff der Finger GOttes nichts anderes gedruckt hat als Liebe / Liebe.
>
> In order for us to experience this love God gave us all external senses, powers and limbs. Ah! The great book of nature has as many thousand pages as God's creatures, on whom God's finger has imprinted nothing else but love, love.[97]

Through the physiological effects of sensory perception this sensual love should lead to love for inner beauty, since this may be read from the picture of the outward beauty. In his description of this process Francisci combines physiological affect theories with the Christian mirror analogy:[98]

> Er [der Mensch] soll gehen / durch die Bildungen in das Uberbild / durch die auswendige sinnliche Ubung / innwendig in sich selber / in den Grund / da das Reich GOttes in der Warheit ist. . . . Also zeucht sich die Liebe höher auf / in eine Abgeschiedenheit / und wird der weisen Liebe gleich; kommt über alle Bilder / Form und Gleichniß / und also / durch die Bildungen / über die Bildnissen.
>
> He [man] should progress through the features to the overall image, through outer sensual exercise to his inward self, the foundation, for the kingdom of God resides in truth. . . . Therefore love rises higher in absence and becomes like wise love; it rises above every picture, form and likeness and thus, through the features, above the images.[99]

This theological principle, the sublimation of love to the ultimate love of a divine, inner beauty, has two parallels in contemporary love poetry: both the neo-Platonic love of petrarchan poetry (cf. chapter 1) and the precious love of gallant poetry (cf. below) should ideally be sublimated to an introspective love.

Metaphors of sensuality were extensively employed in mystical descriptions of love in Lutheran devotion. Thus Heinrich Müller describes the

principle of love activated by faith as the physical indwelling of Christ in the heart of man:

> Das Glaubens=Auge sihet über sich in GOTTES Hertz / empfindet und schmäcket die süsse Liebe GOTTES / darinnen diß Hertz als in einem feuerigen Backofen brennet / ja zündet das Feuer immer mehr und mehr an / daß das brennende Hertz GOttes für Lieb nicht weiß zu bleiben / darumb flehet er der Seelen: Wende deine Augen von mir / denn sie machen mich brünstig / sie bewegen mich / sie überwinden mich / du hast mir das Hertz genommen mit deiner Augen einem. Der Glaube rührt Gottes Hertz / und bewegts zur Erbarmung. Mein Hertz bricht mir / daß ich mich dein erbarmen muß. . . . Durch den Glauben wohnet Christus in unsern Hertzen / da haben wir ein gantzes Hertz in uns mit aller seiner Liebe.
>
> The eye of faith sees beyond itself into the heart of God. It senses and tastes the sweet love of God, in which His heart burns as in a fiery oven. Yes, it ignites the fire ever more, so that God's burning heart cannot survive for love. Therefore He implores the soul: turn your eyes to me, for they fill me with desire, they move me, they overpower me, you have stolen my heart with your eyes. Faith touches God's heart and moves it to pity. My heart breaks so that I must pity you. . . . Through faith Christ dwells in our hearts, for we have a whole heart in us with all His love.[100]

Here the medieval mystical metaphor of indwelling is modernized: only through faith can divine love be manifest in man, but through the sensual effects of physiology it becomes truly perceptible.

Moral Philosophy

Descriptions of sensible love in the moral–philosophical writings of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are decisively petrarchan in nature. The enduring currency of the petrarchan view of love is partly explained by the fact that the concept of love in French gallant poetry was based on petrarchan foundations.[101] Gallant love also remained unrequited and was therefore equally sorrowful. As in new-Platonic petrarchan love it was precisely the element of unattainability that could render gallant love's yearnings sensible, as it enabled the rejected lover to sublimate his desire to a "sensitised platonic spiritual friendship."[102] The unattainable lady and the lover's heartache therefore remained a significant component of the gallant love discourse, since they formed "a realist-petrarchan programme of relations between the sexes"[103] within the framework of the cultivated ideal of friendship.

Das Neu=eröffnete Liebes=Cabinet des galanten Frauenzimmers (1694) by the Weissenfels poet Talander (pseudonym of August Bohse) shows how gallant and petrarchan love are combined in discourse. The book tells the

story of the "agreeable love troubles"[104] of a lovesick woman, who is saved by correct use of her common sense. Bohse describes the girl's tears and sighs in the petrarchan tradition as symptoms of lovesickness[105] and extols the "most delightful emotional confusion" that a kiss can produce.[106] However, he also warns against the effects of the simultaneous experience of different affects, which can lead to lovesickness:

> . . . weil doch von so starcken Affect viele andere / als Zorn / Haß / Traurigkeit /Furcht / Verzweifelung / und dergleichen mehr / als an einer Ketten hinter sich hergeschleppet werden / und dannenhero bey öffters besiegeter oder verdunckelter Vernunfft ziemliche Schwachkeiten mit unterlauffen . . . .
>
> . . . for such strong affects drag many other affects behind them like a chain, such as anger, hatred, sadness, fear, despair and more; and thus, if common sense is frequently overcome or dulled, considerable weaknesses creep in also . . .[107]
>
> In Summa / die Liebe ist ein Gifft; welches / so es zur Artzeney dienen soll / trefflich genau muß abgewogen werden; wo aber diese Behutsamkeit fehlet / bringet sie eine Seuche dem Gemüthe zu / entkräfftet den Leib / und hemmet manchem seine Wohlfarth.
>
> In sum, love is a poison, which, if it is to serve as a medicine, must be measured with precision; but where such care is not taken it infects the heart, weakens the body and for some inhibits well-being.[108]

Bohse cites an Italian poet as the model for his literary description of love and wishes that he himself possessed the Italian's talent:

> Hier wündschete ich mir jenes berühmtes Italiäners fürtrefliche Feder / dessen Wunder=Bücher von der *Venus* eigenen Hand auffgesetzet zu seyn / und nach deren verliebten Balsam jedwenes Wort zuschmecken / einer von denen sinnreichsten *Poët*en unsrer Zeit bekennet / und alsdenn wolte ich mich getrauen / diejenige Süssigkeit dem geneigten Leser mit lebhafften Farben vorzustellen / welche unsere zwey Verliebten nach ihrem Abschiede in ihren eigenen Gedancken beyderseits austheileten.
>
> Here I wish I had the superb pen of that famous Italian whose wonder-books seem to be set down in Venus's own hand and whose every word smacks of her amorous balsam. [He is] recognised as one of the cleverest poets of our time and therefore I shall venture to present that sweetness to the sympathetic listener in lively colours, of which our two lovers can each partake in their own thoughts after parting.[109]

Bohse can only be referring to Giambattista Marino; the *Adone* was described by many German poets as a "wonder-book" (cf. Hofmannswaldau's *Pallast*

der Liebe). Thus in Bohse's gallant work the conception of love is still characterised by affective simultaneity, marinist virtuosity and sensuality, as well as petrarchan oxymora.

German moral philosophers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, however, rejected the petrarchan–gallant concept of love because it was not sensible and therefore not virtuous to love an unattainable lady. Lutheran ethics held that true love should awaken reciprocal love and be consummated in a love union, whether that be the earthly union of marriage or spiritual union through faith in God.[110] From the Lutheran viewpoint the ideal, sensible love union was not unrequited platonic love, but marriage, in which love was reciprocated. Thus Christian Thomasius had two reasons for rejecting one-sided petrarchan and gallant love. Firstly, it was not reciprocated and, secondly, it was an insult to common sense:

> Derowegen ist abermahls aus dieser Ursache abzusehen / daß viel *Scribent*en ihren *Concept* von einer vernünfftigen Liebe nicht wohl eingerichtet / wenn sie in Vorstellung derselben solche Personen einführen / die für Liebe gegen ein Frauen=Volck / das sie nicht wieder lieben wil / kranck werden / oder wohl gar sterben. Zugeschweigen / daß es der Vernunft zu wieder ist etwas zu lieben / daß wir nicht erhalten können / weil die erste Regel des menschlichen Willens darinnen bestehet / daß wir nichts begehren sollen / was uns unmöglich ist.
>
> But therefore it can be seen from this that many writers are misguided in their conception of sensible love, if in their representation of it they introduce persons who, out of love for a woman who will not love them in return, no longer wish to live, become sick or even die. Not to mention that it goes against common sense to love something we cannot have, because the first rule of human will is that we should not desire what is impossible for us.[111]

Such thorough criticisms of unattainable love and bitter-sweet love discourses inadvertently demonstrate that these were widely prevalent. Schottelius had earlier rejected them on similar grounds, but using the same wealth of metaphor—again demonstrating their broad circulation. If one permits love without virtue, it will end, according to Schottelius, in sorrow:

> Die Liebe beschleichet manchen / ehe er dero Ankunft gewahr worden / beherschet mit williger unabwendlicher Gewalt / nimt den Liebhaber ein mit lauter Wolgefallen / pflegt aber zuschliessen mit Reu / Leyd / Schimpff und Mißgefallen und beut lauter Zucker und Honig / sättiget aber mit Gall und Wermut.
>
> Wunderlich geschiehet die Bemeisterung der Liebe / der Einzug schleicht durchs Auge ins Hertz / und ehe mans gedenket / sind Hertz und Neigungen durchverklebet in mancherley Art Liebespech.

> Love creeps up on some before they are aware of its arrival. It masters with gentle but inescapable force, captures the lover merely by pleasing him, but in the end fosters regret, pain, disgrace and dislike; it offers him nothing but sugar and honey, but feeds him gall and wormwood.
>
> Love's mastery takes place in a wondrous way. It creeps through the eye into the heart and, before one can think, heart and affections are cemented thoroughly in some amorous misfortune.[112]

All the traditional metaphors are present: foolish infatuation begins with looking at a beautiful woman, love overpowers the lover and confuses him with conflicting emotions. Thus it leads finally and inevitably to heartache. The vehemence of the philosophers' pronouncements and their detailed lists of all the aspects of the petrarchan concept and discourse of love that should be rejected indicate that both were still in broad circulation.[113]

PERSPECTIVE

The fashionable preference for love in poetry and music was supported by contemporary theology and philosophy. It was regarded as a highly significant human passion both in the arts and in theology and moral philosophy of the baroque era. Analyses of the concept and discourse of love have, moreover, provided wide-ranging analogies between conceptions of love in poetics and music theory on the one hand and theology and moral philosophy on the other. Not only secular but also theological and "sensible" love was consistently described in petrarchan oxymora and sensual marinist metaphors as the simultaneous experience of different and opposing emotions. Because both secular and religious love discourses bore the stamp of petrarchism, this affective ambivalence also moved on to another level. Sacred and secular love were so similar to one another in discourse that the borders between the two often became blurred.[114]

Love was highlighted in mysticism even more than in other areas of Lutheran theology. The double ambivalence of the affect of love manifested itself most emphatically here also, because the mystical lover—like his petrarchan counterpart—yearned for Jesus as for an unattainable beloved. Thus Lutheran mysticism was one of the causes of the continuing popularity of the bitter-sweet petrarchan love discourse, even though the latter was repudiated by Lutheranism on ethical grounds. In the following chapters the poetic and musical articulations of mystical love will be analyzed and compared.

NOTES

1. 1 Cor 13:13b.

2. Christian Friedrich Hunold, *Menantes Academische Neben=Stunden allerhand neuer Gedichte / Nebst Einer Anleitung zur vernünftigen Poesie* (Halle: Zeitler, 1713), preface, A7v-B2r. Cited in Thomas Borgstedt, "'Tendresse' und Sittenlehre. Die Liebeskonzeption des Christian Thomasius im Kontext der 'Preciosité'—mit einer kleinen Topik galanter Poesie," in *Christian Thomasius (1655–1728). Neue Forschungen im Kontext der Frühaufklärung*, ed. Friedrich Vollhardt (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997), 428.

3. Borgstedt, "'Tendresse' und Sittenlehre," 428.

4. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X libros digesta* (Rome: Corbelletti, 1650, reprint ed. Ulf Scharlau, Hildesheim: Olms, 1970).

5. Andreas Hirsch, *Kircherus Jesuita Germanus Germaniae redonatus / sive Artis Magnae de Consono & Dißono Ars Minor / Das ist / Philosophischer Extract und Auszug / aus Athanasii Kircheri Musurgia universali / in 6 Bücher verf.* (Schwäbisch Hall: Laidig, 1662). Hirsch's translation of Kircher's *Musurgia* is used throughout; only passages from Kircher not transcribed by Hirsch are quoted directly from Kircher.

6. Hirsch, *Kircherus Jesuita Germanus Germaniae redonatus*, 158.

7. Hirsch, *Kircherus Jesuita Germanus Germaniae redonatus*, 166.

8. Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Herold, 1739, facsimile ed. Margarete Reimann, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 72.

9. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 16.

10. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 219. Cf. Neumeister 1712.

11. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 129. Cf. chapter 2.

12. For example, Tuomo Mannermaa, "Freiheit als Liebe," in *Freiheit als Liebe bei Martin Luther. 8th International Congress for Luther Research in St. Paul, Minnesota, 1993: Seminar I Referate/Papers*, ed. Dennis Bielfeldt and Klaus Schwarzwäller (Frankfurt/Main: Lang, 1995), 11ff.

13. Cf. Antti Raunio, *Summe des christlichen Lebens. Die "Goldene Regel" als Gesetz der Liebe in der Theologie Martin Luthers von 1510–1527* (Mainz: Von Zabern, 2001), 181: "Luther emphasises that faith is a knowledge that must come from without. The knowledge of faith leads to the affect that is divine love itself." Also Rainer Vinke, "' . . . aber die Liebe ist die Grösste under ihnen.' Zu Luthers Auslegung von 1 Korinther 13," in Bielfeldt and Schwarzwäller, *Freiheit als Liebe bei Martin Luther*, 180.

14. Luther, WA 5: 35, 15. On the relationship between faith, love, and freedom see the articles in Bielfeldt and Schwarzwäller, *Freiheit als Liebe bei Martin Luther*.

15. Luther, WA 39: 314, 3–6.

16. Taking this a step further, the Word functions as the direct, physical instrument of faith and therefore of love (*sola verba*). Heinrich Müller describes this as follows: "Therefore He allows the Word to be preached, so that through faith He may live in your heart. For He has swathed himself in the Word." (Heinrich Müller,

Göttliche Liebes=Flamme Oder Auffmunterung zur Liebe Gottes: Durch Vorstellung dessen unendlichen Liebe gegen uns [Frankfurt/Main: Wust, 1676], 272).

17. Luther, WA 5: 35, 27–36, 2. On this passage see also Mannermaa, "Freiheit als Liebe," 5, 14.

18. Cf. Johann Anselm Steiger, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637). Studien zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit des Kirchenvaters der lutherischen Orthodoxie* [Doctrina et pietas 1, Johann-Gerhard-Archiv, 1] (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1997), 106ff.

19. In his *Sermon von dem ehelichen Stand* of 1519 (WA 2: 167, 22–23) and other writings (the same passage may be found in WA 21: 67, 29–31 and WA 24: 533b, 1–2).

20. Thomas Borgstedt has demonstrated by means of several examples that Luther's apologia of marriage and his other explorations of the inevitability of man's sexual nature after the Fall led ultimately to a "biblical justification of sexuality in German gallant poetry" ("'Tendresse' und Sittenlehre," 422ff.).

21. Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, 1.

22. Johann Arndt, *Fünff Geistreiche Bücher, Vom Wahren Christenthüm, welche handeln von heilsamer Busse, hertzlicher Reue und Leid über die Sünde . . . . Anjetzo aufs neue zum dreyzehentenmal aufgelegt . . . meistentheils aus Magdeburgischer u. Riegischer Ed. Genommen . . . Welchen noch beyfüget 3 andere Kleine Bücher . . .* (Leipzig: Heinsius, 1730), book 5, 1105.

23. Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, 1147.

24. Erasmus Francisci, *Die Geistliche Gold=Kammer Der I. Bußfertigen / II. GOtt=Verlangenden / und III. JEsus=Verliebten Seelen; Deren wehklagende Reu=Begierden / gläubige Wünsche / und innbrünstige Seufftzer / Den Liebhabern der Himmels=Schätze zu Theil werden . . .* (Nuremberg: Endter, 1668), 625. The metaphors from the Song of Songs used by Francisci are part of the Lutheran mystical love discourse, which will be the subject of the next chapter.

25. See, for instance, Luther's description of the crucifixion as a love sacrifice in his Passion sermon "Am Karfeytag. Von dem gebett Christi am Creutz und Schecher zur rechten Hand, Luce 23" in Veit Dietrich's *Hauspostille*, (Nürnberg: Berg und Neuber, 1544), 237–240. I am grateful to Robin Leaver for pointing out this sermon to me. Cf. Alister E. McGrath, *Luther's Theology of the Cross. Martin Luther's Theological Breakthrough*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Blackwell 1997), 148–175.

26. Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, 67.

27. Johann Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens unsers HErrn Christi Jesu nach den vier Evangelisten / Also angestellet / daß wir dadurch zur Erkenntnis der Liebe Christi erwecket werden / unnd am innerlichen Menschen seliglich zunehmen mögen* (Jena: Steinmann, 1611), preface, b.

28. See also Raunio, *Summe des christlichen Lebens*, 247: "It is in the nature of divine love to dispense goodness. It proceeds from the Cross and loves the Cross. With this love, whose object is unworthy of love, God has loved us, and with this same love we should love our neighbour."

29. See Raunio, *Summe des christlichen Lebens*, 343ff.

30. See Luther, AS, 2: 58ff.

31. Luther, AS, 2: 62ff.

32. Luther, AS: 54; also Erdmann Neumeister, *Tisch des Herrn* (Hamburg: Kißner, 1722), 57.

33. Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, 201.

34. Heinrich Müller, *Evangelischer Hertzens=Spiegel / In Offentlicher Kirchen= Versammlung / bey Erklärung der Sonntäglichen und Fest= Evangelien / Nebst beygefügten Passion=Predigten* (Frankfurt/Main: Wust, 1679), 547.

35. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, preface, d.

36. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, 16.

37. Christian Thomasius, *Von der Kunst vernünfftig und tugendhafft zu Lieben. Als dem eintzigen Mittel zu einen glückseeligen, galanten und vergnügten Leben zu gelangen, Oder Einleitung Zur Sitten-Lehre* . . . (Halle: Salfeld, 1692), preface, b5vf: "[. . .] the deficiency and incompleteness of natural wisdom and philosophical ethics must be supplied from divine wisdom by true Christians. In a word: true philosophy must be a *manuduction* and guide towards God's knowledge, but of and in itself is powerless to achieve this divine knowledge." Compare also Christian Weise, *Ausführliche Fragen / über die Tugend=Lehre* (Leipzig: Gerdesius, 1696), 6–9: "A Christian must learn far more virtues than a philosopher has conceived of in words. [. . .] However, this is more easily attainable if one has first equipped oneself with the necessary ethical terms and definitions or another respected method."

38. See Thomas Borgstedt, *Reichsidee und Liebesethik. Eine Rekonstruktion des Lohensteinschen Arminiusromans* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), A.III; Werner Schneiders, *Naturrecht und Liebesethik. Zur Geschichte der praktischen Philosophie im Hinblick auf Christian Thomasius* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1971), 183–200. On associations with Stoic, Augustinian, Aristotelian, and Cartesian traditions in Thomasius' conception of love see Schneiders, *Naturrecht und Liebesethik*, 117ff. and 209ff.

39. See Friedrich Vollhardt, "Die Tugendlehren Christian Weises," in *Christian Weise. Dichter—Gelehrter—Pädagoge. Beiträge zum ersten Christian-Weise-Symposium aus Anlass des 350. Geburtstages, Zittau 1992*, ed. Peter Behnke [Jahrbuch für internationale Germanistik A37] (Bern: Lang, 1994), also Schneiders, *Naturrecht und Liebesethik*.

40. Christian Thomasius, *Von der Artzeney wider die unvernünfftige Liebe und der zuvorher nöthigen Erkäntnüß Sein Selbst. Oder: Ausübung der Sitten Lehre* . . . (Halle: Salfeld, 1696), title of chapter V: "That all other emotions can rightly be traced to love and hate." Compare Weise, *Ausführliche Fragen / über die Tugend=Lehre*, 183.

41. Weise, *Ausführliche Fragen / über die Tugend=Lehre*, 111: "[. . .] although among these love is first and foremost, so that we can almost say: love is the only *affect* [. . .]."

42. Justus Georg Schottelius, *Ethica Die Sittenkunst oder Wollebenskunst* (Wolfenbüttel: Weiß, 1669, facsimile ed. Jörg Jochen Berns, Bern: Francke, 1980), 141.

43. Schneiders, *Naturrecht und Liebesethik*, 223ff.

44. Thomasius, *Von der Kunst vernünfftig und tugendhafft zu Lieben*, dedication, a2vff.

45. Weise, *Ausführliche Fragen / über die Tugend=Lehre*, 84.

46. See Borgstedt, *Reichsidee und Liebesethik*, 117–122; Schneiders, *Naturrecht und Liebesethik*, 199ff. and 205ff.

47. Thomasius, *Von der Kunst vernünfftig und tugendhafft zu Lieben*, 190.

48. Thomasius, *Von der Kunst vernünfftig und tugendhafft zu Lieben*, 91; also Thomasius, *Von der Artzeney wider die unvernünfftige Liebe*, 112. Cf. Schneiders, *Naturrecht und Liebesethik*, 152ff.

49. Weise, *Ausführliche Fragen / über die Tugend=Lehre*, 84.

50. Francisci, *Die Geistliche Gold=Kammer*, 674.

51. Schottelius, *Ethica*, 146ff.

52. Thomasius, *Von der Kunst vernünfftig und tugendhafft zu Lieben*, 191.

53. Thomasius, *Von der Kunst vernünfftig und tugendhafft zu Lieben*, dedication, a3v. In Thomasius' writings, compared to earlier Lutheran ethics, human love had acquired a certain degree of independence; according to Schneiders, "the interest lies with man" (Schneiders, *Naturrecht und Liebesethik*, 159).

54. See Borgstedt, "'Tendresse' und Sittenlehre," 415ff.

55. Thomasius, *Von der Kunst vernünfftig und tugendhafft zu Lieben*, 180.

56. Georg Christian Lehms, *Helden=Liebe der Schrifft Alten und Neuen Testaments Zweyter Theil ebenfalls in 16. Anmuthigen Liebes=Begebenheiten mit beygefügten* Curieusen *Anmerckungen, Poetischen Wechsel=Schrifften und darzu darzu gehörigen Kupffern vorgestellet* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1734), preface, a4f.

57. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 17.

58. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 316ff.

59. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 318ff.

60. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 320.

61. Michael Bergmann, *Deutsches AERARIUM POETICUM oder Poetische Schatzkammer* (Jena: Mamphras, 1676), 719.

62. Selection from Bergmann, *Deutsches AERARIUM POETICUM*, 718–728.

63. Bergmann, *Deutsches AERARIUM POETICUM*, 614.

64. Bergmann, *Deutsches AERARIUM POETICUM*, 750ff.

65. Bergmann, *Deutsches AERARIUM POETICUM*, 515–520.

66. Bergmann, *Deutsches AERARIUM POETICUM*, 319.

67. Bergmann, *Deutsches AERARIUM POETICUM*, 319.

68. Bergmann, *Deutsches AERARIUM POETICUM*, 321.

69. Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, A599, A602, A608.

70. Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, B142.

71. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 16.

72. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 17.

73. George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment According to Johann David Heinichen* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 344.

74. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment According to Johann David Heinichen*, 348–367.

75. Hirsch, *Kircherus Jesuita Germanus Germaniae redonatus*, 321ff.

76. Hirsch, *Kircherus Jesuita Germanus Germaniae redonatus*, 326.

77. Hirsch, *Kircherus Jesuita Germanus Germaniae redonatus*, 327.

78. The most extensive contemporary discussion of the relationship between

love and melancholy is provided by Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy: The Third Partition. Love Melancholy* (Oxford: Henry Cripps, 1632, reprint ed. Thomas C. Faulkner, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

79. Music was also a medicine against *religious* melancholy, which could be caused by reflection on Christ's sufferings, but also by worldly matters such as poverty. Religious melancholy is described as a sinful ailment by Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* and Lutheran theologians such as Johann Olearius and August Pfeiffer. On religious melancholy and its musical remedies see Johann Anselm Steiger, *Melancholie, Diätetik und Trost* (Heidelberg: Manutius, 1996).

80. Hirsch, *Kircherus Jesuita Germanus Germaniae redonatus*, 327ff.

81. On musical remedies for lovesickness see Linda Austern, "Musical Treatments for Lovesickness: The Early Modern Heritage," *Music as Medicine. The History of Music Therapy since Antiquity*, ed. Peregrine Horden (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 213–245.

82. Ernst Anton Nicolai, *Die Verbindung der Musik mit der Artzneygelahrtheit* (Halle: Hemmerde, 1745, facsimile ed. Christoph Schwabe, Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1990), 44ff.

83. *Paul Flemings deutsche Gedichte*, ed. Johann Martin Lappenberg (Stuttgart: Litterarischer Verein, 1865), 351.

84. Francisci, *Die Geistliche Gold=Kammer*, 592ff. In these observations Francisci refers principally to the Song of Songs, which he describes as "the book of love."

85. Francisci, *Die Geistliche Gold=Kammer*, 603.

86. Müller, *Evangelischer Hertzens=Spiegel*, 547.

87. Müller, *Evangelischer Hertzens=Spiegel*, 547.

88. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, preface, ciiij.

89. Johann Jacob Rambach, *Betrachtung der Thränen und Seufzer JESU CHRISTI / In zweyen Predigten Am X. und XII. Sonntage nach* Trinitatis, 1725*, in der Schul=Kirche in Halle angestellet* (Halle: Waysenhaus, 1731), 23.

90. Rambach, *Betrachtung der Thränen und Seufzer JESU CHRISTI*, 24.

91. Rambach, *Betrachtung der Thränen und Seufzer JESU CHRISTI*, 68; also 57.

92. See Robin A. Leaver, *Bachs theologische Bibliothek: eine kritische Bibliographie. Bach's Theological Library: A Critical Bibliography* [Beiträge zur theologischen Bachforschung 1] (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler-Verlag, 1983), 150ff.

93. Francisci, *Die Geistliche Gold=Kammer*, 685ff.

94. Francisci, *Die Geistliche Gold=Kammer*, 16.

95. Francisci, *Die Geistliche Gold=Kammer*, preface, b2vff.

96. Müller, *Evangelischer Hertzens=Spiegel*, 547.

97. Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, 11ff.

98. See chapter 5.1.2.

99. Francisci, *Die Geistliche Gold=Kammer*, 596ff.

100. Heinrich Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Kuß / Oder Ubung deß wahren Christenthums / fliessend aus der Erfahrung Göttlicher Liebe . . .* (Frankfurt/Main: Wilde, 1669), 365ff.

101. Thomas Borgstedt ("'Tendresse' und Sittenlehre") and Jörg-Ulrich Fechner ("Die alten Leiden des jungen Werthers. Goethes Roman aus petrarkistischer Sicht." *arcadia, Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft* 17 [1982]: 1–15) have discussed the thematic and stylistic relations between enlightenment and petrarchan concepts of love.

102. Borgstedt, "'Tendresse' und Sittenlehre," 409.

103. Borgstedt, "'Tendresse' und Sittenlehre," 408.

104. August Bohse (Talander), *Neu=eröffnetes Liebes=Cabinet des galanten Frauenzimmers / Oder: Curiose Vorstellung der unterschiedlichen Politic u. Affecten / Welcher sich alle galante Damen im Lieben bedienen / vorgestellt von Talandern* (Leipzig: Groschuff, 1694), preface, A7.

105. Bohse, *Neu=eröffnetes Liebes=Cabinet*, 38ff.

106. Bohse, *Neu=eröffnetes Liebes=Cabinet*, 104.

107. Bohse, *Neu=eröffnetes Liebes=Cabinet*, preface, A7ff.

108. Bohse, *Neu=eröffnetes Liebes=Cabinet*, *Der Andre Theil*, preface, A4ff.

109. Bohse, *Neu=eröffnetes Liebes=Cabinet*, *Der Andre Theil*, 104ff.

110. See also Borgstedt, "'Tendresse' und Sittenlehre," 414–420.

111. Thomasius, *Von der Kunst vernünfftig und tugendhafft zu Lieben*, 288.

112. Schottelius, *Ethica*, 149.

113. The fatal heartache of Goethe's *Werther* in the later eighteenth-century (1774) attests to the fact that the literary tradition of unattainable, bitter-sweet love long continued to have a following even in the context of Enlightenment thinking. On the transmission of petrarchan traditions in Goethe's novel see Fechner, "Die alten Leiden des jungen Werthers."

114. A well-known example of the analogy between worldly and sacred love is the baroque emblem of *Amor und Anima*, in which Jesus and the faithful soul are represented as Cupid, god of love, and the lover.

Chapter Five

Mystical Love in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Lutheran Poetry and Theology

LUTHERAN MYSTICAL POETRY: FUSION OF SACRED AND SECULAR LOVE IDIOMS

Petrarch's bitter-sweet love for the unattainable beloved was employed by Lutheran poets to express love for Jesus. Standard petrarchan images were added to the bridal metaphors and images from the Song of Songs of medieval mysticism. Metaphors such as the melting of a heart of stone, being injured or made ill by love, being lost in love like a rudderless ship at sea, the fire and flames of love, sun and stars, jewels and precious stones were common to secular and sacred love poetry alike. The believer sighed and lamented just like the petrarchan lover, he burned with love, he suffered bitter-sweet pains, and hungered for "heavenly love-kisses."[1] The roles of lover and beloved are interchangeable in this sacred love poetry. Sometimes the lovesick soul begs Jesus for mercy, while at other times Christ seeks to melt the believer's stony heart. As argued in chapter 4, the dividing line between sacred and secular love poetry was blurred by the mixture of sacred and secular love language and the interchangeability of the roles of the lovers.

The petrarchan inventory of physical beauty was also adapted to express love of Jesus. The use of bodily metaphors in the context of religious love meant that the spiritual love poem was often very sensual. When Gottfried Feinler writes, "O how beautiful and wondrous lovely are / Your life-giving breasts that suckle me, dearest Jesus!,"[2] the erotic description of the female body is employed to express love for Jesus. Other meditations on the cross and *ecce homo* poems also include Christ's blood and wounds in the description of his physical beauty. Because Jesus' blood is evidence of his love for mankind, his wounds were often described in sacred love poetry as part of his wedding attire.

Since Jesus suffered and died on the cross for love, the combination of Lutheran crucifixion theology with sensual love metaphors led to a frequent articulation of Christ's death as a love-death. His wounds, symbols of his agonizing desire, became the physical location for the erotically described love union with the faithful soul. Such explicit descriptions of the sensual aspects of sacred love, redolent of secular love poems, contributed to the affective impact of Lutheran poetry. In the following poem by Gottfried Feinler the metaphors of physical beauty taken from the Song of Songs (chapters 4, 6, 7) concentrate on the breasts of the beloved. Here Shulamith represents not the soul (as in the traditional Lutheran biblical exegesis) but the crucified Jesus, from whose breasts the reconciling blood of Communion flows:

> Deine Brüste können / stärcken und das krancke Hertz erlaben/
> Trostes=Milch und Freuden=Nectar sie für matte Geister haben/
> Und wann in den Todes=Nöthen Marck und Safft und Krafft verschwinden/
> So kan man in diesen Brüsten einen schönen Lab=Truck finden.
>
> Your breasts strengthen and revive the stricken heart;
> They bear the milk of consolation and nectar of joy for faint spirits;
> And when, in peril of death, strength and courage may fade,
> Then we shall find a refreshing draught at these breasts.[3]

In this and other Lutheran mystical poems of its kind the "independence of the sensual element"[4] observed by Marie-Louise Wolfskehl derives from the mixture of sacred and secular love idioms.

Baroque mystical poetry, like its secular counterpart, was affectively intensified by powerful rhetoric, acuity, and virtuosity (cf. chapter 3). In the following Passion meditation Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg makes virtuosic use of acute metaphors, compound words, sound play, and rhyme schemes in her description of Christ's suffering on the cross:

> O Freud=versetzends Leid! O lust=erwerbends trauren!
> du schmertzen=stillungs=schmertz! O schwermut die uns muht
> in allem unmut macht!
>
> O joy-supplanting pain! O pleasure-winning sadness!
> Pain-stilling pain! O melancholy that gives us fortitude
> in all misfortune![5]

Greiffenberg uses her poetic virtuosity to represent admiration for Christ's sacrifice. Such affectively powerful devices do not feature in medieval mysticism but are typical of baroque mystical poetry.

The most significant difference between medieval and baroque mystical poetry is the Lutheran emphasis on the bitter aspects of love for Jesus. A love-

fusion in *unio mystica* was an enchanting prospect, but the desire for such union was painful, since according to Lutheran theology the sinful believer was not worthy to be part of Christ's divine nature. Because of this theological background Lutheran mystical poetry is characterized by a "dark, painful tone"[6] that did not feature in medieval, Catholic mysticism. In the following poem from his collection *Geistliche Buhlschafft und Liebes=Seufftzer* (1651) the hymn writer Johann Heermann asks himself how it is possible for him, as a sinful man, to be deserving of God's love and even union with God:

> Zu GOTT den Vater.
> O Wie so mächtig groß ist deine Güt' / O GOTT!
> Dein eingebohrnes Kind nimmt an sich unser Noth.
> Was hat Dich doch in mir für Gutes angeschienen?
> Wormit habe ich vermogt ein solches zuverdienen?
> Bey mir / da find ich nichts. Alleine deine Güte/
> Die dringt und zwinget dein und deines Sohns Gemüthe
> Zu lieben hertzlich mich. Wer bin ich das du mich
> So meinest / und dein Hertz mit mir vereinigt sich?
>
> To God the Father
> O how immensely great is Your goodness, O GOD!
> Your only Son takes our burden upon Himself.
> What good have You seen in me?
> How have I deserved this?
> In myself I find nothing. Only Your goodness,
> Which pierces You and Your Son and compels You
> To love me with all Your hearts. Who am I that You
> Should so think of me and unite Your heart with mine?[7]

In his deeply felt consciousness of human sinfulness ("How many, ah, how many are my grievous sins / There are more of them than the hairs of my head"[8]), Heermann focuses on the very question that underpinned the paradoxical Lutheran understanding of *unio*: how can divine perfection be united with human imperfection? Christ's indwelling in the heart of sinful man was only possible through God's loving grace (*sola gratia*). Because of this undeserved love the Lutheran believer was obliged to feel in his heart both love of God and repentance for his sins. A loving "spiritual courtship" must therefore be combined with contrite "love-sighs": in Lutheran mysticism love signified both the desire for sweet love union and a bitter awareness of its unattainability. The poetic language of petrarchism was by its nature particularly suitable for the representation of a paradoxical love relationship, since it too was based on the theme of unattainable love.

Another element that enabled the amalgamation of the petrarchan idiom with the mystical discourse is the ambivalent origin of petrarchan poetic

language. As discussed in chapter 1, Petrarch combined elements of medieval secular love poetry with the imagery of religious poetry and of the Song of Songs. Both sensual and spiritual images may be found in petrarchan poetry, and some petrarchan metaphors can be interpreted from either viewpoint. A similar ambiguity characterizes the Lutheran love poem: the metaphors of the wedding and the bridegroom employed by the mystics—although unequivocally spiritually interpreted—discursively placed the love between the believer and Jesus in the secular realm.

Lutheran Mysticism: "Union of the Ununifiable"

> "God joins Himself with you as closely and firmly as a bridegroom with his bride / you, poor worm, miserable dust, futile shadow, are worth nothing."[9]

Mysticism in Orthodoxy and Devotional Practice

In his observations on introspection and personal religiosity, Luther had cited mystics such as Bernard of Clairvaux and Tauler.[10] From the late sixteenth century onwards theologians such as Martin Moller, Philipp Nicolai, Johann Arndt and their followers drew increasingly on mystical thinking in Lutheran theology and devotion in order to satisfy the need for introspection in the religion of their time. There are both theological and non-theological grounds for the emphasis on individuality and emotionality of religious experience in early seventeenth-century Lutheran devotion. The need for nurture of the individual soul was heightened by plague epidemics, economic recessions, and the Thirty Years War.[11] At the same time theologians and pastors were arguing about the practical communication of Luther's reforms and the Formula of Concord in church, state, and congregation. In particular, the religious practice, charitable works, and devotion of the individual Christian posed problems to which there were no unequivocal solutions.[12] Various conclusions have been drawn in scholarly debate as to the historical and theological roots of a potential devotional crisis[13] on the one hand and its connection with the reception of medieval mysticism on the other.[14] The primary issue here is to investigate the development of the theological *discourse* under the influence of the revival of introspection and the resulting concentration on mystical texts.

The revival of mystical thinking was accompanied by a renewed interest in certain aspects of Orthodox theology, particularly in the area of introspective and emotionally intensified religious practice. The linguistic focus of theology shifted accordingly. Themes relating to introspective love for God or Christ became more important; these were expressed linguistically in love metaphors, bridal metaphors, and metaphors drawn from the Songs of Songs.[15] Johann Anselm Steiger argued that in addition to breaches with Orthodoxy, the Lutheran reception of mysticism also provided theological continuity.[16] Ele-

ments were borrowed from medieval mysticism that conformed to Lutheran theology but added to that theology a shift of accent in content and language toward individual devotion. The renewed interest in devotion and mysticism was characterized not by a breach with Orthodoxy, but by a concentration on certain introspective elements that already represented important themes in both Orthodoxy and mysticism. Because of the increasing need for individual religious experience, the emotional aspects of orthodox Lutheran theology were foregrounded. They were pedagogically intensified through reference to the theology and language of medieval mysticism. However, mysticism was always subordinated to the doctrine of justification in Lutheran theology; the powerful imagery of mystical texts served to reinforce Lutheran dogma.[17]

As a result of this reception into a new theological framework Lutheran mysticism differs fundamentally from medieval mysticism. *Unio mystica*, in the sense of a transcendental union between God and man that transcends the restrictions of identity, is fundamentally unattainable in the Lutheran theology.[18] Because of his sinful human nature—*simul justus et peccator*—even the reconciled and justified Lutheran could not be perfectly fused in love with Christ, whose *unio personalis* united human and divine nature.[19] Even in mysticism the barriers between God and man could not and should not be lifted because of the continuing ontological difference between the two.[20] In contrast to medieval mysticism, in which a mystical fusion could take place in visions and in *raptus mysticus*, the Lutheran conception of mysticism was fundamentally paradoxical: Lutheran *unio mystica* is a "union of the ununifiable."[21] Only true repentance combined with God's loving mercy enabled a union of faith in the believer's heart. According to Johann Arndt, God's indwelling in man is entirely dependent on his grace—*sola gratia*: "Inasmuch as God and the soul are one in such a union, although not by nature, but by grace."[22]

The nature of this union also differs from that of Catholic *unio mystica*. According to Johann Arndt, God dwells in man as in his own created image (cf. chapter 4):

> Was solte nun GOTT ihm besser und steter mit Liebe verbinden und vereinigen, als sein Ebenbild und Gleichniß? Wo solte GOtt lieber wohnen, als in seinem Ebenbilde? Mit wem solte er sich liebreicher vereinigen, als mit dem, den er zu seinem Bilde und Gleichniß erschaffen hat?
>
> What then should God better bind and unite with His love than His own image and likeness? Where should God prefer to dwell than in His own image? With whom should He be more lovingly united than with him whom He created in His own image and likeness?[23]

However, since divinity in man is only a reflection of God's divine nature within sinful human nature, God's indwelling in man accordingly exists only

the reflection of the eschatological, perfect union.[24] The relationship between divinity and humanity was often described as the relationship between an image and its mirror image: God is reflected in man, and is united with him in faith, but not in nature. This dialectic understanding of union affirmed God's love for man and his real presence, as well as man's sinful nature. Out of merciful love God unites himself with his mirror image, even though this reflection exists only in sinful man.[25]

As a result of these theological conditions, the Lutheran Christian was always aware of the unattainability of a mystical fusion of identity with God; he knew himself to be unworthy of this. Johann Heermann communicates this awareness in metaphors of unattainable love:

> Zu JESUS / meiner Seelen einigen Liebe.
> Nicht selten hat mein Hertz der Zweiffel eingenommen/
> Ob auch die Liebe Dir / HErr JEsu / sey willkommen/
> Damit ich dich beschenck'. Ach wer bin ich? wer Du?
> Die Gleichheit warlich will da übel treffen zu/
> Die doch nohtwendig ist / soll anders seyn die Liebe
> Von ungefärbter Art. Wann ich mich so betrübe/
> Dann kömmt mir tröstlich ein dein Wille / daß Du mir
> Befohlen / daß ich soll mit Liebe dienen Dir.
>
> To Jesus, my soul's only love.
> Often has my heart doubted
> Whether the love I give to You,
> Lord Jesus, is welcome! Ah, who am I? Who are You?
> Comparison, in truth, proves evil
> And yet is necessary, unlike love
> That is unstained. When I am troubled,
> I am comforted that You have commended
> That I should serve You with love.[26]

For the Lutheran the desire for mystical union was an ambivalent feeling. He longed for something that was unattainable because of his very nature. Fusion and oneness with Christ were impossible during his sinful, earthly existence, and could only be realized through a Christian life—in word, faith, and repentance—and a faithful death.[27] For these reasons the pain and repentance accompanying the desire for *unio mystica* had a greater impact in Lutheran mysticism than in its medieval counterpart. In this sense Lutheran mystical poetry is generally darker and more sorrowful in tone than its Catholic counterpart.

Jesus' presence in the heart of the believer through his physical reception in Communion should furnish a preview, a *figura*, of the eschatological *unio*.[28] To be worthy of this, the believer should first do true penance and then, in as

pure a state as possible, partake of Communion.[29] In the words of Heinrich Müller:

> Durch die Busse wird das Hertz bereitet. . . . Du küssest im Sakrament deinen liebsten Freund Jesum / ach! solte sich der Heyland mit unreinen stinckenden Lippen küssen lassen? Du trinckest im Abendmahl Blut auß seinen heil. Wunden / so schütte zuvor / wie die Schlangen / alles Sünden=Gifft von dir.
>
> Through repentance the heart is made ready. . . . In the sacrament you kiss your dearest friend, Jesus. Ah! Should the Saviour be kissed with impure, stinking lips? In Communion you drink the blood of His salvation. Your wounds weep before it like all the serpents' sinful poison.[30]

As in poetry, here too *unio mystica* is eroticized as a kiss. The theological distance between the sinful believer and God is likewise expressed in sensual terms: the sins are like poison, the sinner stinks.

The Lutheran's bitter-sweet desire for mystical love union found a suitable textual expression in the contemporary love discourse, based as it was on descriptions of unrequited love. By drawing the petrarchan love concept and discourse into medieval mysticism, this desire was not only poetically actualized, but also theologically intensified. The poetic language of petrarchism, which described an unattainable love in bitter-sweet metaphors, oxymora, and paradoxes, furnished an apt expressive medium for the Lutheran's ultimately unfulfillable mystical desire.

Allusion to contemporary love poetry also made Lutheran devotional writing poetically compatible. The association of devotional writers with leading authors in societies for promoting the vernacular contributed to the fact that Lutheran devotional literature often attained an unusually high literary standard for this genre.[31]

Mysticism in Pietism

Mysticism also played a significant role in Pietism. The idea of a personal relationship with God or Jesus described in mystical texts was picked up by leading Pietist theologians striving toward introspection, such as Johann Arndt and Philipp Jakob Spener. In the seventeenth century, medieval mystics such as Bernhard of Clairvaux, Bonaventura, and Tauler were quoted by Pietist and Orthodox theologians and poets alike. August Langen has shown the extent of these textual correspondences and similarities through extensive discourse analyses.[32]

From the late seventeenth century Pietists aspired to a far-reaching simplification of theology and religious practice. Mystical and spiritualist tendencies in theology, homiletics, and devotional literature were emphatically rejected,

first by the Halle theologian August Hermann Francke, then in the eighteenth century by Pietists such as Johann Jacob Rambach, Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, and Gerhard Tersteegen. This rejection was based on theological content as well as practical and discursive factors. The elevation of man through the erotically described *unio mystica* with Jesus was condemned as hubris.[33] Not only were the sensual metaphors of paradoxical love for Jesus regarded as being too worldly, but from the Pietist viewpoint they also overemphasized Christ's human nature at the cost of his divinity. For this reason, mystical poems were sometimes rewritten by Pietists. Metaphors seen as overly paradoxical, sensual, or complicated were replaced by simpler, more folk-like images, in which Jesus was no longer presented as an earthly lover, but was restored to his heavenly majesty.[34] In quietist poems particularly the believer had a passive, undemanding role in his relationship with Christ, and was completely dependent upon God's grace.[35]

The Pietists rejected not only the love metaphors of mystical poetry but also its rhetorical form. In their view rhetoric clouded the religious core of a sermon or devotional poem, and shifted the focus from the reader's personal feelings to his intellect. In this way a devotional text would become meaningless, because religious content can only be realized through the emotions: "God manifests Himself in the heart, not in the head."[36] The theological and poetic language of Pietism should therefore be simple and comprehensible to every believer. In this way a sermon or poem could be truly edificatory and contribute effectively to Pietist introspection. Rambach, one of Francke's successors as professor of theology in Halle, criticized the rhetorical complexity and intellectual demands of contemporary homiletics:

> Die Einfalt schliesset alle hohe poetische Redens=Arten, schwülstige epitheta oder Bey=Worte, kaltsinnige Wort=Spiele, oratorische Umschreibungen, hochgetriebne mystische, oder sonst paradox und fremdklingende Ausdrücke aus, samt solchen Formeln, die nach dem Hof= und Cantzeley=Stilo, oder gar nach Romänen und nach dem Theatro schmecken; und will hingegen heilige, und der Biblischen Schreib=Art gemässe Redens=Arten haben.
>
> Simplicity excludes all lofty poetic idioms, bombastic epithets or adjectives, cold word-play, oratorical circumlocution, inflated mystical or otherwise paradoxical and strange-sounding expressions, including formulations that smack of court and chancery, or even of novels and the theatre; on the contrary, it should use sacred idioms in accordance with biblical writing.[37]

Rambach objects to the affective intensification of poetry and homiletics by means of rhetorical enhancement, paradoxical metaphor, or linguistic acuity. From a Pietist viewpoint the use of these devices proved that Lutheran devotion had become both too worldly and too intellectual during the seventeenth

century: secular images and empty rhetorical formulae were signs of hubris and deteriorating devotion.

Martin Brecht's comment that later Pietism did not always achieve the literary standard of Lutheran devotional literature[38] is partly explained by this shift within the reception of mysticism. Pietist mysticizing of Jesus was "sweeter" in color than that of Orthodox Lutheranism, because the desire for mystical union with Jesus was rejected in Pietist theology as hubris. In later Pietist poetry the desire for Christ was expressed more as a passive longing for divine grace and love. This longing was represented in simple language addressed to the soul rather than the mind. As a result the sacred love-language of Pietism lacks the ambivalent tension and rhetorical power of Orthodox Lutheran devotion. Because of its folk-like imagery, which unequivocally emphasizes the sweetness of love for Jesus, Pietist poetry can come across as more effusive and less profound than Orthodox Lutheran poetry.

Discursive Parallels between Orthodox Lutheran and Early Pietist Mysticism

Prior to the sweeping Pietist reforms of individual devotion and pastoral practice at the end of the seventeenth century, the discourses of Lutheran and Pietist mysticism were very similar. Because early Pietists such as Arndt and Spener retained and even reinforced the Orthodox Lutheran interpretation of mystical thinking based on the doctrine of justification, the dividing lines between Orthodoxy, Lutheran devotion, and early Pietism were often unclear in theological and particularly artistic representations of mystical love during this period. In some Lutheran devotional texts mystical themes are described in a manner that comes very close to the language of Pietist mysticism.[39] In handling the theme of the love between the faithful soul and Jesus poets of various religious backgrounds often used the same language, based on medieval mysticism and brought up to date through the petrarchan idiom. Whether these are expressions of Lutheran devotion or of early Pietist mysticism is not explicitly stated, nor is it possible to establish this directly on the basis of the theme type or its textual representation.[40] One of the aims of this study is to show that the literary and theological sources of baroque descriptions of love often cannot be determined unequivocally. It will be demonstrated that the linguistic borders between theological dogmas, mystical love, biblical topoi, and secular love poetry were fluid. In this sense the representation of religious and secular love can scarcely be differentiated.

The dialectic framework of mystical themes in Lutheran and early-Pietist theology lent an additional religious dimension to the affective aspect of baroque poetry. The intensification of rhetorical language described in chapter 3 proved particularly useful and effective in the representation of mystical themes. Sermons and devotional writings were characterized by a heightened

emotionality expressed in affect-laden rhetoric and numerous allusions to the sensual perception of Jesus or God.[41] Moreover, the human affects furnished a reflection of their divine origin, according to the mirror analogy. Thus many theologians believed that earthly love was a reflection of God's perfect love. The feelings excited by sermons, devotional literature, or music could direct the believer's emotions back to their divine origin. The artistic or homiletic representation of particular affects thus functioned like an actual reflection, the explicit mirror of the divine. In this way the artistic representation of mystical love could generate love for Jesus in the believer.

Four thematic areas may be differentiated in Lutheran mysticism: bridal mysticism, Passion mysticism, Communion mysticism, and mystical desire for death. In the following sections the baroque mystical poem and devotional discourse will be examined according to these classifications. Texts by Orthodox Lutheran theologians and the writings of several early Pietists will be analyzed. The restriction of sources to works by Bach's librettists and authors included in his theological library[42] may serve on the one hand to demonstrate the often indistinct dividing line between Orthodoxy and early Pietism. On the other hand, Bach's collection, as a reflection of contemporary theological writing, may offer an insight into the similarity and mutual influence of the two mystical idioms. The extent to which both elements of medieval mysticism and allusions to the secular love-language of petrarchism are perceptible in the poetic and theological representations of mystical love will be demonstrated.

BRIDAL MYSTICISM

Poetry

Desire for the Heavenly Bridegroom

One of the most important thematic areas of mysticism is that of the bride and bridegroom. As in medieval poetry, Jesus was represented as the heavenly bridegroom of the faithful soul. During his earthly life the believer should experience a painful desire for the bridegroom. The desire for *unio mystica* is presented poetically in a language corresponding to both sacred and secular love concepts. Within this process the ambivalent idiom of the Song of Songs often serves as an artistic frame of reference. While the love described in that book is interpreted in religious terms, it can also be read as a story of sensual love between a man and a woman. In the preface to his *Göttliche Liebes=flamme*, a collection of poems based on the Song of Songs, the Nuremberg theologian Johann Michael Dilherr remarks that the "heart-breaking eloquence" of the Song of Songs can be compared to secular pastoral love poems.

> Wann man dieses Lied betrachtet / ist es ein Hirten=Gespräch / wie im *Theocrito* und *Vergilio*: Alle Gedanken sind von der Liebe alle Gleichnisse vom Felde / Bäumen / Gärten / Aeckern und Gewürtzen / nach des Landes Art / in welchem es geschrieben worden. Die Begebenheit der Liebe / welche verlanget / seufzet / zörnet / schmeichelt / verwundet / lobet / weinet / lachet / sich vergnüget / &c. sind hier meisterlich abgebildet / und solches alles dergestalt / wie keuschverliebte sich miteinander begehen möchten.
>
> If one examines this song, it is a pastoral dialogue as in Theocrites and Virgil. All thoughts are of love, all images are of fields, trees, gardens, meadows and spices, in keeping with the land in which it was written. The phenomenon of love, which desires, sighs, rages, cajoles, wounds, praises, weeps, laughs, enjoys, etc., is masterfully depicted and presented in the manner in which chaste lovers like to converse.[43]

Here Dilherr argues that the bitter-sweet contemplation of love in the Song of Songs corresponds to that of secular love poetry and that its textual representation also concurs in both genres. The secular poetry to which he compares the Song of Songs can only be petrarchan, given this combination of sad and joyful emotions in love. The subject matter and motifs common to both form the basis for the poetic language of Lutheran mysticism.

In his sacred song collection *Geistliche Seelen=Musik* (1668) Heinrich Müller composed paraphrases of the Song of Songs that are reminiscent of secular love poetry in their almost exaggerated descriptions, drawn out by an abundance of metaphors, of the lover's desire. In Song III, whose theme is 5:8 of the Song of Songs ("I charge you, O daughters of Jerusalem, if ye find my beloved, that ye tell him, that I am sick of love"), desire leads the believer to a love-death with secular overtones:

> 3. Da ich dich neulich kaum erblickte/
> Brand alsobald mein hertz in mir/
> Da ich mich an dir süß erquickte/
> Wuchs immer mehr die liebsbegier:
> Nu aber du dein angesicht/
> Verbirgest / Ach! mein hertz zerbricht.
>
> 4. Nun fühl ich erst die macht der flammen/
> Dein pfeil hat mich verwundet gar;
> Die kräffte schwinden all zusammen;
> Der leib eilt zu der todtenbaar;
> Mein angesicht wird bleich und blaß;
> Die wangen sind von thränen naß.
>
> . . .

17. O weh! die ohnmacht tritt zum hertzen;
Reicht äpffel / balsam / blumen zu:
Erquikket mich in meinem schmertzen/
Biß mich die süsse Todesruh
Erfreut / ich wil dennoch im tod
Dich lieben / o du liebesgott!

18. Wann nun der geist auß seiner höle
Gewichen / soll die grabschrifft seyn:
Hie schläffet die verliebte Seele
Die für süßbitterer liebespein
Gestorben / und doch gangen ein
Wo lieb und leben ewig seyn.

3. When of late I but caught sight of You,
My heart at once burned within me;
When You sweetly revived me,
Love's craving grew in me ever more:
But now that You hide Your face,
Alas, my heart breaks.

4. Only now do I feel the power of the flames,
Your arrow has wounded me deeply;
All my powers waste away;
My body hastens towards my death bier;
My face grows pale and wan;
My cheeks are wet with tears.

. . .

17. Alas! Unconsciousness nears my heart:
Give me apples, balsam, flowers,
Revive me in my torment,
Till death's sweet calm
Brings me comfort. Even in death
Shall I love You, O God of love!

18. When my spirit has departed from
Its place of suffering, my epitaph must be:
Here sleeps the loving soul
Who died of the bitter-sweet torment
Of love, and yet has gone
Where love and life are eternal.[44]

The poem reads like a petrarchan lover's lament. The lover fell in love with his beloved at first sight; because this love remained unrequited, however, it became

an incurable illness. The lover feels the fire of love, which has wounded his heart with its arrows; he finds no rest and yearns with tears and sighs for his inevitable love-death. Had Laura been the name of the beloved in this poem, then it would be a traditional petrarchan love ode in terms of structure and metaphor, though based on the Song of Songs. This illustrates the ease with which sacred poets could reconcile the language of petrarchism with that of the Song of Songs, thanks to the thematic and motivic similarities between the two idioms.

Sacred love poetry also employed the dialogue structure of the Song of Songs to represent the love between the faithful soul and Jesus. In the following poem by Sigmund von Birken the two lovers speak to one another as though in a love duet:

S. Gönn mir / daß ich dir erzehle /
Trauter Jesus / meine pein.
J. Klag und sage / liebste Seele:
Dir raum' ich die Ohren ein.
S. Nicht nur Ohren / auch das Herze
heischt von dir mein süßen Schmerze:
ach! verschmäh nicht meine Red.
J. Wann sie nur von Herzen geht.
S. Ach! mein Herz flamt aus dem Munde /
Das von deiner Liebe brennt.
J. Meines siehst du / in der Wunde /
Die mir hier die Seite trennt.
S. Jesus / eben diese Schrunden /
deine Wunden / mich verwunden /
die dir meine Sünde schlug.
J. Ja! ich deine Schulden trug.
. . .
S. Ich bin unten /du bist droben:
wann werd ich umarmen dich?
J. Nicht versaget / nur verschoben!
ewig solst du haben mich
S. Aber mir ist weh im Herzen.
Was wird meinen heißen Schmerzen
Trösten / wann ich warten muss?
J. Liebste! nim hier einen Kuß.
S. Dieser Trunk / den Durst nur wehret.
Jesus / hol mich bald zu dir.
J. Hoffnung sich mit Glauben nehret:
du bist schon im Geist bei mir.

S. Grant that I may tell You,
Beloved Jesus, of my torment.

J. Lament and speak, dearest soul:
I grant you my ears.
S. My sweet torment demands not only Your ears,
But also your heart:
Ah! Do not disdain my words.
J. As long as they come from the heart.
S. Ah! My heart flames out of my mouth,
Which burns with eternal love.
J. Mine you see in the wound
That divides my side here.
S. Jesus, this very cleft
Of Your wound, wrought by my sins,
Pains me also.
J. Yes, I carried your sins.
. . .
S. I am below, You are above:
When will I embrace You?
J. Not refused, only deferred!
You will have me for ever.
S. But my heart aches.
What will console my burning sorrows
If I have to wait?
J. Dearest! Take this kiss.
S. This drink but halts my thirst.
Jesus, take me to You soon!
J. Hope is nourished with faith:
Soon you will be with me in spirit.[45]

Within the formal framework of a dialogue based on the Song of Songs, mystical motifs (such as the love flaming from Christ's wounds) are combined with typical petrarchan metaphors (such as the ache of love and sweet torment). This combination of the two types of love poem furnishes an affect-laden representation of mystical desire. Here the dialogue structure makes it possible to elucidate the doctrines of reconciliation and justification to the reader, who identifies himself with the soul. Step by step Jesus explains to the soul that she[46] is justified through his love sacrifice and can therefore attain *unio mystica*. He appeases the desire for death generated by this anticipated joy with a kiss, which is here a mystical allusion to the presence of Christ in Communion, a reminder of eternal reconciliation.

The fact that Jesus' words in this poem are truly consoling in their impact is due to the effective deployment of the dialogue form. The poem is built of the soul's questions and Jesus' answers. Because of the regular meter and rhyme, Christ's soothing responses furnish the perfect response to the despaired questions of the faithful soul.

Love Union in Unio Mystica

However painful the Lutheran's desire for mystical union with Jesus may have been, the heavenly reward was great and joyful. Like their medieval counterparts, Lutheran representations of *unio mystica* were dominated by joyful affects. Yet contrasts may be demonstrated between Lutheran poems on *unio mystica* and medieval mysticism that can be traced back linguistically to contemporary love poetry and theologically to Lutheran teaching.

In his *Geistliche Seelen=Musik* Heinrich Müller translates the popular pseudo-Bernardine poem *Jesus dulcis memoria*. The most striking differences between the German translations and their Latin originals relate to those very aspects of Lutheran theology that differentiate Lutheran mysticism theologically from that of the Middle Ages. On the one hand, Müller emphasizes the bitter-sweet and sensual character of love for Jesus; on the other hand, he employs emotionally effective rhetorical figures in its representation.

> 31. Je länger du empfunden wirst / Je süsser wonne du gebierst Der keusch=verliebten seelen: Wann aber du von dannen fleuchst / Und ihr die liebesbrüst entzeuchst / Muß sie sich ängstlich quälen: Sie lächzt / Und ächzt / Sie verbleichet / Ihr geist weichet Für verlangen / Wil an deinen brüsten hangen.
>
> 32. Wie selig ist die keusche brunst / Wenn deine zarte liebesgunst Ein kaltes hertz entzündet! Wann deiner brüste süssen fluß / Und deiner lippen honigkuß Ein mattes hertz empfindet! Wie ein Lüfftlein / Kühler schatten / Unsrem matten Leib und leben / So kanst du erquickung geben.
>
> 31. The longer Your presence is felt, the sweeter the bliss You offer the chastely loving soul. If, however, You flee from her and withdraw love's breast from her, then she must tremble fearfully. She laughs and groans, she grows pale, her spirit grows weak with desire, she wishes to hang at Your breasts.
>
> 32. How blessed is chaste ardour when Your gentle love enflames a cold heart! When a faint heart enjoys the sweetness that streams from Your breasts and the honeyed kiss of Your lips! As a breeze coolly shades our weary bodies and lives, so You provide refreshment.[47]

Song VIII in Müller's collection paraphrases the Song of Songs 2:4, "He brought me to the banqueting house, and His banner over me was love." Here, even more than in the translations of medieval poetry, the sensual perception of love for Jesus through participation in Communion dominates:

> 1. Wie schmeckt es so lieblich und wol!
> Wie bin ich so truncken und voll!
> O selige stunden!
> Nun hab ich empfunden
> Was mich erfreuen und sättigen soll.

2. Wie hat mich mein Jesus erquickt!
Und an seine brüste gedrückt!
Wie reichlich beschenkket!
Mit wollust getränkket!
Wie lieblich biß in den Himmel entzückt!

. . .

6. Wie hat mich die wollust entzündt!
Wie hat mich die liebe verwundt!
Komt / schauet / die flammen
Die schlagen zusammen
Uber das hertze / das Jesum empfindt.

. . .

9. O liebster freund nim mich zu dir!
Wie lang soll ich wallen allhier?
Ich wünsche zu hangen /
Mit grossem verlangen /
An deinen brüsten: Ach nimm mich zu dir!

1. How sweet and good it tastes!
How drunk and sated I am!
O blessed hour!
Now I have received that
Which will delight and satisfy me.

2. How my Jesus has refreshed me!
And pressed me to His breast!
How richly blessed!
Drunk with lust!
How lovely to be enraptured heavenwards!

. . .

6. How lust has inflamed me!
How love has wounded me!
Come, see the flames
That whip together
Across the heart that receives Jesus.

. . .

9. O dearest friend, take me to You!
How long should I wander here?
I wish to hang
With great desire
At Your breast: ah, take me to You![48]

Müller's paraphrase of the Song of Songs is in the tradition of medieval mysticism (intoxication with love, fire, and heart metaphors), but echoes petrarchan love poetry in its strong emphasis on painful desire. The heightened sensuality of Müller's poem also points to this transformation of the mystical love concept. Each verse contains metaphors relating to the sensual perception of love (the taste of love, being drunk or sated with love, being saturated with love, Christ as exciter of physical lust). Although medieval mysticism may often be interpreted erotically,[49] sensual perception as a stage in the physiological development of love is less predominant in medieval texts.[50]

The triple amphibrachic meter, with a change to dactylic in the last line of every verse, generates an audible representation of the joy of love (cf. the dragging iambs of Müller's Song of Songs poem quoted above). The use of affectively powerful rhetorical figures (*exclamatio* in particular) and a judicious rhyme scheme demonstrate that baroque mystical poetry was influenced by contemporary secular love poetry.

Because the Lutheran believer could have a "foretaste" of eschatological *unio mystica* through participation in Communion (see discussion later in this section), a large number of *unio* poems were created for the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist. Philipp Nicolai's famous *Wächterlied*, often used as a Communion hymn,[51] celebrates union with Jesus in festive manner:

1. Wachet auff / rufft uns die Stimme/
Der Wächter sehr hoch auff der Zinnen/
Wach auff du Stadt Jerusalem.
Mitternacht heist diese Stunde/
Sie ruffen uns mit hellem Munde/
Wo seyd jhr klugen Jungfrawen?
Wolauff / der Bräutigam kompt/
Steht auff / die Lampen nempt/
Halleluja.
Macht euch bereit / Zu der Hochzeit/
Ihr müsset jhm entgegen gehn.
2. Zion hört die Wächter singen/
Das Hertz thut jr von Frewden springen/
Sie wachet und steht eilend auff:
Ihr Freund kommt vom Himmel prächtig/
Von Gnaden starck / von Warheit mächtig:
Ihr Liecht wird hell / jhr Stern geht auff:
Nu komm du werte Kron/
HErr JEsu Gottes Sohn/
Hosianna.
Wir folgen all / zum Frewden Saal/
Und halten mit das Abendmahl.

1. Awaken! The voices of the watchmen,
High on the battlements, call us.
Awaken, city of Jerusalem!
It is the midnight hour,
They call us with clear voices.
Where are you, wise virgins?
Be of good cheer, the bridegroom comes!
Get up, fetch your lamps!
Hallelujah!
Prepare yourselves for the wedding,
You must go to Him!
2. Sion hears the watchmen singing,
The heart leaps for joy,
It awakens and arises in haste:
Your friend comes from heaven in splendour,
Strong in grace, powerful in truth:
Your light will be bright, your star rises!
Come now, priceless crown,
Lord Jesus, Son of God!
Hosanna!
We all follow to the hall of joy
And celebrate Communion.[52]

Nicolai based his poem on the parable of the wise and foolish virgins from Matthew 25. The theme of the poem is the faithful soul's joyful anticipation of Jesus the bridegroom. Like the medieval mystics, Nicolai uses the biblical metaphors of the bridegroom and of marriage on the Last Day in his depiction of mystical love union. Nicolai's linking of this parable with the mystical Communion meditation is typically Lutheran. The biblical promise of union with Christ on the Last Day was reinforced in Communion. Participation in Communion thus gave the believer a preview of eschatological salvation: the Communion table became a heavenly "hall of joy," Communion a mystical wedding.

Theology

> "Whoever has not yet observed this desire within himself / is surely not spiritually united with God"[53]

Desire for the Heavenly Bridegroom

Martin Moller (1547–1606) was one of the first Lutheran theologians who actively received medieval mysticism. His treatise *MYSTERIUM MAGNUM* (1595) is conceived in the tradition of medieval bridal mysticism. The book

provides an extensive description of the heavenly wedding, the bridegroom, the bride, and associated mystical themes. Philipp Nicolai (1556–1608) also assimilated mystical motifs into his works. The comparatively strong emphasis on the faithful soul's painful desire for the Lord, however, lends Nicolai's mysticism a more bitter tone than medieval mysticism. Nicolai hyperbolically represents Christian desire for God in mystical images as a "yearning and sighing" for *unio mystica*.[54] In the following excerpt of his *Frewden Spiegel des Ewigen Lebens* he uses sensual images to describe the believer longing for God as a bride lamenting her heartache:

> Ich bin durch deine Liebe verwundet / also / daß mir aus solcher Wunde deiner Liebe / meine Thränen mildiglich fliessen Tages und Nachts. Schlage doch lieber HErr / ich bitte dich / schlage doch mir mein steinhart und felseriges Hertz / mit der seligen starcken Spitze deiner Liebe / unnd drücke mit deiner mächtigen Krafft starck hernach und tieff hinein / und locke mir das Augenwusser aus dem Kopff mit hauffen / und laß meine beyde Augen Thränenbrunnen seyn / die mir aus jnnerlicher Begierde und Verlangen nach deiner Schönheit / ohn Unterlaß fliessen und rinnen / daß ich Tag und Nacht schreyen und weynen möge / und in diesem Leben mir keinen zeitlichen Trost zu Hertzen gehen lasse / biß ich dich zu sehen kriege im himlischen Thron und FrewdenSaal / du allerliebster unnd allerschönster Bräutigam / mein Gott und HERR.
>
> I am wounded by Your love, so that from the wounds of this love my tears flow gently day and night. Strike, dear Lord, I pray you, strike my hard and stony heart with the blessed, sharp spearhead of Your love; and press strongly and deeply into it with Your mighty power; and release the tears from my head in plenty; and let my eyes be fountains of tears that flow and trickle without cease out of spiritual lust and desire for Your beauty, so that I will cry and weep day and night; and in this love allow no temporary consolation to enter my heart until I see You on the heavenly throne in the hall of joy, most beloved and most beautiful bridegroom, my God and Lord.[55]

Nicolai drew these strikingly erotic images of the pain of divine love from the writings of the medieval women mystics. While in medieval mysticism the desire of the faithful soul was answered by the often explicitly sensually perceived presence of Christ in *raptus mysticus* and visions, however, the desire of the Lutheran believer remained unassuaged. In Nicolai's descriptions the soul, therefore, suffers violent heartache when contemplating a mystical love union with Jesus. Unlike the medieval mystics, the Lutheran believer knows that his desire must as yet remain unfulfilled.

Desire for God was increasingly highlighted as a Christian virtue in seventeenth-century Lutheran theology. In the treatise *Wahre VerEinigung mit GOTT dem höchsten Gut* (1673) the Saxon pastor Johann Feinler describes the various stages of faith that should lead to *unio mystica*. One of the condi-

tions required for love union with Jesus would be that the faithful soul feel a painful desire for union:

> Ein sehnliches Verlangen nach der ewigen VerEinigung mit GOTT im Himmel. Es ist zwar einem gläubigen Christen in dieser Welt die geistliche VerEinigung mit GOTT sehr tröstlich und angenehm; dieweil sie aber offtmals zustöret / zurück gezogen und versaltzen wird / er muß dabei viel leiden / und / manche Anfechtungs=Pille verschluchen / er siehet / höret und erfähret in der Welt davon ihm das Hertz weh thut: So hat er vielmehr eine ernstliche Sehnsucht nach dem ewigen Leben und der Himmlischen VerEinigung . . . Wer diese Sehnsucht nicht hat noch in sich vermercket / der ist gewißlich mit GOtt nicht geistlich vereiniget . . . .
>
> A yearning desire for eternal union with God in heaven. Spiritual union with God is indeed very comforting and pleasurable for a believing Christian in this world; because, however, it is often ruined, retracted and spoilt, he must suffer much and swallow many bitter pills. What he sees, hears and endures in this world makes his heart ache: thus he has an increasingly earnest desire for eternal love and heavenly union . . . Whoever has not yet observed this desire in himself is surely not spiritually united with God.[56]

Feinler here refers to a statement made by Martin Luther in one of his Communion sermons that describes how a man feels himself troubled "incessantly by many sins and offences."[57] The true Christian, however, believes that loving Communion with God in the Eucharist can revive a "tired and feeble" soul.[58] Luther therefore prescribes for the communicant a sorrowful desire for God:

> Eine betrübte, hungrige Seele soll es sein, die Liebe, Hilfe und Beistand der ganzen Gemeinde, Christi und aller Christenheit herzlich begehrt und nicht daran zweifelt, sie im Glauben auch zu erlangen, und hernach in dieser Liebe auch Gemeinschaft hält mit jedermann. Wer nicht von daher das Hören oder Lesen der Messe und den Sakramentsempfang versteht und ordnet, der irrt und gebraucht dieses Sakrament nicht selig.
>
> It should be a dark, hungry soul that deeply desires the love, help and support of the entire Christian community and all Christendom, and does not doubt that it will attain this through faith and in this love remain hereafter in Communion with all men. Anyone who does not understand and order in this way the hearing or reading of Mass and the receiving of the sacraments, errs and does not use this sacrament in a holy manner.[59]

The desire for God described by Luther was intensified in Feinler's theology as a desire for mystical union that should be explicitly bitter-sweet. Suffering and heartache are now regarded as proof of true Christian love for God, just as they had been a sign of true worldly love since Petrarch's lamentations for

Laura. God would even count the believer's tears as proof of his religious desire.[60] Heinrich Müller also repeatedly emphasizes that "sighs and tears" are signs of true love for God. He supports this with references to the Psalms and the Song of Songs:

> Wie der Hisch schreyet nach frischem Wasser / so schreyet meine Seel Gott zu dir. Wo der H. Geist im Hertzen ist / da zündet er durchs Wort (welches ein Feuer genannt wird) in der Seelen ein solch Feuer an / daß sie anfängt zu brennen in der Liebe Gottes: Auß diesem Feuer fahren viel starcke Liebes=Funcken / das sind die Seuffzer und Thränen / die auß GOtt in Gott gehen / da ist offt der Seelendurst nach GOtt und dem Himmel so groß / daß der Mensch nit weiß / was und wie ihm ist / ohn daß er ein inniges Verlangen nach GOtt / und einen ernsten Verdruß an allen Creaturen in sich fühlet.
>
> As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. Wherever the Holy Spirit is present in the heart, he kindles through the Word (which is called a fire) such a fire in the soul that it begins to burn in God's love. From this fire proceed many strong sparks of love, which are the sighs and tears that go out from God into God. For the soul's thirst for God and heaven is often so great that a man cannot tell what he is or how he is, without feeling ardent desire for God and serious displeasure with all creatures. [61]
>
> Ich wil ihn wieder suchen in meinem Bette / Hohl.3. in meinem Hertzen / da er sein Bettlein hat: mit Fleiß wil ich ihn suchen / mit Seufftzen und mit Thränen / er wird sich endlich finden lassen: dann wil ich ihn fest halten in den Glaubens=Armen / und nicht lassen. Er liebet meine Seel / Er ist mein Jesus. Meinen Jesus laß ich nicht.
>
> I will seek Him once more in my bed, *Song of Songs 3*, in my heart where He has His little bed: I will seek Him assiduously with sighs and tears. In the end He will let me find Him: then I will hold Him fast in the arms of faith and never let go. He loves my soul. He is my Jesus. I will not leave my Jesus.[62]

Here, Bible texts referring to desire for God are singled out and intensified with emotional metaphors. This desire, represented explicitly as the lover's desire, is thus theologically highlighted. In this and similar texts, various topoi of Lutheran theology—love, faith, desire for God—are traced back discursively and pedagogically to the individual believer's experience of desire. Since this desire was the main theme of contemporary love poetry, the two discourses blended with one another almost unnoticed.

Christ himself likewise longs for the love of the faithful soul (cf. chapter 4). Heinrich Müller describes the Christian virtue of love of one's neighbor in an image that employs mystical motifs to represent a lover's desire, felt both by Jesus and by the believer:

> Abwerts Hertz / und fasse den armen Jesum in die Liebs=Arme. Ach! wie geht er da hungrig / durstig / traurig/ nackt und elend von deinen Augen. lässest du den verhungern / der dir täglich Brot gibt / und deine Seele speisest mit dem verborgnen Manna? verdursten / der dich tränckt mit Wollust als mit einem Strom? traurig gehen und weinen / der dich so reichlich tröstet in deiner Noth / und alle Thränen abwischet von deinen Augen? nackt gehen / der dich kleidet mit dem Rock der Gerechtigkeit / und mit Kleidern des Heyls schmückt? im Elend herumb wallen / der in dein Elend getreten ist / auff das du in seine Freude eingehen möchtest? Nicht mein Hertz. Ergreiff ihn und sprich; Ich bin dein / und das was mein / ist alles dein.
>
> Downwards, heart, and take poor Jesus in your loving arms. Ah! see Him pass hungry, thirsty, sad, naked and miserable before your eyes. Will you let Him starve, when He gives you daily bread and feeds your soul with secret manna? Thirst, when He stills your thirst with pleasure as from a stream? Mourn and weep, when He so richly comforts you in your trouble and wipes all tears from your eyes? Go naked, when He clothes you with the robe of righteousness and adorns you with the garments of salvation? Wander in misery, when He has stepped into your misery so that you could enter His joy? No, my heart. Seize Him and say: I am Yours and all that is mine belongs to You.[63]

Christ's divine and human natures are here entwined. For the sake of Christ's divine love the believer should feel guilty, grateful reciprocal love; but at the same time the human Jesus is the believer's neighbor and must therefore be comforted and loved. Through the use of mystical motifs such as quotations from the Song of Songs and metaphors of the embrace and the heart, divine and earthly love are blended. Reciprocal love is at the same time love of one's neighbor; both are represented sensually.

Love Union in Unio Mystica

In accordance with mystical traditions, the meeting of the faithful soul with Jesus Christ is represented by Lutheran theologians as a wedding—a unification in love. Philipp Nicolai uses motifs from the Songs of Songs and medieval bridal mysticism to describe the intimate relationship between the faithful soul and Jesus in the "inhabitation or indwelling of God in his chosen ones."[64] That he described this relationship as being as earthly as it was divine, and as physical as it was spiritual, is demonstrated by the following excerpt from his *Frewden Spiegel*:

> Ein Exempel haben wir an jungen Leuten / welche in den Ehestand zusammen treten wollen. Je grösser die Liebe wird / je mehr sich ein Theil nach dem andern sehnet / und läßt nicht abe / biß sie / Bräutigam und Braut / sich verloben / und folgends zur Ehe greiffen Als denn ruhen sie beyde in der Liebe / unnd sind nach Gottes keuscher Ordnung / Mann und Weib / ein Fleisch und ein Leib. Also

> liebet auch Gott seine Außerwehlten im Himmel / und wird von jhnen wieder geliebet.
>
> We have an example in young people who wish to enter the married state together. The greater the love, the more one desires the other, and it does not lessen until they are betrothed as bridegroom and bride, and subsequently choose to marry. Then the two find peace in love, and as man and wife are one flesh and one body, according to God's chaste order. So God loves His chosen ones in heaven and is loved by them in return.[65]

In accordance with contemporary theological and moral–philosophical thinking (chapter 4), Nicolai compares *unio mystica* to marriage.[66] Almost a century later, Johann Feinler explains why the love union with Christ is more lasting than that between man and woman.[67] Feinler describes in detail how this indwelling of Christ in his bride satisfies all five physical senses:

> Wollen sie gern was schönes sehen / das wird GOtt seyn / den werden sie sehen von Angesicht zu Angesicht. . . . Wollen Sie gerne was liebliches hören / das wird auch GOtt seyn / der sie wird trösten wie eine Mutter ihr Kindlein. . . . Wollen Sie gern etwas anmutiges reden / das wird von GOtt seyn. . . . Wollen sie was köstliches schmäcken / das wird GOtt seyn / von welchem David spricht: Schmecket und sehet wie freundlich der HErr ist. . . . Wollen sie was süsses richen / das wird GOtt seyn / dessen Name ist eine ausgeschütte Salbe / Hohel. I,3. Wo Er sich hinwendet / da gibt seine Narde lieblichen Geruch von sich. Wollen sie was anmuthiges fühlen / das wird GOTT seyn / der sie wird hertzen und küssen / und sie Ihn auch umbfahen und feste fassen.
>
> If you wish to see something beautiful, let that be God, whom you will see face to face. . . . If you wish to hear something lovely, let that also be God, who will comfort you as a mother comforts her child. . . . If you wish to say something pleasing, let that be about God. . . . If you wish to taste something exquisite, let that be God, of whom David says: Taste and see how good the Lord is . . . If you wish to smell something sweet, let that be God, whose name is poured-forth salve (Song of Songs 1:3). Wherever He turns, His nard releases its lovely fragrance. If you wish to feel something pleasing, let that be God, who will embrace you and kiss you, and also surround you and hold you fast.[68]

As in sacred poetry, this description of the sensual aspects of love is a reference to contemporary love discourse. Love is perceived with all five senses, and metaphors of sensuality affectively intensify the description of love.

The attainment of *unio mystica* in the sense of a transcendent fusion in love is prevented, however, by human sinfulness. Although God has immeasurable love for man and is prepared for marriage, sinful man is not worthy of God's love. In a key passage of his *Himmlischer Liebes=Kuss* (marked with the symbol ☞ in the text), Heinrich Müller explains how it is nonethe-

less possible for God to be united with sinful man. The love of the heavenly bridegroom for his bride is so great and merciful that He cleanses her from sin and adorns her for the wedding:

> Die Menschheit heist eine Braut GOttes. Wann sich Gott im Fleisch offenbaret / so thut der grosse Himmels=König seinem Sohn Hochzeit. David / Salomon und Paulus nännen die gläubige Seele Christi Braut und Weib. O Wunder! wie gar ungleichs Geschlechts ist Christus und die Seele? Er ist der Schöpffer / sie eine Creatur / und soll seine Braut seyn. Wie gar ungleicher Gestalt? Er ist der Schönst unter allen Menschen=Kindern / sie ist voll Unflats und Stancks / noch liebt er sie. . . . Wann sich die Seele mit Buß=Thränen wäscht / so wird sie schön. . . . Was hat doch unsere Seele? Warumb liebt sie GOtt? Was ist der Mensch / daß du sein gedenckest! Wie ein Bräutigam seine Braut / ein Mann sein Weib liebet / schützet / dultet/ ehret / tröstet; also Christus die Seele. Sie sind ein Hertz / ein Geist. Unter Braut und Bräutigam gibts viel süsser Küsse / viel anmuthiges Gesprächs: Christus küsset die Seele / wann er sie erquicket / da sauget sie lauter Honig=Tröpflein von seinen Lippen / die Seele küsset Christum / wenn sie ihn brünstig liebet / und auß brünstiger Liebe nach ihm seufftzet: Sie spricht ihm ihr Elend / er spricht ihr seinen Trost ins Hertz. Wie ist eine hertzliche Freude zwischen Braut und Bräutigam? Nicht minder zwischen Christum und der Seele. . . . Wie ein Bräutigam seine Braut / so schmücket Christus unsere Seele. Sie ist häßlich und ungestalt / er macht sie schneeweiß. Sie liegt in ihrem Blut / er reiniget sie durchs Wasserbad im Wort.
>
> Humanity means being a bride of God. When God reveals Himself in the flesh, the great King of Heaven gives His son in marriage. Solomon and Paul call the faithful soul Christ's bride and wife. O wonder! How unequal in being are Christ and the soul? He is the creator, she His creature, and she is to be His bride. How unequal in form? He is the most beautiful of all the children of man, she is full of filth and stink, yet still He loves her. . . . When the soul washes herself in tears of repentance, she will become beautiful. . . . How is it then with the soul? Why does she love God? What is man, that You remember Him? As a bridegroom loves, protects, indulges, honours and comforts his bride, a man his wife, so Christ the soul. They are one heart, one spirit. Between the bride and bridegroom there are many sweet kisses, many pleasing conversations. Christ kisses the soul; when He revives her, she sucks pure drops of honey from His lips. The soul kisses Jesus if she loves Him ardently and out of ardent love she sighs for Him: she tells Him of her misery, He comforts her heart. What heartfelt joy is there between bride and bridegroom? No less between Christ and the soul. . . . As a bridegroom adorns his bride, so Christ adorns the soul. She is ugly and unformed; He makes her white as snow. She wallows in her blood; He cleanses her by bathing her in the Word.[69]

Sinful man is unworthy of the love of God, his creator, because the two are "unequal in being" and "unequal in form." That God loves man nonetheless

is therefore exclusively thanks to his loving grace (*sola gratia*). God's grace is demonstrated to the believer in his word (*sola verba*) and in the sacrifice of his son, Jesus, who justified mankind. Through justification God and man are reconciled. Müller describes this reconciliation in mystical metaphors as a wedding. Jesus and the soul are like bridegroom and bride, the crucifixion becomes a kiss that tastes of honey, justification is presented as a bridal jewel and the Word as a cleansing bath. The mystical wedding, the reconciliation, is compared to a worldly love union by means of rhetorical questions and answers, antithetical images and sensual metaphors.[70] Here the dividing lines between mystical and secular love language cannot be demonstrated unequivocally; in almost every line elements of both discourses may be seen.

PASSION MYSTICISM

In the baroque Passion meditation the story of Jesus' suffering was represented in all its cruelty, and at the same time presented as emphatic proof of God's inestimable love (cf. chapter 3). It was the theologically based combination of love and sorrow in particular that allowed mystical poets to draw on the highly effective love metaphors of petrarchism and marinism in their representation of the suffering and death of Christ.

Poetry

Lutheran theologians emphasized that God could only be reconciled with sinful man through undeserved grace. Christ's sacrificial death was seen as a proof of God's love, which should awaken in the redeemed believer a grateful, guilty reciprocal love. His affectively ambivalent "suffering for love" should produce in the believer both repentance of his sins and grateful love for the sacrificial victim. Moreover, the mystical Passion meditation emphasized that Christ's death enabled not only reconciliation but also eschatological *unio mystica*. After death, the justified and reconciled believer would be freed from sin and could then be perfectly united with God in love. Christ's death on the cross was therefore described by the mystics as the love-death of a bridegroom longing for the soul, his bride. The theological concept of suffering for love was thus seen in mystical terms as lover's suffering.

The petrarchan love idiom provided an apt linguistic vehicle for these theological conditions. As Jesus died for love, his death was often described as a bitter-sweet love-death, after petrarchan traditions. Salomon Franck, one of Johann Sebastian Bach's librettists, celebrates the death of the beloved as a synthesis of happiness and sorrow:

Auf die Wunden JESUS.
1.
Du Liebster / der mein Hertz verwund't /
Wie hat die Liebe dich getroffen?
Wie stehen deine Wunden offen?
Hier ströhmt ein Meer / das ohne Grund/
Darein du meine Sünden senckest
Und ihre gantze Macht ertränckest.

To Jesus' Wounds.
1.
Dearest One, who vanquishes my soul,
How has love hurt You?
How have Your wounds been opened?
Here is a rushing ocean in which,
Without cause, You sink my sins
And drown all their power.[71]

Like the worldly lover, Jesus is wounded by love, and the faithful soul longs for physical union with her beloved. The combination of mystical and petrarchan elements allows the poet to depict precisely the paradoxical nature of the love portrayed in the Passion story. A comparison with Johann Gerhard's Passion meditation shows that this interpretation of the Passion story is in keeping with contemporary theology. According to Gerhard, Christ's wounds are the fruit of his desire for the soul—"because Christ's heart was wounded for love, hence did He suffer such wounds and weals on his body."[72] His interpretation corresponds to Franck's rhetorical question as to the origin of these wounds—"How has love hurt you?"

In poems based on the *ecce homo* from the Passion story (John 19:5), Jesus' feet, knees, hands, side, breast, heart, and face were extolled like the body of a beautiful beloved. The best-known example of such a process is Paul Gerhardt's Passion poem "An das Angesicht des Herrn Jesus," which was set many times by Johann Sebastian Bach and plays an important role in his *St. Matthew Passion*. The *Ad faciem* is presented here in isolation:

1. O Häupt voll blut und wunden,
Voll schmertz unnd voller hon!
O häupt, zu spott gebunden
Mit einer dornen kron!
O häupt, sonst schön gezieret
mit höchster ehr unnd zier,
Itzt aber hoch schimpfiret!
Gegrüsset seyst du mir.

2. Du edles angesichte,
Dafür sonst schrickt unnd scheut
Das grosse weltgewichte,
Wie bist du so bespeyt?
Wie bist du so erbleichet?
Wer hat dein augenliecht,
Dem sonst kein liecht nicht gleichet,
So schändlich zugerichtt?

3. Die farbe deiner wangen,
Der rothen lippen pracht
Ist hin unnd gantz vergangen:
Des blassen todes macht
Hat alles hingenommen,
Hat alles hingerafft,
Unnd daher bist du kommen
Von deines leibes krafft.

. . .

5. Erkenne mich, mein Hüter,
Mein Hirte, nim mich an.
Von dir, quell aller güter,
Ist mir viel guts gethan:
Dein mund hat mich gelabet
Mit milch und süsser kost,
Dein Geist hat mich begabet
Mit mancher himmelslust.

6. Ich will hie bey dir stehen,
Verachte mich doch nicht;
Von dir wil ich nicht gehen,
Wann dir dein hertze bricht.
Wann dein hertz wird erblassen
Im letzten todesstoß,
Alsdan will ich dich fassen
In meinen arm und schoos.

1. O head, covered with blood and wounds,
Covered with pain and covered with scorn!
O head, bound for mockery
With a crown of thorns!
O head, once beautifully adorned
With highest honour and ornament,
But now utterly reviled!
I greet You.

2. Noble face,
Before which the world's great men
Once took fright and shied away,
Why are You so abused?
Why are You so pale?
Who has so shamefully
Damaged the light of Your eyes,
To which once no other light compared?

3. The colour of Your cheeks,
The splendour of Your red lips
Has disappeared and perished:
The wan power of death
Has taken everything,
Has carried everything off,
And so You have lost
The strength of Your body.

. . .

5. Recognise me, my protector,
My shepherd, take me with You!
Source of all goodness,
You have done much good for me:
Your mouth has revived me
With milk and sweet morsels,
Your spirit has blessed me
With much of Heaven's pleasure.

6. I want to stay here with You,
Do not despise me;
I do not want to leave You
When Your heart is breaking.
When Your heart grows pale
In the last throes of death,
Then I want to hold You
In my arms and in my lap.[73]

The poem begins with a loving description of the external beauty of the beloved. In the poetic traditions of the Song of Songs and of petrarchism the poet describes Jesus' face, eyes, cheeks, and lips. The subject of the poem, however, is at variance with its form. As in the Passion poem by Lohenstein quoted in chapter 3, the lover described here is not only beautiful, but is also dying. In this way Gerhardt, like Lohenstein, creates an antithesis between form—a love ode— and content—a *dying* loved one—that strengthens the religious effectiveness of the poem. The contrast, highlighted in every verse,

between the beauty and divine love of the crucified Christ, on the one hand, and his cruel death and human sinfulness, on the other, is clearly intended to move and convert the reader. This effect of meditation on the cross becomes the main theme in verses 5 and 6, in which the believer explicitly pleads for forgiveness. Carrying on the mystical love thematics of the first verses, verse 5 is a cajoling *miserere mei* expressed in metaphors drawn from the Song of Songs, while in verse 6 reconciliation is represented as an erotic love union in mystical embrace. Thus the plea for forgiveness becomes a plea for love, and the desire for reconciliation becomes desire for love union.

The blood of Christ, sacramentalized and consumed in Communion, became above all else the symbol of Lutheran reconciliation. This led to a vast number of poems dealing with blood and wounds.[74] The poem by Franck quoted earlier, in which Christ passes away in love-death, continues as a celebration of his wounds:

3.
Nur deine Wunden laben mich/
Wann mich der Sünden Gifft erhitzet/
Wann meine matte Seele schwitzet/
Mein Bräutigam / ich küsse dich/
Ich sencke mich in deine Wunden/
Hier wird mein Heyl und Leben funden.

. . .

6.
Aus deinen Wunden bricht herfür
Dein Purpur=rother Liebes=Morgen/
Der treibt von mir die Nacht der Sorgen/
Und kröhnet mich mit schönster Zier.
Durch deine Wunden sind verbunden
Herr Jesu / meine Sünden=Wunden.

7.
Erquicke mich dein schwaches Kind/
Nimm Jesu mich in deine Wunden
In den bestürmten Jammer=Stunden/
Und wann die Lebens Krafft zerrinnt/
Ich bleibe dir mein Heil ergeben/
In deinen Wunden find‘ ich Leben.

3.
Only Your wounds revive me
When the poison of sin consumes me;

When my weary soul perspires,
I kiss You, my bridegroom;
I sink into Your wounds;
Here I find salvation and life.

. . .

6.
From your wounds breaks forth
The purple-red love-dawn,
Which dispels in me the night of care
And crowns me with the loveliest jewel.
Through Your wounds, Lord Jesus,
My sin-wounds are bound.

7.
Restore me, Your weak child!
Take me, Jesus, into Your wounds
In the stormy lamentation-hour;
And when life's strength dwindles
Still I will bow to You, my salvation,
In Your wounds I will find life.[75]

In a fusion of petrarchan and mystical traditions the wounds are described as symbol and site of the love between Jesus and the faithful soul. The mystical motif of wishing to sink into the wound in Jesus' side is here elaborated as an expression of the desire to be physically united with the beloved. Not only this sensual aspect of mystical love, which is highlighted throughout the entire poem, but also devices such as compound words (verses 6 and 7) and sound-play (verse 6) show how Lutheran mysticism drew on contemporary love poetry. In this way Christ's death—already described as a love-death in the first half of the poem—acquires a suggestion of bitter-sweet. The cruel death on the cross demonstrates the mercy of divine love, of which Christ's blood is the theological proof and symbol. Thus in spiritual love poetry blood metaphors are also metaphors of love.[76]

In this context mystical authors sometimes describe the drops of Christ's blood as precious stones. The use of this metaphor, also common in petrarchan love poetry, to describe Christ's blood symbolizes both its preciousness and its origin in divine love. Thus Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg describes Christ's wounds in acute compound words as "*Corallen=schalen*" (coral-bowls) from which "*Blut=Granaten*" (blood-garnets) and "*Blut=rubinen*" (blood-rubies) flow.[77] In Paul Gerhardt's well-known poem "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld" the faithful soul, Christ's bride, bedecks herself with these blood gems for the wedding on the Last Day:

9. Was schadet mir des Todes Gifft?
Dein Blut, das ist mein Leben
Wenn mich der Sonne Hitze trifft,
So kann mirs Schatten gäben.
Setzt mir des Wehmuts Schmerzen zu,
So find ich bey dir meine Ruh
Als auf dem Bett ein Krancker;
Vnd wenn des Creutzes Vngestüm
Mein Schifflein treibet ümb und ümb,
So bistu denn mein Ancker.

10. Wenn endlich ich sol treten eyn
In deines Reiches Frewden,
So soll diß Blut mein Purpur seyn,
Ich will mich darin kleyden:
Es soll seyn meines Häuptes Cron,
In welcher ich wil vor dem Thron
Des höchsten Vaters gehen
Vnd dir, dem Er mich anvertrawt,
Als eine wolgeschmückte Braut
An deiner Seiten stehen.

9. How can death's poison harm me?
Your blood is my life.
When the heat of the sun hurts me,
It gives me shade.
If the ache of melancholy overwhelms me,
Then I find rest in You
As in my sick-bed;
And if the turbulence of the cross
Tosses my ship to and fro,
Then You are my anchor.

10. When at last I enter
Into the joy of Your kingdom,
This blood shall be my purple robe,
I shall clothe myself in it:
It will be the crown of my head,
In which I shall appear before
The throne of Your supreme Father,
And as a finely adorned bride
I shall stand beside You,
To whom He entrusted me.[78]

The believer's gratitude for Christ's reconciling blood-sacrifice is articulated poetically through a series of religiously interpreted love metaphors. In verse

9 the poet uses antithetical petrarchan metaphors of the sun, sleeplessness, and a sea voyage to elucidate how God and man have been brought closer together through reconciliation. Now Christ can truly be shade, bed, and anchor for the soul, whose desire for unattainable love union allows it no rest. Verse 10 describes this love union, the heavenly wedding, in the framework of a paradoxical metaphor: because the wedding is only made possible through Christ's death on the cross, the soul clothes herself in Christ's blood as her wedding gown.

Christ's body, which furnishes the sacrificial offering for the reconciliation of sinners with God, also plays an important role in the Passion meditation. Because of the physical aspects of the Passion, the love that lay at the root of Christ's sacrifice, regarded as a physical, sensual love in Johann Klaj's poem "Sie creutzigen alle Sinne des Leibes!" quoted in chapter 3, has already illustrated how mystical love could allow for erotic interpretations through the addition of secular love metaphors. Angelus Silesius elaborates the mystical kiss metaphor to create an image in which the Lutheran doctrine of reconciliation goes hand in hand with erotic feelings:

> Weil dirs aber so gefallen,
> Daß du Treuester von allen
> meinetwegen dies getan,
> Will auch mich zu dir strecken
> Und dein teures Blut auflecken,
> Weil mein Mund sich rühren kann.
>
> But because it has so pleased You,
> Dearest of all,
> To do this for my sake,
> I wish to reach out to You also
> And lick Your dear blood,
> While my mouth can yet stir.[79]

Gratitude for Christ's sacrifice awakens in the believer both love and the desire for reconciliation. The "licking" of his blood should therefore be understood in poems such as this as spiritual cleansing[80] as well as an expression of physical love. Grateful, spiritual love is here represented in an erotic image through a poetic meeting of mystical and secular love language. The sensual perception of the suffering on the cross and the erotic interpretation of the blood sacrifice are thus inseparably bound together in mystical poetry.

Silesius' poem illustrates the close connection between the physical nature of Communion, which celebrates the reconciliation resulting from Christ's blood sacrifice, and the sensuality of baroque Passion poetry. In his *Tisch des HErrn* Erdmann Neumeister explains how the Passion and Communion are

bound together by love. Christ's love sacrifice has led to reconciliation, so that man is freed from the "old Adam" and the path to *unio mystica* at the end of time is opened up to him. For these reasons the Passion meditation should awaken in the believer reciprocal love and at the same time a desire for temporary union with Jesus in Communion. In an apostrophe to love, Neumeister provides a challenging poetic representation of this theme:

Also redet er [der Communicant] die Liebe auf gleiche Weise an, und spricht:

Du marterst ihn am Creutzes=Stamm
Mit Nägeln und mit Spiessen.
Du schlachtest ihn / als wie ein Lamm/
Macht Hertz und Adern fliessen:
Das Hertze mit der Seuffzer Krafft;
Die Adern mit dem edeln Safft
Des Purpur=rothen Blutes.
. . .
So komm ich denn / du meine Lust/
Zur angenehmen Stunden.
Ich leg mein Haupt an deine Brust/
Ich saug' an deinen Wunden.
Speis' doch und tränckе gnädiglich/
Und küsse / liebster Jesus /mich
Mit dem Kuß deines Mundes.
Amen!

Therefore he [the communicant] addresses love in similar fashion, and speaks:

You torture Him on the bole of the cross
With nails and with spears.
You slaughter Him like a lamb,
Make His heart and veins to stream:
His heart with the might of sighs,
His veins with the noble juice
Of purple-red blood.[81]
. . .
So I come then, my heart's delight,
To that pleasant hour.
I lay my head on Your breast,
I suck on Your wounds.
Graciously give me food and drink,
And kiss me, dearest Jesus,
With the kiss of Your mouth.
Amen![82]

Violent love torments Christ to death; meditating on this awakens in the believer the desire to receive this love physically by partaking of Communion

(as discussed later in this chapter). Neumeister represents in sensual terms the love that is operative in the Passion and is sacramentalized in Communion. In this poem both the juxtaposition of cruelty and eroticism and the powerful rhetorical elaboration of the theme in sensual metaphors are related to secular love poetry.

Theology

> " . . . because Christ's heart was wounded through love,
> therefore has He suffered such wounds and weals on His body."[83]

Christ's loving suffering furnishes the key to Lutheran reconciliation and the core of Luther's *theologia crucis*. Through the justifying sacrifice of his son, God shows his unending, reconciling grace and love. God's merciful love forms the basis of the Lutheran Passion meditation, which was able to bring together the theological dogmas associated with this theme—suffering, justification, and reconciliation. Christ's suffering and death were simultaneously the representation, proof, and instrument of God's love for man:

> . . . daß wir nemlich das Leiden Christi ansehen als einen klaren Spiegel seiner hertzlichen brünstigen Liebe gegen uns.
>
> . . . namely that we regard Christ's suffering as a clear mirror of His heartfelt, ardent love for us.[84]

With the theological turn toward introspection and the accompanying revival of medieval mysticism, love shifted with increased force to the foreground of Passion theology during the seventeenth century.[85] It was consequently discursively highlighted by means of mystical love metaphors for pedagogic purposes. The love demonstrated to the believer in the Passion was highly ambiguous in nature. Christ's suffering and death signified both parting and redemption, undeserved grace and joyful reconciliation, and the believer should therefore feel both repentance and love at Christ's death. The Lutheran love idiom, based on a blending of mystical and secular love discourses, was just as ambivalent and multilayered as the love of the Passion and therefore furnished a satisfactory textual vehicle for this theme.

Shifts of focus within Lutheran Christology also contributed to the use of the love discourse in the Passion meditation. Elke Axmacher has shown that in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Christ gradually came to be regarded less as human God and much more as divine man. Within this framework his suffering and death were interpreted as the self-sacrifice of a loving man, who revealed his divine nature through his readiness to exercise love of his neighbor to the ultimate degree.[86] The increased significance

of Christ's human nature within Lutheran Passion theology had practical ramifications in devotion and discourse. In Passion devotion love became a fundamental and effective means of communication between Jesus and the believer. Christ the divine man had died for love of mankind; his love therefore had divine origin, but human form. The believer could not only rationally understand this human love but also empathize emotionally and respond in like manner with reciprocal human love. The anthropological shift of emphasis within Christology also gave the believer the chance to meet Christ's love on a level of affective equality, and therefore worthily.[87]

These theological developments had textual repercussions in baroque Passion discourse. The theological emphasis on Christ's humanity and love led to a corresponding "humanizing" of this discourse. The mystical concept of the heavenly bridegroom, which represented the union of human and divine nature in Jesus, was combined in the baroque Passion meditation with motifs of secular love poetry and thus interpreted in predominantly human terms. In Passion sermons and poems Christ was consistently described as a loving bridegroom who died on the cross out of deeply felt love for the faithful soul, his bride. His suffering and death, often represented as a love-death, was a sign of "His heartfelt, ardent love for us" (Gerhard). Not only the humanity but also the ambivalence of this love found discursive expression in the combination of elements of mystical poetry and secular love poetry. The ongoing simultaneity of joyful and sorrowful affects in petrarchism resembles the emotional substance of the Passion story; in both cases the underlying theme is that of bitter-sweet love.

The baroque Passion discourse, with its worldly overtones, also functioned as a pedagogic medium. The intent of the baroque Passion meditation was to present the origin of the Passion story in a way that was homiletically convincing but at the same time awakened reciprocal love in the believer through an affectively powerful mode of representation. The meditator should be able to empathize with Christ's suffering and death so that through horror and sympathy he could learn how much Jesus loved mankind (cf. chapter 3).[88] A Passion representation geared toward the description and excitement of human love—a feeling recognizable to all readers or listeners—could effectively lead the believer to grateful reciprocal love.

Heinrich Müller describes the love between the crucified Jesus and the faithful soul in metaphors of medieval bridal mysticism. As in the poems quoted in the previous section, Christ's outstretched arms and inclined head are here interpreted as signs of his love, to which the believer should respond:[89]

> Dein Jesus hat dich lieb. Die Liebe sucht vereinigt zu seyn mit dem Geliebten. Dich mit sich zu vereinigen / hat Jesus sich mit dir in deinem Fleisch vereinigt.

> . . . Er steht da für deinen Augen / wie er am Creutz hangt / den Mund hält er dir zu / dich zu küssen / die Arme streckt er aus / dich zu umbfangen / die Hände lässt er sich durchboren / dich hinein zu zeichnen / das Hertz mit einem Speer öffnen / dir ein Ruhstättlein zu bereiten / die Füsse ans Holtz nageln / dich seiner Treu zu versichern / daß er bey dir Fuß halten wolle. Soltest du nicht zu deinem Jesu eilen / die Braut zum Bräutigam? Sein Trost=Mund wartet auff dich / du soltest ihm deinen Glaubens=Mund zu halten / und wünschen: Ach küsse mich / mein Jesu / mit dem Kusse deines Mundes: Seine Arme sind ausgespannet / dahinein soltest du dich getrost geben. . . . Sein Hertz steht offen / hinein Vöglein in dein Nest / hinein Taube in dein Felsloch.
>
> Your Jesus loves you. Love seeks to be united with the beloved. In order to be united with you, Jesus has united Himself with your flesh. . . . He stands before your eyes as He hangs on the cross. He closes His mouth for you in order to kiss you. He stretches out His arms to embrace you. He lets His hands be pierced to commit Himself to you; lets His heart be opened with a spear to prepare a refuge for you; lets His feet be nailed to the wood to assure you that He is true, that He wishes to remain at your feet. Should you not hasten to your Jesus, like the bride to her bridegroom? His comforting mouth awaits you, you should turn your faithful mouth to Him and wish: Ah, kiss me, my Jesus, with the kiss of Your mouth. His arms are outstretched, you should take comfort there. . . . His heart is open: enter your nest, little bird; enter, dove, your rocky crevice.[90]

Müller's meditation on the cross comes across as highly secular. The concentrated sequence of love metaphors, the intensified sensuality of the images and the rhetorical structure of the passage are all employed to demonstrate Christ's love to the believer and lead him to reciprocal love. A parallel passage from Johann Gerhard's *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens und Sterbens unsers HErrn Christi Jesu* concentrates even more on love:

> die süsse Liebe machte jhm alles süsse . . . / denn seine Liebe hatte jhn gleichsam gefangen genommen / seine Liebe hat jhn von Himmel gezogen / an die Marterseulen und ans Creutz gehefftet / er neiget sein Heupt am Stamm des Creutzes / uns aus Liebe zu küssen / er strecket seine Armen aus / uns aus Liebe zu umbfahen / er betet für die Creutziger / weil er aus Liebe für sie lidte / seine Seiten wird mit einem Speer eröffnet / daß die Flamme der hertzlichen Liebe möge heraus brechen / *ut per aperturam vulneris intueamur secretum cordis*, nach uns thut jhn aus Liebe verlangen / darumb sprach er / Mich dürstet / vernim / nach unster Seligkeit / er ist an des Creutzes Stamm als das unschuldige Lämblein GOTTES in heisser Liebe gebraten / ja es ist das eusserliche Leiden nie so gros / seine innerliche Liebe ist noch grösser.
>
> Sweet love made everything sweet for Him . . . For His love made Him captive, His love drew Him down from heaven, fastened Him to the scourging post and to the cross. Out of love He inclines His head on the bole of the cross to

> kiss us, out of love He stretches out His arms to embrace us, He prays for His executioner because He suffered out of love for us. His side is opened with a spear so that the flames of His heartfelt love might burst out of it, *ut per aperturam vulneris intueamur secretum cordis*. Out of love He desired us, therefore He said, I thirst. For our salvation He was roasted in hot love on the bole of the cross as the blameless Lamb of God. Yes, however great His outward love, His inward love is even greater.[91]

Love was the driving force behind every theological aspect of the Passion. Jesus acted out of love for man, in order to awaken his love and ultimately be joined with him in love. Thus Gerhard draws together the theological themes of Christ's incarnation, the suffering that brought justification, and reconciliation under the central theme of love. Furthermore, love was the most active emotion in the crucifixion process itself; it was so powerful that it almost drew the observer into the events that were unfolding. Gerhard intensifies the participation of the individual believer in the Passion story through a pedagogic emphasis on the desire of the crucified Jesus. In a rhetorical sequence he creates an *ecce homo* that speaks throughout of Christ's desire for the faithful soul. Metaphors of medieval mysticism such as the mystical kiss, the mystical embrace, and the love flaming from the wound in his side are judiciously employed in the depiction of a lover dying of desire. Gerhard thus presents the Passion story as a bitter-sweet love that ends in death. The echoes of secular love are numerous—being captive to love, love's suffering, the desire for the beloved, sensuality—and most certainly strengthened the affective impact of Gerhard's writing. Gerhard brings the simultaneity of the joy and sorrow of love to a climax as he describes Christ's wounds not as the result of the scourging but as a palpable expression of his love for man:

> Daher spricht er *Cant. 4*. Meine Schwester liebe Braut / das ist / du gleubige Seele / welche vor Gott dem HERRN durch den Glauben mir verlobet und meine geistliche Braut worden / du hast mir das Hertz genommen und verwundet / weil Christo das Hertz durch Liebe verwundet / daher hat er solche Wunden und Striemen an seinem Leibe gelitten.
>
> Therefore he says, *Song of Songs 4*, My sister, my spouse. That is you, faithful soul, betrothed to me through faith before the Lord God and made my spiritual bride. Thou hast ravished my heart and wounded it. Because Christ's heart was wounded by love He suffered these wounds and weals on his body.[92]

Gerhard also interprets the thirst of the crucified Jesus as the lover's desire: because Christ's heart was wounded by the fire of love, he thirsted literally and figuratively. This physical sign of love should arouse immediate love in the heart of the meditator.

> Denn weil in seinem Hertzen das Fewer der brünstigen Liebe brennete / daher sprach er / Mich dürstet / . . . Nach uns thet jhn verlangen / darumb sprach er / Mich dürstet / vernim nach unser seligkeit / daher spricht dieser himlische Breutigam Cant. 4. Du hast mir das Hertze genommen / oder verwundet / meine Schwester / liebe Braut. Weil sein Hertz durch Liebe verwundet war und brennete / daher folget darauff Durst und Verlangen nach unser Seligkeit . . . Weil nun Christum also nach uns gedurstet / sol ja billich unsere Seele nach jhm wiederumb dursten.
>
> For because the fire of ardent love burnt in His heart, therefore he said, I thirst. . . . He desired us, therefore He said I thirst. He was mindful of our salvation, therefore this heavenly bridegroom said, Song of Songs 4, Thou hast ravished my heart or wounded it, my sister, my spouse. Because His heart was wounded by love and burned, therefore He felt a thirst and desire for our salvation. . . . Because then Christ thirsted for us, so it is proper that our souls should thirst for Him in return.[93]

Motifs from the Song of Songs and medieval mysticism function as a rhetorical medium in Gerhard's presentation of the Passion, which should be interpreted as an overwhelming declaration of love that excites reciprocal love in man. The central affective theme of Gerhard's Passion meditation is love, and because Jesus suffers painfully for love, this love is explicitly bitter-sweet. Thus Gerhard's discursive expression of Christ's love corresponds closely to the contemporary petrarchan conception of love.

Finally Gerhard interprets Christ's death as a mystical kiss, construing sad as joyful—or bitter as sweet:

> . . . diese Neigung des Heupts hat angedeutet / daß er noch zu guter letzt uns einen Kuß geben wollen / unnd also nochmals seine hertzliche Liebe beweisen / und ist bald darnach sanfft und still verschieden.
>
> . . . this inclination of the head signified that even at the end He wanted to kiss us and thus once more prove His heartfelt love; and shortly after that He departed gently and quietly.[94]

Here again it becomes apparent how difficult it is in the religious love discourse to pinpoint the dividing lines between theological topoi, biblical quotations, allusions to medieval mysticism, and religious applications of the petrarchan love discourse. Although often the textual origins of these love descriptions cannot be unequivocally determined, it is nonetheless important to observe that both sacred and secular love were characterized as bitter-sweet emotions. Thus Christ's suffering became Christ's desire and a symbol of his heartfelt love. In the context of this theological love discourse it is not hard to understand why petrarchan poetry functioned as a starting point for mystical

poetry. This form of poetry furnished a suitable thematic and stylistic framework for the representation of the affectively ambivalent love described in theology, which was at once human and divine.

It is important to note at this point that I am not attempting to suggest that the theological *concept* of this love was based on petrarchism, but only that its *textual articulation* combined petrarchan diction with that of mystical love. It may be supposed that the recognizability of this bitter-sweet love concept and the familiarity of the lyrical imagery contributed performatively to the pedagogic effect of devotional texts dealing with the Passion.[95]

Another important theme in the Lutheran Passion meditation was the reciprocal love that the contemplation of the Passion should awaken in the believer. Because Christ's loving sacrifice brings reconciliation for the believer and has thus made possible the love union of the Last Day, the believer should feel reciprocal love when meditating on it: "Such a fiery flame as Christ's love should now rightfully set our hearts alight also."[96] However, the believer should also recognize that he is unworthy of Christ's divine love and that the love he feels in return should therefore be accompanied by awareness of his sinfulness. Martin Moller expressed this typically Lutheran tension between unworthiness and love in motifs of gratitude:

> O mein HErr Jesus Christe / du ewige wesentliche Liebe / wie sol ich dir begegnen? Wie sol ichs anstellen / das ich dich wider liebe? Ist nu meine Liebe nichts gegen deiner / Womit sol ich dir denn deine Liebe vergelten / und deine Trewe bezahlen? . . . O ich dancke dir von grundt meines Hertzen / Ja / ich dancke dir mein HERR / aus allen Kräfften / und lobe deinen Namen / so hoch ichs vermag / und will dirs dancken dorte in alle Ewigkeit. In des aber / HERR Jesus / habe ich dich ja widerumb von Herzen lieb / und habe alle meine Lust und Frewde an dir.
>
> O my lord Jesus Christ, eternal, fundamental love, how should I approach You? What should I do to return Your love? Is not my love nothing compared to Yours? With what then should I repay Your love and recompense Your faithfulness? . . . Oh, I thank You from the bottom of my heart. Yes, I thank my Lord with all my strength and praise Your name to the utmost, and I wish to give You thanks in the next world for all eternity. But until then, Lord Jesus, I love You in return with all my heart, and all my delight and joy is in You.[97]

In the context of this grateful love for Christ's blessings Erdmann Neumeister later described the connection between the Passion and its active commemoration in Communion:

> 4. . . . Was aus Christi Wunden quillt, das soll mich erquicken; und ich will sein blutig Bild mir ins Hertze drücken.

5. JEsu, JEsu, du allein bleibest mein Ergötzen. Ich will deine Creutzes=Pein mir zur Freude setzen, ach aus Liebe ließt du dich martern und zuschlagen, ja, aus Liebe gegen mich lid‘ st du alle Plagen. . . .

12. JEsu, tausend tausendmal danck ich dir voll Freuden. Danck sey dir für Blut und Quaal, Danck für alles Leiden! Danck sey dir mein Lebenlang, daß du bist gestorben! Für den Himmel sey dir Danck, den du mir erworben!

4. . . . That which flows from Christ’s wounds will revive me; and I will imprint His bloody image in my heart.

5. Jesus, Jesus, You alone are my joy. I will make Your pain on the cross my joy. Ah, out of love You let Yourself be tortured and beaten, yes, out of love for me You suffered every torment. . . .

12. Jesus, I thank You joyfully a thousand thousand times. Thank You for Your blood and anguish, thank You for all Your suffering! I will thank You all my life for Your death! Thank You for heaven, which You have won for me.[98]

The believer expresses his joy at reconciliation in emotional, sometimes even sensual metaphors. The harsh antitheses between Christ’s love and his suffering lend Neumeister’s words a paradoxical character. The theme of paradoxical love and Neumeister’s affective, rhetorically loaded image is consistent with the ambivalent love concept of the time. Here love and sorrow not only go hand in hand but even reinforce one another in the depiction of a violent, but at the same time extremely joyful relationship.

In this context love and blood are inseparably bound together. The believer thanks Jesus for his “blood and anguish” and “imprints” Christ’s “bloody image in [his] heart.” This association is typical of Lutheran crucifixion theology. In the Passion meditation affectively intensified metaphors are employed to create a pedagogically effective presentation of this theological theme. In the following explanation of Johann Heermann’s poem “O Jesus / du mein Bräutigam,” Erdmann Neumeister interprets the Passion, like Gerhard, as consequence and proof of Christ’s love. Neumeister elucidates the theology of love with metaphors of the mystical bridegroom and of blood:

Er wird genennet ein Bräutigam / und diß Wort lässet sich so wenig ohne Liebe nennen, als die Sonne ohne Licht. . . . Er ist aber ein Blut=Bräutigam, und muste durch sein eigen Blut seine Braut erwerben. Wie denn seine Liebe noch deutlicher ausgedrücket wird, so wohl dem Worte, als dem Wercke nach: Der du aus Lieb am Creutzes=Stamm Für mich den Tod gelidten hast. Ach freylich war es die überschwengliche Liebe, welche JEsum nicht nur in unser Fleisch und Blut kleidete, sondern ihn auch in den Tod führte, und an das Creutz . . . hefftete.

He is called a bridegroom, and this word can as little be described without love as the sun without light. . . . But He is a blood-bridegroom, and must win His bride with His own blood. How could His love be more clearly expressed,

> whether in words or works? For out of love You suffered death on the cross for me. Ah, it was truly boundless love, that not only clothed Jesus in flesh and blood but led Him to death and . . . nailed Him on the cross.[99]

Since man's reconciliation with God was realized through the shedding of Christ's blood, in Lutheran devotional texts blood refers both to Christ's sacrificial love and to the love union of the Last Day. Metaphors of blood and wounds in baroque theology, like poetry, should therefore be interpreted as an indication of love. Neumeister's unusual metaphor of the "blood-bridegroom" may thus be understood as an affective intensification of the mystical bridegroom metaphor. While this refers to religious love, the addition of the blood metaphor intensifies and sensualizes the image of the bridegroom in accordance with theological notions. In similar language, Johann Gerhard had already described the faithful soul as Christ's "blood-bride."[100] Christ's blood thus became palpable proof and at the same time textual symbol of his love. As in poetry, so also in theology the words "blood" and "wounds" became discursive representations not only of Christ's suffering but even more so of his love. Heinrich Müller added another almost visual element to the semantic association between blood and love, allowing Christ's wounds to proclaim his love: "These four wounds are four witnesses who cry out all at once: Ah, love! Love! Love! God's love for us men!"[101] Because it cleanses believers of sin, Müller also describes Christ's blood as love-juice.[102] In this context Lutheran theologians sometimes also employed the medieval mystical images of the pelican and the winepress.[103]

As argued in chapter 3, the poetic articulation of Christ's suffering and death often took the form of a presentation of cruelty intended to excite horror and sympathy. The explicit descriptions of Christ's wounds and their combination with love metaphors could also be interpreted in terms of this pedagogic framework. The rhetorical style of the theologians contributes to this effect. The many exclamations, rhetorical questions, multiple metaphors, and affect-laden contrasts between sin and love, suffering and reconciliation, reinforce the affective objective of their statements. Meditation on the cruelty of the Passion should demonstrate to the believer the great love behind Christ's suffering. Recognition of the immeasurable greatness of his love should then excite conversion and grateful reciprocal love. This function of the representation of cruelty was so prevalent in baroque Passion representations that it frequently featured even in the title of the Passion meditation. A typical example is the collection of Passion meditations by the Helmstadt pastor Johann Reichenbach, which appeared under the title *Himmlischer allerheilsambster Liebes=Brunn Jesus Christi / Der für uns gelittenen Liebe durch andächtige Betrachtung seiner höchst=schmertzlichen und blutigen Passion* (1681) (The heavenly, most healing love-spring of Jesus

Christ, Who suffered love for us, through pious meditation on His most painful and bloody Passion). Even the title is an indication that this meditation on Christ's suffering includes a detailed description of all the cruel aspects of the Passion story, in order ultimately to move the reader to conversion by means of baroque shock therapy. Reichenbach states that meditation on the Passion story should "frighten the heart" of the believer and thus turn him away from sin.[104] The moment of conversion in the Passion meditation should above all, as shown by the title of Reichenbach's collection, articulate the contrast between the cruelty of Christ's suffering and the love that lies at the root of the suffering. The affective impact of this contrast is strengthened by the book's formal structure, in which the titles of the individual chapters follow the various manifestations of Christ's love. Thus the narrative structure of the meditation proceeds from "Yearning Love" and "Blood-sweating Love" to "Deathly-pale Love." Since Reichenbach also uses these titles as names for Jesus ("Jesus, yearning Love!"),[105] the reader is constantly reminded that Christ suffered this cruel death solely out of love for him. This pedagogic emphasis on love in the representation of cruelty should generate not only conversion but also grateful reciprocal love. The Passion meditation thus functioned as a type of baroque shock therapy or *consolatio* geared toward love.

COMMUNION MYSTICISM

Communion was the point at which the individual believer could actually experience Christ's presence. Through physical reception of the bread and wine the divine love shown to man in the Passion could become manifest in the heart of the believer. Mystical theologians emphasized that the love awakened by Communion furnished an advance reflection of eschatological *unio mystica*. Receiving Communion was an extremely personal experience, for which the individual should prepare through prayer at home.

Poetry

Baroque Communion poems are strongly geared toward personal emotional experience. The imagery in these poems is based on bridal mysticism and, because of the physical character of Communion, concentrates on the sensual perception of love. Communion was often compared to the royal wedding in Matthew's Gospel (Matt. 22). One of the best-known poems on this theme is Philipp Nicolai's hymn "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern," set to music several times by Johann Sebastian Bach and other composers:

1. Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern/
Voll Gnad und Warheit von dem HERRN/
Die süsse Wurtzel Jesse?
Du Sohn David / auß Jacobs Stamm/
Mein König und mein Bräutigam/
Hast mir mein Hertz besessen/
Lieblich / freundtlich/
Schön und herrlich / Groß und ehrlich/
Reich von Gaben/
Hoch und sehr prächtig erhaben.

. . .

3. Geuß sehr tieff in mein Hertz hineyn/
Du heller Jaspis und Rubin/
Die Flamme deiner Liebe.
Und erfrewe mich daß ich doch bleib
An deinem außerwehlten Leib
Ein lebendige Rippe/
Nach dir / ist mir/
Gratiosa coeli rosa,
Kranck und glümmet/
Mein Hertz / durch Liebe verwundet.

1. How beautifully shines the morning star,
Full of the grace and truth of the Lord,
The sweet root of Jesse.
Son of David, from Jacob's line,
My king and my bridegroom,
You have taken possession of my heart,
Lovely, kindly,
Beautiful and splendid, great and worthy,
Richly blessed,
Highly and most gloriously exalted.

. . .

3. Pour deep into my heart,
O bright jasper and ruby,
The flame of Your love.
And I rejoice that I may remain
By Your chosen body,
A living rib.
For you I grow ill,
Gratiosa coeli rosa,
And my heart smoulders,
Wounded by love.[106]

Nicolai himself described the poem as "the faithful soul's spiritual bridal hymn to Jesus, her heavenly bridegroom." In his *Tisch des HErrn* Erdmann Neumeister explains that the hymn is "a bridal hymn of Christ and His church, and of every faithful soul, to be sung at Holy Communion."[107] The poem is rooted in medieval bridal mysticism, but elaborates its language according to Lutheran theology. The desire of the faithful soul for physical union with Jesus in Communion is articulated in metaphors of lovesickness and sensual imagery. Although Communion is a spiritual union, it is physically provoked and sensually experienced (verse 3). The "pouring in" of Christ's blood in Communion leads to a physical love union. Thus the religious thematics of Communion acquire erotic overtones in mysticism.

As long as he feels no true repentance, the sinful believer is unworthy of sacramental union with Jesus, the bridegroom, in Communion. God's love for man is the basis of Lutheran Passion and Communion theology, but the constant presence of the "old Adam" has clouded this love. The believer's desire to experience God's love in Communion therefore fills him with joy and sorrow at the same time.

Spiritual preparation for Communion through repentance and desire was compared in mysticism to putting on the bridal jewels. A well-known poem on this theme is Johann Franck's hymn "Schmücke dich, o Liebe Seele." Franck describes the soul preparing for Communion as a bride who experiences not only joy in anticipation of union with her bridegroom, but also the ache of desire:

1. Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele,
Laß die dunkle Sündenhöhle,
Komm ans helle Licht gegangen,
Fange herrlich an zu prangen;
Denn der Herr voll Heil und Gnaden
Läßt dich itzt zu Gaste laden.
Der den Himmel kann verwalten,
Will selbst Herberg in dir halten.

. . .

4. Ach, wie hungert mein Gemüte,
Menschenfreund, nach deiner Güte!
Ach, wie pfleg ich oft mit Tränen
Mich nach dieser Kost zu sehnen!
Ach, wie pfleget mich zu dürsten
Nach dem Trank des Lebensfürsten!
Wünsche stets, daß mein Gebeine
Sich durch Gott mit Gott vereine.

1. Adorn yourself, dear soul
Leave this dark den of sin,
Come into the bright light,
Adorn yourself in splendour;
For the Lord, full of salvation and mercy,
Invites you now to be His guest.
He who rules heaven itself
Wishes to make His dwelling in you.

. . .

4. Ah, how my heart hungers,
Friend of mankind, for Your goodness!
Ah, how often I yearn for
This feast with tears.
Ah, how I thirst
For the drink of the Prince of Life!
I wish at all times that my bones
Would be united through God with God.[108]

Putting on the wedding jewels in preparation for Communion here combines once more with the believer's awareness of his unworthiness to partake of the wedding meal. The soul expresses her bitter-sweet desire in aching exclamations ("Ach . . . !"). Moreover the metaphors of hunger and thirst, of bones and of tears,[109] show that the desired love union will be not only spiritual but also highly physical.

The extent to which Communion was seen as a celebration of the bitter-sweet love between Christ and the believer is demonstrated in the following poem by Salomon Franck, who employs metaphors from the Song of Songs as an expression of the lover's desire in preparing for Communion.

Andachts=Lied vor dem heiligen Abendmahl
5.
Oefne mir die Liebes=Augen/
Laß mich freuden=Honig saugen/
Sarons=Rose / meine Freude
Meine Wollust / meine Weyde!
Lebens=Baum laß deine Ritzen
Itzt vor mich den Balsam schwitzen/
Der die Seele recht vergnüget
Die in Angst und Ohnmacht lieget.
6.
Schönster / soll ich länger warten?
Führe mich in deinen Garten/
Komm mit Aepffeln mich zu laben

Und mit Blumen zu begaben/
Ich bin kranck von Lieb' und Sehnen/
Komm zu mir du Glantz der Schönen!
Meiner Seele Schmuck und Prangen/
Komm / HErr JEsu / mein verlangen.

Devotional Hymn before Holy Communion
5.
Open love's eyes to me,
Let me suck the honey of joy,
Rose of Sharon, my joy,
My delight, my pasture!
Tree of life, let Your fissures
Shed balsam for me now,
That will truly delight my soul,
Which lies in fear and weakness.
6.
My beauty, must I wait longer?
Lead me into Your garden,
Come and refresh me with apples,
Endow me with flowers.
I am sick from love and desire,
Come to me, most glorious beauty!
Jewel and splendour of my soul,
Come, Lord Jesus, my desire.[110]

Images from the Song of Songs here acculumate in a baroque metaphor chain, creating a concentrated representation of the lover's desire. The expression of desire in this poem is comparable to the poems presented earlier in this chapter (*Desire for the Heavenly Bridegroom*); the love that is aspired to is represented in joyful metaphors, yet at the same time the lover experiences the ache of desire. As in secular poetry, the metaphors of lovesickness from the Song of Songs are affectively intensified by the rhetorical use of questions and imperatives.

As Nicolai's *Morgenstern* hymn has demonstrated, the representation of Communion mysticism in baroque sacred poetry is often achieved by means of sensual metaphors. Contemporary theology described how participation in Communion could win the believer direct access to Christ's heart.[111] In poetry these theological conditions led to a sensualized representation of Communion that recalls marinist poetry. As in contemporary love poetry, here too sensual perceptions—in this case the actual eating and drinking of the beloved—awaken love in the believer's heart. Participation in Communion was immediately followed by a physiologically effected love union. Although the sensual love described here differs in origin from that described in secular love

poetry, the idiom and style of the latter were ideal for the poetic expression of this religious love. The description in contemporary ethics of the love between man and woman as a reflection of the love between God and the believer (cf. chapter 4) contributed to the development of these discursive parallels.

The following Communion poem by Gottfried Feinler deals with the relationship between Christ's suffering, reconciliation, mystical union, and the possibility of experiencing this in one's own life through participation in Communion:

Communion=Ode
Nach der Melodey:
Brich du hohe Himmels=Feste/&c.

1. AUff! ermuntre dich / *ô* Seele!
Auff! mein schläffriges Gemüth/
Komm zu JESU Wunden=Höle/
Schmecke seine theure Güt/
Komm / der Gaben zugeniessen/
Die aus seinem Hertzen fliessen.

2. Du sollst seinen Leichnam essen/
Der am Creutzes=Stamm gehenckt/
Mit dem Strom aus der Blut=Pressen
Sollstu reichlich sein getränckt/
Diesen edlen Tranck und Speise
Höchlich / meine Seele! preise.

3. Du bist ohne das durch Sünden
Gantz ermattet / kranck und wund/
Alle Kräffte dir verschwinden/
Nichts ist an dir recht gesund:
Drumb so nimm die Artzeneyen/
Die dir Hertz und Geist erfreuen.

. . .

5. Iß und trinck an diesem Tische/
Den dir JESUS hat gedeckt/
Komm mit andern / dich erfrische/
Koste / wie der HERR doch schmeckt/
Seine schöne Freundlichkeiten
Gleichsam umb die Wette streiten.

6. Er geht selber in dein Hertze/
Lebet fest mit dir vereint/
O der heitern Liebes=Kertze!
Sieh / wie gut es JESUS meint;

Ach! was könt Er deinem Leben
Bessers / als sich selbsten geben.

. . .

8. Es ist nicht / wie mancher meinet/
Ein geringes drauff gesetzt/
Wer unwürdig hier erscheinet/
Der hat seine Seel verletzt/
Er entgeht dem Gnaden=Lichte/
Ist ihm selber das Gerichte.

9. Drumb / so spare deine Busse/
Bring GOtt ein zerknirschtes Hertz/
Falle weinend ihm zu Fusse/
Klage deinen Sünden=Schmertz/
Bitte / daß Er dich entlade/
Sprich Ihn an umb seine Gnade.

10. So wird Er umb JESU Leiden
Dir ein treuer Vater seyn/
Er wird sich nicht von dir scheiden/
Wenn du dich nur stellest ein/
Als den Christen will gebühren/
Er wird dich in Armen führen.

11. Drauff erhebe deine Güte/
Rühme JESU theure Gnad/
Meine Seele! mein Gemüthe!
Lobe GOttes Wunder=That.
Auff! und laß zu deinen Ehren
Ihm ein schönes Danck=Lied hören!
Communion Ode

To the melody:
Break, you high heavenly feasts, etc.
1. Arise! take comfort, my soul!
Arise! my sleepy heart
Come to the cleft of JESUS' wound,
Taste His precious grace
Come, enjoy the gifts
That flow from His heart.

2. Eat His body,
Given for you on the cross-bole
Saturate yourself deep

In the stream from His blood-presses
Praise highly, my soul,
This precious drink and food

3. Without this you are
Weary, sick and wounded,
All your strength is vanished,
No part of you is truly well:
So partake of the medicines
That will delight your heart and spirit.

. . .

5. Eat and drink at this table
That JESUS has set for you
Come with others, refresh yourself,
Enjoy the taste of the LORD
His beauteous blessings
Surpass one another.

6. He Himself enters your heart,
Lives firmly united with you.
O bright candle of love!
See how good JESUS is to us;
Ah! what better could he do for your life
Than to give you His own Self?

. . .

8. It is not, as some think,
A mere trifle that rests upon this;
Whoever comes here unworthy
Has wounded his soul
He foregoes the light of mercy,
He is his own tribunal.

9. Therefore build up your penance,
Bring to GOd an anxious heart
Fall weeping at His feet,
Lament the ache of your sins
Beg that He will relieve you,
Appeal to Him for mercy.

10. Then for the sake of JESUS' suffering
He will be a true father,
He will not part from you.
If only you go before Him,

As befits the Christian,
He will take you in His arms.

11. Therefore exalt your blessings,
Extol JESUS' precious grace!
My soul! My heart!
Praise GOd's wondrous deed
Arise! and in His honour let Him hear
A lovely thanksgiving hymn![112]

The combination of mystical and petrarchan metaphors in this poem is characteristic of baroque Communion poetry. The first two verses focus on Lutheran *unio sacramentalis*.[113] In the sacrament of Communion the bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ. The metaphors of entering Christ's wounds and being saturated in blood show that the poet interprets Communion theology according to mystical tradition. The physical reception of Christ's body and blood, sacrificed out of love for man, should generate a similar love in the emotional center of the heart. Verses 5 and 6 describe how the "tasting and seeing" from Psalm 34:9 can be interpreted as sensual perceptions of love, which also awaken this affect in the receiver. Spiritual love thus has the same qualities and effects as (marinist) worldly love. Moreover, in verse 3 Feinler describes how desire to experience love makes the believer "sick and wounded"; this sickness is a sign of both his sinfulness and his loving desire. The repentance that is necessary in order to partake worthily of Communion also has a physical counterpart. In verse 9 the poet urges the believer to demonstrate to God his repentance and desire for love union in Communion through his tears. Because reconciliation and therefore *unio mystica* are only made possible through the love God shows in Christ's sacrifice, true repentance should cleanse the sinful heart with which Jesus, out of undeserved love, seeks to be united. Therefore in conclusion Feinler emphasizes in verse 11 that Christ should always be praised and thanked for his "wondrous deed." Here, as in secular poetry, the love that lies at the root of mystical theology is reflected as a wondrous power.

Feinler's mystical–sensual interpretation of Communion is affectively intensified by rhetorical exclamations, multiple metaphors, and imperatives. To equal rhetorical effect, Greiffenberg describes Communion as a sensual love-feast by means of poetic acuity and virtuosity:

11. Mein herze! herz dein herz im innern grunde.
Ach küß und iß ihn ganz / vor lieb / mein munde!
Ach seel und kehl! zugleich mit innern springen
Solt ihr den Geist der wollust jetzt verschlingen.

. . .

22. Ich sterbe schier / vor gier / GOtt für zu preisen/
verzehre mich mit freuden /diesen speißen/
der erz=herz=lieb ein wenig nachzudenken.
Ja / ich erstumm / will ganz mich drein versenken.

11. My heart! Caress your heart in its inmost depths.
Ah, kiss Him and eat Him up for love, my mouth!
Ah, soul and throat! Leap together within me
And devour now the spirit of lust

. . .

22. I am almost dying of the desire to praise God.
With joy I consume this meal,
In remembrance of my arch-heart-love.
Yes, I fall silent, I wish to sink myself in it completely.[114]

This ecstatic poem makes no differentiation between participation in Communion and *unio mystica*, or between the sensual perceptions of worldly love and "tasting and seeing the Lord"; even the eating of the bread is experienced as the lover's kiss (verse 11). The love experienced in Communion is absorbed through the physical senses, the loving soul is drunk and beside herself, it even dies a love-death (verse 22). The stylistic devices employed by Greiffenberg are more typical of marinist than mystical poetry.[115] The soul's admiration for Christ's sacrifice and love is articulated poetically though textual acuity. Word-doubling, assonance, and wordplay function as a textual image of God's wondrous works. The theme of loving admiration operates affectively through an abundance of rhetorical figures such as exclamations, personifications, hyperbole, and paradoxes.

Theology

"Holy Communion is a signature in Christ's blood,
assuring you of His love."[116]

Jesus' presence in Communion (*ubiquity*[117]) actively encompasses the memory of Christ's suffering and the resulting justification and reconciliation, thus strengthening faith. Communion—the sacrament of union—reminds the believer of God's grace and love, and transforms the eschatological salvation made attainable though Christ's justifying death into a tangible prospect.[118]

As in Passion theology the various components of Lutheran Communion theology are bound together by love. Divine love underpinned Christ's death on the cross, justification, and reconciliation; therefore it furnished the theological and emotional starting point for preparation for Communion,

remembrance of Christ's death on the cross, and receiving the sacrament. For these reasons Communion was regarded in Lutheran theology as the sacrament of love. The tendency toward introspection in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century devotion reinforced this view of Communion. Particularly through the revival of mystical themes and motifs, it was often described as a personal love union with Jesus. As argued in chapter 4, however, this union could only take place in and through faith. *Sola fide* was thus the basis of Lutheran Communion theology also.

From the late sixteenth century Lutheran theologians such as Martin Moller and Philipp Nicolai enhanced the image of the royal wedding feast with medieval mystical metaphors of the wedding and the Song of Songs. They accordingly represented Communion as a mystical wedding. In a sermon on Matthew 22 Heinrich Müller emphasizes the greatness of the love of God, who is willing to be united in marriage with sinful man:

> Das Himmelreich ist gleich einem Könige / der seinem Sohn Hochzeit machte. Der König ist Gott der Vater. . . . Der Sohn deß Königes ist Jesus Christus / der wird uns hie vorgestellet als ein Bräutigam. . . . Ein holdseliger Bräutigam. Schmäcket und sehet / wie freundlich der HErr ist. Die Braut ist die menschliche Natur / eine unedler Braut / gezeuget von den beyden Kinder=Mördern / Adam und Eva / welche durch ihre Sünde den Tod über alle Menschen gebracht haben; Eine arme Braut . . . ; Eine nichtige Braut / die ein Staub und Asche ist / und sonst nichts; Eine heßliche Braut. . . . Da dencke / meinHertz / wie ungleich hier seyn Bräutigam und Braut / und doch liebt eines das ander so hertzlich. Sonst sagt man: Gleichheit ist eine Mutter der Liebe. Gleich gestellt sich / gleicht sucht sich. Hie ist Bräutigam und Braut einander gar ungleich / Doch aber hat sich der Bräutigam im Fleisch der Braut gleich gemachet. Er war im Himmel / und nahm menschliche Gestalt an. Er war reich / und ward so arm / daß er nicht hatte / wo er sein Haupt hinlegte. Er war schon / und ward heßlich. Der von keiner Sünde wusste / ward von Gott zur Sünde gemacht. Er war der Höchste / und ward der Niedrigste / Er erniedrigte sich selbst. Er war alles / und ward nichts / auß Liebe gegen seine Braut / daß er ihr gleich würde / und sie lieben könte.
>
> The kingdom of heaven is like a king who arranged a marriage for his son. The king is God the Father. . . . The king's son is Jesus Christ, presented to us here as a bridegroom. . . . A lovely bridegroom. Taste and see that the Lord is good. The bride is human nature, an ignoble bride, begotten of the child-murderers, Adam and Eve, who through their sin brought death to all mankind; a poor bride . . . ; a worthless bride, who is dust and ashes, and nothing more; an ugly bride. . . . Consider, my heart, how unlike are this bridegroom and bride, and yet they love one another so deeply. As they say: likeness is a mother of love. Like presents itself to like, like seeks like. Here the bridegroom and bride are indeed unlike, yet the bridegroom has made himself like with His bride in the flesh. He was in heaven, and took on human form. He was rich, and became so poor that He had

> nowhere to lay His head. He was beautiful, and became ugly. He who knew no sin was created by God for sin. He was the highest, and became the lowest. He humbled Himself. He was everything, and became nothing for love of His bride, so that He became like her and could love her.[119]

The anthropological inequality between Christ and man means that the latter is principally unworthy of the mystical wedding in Communion. Christ's readiness to be united with the soul in spite of this attests to his grace and love. Müller lends the contrast between Christ's love and man's sinfulness affective impact through a rhetorical accumulation of oxymora. Although the faithful soul is the "ignoble," "poor," "worthless," and "ugly" child of the sinful "child-murderers" Adam and Eve, yet Jesus chooses her as his bride. This rhetorically enhanced contrast (*augmentatio*) between the unworthiness of man and Christ's divine love should awaken deeply felt repentance in the believer. True repentence, the spiritual preparation for Communion, is described in mysticism as the adornment of the soul. Through faith, repentance, and love the believer cleanses his heart and may worthily receive Communion.

> Soll Gott sein Himmelreich in dir bauen / so reinige dich durch wahre Busse. Wann also das Hertz durch den Glauben gereiniget ist/so schmücke es auch daß Gott Lust habe darinnen zu wohnen. . . . Solls Gottes Paradiß und Himmel seyn / so müssen die Tugend=Blümlein darin wachsen / und Sternlein darinn leuchten. Schmücke es mit heiliger Liebe.
>
> If God is to build His heavenly kingdom in you, then you must cleanse yourself through true repentance. When the heart is cleansed through faith, then adorn it so that God will desire to live in it. . . . If it is to be God's paradise and heaven, then the flowers of virtue must grow in it and little stars must light it. Adorn it with holy love.[120]

Erdmann Neumeister extends the metaphor of the adornment of the soul still further. In a sermon on the Communion hymn "Schmücke dich, o Liebe Seele!" he writes that the believer should always clothe himself for Communion as for a wedding, both spiritually and outwardly.

> Schmücke dich / o liebe Seele! heisset es. Jeglicher Mensch liebet wohl von Natur seine Seele; iedoch mag man sie wohl eine liebe Seele umb deßwillen insonderheit nennen, weil sie von CHristo hoch geliebet und gewürdiget wird, daß er sich mit ihr vereiniget, und sie mit seinem Leibe speiset, und mit seinem Blute träncket. Nun, sie wird angereget, daß sie sich schmücken soll. Gemeiniglich pfleget man, sonderlich das Frauenzimmer, den besten Schmuck anzulegen, wenn man zum Abendmahl gehet. Man spricht auch wohl: Ich tue es meinem Heylande zu Ehren / und wegen meines geistlichen Hochzeits=Tags.

> Es ist nicht zu tadeln, und wird auch eine äußerliche Reinlichkeit den Augen JEsu nicht mißfallen. Nur siehe zu, daß es kein Vorwand aus Heucheley sey. . . . Der wahre Seelenschmuck ist Glaube und Liebe zu JEsu, nebst andern heiligen Tugenden.
>
> Adorn yourself, dear soul! So it is said. Every man naturally loves his own soul; yet one may well call it a dear soul more especially because it is deeply loved and valued by Christ, to the extent that He unites himself with it and feeds it with His body, and gives it His blood to drink. Now it is asked to adorn itself. It is usual, especially for women, to put on one's best adornment when going to Communion. It is also said: I do it in honour of my Saviour and for my spiritual wedding day. This is not to be censured, nor will outward cleanliness displease the eyes of Jesus. Only see to it that it is not a pretext, done out of hypocrisy. . . . The true adornment of the soul is faith and love for Jesus, along with the other sacred virtues.[121]

Spiritual cleansing through repentance, faith, and love is here compared to putting on the wedding jewels. The "spiritual wedding" was seen as a tangible event for which the believer should prepare himself as thoroughly as possible, both spiritually and physically. Therefore the desire of the faithful soul for God's love during preparation for Communion is often expressed sensually in mysticism. Psalm 34:9 is sometimes quoted or paraphrased: "Ah, I count the hours until my soul shall taste and see that the LORD is good."[122] Communion itself was likewise seen as an articulation of Christ's love that could be sensually experienced. Elements of medieval mysticism based on the wedding and the Song of Songs were elaborated with extreme sensuality and supplemented with sensuous metaphors and motifs of desire. As already shown in the context of Communion poetry, such descriptions of the sensual palpability and excitability of the affect of love in Communion correlate to the secular love discourse.

Johann Gerhard explains how the believer would be not only reconciled and justified but also physically united with Christ through participation in Communion:

> Es ist das heilige Abendmahl zu dem Ende von Christo vnserm HErrn eingesetzet / daß es nicht allein die Evangelische Verheissung von gnediger Vergebung der Sünden in vns versiegeln / vnnd vnsern Glauben bekrefftigen soll / sondern daß wir auch dadurch dem HErrn einverleibet / vnd zum ewigen Leben gespeiset werden sollen / wie er davon selber spricht Joh. 6. Vers. 56.
>
> Holy Communion was instituted by Christ Our Lord not only to seal in us the evangelical promise of merciful forgiveness of sins and to strengthen our faith, but also that through it we might receive the Lord into our bodies and be nourished for eternal life just as He Himself says John 6:56.[123]

Communion thus serves a double purpose: because of Christ's physical presence in Communion, eating and drinking Jesus' body and blood achieves both "forgiveness of sins" and the reception of God "into our bodies." This physical union with Christ reinforces reconciliation because through it the believer is "nourished for eternal life."

Since the body and blood sacralized in Communion were material proofs of Christ's love, participation in Communion—the physical reception of his body—occasioned a physical love union. In his description of Communion August Pfeiffer concentrates even more than Gerhard on the love Jesus sought to bestow on the believer:

> Hätte dein Heyland was höhers / was liebers unter seinen Hertzen gehabt / so hätte ers aus Liebe deiner Seelen zum besten gegeben. Allein was hätte er dir liebers geben können / als seinen allerheiligsten Leib und Blut / die er in die Gemeinschafft seiner Gottheit auffgenommen? Wie hätte er ein theurer Liebes=Band / ein höher Gnaden=Pfand dir geben können? Solte solche Betrachtung nicht eine geistliche Begierde in uns erwecken / also / das wir Ursach haben zu sagen: Ach mich verlanget hertzlich / mein JEsu / das Abendmahl mit dir zu halten! O gesegnete selige Stunde / da ich dich wieder umfangen soll; Du stehest vor der Thüre meines Hertzens / und klopffet an / und wilt bey mir einkehren / ey so komm / du Gesegneter des HErrn / die Hertzens=Thür ist geöffnet / gehe hinein / das Abendmahl mit mir zu halten und ich mit dir.
>
> If the Saviour had anything higher or better in His heart, then He would have done it for the best out of love for your soul. But what better thing could He have given you than His most sacred body and blood, which He took on in Communion with his godhead? How could He have given you a more precious love-bond, a higher pledge of mercy? Should not such reflection awaken spiritual desire in us, so that we have cause to say: Ah, I heartily desire, my Jesus, to celebrate Communion with You! O blessed, sacred hour when I shall embrace You once more; You stand before the door of my heart and knock and wish to enter me; then come, O blessed of the Lord, the door of my heart is open. Enter and celebrate Communion with me and I with You.[124]
>
> Ferner geschicht *unionis mysticae & fidei salvificae firmatio*, eine Stärckung unsers Glaubens / welcher das Band ist / so JEsum und unsere Seele zusammen verbindet / denn Christus wohnet durch den Glauben in uns / *Gal.III,17*. Solch Band wird durch dieses Gnaden=Mittel desto fester geknüpffet; Die geistliche Niessung des mit unserer Seelen vereinigten JEsu . . . / bestätiget / und das Band der Liebe gestärcket.
>
> Furthermore, *unionis mysticae & fidei salvificae firmatio* behove a strengthening of our faith, which is the bond that binds Jesus and our soul, for Christ lives in us through faith *Gal 3:17*. Such a bond is made even stronger through this

> medium of grace; the spiritual nourishment of Jesus' union with our soul . . . is affirmed and the bond of love strengthened.[125]

Pfeiffer theologically draws together the Lutheran dogmas of *sola fide* and reconciliation through love: *out of* love Jesus gave his body and blood for mankind, *in* love he wishes to be united with him, and *as a result* of this union the loving relationship between the two will be strengthened. Pfeiffer's theological concentration on love is represented textually in sensually expressed mystical motifs. The reception of Communion is here a mystical embrace, and the door from the Song of Songs (5:2–6) becomes the physical door of the faithful heart, through which Jesus may enter. The believer's exclamations express a sensual desire for Christ's entry. Through the use of both mystical and secular love motifs Pfeiffer affectively articulates the homiletic theme of preparation for Communion as lover's desire. Communion was not only born of love but could also, through the physical reception of Christ's love, lead to a love union. Communion was therefore often called a "love-feast."[126]

In physiological terms the physical processes of eating and drinking Christ's love lead to the awakening of love in the heart of the believer. Through the confluence of sensually perceptible love and the physiological arousing of affect with Lutheran Communion doctrine, the sacrament came to be regarded in devotional theology as a literal "foretaste" of union on the Last Day.[127] Heinrich Müller explains how the sensual tasting of Communion contributes to the spiritual impact of the sacrament:[128]

> Den Brauch hat die heilige Schrifft / daß sie uns die himmlische Freude öffter in der Wollust deß Geschmackes / als anderer Sinnen fürmahlet / weil der Geschmack alle andere Sinnen in der Wollust übertrifft. . . . Der Außerwählten Wollust ist die süsseste und höchste. So ist auch im Glaubens=Geschmack eine sonderbare Vereinigung zwischen der Speise und demselben / der ihrer geneust. Dann sie wird in deß Menschen Fleisch und Blut gewandelt. Im Himmel ist eine genaue Vereinigung zwischen Gott und den Außerwählten . . . .
>
> Holy Scripture is wont to depict heavenly joy through the pleasure of taste more often than the other senses, because taste transcends all the other senses in pleasure. . . . The chosen pleasure is the sweetest and highest. So also in the taste of faith there is a special union between the meal and the one who enjoys it. For it is changed into man's flesh and blood. In heaven there is a precise union between God and the elect.[129]

The union described by Müller "between the meal and the one who enjoys it," which should awaken "heavenly joy" in man, is physiologically brought about, since the meal "is changed into man's flesh and blood." Through the believer's participation in Communion he literally "becomes one body" with

the love that God has shown for him in the Passion.[130] Thus through sensual "pleasure" a love union comes into being that is not only spiritual but also physical, and therefore all the more enduring.[131]

In another passage Heinrich Müller explains how physical love union with Christ in Communion strengthens reciprocal love in the believer's heart.

> Durch die Einwohnung vereiniget sich die Liebe Gottes genau und süssiglich mit dir. Denn gleich wie die Gottheit mit der Menschheit in Christo persönlich verbunden ist / weil sie in der Menschheit leibhafftig wohnet; also ist die Seele mit Gott geistlich vereiniget / dadurch / daß Gott in ihr durch den Glauben wohnet. . . .
>
> Paulus nennt diese Vereinigung eine Einwurtzelung in Christo. Daß ihr durch die Liebe eingewurtzelt werdet. Gleich wie wann die Wurtzeln zweyer Bäume zusammen wachsen / da flichtet sich die eine leiblich in die andere / eine umbfängt die ander; so gehets auch im Geist zu. Christus gibt meinem Hertzen seine Liebe zu schmecken / da wurtzelt seines in meines / da trag ich das Paradis und den Himmel in mir / ich werde durch den Glauben in hertzlicher Gegen=Liebe entzündet / da wurtzelt meines in seines / da wächst mein Elend / und fliessen meine Thränen in sein Hertz / eines ist ins ander leiblich geflochten. Wer mein Fleisch isset / und mein Blut trincket / der bleibet in mir und ich in ihm. Hiedurch wird angedeutet die allernäheste Vereinigung. Nahe ist das Kleid dem Leibe / noch näher ist die Haut / aber zum nähesten Speiß und Tranck / alß welches gar in den Leib hinein genommen / in Fleisch und Blut verwandelt / und der Natur nach daß innerste wird: So inniglich ist auch Christus mit der Seelen vereiniget.

> Through [Christ's] indwelling God's love is perfectly and sweetly united with you. For just as divinity is personally united with humanity in Christ because it dwells physically in humanity, so the soul is spiritually united with God because God lives in the soul through faith.
>
> Paul calls this union a rooting in Christ. That ye being rooted together in love. Just as when the roots of two trees grow together, the one intertwines lovingly with the other, the one embraces the other, so it is with the spirit also. Christ gives my heart His love to taste, so that His love takes root in mine and I carry Paradise and Heaven within me. Then faith kindles within me heartfelt reciprocal love, so that my love takes root in His. My misery grows and my tears flow into His heart; the one has flown lovingly into the other. Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood remains in me and I in him. This refers to the closest union of all. Clothing is close to the body, the skin is closer still, but closest of all are food and drink, which are actually taken into the body, transformed into flesh and blood, and in accordance with nature become our innermost parts: so intimately is Christ united with the soul.[132]

Müller's words show that Lutheran Communion doctrine was supported by physiological affect conceptions. The "physical intertwining" of Christ's

body and blood in the heart of the believer could awaken "heartfelt reciprocal love." The functions of the senses and the body could accelerate not only the reception of this love in his heart, but also a responsive love for Christ. Müller describes this process in detail in his *Himmlische Liebes=Küß*:

> Das heilige Abendmahl ist eine Handschrifft mit Christi Blut geschrieben / versichert dich seiner Liebe. Darumb ists unter Essen und Trincken gestifftet / daß er dir seine Liebe ins Hertz mit seinem Blut einverleibte und einpflantzete. Wir essen und trincken seine Liebe / sie wird unser Manna und Wein / unser Stärcke / Erquickung und Vergnügung: Diese Liebe übertrifft alle menschliche Gedancken / und solte billich aller Menschen Herz durchdringen und verwunden. . . . Weil nun Christus uns mit vollkommener Liebe auß allen Kräfften liebet / so will er sich gern mit uns vereinigen / daß er mit uns / und wir mit ihm / ein Leib und Geist werden. Darumb hat er diß H. Abendmahl unter der Gestalt einer Speise und Trancks gestifftet.
>
> Holy Communion is a signature in Christ's blood, assuring you of His love. Therefore it is given in the form of food and drink, so that He embodies and plants His love in our heart with His blood. We eat and drink His love; it becomes our manna and wine, our strong refreshment and pleasure. This love transcends all human thought and should rightly penetrate and wound every heart. . . . Because Christ loves us with all His strength in perfect love, He wants to be united with us so that He may become one body and spirit with us, and we with Him. Therefore He gave us Holy Communion in the form of food and drink.[133]

Here Müller refers to the medieval mystical tradition of the Song of Songs, but lends it a wordly, marinist tone by describing a physical, wounded love.

It is clear from these theological pronouncements on Communion that Lutheran teachings on reconciliation and justification are not refuted but, on the contrary, supported by the reception of mysticism: the mystical concept of "becoming one body" confirms the doctrine of ubiquity and provides a physiological basis for the doctrine of reconciliation.[134] *Unio mystica* played a special role in this association between justification and Communion.[135] The physiological understanding of Communion and its affectively powerful discursive representation reinforced Luther's thinking, which saw "love inflamed by love" through Communion with Christ, the saints, and the church in the sacrament of the Eucharist.[136]

MYSTICAL DESIRE FOR DEATH

Through his suffering Jesus reconciled man with God and released him from the darkness of death. For this reason Lutheran devotional writings empha-

sized that a pious Christian need have no fear of death. The literary genre of Lutheran *ars moriendi* (the art of dying), too, was strongly affected by mysticism, since Christ's loving death had definitively opened the way for the believer to eschatological *unio mystica*.

Poetry

Many Lutheran poems on the theme of death express a desire for death that is based on the longing for personal union with Jesus after dying.[137] This union was often represented in poetry as a heavenly wedding feast. In this context desire for death was at the same time desire for the heavenly bridegroom. Johann Rist describes the longing to take leave of this world and the desire for eschatological union with Christ almost without distinction:

6.
O vielbegehrter lieber Tod/
Du bist zwahr gräulich anzusehen/
Mir aber nicht / weil in der Noht
Du mich nicht länger lässest stehen/
Ich weiß / die Reichen fürchten dich/
Die Könige der Welt erschrekken/
Ich nicht also / du tröstest mich/
Weil du mich friedlich wilt bedekken.

. . .

8.
O JEsu liebster Bräutigam/
Daß meiner Seelen so verlanget/
Das machet der Schoß Abraham/
Wo Lazarus in Freuden pranget/
Mein Geist der hat in diser Welt
Dich oft gesucht / doch schwehrlich funden/
Bringst du ihn nun ins FreudenZelt/
So hat er alles überwunden.

6.
O beloved, greatly desired death,
You may well be regarded with horror,
But not by me, for you leave me
Standing no longer in my need.
I know that the rich fear you,
The kings of this world take fright at you,
But not I. You comfort me

Because you will cover me with peace.

. . .

8.
O JEsus, beloved bridegroom,
Whom my soul so desires,
Maker of Abraham's lap
Where Lazarus rests in joyful splendour.
In this world my spirit
Has often sought you, but scarcely found you;
Take it now into the tent of joy,
Then it will have conquered all.[138]

In accordance with Lutheran *ars moriendi* Rist celebrates death as the Christian's eschatological homeland, to which he looks forward with longing. Apart from being the last resting place of the faithful soul, death also represents the moment of ultimate and eternal union with God. Thus the desire for death is also a lover's desire, expressed through images from the Song of Songs and bridal metaphors. The paradoxical nature of this desire, in which love and death are combined, is represented by stylistic devices such as paradox, oxymoron, and hyperbole. The sorrowful emphasis on the fact that the desired fusion of God and man in love has not yet been attained was already noticeable in the poems analyzed earlier in this chapter (*Desire for the Heavenly Bridegroom*); here the glorification of death as rest for the weary soul furnishes a further thematic association with petrarchism.[139]

The following expression of desire for death by Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg leans even more heavily on mystical and secular love language, and is scarcely distinguishable from poetic representations of the desire for mystical love union:

Gekrönter Seelen=Schatz! krön' auch bald deine Liebe/
wie kann der Bräutgam doch so lang seyn ohn die Braut?
Ach! deiner Trauten bald den süßen Lieb=kuß gibe:
durch den sie sich in dich aus ihr versetzet schaut.
Ich nenne einen Kuß / die Seele aus dem leib
in deine hand gedrückt. Ich nenne diß ein Krönen/
was sonsten töden heist. Wann ich in dir verbleib/
ist sterben / leben mir; verwesen / mein verschönen.

Crowned soul-treasure! Crown your love soon also
How can the bridegroom be so long without his bride?
Ah! give your beloved your sweet love-kiss soon:
Through which she sees herself transported out of herself into you.

I call a kiss the soul departed from its body
And clasped in your hand. I call a crown
That which is otherwise called death. If I abide in you
Then death is life to me; my decay is my beautification.[140]

Here dying is presented as a direct transition to eternal union with God, for which the faithful soul longs. Whereas in Rist's poem death is still frightening and "regarded with horror," here it is likened to the "sweet love-kiss" of the heavenly beloved. The sorrowful tone of this poem is based not on fear of death but on the soul's desire for the bridegroom. Christ the bridegroom waits in heaven for his bride, who will be united with him after death. This union—that is, eternal life attained through reconciliation—is presented in the last lines of the poem as a sensual–erotic relationship with Christ, in which death is transformed into life, and decay into beauty. The physical love union with the beloved desired by the petrarchan poets was equally deep and paradigm-shifting.

The sensuality of eschatological love union is further elaborated in the following poem by Johann Heermann. He describes how, united with Jesus after death, the believer can taste the sweetness of heavenly love:

Da werd ich deine Süssigkeit,
Die jetzt berühmt ist weit vnd breit,
In reiner Liebe schmecken
Vnd sehn dein liebreich Angesicht
Mit vnverwandtem AugenLiecht
Ohn alle Furcht vnd Schrecken:
    Reichlich
    Werd ich
    Seyn erquicket
    Vnd geschmücket
    Für dein Throne
Mit der schönen HimmelsKrone.

Then Your sweetness,
Renowned far and wide,
Shall I taste in pure love;
And I shall see Your loving face
And the steadfast light of Your eyes
Without fear or terror:
Richly
Shall I be
Refreshed
And adorned
Before Your throne
With heaven's beautiful crown.[141]

During the heavenly wedding meal, if the promise of Communion is fulfilled, the faithful and pious Christian will really be able to "see and taste" love. In eschatological union with Christ, the believer's bitter-sweet desire will turn into the sweet experience of love.

Theology

"Ah, but come, dear sweet death, you shall not frighten me,
Death is my victory, death is my victory."[142]

Because of the Christian message of salvation, death signals not the end of life but the beginning for the Christian. In the words of the Lutheran mystics, this meant that through Christ's love sacrifice death had become a *dulce amarus*, a sweet bitterness,[143] because dying was the gateway to eschatological love union with Jesus the heavenly bridegroom. Therefore death was often described as a wedding in funeral sermons and meditations.[144] Martin Moller presents death as the soul's joyful return to her bridegroom:

> O du wunderbarer Breutigam / Ich bin ja auch deine Braut / du wirst mich auch heymholen / wenn dirs gefallen wird. Hilff du wunderbarer Helffer / das ich mir mein Ende täglich fürbilde / und an meinen Abscheyd ohn unterlaß gedencke / Eröffne mir die Augen meines Hertzen / das ich den Todt recht ansehe/ und jhn nicht halte für einen Todt / nicht für ein Versterben / nicht für einen Untergang / sondern für meine Heymführung / aus diesem Jammerthal / zu dir meinem HErrn und Breutigam / inn deines Vaters Hauß / Amen.
>
> O wonderful bridegroom, I am indeed Your bride, and You will bring me home when it pleases You. Help me, wonderful helper, that I may daily prepare for my end and think unceasingly of my parting. Open the eyes of my heart that I may look on death rightly and see it not as death, not as dying, not as an ending, but as my homecoming from this vale of tears to You, my Lord and bridegroom, in Your father's house. Amen.[145]

Here the contrast between the earthly "vale of tears" and the union with the "wonderful bridegroom" is so great that the soul achingly desires her eschatological salvation. Moller continues:

> O ewige Wonne / O ewige Frewde / O ewige Herrlichkeit / O ewige frewdenreiche Seligkeit / wie verlanget mein Hertze nach dir? O komm HErr Jesus / Komm mein allerschönester Breutigam / Komm du ewiger Hertzog des Lebens / Du mein ewiger Erlöser unnd Seligmacher / Komm und sey nicht lange / . . . O wie verlanget meine Seele nach deiner Erscheinung? Wie frewe ich mich deiner herrlichen Zukunfft? O mein HERR Jesus / komm nur heut / daß ich eingehe zu deiner Frewde / Amen / Mein HERR Jesu Christe / Amen / Amen.

> O eternal bliss, O eternal joy, O eternal splendour, O eternal joyous salvation, how my soul desires You! O come, LOrd Jesus! Come, my most beautiful bridegroom! Come, eternal Duke of life! My eternal redeemer and saviour, come and do not delay . . . O how my soul longs for Your arrival! How I rejoice in Your glorious future! O my LORD Jesus, just come today so that I may enter your joy. Amen. My LORD Jesus Christ. Amen. Amen.[146]

Mystical longing for death, like longing for Christ, is expressed in metaphors of lover's desire. In cajoling exclamations the soul begs Christ to take her unto himself soon. According to mystical theologians death was more joyful than sad, because after dying the heavenly wedding could finally take place. The theological conjunction of death and desire gave many authors grounds to employ petrarchan metaphors in meditations on death as in representations of love for Jesus. Heinrich Müller gives anguished expression to his mystical desire for death through rhetorical questions and exclamations, while sensual metaphors depict the heavenly wedding as a physical experience for all the senses:

> Ach nimm mich in den Himmel / HErr JESU balde: Ich bin ein Schäflein / mein Hirt ist im Himmel: ich bin ein Küchlein / meine Gluckhennen ist im Himmel: ich bin eine Braut / mein Bräutigamb ist im Himmel: wo find ich Weyde / Schutz / Erquickung? im Himmel / Ach nimm mich in den Himmel / HErr JEsu / balde. Wo ist mein Freund? im Himmel: wo ist mein Schatz? im Himmel: wo ist meine Freude? im Himmel: wo ist mein Hauß? im Himmel: wo ist mein einigs? im Himmel: wo ist mein Alles? im Himmel: Ach nimm mich in den Himmel / HErr Jesu balde! Mein Hertz seufftzet / mein Aug thränet / mein Mund wünschet / mein Ohr höret / mein Hand greiffet / wornach? nach dem Himmel; Ach nimm mich in den Himmel. HErr Jesu balde. Ich schmäck was süsses / ich seh was schönes / ich hör was liebliches / ich riech was anmuthiges / ich halte was köstliches: Was dann? den Himmel: Ach nimm mich in den Himmel / HErr JESU balde.
>
> Ah, take me up into Heaven, Lord Jesus, soon! I am a sheep, my shepherd is in heaven. I am a chicken, my broody hen is in heaven. I am a bride, my bridegroom is in heaven. Where will I find pasture, protection, refreshment? In Heaven. Ah, take me up into Heaven, Lord Jesus, soon! Where is my friend? In Heaven. Where is my only one? In Heaven. Where is my all? In Heaven. Ah, take me up into Heaven, Lord Jesus, soon! What does my heart sigh for, my eye weep for, my mouth wish for, my ear listen for, my hand grasp for? For Heaven. Ah, take me up into Heaven, Lord Jesus, soon! I taste something sweet, I see something beautiful, I hear something lovely, I smell something pleasant, I hold something precious: what then? Heaven. Ah, take me up into Heaven, Lord Jesus, soon![147]

Here the desire for Jesus is so great that the soul cannot wait to be with him. Müller highlights the soul's desire through focused use of rhetorical repetition

and intensifying figures in which the lover's torment and sensual perceptions determine the emotional form of the statements. The desire for the heavenly bridegroom is thus articulated as an emphatically bitter-sweet, sensual experience. As in other representations of love for Jesus, here too the languages of mystical and worldly love intertwine. Through the employment of motifs also prevalent in secular love poetry and rhetorical figures, the mystical theme of the heavenly wedding is textually represented as a sensual but emphatically ambivalent event.

The Passion meditation can also awaken a desire for death. Müller describes how the faithful soul is moved to an aching desire for God by the Passion story:

> Ausser dem Creutz fällt dem Menschen zuweilen ein Verlangen nach dem Himmel jählings ein . . . Das Creutz ist der rechte Saame / darauß die beständige Himmels=Seuffzer wachsen. Meynestu nicht / daß manche fromme Seele Tag und Nacht auff den Knien lieget / und nach dem Himmel jammert / mit Paulo weinet und schreyet Phil.1. Ich begehre auffgelöset / und bei Christo zu seyn? Dazu treibet sie das liebe Creutz. Im Creutz seuffzen wir nach GOTT / die Seuffzer rühren dann GOttes Hertz / daß er uns erquicket und tröstet.

> Sometimes at the cross man suddenly feels the desire for heaven. . . . The cross is the true seed from which constant heaven-sighs grow. Do you not think that many pious souls are on their knees day and night, grieving for heaven, weeping and crying out with Paul *Phil. 1*, I long to be saved and be with Christ? Therefore it takes up the beloved cross. At the cross we sigh for GOD; our sighs then move GOd's heart to refresh and comfort us.[148]

God reveals himself to man most perfectly and impressively in the cross, because in Christ's suffering and dying both the unending love and merciful righteousness of God are manifest. Through this direct confrontation with Jesus' love, the meditation on the cross awakens in the believer a powerful desire to be united with him. This emotional outcome of the Lutheran meditation on the cross was expressed in homiletics and devotional literature as mystical desire: the believer sighs and weeps out of repentance and love.

PETRARCHISM AND MYSTICISM IN LUTHERAN DEVOTION

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Lutheran theology, the dogmatic foundations of the doctrines of reconciliation and justification—grace, the cross, faith, and the word: *sola gratia, sola cruce, sola fide, sola verba*—were explicitly and emphatically bound together through God's love and the Christian's reciprocal love. The revival of medieval mysticism lent this theo-

logical development contentual and textual support, since love was the most important theme in mysticism. Unlike medieval mysticism, however, Lutheran theology understood *unio mystica* not as a transcendental fusion during earthly life but as a dialectic meeting of divinity and humanity in love. The consummation of the desired perfect love union could only take place after death in faith. This theological difference was articulated textually through a strong emphasis on the desire for mystical union. Thus religious love was at the same time a joyful and painful emotion.

Lutheran mystical theology shared this ambivalent concept of love with the contemporary secular love poetry of petrarchism. Both describe—in a different context—a love that longs for union. Because of this shared love concept the petrarchan idiom furnished a suitable textual vehicle for mystical themes. Petrarchan imagery and stylistic devices were employed for the textual representation of mystical love in both poetry and theology. It was not only in their emotional ambivalence that the mystical and secular love discourse corresponded; the rhetorical and affective expressiveness of the secular love poem was also effective in a religious context. Through the religious use of effective rhetoric, acuity, imagery, and sensuality the affective impact of the theology of the crucifixion and Communion was intensified and oriented toward love.

The conjunction of the two love discourses was so complete that they were scarcely distinguishable in both theology and sacred poetry. Thus in the course of the seventeenth century a new theological and poetic paradigm for the textual articulation of religious love emerged out of this blend of the idioms of mystical and worldly love. In the light of the literary–historical theories on the spread and development of European petrarchism described in chapter 2, this textual congruence may be described as an original, newly created religious love language based on the sacred application of the contemporary secular love poetry of the petrarchan tradition. Following the period of translation and imitation of Italian, French, and Duch petrarchists, the religious transformation of this poetic language led to the development of a new, genuinely Lutheran love discourse in the second half of the seventeenth century. Thus while the reception of mysticism went along with the shift in accent toward introspection and personal experience, its textual articulation led to discursive innovation and a new, original poetic genre through a synthesis with secular love lyrics.

NOTES

1. Heinrich Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Küß / Oder Ubung deß wahren Christenthums / fliessend aus der Erfahrung Göttlicher Liebe . . . .* (Frankfurt 1669).

2. Gottfried Feinler, *Poetisches Lust=Gartgin / in welchem CC. auf neue Teutsche Art gesetzte / Geist= und Weltliche POEMATA, als: Oden / Madrigalen / Sonnette / Uberschriften &c. zu finden* (Zeitz: Schuhmann, 1677), 92.

3. Feinler, *Poetisches Lust=Gartgin*, 93.

4. Marie Luise Wolfskehl, *Die Jesusminne in der Lyrik des deutschen Barock* (Giessen: Kindt, 1934), 136.

5. Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg, *Des Allerheiligst= und Allerheilsamsten Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi Zwölf andächtige Betrachtungen* (Nuremberg: Hofmann, 1672), 123.

6. Wolfskehl, *Die Jesusminne*, 29.

7. Johann Heermann, *Geistliche Buhlschafft und Liebes=Seufftzer / Sambt etlichen angehengten Gedenck=Sprüchen / Von Ihm zwar in Lateinischer Sprachen verfasset / anietzo aber / allen Gott=liebenden Teutschen Seelen zu Liebe und Nutzen / in unsere hoch=Edle Mutter=Sprache versetzet von M. Tobia Petermannen . . . .* (Dresden: Bergen, 1651), 41.

8. Heermann, *Geistliche Buhlschafft*, 13 ("Zu Christo JESO").

9. Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Küß*, 237.

10. See Theo Bell, *Divus Bernhardus. Bernhard von Clairvaux in Martin Luthers Schriften* [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, 148: Abt. Religionsgeschichte] (Mainz: Von Zabern, 1993); Klaus Ebert, ed., *Protestantische Mystik. Von Martin Luther bis Friedrich D. Schleiermacher. Eine Textsammlung* (Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag, 1996), 52ff.

11. Johann Anselm Steiger, *Johann Gerhard (1582–1637). Studien zu Theologie und Frömmigkeit des Kirchenvaters der lutherischen Orthodoxie* [Doctrina et pietas 1, Johann-Gerhard-Archiv, 1] (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1997), 57ff.

12. Martin Brecht, ed., *Geschichte des Pietismus 1* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 113ff., 166ff.

13. Johannes Wallmann even speaks of a "lack of feeling" in Lutheranism in the late-sixteenth century (Johannes Wallmann, *Der Pietismus* [Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Ein Handbuch 4/1] [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990], 12).

14. See, for example, Brecht, *Geschichte des Pietismus 1*: 113–203; Steiger, *Johann Gerhard*, chapter I.4; Wallmann, *Der Pietismus*, chapter 1.

15. Cf. Brecht, *Geschichte des Pietismus 1*: 129.

16. Steiger, *Johann Gerhard*, 59ff.

17. On the relationship between mysticism and Lutheran dogmatics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Elke Axmacher, *Johann Arndt und Paul Gerhardt. Studien zur Theologie, Frömmigkeit und geistlichen Dichtung des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Francke, 2001), 4–41; Brecht, *Geschichte des Pietismus 1*: 168ff.; Steiger, *Johann Gerhard*, 63–94; Martti Vaahtoranta, *Restauratio Imaginis Divinae. Die Vereinigung von Gott und Mensch, ihre Voraussetzungen und Implikationen bei Johann Gerhard* [Schriften der Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft 41] (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola-Gesellschaft, 1998).

18. Cf. Wolfgang Philipp, "Unio Mystica" in RGG, 33883–33888.

19. Cf. Elke Axmacher, "Mystik und Orthodoxie im Luthertum der Bachzeit," 215–236, in *Theologische Bachforschung heute. Dokumentation und Bibliografie der*

Internationalen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für theologische Bachforschung 1976–1996, ed. Renate Steiger (Glienicke: Galda und Wilch, 1998), 218: "The mystic, according to proponents of dialectic theology in particular, removes the barriers between God and man; . . . Mysticism is thus the most dangerous—because it conceals itself—form of human hubris, the ultimate sin against God, the sin of wanting to be like God."

20. See Ebert, *Protestantische Mystik*, 55 and 66ff. Cf. Johann Gerhard: ". . . for sin sets God and ourselves apart from one another, so that such spiritual union is no longer possible" (Johann Gerhard, *SCHOLAE PIETATIS LIBRI V. Das ist: Fünff Bücher / Von Christlicher vnd heilsamer Vnterrichtung . . . .* [Jena: Steinmann, 1633], book 1, 41).

21. Elke Axmacher, *Praxis Evangeliorum. Theologie und Frömmigkeit bei Martin Moller (1547–1606)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 214.

22. From Johann Arndt's republication of the prayerbook of medieval mystic Johann Tauler. Cited in Axmacher, *Johann Arndt und Paul Gerhardt*, 19.

23. Johann Arndt, *Fünff Geistreiche Bücher, Vom Wahren Christenthüm, welche handeln von heilsamer Busse, hertzlicher Reue und Leid über die Sünde . . . .* (Frankfurt/Main: Christian Gensch, 1686), book V, 1104.

24. Arndt, *Vom Wahren Christenthüm*, book V, 1105.

25. See Axmacher, *Johann Arndt und Paul Gerhardt*, 30ff. Johann Gerhard formulates mirror-image anthropology in more abstract terms, for he explains that the union of Christ and believer, brought about by God's grace, should be understood not as perfect *unio mystica* but as *unio spiritualis*, a spiritual union: " . . . the union of the true believer with Christ is not a personal union, such as the union of both natures in Christ. Nor is it a substantial union, such as the union of the Father, son and Holy Ghost in the one Godhead. Rather it is a spiritual union" (Johann Gerhard, *POSTILLA SALOMONEA, Das ist / Erklärung etlicher Sprüche Aus dem Hohenlied Salomonis Auff die Sonntägliche und vornembste Fest=Evangelia durchs gantze Jahr gerichtet*. 2 vols. [Jena: Sengenwald, 1652], av).

26. Heermann, *Geistliche Buhlschafft*, 4.

27. Cf. Brecht, *Geschichte des Pietismus 1*: 129: "The re-establishment of man as God's image and rebirth are heavily emphasised. In this way it is hoped to realise a Christian life. There is loving Communion in this life, but it is truly perfected in eternal life."

28. Heinrich Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme Oder Auffmunterung zur Liebe Gottes: Durch Vorstellung dessen unendlichen Liebe gegen uns* (Frankfurt/Main: Wust, 1676), 215.

29. Cf. Steiger, *Johann Gerhard*, 88ff.

30. Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, 230.

31. Brecht, *Geschichte des Pietismus 1*: 186ff.

32. August Langen, *Der Wortschatz des deutschen Pietismus* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1954), chapter C.I.4.

33. See Manfred Windfuhr, *Die barocke Bildlichkeit und ihre Kritiker* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1966), 447.

34. Windfuhr, *Die barocke Bildlichkeit und ihre Kritiker*, 447ff.

35. On Quietism see Brecht, *Geschichte des Pietismus 1*: 442ff.; Windfuhr, *Die barocke Bildlichkeit und ihre Kritiker*, 447ff.

36. Gerhard Tersteegen, *Geistliches Blumengärtlein inniger Seelen* (Stuttgart, undated, also Frankfurt/Leipzig 1769), 53. Cited in Windfuhr, *Die barocke Bildlichkeit und ihre Kritiker*, 441.

37. Johann Jakob Rambach, *Evangelische Betrachtungen Uber die Sonn= und Fest=Tages=Evangelia Des gantzen Jahrs* (Halle 1730), 20, 26. Windfuhr, *Die barocke Bildlichkeit und ihre Kritiker*, 443.

38. Brecht, *Geschichte des Pietismus 1*: 186; see also Ebert, *Protestantische Mystik*, 79ff.

39. The similarity between Lutheran and Pietist mystical language (e.g., in Arndt [Schneider], Moller [Axmacher], and Müller [Brunners]) is the subject of articles in *Zur Rezeption mystischer Traditionen im Protestantismus des 16. bis 19. Jahrhunderts. Beiträge eines Symposiums zum Tersteegen-Jubiläum 1997*, ed. Dietrich Meyer and Udo Sträter (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 2002).

40. Cf. Brecht, *Geschichte des Pietismus 1*: 188: "There was hardly a hymn-writer who was not strongly influenced to a greater or lesser degree by the devotional movement, for which reason one can scarcely distinguish between Orthodox and Pietist hymns of that period [the seventeenth century]." Els Stronks has observed the same blend of attitudes of varying denominational provenance in early-modern Dutch poetry (Els Stronks, *Stichten of schitteren : de poëzie van zeventiende-eeuwse gereformeerde predikanten*. Houten: Den Hertog, 1996).

41. Cf. Elke Axmacher, "Meditation und Mystik bei Martin Moller," in Meyer and Sträter, *Zur Rezeption mystischer Traditionen im Protestantismus*, 47: "*Docere* is furthered (not completed or surpassed) by *movere*"; in this context Erwin Rotermund even speaks of a "certain radicalisation of the affect concept under the influence of mysticism" (Erwin Rotermund, *Affekt und Artistik. Studien zur Leidenschaftsdarstellung und zum Argumentationsverfahren bei Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau* [Munich: Fink, 1972], 18). On affect in the representation of mystical themes in Luther see also Birgit Stolt, *Martin Luthers Rhetorik des Herzens* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 57–61.

42. Johann Feinler, Erasmus Francisci, and Martin Moller are not represented in Bach's theological library. However, because their work is spiritually and linguistically related to the theological writings contained in that collection, I have included several quotations from these three authors that are characteristic of Lutheran and early-Pietist mysticism. Dieterich Buxtehude set several texts by Francisci (cf. chapter 6).

43. Johann Michael Dilherr, *Göttliche Liebes=flamme: Das ist/ Christliche Andachten / Gebet und Seufftzer / über das Königliche Braut=Lied Salomonis / Darinnen ein Gottseliges Hertz / fürnemlich zu eiveriger Betrachtung der unverschuldeten Liebe Christi / und seiner schuldigen Gegen=liebe / wird angemahnet* (Amsterdam: Nosche, 1672), preface.

44. Heinrich Müller, *Geistliche Seelen=Musik Bestehend in Zehen Betrachtungen / und vier hundert außerlesenen / Geist- und Krafftreichen / sowol alten / als neuen Gesängen / mit allerhand schönen / unter andern fünffzig gantz neuen Melodeyen gezieret* (Frankfurt/Main: Wust, 1668), 149ff. Compare also Feinler, *Poetisches Lust=Gartgin*, 111, "HERR ich warte auf dein HEIL!"

45. Sigmund von Birken, *Teutsche Rede-bind- und Dicht-Kunst / oder Kurze Anweisung zur Teutschen Poesy* (Nuremberg: Riegel, 1679, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms, 1973), 134ff.

46. In the context of bridal mysticism, the soul will hereafter be referred to as "she."

47. Müller, *Geistliche Seelen=Musik*, 142.

48. Müller, *Geistliche Seelen=Musik*, 161.

49. See Grete Lüers, *Die Sprache der deutschen Mystik des Mittelalters im Werke der Mechtild von Magdeburg*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966), 72–80; Wolfskehl, *Die Jesusminne*, 82ff. and 90ff.; Nicolas J. Perella, *The Kiss Sacred and Profane. An Interpretative History of Kiss Symbolism and Related Religio-Erotic Themes* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 51–75.

50. On the question of sensuality and sensual perception in baroque mysticism August Langen's analyses of the language of Pietism are enlightening (Langen, *Der Wortschatz des deutschen Pietismus*). As in mysticism, mystical union is described in Pietism by means of metaphors such as "becoming one body," "sinking," "blending," etc.

51. For example, Johann Sebastian Bach's cantata "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme" (BWV 140), which is analyzed in chapter 7.2.

52. Philipp Nicolai, *Frewden Spiegel des Ewigen Lebens. Das ist: Gründtliche Beschreibung des herrlichen Wesens im ewigen Leben / sampt allen desselbigen Eigenschafften und Zuständen / auß GOttes Wort richtig und verständtlich eingeführt* (Hamburg: Hering, 1633), 784.

53. Johann Feinler, *Wahre VerEinigung mit GOTT dem Höchsten Gut / So Geistlich als Ewig: Des wahren Christenthumbs Höchste Stuffe und Seeligste Frucht . . . .* (Leipzig: Wittigau, 1673), 228.

54. Nicolai, *Frewden Spiegel*, section heading listed in the index: "that he should learn to yearn and sigh for the heavenly fatherland."

55. Nicolai, *Frewden Spiegel*, 318ff.

56. Feinler, *Wahre VerEinigung mit GOTT*, 227ff. Cf. Arndt, *Vom Wahren Christenthüm*, book V, chapter X.

57. Luther, AS, 2: 57.

58. Luther, AS, 2: 57.

59. Luther, AS, 2: 68ff.

60. Feinler, *Wahre VerEinigung mit GOTT*, 233. Johann Jacob Rambach writes extensively on the tears and sighs of religious love. Johann Jacob Rambach, *Betrachtung der Thränen und Seufzer JESU CHRISTI / In zweyen Predigten Am X. und XII. Sonntage nach* Trinitatis, 1725*, in der Schul=Kirche in Halle angestellet* (Halle: Waysenhaus, 1731).

61. Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Küß*, 266ff.

62. Heinrich Müller, *Geistliche Erquick=Stunden / Oder Dreyhundert Haus= und Tisch=Andachten* (Frankfurt/Main: Wust, 1672), 968ff.

63. Heinrich Müller, *Geistliche Erquick=Stunden*, 817ff.

64. Nicolai, *Frewden Spiegel*, title of chapter 3.

65. Nicolai, *Frewden Spiegel*, 118ff. Martin Moller makes this same comparison, although he regards "spiritual marriage" as a firmer bond than worldly marriage: "For He depends on me and is one with me, and I with Him. For we are both bound and united through faith so that we are one flesh and bone . . . So my faith binds me to my Lord Christ much more firmly and closely than a man is bound to his wife." Martin Moller, *MYSTERIUM MAGNUM. Fleissige und andächtige Betrachtung des grossen Geheimniß der Himlischen Geistlichen Hochzeit und Verbündniß unsers HERRN Jesu Christi / mit der Christgleubigen Gemeine seiner Braut* (Görlitz: Johann Rhambaw, 1595), 3 and 62v.

66. Cf. Axmacher, *Praxis Evangeliorum*, 221ff.; Steiger, *Johann Gerhard*, 106ff.

67. Feinler, *Wahre VerEinigung mit GOTT*, 207.

68. Feinler, *Wahre VerEinigung mit GOTT*, 288ff.

69. Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Küß*, 235ff.

70. In relation to the poetry of Johann Heermann, Carl-Alfred Zell has argued that the snow-white color of the soul cleansed of sin in such imagery corresponds to that of the shoulders of the beloved in secular love poetry. Carl-Alfred Zell, *Untersuchungen zum Problem der geistlichen Barocklyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Dichtung Johann Heermanns (1585–1647)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1971), 190.

71. Salomon Franck, *Geistliche Poësie* (Weimar: Müller, 1685), 22.

72. Johann Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens unsers HErrn Christi Jesu nach den vier Evangelisten / Also angestellet / daß wir dadurch zur Erkenntnis der Liebe Christi erwecket werden / unnd am innerlichen Menschen seliglich zunehmen mögen* (Jena: Steinmann, 1611), 78. See chapter 5.

73. Paul Gerhardt, *Gedichte. Ausgewählt von Albrecht Goes* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer 1969), 96ff. For a detailed theological analysis of this poem, see Axmacher, *Johann Arndt und Paul Gerhardt*, 184–207; also Christian Bunners, *Paul Gerhardt: Weg, Werk, Wirkung* (Berlin: Buchverlag Union, 1993), 182ff.

74. See Ferdinand van Ingen, "Die Thematik von Blut und Wunden in der geistlichen Lyrik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Das Blut Jesu und die Lehre von der Versöhnung im Werk Johann Sebastian Bachs*, ed. Albert Clement [Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences: Proceedings of the International Colloquium The Blood of Jesus and the Doctrine of Reconciliation in the Works of Johann Sebastian Bach. Amsterdam, September 15–17, 1993] (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1995), 15–26; Zell, *Untersuchungen zum Problem der geistlichen Barocklyrik*, chapter VII.

75. Franck, *Geistliche Poësie*, 23ff.

76. Regarding the semantic independence of blood metaphors as symbols of Christ's love see Isabella van Elferen, "'Let Tears of Blood Run Down Your Cheeks.' Floods of Blood, Tears and Love in German Baroque Devotional Literature and Music," in *Blood in History and Blood Histories*, ed. Mariacarla Gadebusch Bondio (Florence: Sismel, Micrologus Library, 2005), 193–214.

77. Greiffenberg, *Des Allerheiligst= und Allerheilsamsten Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi*, 628.

78. Paul Gerhardt, from "Ein Lämmlein geht und trägt die Schuld." *Gedichte*, 101.

79. Angelus Silesius [Johann Scheffler], from "Sie betrauert ihren Jesus," Heilige Seelen-Lust oder Geistliche Hirten-Lieder der in jhren Jesum verliebten Psyche 2. Cited in Ferdinand van Ingen, "Die Thematik von Blut und Wunden in der geistlichen Lyrik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts" in Clement 1995, 21ff.

80. There are many theological statements on the cleansing power of Christ's blood, for example in August Pfeiffer, *Der wohlbewährte Evangelische Aug=Apffel / Oder Schrifftmäßige Erklärung aller Articul der Augspurgischen* Confession (Leipzig: Kloß, 1710), 519: " . . . may Your rose-coloured blood wash my soul of all sins, and keep me in true faith for eternal life!" On this theme see also Zell, *Untersuchungen zum Problem der geistlichen Barocklyrik*, 182–190.

81. Erdmann Neumeister, *Tisch des Herrn* (Hamburg: Kißner, 1722), 1171.

82. Neumeister, *Tisch des Herrn*, 1171.

83. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, 78.

84. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, preface, Ciijv.

85. On the theological significance of love in the seventeenth-century Lutheran Passion meditation see Elke Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben." Untersuchungen zum Wandel des Passionsverständnisses im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* [Beiträge zur theologischen Bachforschung 2] (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1984), 206ff.

86. Cf. Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe,"* 206: "He does all this on the strength of a pure, supremely intensified, indeed excessive humanity, which may be called divinity."

87. Cf. Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe,"* 206: "The interpretation of Jesus' suffering and death as a self-sacrifice for man is in keeping with the challenge to come to Jesus in a relationship in which man proves himself worthy of His sacrifice. If His sacrifice is one of submission to man *out of love* for him, then man's bond with Him, of which He is worthy, can only be one of love. It is as natural a feeling as love for another person who has shown one kindness."

88. Cf. Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe,"* 208ff.

89. On the Augustinian mystical embrace see also Axmacher, *Johann Arndt und Paul Gerhardt*, 217ff.

90. Müller, *Geistliche Erquick=Stunden*, 776ff.

91. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, preface, Ciiij. Gerhard is referring to the fifth stanza of Luther's "Christ lag in Todesbanden" here: "Das ist an des Kreuzes Stamm / in heisser Lieb gebraten."

92. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, 78.

93. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, 324ff.

94. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, 332.

95. See Summary and Perspectives at the end of this book.

96. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, preface, Ciiij.

97. Moller, *MYSTERIUM MAGNUM*, 92.

98. Erdmann Neumeister, *Der Zugang zum Gnaden=Stuhl JEsu Christo, Das ist: Christliche Gebete und Gesänge, vor, bey, und nach der Beichte und heil. Abendmahle, Nebst Morgen= und Abend=Segen und dergleichen neuen Liedern* (Jena: Cröker, 1767), 358ff.

99. Neumeister, *Tisch des Herrn*, 793.

100. Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, 217.

101. Heinrich Müller, *Evangelischer Hertzens=Spiegel / In Offentlicher Kirchen= Versammlung / bey Erklärung der Sonntäglichen und Fest= Evangelien / Nebst beygefügten Passion=Predigten* (Frankfurt/Main: Wust, 1679), 1084ff.

102. Müller, *Geistliche Erquick=Stunden*, 697ff.

103. For example, Gerhard, *Erklährung der Historien des Leidens unnd Sterbens*, 268ff. On the motif of the mystical winepress see also Paul J. C. M. Franssen, *The Mystic Winepress. A Religious Image in English Poetry 1500–1700* (PhD diss., Utrecht University, 1987).

104. Johann Reichenbach, *Himmlischer allerheilsambster Liebes=Brunn Jesu Christi / Der für uns erlittenen Liebe durch andächtige Betrachtung seiner höchst=schmertzlichen und blutigen Passion . . . .* (Helmstedt: Grose, 1681), 636.

105. Jesus is often addressed as love itself (e.g., Moller, *MYSTERIUM MAGNUM*, 92).

106. Nicolai, *Frewden Spiegel*, 780ff.

107. Neumeister, *Tisch des Herrn*, 27.

108. The first verse of the hymn appeared with melody in Johann Crüger's *Geistliche Kirchenmelodien* (Leipzig 1649); all nine verses were published in Crüger's *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (Berlin 1653).

109. Regarding the theological significance of tear metaphors in penitential poetry see Van Elferen, "'Let Tears of Blood Run Down Your Cheeks.'"

110. Franck, *Geistliche Poësie*, from "Andachts=Lied vor dem heiligen Abendmahl," 44.

111. Cf. Irmgard Scheitler, *Das geistliche Lied im deutschen Barock* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1982), 385: "The physical reception of Communion facilitates the idea of sensual contact with God ('taste', 'caress', 'embrace')."

112. Feinler, *Poetisches Lust=Gartgin*, 75ff.

113. On *unio sacramentalis* see Axmacher, *Johann Arndt und Paul Gerhardt*, 85ff.; also RGG, 212.

114. Greiffenberg, *Des Allerheiligst= und Allerheilsamsten Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi*, from "Vom H. Nachtmal," 46ff. (verse 7 in chapter 3).

115. On Greiffenberg's use of marinist devices see also Scheitler, *Das geistliche Lied im deutschen Barock*, 356–380.

116. Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Küß*, 166; also Müller, *Göttliche Liebes= Flamme*, 201.

117. In this study, in accordance with the chronology and theological provenance of the sources employed, pronouncements on Christ's ubiquity in Communion (that the bread and wine are "the true body and blood of Christ") in the Lutheran Formula of Concord (1577) are taken as the theological basis for analyses of Communion mysticism.

118. Steiger, *Johann Gerhard*, 89ff.; RGG, 214.

119. Müller, *Evangelischer Hertzens=Spiegel*, 613ff.

120. Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, 297. Cf. Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Küß*, 245.

121. Neumeister, *Tisch des Herrn*, 473.

122. Neumeister, *Der Zugang zum Gnaden=Stuhl*, 31. Cf. Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, 215 and Philipp Jacob Spener, *Christliches Lehr= Beicht= und Bät=Büchlein / vor Gottselige Communicanten; das ist: Kurtzer Unterricht vor diejenigen/ welche würdiglich zu dem Tisch des HErrn gehen wollen/ so wohl was die bußfertige Vorbereitung/ als auch andächtige und dankbare Empfahung derselben betrifft* . . . . (Frankfurt/Main: Zunner & Junge, 1716), 500 and 505ff.

123. Johann Gerhard, *MEDITATIONES SACRAE Das ist Geistreiche Hertzerquickende vnd lebendigmachende Betrachtungen vornemer Hauptpuncten* . . . . (Magdeburg: Francken, 1607), II, 31r. Heinrich Müller uses nearly the same words (Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, 201).

124. Pfeiffer, *Der wohlbewährte Evangelische Aug=Apffel*, 499.

125. Pfeiffer, *Der wohlbewährte Evangelische Aug=Apffel*, 514.

126. For example, Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, Neumeister, *Tisch des Herrn*, Neumeister, *Der Zugang zum Gnaden=Stuhl*, Pfeiffer, *Der wohlbewährte Evangelische Aug=Apffel*, Reichenbach, *Himmlischer allerheilsambster Liebes=Brunn*, Spener, *Christliches Lehr= Beicht= und Bät=Büchlein*.

127. See Johann Olearius, *Biblische Erklärung Darinnen / nechst dem allgemeinen Haupt=Schlüssel Der gantzen heiligen Schrifft* . . . . (Leipzig: Tarnov, 1678–1681) 5: 1922.

128. On the physiological impact of Communion cf. Andreas Hirsch, *Kircherus Jesuita Germanus Germaniae redonatus / sive Artis Magnae de Consono & Dißono Ars Minor / Das ist / Philosophischer Extract und Auszug / aus Athanasii Kircheri Musurgia universali / in 6 Bücher verf.* (Schwäbisch Hall: Laidig, 1662), 329: "But in the face of the disharmony of daily immoderation in eating and drinking, Holy Communion serves as the fount and source of spiritual harmony, through which whatever is contaminated by the daily stench of the flesh is set to rights and our futile body is made to match the pure, holy body of Christ." German translation of Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X libros digesta* (Rome: Corbelletti, 1650, reprint ed. Ulf Scharlau, Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), B429.

129. Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Küß*, 784ff.

130. On this terminology see Langen, *Der Wortschatz des deutschen Pietismus*, esp. 409.

131. Cf. Feinler, *Wahre VerEinigung mit GOTT*, 12ff; Gerhard, *SCHOLAE PIETATIS LIBRI V*, book I, 995v.

132. Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, 276–279.

133. Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Küß*, 166.

134. In medieval mysticism also Communion was often interpreted sensually, sometimes even erotically (see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987], 117ff., 128ff., 131ff.).

135. Cf. Steiger, *Johann Gerhard*, 113: "the growing interest in *unio mystica* during the 17th century [is] a result of the consistent formulation of Lutheran teaching on Communion."

136. Luther AS, 2: 55.

137. For example, Martin Böhm's hymn "O Jesus Christ, meins Lebens Licht" (EKG 317).

138. Johann Rist, *Himlische Lieder / Mit sehr lieblichen und anmuhtigen / von dem fürtrefflichen und weitberühmten H. Johann Schop / wolgesetzeten Melodeien* (Lüneburg: Stern, 1658), 348ff., title of poem: "In which God the heavenly Father is humbly called upon to grant us, when the hour of our death approaches and we must say goodnight to this vain world, a merciful and blessed end, and to take us out of this troubled vale of woe into His hall of eternal joy."

139. Cf. Petrarch's Sonnets 333, 346, and 349. *Petrarch: The Canzoniere or Rerum Vulgarium Fragmenta. Translated into Verse with Notes and Commentary by Mark Musa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

140. Greiffenberg, *Des Allerheiligst= und Allerheilsamsten Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi*, 560.

141. Johann Heermann, from "Von der Liebe, die ein Christlich Hertz zu Jesus tregt vnd noch tragen wil" (to the melody of Philipp Nicolai's "Morgenstern"), cited in Zell, *Untersuchungen zum Problem der geistlichen Barocklyrik*, 126ff.

142. Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Küß*, 774.

143. Title of a treatise by Georgius Albrecht: *DULCE AMARUM. Der Bitter=süße Tod: Das ist / Gründliche und weitläuffige Erklärung deß hochnothwendigen Artickels Von dem Tod und Absterben des Menschen* (Nuremberg: Endter, 1662).

144. On bridal metaphor in the context of death see also Anna Linton, "Der Tod als Brautführer. Bridal Imagery in Funeral Writings," *Daphnis* 29, no. 1–2 (2000): 281–306.

145. Moller, *MYSTERIUM MAGNUM*, 202.

146. Moller, *MYSTERIUM MAGNUM*, 216vf.

147. Müller, *Geistliche Erquick=Stunden*, 396ff.

148. Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Küß*, 632.

Chapter Six

Spiritual and Mystical Love in Seventeenth-Century Vocal Music

> The composer is a preacher of God's word,
> who seeks to expound his text in all his pieces.
>
> —Johann Kuhnau[1]

Music held an important position in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Lutheran devotion. It was seen as having greater potential than the spoken word to move and guide the feelings of the listener (cf. chapters 3 and 4). Music was viewed and employed as a sensuously effective vehicle of edification. In the preface to his *Geistliche Seelen=Musik* Heinrich Müller, for instance, writes that "nothing [leads] the heart so quickly and palpably towards heaven as singing."[2] Andreas Werckmeister refers in his description of the usefulness of music in devotion to the Lutheran mirror analogy and the doctrine of harmonic proportions:

> Daß der Mensch / als das Ebenbilde GOttes / so wohl dem Leibe als der Seele nach *harmoni*sch erschaffen sey / und also daher erheller wie der Schöpffer der Ursprung der *Harmonie* sey [, daß] die harmonischen *Proportionen* in der *Music* ebenfalls ihre Würckungen haben (und die Bewegungen in dem Menschen verursachen). . . . gebe GOtt daß es zu seinen Ehren / und dem Menschen zur Erbauung möge angewendet werden.
>
> Since man is *harmonically* created, both body and soul, in God's image, and is therefore, like the creator, the source of *harmony*, the harmonic *proportions* in music likewise have their functions (and move the human emotions). . . . God grant that it might be used to His honour and for the edification of man.[3]

From the early seventeenth century numerous Lutheran devotional texts were set in (para-)liturgical musical genres. The Protestant hymn, whose blossoming,

according to Walter Blankenburg, originated directly from Lutheran devotion,[4] focused exclusively on devotional themes. The most important hymn writers—apart from Martin Luther—were Johann Franck, Paul Gerhardt, Johann Heermann, and Johann Rist. The hymn proved to be one of the most important devotional genres of the seventeenth century, because it could play a role both in public and in private devotion.[5] Through this double function it satisfied the objective of edification of the individual common to both Orthodox and Pietist devotional theology. Many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collections of sermons and prayers included a number of hymn texts, either with music or indicating a melody, so that a sung prayer could be added to the read or spoken ones. This devotional genre was circulated both independently and with musical settings in hymnbooks and was very popular. The best-known collections are Johann Crüger's *Praxis Pietatis Melica* (1649),[6] Johann Heermann's *Devoti Musica Cordis* (1630, 1636, 1644), Heinrich Müller's *Geistliche Seelen=Musik* (1659), and Johann Rist's *Himmlische Lieder* (1641/42, 1651, 1654). Musically the hymn was simple in form. The text was conceived as an aria or hymn cantata in verse, set to appealing melodies for one voice or a small number of voices and harmonized with a continuo accompaniment.[7]

A sophisticated form of musical text expression can be found in the equally typical Lutheran genres of sacred madrigal, sacred concerto, and sacred cantata. Like the hymn, these paraliturgical genres were based on non-liturgical texts in free verse. Because these genres, unlike the hymn, were mostly intended for professional musicians, they allowed composers to articulate a text in a way that both reflected the theology behind it and was musically sophisticated. The object of this chapter is to examine how the theme of mystical love was represented in such genres.

The musical expression of Lutheran mysticism has been discussed in various musicological studies. Important studies dealing with devotional elements in baroque sacred music have been published by Elke Axmacher (libretti of J. S. Bach's vocal works),[8] Walter Blankenburg (libretti of Bach and Schütz's vocal works),[9] Irmgard Scheitler (sacred song in the German baroque),[10] and Martin Geck (Buxtehude's cantatas).[11] The research findings in these studies correspond in several respects, which will be briefly discussed here.

Martin Geck's monograph *Die Vokalmusik Dieterich Buxtehudes und der frühe Pietismus* (1965) portrays the assimilation of Pietist thinking into the vocal works of Dieterich Buxtehude. Geck describes especially the aria and the chorale cantata as intimate genres that express the personal love-relationship of the individual believer.[12] However, his arguments attesting that these genres stem from Pietism or are restricted to Pietist themes are problematic, since the two genres were also employed in entirely different contexts.[13]

Many other authors have drawn attention to the preference for dialogue form in settings of mystical texts. According to Walter Blankenburg, dialogue meets one of the fundamental requirements of Lutheran devotion, because "the inner conversation between the devout soul and Jesus, the soul's bridegroom, [is one of] the basic characteristics of devotional practice."[14] Mary Greer's dissertation lists all the sacred duets and trios of Johann Sebastian Bach; a large number of these deal with devotional themes.[15] Albert Clement has stated that Bach's use of the term "duetto" as the designation for the four duets in Part III of the Clavierübung (BWV 802–805) refers to *unio mystica*.[16] Jürgen Heidrich has described how the dialogue form in seventeenth-century settings of the Song of Songs underlines the differences rather than the union between the lovers: "the dialogue between *Sponsa* and *Sponsus* is presented through an almost harsh contrast of sound, but also of style, that clearly highlights their oppositeness."[17] Wolfgang Herbst has also referred to the dialectic aspects of dialogue technique.[18] He describes it as an "essentially mystical form of expression" that symbolizes, by means of the contrasting proximity of the two voices, the fundamental characteristic of mystical theology, namely that the human believer cannot be unified with the divine Christ.[19] As Renate Steiger has shown, this dialectic symbolism in dialogue technique reaches a high point in the third movement of Bach's cantata *Ich geh und suche mit Verlangen* (BWV 49), where Bach even has the soprano and bass voices sing different texts.[20]

Walter Blankenburg, Mary Greer, and Wolfgang Herbst have also observed that many settings of dialogues between the faithful soul and Jesus are conceived for soprano and bass.[21] These comments suggest the possibility that the voice categories were symbolic in the baroque, as Renate Steiger has briefly outlined.[22]

In the duets between the faithful soul and the voice of Christ in Bach's cantata *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme* (BWV 140), Walter Blankenburg has identified two further expressive devices specifically related to *unio mystica*. He interprets the rhythmic homophonic parallel thirds and sixths between the two voices as harmonic representations of the "ardent union" of Christ and the soul.[23] In addition, Blankenburg views the complementary rhythms in this duet as rhythmic articulations of mystical union.[24] Mary Greer and Renate Steiger have also highlighted parallel movement as a representation of unity;[25] in the context of Cantata BWV 140, moreover, Mary Greer has particularly emphasized the affective significance of imitation between the voices of the two lovers.

Consistent compositional processes have been demonstrated in specific musical–rhetorical word-painting also. Casper Honders has shown that Bach often used the *circulatio* fugure, running in circling quavers or semiquavers, as a musical image of the mystical embrace.[26] Similarly, Martin Ruhnke has

drawn attention to Buxtehude's use of the *circulatio* figure as a setting of the word "umfangen" (embrace) in the cantata *Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr*.[27]

Apart from these fragmented findings, all based on the analysis of individual compositions and their texts, there has to date been no thorough examination of the musical outworking of mystical love in the German baroque. Moreover, the publications mentioned concentrate on musical representations of *unio mystica* in particular, which determines only a small part of Lutheran mysticism. Desire for Jesus, the Passion meditation, the Communion meditation, and mystical desire for death were also important mystical themes, which should be examined within their differing contexts. In order to thoroughly investigate the musical characteristics of mystical love, it is necessary to make a theological, conceptual, and stylistic comparison between musical representations of this theme and their texts. In short, the same research questions should be asked regarding music representing text and the text itself: what is the theological theme of the representation and what devices are employed in its artistic expression? The theological foundations and conceptual history of mystical representations were common to poetry and *musica poetica* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the basis of these points of correspondence, the baroque musical love discourse will be analyzed in this and the following chapter as a non-linguistic representation of mystical love.

It has been argued in chapter 4 that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries both secular and sacred love were regarded as an ambivalent emotion in which joy and sorrow went hand in hand. This bitter-sweet concept of love also determined the poetic affect of love, which was described in petrarchan metaphors. In chapter 5 it was subsequently demonstrated how this bitter-sweet love, represented in petrarchan style, reached a high point in baroque mysticism. Because mystical love for Jesus in Lutheran devotion corresponded conceptually to the petrarchan love for an unattainable woman, the same expressive resources were used to represent both types of love.

Since the petrarchan love concept determined the musical articulation of secular love (chapters 1 and 2) and the affect of love in *musica poetica* (chapter 4), it is not unlikely that the musical representation of mysticism, in an analogous development to that of its textual expression, was likewise based on this concept of love. Therefore the contemporary concept of love, in relation to the style of the texts, will form the starting point for the present analysis of the musical representation of mysticism. It has already been observed in chapter 4 that the music theorist Athanasius Kircher compares the affect of secular love with the affects of devotion and love of God. Significant too in this respect is the fact that in his chapter on the musical affect of love Kircher takes as examples not only Gesualdo's madrigal "Baci soavi, e cari"

("Sweet and beloved kisses"), but also the passage "quia amore langeo" ("for I am sick for love") from the Song of Songs in Palestrina's motet "Introduxit" and Abbatini's Bernardine motet "Jesu dulcis memoria."

Baroque music theorists recommended that the concrete musical expression of the affect of love should correspond to the mixed moods of the lovers. Johann Mattheson gives general directions for this, as mentioned earlier in chapter 4, suggesting the use of different intervals.[28] More thorough compositional instructions are provided by Athanasius Kircher, who, using the three examples mentioned, gives the composer melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic indications for the musical expression of love.[29] For the melodic representation of the "contrary movement [*motus*] and affects [*affectiones*] in the lovers,"[30] he recommends "intervalla vehementia, languida, mollia & exotica" ("forceful, languid, tender and exotic intervals").[31] The predominantly descending melodies in Kircher's examples are dominated by smaller intervals and alternate with unexpected chromaticism or larger leaps. While *intervalla mollia* (major seconds and thirds) communicate a gentle and tender affect,[32] *intervalla languida* (semitones) and *intervalla exotica* (chromaticisms) express the heartache of love. If the melodic line descends chromatically, according to Kircher, it intensifies the sorrowful effect of the intervals: "intervalla quomodò langueant."[33] *Intervalla vehementia* (larger leaps, such as sevenths) can lend forceful emphasis.[34]

In the harmony of the examples presented by Kircher the combined affects of sweetness and bitterness are reflected respectively in consonance, parallel thirds and sixths, and dissonance. In such processes the affective impact of dissonance, regarded as sorrowful in baroque theory because of its unharmonic proportions,[35] was alleviated through consonance and tender parallel thirds and sixths.[36] In Kircher's examples it is tied to the text and often consists of false relation, which, according to Wolfgang Caspar Printz, "compels the attentive emotions almost violently towards a pleasurably loving or devotional sorrow" (cf. chapter 3).[37] The sixth chord, in which the third of the triad lies in the bass voice, weakens the harmony and thus articulates the lover's labile emotional state.[38] Anna Amalie Abert has observed that Schütz's teacher Giovanni Gabrieli consistently uses chromaticism, often in the form of modified sixth chords, in the representation of the *suavitas* and *dulcedo* of Christ as well as of the bitterness of his sufferings. Abert interprets these chromatically altered chords as symbols of bitterness and sweetness, which were used by the generation of composers after Gabrieli, particularly Schütz's contemporaries, to express the "quixotic and rapturous indulgence" that was typical of mysticism.[39]

For the rhythmic representation of love Kircher prescribes slow movement, the sorrowful effect of which can be intensified by means of stalling syncopations: "nothing is more truly suited to represent languishing emotions than beautiful, syncopated voices."[40]

The characteristics of the musical affect of love as described by Kircher correspond to the musicological literature discussed above only with respect to the use of parallel thirds. To these findings, which concentrate on the sweet side of love, Kircher's prescriptions, however, add the expression of love's heartache. The resources recommended by Kircher for the representation of secular and sacred love derive directly from the madrigal style. This leads to the conjecture that the musical representation of spiritual love corresponds to its literary representation both conceptually and in its concrete stylistic outworking.

This chapter will further examine the representation of religious love in seventeenth-century vocal works. As discussed in chapter 3, the baroque expression of affect was based on a combination of musical parameters that together provided composers with an affective starting point appropriate to the contemporary concept of affect. Starting out from the theological, conceptual, and stylistic contexts described in the previous chapter, I shall attempt to identify the common affective characteristics of the musical representation of sacred love. These analyses should generate not so much descriptions of the musical representation of individual words or lines, but rather an insight into the musical parameters that underpinned the sacred love discourse in the various works. Settings of texts based on the Song of Songs, love for Jesus, the Passion, and death will furnish the thematic starting point; the practical analyses will examine excerpts from vocal works that are characteristic of the representation of love in these works. The examples are mostly restricted to Schütz and Buxtehude, whose vocal works include many such characteristic elements.

THE TEXTS

Three main types of religious love may be observed in the texts of seventeenth-century vocal music, corresponding closely to the thematics of contemporary sacred love poetry. Firstly, the Song of Songs enjoyed great popularity in this period. Many translations of it were published in Germany, and its motifs furnished popular metaphors in sacred and secular love poetry. A large number of these Latin and German texts were also set to music.[41] Secondly, many medieval texts on the theme of love for Jesus were set to music under the influence of the Lutheran devotional movement. The rediscovered writings of medieval mystics and their poetic adaptations were used in hymns, sacred madrigals, sacred concertos, and later in sacred cantatas.[42] Finally, as shown in poetry and theology in the previous chapter, a specific thematic area of this love for Jesus was love for the crucified Christ, which in looking forward to eschatological union was often associated with desire

for death. In the seventeenth century more adaptations of the Song of Songs and medieval poems to Jesus seem to have been set to music than Passion poems. This may partly be explained by the fact that the early baroque musical Passion made less use of free-style texts than sacred genres such as the madrigal or sacred concerto. It was only from the early eighteenth century onwards, after Neumeister's cantata reform, that Passion libretti were written in free style and adapted thematically and linguistically to suit devotional theology.[43]

Walter Blankenburg has shown that in Schütz's oeuvre the number of settings of the Song of Songs, Bernard of Clairvaux's *Jubilus de Nomine Jesu*, and medieval devotional texts—especially meditations on love for Jesus—is relatively large. Moreover, Schütz also set contemporary devotional texts by Johann Heermann, Martin Opitz, and Martin Moller, among others.[44] The choice of text of other seventeenth-century composers similarly reflects the growing interest in personal and emotional religious experience in the Lutheran devotional movement. The sacred vocal works of composers such as Christoph Bernhard, Melchior Franck, Andreas Hammerschmidt, Johann Hermann Schein, and Matthias Weckmann show, like Schütz's works, a strong musical emphasis on the affective content of the text. As seen in chapter 2, poets and composers often worked together. The consequence of this, in sacred as in secular genres, was a precise thematic correspondence of music and poetry.

Dieterich Buxtehude's texts also derive from contemporary devotion. His librettists represent Orthodox Lutheranism (Johann Franck, Paul Gerhardt, Johann Heermann, Johann Rist), the new devotional movement (Erasmus Francisci, Ahasverus Fritzsch, Martin Moller, Heinrich Müller), and even Catholic mysticism (Angelus Silesius). The thematics of Buxtehude's texts reflect the devotion of Lutheran edificatory literature: in his settings of the Song of Songs and his Passion and Communion meditations a yearning, sensual love for Jesus is often the central point of the text. This love for Jesus is also the musical focal point of Buxtehude's settings.

SETTINGS OF THE SONG OF SONGS

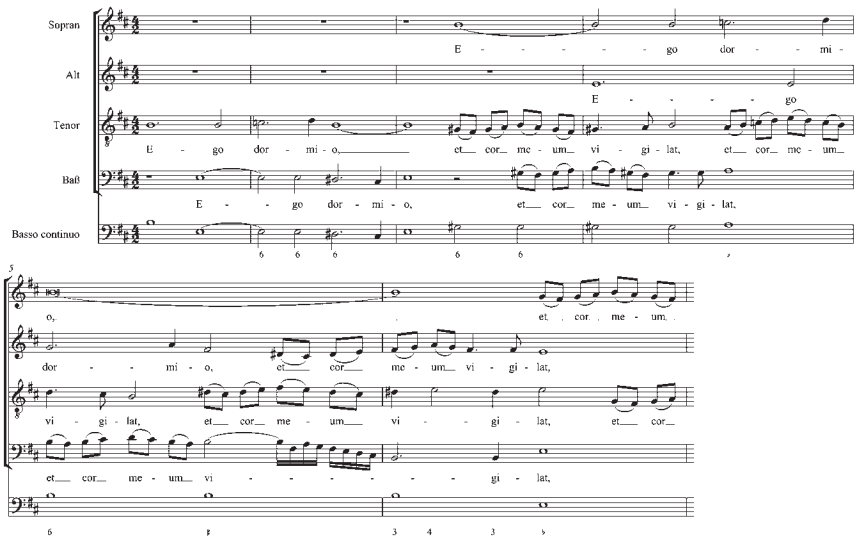
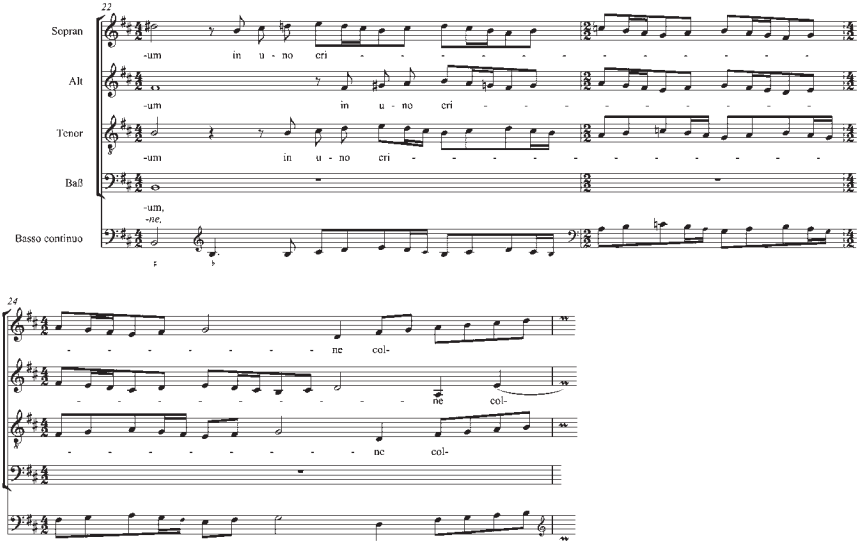
Heinrich Schutz's first settings of the Song of Songs may be found in his *Cantiones Sacrae* (1625). The *Cantiones Sacrae* are expressive choral works with continuo accompaniment, in which Schütz employs all the expressive resources of the madrigal style in the musical expression of his religious text. The eleventh and twelfth parts, "Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat"/"Vulnerasti cor meum" (SWV 63/64), combine the image of the lover seeking his beloved from 5:2 of the Song of Songs with the metaphor of the captivity of love from 4:9 in a yearning lover's lament:

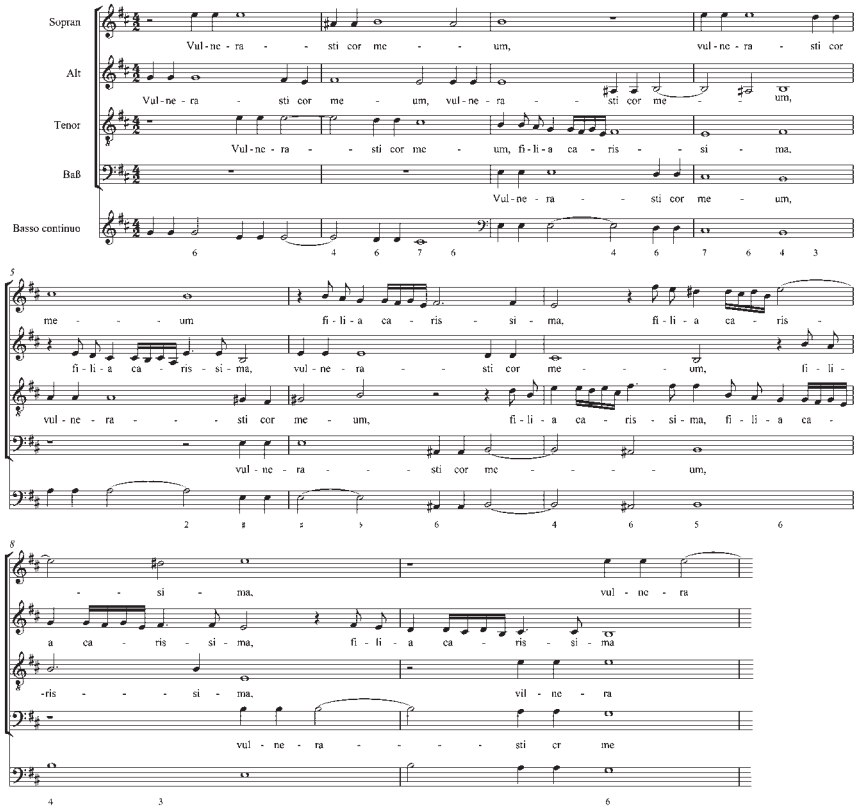
Prima pars (Hld 5,2)
Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat.
Aperi mihi, soror mea,
Columba mea, immaculata mea,
quia caput meum plenum est rore,
et cincinni mei guttis noctium.
Secunda pars (Hld 4,9)
Vulnerasti cor meum, filia carissimia,
in umo oculorum tuorum,
in uno crine colli tui.

Part One (Song of Songs 5:2)
I sleep, but my heart wakes.
Open the door to me, my sister,
My dove, my undefiled,
for my head is covered with dew
and my locks with the drops of the night.
Part Two (Song of Songs 4:9)
You have wounded my heart, dearest daughter,
with one glance of your eyes,
with one chain from your neck.

Using pictorial and affective madrigalisms, Schütz sets these textual images with great accuracy, while the dorian mode, with its connotations of sorrow, lends a yearning tone to the composition as a whole.[45] The paradoxical metaphor of the first lines of the text is formulated in a vivid madrigalian double motif. The states of sleeping and waking are conveyed simultaneously by means of longer and shorter note values (see example 6-1).[46]

Schütz also employs madrigalian word-painting in the musical depiction of beauty metaphors. At the words "in uno crine colli tui" in the second part of the composition, strings of semiquavers symbolize the chain from the neck of the beloved. Here, as in the madrigal, the coloratura—as *circulatio* in the musical–rhetorical doctrine of figures—functions as a musical jewel metaphor (see example 6-2).[47]

The second part of the composition also begins with a double motif, but here it functions as an affective, rather than pictorial, madrigalism. The lover's captivity is articulated as a madrigalian love metaphor through the simultaneous expression of bitter and sweet affects. At "vulnerasti" the falling tritones, sharp false relations—known as *parrhesia* in musical rhetoric—and slow tempo provide an affectively vivid representation of the lover's sufferings. From bar 3, however, at the words "filia carissima," the joy of love is simultaneously expressed in a typically madrigalian, yearning *suspiratio* figure with fast notes, complementary rhythms, and parallel thirds and sixths (see example 6-3).

Example 6-1. Heinrich Schütz, "Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat" (SWV 63), bars 1–6.

Example 6-2. Heinrich Schütz, "Vulnerasti cor meum" (SWV 64), bars 22–24.

Here Schütz employs madrigalian devices from the realm of secular love to represent sacred love.[48] Thus "Ego dormio" is conceived both thematically and stylistically as a sacred madrigal.

Example 6-3. Heinrich Schütz, "Vunlerasti cor meum" (SWV 64), bars 1–9.

While the dialectic between the various motivic groups at times lends the madrigal "Ego dormio" the character of a dialogue, many other seventeenth-century settings of the Song of Songs are articulated as duets. A typical example is "O quam tu pulchra es" (SWV 265), no. 9 from the first part of Schütz's *Symphoniae Sacrae* (1629). The text is an adaptation of the Song of Songs 4:1–5, one of seven such settings in this collection of twenty compositions:

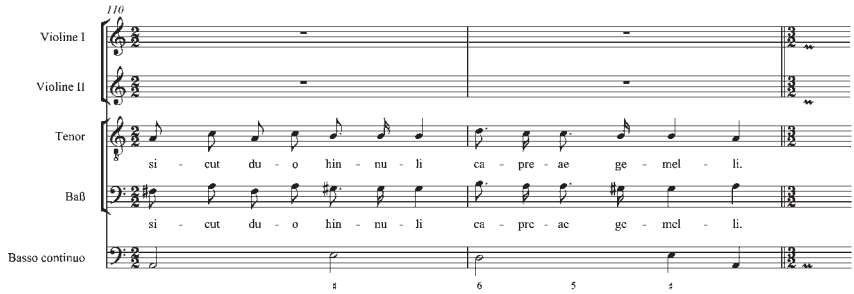
O quam tu pulchra es,
amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea,
immaculata mea.
O quam tu pulchra es!
Oculi tui oculi columbarum.
O quam tu pulchra es!
Capilli tui sicut greges caprarum.

O quam tu pulchra es!
Dentos tui sicut greges tonsarum.
O quam tu pulchra es!
Sicut vitta coccinea labia tua.
O quam tu pulchra es!
Sicut turnis David collum tuum.
O quam tu pulchra es!
Duo ubera tua sicut duo hinulli capreae gemelli.
O quam tu pulchra es!

Oh, how beautiful you are,
my friend, my dove, my lovely one,
my immaculate one.
Oh, how beautiful you are!
Your eyes are dove's eyes.
Oh, how beautiful you are!
Your hair is like a herd of goats.
Oh, how beautiful you are!
Your teeth are like a flock of sheep just shorn.
Oh, how beautiful you are!
Your lips are like a scarlet ribbon.
Oh, how beautiful you are!
Your neck is like the tower of David.
Oh, how beautiful you are!
Your two breasts are like twin fawns of a gazelle.
Oh, how beautiful you are!

Symphoniae Sacrae I reflects the compositional fruits of Schütz's second visit to Italy (cf. chapter 2). "O quam tu pulchra es" is articulated as a sacred concerto, in which two violins alternate with a tenor and a baritone in concertato style above a continuo bass. The text from the Song of Songs is arranged so that the repeated exclamations of "O quam tu pulchra es" intensify the rhetorical effect of the biblical enumeration of the physical attributes of the beloved. The musical setting of these lines takes the form of a refrain, in which the festive triple meter further underlines the joyful, enraptured mood of the text. Schütz also incorporates madrigalisms into the concertato style of the piece (see example 6-4), for instance at the words "Your two breasts are like twin fawns of a gazelle" (Song of Songs 4:5). The parallel thirds and dotted rhythms function as both pictorial and affective madrigalisms: they express both the leap of the gazelle and the joy of being in love.

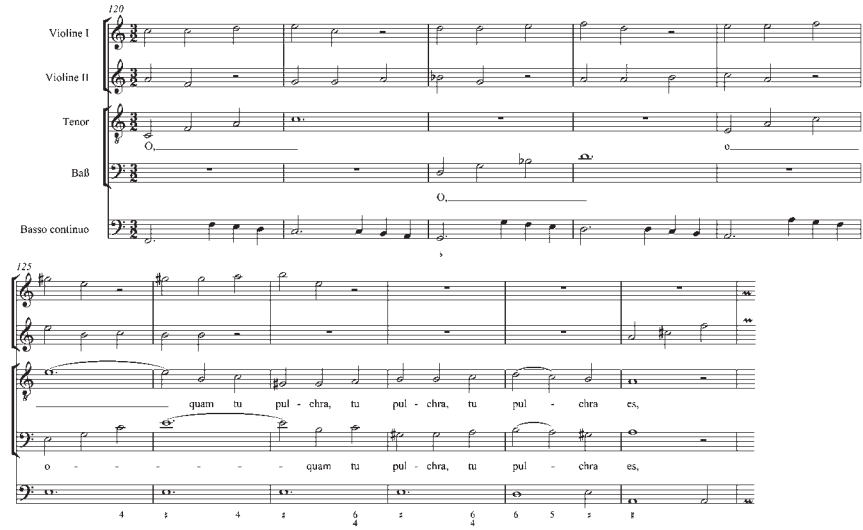
Schütz articulates not only the subject but also the style of this text. The duet ends with a three-fold repetition of the refrain, in which the "O" is sung on rising triads. The repetitions, triads,[49] and complementary rhythms contribute affectively to the structure of the composition, being musical-



Example 6-4. Heinrich Schütz, "O quam tu pulchra es" (SWV 265), bars 110–111.

rhetorical intensifications that lead the piece to a climax (see example 6-5).[50]

In the musical–rhetorical doctrine of figures this figure is labeled *gradatio*, which according to Athanasius Kircher could express divine love:

> Die *climax* oder *gradatio* ist eine stufenweise aufsteigende musikalische Periode und wird oft in Affekten der göttlichen Liebe und Sehnsucht nach dem himmlischen Reich angewandt.
>
> The climax or *gradatio* is a musical period that ascends stepwise, and is often employed in affects of divine love and desire for the heavenly kingdom.[51]

Example 6-5. Heinrich Schütz, "O quam tu pulchra es" (SWV 265), bars 120–130.

In the eighteenth century Johann Adolph Scheibe interprets *gradatio* as a figure that "moves and amazes the attentive listener."[52] In this instance both affective interpretations of *gradatio* seem to underpin this intensifying figure, while *syncopatio*, overstepping the boundaries of the bar, expresses the excess of the lover's rapture of "languishing emotions" (Kircher).

That music can not only intensify but also lend depth to the semantics of a text is demonstrated by the fact that in this duet, which concentrates on the expression of the joy of love, elements of love's heartache also appear. Alongside triple meter, parallel thirds, and consonance, Schütz employs a minor mode. The harmony is dominated by sixth chords, which symbolized instability in baroque music theory and are described by Athanasius Kircher as characteristic of the affect of love. Through the musical combination of affective parameters of joy and sorrow the composition thus acquires an affective mood that matches the contemporary concept of love.[53]

The same musical conventions are also evident in Dieterich Buxtehude's settings of the Song of Songs. The text of his Advent cantata *Ich suchte des Nachts* (BuxWV 50) is made up of various passages from the Song of Songs. In the first movement of the cantata Buxtehude expands the duet form of Schütz's settings. Musical dialogues are furnished not only by tenor and bass, but also by the two violins and the three groupings of voices, violins, and continuo. Within these dialogues parallel thirds and complementary rhythms express the love that underlies this quest of which the text speaks. At the same time Buxtehude articulates the metaphors of desire from the Song of Songs in a musical idiom that is restless throughout. In a harmonic texture dominated by unstable sixth chords, the yearning quest of the lover is represented by *suspiratio* figures and descending melodies.

This and similar settings of the Song of Songs provide an ambivalent outworking of the thematics of the composition, for in the musical representation of love sweet and bitter affects are combined just as in poetry. Because the language of the Song of Songs resembled the secular petrarchan love concept in its yearning descriptions of lovesickness, beauty, and desire, its musical settings were often difficult to distinguish from secular love songs. Pictorial and affective madrigalisms, parallel thirds, complementary rhythms, small intervals, minor keys, and dialogue technique characterized the musical treatment of both genres and provided them with a bitter-sweet affective starting point.

MYSTICAL LOVE FOR JESUS

As in contemporary poetry, desire for Jesus the heavenly bridegroom was a popular theme in baroque music. In addition to a large number of medieval

mystical texts, many of the poems of mystical desire for Jesus discussed in the previous chapter and similar texts were set to music. Love for Jesus has the same characteristics in music as in poetry: it is simultaneously exalted and yearning, and expresses itself in repeated sighs and metaphors of heartache. The paradoxical tension of Lutheran love for Jesus is often articulated musically in the form of a dialogue, recalling the poetic form of the Song of Songs. Dialogue provides a dialectic framework for mystical love that satisfies the requirements of Lutheran theology. The reciprocal theological associations of all the various aspects of mystical love—anticipation of eschatological union with Christ, desire for the heavenly bridegroom, awareness of one's own unworthiness, and the resulting impossibility of transcendental mystical fusion—can be expressed in this form. The dialogue form highlights, as Wolfgang Herbst has also pointed out,[54] the ongoing dialectic opposition inherent in the Lutheran concept of mysticism.

DESIRE FOR JESUS

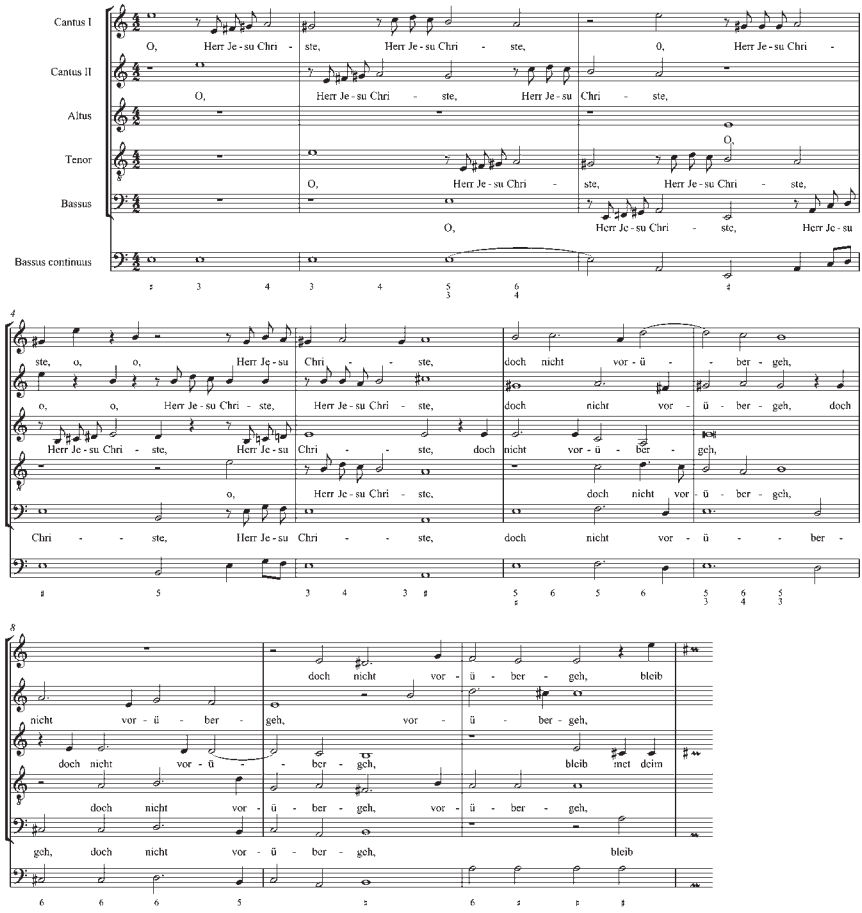
Johann Hermann Schein's collection *Israelis Brünnlein* (1623) contains sacred madrigals with continuo accompaniment on German texts.[55] The text of no. 23, "O, Herr Jesu Christe," describes the desire of a faithful soul for Jesus and was probably written by Schein himself.

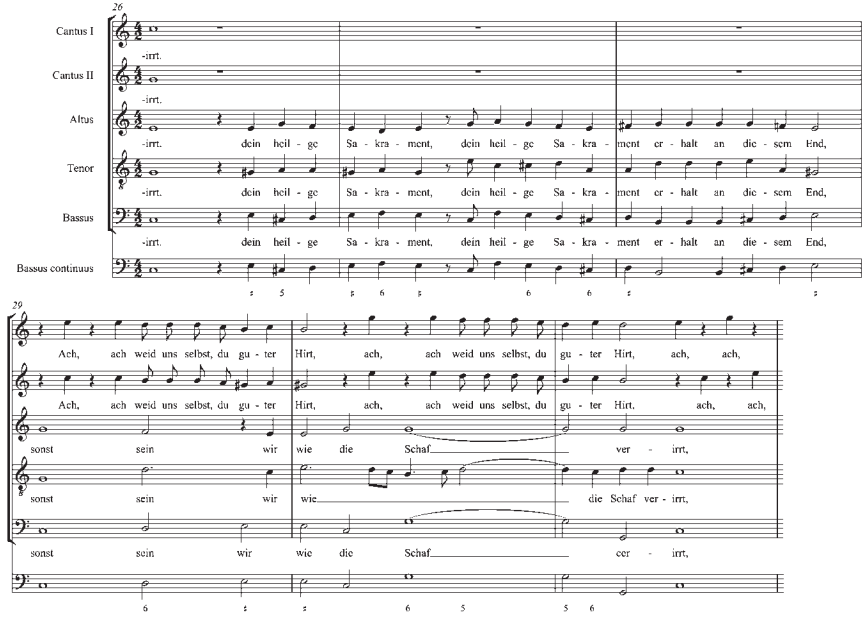
O, Herr Jesu Christe,
doch nicht vorübergeh,
bleib mit deim Wort
an diesem Ort.
Dein heilge Sakrament
erhalt an diesem End,
sonst sein wir wie die Schaf verirrt.
Ach weid' uns selbst, du guter Hirt.

O Lord Jesus Christ,
Do not pass by,
Remain with your Word
In this place.
Maintain your Holy Sacrament
To this end,
Lest we stray like sheep.
Ah, tend us yourself, Good Shepherd.

The text is an entreaty to Christ to stand by and support the believer in the word and the Sacrament. In his setting Schein employs stylistic devices that

introduce ambivalence, in two different respects, to a text that is in itself unequivocal. Firstly, the religious desire is articulated in madrigalian style as the bitter-sweet desire of the lover, and secondly, these same madrigalian devices lend this desire a secular character.

The apostrophe at the beginning of the text is elaborated imitatively in the various voices. The madrigalian *suspiratio* figure, systematized in musical rhetoric, lends the exclamation a yearning tone. This expression of desire for Jesus is emotionally intensified through an affective madrigalism at the words "doch nicht vorübergeh": religious love for Jesus is articulated like the desire of worldly love in sharp dissonances, chromaticism, descending melodies, slow tempo, syncopations, and sixth chords (see example 6-6).

Example 6-6. Johann Herman Schein, "O, Herr Jesu Christe," bars 1–10.

Another madrigalian love metaphor manifests itself at the lines "Dein heilge Sakrament . . . du guter Hirt" (see example 6-7). Schein represents the union of the believer and Jesus in the sacrament in the consonant and homophonic setting of the words "Dein heilge Sakrament." The desire for union with Christ is expressed in the soprano's *suspiratio* figures. In the following lines desire for Jesus becomes the theme of a madrigalian double motif. Using voice-pairing techniques Schütz sets up a dialogue between the sopranos and the lower voices: the two sopranos celebrate union with Jesus the shepherd in descending parallel thirds, while alto, tenor, and bass express the helplessness of man without his shepherd in long notes and slow tempo. The entire passage is consonant, as if in affirmation of the strengthening effect of the sacrament; at the same time, however, the madrigalian *suspiratio* figures, the descending soprano melodies, metrically "incorrect" syncopations and sixth chords combine the joy experienced in Communion with the bitter-sweet desire of worldly love. The pleading "Ach" is sung twice each by the sopranos, first as a *suspiratio* in parallel thirds typical of the madrigal style, but then in complementary rhythm and with a melody that forms the shape of a cross. The echo effect lends the motif an anguished tone, but at the same time visually symbolizes the paradoxical proof of the divine love of the crucified Christ. Here both the pictorial potential and affective power of the madrigal style are used to represent religious love, which, in accordance with Lutheran theology, is proven by the cross and strengthened in Communion.

Example 6-7. Johann Hermann Schein, "O, Herr Jesu Christe," bars 26–31.

The sequence of figures and motifs with different affective implications lends this work the character of a madrigalian lover's lament. This similarity reveals a significant parallel between the poetic and musical representation of mystical love. As in the mystical poems analyzed in the previous chapter, so also in this composition it is not the style employed by the composer but the identity of the person being celebrated that determines the generic difference between spiritual and worldly art. Were the beloved not Jesus but an unattainable lady, then this composition would be scarcely distinguishable from a secular madrigal.

In his settings of texts dealing with love for Jesus, as for those based on the Song of Songs, Dieterich Buxtehude combines madrigalian and concertato elements. The instrumental parts—mostly violins—underline the representation of the text in the vocal lines through *colla parte* playing and above all through dialogue effect; moreover, instrumental preludes and ritornelli furnish a formal structure in Buxtehude's cantatas. In this way the concertato style allows the composer greater affective unity than would be possible in the madrigal style.

The text of Buxtehude's sacred concerto *Liebster, meine Seele saget* (BuxWV 70) is taken from a poem by Ernst Christoph Homburg, "An seinen Seelen=Bräutigam Jesus / meistentheils aus dem Braut=Liede Salomonis zusammengezogen" (To his soul's bridegroom, Jesus / mostly taken from Solomon's bridal hymn). Buxtehude sets the first four of thirteen verses:[56]

Sopran I
Liebster, meine Seele saget
Mit durchaus verliebtem Sinn
Und mit vollem Sehnen fraget:
Liebster, ach, wo bist du hin?
Komm, mein Heiland, mein Verlangen,
Komm von Libanon gegangen.

Sopran II
Lass dich finden, o dein Jammer!
Dann so will ich führen dich
Hin zu meiner Mutter Kammer,
Ja, ich will bemühen mich,
Meine Lust, dich nicht zu lassen
Auf die Gassen, auf die Strassen.

Sopran I, II
Sage mir doch, bitt' ich, sage,
O du Sarons Blume, du,
Wo zugegen in Mittage
Nimmst du meine süsse Ruh?

Ach, wo pflegst du samt den Schafen
Auszuruhen, auszuschlafen?

Komm, ach komm, lass deine Liebe
Dein Panier sein über mir,
Mich dein Absein nicht betrübe,
Sondern lass mich für und für
Unter deinen Armen sitzen,
Deine Liebesflamm erhitzen.
Alleluja.

Soprano I
Dearest, my soul speaks
In complete adoration
And asks with deepest desire:
Dearest, where have you gone?
Come, my saviour, my desire,
Come to me from Lebanon.

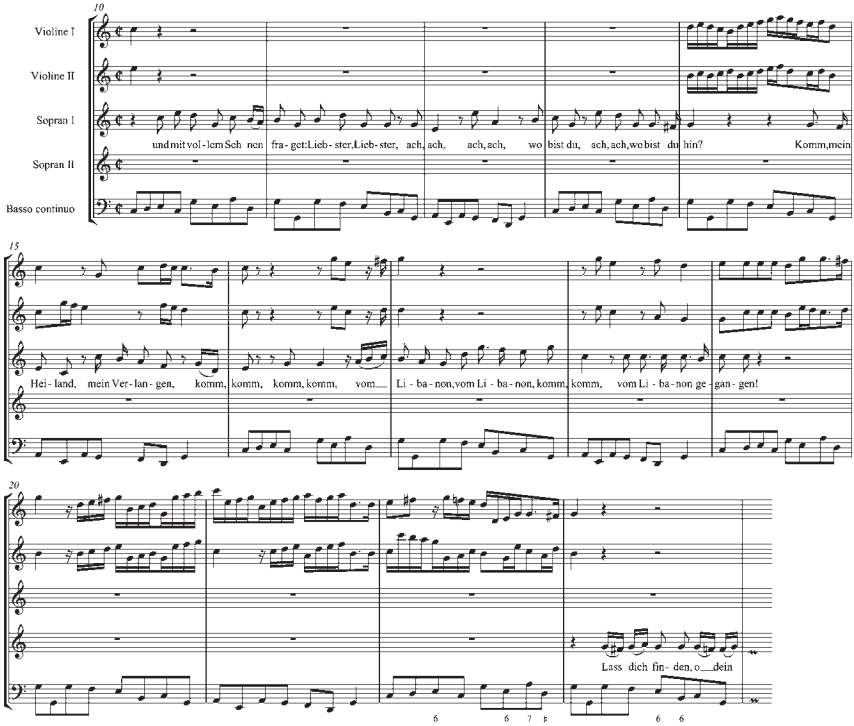
Soprano II
Let me find you! Oh, your misery!
Then I will lead you
To my mother's chamber,
Yes, I will strive,
O my delight, not to leave you
In the alleys, in the streets.

Soprano I, II
Tell me, I beg you, tell me,
O flower of Sharon,
Where in the afternoon
Do you take sweet rest?
Ah, where do you herd all your sheep,
To rest, to sleep?

Come, ah come, let your love
Be your banner above me,
Do not let your absence trouble me,
But let me for ever
Remain in your arms
And kindle the flame of your love.
Alleluia.

The text is characteristic of Lutheran mysticism. To express desire for Jesus, who is represented as an absent but longed-for lover, Homburg employs

motifs from the Song of Songs. Buxtehude articulates the Lutheran dialectic through judicious use of dialogue between the two sopranos on the one hand, and between the voices and the two instrumental parts on the other. These dialogues at various levels represent both the union between the believer and Jesus and the paradoxical tension of desire. Buxtehude combines this concertato technique with madrigalian elements such as word-painting motifs, parallel thirds, and complementary rhythms. The structural use of these affectively significant compositional devices generates an affective paradigm of bitter-sweet that forms the basis of the composition.[57]

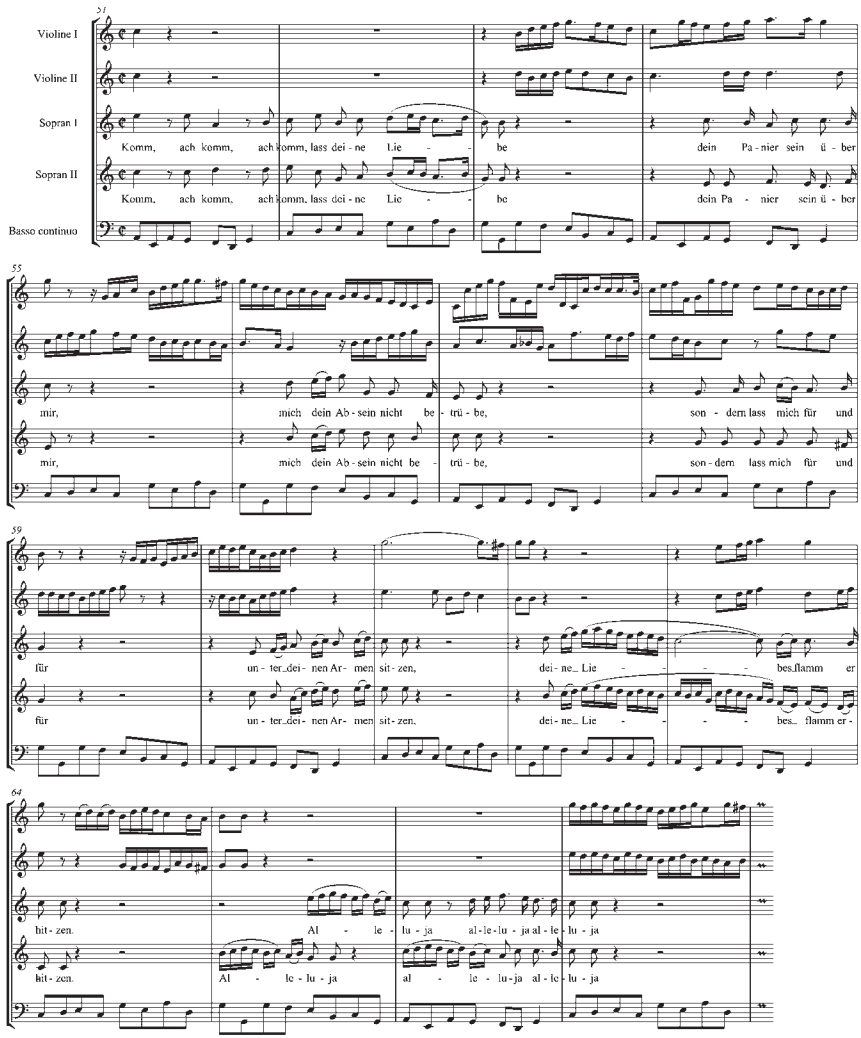
At the words "Liebster, ach, wo bist du hin? Komm, mein Heiland, mein Verlangen, komm von Libanon gegangen," repeated *suspiratio* figures and descending sequences represent the soul's anguished desire for Christ's coming—his descent from heaven—while the two violins rhythmically complement and affectively soothe the soprano parts in parallel thirds (see example 6-8). Bars 13–16 particularly may be interpreted as a musical metaphor of mystical love. Here the soprano expresses the bitter and painful aspects of mystical love, while at the same time the rapid parallel movement in the violins suggests the sweet anticipation of eschatological union.

Example 6-8. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Liebster, meine Seele saget* (BuxWV 70), bars 10–23.

The animated presentation of eschatological salvation in Buxtehude's setting of the last verse truly sets *unio mystica* "before our very eyes." First the two soprano voices celebrate the sweet desire for the love union of the Last Day in parallel thirds. Together with the complementary rhythms of the violins these parallel thirds furnish an affective counterweight to the ongoing anguished *suspiratio* figures. In the next lines ("unter deinen Armen sitzen / deine Liebesflamm erhitzen / Alleluja"), however, the subject is no longer desire and the dialogue between sopranos and violins creates an affectively unambiguous presentation of the joy of love, in which consonance, parallel thirds, and complementary rhythms dominate (see example 6-9).

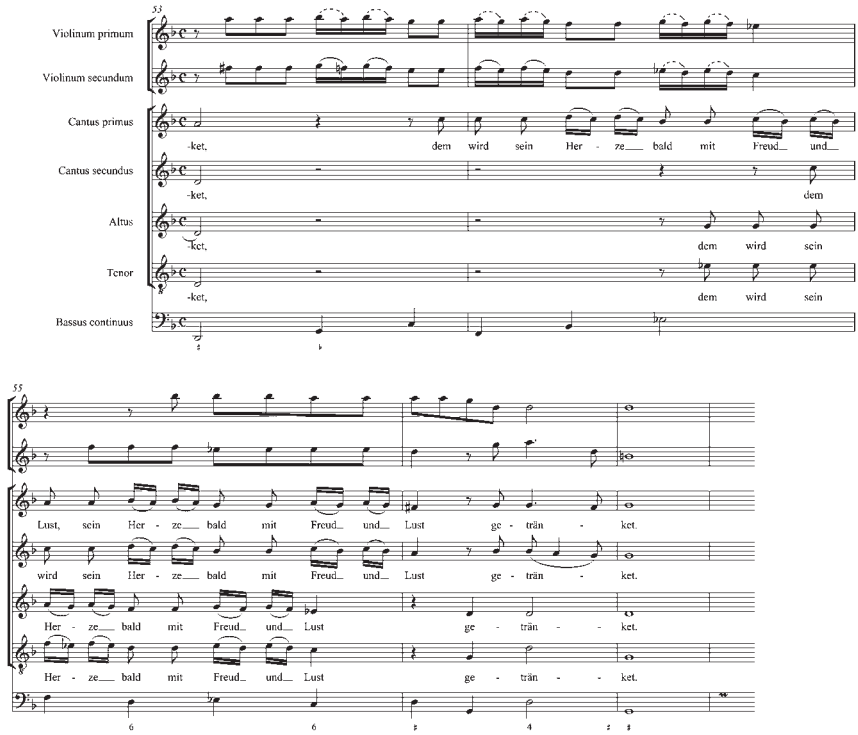
This passage illustrates how a musical setting can articulate a text more effectively than the text itself. While the description of the meeting with Christ in the text of this cantata merely presents a longed-for ideal, in Buxtehude's music it becomes an almost palpable foretaste of eschatological salvation, which without doubt intensified the desire of contemporary listeners for this salvation. Here, musical expressive resources function as emotional–pedagogic devices serving the evangelical objectives of musical prayer, in accordance with Lutheran views regarding music.

Love Union with Jesus

The eighth part of Heinrich Schütz's *Symfoniae sacrae III* (1650), "O Süsser Jesu, wer an dich recht gedenket" (SWV 405), is a setting of one of many German translations of the seventeenth-century poem *Jesus dulcis memoria* by Bernard of Clairvaux. Schütz sets this text as a sacred concerto with double choir, in which the instrumental parts support the representation of the text in homophonic chords, *colla parte* playing and dialogue structures. The entire range of expressive resources associated with love is employed. "Sweet" parallel thirds move in "sorrowful" descending melodies; the joyous connotations of complementary rhythms are clouded by these descending melodies and subtle false relations. The somber color of the minor mode is affectively at odds with the consonant texture and animated tempo.

Schütz uses the same devices to express the mystical metaphor of being drunk with love—"dem wird sein Herze bald mit Freud und Lust getränket" (his heart will soon be drunk with joy and delight). The overflowing joy of the believer is expressed in the consonant harmonies cadencing in G major, parallel thirds, fast tempo, and strings of semiquavers, while at the same time sixth chords weaken the harmonic foundation and rhetorical sighing motifs in descending melodic lines place this joy in the bitter perspective of irreconcilability (see example 6-10).

Example 6-9. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Liebster, meine Seele saget* (BuxWV 70), bars 51–67.

Schütz's affectively consistent treatment of Bernard's song adds elements of Lutheran mysticism to its medieval imagery: the text is unequivocally joyful in affect, but Schütz's setting lends the love it celebrates a bitter-sweet note of irreconcilability.

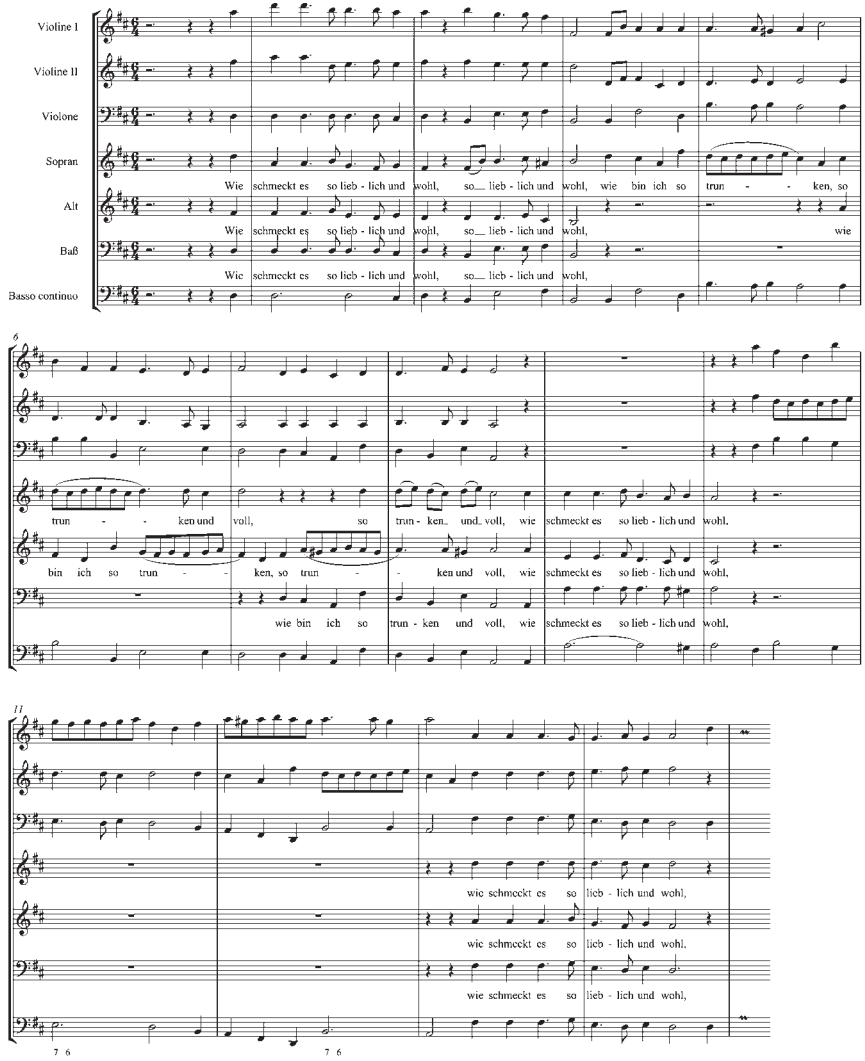
Dieterich Buxtehude's cantata *Wie schmeckt es so lieblich und wohl* (BuxWV 108) is based on the Communion poem "Er führet mich in den Weinkeller," by Heinrich Müller, analyzed in the previous chapter. The cantata celebrates the joy and love of Christ experienced sensually in

Example 6-10. Heinrich Schütz, "O süsser Jesu Christ, wer an dich recht gedenket" (SWV 405), bars 53–57.

Communion and therefore has a thoroughly festive character. The first part is a trio for soprano, alto, and bass set to the first verse of the poem:

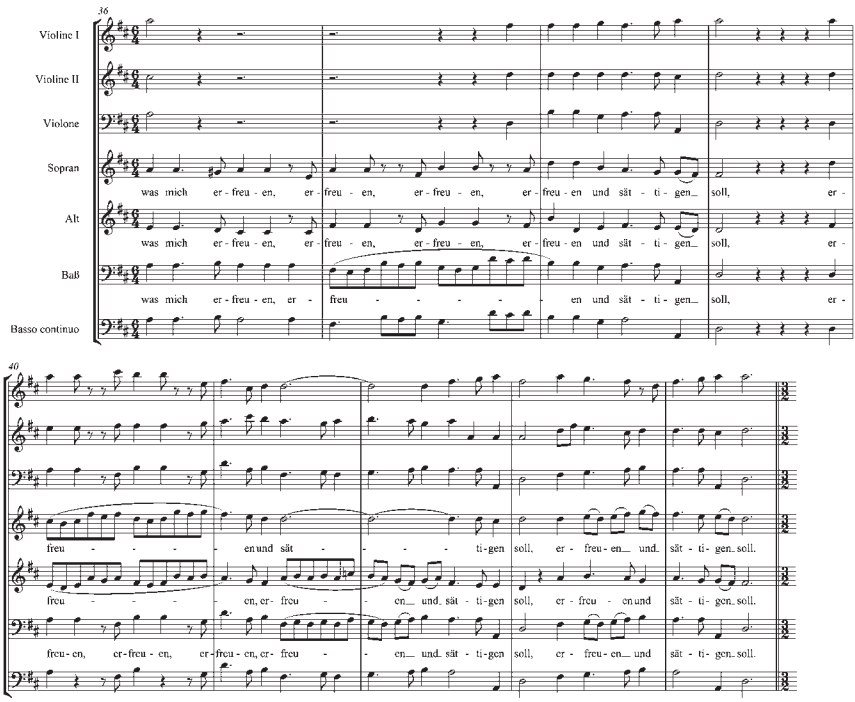
> Wie schmeckt es so lieblich und wohl!
> Wie bin ich so trunken und voll!
> O selige Stunden!
> Nun hab' ich empfunden
> Was mich erfreuen und sättigen soll.
>
> How good and lovely it tastes!
> How drunk and sated I am!
> O blessed hour!
> Now I have experienced
> That which will delight and satisfy me.

The joyful amphibrachs of the poem are set in a fast 6/4 meter in D major. All the other movements in this cantata that celebrate mystical union with Jesus in

Communion are likewise set in triple meters. Moreover, the consonant texture, fast tempo, and trio form also reflect the perfect joy of the communicant.

In the first bars of the cantata Buxtehude introduces the affective theme to the listener by means of a symmetrical construction in which he uses both pictorial and affective madrigalisms (see example 6-11). A homophonic declamation of the title line leads from the tonic key of D major to the relative minor, where the drunkenness of love is presented in imitation. The

Example 6-11. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Wie schmeckt es so lieblich und wohl* (BuxWV 108), 1st movement, bars 1–14.

melisma at the word "trunken" is sung in alternation by the various voices and furnishes a madrigalian representation of drunkenness in a rhythmically complementary sequence. The section closes with a repetition of the first homophonic lines in the dominant, A major, which finally leads back to D major. Since drunkenness, articulated in B minor, reflects the painful components of this affect, the harmonic progression of this section forms an affective articulation of love. However, the affective framing of love's heartache within major motifs shows that the joy of love is the dominant emotion in Communion: although receiving Communion offers only a temporary union with Jesus, it moves the faithful soul to loving rapture.

The dialogues between the vocal and instrumental groups strengthen the affect underlying the text. The constant echo-like alternation of voices and violins furnishes a repeated affirmation of the joy experienced in Communion, represented here in triple meter, trios, parallel thirds, and complementary rhythms. The affectively powerful *gradatio* figure at "erfreuen" is striking: the upper voices, moving in parallel thirds, furnish a climax of short, rising fourth figures, while the bass, parallel with the continuo, rises in a three-part melisma at the same word (see example 6-12).

Example 6-12. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Wie schmeckt es so lieblich und wohl* (BuxWV 108), 1st movement, bars 36–44.

Purely musical resources reinforce the Lutheran rhetoric of the text. The emotions released on receiving Communion become palpable through the affectively consistent use of various musical devices. Here the music adds the sense of hearing to the senses that experience Christ's love in Communion—"Schmeckt und sehet wie freundlich der Herr ist" (Taste and see that the Lord is good).[58]

In summary, it may be said that musical representations of love for Jesus in the seventeenth century place most emphasis on desire for Jesus and for sacramental or eschatological union with him. In this respect the musical expression of this love corresponds stylistically to its textual counterpart: because mystical union with Jesus cannot be achieved on earth, the desire for Jesus is bitter and sweet at the same time, and the representation of *unio mystica* also contains elements of bitterness. It is remarkable that music could theologically actualize medieval texts, in that it could add Lutheran dialectic to the sweetness of medieval mysticism.

PASSION DEVOTION

Musical Passion meditations were not as common in the seventeenth century as settings of other Lutheran devotional texts. While the seventeenth century saw the development of non-liturgical or para-liturgical genres such as the sacred concerto and cantata, which were ideal vehicles for texts on love for Jesus, the Passion meditation remained bound to the liturgical year. The intimate, mystical tone of madrigalian devotional poems does not appear in the Passion gospel; however, after Neumeister's cantata reform (1704) an increasing number of free texts, and with them devotional themes, was introduced to the musical Passion devotion. The dramatic Passion only developed into an independent genre from the early-eighteenth century onwards.[59]

In the few non-liturgical or para-liturgical musical Passion meditations of the seventeenth century the same themes appear as in theological and poetic representations of the Passion story. Because love was the core of Lutheran Passion theology, these compositions concentrated on reciprocal love for the dying bridegroom, the physical beauty of the crucified Christ, or desire for eschatological union. The musical devices employed in such representations are comparable to those employed in poetry: in addition to the mystical metaphors discussed in the previous chapter, extremely expressive representations of Christ's suffering were used in the musical Passion meditation in order to shock the listener emotionally and thus convert him (cf. chapter 3).

Dieterich Buxtehude's cantata cycle *Membra Jesu Nostri* (BuxWV 75, c. 1680) is one of the most emotionally powerful musical Passion meditations of the seventeenth century. The text of this seven-part *Passionssalve* is

based on the medieval Passion poem "Salve mundi salutare" by Arnulf von Löwen (d. 1250). An extended form of this poem, wrongly attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, was, like other medieval texts, much read and frequently translated in the seventeenth century. Paul Gerhardt's hymn "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden" paraphrases the seventh part of this poem.[60] Buxtehude divided the text, under appended biblical pericopes, into seven separate cantatas, each consisting of one Bible verse and three verses of text. Since most of the additions come from the Song of Songs, the mystical love that dominates the medieval text is theologically strengthened and pedagogically underlined through this adaptation in accordance with Lutheran Passion theology. Although the cantatas from *Membra Jesu Nostri* share the form and concertato style of the cantatas by Buxtehude already analyzed in this chapter, the composer also employs the madrigalian device of word-painting in the musical articulation of these mystical themes. This cycle provides a musical outworking of many of the thematic and stylistic characteristics of the Lutheran-mystical Passion meditation that were discussed in the textual analyses in chapter 5.

The third part of *Membra Jesu Nostri* is devoted to Christ's bleeding hands. The Bible text of the opening chorus is taken from Zechariah 13:6: "Quid sunt plagae istae in medio manuum tuarum?" (What are these wounds in the middle of your hands?). The verses of the medieval poem describe the blood as a symbol of Christ's love, which awakens heartfelt reciprocal love:

3. *Aria: Soprano I*
Salve Jesu, pastor bone,
fatigatus in agone,
qui per lignum es distractus
et ad lignum es compactus
expansis sanctis manibus.

4. *Aria: Soprano III*
Manus sanctae, vos amplector
Et gemendo condelector,
grates ago plagis tantis,
clavis duris, guttis sanctis,
dans lacrimas cum osculis.

5. *Aria: Alto, Tenore, Basso*
In cruore tuo lotum
me commendo tibi totum,
tuae sanctae manus istae
me defendant, Jesu Christe,
extremis in periculis.

3. Aria: Soprano I
Hail, Jesus, Good Shepherd,
Exhausted by persecution,
Who was spread out on a tree,
And nailed to that tree
With outstretched sacred hands.

4. Aria: Soprano III
Sacred hands, I embrace You,
And lamenting I rejoice in You,
I thank the immense blows,
The harsh nails, the holy drops,
Blending tears with kisses.

5. Aria: Alto, Tenor, Bass
Washed in Your blood,
I commend myself entirely to You,
Let Your sacred hands
Defend me, Jesus Christ,
In my greatest trial.

The opening chorus "Quid sunt plagae istae" consists of three parts, which together produce a rhetorically powerful, symmetrical ABA form. Each division consists of one solo section and one choral section, so that the question "What are these wounds in the middle of your hands?" is asked six times in all. The polyphonic solo sections are for three, two, and three voices respectively. In the first and third sections Buxtehude sets a pair of voices moving in parallel thirds in extended and intense dissonance against a solo voice; in the second solo section one voice instead of a voice pair appears. The first two homophonic choral sections furnish a rhetorical *exclamatio* at the words "quid sunt plagae istae" and an accentuated dissonant *interrogatio* at "in medio manuum tuarum." The last choral section closes with these words on a cadence in which the dissonance mentioned is finally resolved. The chorus therefore has the following schematic structure:

Soli	Choir
"Quid sunt plagae istae?"	"Quid sunt plagae istae in medio manuum tuarum?"
1. Three-part polyphony, dissonance in parallel thirds	Homophonic *exclamationes*, dissonant *interrogatio*
2. Two-part polyphony, dissonance	Homophonic *exclamationes*, dissonant *interrogatio*
3. Three-part polyphony, dissonance in parallel thirds	Homophony, resolution of dissonance.

The bitter-sweet of Christ's love, the cause of his wounds, is represented musically by an affectively unequivocal use of pictorial and affective madrigalisms. In the polyphonic solo sections Buxtehude introduces a madrigalian expression of love as he combines sharp dissonances with gentle parallel thirds. Here the simultaneity of bitter and sweet represents a specific form of heartache, namely the sad tenderness felt for Jesus, dying out of love. Buxtehude's use of this familiar madrigalian device in the setting of a religious text shows that musical articulation of a text can add theological depth to it. The affective ambivalence of the music lends to the compassionate exclamation the loving tone of the verses that follow. Moreover, just as in contemporary mystical poetry, the use of a style associated with a secular genre recalls the affective relationship between mystical and petrarchan love.

The choral sections form rhetorical intensifications of the solo sections (see example 6-13). The question "What are these wounds?" is articulated as a homophonic exclamation (*exclamatio*) expressing the shock of the believer meditating on the cross. At "in the middle of your hands" the shock turns into compassion, while sharp dissonances may be heard in the descending homophony. Only in the last repetition of the line does this move toward a consonant cadence. In the final, Picardian harmonic resolution of this movement Buxtehude shows that the crucifixion seems bitter, but is in fact sweet: Christ's blood is the paradoxical proof of his love and the sign of salvation.

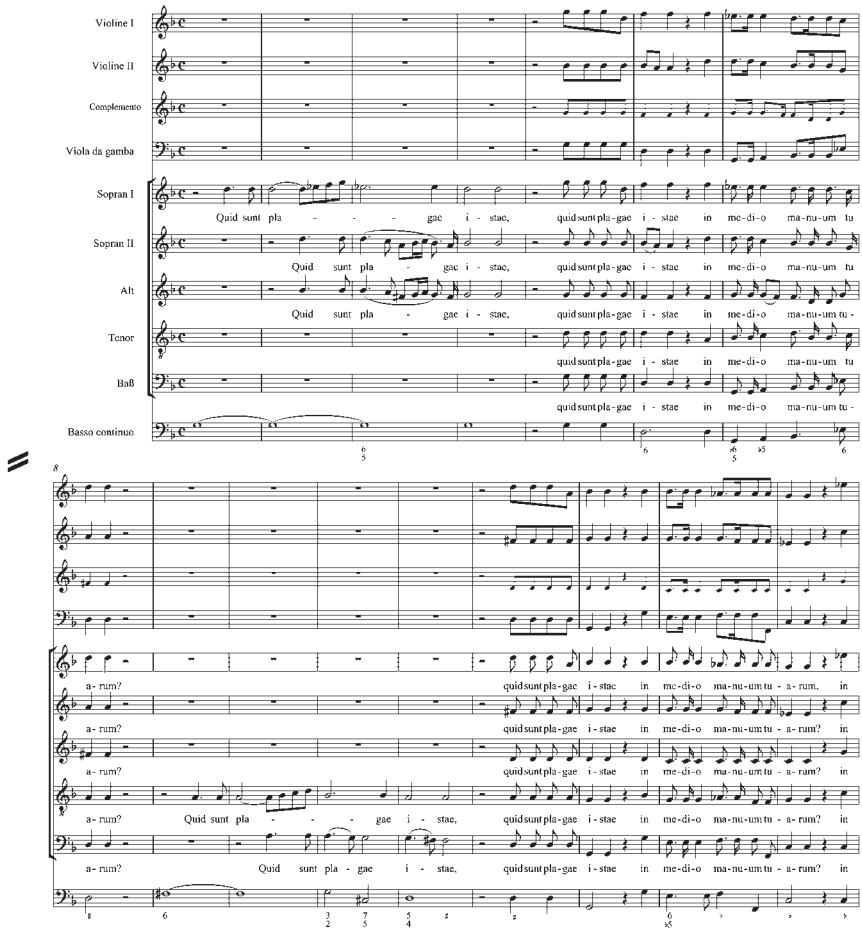
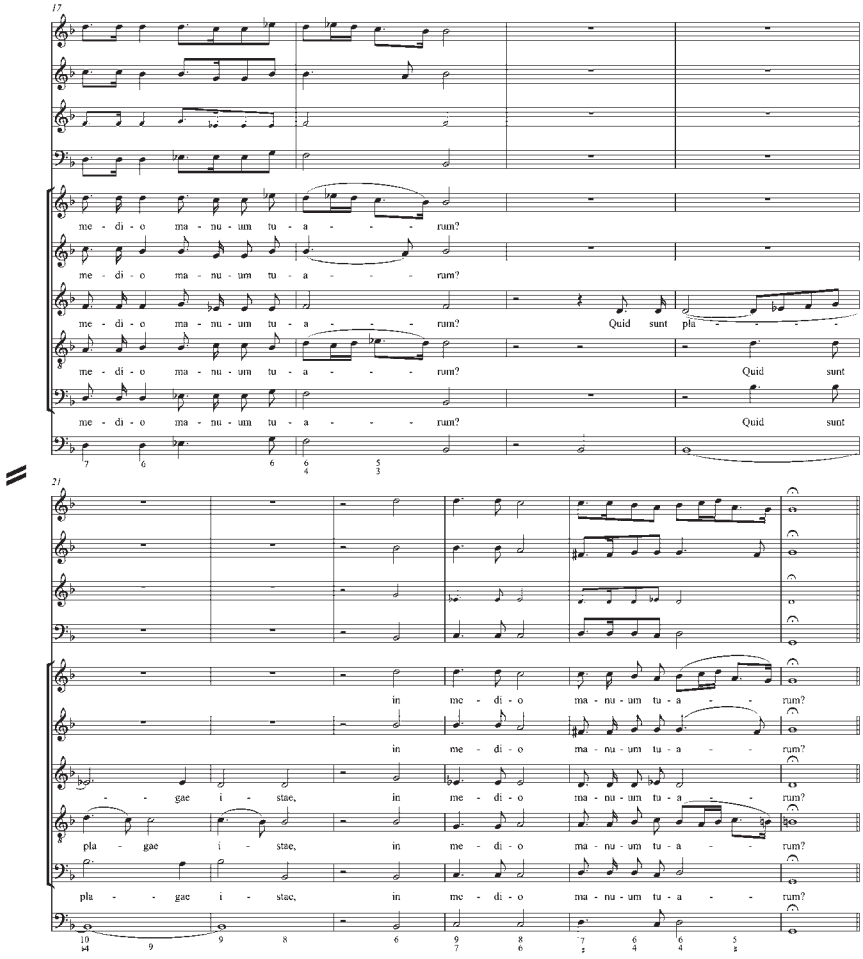
As the listener is first emotionally shocked, then led through compassion to conversion and mystical reciprocal love for Jesus, Buxtehude's compositional method conforms to the emotional–pedagogic objectives of the baroque Passion meditation described in chapter 3.

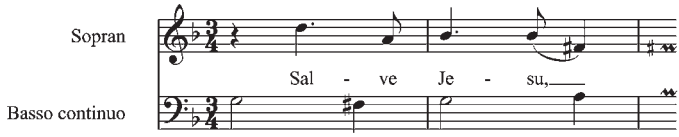
The third movement of this cantata recalls the powerful visual representation of Schütz's "Aspice, pater, piissimum filium" analyzd in chapter 3. Buxtehude employs a melodic cross figure and a sharp sign to illustrate the crucifixion. The joyful connotation of the triple meter may refer to the theological significance of the crucifixion. The fact that the cross figure descends a minor sixth also seems to express its affective implication (see example 6-14).[61]

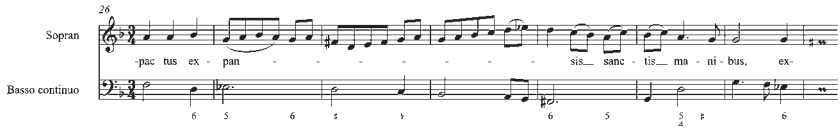
The composer represents the stretching out of Christ's crucified body in a pictorial madrigalism. A long, drawn-out melisma at "expansis" depicts the extended body almost visually. A minor sixth in the ambitus of the figure suggests the loving grace that underlies these shocking events (see example 6-15).

The fifth movement of the third cantata thematizes the emotional paradox that it is actually Christ's bloody hands that lead to eschatological reconciliation. The three-part writing and lively triple meter express the joy of reconciliation. In the first line, "In cruore tuo lotum / me commendo tibi totum" (Washed in your blood, I commend myself entirely to you), an affective figure with sixth chords and false relations is contrasted with an affectively

opposed madrigalism at the word "cruore" (blood); the dissonance of the cross is resolved in reconciliation, namely in a consonant cadence in G minor with parallel thirds and sixth chords.

This cantata, which closes with a repeat of the emotional opening chorus, may be compared both thematically and stylistically with the poems analyzed in chapters 3 and 5. In this musical Passion meditation the emotional–pedagogic emphasis on the contrast between Christ's cruel suffering and his love likewise is to awaken grateful reciprocal love in the believer; here, too, mystical love acquires the bitter-sweet ambivalence typical of Lutheran devotion through the use of secular imagery and devices. Through these compositional methods, as in poetry, the blood metaphor becomes

Example 6-13. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri* (BuxWV 75), III, 2nd movement.

Example 6-13. Continued



Example 6-14. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri* (BuxWV 75), III, 3rd movement, bars 1–2.

Example 6-15. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri* (BuxWV 75), III, 3rd movement, bars 26–32.

musically independent and is interpreted as a symbol of love, in that Buxtehude sets the textual passages referring to blood and wounds to musical love metaphors.

The love theme in the *Membra Jesu Nostri* cycle is brought to a climax in Cantata VI, "Ad cor." This cantata, dedicated to the heart, is also the poetic and theological heart of the collection. The Bible text of Cantata 6 is taken from the Song of Songs 4:9: "Vulnerasti, cor meum, soror mea, sponsa" (Thou hast ravished my heart, my sister, my spouse). This verse ties in with the medieval poem, which describes desire for Jesus and lovesickness:

3. Aria: Soprano III
Summi regis cor, aveto,
Te saluto corde laeto,
Te complecti me delectat
Et hoc meum cor affectat,
Ut ad te loquar animes.

4. Aria: Soprano IV
Per medullam cordis mei,
Peccatoris atque rei,
Tuus amor transferatur,
Quo cor tuum rapiatur
Languens amoris vulnere.

5. Aria: Basso
Viva cordis voce clamo,
Dulce cor, te namque amo,
Ad cor meum inclinare,
Ut se possit applicare
Devoto tibi pectore.

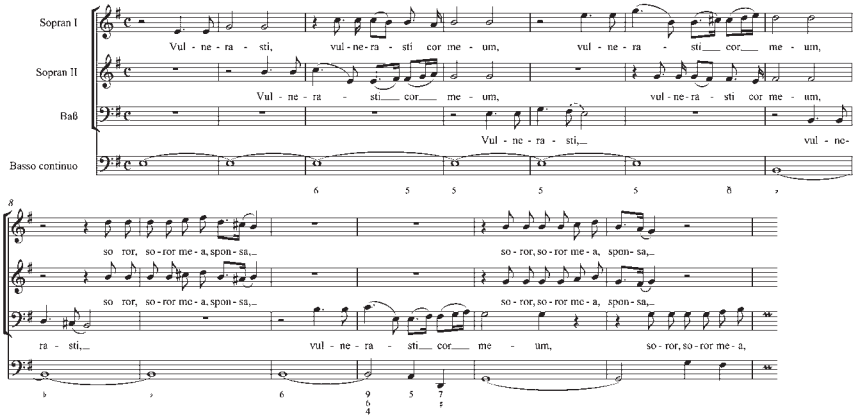
3. Aria: Soprano III
Hail, heart of the highest king,
I salute You with joyful heart,
It is my delight to embrace You
And it moves my heart
That You exhort me to speak to you.

4. Aria: Soprano IV
Into my inmost heart,
Full of sins and transgressions,
Let Your love penetrate,
So that Your heart will be torn,
Languishing from the wounds of love.

5. Aria: Bass
With the living voice of my heart I cry,
I call out to you, sweet heart, for I love You;
Incline towards my heart,
So that it may faithfully
Draw close to Your breast.

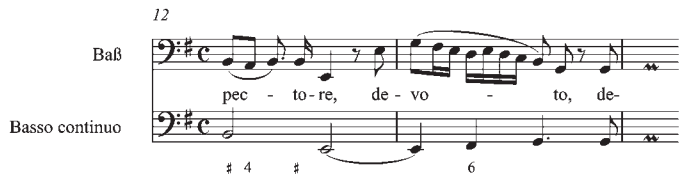
The concentration on the imagery of the Song of Songs shows the extent to which the Passion story was viewed as a love story in Lutheran devotion. Like the text of the Song of Songs, Buxtehude's settings are reminiscent of worldly love.

The opening chorus is articulated as a musical dialogue: two soprano voices provide an affective intensification of a bass voice, complementing the latter rhythmically in parallel thirds.[62] At the word "vulnerasti" the main motif descends through a minor sixth, thus representing "falling in love" as an actual fall in madrigalian style.[63] The composition expresses this bitter-sweet emotion with all available resources as a love duet: parallel thirds, flowing movement in small intervals, consonance, and complementary rhythms represent the joyful aspects of love, while at the same time the falling sixth motif, slow tempo, minor key, static continuo part, and sixth chords express the suffering aspect (see example 6-16). Thus the entreaty to Christ's wounded heart is articulated musically as a love metaphor, in precise agreement with the Passion theology of Lutheran devotion: Christ died of love, in love, and his death also moves the soul of the meditating believer to love.

In the fourth movement of this cantata, "In das Innerste meines Herzens" (Into my inmost heart), the faithful soul entreats Jesus to unite himself with her in love in order to save her. Like a worldly lover, the crucified Christ is "languishing from the wounds of love." Here Christ's wounds are love-wounds, as described by devotional theologians, and his death is a love-death. The fifth movement of the cantata, "Mit der lebendigen Stimme meines Herzens" (With the vibrant voice of my heart), is a musical homage to this love. As the foundation of the harmony, the bass voice, supported by tutti strings, symbolizes the central theological significance of this love. The aria is unequivocally joyful in affect. The consonant harmony, flowing from E minor to E major, the lively tempo with its dotted notes, the complementary rhythms and parallel voice-leading reinforce the festive character of the text. Not only

Example 6-16. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri* (BuxWV 75), VI, 2nd movement, bars 1–13.

does the cross derive from love, it also awakens in the meditating believer emotions that draw him in total submission—symbolized by semiquavers descending over an octave—to Jesus (see example 6-17).

In the last movement a gamba quintet is added to the opening chorus, harmonizing the bass voice homophonically and consonantly. The musical emphasis of this voice rhetorically intensifies it, as in this way the love of Christ (the bass) for the soul is solemnly highlighted one last time as the core of Passion theology.[64]

Buxtehude's *Membra Jesu Nostri* is based on a medieval text that emotionally highlights Christ's love. The composer uses expressive elements of the madrigal style—pictorial and affective madrigalisms—to express this love and contrast it with the cruelty of the cross. The result is typically Lutheran insofar as the musical meditation on the cross forcefully combines sad and joyful affects. The Passion story acquired a double emotional ambivalence in Lutheran devotional theology: on the one hand, the cruelty of the crucifixion is brought about through love and therefore leads to salvation; on the

Example 6-17. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri* (BuxWV 75), VI, 5th movement, bars 12–13.

other hand, this love cannot lead to mystical fusion, since man's sinful nature cannot match that of Christ, God made man. In the musical expression of this ambivalent love Buxtehude, like contemporary poets, employs stylistic resources drawn from the language of secular and petrarchan love, so that the medieval text is theologically updated through its musical setting.

MYSTICAL DESIRE FOR DEATH

In Lutheran devotion death was described as the eschatological love union of the faithful soul and the heavenly bridegroom. Death was therefore anticipated not with fear but with longing. The desire for death generated by this anticipation often bore the discursive characteristics of earthly lovers' desire. Lutheran composers set texts dealing with the desire for death on the basis of these religious conditions: desire for death was presented by means of madrigalian motifs as longing for union with Jesus.

Schütz's pictorial madrigal "Inter brachia salvatoris mei," in which the believer expresses his desire for love-death in the arms of Christ, has been discussed in chapter 2. Dieterich Buxtehude set many poems on this theme of devout desire for death. He too expressed desire for death as longing for eschatological union with Jesus. Like Schütz, he employs pictorial and affective madrigalisms to this end. Buxtehude's treatment of this theme is illustrated in the last cantata (VII) of his *Membra Jesu Nostri*, "Ad faciem." First Christ's bloody face is greeted and extolled, then Jesus is entreated for protection at the hour of death, and finally the believer expresses his longing for eschatological union.

3. Aria: Alto, Tenore, Basso
Salve, caput cruentatum,
totum spinis coronatum,
conquassatum, vulneratum,
arundine verberatum,
facie sputis illita.

4. Aria: Alto
Dum me mori est necesse,
noli mihi tunc deesse,
in tremenda mortis hora
veni, Jesu, absque mora,
tuere me et libera!

5. Concerto: Coro
Cum me jubes emigrare,

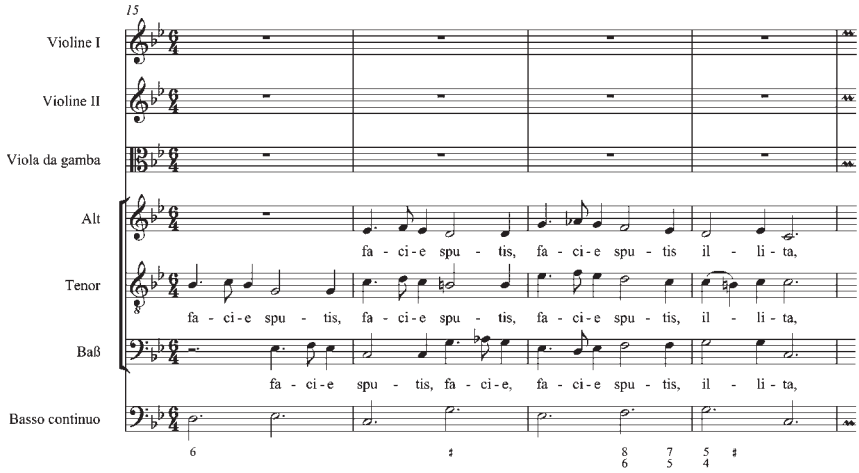
Jesu care, tunc appare,
o amator amplectende,
temet ipsum tunc ostende
in cruce salutifera.
Amen!

3. Aria: Alto, Tenor, Bass
Hail, blood-dripping head,
All crowned with thorns,
Shattered, full of wounds,
Lashed with the reed,
Your face spit upon and smeared.

4. Aria: Alto
When I must die,
Do not then forsake me;
In the dread hour of death,
Come, Jesus, without delay,
Protect me and set me free!

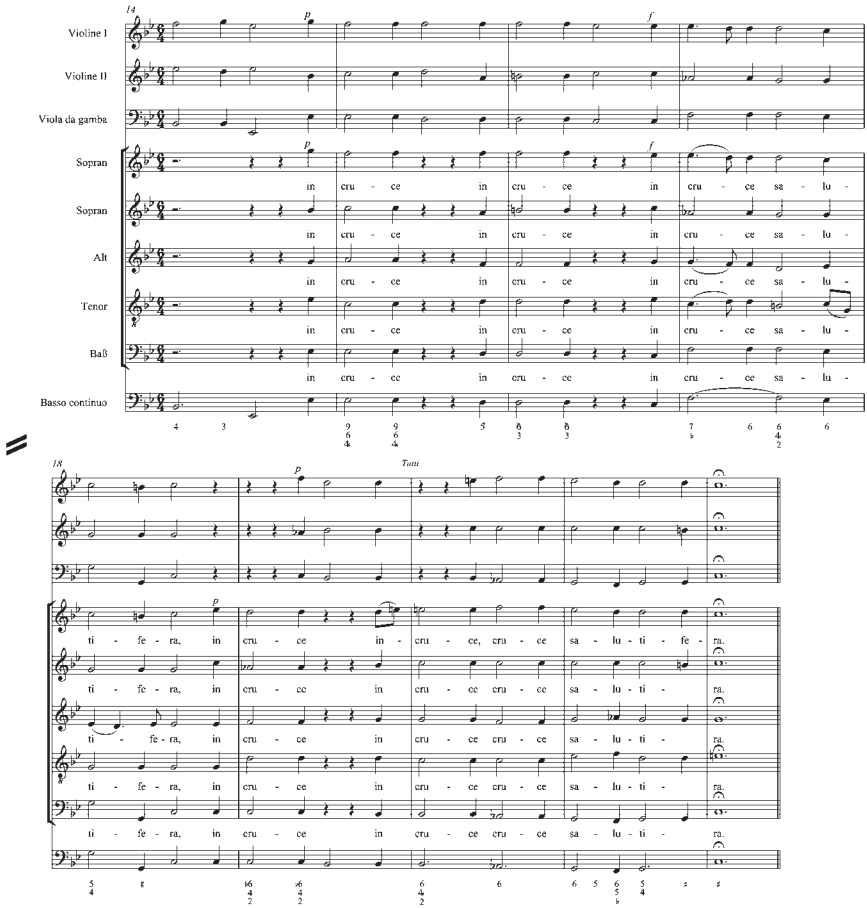
5. Concerto: Chorus
At the time You appoint for me to depart,
Dear Jesus, come to me then,
O my devoted lover,
Reveal Yourself then
On the redeeming cross!
Amen!

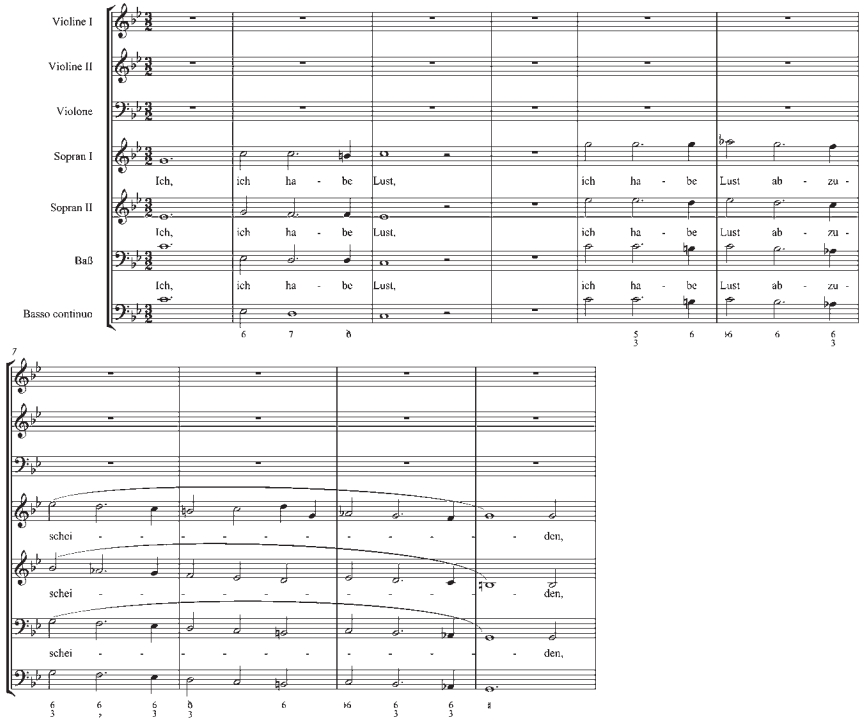
Buxtehude's setting of this text concentrates on the eschatological aspects of the crucifixion. Aria 3 has all the characteristics of joyful affects: the trio form, the fast 6/4 meter, the homophony, the parallel thirds and the affirmative dialogue with the violin trio all seem directly at odds with the explicit cruelty of the text. At the last line, "facie sputis illita" (Your face spit upon and smeared), Buxtehude even employs dance-like rhythms (see example 6-18). Here Buxtehude seems to express joy at the approaching union. In this aria only the dissonance dictated by the text and the C minor key refer to the source of reconciliation, which is Christ's bleeding and suffering.

Equally joyful is the setting of the last verse, in which the faithful soul prays to her loved one Jesus for support at the hour of death. In this chorus also the 6/4 meter, fast tempo, and homophony express joy at the prospect of reconciliation. This affect is expressed symbolically by the sum of three times seven bars.[65] In accordance with Lutheran crucifixion theology, the chorus ends with a final focus on the mediating role of the cross. In the third and final section of the movement the word "cruce" is sung in two short cadences

Example 6-18. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri* (BuxWV 75), VII, 3rd movement, bars 15–18.

three times each; this doubling of the number three corresponds to the time signature of 6/4. The significance of the perfection of this highlighted number is heightened at the end by the move from C minor in the first cadence to the "pure" key of C major. The fact that, despite the joyfulness of the movement, the melodies descend in chromatic *passus duriusculus* motifs to C major and are set dissonantly illustrates that Jesus has suffered cruelly in order to save mankind. The *passus duriusculus* thus refers in this work by Buxtehude to the crucifixion, as in many of Johann Sebastian Bach's works (see example 6-19).[66]

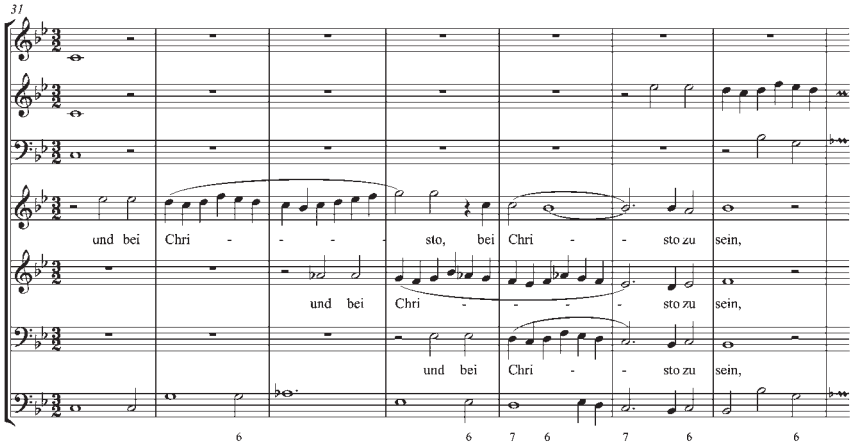
Eschatological union with Christ is the musical theme of the immediately following large-scale closing chorus of the cantata cycle, set to the text "Amen." In a radiant C major tonality and 6/4 meter the community of the faithful—represented by full choir and string trio—celebrate reconciliation. The sweet parallel thirds, spiralling *circulatio* figures, complementary rhythms, and sensually lingering syncopations signify that reconciliation in love union with Jesus has been attained.

A comparable compositional process may be observed in Buxtehude's cantata *Ich habe Lust abzuscheiden* (BuxWV 46). The text of the cantata is based on Phil. 1:23,[67] its subject is the Christian's desire for death. The opening chorus is set to an adaptation of this verse, which is not particularly mystical or devotional in character: "Ich habe Lust abzuscheiden und bei Christo zu sein" (I desire to depart and to be with Christ). This theme is articulated by means of a musical structure that combines elements of joy with elements of parting. The three-part sarabande rhythm and the homophonic declamation lend the trio a joyful, festive character; in this work

Example 6-19. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri* (BuxWV 75), VII, 5th movement, bars 14–22.

by Buxtehude, as in works by Bach, the sarabande and 3/2 meter seem to anticipate eschatological union with Christ (see example 6-20).[68] At the same time, however, the key of C minor, the sixth chords, and above all the melodies, which descend in chromatic *passi duriusculi* through an octave (soprano 1) and even an octave and a half (soprano II and bass), seem to allude to death. Thus, in addition to resources representing bitter-sweet, Buxtehude here employs two musical techniques corresponding to those in the cantata "Illustra faciem tuam" from *Membra Jesu Nostri*. This representation of desire for death is likewise written in C minor, shifting to the pure tonality of C major at the end of the chorus, and the 3/2 meter is a halving of the 6/4 meter of "Illustra faciem tuam."

Example 6-20. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Ich habe Lust abzuscheiden* (BuxWV 46), 1st movement, bars 1–10.

The setting of "und bei Christo zu sein" provides a musical explanation of the paradoxical combination of joy and death. In a short imitative motif all the voices describe a *circulatio* figure, the two soprano voices cross one another in a madrigalian representation of an embrace, and soprano II and bass sing in parallel thirds. This is repeated in concertato style by the violins. Buxtehude's setting of this Bible text is thus in accord with the Lutheran conception of death as the ultimate love union with Christ. The musical preview of this union takes the form of a mystical embrace, in which Jesus and the faithful soul are united after death. Thus desire for death is represented as the desire of the lover, exceeding the biblical provenance of the text (see example 6-21).

The musical articulation of death and desire for death is in accord with contemporary poetic representation of this subject. Because man was reconciled through Jesus' suffering, death no longer meant merely the end of life but also eschatological union with Jesus, the savior. In Lutheran devotion this union was interpreted, moreover, as a love union or *unio mystica*. In music,



Example 6-21. Dieterich Buxtehude, *Ich habe Lust abzuscheiden* (BuxWV 46), 1st movement., bars 31–37.

death was similarly represented as a reconciliation or even love union. Where poets used metaphors and stylistic devices of secular love poetry, composers employed madrigalian and concertato resources to express the ambiguity of death. The last example by Buxtehude illustrates, moreover, that the musical setting of a text could pedagogically transcend the text itself. Even if a text contained no mystical metaphors, the desire for death could be represented as desire for the beloved through the use of madrigalian devices. Settings of medieval poems or Bible texts could therefore be musically conceived in accordance with Lutheran devotion.

FROM MADRIGAL STYLE TO MUSICAL MYSTICISM

Like the poets of their time, many seventeenth-century composers turned their attention to devotional subjects. Their compositions on such themes were often characterized by an intense, personalized expression of emotion. Thus Walter Blankenburg recognizes in Schütz's settings of devotional texts a "passionate intensity and ardour"[69] and Martin Geck praises the "ardent warmth" of Buxtehude's vocal compositions, which he attributes to the composer's supposed Pietist leanings.[70] This chapter has examined the compositional components behind these general qualifications. Comparative stylistic analyses of compositions based on the Song of Songs, love for Jesus, the Passion, and death have shown that the musical articulation of seventeenth-century Lutheran devotional themes was considerably consistent. Like their medieval and contemporary texts, these compositions concentrated on

the representation of sacred and mystical love. The nature of these representations of love was in accord with the Lutheran theology that underpinned the texts. Because love for Jesus could not lead to perfect union, it elicited simultaneous affects of pleasure and suffering. The composer expressed both of these emotions at the same time, so that bitter and sweet were musically inseparable also. The simultaneous use of compositional parameters of joy and sorrow generated an affective paradigm of bitter-sweet that furnished the starting point for the musical love discourse. Individual words or phrases could be expressed separately within this discourse.

As in poetry, the musical articulation of sacred love employed the same stylistic devices as the representation of secular love. And like its poetic counterpart, the musical representation of love, which had been conventionalized in the madrigal, was based on the bitter-sweet petrarchan concept of love. In the works of Schütz and Schein madrigalian double motifs and pictorial and affective madrigalisms were exploited to express the outward beauty of the beloved, the joy of love, the lover's desire, and the heartache of love. Many madrigalian conventions thus evolved from metaphors of worldly love into musical images of sacred love. Analyses of several cantatas by Dieterich Buxtehude have shown that these representative devices, partly systematized as musical–rhetorical figures, became prevalent in the course of the seventeenth century. Madrigalian representations of love remain plentiful in the compositions of the Lübeck organist.

The musical articulation of sacred and mystical love brings together a number of compositional techniques that have already been noted by other musicologists, often with reference to Johann Sebastian Bach. The expression of the sweet joy of love in particular has been described by various scholars. To represent the "ardent union" of the two lovers, as Walter Blankenburg has observed, parallel thirds and complementary rhythms were used; the musical–rhetorical *circulatio* figure, described by Honders, was often employed as a musical symbol of this union. Musical–rhetorical *hyperbole*, as a vehicle of poetic exaggeration, was often the only departure from flowing melodies moving serenely in small intervals; other frequently employed devices of rhetorical intensification were *gradatio* and *repetitio*. Faster sequences were used to depict musically love's rapture or beauty. Musical parameters such as triple meters, faster tempi, major keys, and harmonic consonance also contributed to the representation of the joy of religious love.

Such expressions of joy were consistently combined with musical representations of the bitterness of love. Parallel thirds were united with descending melodies, harmonic consonance with minor keys and unstable sixth chords, complementary rhythms with often harsh dissonance, flowing melodies with chromatic sequences (*passi duriusculi*), faster semiquaver sequences with *suspiratio* and sighing motifs, and triple meter with slow tempi

in which syncopations generate a static effect. These expressive devices were employed within double motifs and intense contrasts to create a musical representation of sacred love that was characterized—often to a greater degree than the original text—by a truly simultaneous perception of pleasure and pain. Moreover, the dialogue form described by many authors proved ideal for the musical articulation of the dialectic of love, providing a musical reflection of both the conversation of the two lovers and the tension between the bitter and sweet aspects of love. The dialogue effect between concertato vocal or instrumental groups had the same effect, in that it could highlight the contrasts between the two feelings. Initially the dialogue form was used predominantly in settings of the Song of Songs, but it was also employed to represent mystical love for Jesus.

The development of baroque musical representation of love also reveals a certain consistency in the choice of voice category. Most of the analyzed settings of devotional texts focusing on love are written for soprano, soprano duet, or soprano plus other voices. Although the number of analyses in this book is insufficient to justify definitive statements, it may be conjectured that in such compositions the soprano voice symbolizes the yearning faithful soul, the bass the loving Jesus or God.[71]

The musical representation of religious love observed the guidelines of baroque music theorists such as Athanasius Kircher and Johann Mattheson for the representation of secular love. The theorists emphasized that not only in a secular but also in a sacred context "being sad and being in love are two quite closely related things."[72] They recommended that these bitter-sweet emotions should be musically expressed through the combination of apparently contradictory expressive resources. As a result musical representations of love frequently combined parallel thirds and sixths with dissonant syncopations, small intervals with chromaticism, or harmonic consonance with slower movement and descending melodies. This mode of representation is based on the madrigal style; the analyses in this chapter have shown that other resources associated with the musical expression of secular love were also used in a sacred context.

Some of the settings of devotional texts analyzed here have revealed that music could lend additional meaning to the content of a text. The possibility of adding the anguished tone of desire to settings of medieval mysticism meant that the medieval text could be modernized in accordance with Lutheran theology simply through its musical articulation. This is an extended form of what Renate Steiger calls "music's hermeneutic plus"[73]: the music sets the text and adds depth to it at the same time. In this respect musical setting transcends the theological expressiveness of text: it has greater theological significance than the text, because it can depict and interpret it at the same time.

The compositions examined here show, moreover, that Dieterich Buxtehude should be regarded not as a musical representative of Pietism but as an Orthodox Lutheran composer. Buxtehude's texts are drawn from a wide range of Lutheran devotional literature. His theologically profound musical interpretation of the texts[74] and above all the musical ambivalence of sacred love generated by this interpretation connect him to Lutheran devotional, rather than Pietist, theology. Buxtehude explicitly articulates love for Jesus as a bitter-sweet emotion and thus highlights the significant Lutheran condition that in *unio mystica* joy and longing go hand in hand, in that man and God incarnate are dialectically opposed even in the union of faith. Lutheran aspirations toward a more personalized devotional life for every believer are reflected in the accessible homophony and single-voice texture in Buxtehude's work; the simpler form of the chorale cantata, which he often employed, can also be interpreted in this light. Such objectives, however, were common to both Orthodox and Pietist devotion and cannot therefore be interpreted as proof of Pietist intentions on the part of the composer.

These cantatas by Buxtehude have also demonstrated how the compositional techniques of the madrigal gave way to those of the baroque cantata at the end of the seventeenth century. The ambivalent nature of the baroque affect of love meant that its musical representation required flexible forms. In the madrigal each section of the text could be assigned its own affect. In the sacred concerto, one of the forms frequently used in the setting of devotional themes in the mid-seventeenth century, concertato techniques were used to reinforce the representation of affect and the powerful contrasts characteristic of the madrigal style. The cantata proved to be an appropriate genre for the representation of sacred love. In this genre even musical form could be utilized in the expression of the text. The formal structure of the cantata reflected the narrative structure of the text, while the affective content of the individual sections of the text could be incisively expressed in arias or choral sections and thus underlined. Within this structure the intimate aria articulated the personal feelings of the believer, while communal devotion could be expressed in the choral sections. Moreover, the sacred cantata furnished the opportunity to introduce madrigal texts into the Protestant liturgy. Wolfram Steude has pointed out that Erdmann Neumeister's introduction of free poems into the church cantata in the early eighteenth century was supported by late seventeenth-century practices;[75] these gave composers the chance to introduce devotional poems and themes into the liturgy through music.

In summary, it may be observed that the musical sacred love discourse developed parallel to and in conjunction with its poetic counterpart. While the sacred poets of the seventeenth century articulated religious love using petrarchan tools of representation, composers drew on the musical love metaphors of the madrigal, which were thematically and stylistically closely

related to petrarchism. As a result, the double ambivalence of mystical love, discussed in the previous chapter by means of poetic and discursive analyses, also characterized the representation of love in sacred music. On the one hand, it united bitter and sweet affects; on the other hand, it simultaneously bore both religious and worldly characteristics. Settings of Lutheran devotional texts were thus new creations in the sense envisaged by Leonard Forster: based on their imitations of the madrigal style, seventeenth-century German composers created a new musical style for the representation of religious love that corresponded with Lutheran theology.

NOTES

1. Johann Kuhnau, *Texte zur Leipziger Kirchenmusik*, 1709–1710. Quoted in Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Heinrich Schütz: Musicus Poeticus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 10.

2. Heinrich Müller, *Geistliche Seelen=Musik Bestehend in Zehen Betrachtungen / und vier hundert außerlesenen / Geist- und Krafftreichen / sowol alten / als neuen Gesängen / mit allerhand schönen / unter andern fünffzig gantz neuen Melodeyen gezieret* (Frankfurt/Main: Wust, 1668), preface, A5v.

3. Andreas Werckmeister, *Musikalische Paradoxal=Discourse* (Quedlinburg: Calvisius, 1707, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms 1970), 9–11.

4. Walter Blankenburg, "Der Einfluß des Kirchenliedes des 17. Jahrhunderts auf die Geschichte des evangelischen Gesangbuches und der Kirchenmusik," in *Das protestantische Kirchenlied im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alfred Dürr and Walther Killy (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 73. Also Martin Brecht, ed., *Geschichte des Pietismus 1* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 188–194.

5. Cf. Hans-Georg Kemper, "Das lutherische Kirchenlied in der Krisen-Zeit des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts," in Dürr and Killy, *Das protestantische Kirchenlied*, 89ff. On the related but poetically more exacting private devotional genre of the sacred song, see Irmgard Scheitler, *Das geistliche Lied im deutschen Barock* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1982); on the liturgical function of the hymn in Luther's teachings see Patrice Veit, *Das Kirchenlied in der Reformation Martin Luthers: Eine thematische und semantische Untersuchung* (Stuttgart: Steiner 1986), 76–80.

6. Crüger's *Praxis Pietatis Melica* was the most widely disseminated hymnal of the seventeenth century. It was reprinted many times until well into the eighteenth century.

7. On the music of the hymn and sacred song see Scheitler, *Das geistliche Lied im deutschen Barock*, 92–99.

8. Elke Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben." Untersuchungen zum Wandel des Passionsverständnisses im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* [Beiträge zur theologischen Bachforschung 2] (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1984); Elke Axmacher, *Johann Arndt und Paul Gerhardt. Studien zur Theologie, Frömmigkeit und geistlichen Dichtung des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Francke, 2001).

9. Walter Blankenburg, "Die Bachforschung seit etwa 1965," *Acta Musicologica* 50 (1978): 126–128; Walter Blankenburg, "Zur Bedeutung der Andachtstexte im Werk von Heinrich Schütz," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 6 (1984): 62–71.

10. Scheitler, *Das geistliche Lied im deutschen Barock*.

11. Martin Geck, *Die Vokalmusik Dietrich Buxtehudes und der frühe Pietismus*. [Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft 15] (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965).

12. Geck, *Die Vokalmusik Dietrich Buxtehudes*, Chapter V1a.

13. Geck, *Die Vokalmusik Dietrich Buxtehudes*, 119ff. Cf. Scheitler, *Das geistliche Lied im deutschen Barock*, 95, footnote 71. Because Geck seems to equate "mysticism" with "Pietism" without consideration of internal developments in Orthodox Lutheran theology and religiosity, he fails to determine the ontological differences and correspondences between the concepts of Lutheran devotion, Pietism, medieval mysticism and Lutheran mysticism. His remarks on the musical articulation of this thinking can therefore scarcely be appropriate. Cf. Blankenburg, "Der Einfluß des Kirchenliedes," 82, footnote 14; Christian Bunners, "Zusammenhänge von Frömmigkeit und Musik in der Zeit Buxtehudes," in *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik seiner Zeit. Bericht über das Lübecker Symposion 1987*, ed. Arnfried Edler and Friedhelm Krummacher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1990), 62–63.

14. Blankenburg, "Der Einfluß des Kirchenliedes," 82.

15. Mary J. Greer, *The Sacred Duets and Terzets of Johann Sebastian Bach: A Study of Genre and Musical Text Interpretation* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996), chapter V.

16. Albert Clement, *Der dritte Teil der Clavierübung von Johann Sebasian Bach. Musik—Text—Theologie* (Middelburg: AlmaRes, 1999), 319ff.

17. Jürgen Heidrich, "Dramatische Konzeptionen in den 'Symphoniae Sacrae' I von Heinrich Schütz: 'Veni, dilecte mi' und die lateinische Dialogkomposition um 1630," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 19 (1997): 39.

18. Wolfgang Herbst, *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Lutherische Mystik* (Ph.D. diss., Erlangen University, 1958), 110–115.

19. Herbst, *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Lutherische Mystik*, 113.

20. Renate Steiger, "'Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele' Brautmystik in Johann Sebastian Bachs Kantaten zum 20. Sonntag nach Trinitatis," in *Von Luther zu Bach. Bericht über die Tagung 22.-25. September 1996 in Eisenach*, ed. Renate Steiger (Sinzig: Studio, 1999), 103ff.

21. Walter Blankenburg, "Mystik in der Musik J.S. Bachs," in *Theologische Bach-Studien I*, ed. Walter Blankenburg and Renate Steiger (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1987) 47–66; Greer, *The Sacred Duets and Terzets of Johann Sebastian Bach*, 276; Herbst, *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Lutherische Mystik*, 114.

22. Renate Steiger, "SUAVISSIMA MUSICA CHRISTO. Zur Symbolik der Stimmlagen bei J.S. Bach," *Musik und Kirche* 61 (1991): 318–324.

23. Blankenburg, "Mystik in der Musik J.S. Bachs," 57.

24. Blankenburg, "Mystik in der Musik J.S. Bachs," 59.

25. Greer, *The Sacred Duets and Terzets of Johann Sebastian Bach*, 295 and 300ff.; Steiger, "Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele," 93.

26. Adriaan Casper Honders, *Mijn lief is mijn . . . Over het Hooglied in het werk*

van J.S. Bach [Kerkmuziek & Liturgie 2] (Voorburg: Protestantse Stichting tot Bevordering van het Bibliotheekwezen en de Lectuurvoorlichting in Nederland, 1988), 43–48.

27. Martin Ruhnke, "Figur und Affekt in Buxtehudes Choralkantaten," in Edler and Krummacher, *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik seiner Zeit*, 99.

28. Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 6th ed. (Hamburg: Herold, 1739, facsimile ed. Margarete Reimann, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1995), 16.

29. This passage in Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* has been discussed in detail by Rolf Dammann. Dammann does not, however, relate Kircher's *affectus amoris* to baroque mysticism. Rolf Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 3rd ed. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1995), 321–328.

30. Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X libros digesta* (Rome: Corbelletti, 1650, reprint edited by Ulf Scharlau. Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), a598; Andreas Hirsch, *Kircherus Jesuita Germanus Germaniae redonatus / sive Artis Magnae de Consono & Dißono Ars Minor / Das ist / Philosophischer Extract und Auszug / aus Athanasii Kircheri Musurgia universali / in 6 Bücher verf.* (Schwäbisch Hall: Laidig, 1662), 158.

31. Hirsch, *Kircherus Jesuita Germanus Germaniae redonatus*, 321, cf. 4.2.1.

32. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, a599: "placidis."

33. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, a600.

34. Cf. Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Phrynidis Mitilenæus, Oder Satyrischer Componist 1* (Dresden: Mieth, 1696): 36: "The *Limites Modi* are the two extreme notes of the octave, so every melody should contain itself within these two, although composers may exercise some freedom in overstepping the octave somewhat, especially where it is demanded by the text or the affect." On the use of musical–rhetorical hyperbole to represent the overstepping of boundaries see Martin Ruhnke, *Joachim Burmeister. Ein Beitrag zur Musiklehre um 1600* [Documenta musicologica series 1, no. 10] (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955), 158.

35. See Andreas Herbst, *Musica Poëtica Sive Compendium Melopoëticum. Das ist: Eine kurtze Anleitung / und gründliche Unterweisung / wie man eine schöne Harmoniam, oder lieblichen Gesang /nach gewiesen Praeceptis und Regulis componiren, und machen soll* (Nuremberg: Dümler, 1643), 20; Printz, *Phrynidis Mitilenæus 1*: 91ff.; Johann Gottfried Walther, *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (Weimar: [n.p.], 1708, reprint edited by Peter Benary, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955), 140; Andreas Werckmeister, *Hypomnemata Musica* (Quedlinburg: Calvisius, 1697, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms 1970), 16ff.; Andreas Werckmeister, *Harmonologia Musica* (Frankfurt/Main/Leipzig: Calvisius, 1702, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms 1970), 40ff.; Werckmeister also associates dissonance with original sin (Andreas Werckmeister, *Musikalische Paradoxal=Discourse* [Quedlinburg: Calvisius, 1707, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms 1970], 116ff.).

36. Printz regards parallel sixths, however, as an "expression of sad affects." Printz, *Phrynidis Mitilenæus 1*: 88.

37. Printz, *Phrynidis Mitilenæus 1*: 91.

38. See the quotations from Werckmeister's writings in Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 286ff.

39. Anna Amalie Abert, *Die stilistischen Voraussetzungen der "Cantiones Sacrae" von Heinrich Schütz* (Wolfenbüttel-Berlin: Kallmeyer, 1935), 177ff.

40. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, a600: " . . . quam pulchrè voces se syncopent, certè ad languentis animi syncopen exprimendam nihil aptius assumere poterat."

41. See Greer, *The Sacred Duets and Terzets of Johann Sebastian Bach*, 225ff.; Heidrich, "Dramatische Konzeptionen"; Robert L. Kendrick, ""Sonet vox tua in auribus meis': Song of Songs Exegesis and the Seventeenth-Century Motet," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 16 (1994): 99–118.

42. See Blankenburg, "Der Einfluß des Kirchenliedes," 74: "Passion devotions, repentance and unshakeable faith in God's special providence, all united with an ardent personal experience of faith and love for Jesus, are the basic elements and main themes of the new sacred songs of the 17th century."

43. See also Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben,"* 204ff.

44. Blankenburg, "Zur Bedeutung der Andachtstexte im Werk von Heinrich Schütz"; Blankenburg, "Der Einfluß des Kirchenliedes," 80ff. Also Kurt Gudewill, "Die textliche Grundlagen der geistlichen Vokalmusik bei Heinrich Schütz," in *Heinrich Schütz in seiner Zeit*, ed. Walter Blankenburg (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1985), 161ff.; Heide Volckmar-Waschk, *Die "Cantiones Sacrae" von Heinrich Schütz. Entstehung—Texte—Analysen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001).

45. See Volckmar-Waschk, *Die "Cantiones Sacrae" von Heinrich Schütz*, 154–173.

46. This representative device is comparable to Schütz's setting of the words "quia amore langueo" in the duet "Adjuro vos, filiae Jerusalem" (*Symphoniae Sacrae I* no. 8, SWV 264), based on the Song of Songs. The lover's desire (SS 5:8) is expressed in a double motif: melodically overlapping, rhythmically complementary triadic motifs in the vocal parts represent the joy of being in love, while at the same time the two violins represent the bitterness of love in sharp dissonances. The section begins with a rising motif in parallel thirds, which represents the hopefulness of the lovers through the move from minor to major of the overlapping melodies and ends with dissonance and false relation (bars 52–73).

47. Cf. the strings of semiquavers representing physical beauty in "Anima mea liquefacta est." (*Symphoniae Sacrae I* no. 7, SWV 263), bars 65–73.

48. Cf. Volckmar-Waschk, *Die "Cantiones Sacrae" von Heinrich Schütz*, 157ff.

49. Here the triads could be regarded as musical depictions of perfection (Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 472ff.).

50. Cf. bars 24–33, at the words "meine Seele, meine Taube, meine Schöne, meine Reine!"

51. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, B145, German translation by Dietrich Bartel, *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre*, 3rd ed. (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997), 118.

52. Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1745, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), 697.

53. Andreas Hammerschmidt's "Siehe, meine Freundin, du bist schöne," no. 13 from *Dialogi oder Gespräche zwischen Gott und einer gläubigen Seele* (Dresden 1645), is very similar in diction to Schütz's "O quam tu pulchra es." Due to the

combination of madrigal and concertato style, Hammerschmidt's dialogue is likewise musically scarcely distinguishable from a secular love duet.

54. Herbst, *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Lutherische Mystik*, 112ff.

55. Schein's title page: "in . . . the style of the Italian madrigal" (cf. chapter 2).

56. From Homburg's *Geistliche Lieder Erster Theil* (Jena: Sengenwald, 1659), 10ff.

57. Similar devices representing desire for Jesus may be found in Christoph Bernhard's trio "Ach, mein herzliebes Jesulein" (no. 16 from *Geistliche Harmonien* [1665]).

58. The sensuality of union with Christ is also the subject of Buxtehude's cantata *Nun freut euch ihr Frommen* (BuxWV 80). The cantata is a setting of the poem "Sie hat gefunden, den ihre Seele liebet" by Angelus Silesius (*Heilige Seelen=Lust I* [Breslau: Baumann, 1657], 101ff.). This poem also appears in Müller, *Geistliche Seelen=Musik*, 682.

59. See Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben,"* 204ff.

60. See Axmacher, *Johann Arndt und Paul Gerhardt*, 189ff.

61. The minor sixth may be associated with *misericordia* in various baroque compositions. Well-known examples are the arias "Erbarme dich" and "Aus Liebe will mein Heiland sterben" from Johann Sebastian Bach's *Matthäus-Passion* (on the latter and other examples in Bach cf. chapter 7). Werner Braun labeled the minor sixth in the fifth madrigal of Schütz's pupil Gabriel Mölich a "gesture of humility." Werner Braun, "Schütz als Kompositionslehrer: Die "Geistlichen Madrigale" (1619) von Gabriel Mölich," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 7/8 (1985/86): 85.

62. Andreas Hammerschmidt's "O Jesus, du allersüssester Heiland" (*Dialogi oder Gespräche zwischen Gott und einer gläubigen Seele*, no. XI), a duet between two sopranos and tenor, is articulated in exactly the same way.

63. Cf. Schütz's setting of this text employing a descending diminished fifth in "Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat" (*Cantiones Sacrae* 12, see 6.2).

64. Regarding baroque interpretations of the bass as a musical representation of God or divinity see chapter 7.

65. On the biblical significance of the numbers 3 (Trinity) and 7 (peace, divinity) in baroque music theory, see Andreas Werckmeister, *Musikalische Paradoxal=Discourse* (Quedlinburg: Calvisius, 1707, facsimile Hildesheim: Olms 1970), 92–96; cf. Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 472ff. The number five here represents the number of Christ's wounds.

66. Cf. the "Crucifixus" from Bach's Mass in B minor (BWV 232). On the significance of the *passus duriusculus* see Clement, *Der dritte Teil der Clavierübung*, 164ff.

67. Phil 1:23: "For I am in a strait betwixt the two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better." Compare Heinrich Müller's discussion of this Bible passage in chapter 5.

68. Anne Leahy discusses the eschatological connotations of the sarabande rhythm in Bach's music in her dissertation on the "Leipzig" Chorales. Anne Leahy, *Text-Music Relationships in the 'Leipzig' Chorales of Johann Sebastian Bach* (Lanham: Scarecrow, forthcoming).

69. Blankenburg, "Zur Bedeutung der Andachtstexte im Werk von Heinrich Schütz," 67.

70. Geck, *Die Vokalmusik Dietrich Buxtehudes*, 10.

71. See Steiger, "SUAVISSIMA MUSICA CHRISTO."

72. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 17.

73. Renate Steiger, *Gnadengegenwart. Johann Sebastian Bach im Kontext lutherischer Orthodoxie und Frömmigkeit* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002), 7ff.

74. Kerala Snyder has also referred to this problem in Geck's theory (Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude. Organist in Lübeck* [New York: Schirmer, 1987], 148ff.). On Buxtehude's detailed representation of text see also Martin Ruhnke, "Figur und Affekt in Buxtehudes Choralkantaten," 84–100.

75. Wolfram Steude, "Zur Vorgeschichte der 'madrigalischen Kantate' Erdmann Neumeisters," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 23 (2001): 45–53.

Chapter Seven

Mystical Love in Johann Sebastian Bach's Vocal Works

Johann Sebastian Bach set many texts by Lutheran devotional poets and theologians. His librettists include authors mentioned in the previous chapters, such as Johann and Salomon Franck, Paul Gerhardt, Johann Heermann, Georg Christian Lehms, Erdmann Neumeister, Philipp Nicolai, and Johann Rist, as well as other devotional writers such as Friedrich Henrici (Picander) and Mariane von Ziegler. The composer's private library also included works by devotional theologians such as Johann Arndt, Johann Gerhard, Heinrich Müller, August Pfeiffer, and Johann Jacob Rambach. In view of the themes and style of other works by these authors, it is not surprising that a large number of Bach's libretti contain elements of mystical love. Musicological analysis of Bach's musical articulation of mystical subjects—that is, investigation into a possible "musical mysticism" in his works—has produced few conclusive results to date. As discussed in the previous chapter, only isolated portions of Bach's oeuvre have as yet been analyzed in terms of their mystical subject matter. The only monograph on the theme "Bach and mysticism" dates from 1958 and was written by the theologian Wolfgang Herbst.

In this chapter the investigations of Herbst and other researchers will be enhanced by a comparative analysis of the poetic and musical representation of mystical love in Bach's vocal works. His compositions derive not only from a theological context but also from a literary–historical one; both influenced the form and style of his works. An insight into the thematic and discursive relationships between Bach's music and his texts is therefore just as crucial to our understanding of his compositional techniques as recognition of the theological background. In the past the texts of Bach's vocal works were often disparaged for their alleged "tastelessness." [1] However, if analyses of these texts transcend any initial unfamiliarity with baroque poetry, we can gain new insights into further artistic conditions and musical structures in Bach's compositions.

The analyses in this chapter are based on the one hand on the poetic and theological conditions discussed in chapters 2–5, and on the other hand on musical expressions of spiritual love in the seventeenth century as described in chapter 6. Using a combination of musical, theological, and literary–historical approaches, I shall attempt to discuss the secular or even seemingly erotic tone of Bach's representation of mysticism from a new angle. Walter Blankenburg has observed in connection with the use of parallel thirds in the duet BWV 152/6 that "just as the soul's love for Jesus was symbolically expressed in words of earthly love, so it was in music also."[2] This concurrence between the representation of worldly and spiritual love will furnish the starting point for the analysis. As in chapter 6, therefore, no work will be analyzed in its entirety, but instead specific musical moments in Bach's vocal works will be discussed as examples of his compositional method in the representation of love. In this way his conceptual, theological, and discursive starting points in the representation of mystical love may be recognised and discussed. Bach's expression of mystical love is based, as in the seventeenth-century compositions discussed in the previous chapter, on an affectively significant combination of musical parameters. These provided the overall affect of a text setting, within which specific variations were possible on the level of rhetorical word-painting. Bach's expression of mystical love assimilates and develops many seventeenth-century musical conventions. Here not only parameters such as key, tempo, and harmony played a role, but also expressive resources such as the symbolism of instruments and voice categories.

Bridal mysticism, Passion mysticism, Communion mysticism, and the mystical desire for death in Bach's vocal works will be discussed in their designated sections. By the eighteenth century, settings of the Song of Songs no longer ranked as an independent thematic group. However, many of its motifs are assimilated into the mystical texts used for Bach's compositions in accordance with mystical tradition.[3]

BRIDAL MYSTICISM

Desire for the Heavenly Bridegroom

Desire for Jesus is expressed in few of Bach's cantatas so vividly as in the cantata *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme* (BWV 140). This cantata was written for the twenty-seventh Sunday after Trinity (November 25), 1731. The gospel for this Sunday was Matthew 25: 1–13, the parable of the wise and foolish virgins. The thematic starting point of the cantata is Philipp Nicolai's *Wächterlied*, analyzed in chapter 5, which describes the faithful soul's readiness for the Last Day. Movements 1, 4, and 7 are adaptations of the hymn of

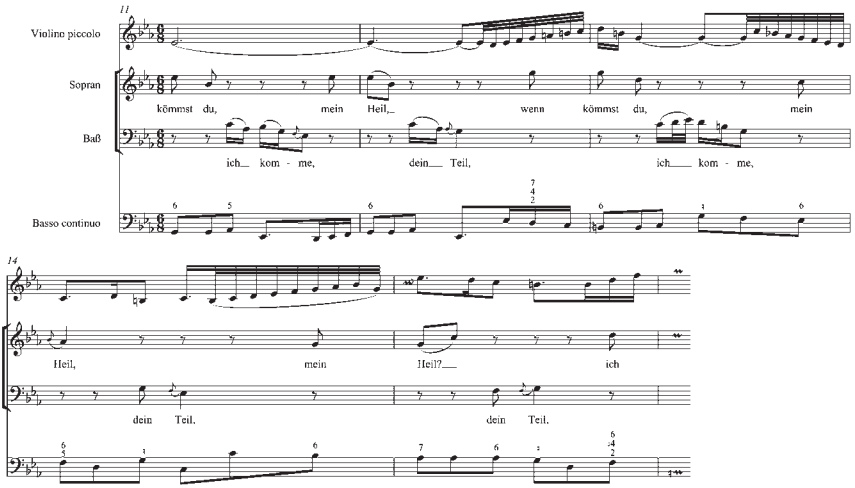
the same name. An unknown librettist added the remaining sections, which lend an intimate tone to the wedding theme of Nicolai's text.[4]

Aria 3, "Wenn kömmst du, mein Heil," is a duet between soprano and bass, its theme the soul's aching desire for the bridegroom. The soul has prepared for the coming of Christ and now, like the wise virgins, waits with burning oil for the bridegroom. The repeated agonizing questions and answers of the two lovers lend the text a secular tone:

S Wenn kömmst du, mein Heil
B Ich komme, dein Teil
S Ich warte mit brennendem Öle
B Ich öffne den Saal zum himmlischen Mahl
S Eröffne den Saal zum himmlischen Mahl
Komm, Jesu
B Ich komme; komm, liebliche Seele!
S Wenn kömmst du, mein Heil
B Ich komme, dein Teil
S Ich warte mit brennendem Öle

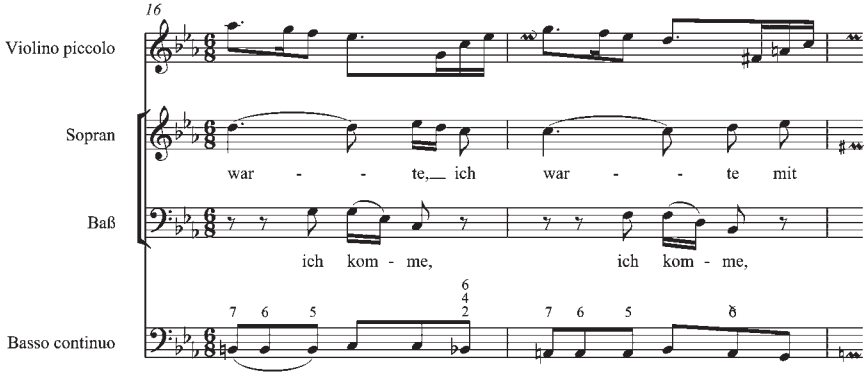
S When will you come, my Saviour?
B I come, your portion.
S I wait with burning oil.
B I open the hall for the heavenly feast.
S Open the hall for the heavenly feast. Come, Jesus!
B I come; come, lovely soul!
S When will you come, my Saviour?
B I come, your portion.
S I wait with burning oil.

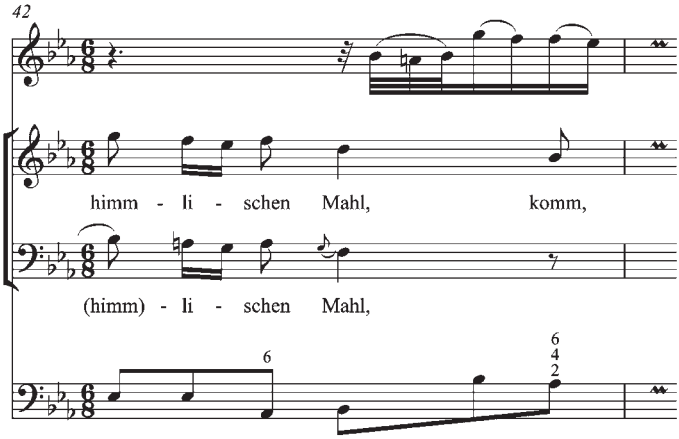
Bach articulates this yearning expectation musically as the desire of worldly love, in which pleasure and pain go hand in hand. The animated tempo, the C minor key, and the continuous dialogue between the soul and the voice of Christ express the agony of waiting. At the same time the joyful triality of the 6/8 meter and the complementary rhythms between the two voices indicate that the wait for Jesus will not last much longer (see example 7-1).

The repeated metrical assertions of the bass voice recall Sigmund von Birken's poetic love dialogue between the soul and Jesus. Here too, the dialectic of question and answer evokes an affective unrest, which is heightened by the many *suspiratio* figures and at the same time alleviated by complementary rhythms. In representing mystical love in this style the duet resembles, both musically and textually, a worldly love dialogue.

Example 7-1. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Wenn kömmst du, mein Heil" (BWV 140), 3rd movement, bars 11–15.

Within the interplay of question and answer, the musical intervals have an affective function. In bars 16–17 ("Ich warte / Ich komme"), the faithful soul sings of her desire in small intervals and on a long, dissonant note (cross-relation), while at the same time Jesus moves in broken chords to affirm his love. Here the bitter and sweet sides of love are simultaneously perceptible (see example 7-2).

Only at the worlds "zum himmlischen Mahl" (bars 42 and 56) do the two voices move in parallel. Here parallel thirds symbolize the impending mystical love union (see example 7-3).

Love is represented in a variety of ways in the violino piccolo part. The melody begins with a yearning rising sixth, which seems to represent the plea

Example 7-2. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Wenn kömmst du, mein Heil" (BWV 140), 3rd movement, bars 16–17.

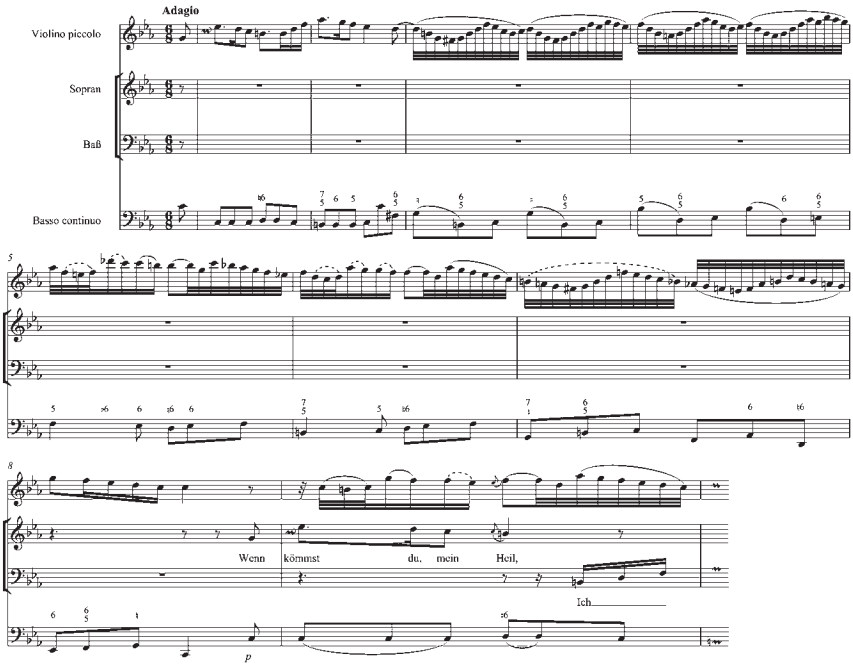


Example 7-3. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Wenn kömmst du, mein Heil" (BWV 140), 3rd movement, bar 42.

for God's mercy[5] and is repeated by the soprano voice at the question, "Wenn kömmst du, mein Heil?" Moreover, the part proceeds exclusively in seconds, often moving chromatically toward G minor. Casper Honders has drawn attention to the *circulatio* figures in the violino piccolo, which he interprets as musical representations of the "surrounding, embracing" of *unio mystica*.[6] At the same time the sighing and *suspiratio* figures affectively highlight the desire for union, so that the violin melody functions as a musical metaphor for the desire of mystical love (see example 7-4).

Here, as in some seventeenth-century compositions, the virtuosic demi-semiquaver sequences give the impression of superfluity. Moreover, the many decorative figures in the violino piccolo and vocal parts appear to represent the mystical wedding adornment.

The aria is consonant throughout, but is harmonically weakened by the many sixth chords. The use of dissonance is subtle and determined by the text; the only strikingly dissonant moment is the expression of the lover's desire at the words "mit brennendem Öle" (with burning oil) in the soprano voice (bar 75). While the violin here plays chromatic *circulatio* figures and the continuo part announces the coming of the bridegroom in ascending movement, the voice of the faithful soul produces false relation against all the parts.

In this duet Bach's music articulates the believer's desire for union with Jesus on the Last Day in a manner appropriate to the text and the theology it is based on. As in contemporary mystical poetry, Christ and the soul, just

Example 7-4. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Wenn kömmst du, mein Heil" (BWV 140), 3rd movement, bars 1–9.

like worldly lovers, tell each other of their agonizing desire for one another, in which pleasure and pain are united.

Desire for Jesus is also the subject of the text of the cantata *Ach, ich sehe, itzt, da ich zur Hochzeit gehe* (BWV 162). The desire described here, however, is not for eschatological *unio mystica* but for temporary union in Communion. The cantata was composed in 1716 for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity.[7] The liturgical theme is the royal wedding feast (Matt. 22). The cantata text, which connects this royal wedding with the mystical wedding of Jesus and the believer in Communion, is taken from Salomon Franck's *Evangelisches Andachts-Opffer*. The soprano aria no. 3, "Jesu, Brunnquell aller Gnaden," describes the desire of the faithful soul for the heavenly bridegroom in metaphors of mystical and secular desire:

Jesu, Brunnquell aller Gnaden,
Labe mich elenden Gast,
Weil du mich berufen hast!
Ich bin matt, schwach und beladen,
Ach! erquicke meine Seele,
Ach! wie hungert mich nach dir!

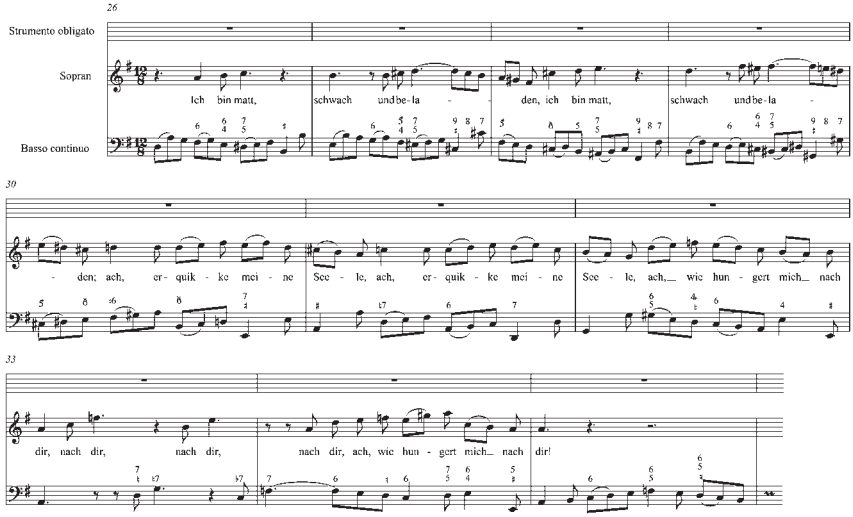
Lebensbrot, das ich erwähle,
Komm, vereine dich mit mir!

Jesus, fountain of all grace,
Comfort me, a wretched guest,
For you have summoned me!
I am faint, weak and heavy-laden,
Ah, revive my soul!
Ah, how I hunger for You!
Bread of life, my chosen one,
Come, be united with me.

Although this solo aria lacks the intimacy of a dialogue, Bach's setting of the text is similar to the duet described above. Here too, joy at the future union is tempered by desire; here too, Bach combines resources expressing both affects. The minor key (D minor originally, but E minor in the later Leipzig version) lends affective ambivalence to the pastoral 12/8 meter, whose flowing triple movement announces the coming of Christ.[8] The *andante* tempo, the descending melody of the main theme, the sixth chords, and the numerous sighing motifs also express sorrow, yet do not eradicate the hopeful sound of the quaver movement. The combination of affective resources representing desire and hope lend the aria a wistful quality appropriate to the textual theme of mystical desire.

In the second half of the aria the text concentrates on the heartache of love, and the musical expression likewise intensifies. The small intervals give way to chromatic semitone movement, while the harmony moves from E minor to B minor (originally D minor to A minor). The melody, interrupted by *suspiratio* figures (*tmesis*) and held back by ties, is harmonized with disturbing false relations but also some sweet parallel thirds (bars 30–32). The result is a condensed representation of the lover's desire, stylistically similar to the seventeenth-century compositions analyzed in the previous chapter. Particularly characteristic is the setting of the line, "Ach! wie hungert mich nach dir!" The line begins with a troubled descending motif, which, however, is immediately intensified affectively by a *gradatio* figure. The soprano voice cries out "nach dir" in yearning *suspiratio* figures that reach their climax in a *hyperbole* on a^2. This intensified expression of desire is now affectively compensated by the rhythmically complementary continuo part (example 7-5).

As in the works of Schütz, Schein, and Buxtehude, the desire for Jesus expressed in this aria by Bach is scarcely distinguishable from the desire of the worldly lover. Textually and musically, happiness and sorrow go hand in hand in an artistic form that represents the theme of sacred love with stylistic resources suggestive of worldly love.

The two cantata movements analyzed here convey the affective ambivalence of mystical desire for Jesus. Differing accents may be discerned in this

Example 7-5. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Jesu, Brunnquell aller Gnaden" (BWV 162), 3rd movement, bars 26–35.

process. While Aria 3 from BWV 140 articulates the mutual desire of the soul and the bridegroom in terms of eschatological *unio mystica*, Aria 3 from BWV 162 represents the desire of the individual believer for temporary union in Communion. However, in both movements the bitter and sweet elements of the concept of mystical love are integrated into the musical representation.

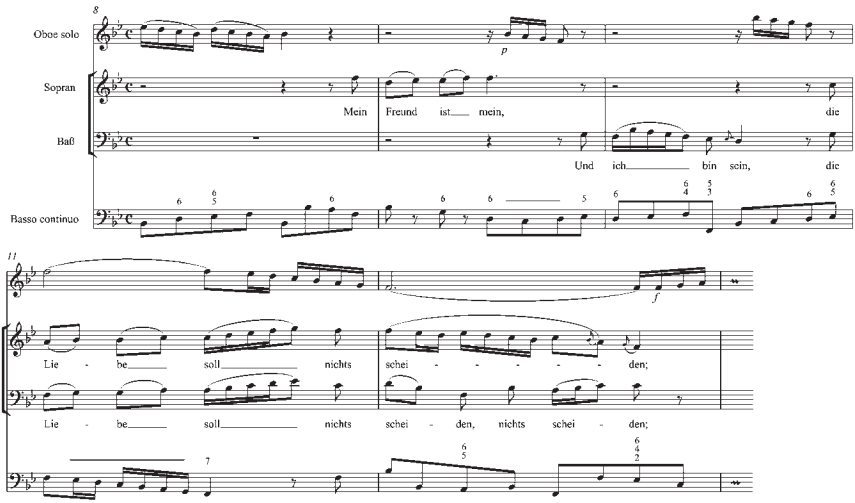
Love Union in *Unio Mystica*

Aria 6 from cantata *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme* (BWV 140) is, like no. 3, a duet between the soul (soprano) and Jesus (bass). In contrast to "Wenn kömmst du, mein Heil," described above, this aria celebrates not desire but the joy of the now united lovers. The text of "Mein Freund ist mein—und ich bein sein" describes this union in metaphors drawn from the Song of Songs:

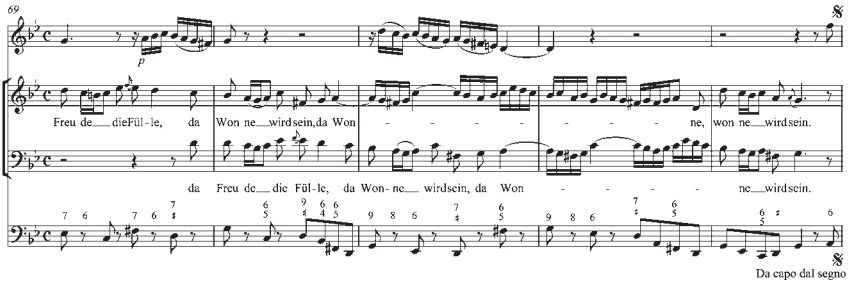
S	Mein Freund ist mein
B	Und ich bin sein.
S/B	Die Liebe soll nichts scheiden.
S	Ich will mit dir in Himmels Rosen weiden
B	Du sollst mit mir in Himmels Rosen weiden
S/B	da Freude die Fülle, da Wonne wird sein.
S	Mein Freund ist mein
B	Und ich bin sein
S/B	Die Liebe soll nichts scheiden

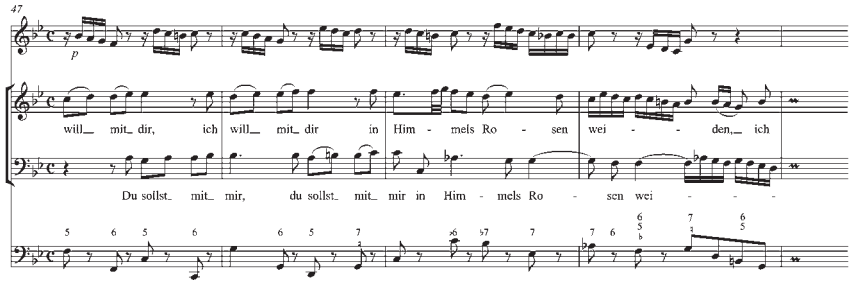
S My friend is mine
B And I am his / hers.
S/B Nothing shall sunder love.
S I want to graze with you among Heaven's roses
B You will graze with me among Heaven's roses
S/B There we shall find joy in abundance, there rapture.
S My friend is mine
B And I am his / hers.
S/B Nothing shall sunder love.

Here the da capo aria form contributes to the musical expression of the theme, in that it seems to point ahead to the consummation of the heavenly wedding. Aria 3, on the other hand, in which *unio mystica* had not yet been attained, has a reprise-like close but no repeat to round it off. In addition to form, Bach employs harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic resources to express the joy of love. The aria is in the key of B-flat major and a cheerful 4/4 meter; the melodies move predominantly in seconds or thirds. The fact that here, too, the often rising melodies of the soprano voice are symbolically completed by the bass voice further contributes to the musical representation of consummation. These complementary rhythms, together with the parallel thirds, are the most significant affective characteristics of the duet. Both are already noticeably present in the main theme (see example 7-6).

As in Aria 3 from BWV 140, here too the ornamental figures—the numerous suspensions and the flowing semiquavers in the oboe part—represent the

Example 7-6. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Mein Freund ist mein" (BWV 140), 6th movement, bars 8–12.

spiritual wedding adornment of the soul (cf. chapter 5) and the abundance of love. At the close of the middle section of the aria this musical symbolism stands out clearly. The two lovers celebrate the joy and rapture of their heavenly meeting in imitative semiquaver sequences, *figurae cortae*,[9] and complementary rhythms, while the crossing of the voices seems to represent a mystical embrace. The voices cadence in parallel thirds on the tonic B flat (see example 7-7).

The many sixth, 6/5 and augmented sixth chords in this consistently consonant aria represent the oscillating emotions of love's sweet torment with subtle dissonance. The following fragment, which sets the text "ich will mit dir / du sollst mit mir / in Himmels Rosen weiden" is characteristic. The soprano expresses her desire for eternal happiness in sighing motifs that ascend in small steps through a minor third and are preceded by *suspiratio* figures. The motifs form a *gradatio*, ending in syncopation. The anguished calls to the beloved are immediately answered, however, by the complementary rhythms of the bass voice, and the decelerating syncopations and cross relations are resolved in joyful strings of semiquavers. Thus pain and joy are experienced simultaneously in the prospect of the impending mystical union also (see example 7-8).

Example 7-7. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Mein Freund ist mein" (BWV 140), 6th movement, bars 69–73.



Example 7-8. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Mein Freund ist mein" (BWV 140), 6th movement, bars 47–50.

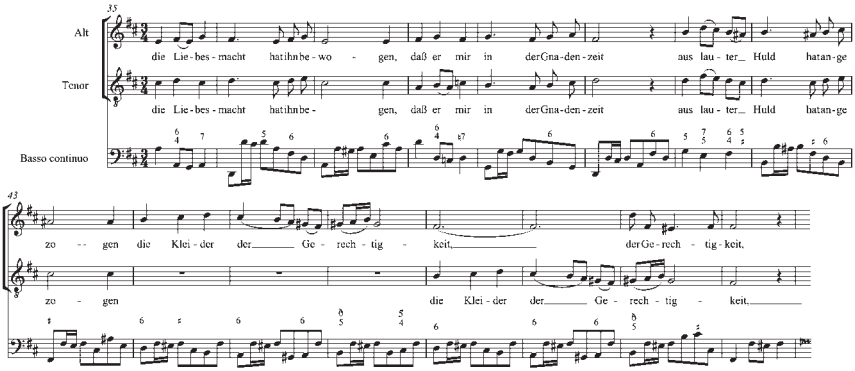
Bach employs comparable expressions of mystical joy in the duet for alto and tenor (no. 5) from the cantata *Ach, ich sehe, itzt, da ich zur Hochzeit gehe* (BWV 162). The duet describes the joy of the believer on the way to Communion, assured of temporary *unio mystica* with the bridegroom Jesus. In keeping with this subject, both text and music of the aria contain elements of the joy of love. Unlike the duet from BWV 140, however, the union is not reflected directly, as the believer and Jesus are not represented as "I" and "you" but as "I" and "he." It may have been this aspect of the text that led Bach to designate this duet not for soprano and bass—as the direct representation of the faithful soul and Christ—but for alto and tenor.

In meinem Gott bin ich erfreut!
Die Liebesmacht hat ihn bewogen,
Daß er mir in der Gnadenzeit
Als lauter Huld hat angezogen
Die Kleider der Gerechtigkeit.
Ich weiß, er wird nach diesem Leben
Der Ehre weißes Kleid
Mir auch im Himmel geben.

I rejoice in my God!
Love's power moved Him,
So that in the days of His mercy,
Out of pure grace, He has clothed me
In the robes of righteousness.
I know that after this life
He will also give me, in Heaven,
The white robe of honour.

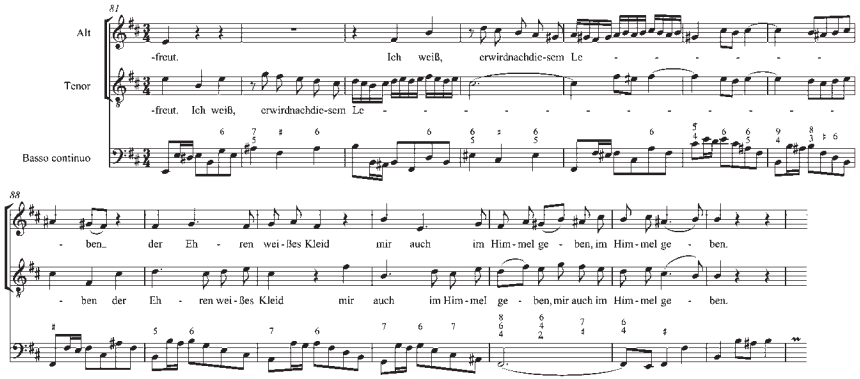
The textual theme is clearly joy. In keeping with this affect, Bach has combined the key of D major (originally C) with a lively triple meter. The major triad motif at the beginning of the main theme seems to furnish a musical representation of divine love and the joy of the communicant;[10] the two voices treat the theme imitatively in complementary rhythms. Semiquaver sequences suggest abundance and rapture. At the same time the melodically highlighted *figura corta* in the continuo part provides an unremitting expression of joy.

Where the text speaks of love, the foundation of Communion, parallel thirds and sixths appear in the voices, which are led chromatically to B minor (originally A minor) by introducing sharps in the melody. Sighing motifs and the minor third motif at "die Kleider der . . . " support this shift, which seems to express desire for divine love (see example 7-9).

If during his life the believer wears "the robes of righteousness" ("die Kleider der Gerechtigkeit," line 5; after Job 29:14, Ps. 132:9), then the "white

Example 7-9. Johann Sebastian Bach, "In meinem Gott bin ich erfreut" (BWV 162), 5th movement, bars 35–50.

robe" will await him in heaven ("weißes Kleid," line 4; after Rev. 3:4ff., 4:4, 6:11, 7:9, 7:13ff.), described in Recitative no. 4 as "the wedding garments of faith" ("des Glaubens Hochzeitkleid;" Is. 61:10).[11] The last three lines of the text express the joy evoked by the prospect of the eschatological wedding. Bach affectively highlights the desire for the heavenly wedding by means of short madrigalian motifs. The passage begins with a depiction of worldly love in semiquavers, which is soon thwarted by syncopations and chromaticism. The rhythmic and harmonic alterations give the impression of an ascent from earth into the heavenly realm. In the final bars this texture ends in rapidly modulating parallel thirds at the words "im Himmel geben," as if through participating in Communion the believer really were immediately raised from earth to heaven. Renate Steiger has discussed how the compression of the imitative voice-leading in these bars can also be interpreted theologically. Since the canon entry shifts here from four to two bars and finally to a quarter note, Bach conveys by purely musical means that the eschatological wedding feast will surely follow earthly Communion (see example 7-10).[12]

The text and music of this aria demonstrate the dividing lines between the joy of faith and the joy of mystical love. Just as the text describes the joy of Communion in biblical rather than directly mystical metaphors, so its musical setting concentrates on unequivocal joy rather than bitter-sweet love. Only when love is mentioned in the text do parallel thirds dominate the otherwise fast, cheerful voice-leading; only then do semitones, sighing motifs, and syncopations appear. These devices expressing bitter-sweet desire are in accord with both the seventeenth-century spiritual representation of love and the contemporary concept of love.[13]

There are many echoes of Lutheran mysticism in the text and music of Bach's *Christmas Oratorio* (BWV 248). The texts abound with motifs from the Song of Songs and metaphors of the bride and bridegroom, and mystical

Example 7-10. Johann Sebastian Bach, "In meinem Gott bin ich erfreut" (BWV 162), 5th movement, bars 81–94.

elements may often be observed in Bach's settings also. A striking example is the trio for soprano, alto, and tenor, "Ach, wenn wird die Zeit erscheinen?," no. 51 from the fifth cantata of the oratorio. The author of the text is unknown. The poem describes the believer's desire for the Savior and affirms that he has just come down to earth:

S/T Ach, wenn wird die Zeit erscheinen?
Ach, wenn kömmt der Trost der Seinen?
A Schweigt, er ist schon würklich hier!
S/T Jesu, ach so komm zu mir!

S/T Ah, when will the time come?
Ah, when will the Comforter come to His people?
A Be still, truly He is here already!
S/T Jesus, then come to me!

Soprano and tenor combine in a duet that represents mankind's desire for the Savior as lovers' desire. This duet is very similar to seventeenth-century compositions with similar subject matter. Here too, the musical parameters are so determined that joyful and sorrowful expressive resources are combined to produce a bitter-sweet affective starting point. The key of B minor, sixth and 6/5 chords, chromaticism, syncopations, sighing and *suspiratio* figures express desire, while at the same time the faster tempo, small intervals, complementary rhythms, parallel thirds, semiquaver sequences, *circulationes*, and *figurae cortae* represent joy.

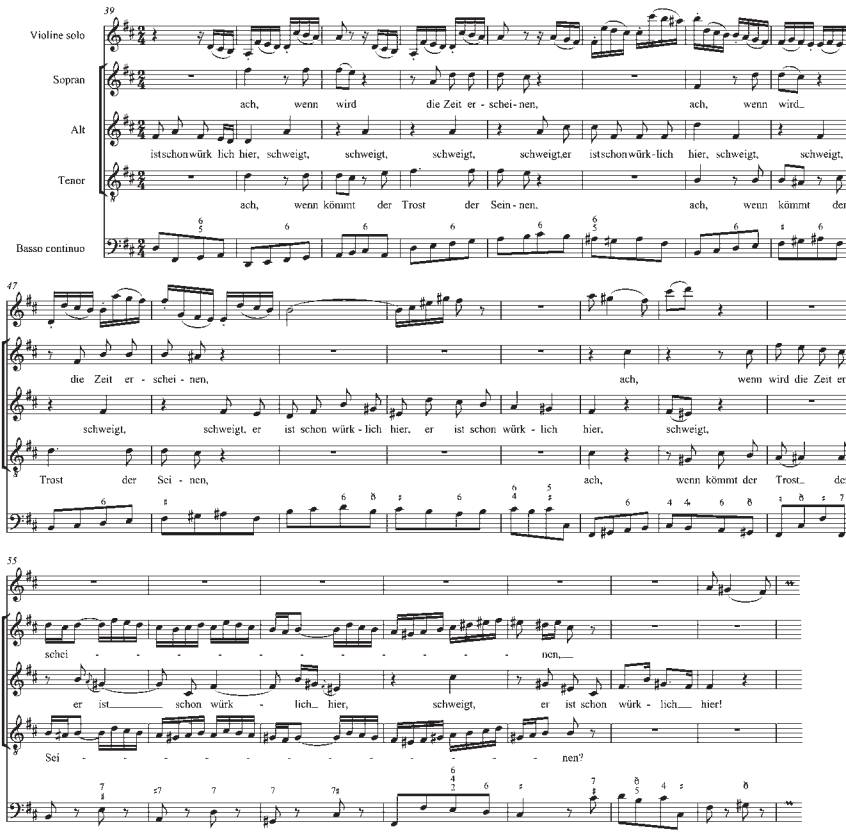
To this duet Bach adds a third part, which is in complete contrast to the soprano and tenor voices. With the words "Schweigt, er ist schon würklich hier" an alto voice represents the believer's certainty that the newborn in-

fant Jesus is the savior, providing immediate alleviation of the desire of the other voices. Soprano and tenor continue in parallel thirds and interjections (*tmeses*) interrupted by *suspirationes* (bars 39–52). This madrigalian representation of desire is rhythmically complemented by the alto part and closes melodically in F-sharp minor. Thus the longed-for lover seems musically to be truly present. He relieves the affective tension generated by desire with meek love, represented by a motif descending a minor sixth. The move is affectively underlined by *gradatio* figures in the violin part.

In the following bars (54–61) the contrast between the soprano and tenor parts on the one hand and the alto part on the other is intensified. Soprano and tenor, in parallel rapid *circulatio* figures, appear to be focused on the longed-for meeting with the Savior. The alto voice, however, dissects the texture with syncopated, dissonant motion, and chromatic steps in an almost violent call to attention: "Schweigt, er ist schon würklich hier." Here the music actively contributes to the edifying process (see example 7-11).

The alto voice closes the aria with a *catabasis* descending an octave, representing the incarnation of Christ.[14] In Recitative no. 52 the same voice repeats once more, in the key of A major, that Christ is already on earth and prepared for union with mankind: "Mein Liebster herrschet schon" (My beloved rules already). This emphatic, isolated repetition underlines the message of salvation and replaces the yearning mood of the aria with the certainty of faith.

Bach's music lends additional meaning to the text of this aria. While the text describes general Lutheran precepts, the musical setting contains elements such as parallel thirds, complementary rhythms, and musical synchronicity of the lover's desire and joy, which are typical of contemporary Lutheran devotion. Clearly Bach is building on the conventions for the representation of sacred love described in the previous chapter. Because he contrasts desire for Jesus, however, with the certainty of faith and thus actually resolves that desire, he succeeds in extending these conventions theologically.

It is illuminating to compare the examples analyzed here to Bach's Pentecost cantatas. The texts of the cantata *Erschallet, ihr Lieder, erklinget, ihr Saiten!* (BWV 172) and the two cantatas *Wer mich liebet, der wird mein Wort halten* (BWV 59 and 74) describe the Holy Spirit's entry into the faithful Christian in metaphors drawn from mysticism and the Song of Songs.[15] However, the similarities between these texts and those of the arias analyzed in this section do not generate a musical correspondence between the bridal mysticism cantatas and the Pentecost cantatas. Bach's setting of the Pentecost texts is unequivocally joyful, and the painful sound of bitter-sweet love is absent in these cantatas. This compositional difference can only be explained by the theological background of the texts. The entry of the Holy Spirit into the believer at Pentecost furnishes a union of *faith* between God and man, not the mystical *love* union of Jesus and the believing soul. These theological differences offer a possible

Example 7-11. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Ach, wenn wird die Zeit erscheinen?" (*Christmas Oratorio*, no. 51), bars 39–61.

elucidation of Bach's compositional method. The fact that Pentecost involves not *unio mystica* but God's indwelling in the heart of the believer through faith would make a setting of the Pentecost texts that focused on mysticism theologically inappropriate. Therefore Bach's Pentecost cantatas are affectively determined not by the bitter-sweet ambivalence of mystical desire, but by the religious joy of the Holy Spirit. The music of these cantatas furnishes an exposition of this theme that strengthens the theological text.

LOVE AND MYSTICISM IN BACH'S *ST. MATTHEW PASSION*

In the eighteenth century the musical Passion meditation developed into an independent dramatic form. Bach's Passions adhere to the rules of tragedy: they have a narrative structure that is affectively mirrored in the arias, and

Jesus is presented as a tragic hero. The devout audience was to grieve at and empathize with his suffering and, in accordance with the edifying objectives of Lutheran Passion theology, they were to be moved by Christ's great love to reciprocal love. The textual representation of this reciprocal love often employed mystical metaphors. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* contains many of these elements of contemporary Lutheran Passion theology. The Passion story is interpreted textually and musically as proof of Christ's immense love and intensified through mystical imagery;[16] the Passion is articulated dramatically as a tragedy in which Jesus meets the cruelty of his suffering like a dramatic hero. As in a baroque drama, there is an ongoing affective commentary on the different scenes, so that the emphasis lies on the personal feelings of the individual believer empathising with the narrated events.

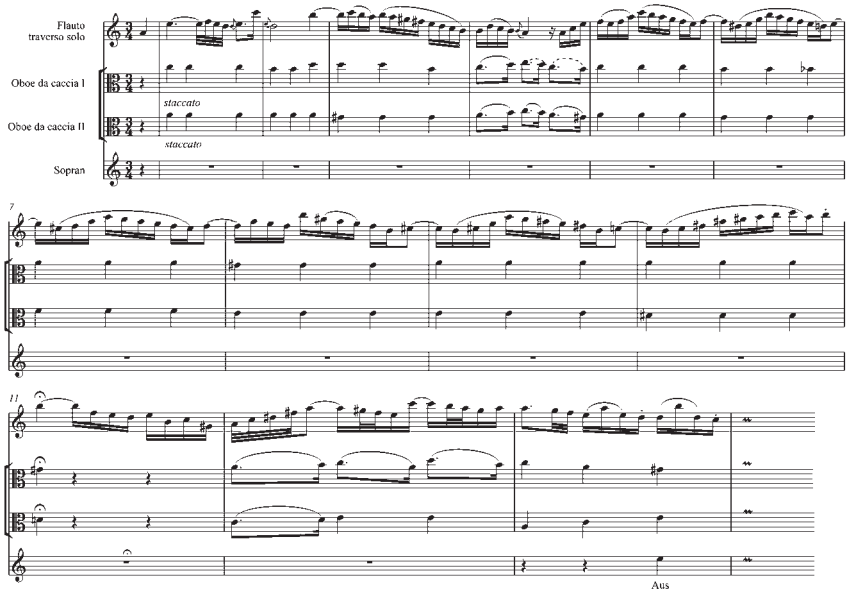
Picander's text to the soprano aria "Aus Liebe will mein Heiland sterben," no. 49 in Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, concentrates on Christ's love, which furnishes both cause and outcome of the Passion story. The emphasis on the emotional significance of this love sacrifice for the individual believer is typical of Lutheran devotion and makes this aria the theological core of the *St. Matthew Passion*:[17]

> Aus Liebe will mein Heiland sterben,
> von einer Sünde weiß er nichts,
> daß das ewige Verderben und die Strafe des Gerichts
> nicht auf meiner Seele bleibe.
> Aus Liebe will mein Heiland sterben,
> von einer Sünde weiß er nichts.
>
> Out of love my Saviour is dying,
> Of sin He knows nothing.
> So eternal perdition and condemnation
> Shall not rest in my soul.
> Out of love my Saviour is dying,
> Of sin He knows nothing.

Bach's setting of this text is equally characteristic of devotional Passion theology. By combining expressive resources of joy and sadness the composer musically highlights love. As argued in chapter 3, this musical highlighting of love, particularly in contrast to the explicit scenes of violence in the movements before and after the aria, furnishes a moment of individual self-reflection within the dramatic structure of the *St. Matthew Passion*.

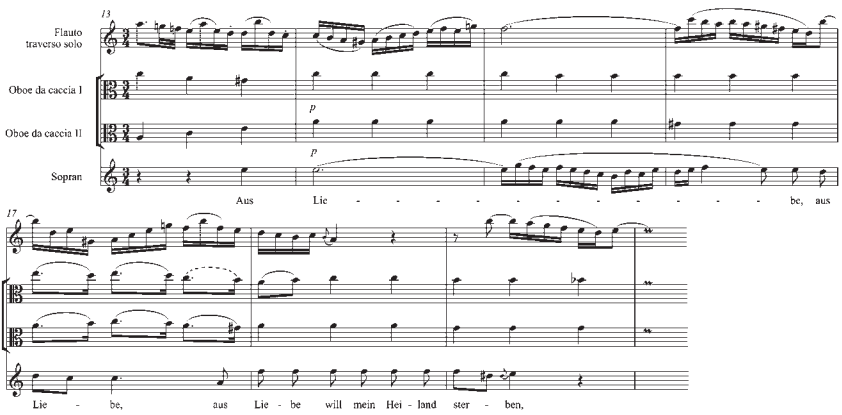
The aria is in A minor. The lack of a continuo part here seems to symbolize the absence of God;[18] in this way the loneliness of the dying Jesus and thus his humanity, continually highlighted in devotional theology, is given musical emphasis. The almost static tempo, the syncopations, and the harmonically weakening sixth and 6/5 chords intensify this effect. In spite of the ABA form

of the text the piece is not a self-contained *da capo* aria; Bach also employed this formal expression of incompleteness in Aria 3 from BWV 140. In addition to these devices expressing sorrow at Christ's suffering, the aria contains musical elements of joy. The triple meter and the flowing semiquavers in the flute and soprano parts suggest joyful affects, evoked by recognition of Christ's love. Finally, the aria is harmonically consonant and small intervals dominate the melodic process.

The constant musical simultaneity of sorrow and joy convey the paradoxical emotions evoked by Christ's death: his death promises love, his love brings with it both torment and rapture. All these elements are present in the flute solo at the beginning of the aria. The semiquaver sequences represent the abundance of Christ's love, while at the same time expressing his suffering in a chromatically descending *gradatio*. The many sharp signs seem significant, functioning as visual images of the crucifixion.[19] The two oboes underline the affective content of the flute part: the parallel thirds, already present throughout Recitative no. 48, represent love, while at the same time their chromatically descending motion represents suffering. In bars 9–11 fauxbourdon and parallel diminished fifths in the oboes and a fermate in the flute furnish the climax of the ambivalence evoked by innocent suffering. A cadence in demi-semiquavers at bars 11–13 literally resolves the theological and musical tension (see example 7-12).

Example 7-12. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Aus Liebe will mein Heiland sterben" (*St. Matthew Passion*, no. 49), bars 1–13.

In addition to the parallel thirds in the oboes, Bach also reintroduces the static element from the recitative. The main theme of the soprano part is characterized by the same alternation of stillness and motion that characterized the continuo part of the recitative. This technique seems to convey Christ's love and meekness: besides loving (semiquavers [16th notes], triadic motifs in the recitative) Jesus has "done nothing" (sustained note). This motif furnishes the theologically based setting of the word "love," which begins with a "compassionate" sixth and is complemented rhythmically by the flute part. The suspensions and syncopations provide fleeting false relation (see example 7-13).

The most striking parallel thirds and sixths occur at the setting of the word "sterben" (bars 49–53). The apparent paradox between this musical love metaphor and the textual theme of death accords with Lutheran Passion theology, in which Christ's death is regarded as consequence and proof of his love.

The treatment of dissonance in this aria is subtle and dictated by the text. It is only at the lines "daß das ewige Verderben und die Strafe des Gerichts nicht auf meiner Seele bleibe" that the texture to some extent departs harmonically and melodically from consonance and the voices progress in small intervals. Here minor intervals, minor thirds (*tertiae deficientes*[20]), *saltus duriusculi* (Kircher's' *intervalla vehementia*), tritones, and false relation appear as musical metaphors of human sinfulness. The section begins with three sigh figures and a *saltus duriusculus* in the flute part, leading to a cadence in C minor. The framing of this representation of sinfulness by a cadence on the one side and the repeat of the "aus Liebe" motif on the other is based on the theological design of the aria. This is entirely focused on Christ's love, the cause and consequence of his death on the cross: Jesus the bridegroom died for man, who is justified before God through this love sacrifice. For the musical representa-

13
Flauto traverso solo
Oboe da caccia I
Oboe da caccia II
Sopran
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tion of love Bach created a plethora of musical paradoxes, which characterize both Lutheran Passion theology and the ambivalent concept of love. If the baroque concept of love was at the same time bitter and sweet, theologically Christ's love-death signified in addition both farewell and salvation—"Drum muß uns sein verdienstlich Leiden recht bitter und doch süsse sein" (Therefore must his laudable suffering be bitter and yet sweet to us) (*St. Matthew Passion*, Aria no. 20).

The affective ambivalence of the Passion reached its zenith in Lutheran mysticism. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* has echoes of mysticism at various points.[21] Thus in the text of the alto aria no. 60, "Sehet, Jesus hat die Hand" the crucifixion is interpreted in accordance with mystical tradition as the heavenly bridegroom's invitation to a loving embrace, similar to Schütz's *Inter brachia salvatoris mei* (SWV 82, discussed in chapter 2).[22] The theme of the aria is directly opposed to that of the arioso no. 59, a lament addressed to Golgotha. The emotionally laden *exclamationes* and *antitheses* on the theological topos of *paradoxa passionis* in the arioso are transformed in the aria into an invitation to the daughters of Zion, derived from the eschatological significance of these events, to enter into the mystical embrace in order to live and die there:[23]

59. Rezitativ (A)
Ach Golgatha, unselges Golgatha!
Der Herr der Herrlichkeit muß schimpflich hier verderben,
Der Segen und das Heil der Welt
Wird als ein Fluch ans Kreuz gestellt.
Der Schöpfer Himmels und der Erden
Soll Erd und Luft entzogen werden.
Die Unschuld muß hier schuldig sterben,
Das gehet meiner Seele nah;
Ach Golgatha, unselges Golgatha!

60. Aria (A) und Chor
Sehet, Jesus hat die Hand,
Uns zu fassen, ausgespannt,
Kommt!—Wohin?—in Jesu Armen
Sucht Erlösung, nehmt Erbarmen,
Suchet!—Wo?—in Jesu Armen.
Lebet, sterbet, ruhet hier,
Ihr verlass'nen Küchlein ihr,
Bleibet—Wo?—in Jesu Armen.

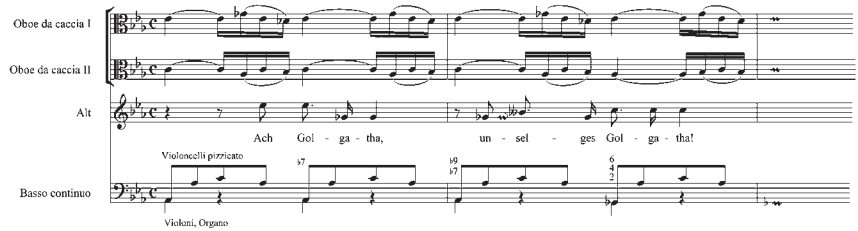
59. Recitative (A)
Ah, Golgotha, unhappy Golgotha.
Here the Lord of Glory must perish ignobly,

The blessing and salvation of this world
Hangs accursed upon the cross.
The creator of heaven and earth
Is taken from earth and air.
The innocent must die a guilty death,
It grieves my soul;
Ah, Golgotha, unhappy Golgotha.

60. Aria (A) and Chorus
See, Jesus holds His hand
Outstretched to embrace us,
Come!—Whither?—In Jesus' arms
Seek salvation, receive mercy.
Seek!—Whither?—In Jesus' arms
Live, die, rest here,
You abandoned chickens,
Stay!—Whither?—In Jesus' arms.

Although Bach articulates the contrast between suffering and eschatological salvation as strongly as possible, he also sets up points of similarity between the arioso and the aria. By retaining elements such as the slow tempo, the E-flat major key, the parallel thirds between the two oboes da caccia, and the large intervals in the alto and continuo parts, he supports the theological connection between the two movements. It is not surprising that the affective significance of these elements corresponds to the musical representations of love examined in this study. Here the paradoxical combination of sweet parallel thirds with unexpected melodic leaps and of a slow tempo with a merry major key represents love, the affect that furnishes the exegetical key to the Lutheran understanding of the Passion. Interestingly, this affect is more clearly apparent in Bach's settings than in his texts.

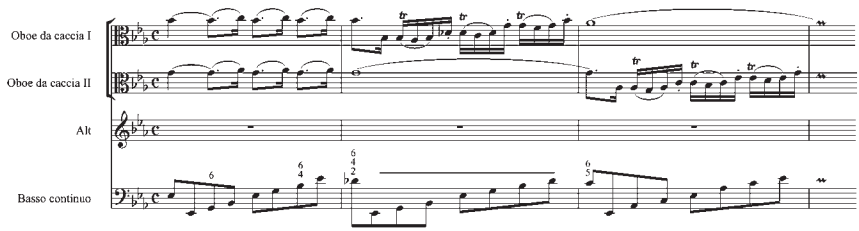
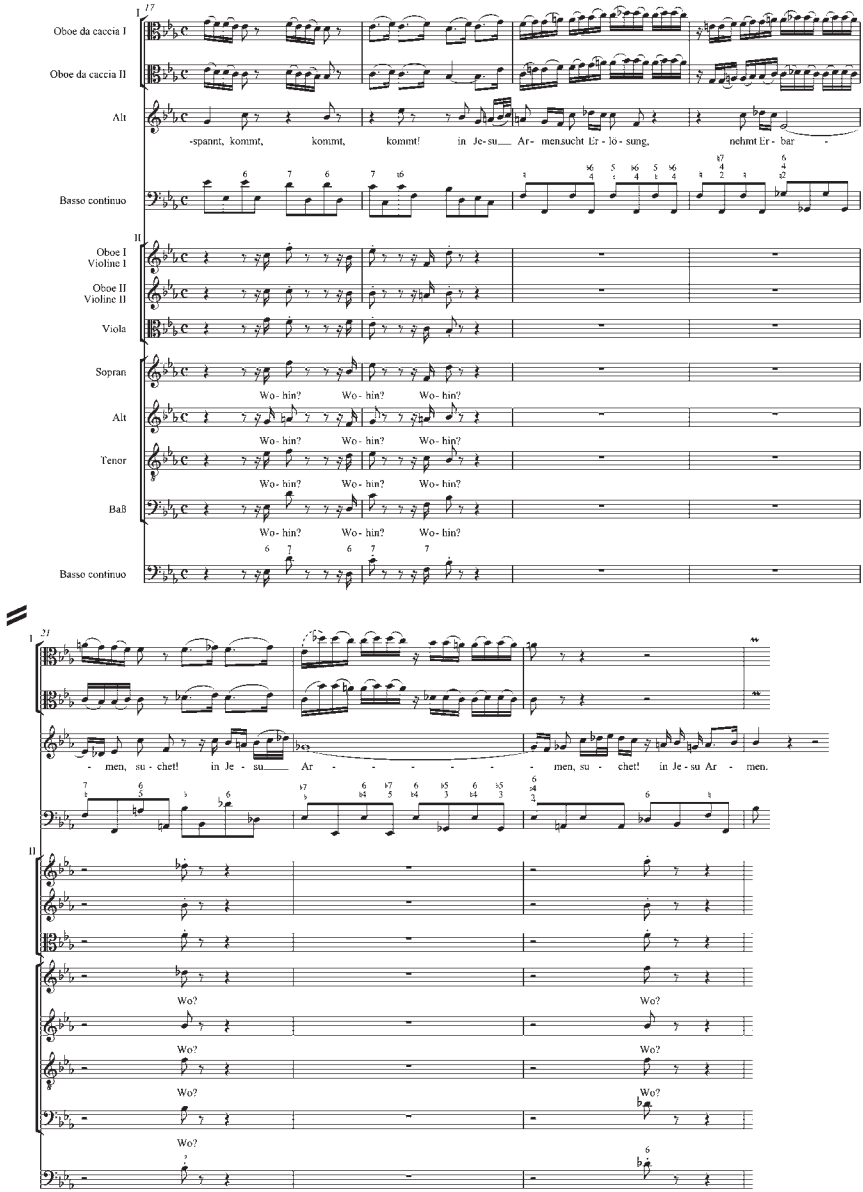
Against this theologically consistent background the arioso concentrates on the horror of the crucifixion. The harmonic and melodic extremes of this movement have often been discussed. The mood of the movement is determined by the extreme dissonance of seventh and 9/7 chords, the continuous parallel movement of the oboes, the death-knell motif [24] in the descending *passus duriusculi* in the continuo and the expressive melodic line of the alto part. This moves in diminished, inordinately large (*saltus duriusculus*), dissonant intervals—in other words absolutely prohibited intervals—interrupted only by quarter note and quaver rests (*suspiratio*). The opening motif contains the falling sixth and rising tritone that characterize the entire arioso and represent Christ's merciful death and the sinfulness of mankind (see example 7-14).



Example 7-14. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Ach Golgatha, unselges Golgatha!" (*St. Matthew Passion*, no. 59), bars 1–2.

In Aria 60 the texture immediately subsides into consonant harmonies, sixth and 6/5 chords, and flowing melodies. The rising major triads of the continuo "direct the eye upwards"[25] ("*Sehet*"), while the parallel thirds in the oboe parts paint a musical picture of the mystical embrace in complementary rhythms, *circulatio* motifs, and crossing of parts. This is similar to what we have seen in Schütz's *Inter brachia* (see example 7-15).

The beginning of the alto part is equally characteristic of the aria's theme. *Circulationes* and syncopations, accompanied by parallel thirds, represent the mystical embrace and the immeasurable love of Christ on the cross. The move to the minor at the end of the joyful lines "in Jesu Armen sucht Erlösung, nehmt Erbarmen" points to the painful elements of this love—parting and salvation go hand in hand. The line is characterized by ascending sighing motifs, expressing joyful suffering (see example 7-16). It begins with the rhetorical question of the Daughters of Zion, "Wohin?"; this question is answered three times in complementary rhythm by the solo voice. This abundance of musical resources represents the paradoxical significance of the Cross: salvation of the anxious sinner and eschatological union require that first the Savior must die.

The two sections from Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* analyzed here show how the different narrative elements of the Passion story are given varying thematic and dramatic emphases (cf. the analyses of the scourging scene in chapter 3). However, the various scenes are all connected by love, in accordance with Lu-

Example 7-15. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Sehet, Jesus führt die Hand" (*St. Matthew Passion*, no. 60), bars 1–3.

Example 7-16. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Sehet, Jesus führt die Hand" (*St. Matthew Passion*, no. 60), bars 17–24.

theran Passion theology. Bach's consistent musical representation of love lends his Passion a theologically appropriate thematic coherence.

COMMUNION MYSTICISM

In Lutheran devotional theology Communion furnished an opportunity to experience on earth a temporary "foretaste" of eschatological *unio mystica* with Jesus. Bach's Communion compositions focus without exception on this mystical interpretation of Communion. In the texts of the Communion cantatas, bride and bridegroom metaphors, wedding images, Song of Songs imagery, and metaphors of mystical union and sinking (*Versenkung*) abound. Their settings correspond affectively to the theological topoi of Communion, such as bitter-sweet desire for the Savior, the expectant spiritual adornment of the bride, the joy of union, and the physiological release it brings with it. The analysis of two arias from the Communion cantata *Ach, ich sehe, itzt, da ich zur Hochzeit gehe* (BWV 162) has already given an impression of Bach's compositional process through the analyses of two arias from the Communion cantata *Ach, ich sehe, itzt, da ich zur Hochzeit gehe* (BWV 162).

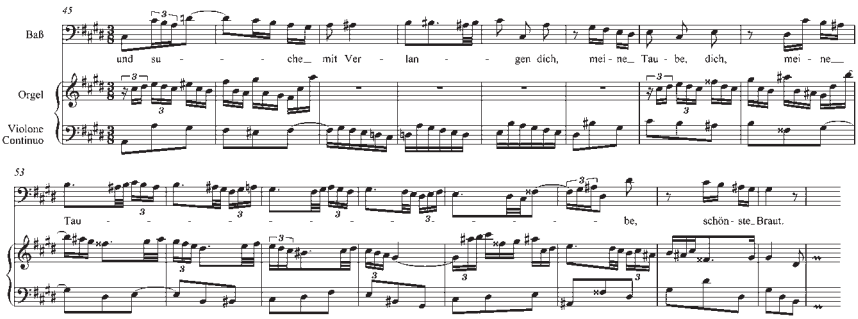
The dialogue cantata *Ich geh' und suche mit Verlangen* (BWV 49) is a particularly instructive example of Bach's musical representation of Communion. Like BWV 162, the cantata was composed for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity (November 3, 1726). The text is by an unidentified poet; the sixth movement is based on the seventh verse of Philipp Nicolai's Hymn of the Morning Star. The poet describes the preparation for Communion from the emotional viewpoint of the yearning bridegroom, Jesus, and his equally yearning bride, the faithful soul. The entire libretto is constructed as a dialogue between the two lovers and thus calls to mind a secular love duet. Bach's settings of this text, which take the form of dialogues between soprano and bass—the cantata is explicitly designated *Dialogus* by the composer—contribute to this impression through the use of musical love metaphors and even dance-like elements. It is precisely this quality that makes Bach's compositions so appropriate to Lutheran Communion theology.

The subject of the text to Aria 2, "Ich geh' und suche mit Verlangen," is Christ's search for His bride (Ps. 45:12, also Song of Songs 5:2). The imagery derives from the Song of Songs:

Ich geh' und suche mit Verlangen
Dich, meine Taube, schönste Braut.
Sag an, wo bist du hingegangen,
Daß dich mein Auge nicht mehr schaut?

I shall go and seek you longingly,
My dove, loveliest bride.
Tell me where you have gone,
That my eyes can see you no longer?

The desire of the Savior searching for his bride is depicted in affectively opposed musical parameters. The cheerful 3/8 meter is darkened by the C-sharp minor tonality, the fast tempo is slowed down by syncopations, and chromaticism and subtle false relations lend a note of anxiety to the rapid triplet movement. The main theme of the bass part is characterized by a falling fifth and a rising sixth. The fifth represents the inversion of the chorale *incipit*, the sixth may be interpreted as a figure of pity. The large intervals also represent the bridegroom's search for the bride.[26] The dissonant syncopations and the descending *suspiratio* figures in the theme serve to darken the texture and seem to express the bridegroom's desire (cf. Buxtehude's *Liebster, meine Seele saget*).

In the development of this theme chromaticism and *suspiratio* figures further intensify the expression of desire. The expressive, chromatically ascending melody of the vocal part at bars 47–49 is supported by the similarly ascending, flowing semiquaver motifs in the violone. In the following bars the organ part moves in rapid triplets and dotted motifs that rhythmically complement the bass voice. The combination of all these devices generates a restless expression of the lover's haste (see example 7-17).

Example 7-17. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Ich geh' und suche mit Verlangen" (BWV 49, no. 2), bars 45–60.

At the line "Sag an, wo bist du hingegangen" the unrest escalates (bars 134–142). The bass part moves in large intervals—sometimes ascending, sometimes descending—and *suspiratio* figures, while the organ and violone play three against two in rapid semiquavers—the organ descending, the violone climbing chromatically. Thus a graphic depiction of the lover's avid search emerges, affectively colored by his haste.

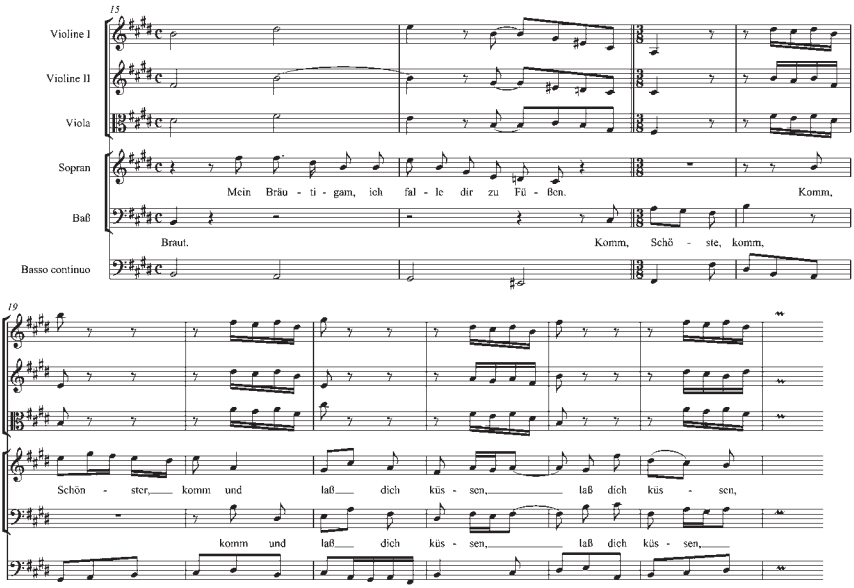
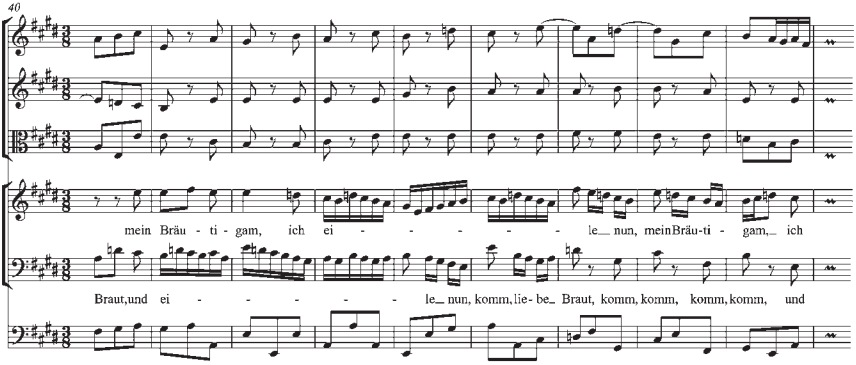
Recitative no. 3 describes the moment when bridegroom and bride find one another. It is the first duet of the cantata. The text closely resembles Aria 6, "Mein Freund ist mein," from the cantata *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme* (BWV 140) in its use of parallel constructions and the wedding-feast metaphor:

B Mein Mahl ist zubereit'
Und meine Hochzeittafel fertig.
Nur meine Braut ist noch nicht gegenwärtig.
S Mein Jesus redt von mir;
O Stimme, welche mich erfreut!
B Ich geh' und suche mit Verlangen
Dich, meine Taube, schönste Braut.
S Mein Bräutigam, ich falle dir zu Füßen.
B/S Komm, Schönste/Schönster, komm und laß dich küssen,
Du sollst mein/Laß mich dein fettes Mahl genießen.
Komm, liebe Braut, und/Mein Bräutigam, ich eile nun,
Die Hochzeitkleider anzutun.

B My banquet is prepared
And my wedding table is ready.
Only my bride is not yet present.
S My Jesus speaks of me;
O voice that fills me with joy!
B I shall go and seek you longingly,
My dove, loveliest bride.
S My bridegroom, I fall at your feet.
B/S Come, my lovely, come and let me kiss you,
Enjoy my/ Let me enjoy Your sumptuous banquet.
Come, dear bride, make haste / My bridegroom, I hasten now
To put on the wedding garments.

The bass repeats his yearning exclamation of "Ich geh' und suche mit Verlangen" from Aria 2, now in A major. This is answered by an immediate confirmation from the faithful soul, represented by the soprano voice. The joy of the two lovers at finding one another and coming together in the wedding feast is articulated musically through the shift from dialogue recitative to duet. The 3/8 meter, major tonality, and parallel thirds render this duet scarcely distinguishable from a secular love song (see example 7-18). Alfred Dürr went so far as to say that Bach creates here "a proper love duet in dance-like triple meter that would have sufficed any opera."[27]

The string parts, in the style of the seventeenth-century Song of Songs dialogue, accentuate the festive triple meter in quaver motifs, and express both the lovers' haste and the abundance of love in strings of semiquavers moving in parallel thirds (see example 7-19).

The love thematics of Lutheran Communion theology reach their peak in Aria 6. The verse from Nicolai's *Morgensternlied*, sung as a *cantus planus* by the soprano, is embellished by the bass with the love metaphor from Jer-

Example 7-18. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Mein Mahl ist zubereit'" (BWV 49, no. 3), bars 15–24.

Example 7-19. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Mein Mahl ist zubereit'" (BWV 49, no. 3), bars 40–48.

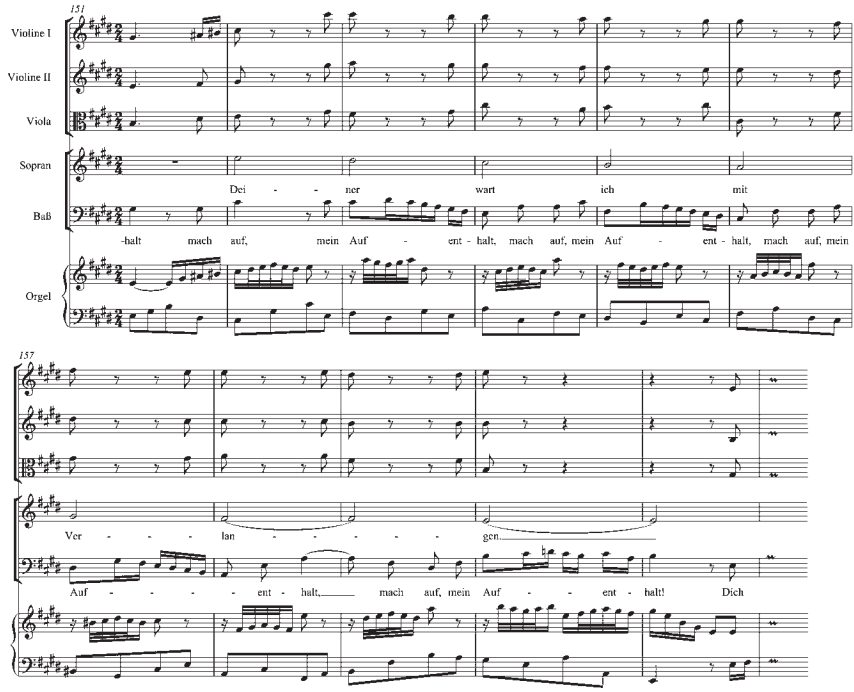
emiah 31:3. Thus text and music accord the love of God, which—offered up in the Passion, celebrated in Communion, and eschatologically reconciling—held an all-embracing role in the devotional theology of Bach's time:

B Dich hab ich je und je geliebet,
S Wie bin ich doch so herzlich froh,
Daß mein Schatz ist das A und O,
Der Anfang und das Ende.
B Und darum ziehe ich dich zu mir.
S Er wird mich doch zu seinem Preis
Aufnehmen in das Paradeis;
Des klopf ich in die Hände.
B Ich komme bald,
S Amen! Amen!
B Ich stehe vor der Tür,
S Komm, du schöne Freudenkrone, bleib nicht lange!
B Mach auf, mein Aufenthalt!
S Deiner wart ich mit Verlangen.
B Dich hab ich je und je geliebet,
Und darum zieh ich dich zu mir.

B I have loved you everlastingly
S How profoundly happy I am,
That my darling is the Alpha and Omega,
The beginning and the end.
And therefore I draw you to me.
S As His prize He will
Take me up into Paradise;
Therefore I clap my hands.
B I shall soon be there,
S Amen! Amen!
B I stand at the door,
S Come, lovely crown of joy, do not delay long!
B Open up, my abode!
S I await You with longing.
B I have loved you everlastingly,
And therefore I draw you to me.

Alfred Dürr and Michael Märker have suggested that all the vocal and instrumental parts are based on the chorale *incipit* of Nicolai's hymn, with its rising fifth and falling third.[28] Because of this the entire movement is marked by joyful triadic motifs. The E major tonality and fast tempo also express joy. The complementary semiquaver and demi-semiquaver (32nd note) motifs in the continuo add further ornamentation to the bass's tender embellishment of the *cantus planus*.

Renate Steiger has suggested that the double text of this movement furnishes a musical representation of the abiding oppositeness of the believer and Christ

in Communion.[29] The arguments presented in chapter 5 provide additional theological support for Steiger's remarks: because sinful human nature cannot be fused with Christ's divinity, the union achieved in Communion is only temporary. It offers a preview of the eschatological *unio mystica* that takes place after justification and reconciliation. It was also shown in chapter 5 that this quality of being as yet unattained, fundamental to Lutheran *unio mystica*, was articulated in devotional poetry and theology through the bitter-sweet imagery of petrarchan love poetry. In this chapter I have shown by means of various examples that Bach's musical articulations of these theological conditions bear the same affective characteristics: following seventeenth-century traditions, Bach created a musical equivalent of these textual representations of mystical love through the simultaneous use of resources expressing the lover's desire and resources representing the joy of love. The double text in Aria 6 of Cantata BWV 49 adds another level to his expressive resources. Here too, the affective bitter-sweet of the unachievable *unio mystica* is present. In bars 151–161 the soul and her spiritual bridegroom sing of their mutual longing for union (S: "Deiner wart ich mit Verlangen" / B: "Mach auf, mein Aufenthalt"). The slowly descending chorale melody is embellished by the bass with *suspirationes* and

Example 7-20. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Dich hab ich je und je geliebet'" (BWV 49, no. 6), bars 151–161.

yearning descending sequences. This generates a parallel descending movement and several fleeting false relations, so that the joy of the forthcoming union and the ache of desire are expressed simultaneously (see example 7-20).

Here Bach lends musical emphasis to an important theological condition: the believer may well experience a foretaste of eschatological reconciliation in Communion, but he must always remain aware that this state is not possible on earth. This condition determines the mood of the entire cantata. Affective ambivalence is generated by the continuous concurrence of musical resources expressing joy at the pending meeting in Communion on the one hand and the hopeless desire for the ultimate union on the other. This is characteristic of both the contemporary representation of love and Lutheran Communion mysticism.

Like Cantatas BWV 162 and 49, the cantata *Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele* (BWV 180) was composed for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity (October 22, 1724). The text concentrates primarily on the joy felt at the proof of God's love experienced physically in Communion. The opening chorus sets the first verse of Johann Franck's Communion hymn (analyzed in chapter 5). *Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele* is the most festive of Bach's Communion cantatas. Because the faithful soul has prepared herself with faith, hope, and repentance, she is assured of the gift of Communion and temporary union with Jesus. Just as in the text there are more metaphors dealing with the joy of love than with its yearning side, so the musical setting concentrates on the sweet aspects of mystical love. In major keys, fast tempi, triadic motifs, flowing movement (*circulatio*), and parallel thirds, Bach expresses unequivocally the joy of the communicant. Obbligato coloratura furnishes a musical articulation of the spiritual bridal adornment; moreover, the dance-like rhythm in the tenor aria no. 2, characterized as a bourrée by Alfred Dürr,[30] underlines the festive nature of Communion.

While the cantatas written for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity express the feelings of the believer preparing for Communion, the subject of the soprano aria "Ich will dir mein Herze schenken," no. 13 from Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, is the fruits of participation in Communion. Grief at Christ's departure, thankfulness for his sacrifice of love, and joy at the possibility of temporary *unio mystica* in Communion are closely bound together in this aria and the preceding recitative, which immediately follows the words of institution of Communion. The believer's grief at Christ's parting leads directly to gratitude, because Jesus left behind his body and blood as a lasting reminder of his love and as a symbol of reconciliation. This gratitude goes hand in hand with reciprocal love and the desire to be united with Christ through this symbol of his love. In accordance with contemporary literary and theological traditions, these themes are presented as the personal feelings of the faithful soul, using direct speech and metaphors of the heart and union. The faithful soul weeps from grieving love[31] and longs for physical unification in love with Jesus:

Rezitativ
Wiewol mein Herz in Tränen schwimmt,
Daß Jesus von mir Abschied nimmt
So macht mich doch sein Testament erfreut:
Sein Fleisch und Blut, o Kostbarkeit,
Vermacht er mir in meine Hände.
Wie er es auf der Welt mit denen Seinen
Nicht böse können meinen,
So liebt er sie bis an das Ende

Aria
Ich will dir mein Herze schenken,
Senke dich, mein Heil, hinein!
Ich will mich in dir versenken;
Ist dir gleich die Welt zu klein,
Ei, so sollst du mir allein
mehr als Welt und Himmel sein.

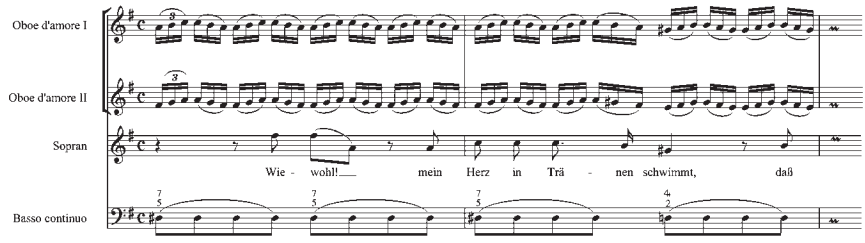
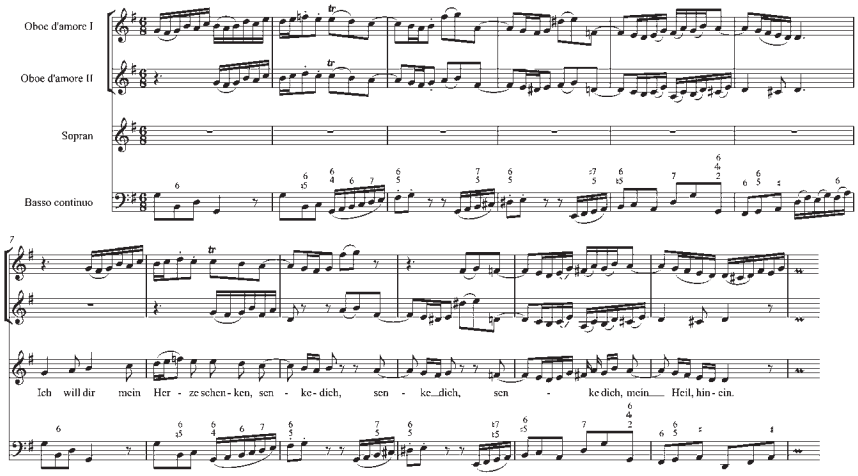
Recitative
Although my heart swims in tears,
Since Jesus must now take His leave of me,
Yet His testament gives me joy.
His body and blood, O precious treasure,
He leaves in my hands.
Just as in this world
He could never wish harm to His own,
So He loves them to the end.

Aria
I wish to give my heart to You,
Descend into it, my Saviour!
I wish to sink myself in You;
Though this earth is too small for You,
Ah, for me alone
You will be more than earth and heaven.

Bach's settings of these texts underline their theological and affective meaning. As in Recitative 59, "Ach Golgatha," and Aria 60, "Sehet, Jesus hat die Hand," where the textual theme is likewise grief at Christ's departure and love for the dying Savior, this arioso and aria are also musically connected through common representative resources. Here too, the ongoing theme is the love of the self-sacrificing Jesus, evident above all in the gentle tempo and in the parallel thirds and *circulatio* figures in the oboe d'amore parts.

In the recitative, the *passus duriusculi* of the continuo and the alternation between parallel thirds and *circulationes* in the triplet sequences of the oboe part furnish a continuous representation of the ambivalent emotions of the Last Supper. While the descending melodies represent grief, the oboe parts present a madrigalian depiction of the tears of love shed by the soul.[32] The modulation from E minor to C major is also textually based and suggests the temporarily sorrowful (minor) but ultimately redeeming (major) significance of Christ's death and testament. The soprano provides a literal representation of the textual content. Thus the rising sixth at "wiewohl" and the descending seventh in the opening motif represent the soul's grief (see example 7-21).

Twice the oboes abandon their flowing triplets to come to a halt on a minor third, rhetorically highlighting the theological kernel of Communion—the presence (*ubiquity*) of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist, and its spiritual function.

Aria 13 concentrates on the physiological aspects of this function. The subject of the text is Christ's descent into the heart of the believer: participation in Communion gives rise to a physiological *unio mystica* and is thus a "love-feast" (cf. chapter 5). Bach creates a musical preview of this love union through the combination of devices representing desire with devices expressing joy. The *andante* tempo, sixth chords, syncopated rhythms, and descending melodies of the soprano voice express desire for Jesus, while the trifold nature of the 6/8 meter, consonant G major texture, parallel thirds, and *circulatio* motifs articulate the joy of coming together. The opening bars are characteristic. The *circulationes* and *figurae cortae* of the oboes d'amore, moving in parallel thirds, combined with the rising motifs of the continuo, express the joy of meeting with Jesus; at the same time the syncopations hold back the tempo in a representation of the believer's prayer to be united with Christ. The soprano theme begins with a cheerful triadic motif and a *figura corta*. Desire for Christ is articulated in descending syncopated motifs, separated from one another (*tmesis*) by *suspirationes*. Christ's descent into the heart of the believer is thus made visible in a madrigalian depiction (see example 7-22).

Example 7-21. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Wiewohl mein Herz in Tränen schwimm'" (*St. Matthew Passion*, no. 12), bars 1–2.

Example 7-22. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Ich will dir mein Herze schenken" (*St. Matthew Passion,* no. 13), bars 1–12.

This aria shows how not only the bitter-sweet but also the physiological aspects of the concept of mystical love could be conveyed musically. In chapter 5 it was argued that in Lutheran devotional theology Communion was regarded as a physiologically induced embodiment of Christ's love. Since music, as described in chapter 4, was attributed with explicit medicinal effects, settings of Communion poems could audibly highlight the physiology of Communion. Through the use of sinking motifs in the soprano voice against the affective background of love in all musical parameters, the aria "Ich will dir mein Herze schenken" forms a musical realization of the individual believer's experience of Communion. Here Christ's love is "embodied and implanted" in the believer not only through eating and drinking, but also through hearing.[33]

MYSTICAL DESIRE FOR DEATH

A large proportion of Bach's texts are on the subject of death, dying, and Lutheran *ars moriendi*.[34] The number of texts in which this subject is associated with mystical desire for death—the longing to die in order to be united with Jesus in *unio mystica*—is relatively small. Most of Bach's cantatas dealing with death describe it in metaphors of joy as a desirable state of reconciliation in accordance with Lutheran theology. However, echoes of mysticism may also be found in some of Bach's musical contemplations of death (e.g., in Cantatas BWV 27, 31, 57, 106, 127, 157, 161, and the motet BWV 229).

The cantata *Komm, du süsse Todesstunde* (BWV 161) was written for the sixteenth Sunday after Trinity and was probably performed for the first time on September 27, 1716. The poet, Salomon Franck, takes the story of the young man of Nain who was raised from the dead as an opportunity to contemplate Lutheran *ars moriendi*. Franck articulates the desire for eschatological reconciliation in metaphors of mystical desire for death. In the alto aria no. 1 he links the image of honey flowing from the mouth of a slaughtered lion (Judges 14:8) to that of man's death sweetened by Christ.[35] The mystical desire for the "sweet hour of death" and union with Jesus is expressed through the interpolation of the chorale "Herzlich tut mich verlangen" in the organ part, moved to the soprano voice in the later Leipzig version:

A
Komm, du süße Todesstunde,
Da mein Geist
Honig speist
Aus des Löwens Munde.
Mache meinen Abschied süße,
Säume nicht,
Letztes Licht,
Daß ich meinen Heiland küsse.

Orgel/S
Herzlich tut mich verlangen
Nach einem selgen End,
Weil ich hie bin umfangen
Mit Trübsal und Elend.
Ich hab Lust abzuscheiden
Von dieser bösen Welt,
Sehn mich nach himmlschen Freuden,
O Jesu, komm nur bald!

A
Come, sweet hour of death,
When my spirit
Will eat honey
From the Lion's mouth.
Make my parting sweet,
Do not delay,
Last light,
That I may kiss my Saviour.

Organ/S
With all my heart I desire

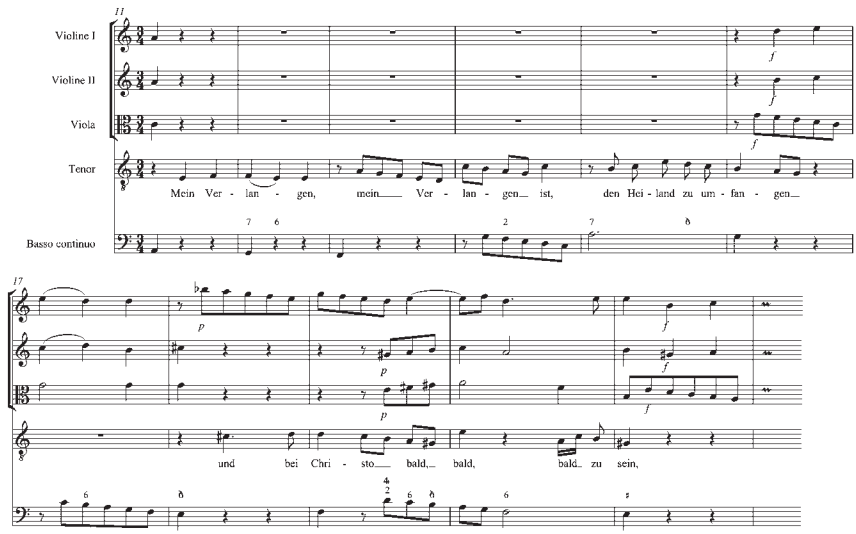
A blessed end,
For here I am surrounded
By darkness and misery.
I wish to depart
From this evil world,
I long for heavenly joy,
O Jesus, come quickly!

Bach articulates the peace of the believer dying in the certainty of faith in C major and a gentle 4/4 meter. Two recorders[36] moving in parallel thirds and complementary rhythms seem to point affectively to the impending mystical love union; at the same time sixth chords, sighing motifs, and *suspirationes* in all voices express desire for Jesus. The aria thus acquires an affective starting point corresponding to that of the text: the consciousness of eschatological reconciliation awakens a bitter-sweet desire for Jesus, the heavenly beloved.

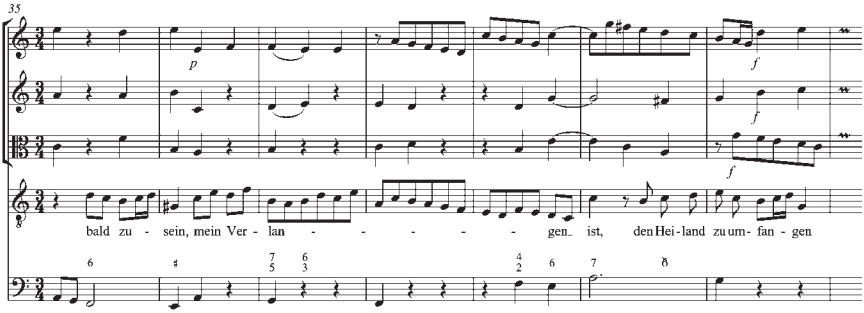
The text of the tenor aria no. 3 concentrates exclusively on the desire for Christ expressed in Philippians 1:23:[37]

Mein Verlangen
Ist, den Heiland zu umfangen
Und bei Christo bald zu sein!
Ob ich sterblich Asch und Erde
Durch den Tod zermalmet werde,
Wird der Seele reiner Schein
Dennoch gleich den Engeln prangen.

My desire
Is to embrace the Saviour
And to be with Christ soon!
Even if I am ground by death
To mortal ash and earth,
Yet the purity of my soul
Will shine like the angels.

The musical expression of this desire is impressive in its simplicity. The aria is based on the abiding oppositeness of desire and "embrace," the dialectic expression of the desired union being not yet attained. Bach articulates this theological ambivalence in the fundamental combination of a joyful triple meter and a dark minor key (A minor). He represents desire in the two chromatic sighing motifs of the opening theme, which are followed by a *suspiratio* and a descending quaver sequence (*catabasis*). Accompanied only by the solitary steps of the continuo—the other instruments are silent—these figures seem to express the loneliness of the yearning soul. Chromaticism

Example 7-23. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Mein Verlangen ist, den Heiland zu umfangen" (BWV 161, no. 3), bars 11–21.

lends sadness to the theme at the words "und bei Christo bald zu sein" (see example 7-23).

This articulation of desire is contrasted with the certainty of eschatological union. In flowing *circulationes* and *figurae cortae*, moving partly in parallel thirds (see example 7-24), the believer contemplates the joy of the forthcoming union with Jesus (cf. Buxtehude's *Ich habe Lust abzuscheiden*).

Example 7-24. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Mein Verlangen ist, den Heiland zu umfangen" (BWV 161, no. 3), bars 35–41.

This delight in death is the theme of the choral movement no. 5:

> Wenn es meines Gottes Wille,
> Wünsch dich, daß des Leibes Last

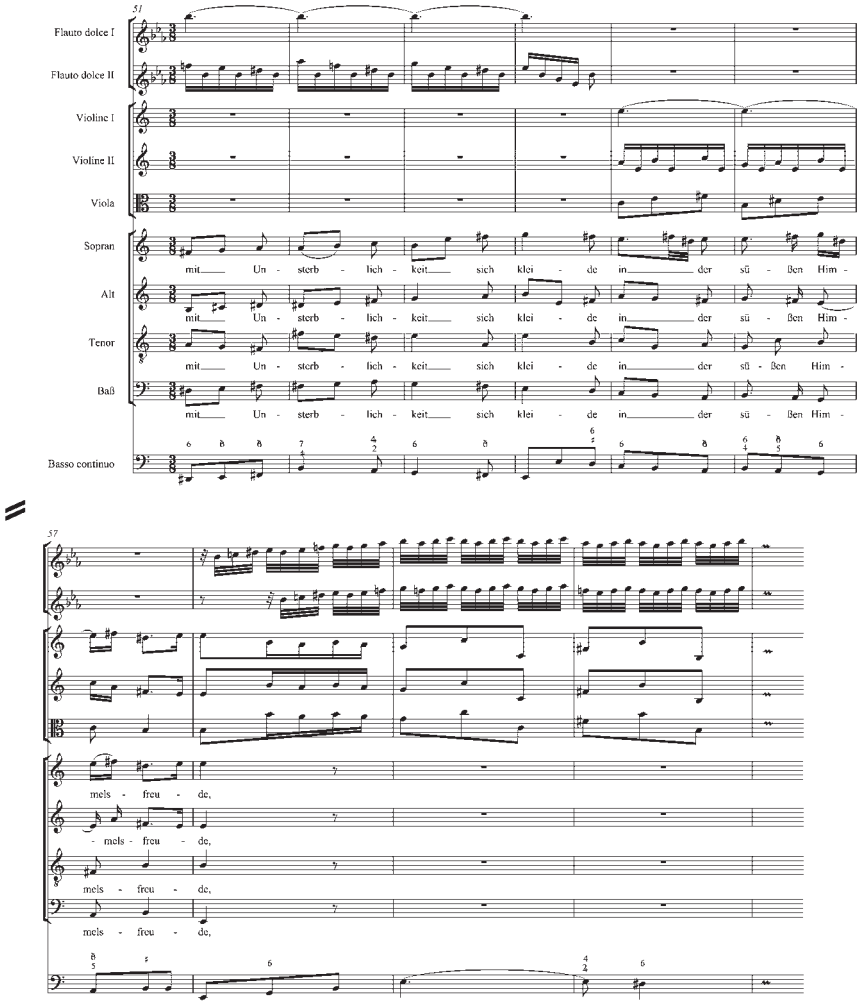
Heute noch die Erde fülle
Und der Geist, des Leibes Gast,
Mit Unsterblichkeit sich kleide
In der süßen Himmelsfreude.
Jesu, komm und nimm mich fort!
Dieses sei mein letztes Wort.

If it is my God's will,
I wish that this body's burden
Would today fill the earth,
And that my spirit, the body's guest,
Would clothe itself in immortality
In the sweet joy of heaven.
Jesus, come and take me forth!
Let this be my last word.

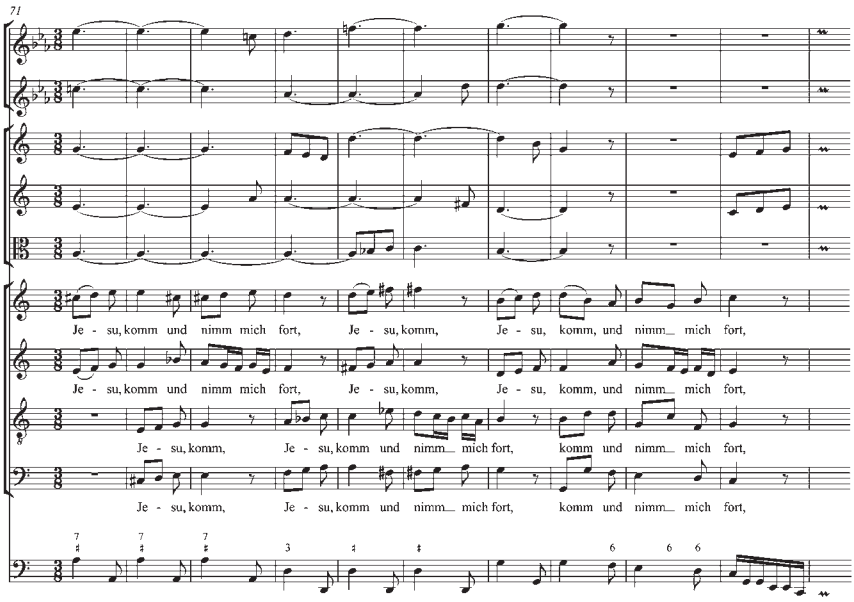
The affective theme of Bach's setting of the text is joy. In a rapid 3/8 meter and C major key the flute parts move in parallel thirds and *circulationes*, while the string ensemble endorses the triple meter. Yet the aria begins with sighing motifs, which here, as in the other movements of the cantata, express desire.

As already observed in Aria no. 5 from Cantata BWV 162, here too, at lines 5–6 a driving, rapidly modulating texture with ascending melodies gives the impression of rising from the earthly sphere back into heavenly realms.[38] The demi-semiquaver sequences that immediately follow in the flutes, moving in parallel thirds and *circulatio* figures, doubtless serve to express "heavenly joy" (see example 7-25).

Just as sighing motifs and sixth chords indicate that, despite the joyful tone of the movement, eschatological joy has not yet been attained, so, at the invocation of Christ, *suspirationes* and dialogue technique highlight the theological dialectic of the cantata theme: reconciliation and union with Jesus can only be attained after death, after the sinful "old Adam" has been left behind. During his earthly life, man can only believe, repent, and desire. Here the expression of desire for Jesus resembles the representations of the Song of Songs dialogues discussed in chapter 6 (see example 7-26).

The musical meditations on death by Bach analyzed here are typical of the Lutheran devotion of his time. In addition to reconciliation, union with Jesus also forms part of his articulation of the themes of death and eschatology. A contrite death signifies not only the end of this sinful earthly life and ultimate reconciliation with God, but also union with Jesus. Because *unio mystica* can only be attained through the death of sinful human nature, themes such as death, dying, and the desire for death are articulated both textually and musically in mystical metaphors.[39]

Example 7-25. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Wenn es meines Gottes Wille" (BWV 161, no. 5), bars 51–60.

PETRARCHAN DISCOURSE IN BACH'S MUSICAL REPRESENTATION OF MYSTICISM

Walter Blankenburg has remarked that there are two principal problems peculiar to research into the subject of "Bach and mysticism."[40] The first is the ontology of the concept of mysticism. It is difficult to analyze possible mystical aspects in Bach's compositions without defining the Lutheran mysticism of his time. The second problem observed by Blankenburg is the assumption

Example 7-26. Johann Sebastian Bach, "Wenn es meines Gottes Wille" (BWV 161, no. 5), bars 71–80.

by some researchers that the mystical elements in the texts set by Bach are a reflection of the composer's personal religious practice. The combination of these two problems has frequently led to controversies over the confessional background of his works. On the one hand it has been argued that Bach did not agree with the mystical overtones in his texts, which are often felt to be overly sweet or even tasteless;[41] on the other hand there has been discussion of the expression of "deeply personal, ardent feeling" in his music.[42] As a result the composer is sometimes characterized as an Orthodox Lutheran, sometimes as a mystic or Pietist.

In chapter 5 I have defined the concept of Lutheran mysticism in historical and theological terms. On that basis this and the previous chapter have compared mystical representations of love in baroque poetry and in the vocal music of Schütz, Buxtehude, and Bach. These analyses have revealed that the poetic and musical representation of mystical love corresponded closely to the theological conditions of Lutheran devotion. Lutheran mysticism encompassed both the desire for mystical union with Jesus and the consciousness that this cannot be fully attained in this life. These paradoxical conditions were articulated textually and musically in such a way that the joy at and desire for love union with Jesus could be expressed simultaneously. The stylistic foundation for representation of the ambivalent mystical concept of love

was furnished by the poetic and musical language of petrarchism, which was based on the expression of a love that was bitter and sweet at the same time. Spiritual applications of this secular love idiom may already be observed in the works of seventeenth-century composers (chapter 6); in the course of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century these applications increasingly resulted in a musical amalgam of the bitter-sweet, realized in a combination of specific musical parameters with opposing emotional connotations. This compositional method, which is based on affective characterization rather than word-painting, produces a bitter-sweet starting point for the musical love discourse that satisfies the contemporary concept of love and at the same time permits individual variations. Such variations follow the shifts in the theological or affective accent of the text. Thus, for example, representations of *unio mystica* could emphasize joy by means of dance-like rhythms and semiquaver movement, while the musical Passion meditation could highlight the horror of the crucifixion through *passus* and *saltus duriusculi*, as well as intensified dissonance and contrast.

In Bach's vocal works, as in the seventeenth century, mystical joy is consistently expressed through the concrete resources of major keys, triple meters, flowing melodies moving in small intervals (Kircher's *invervalla mollia* and *languida*) and rising motifs (*anabases*), parallel thirds, and complementary rhythms. In addition to these affective parameters individual words could be variously interpreted. Devices frequently employed to this end are the joyful-sounding *figura corta*, the affectively intensifying *gradatio* figure, *circulatio* as an articulation of union or embrace, triadic motifs, decorative figures, and strings of semiquavers representing the mystical adornment of the soul and abundance. In some instances the use of dance rhythms or cheerful duet movements in triple meter is also seen as highlighting the joy of the spiritual wedding (in BWV 140/6, BWV 49/3, cf. BWV 180/2). These devices for representing festivity, which derive from the secular sphere, had already been employed in the compositions of Dieterich Buxtehude (e.g., in BuxWV 75, VII/3, cf. the cantata *Nun freut euch ihr Frommen* [BuxWV 80/1]).

In Bach's work—as in Schütz's and Buxtehude's—desire is represented by minor keys, slow tempi, harmonically weak sixth chords, subtle use of dissonance (especially in false relation), descending melodies or *catabasis* motifs, and chromatic shifts (Kircher's *intervalla exotica*, later *passus duriusculi*). The interpretation of individual words is expressed through the more specific affective resources of *suspiratio*, *tmesis* and sighing motifs, rhythmically delaying syncopations and large leaps (Kircher's *intervalla vehementia*, later *saltus duriusculi*).

Bach combines these resources expressing joy and desire in such a way that they blend naturally into a musical affect of bitter-sweet. Heightened articulations of the simultaneity of pleasure and pain in mystical love are

achieved through dialogue technique. Like Schütz and Buxtehude, Bach uses dialogue form to convey musically not only the coming together of the two lovers but also the dialectic of Lutheran mysticism. This is evident in Cantatas BWV 49, 140, 161, and 248V analyzed above. Particularly impressive musical outworkings of this theological dialectic occur when the two voices also present different texts (in BWV 49/6 and 248V/51, cf. the funeral motet *Komm, Jesu, komm* BWV 229). The madrigalian double motif, still much used in seventeenth-century expressions of bitter-sweet spiritual love, is no longer so prevalent in Bach's works. In his compositional idiom the two emotions are either blended in a single musical affect of bitter-sweet or presented in different dramatic parts (BWV 162 and *St. Matthew Passion* nos. 12 and 13, cf. BWV 180).

The seventeenth-century tendency to assign dramatically consistent roles to the soprano and bass voices is also further developed in Bach's vocal works. The vast majority of the compositions analyzed here are conceived for these two voices, which always represent the faithful soul and *vox Christi* respectively. The difference between the soprano and bass arias and the works for alto or tenor seems to be that the function of the latter is generally that of spectator, while that of the former is direct communication. For instance, in Cantata BWV 140 the soprano and bass directly reproduce the voices of the believer and Christ, whereas the alto voice in Aria 60 of the *St. Matthew Passion* provides an indirect commentary on the crucified body of Christ. The alto voice in 248V and 162/5 has a similarly indirect role. Bach seems to have accorded more or less consistent significance to various instruments also. Many compositions on the subject of the love union of Jesus and the soul are scored for oboes, particularly oboes d'amore (BWV 49/4, 140/6, *St. Matthew Passion* nos. 12–13, 49, 59–60). He may well have assigned a pastoral significance to the—often doubled—sound of this shepherd's instrument. Other instruments of possible significance are the violins, which are often employed in arias on the theme of desire for Jesus (BWV 49/3, 161/3, cf. violoncello piccolo in 140/3 and 180/3), and transverse flute and recorder, which possibly have an affective connotation of divine or heavenly love (BWV 161/1, 161/5, *St. Matthew Passion* no. 49, cf. BWV 180/2).[43]

In summary, it may be observed that Bach adopted and employed the conventions for the representation of spiritual love that had evolved in the seventeenth century, but developed them further into a recognizable affective mood of mystical love. As already discernible in the vocal music of Buxtehude, it was the aria that proved the most suitable vehicle for the representation of mystical subjects, since it unfolded at moments of personal religious reflection.[44] Moreover, Bach also used the narrative structure of the cantata and Passion forms to articulate dramatically the various aspects or phases of mystical love. Particularly in the Communion cantatas and the *St. Matthew*

Passion, all feelings relating to mystical love are presented as elements of the drama and affectively elucidated in the arias. In this way music served as an affective pedagogic resource in Lutheran devotion.

Can—and should—these findings lead to assertions about Bach's personal devotional practice? The examples analyzed here demonstrate that the mystical elements in his works reflect the edificatory literature of Lutheran devotion, but not necessarily the personal preferences of the composer. The fact that Bach's musical articulations of the mystical love themes of theology correspond conceptually and thematically to Lutheran devotion proves nothing else but that he carried out his task as a Lutheran composer very conscientiously. The same could be said of the fact that his private library included works by Lutheran devotional theologians. It is interesting to note, however, the instances where Bach's settings *do not* precisely match the content of his text, or where the music even lends further meaning to the text. In the trio "Ach, wenn wird die Zeit erscheinen?" from Cantata V of the *Christmas Oratorio*, for instance, the musical contrast between mystical desire for Jesus and the Christian's certainty that the Savior has already come is almost violent. Here Bach's music seems to temper the mystical aspects of his text in favor of Orthodox Lutheran thinking. Similarly, in the Pentecost cantatas BWV 59, 74, and 172 discussed above, in which the mystical metaphor of the texts is articulated not as desire but as joy, Orthodox Lutheran theology dominates. Having analyzed only a few such examples, this is not the place for statements regarding Bach's personal devotional practice; nonetheless, it seems legitimate to somewhat temper the arguments as to the composer's supposed mystical or Pietist sympathies.[45]

Bach's musical representation of mysticism forms both pinnacle and conclusion of the developments discussed in this study. After Italian petrarchism had been translated and imitated in poetry and music, it was assimilated into the German situation and its specific requirements during the seventeenth century. The seventeenth-century spiritual applications of worldly love discourses eventually produced a poetic and musical discourse of mystical love in the vocal works of Bach—a new idiom that was genuinely Lutheran.

The discursive and historical developments described here lead to a further conclusion. Due to the theological conditions of Lutheran mysticism, the petrarchan love discourse remained in currency until the eighteenth century. This bitter-sweet love idiom, based on the concept of two lovers who could not be united, could represent the love between Jesus and the faithful Lutheran soul effectively and in accordance with Lutheran dialectic. Despite the repudiation of the petrarchan concept of love by moral philosophers (cf. chapter 4), it was actually the *Lutheran* basis of baroque mysticism that kept the petrarchan discourse in currency until the early days of the Enlightenment.

NOTES

1. Emil Platen, for instance, describes Picander's libretto for Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* on the basis of an article dating from 1880, as "not questionably, but unequivocally bad" (55) and contrasts it with the alleged superiority of Bach's musical setting (Emil Platen, *Die Matthäus-Passion von Johann Sebastian Bach. Entstehung, Werkbeschreibung, Rezeption* [Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1991], 54–72). Such condemnations of the texts of Bach's compositions urgently require differentiation, especially since these compositions, in accordance with contemporary music theory, are conceived as a detailed musical transposition of the texts.

2. Walter Blankenburg, "Mystik in der Musik J.S. Bachs," in *Theologische Bach-Studien I*, ed. Walter Blankenburg and Renate Steiger (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1987), 57.

3. Mystical wedding metaphors may be found in BWV 21/II, 32, 36/3, 36c/3, 49, 61, 123, 140, 148/4, 152/6, 162, 180, 248/IV/3, 248/IV/5, and 248/V/9.

4. On these cantata texts see also S. Jost Casper, "Die Auslegungstradition im Text der Kantate BWV 140" in *Bach als Ausleger der Bibel*, ed. Martin Petzoldt (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck& Ruprecht, 1985), 49–76.

5. Cf. chapter 6, Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, III, mvt. 3; Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, VI, mvt. 2 and 4.

6. Adriaan Casper Honders, *Mijn lief is mijn . . . Over het Hooglied in het werk van J.S. Bach* [Kerkmuziek & Liturgie 2] (Voorburg: Protestantse Stichtung tot Bevordering van het Bibliotheekwezen en de Nederland, 1988), 43–48.

7. On the dating of the first performance of this cantata, see the critical commentary in the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997). Unfortunately, the autograph of this aria contains no instrumental parts. Ulrich Bartels has discussed various possible scorings (critical commentary of the *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*); Bach probably employed either oboe (da caccia) or, as Masaaki Suzuki has suggested in his 1996 recording, alto recorder (Bach Collegium Japan, *Cantatas 3: Cantatas from Weimar*).

8. Renate Steiger, "'Die Welt ist euch ein Himmelreich.' Zu Bachs Deutung des Pastoralen," *Musik und Kirche* 41 (1971): 69–79.

9. The *figura corta* often served to represent joy in Bach's compositions. See Albert Clement, *Der dritte Teil der Clavierübung von Johann Sebasian Bach. Musik—Text—Theologie* (Middelburg: AlmaRes, 1999), 72ff.

10. In baroque music theory the major triad referred to the Trinity and therefore had connotations of godliness or perfection. Rolf Dammann provides an overview of contemporary writing on this subject (Rolf Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 3rd ed. [Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1995], 439ff., 454ff.). Compare also the opening motif of the third aria of the Pentecost cantata BWV 172, in which the text "Heiligste Dreieinigkeit" is musically articulated in a festive major triad.

11. My thanks to Tassilo Erhardt for his valuable comments in relation to the interpretation of this text.

12. Renate Steiger, "'Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele.' Brautmystik in Johann Sebastian Bachs Kantaten zum 20. Sonntag nach Trinitatis," in *Von Luther zu Bach. Bericht*

über die Tagung 22.–25. September 1996 in Eisenach, ed. Renate Steiger (Sinzig: Studio, 1999), 94ff.

13. Johann Kuhnau's sacred concerto *Ich freue mich im Herrn, und meine Seele ist fröhlich* (first performance 1712) was also composed for the twentieth Sunday after Trinity. Kuhnau employs similar resources to Bach in setting the metaphors of the wedding meal and the "robes of righteousness."

14. See Walter Blankenburg, *Das Weihnachts-Oratorium von Johann Sebastian Bach*, 4th ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1999), 122ff.

15. For example, in *Erschallet ihr Lieder* (BWV 172), Duet no. 5 (text by Salomon Franck):

> *S:* Sei im Glauben mir willkommen,
> höchste Liebe, komm herein!
> Du hast mir das Herz genommen.
> *A:* Ich bin dein, und du bist mein!
>
> S: In faith you are welcome,
> Supreme love, enter in!
> You have captured my heart.
> A: I am yours, and you are mine!

Also *Wer mich liebet, der wird mein Word halten* (BWV 74), Soprano aria no. 2 (text by Christiane Mariane von Ziegler):

> Komm, komm, mein Herze steht dir offen,
> ach, laß es deine Wohnung sein!
>
> Come, come, my heart is open to you,
> Ah, let it be your dwelling!

16. The texts of cantatas BWV 78, 80, 85, and 159 contain non-mystical articulations of the love demonstrated by Christ in his Passion.

17. Elke Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben." Untersuchungen zum Wandel des Passionsverständnisses im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* [Beiträge zur theologischen Bachforschung 2] (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1984), 177ff. 203, and 207.

18. In baroque music theory the bass part was viewed not only as the foundation of a composition, but also as a musical metaphor for faith, the foundation of a Christian life. See Clement, *Der dritte Teil der Clavierübung*, 131ff.; Renate Steiger, "SUAVISSIMA MUSICA CHRISTO. Zur Symbolik der Stimmlagen bei J.S. Bach," *Musik und Kirche* 61 (1991): 318–324.

19. Cf. the "*Crucifixus*" from Bach's Mass in B minor (BWV 232); on the significance of the sharp sign in Schütz see Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Heinrich Schütz: Musicus Poeticus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 26.

20. In this composition by Bach, as in the music of Heinrich Schütz, the *tertia deficiens* refers to sin. See Eggebrecht, *Heinrich Schütz: Musicus Poeticus*, 30.

21. Metaphors of *unio mystica* in Aria no. 13 ("Ich will dir mein Herze schenken"), Aria no. 52 ("Können Tränen meiner Wangen"), Aria no. 60 ("Sehet, Jesus hat die

hand"); metaphors from the Song of Songs in the opening chorus, no. 30 ("Ach, nun ist mein Jesus hin"); bridegroom metaphors in the opening chorus.

22. Renate Steiger's view that Christ "stretches out his arms like a mother or a father" (Renate Steiger, "'In Jesu Armen nehmt Erbarmen.' Der Actus Crux in der Matthäus-Passion von Johann Sebastian Bach," *Lutherische Beiträge* 3 [2000]: 217) is not historically based. Elke Axmacher and Emil Platen argue that the arms of the Savior should be interpreted as a "priestly gesture of blessing" and that they therefore furnish a "place of refuge" for "believers" (Platen, *Die Matthäus-Passion von Johann Sebastian Bach*, 199). To these observations should be added, however, the interpretative model of the metaphor of mystical embrace, which also appears in the passage from Heinrich Müller cited by Axmacher in relation to his aria.

23. Renate Steiger has found theological illustrations of Picander's metaphor of the "Küchlein" (chicken) in the writings of Johann Heermann and Johann Gerhard (Steiger, "In Jesu Armen nehmt Erbarmen," 220).

24. Steiger, "In Jesu Armen nehmt Erbarmen," 216. In addition to examples cited by Steiger cf. BWV 161/4.

25. Steiger, "In Jesu Armen nehmt Erbarmen," 217.

26. Cf. Alfred Dürr, *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach mit ihren Texten*, 8th ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2000), 661.

27. Dürr, *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach*, 661.

28. Dürr, *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach*, 662.

29. Steiger, "'Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele," 103ff.

30. Dürr, *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach*, 656.

31. Johann Jacob Rambach, *Betrachtung der Thränen und Seufzer JESU CHRISTI / In zweyen Predigten Am X. und XII. Sonntage nach* Trinitatis, 1725*, in der Schul=Kirche in Halle angestellet* (Halle: Waysenhaus, 1731), preface, 9, and 27. Regarding the theological significance of the blood and tear imagery in this part in the *St. Matthew Passion* see Isabella van Elferen, "'Let Tears of Blood Run Down Your Cheeks.' Floods of Blood, Tears and Love in German Baroque Devotional Literature and Music," in *Blood in History and Blood Histories*, ed. Mariacarla Gadebusch Bondio (Florence: Sismel, Micrologus Library, 2005), 193–214.

32. Cf. Mark Bangert, "'This is my blood of the New Testament.' The Institution of the Lord's Supper in Bach's Matthew Passion: An Exemplar for Hearing the Passion," in *Das Blut Jesu und die Lehre von der Versöhnung im Werk Johann Sebastian Bachs* [Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences: Proceedings of the International Colloquium The Blood of Jesus and the Doctrine of Reconciliation in the Works of Johann Sebastian Bach. Amsterdam, September 15–17, 1993], ed. Albert Clement (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1995), 221: "waves of heartfelt love moved to tears by the absence of Jesus." These tears of compassion shed in response to the Passion story also furnish the theme of no. 35 from Bach's *St. John Passion*, "Zerfliesse, mein Herzen, in Fluten der Zähren."

33. Heinrich Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes=Kuß / Oder Ubung deß wahren Christenthums / fliessend aus der Erfahrung Göttlicher Liebe . . .* (Frankfurt/Main: Wilde, 1669), 166 (cf. chapter 5).

34. Cantatas BWV 8, 26, 27, 31, 56, 57, 82, 83, 95, 106, 114, 125, 127, 156, 157, 158, 161, 166, 170, and the motet BWV 229 are exclusively devoted to this thematic group; individual movements from other cantatas also deal with the thematics of dying and death. On thematics of dying and death in Bach's oeuvre see Elke Axmacher, "Mystische Frömmigkeit und reformatorische Theologie. Zu Martin Mollers Lied 'Ach, Gott, wie manches Herzeleid,'" in *Das protestantische Kirchenlied im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Alfred Dürr and Walther Killy (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 39–47; Wolfgang Herbst, *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Lutherische Mystik* (Ph.D. diss., Erlangen University, 1958), 122–132; Scott C. Milner, "*Süße Todesstunde* or *Mit Fried und Freud*: Reformation Theology and the Lutheran 'Art of Dying' in Two Bach Cantatas," *Bach: The Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 31, no. 1 (2000): 34–57; Renate Steiger, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bachs Kantaten zum Thema Tod und Sterben und ihr literarisches Umfeld* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000).

35. Elke Axmacher has found historical–theological evidence for the association of this Bible passage with the contemplation of death in Lutheran devotion in Heinrich Müller's *Evangelische Herzens-Spiegel*. Elke Axmacher, "J.S. Bachs Kantatentexte in auslegungsgeschichtlicher Sicht," in Martin Petzoldt, *Bach als Ausleger der Bibel*, 15.

36. In Leipzig the recorders were probably replaced by a string group augmented by transverse flutes.

37. "For I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ; which is far better"; see also chapter 6.

38. Alfred Dürr speaks of an "intensification of rapture in the course of the movement." Dürr, *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach*, 607.

39. Scott C. Milner discusses how both Orthodox Lutheran theology and elements of devotion are represented in Cantatas BWV 161 and 95. Milner, "*Süße Todesstunde* or *Mit Fried und Freud*."

40. Blankenburg, "Mystik in der Musik J.S. Bachs," 48: "If we examine just a few statements on the subject of 'Bach and Mysticism,' then a twofold problem becomes apparent: firstly, the term "mysticism" is used very variously, if anything only as a general characterisation of Bach's music and without explanation of the term . . . ; and secondly—this point seems to me no less important—when it comes to the sacred vocal works, the devotion expressed in the texts set by Bach is automatically regarded as his personal devotion. It is questionable whether or to what extent we are entitled to do this."

41. E.g. Axmacher, *"Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben,"* 166f.; Platen, *Die Matthäus-Passion von Johann Sebastian Bach*, 54–72.

42. Renate Steiger, *Gnadengegenwart. Johann Sebastian Bach im Kontext lutherischer Orthodoxie und Frömmigkeit* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002), 48.

43. On the function of transverse flute and recorder in Bach cf. Annette Hartenstein, *Die Flöte im Vokalwerk Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Master thesis, Utrecht 2001).

44. Cf. Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock*, 268.

45. Cf. Elke Axmacher 1998.

Summary and Perspectives

From Laura to the Heavenly Bridegroom

SUMMARY

The primary aim of this book has been to identify the cultural conventions underlying poetic and musical expressions of mystical love in poetry and music of the German baroque. To allow comparison of these heterogeneous artistic representations, the cultural–historical approaches of discourse analysis and New Historicism have been employed in cross-medial analyses. Through this interdisciplinary methodology the musical expression of the affect of love was analyzed by means of the same criteria as its linguistic–poetic expression. It has been demonstrated that the musical representation of the subject of mystical love was firmly based on a cultural discourse that can be traced back to the Italian Renaissance.

A number of parallels—and also distinctions—may be drawn between the poetic and musical representation of love. Analogies between the poetic and musical expression of love are apparent on three planes: the genesis, conceptual basis, and spiritual application of the poetic love discourse all have parallels in the musical representation of love.

First, in the early seventeenth century, collections of love poems and madrigals were imported in large numbers into Germany and circulated through the country. These forms were thematically and stylistically closely related. Both concentrated thematically on petrarchan love. The conventionalized metaphors of the lover's woes, lovesickness, and the catalogue of beauty in the poems found exact musical equivalents in vivid and emotional madrigalism (chapter 1). In cultural centers such as Leipzig, Dresden, Nuremberg, and Hamburg poets and composers frequently worked together on the production of collections of petrarchan songs or madrigals. The association between text and music in the madrigal style was also discussed in contemporary music

theory: in the study of composition, *musica poetica*, excerpts from madrigals were often cited as examples of a style of composition presenting text. Many German composers published a collection of madrigals before turning to the musical setting of spiritual texts. This fact attests that the madrigal style often functioned as a stylistic exercise in the musical expression of text. Following on Leonard Forster's literary–historical interpretation of petrarchism as a "training in poetic diction" it may be hypothesized that the madrigal functioned similarly as a "training in musical diction" (chapter 2).

With the growth of interest in the artistic representation of human emotions, increasingly precisely defined poetic and musical theories of affect evolved in the course of the seventeenth century. The representation of love was also affectively intensified through various means. The example of the baroque Passion meditation shows how impressively the believer's love for the crucified Christ could be presented through the use of technical virtuosity, vividness, sensualism, and dramaturgic effects. This extremely effective representation of the Passion story accorded with the aims of Lutheran teaching, which was oriented toward emotional compassion: the suffering and death of Christ should awaken horror, empathy, and ultimately, reciprocal love in the believer. The stylistic means employed for this purpose in poetry and music show great similarities (chapter 3).

Second, the popularity of petrarchism in poetry and music was based on widely prevailing cultural conventions. Love was not only a central theme of poetry and music, it was also extolled in writings of varying provenance as the most important human emotion. Christian love played a decisive role in Lutheran theology; moral philosophers based their expositions of love as the root of all human relations upon this theology. Both theologians and philosophers regarded earthly love as a reflection of divine love. For this reason (married) worldly love was described as the highest perfection attainable on earth. Moreover, this affect was similarly defined in all cultural domains: theorists of poetry and music, theologians, and moral philosophers consistently described love in petrarchan metaphors. It was regarded as an ambivalent emotion, in which feelings of joy went hand in hand with feelings of sadness (chapter 4).

The third parallel between the representation of love in poetry and in music manifests itself in the sacred application of secular styles of expression. In the course of the seventeenth century the petrarchan conception of love spread into the realm of spiritual love. Descriptions of mystical love are characterized above all by petrarchan metaphor and language. Devotional theologians and religious poets described the love between the faithful soul and Jesus as a bitter-sweet emotion, in which the believer yearns for the heavenly bridegroom just as acutely as the petrarchists for Laura. It was precisely in this union of petrarchan and mystical styles of expression that Lutheran mysticism differed

from that of the Middle Ages. Whereas medieval mystics could enjoy a temporal union with Jesus in *raptus mysticus*, in the Lutheran concept of *unio mystica* the opposition of God and man prevailed. According to Lutheran anthropology a mystical union between God and man was essentially unattainable; because of his sinful human nature the Lutheran could never be fully united with Christ, the incarnate God. These theological premises led to a sacred love discourse scarcely distinguishable from its secular counterpart in its use of petrarchan love metaphors, intensified expression of affect, and a profusion of devices such as paradoxes, oxymora, and intensifying figures. Jesus was described as a yearning lover, who died in an agony of love on the cross; the temporal union with Jesus in the Eucharist was represented in discourse as a physically attainable love union; and the desire for eschatological *unio mystica* was envisaged as the lover's desire for the heavenly bridegroom. In this way the ambivalence of love was raised to another level: not only did the verbal representation of love oscillate constantly in affect between bitter and sweet, it also oscillated thematically between the secular and sacred spheres (chapter 5).

The musical representation of secular and mystical love progressed in analogous fashion. The madrigal style, which began as the expression of the petrarchan lover's plaint, was the keystone of the musical expression of mysticism in the sacred vocal music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Madrigalian representations of love were employed to depict desire for Jesus; madrigalian motivic duality, which allowed joy and pain to be expressed and heard truly simultaneously, became the basis of the musical love discourse. In this bitter-sweet discourse the various musical parameters were so employed that a continuous simultaneity of sad and happy affects determined the character of the composition. Slow tempi, minor keys, dissonance, chromaticism, and descending melodies—all associated with emotions of sadness—were often combined in musical representations of the subject of mystical love with happier elements such as harmonic consonance, triple meters, strings of semiquavers, and parallel thirds. The bitter or sweet side of love could be highlighted musically in accordance with the particular subject of the composition. If the text described the dying Christ, intensified dissonance and slower tempi were used; if the subject was the encounter of Jesus and the believer in Communion, parallel thirds and strings of semiquavers could musically highlight the joyful feelings of love. As in theology and poetry, a flexible love discourse thus emerged in the music of the baroque, chiefly characterized by petrarchan bitter-sweet (chapters 6 and 7). My investigations have focused on the vocal music of the baroque; a further study of instrumental works with mystical love themes would most certainly produce equally interesting results. Thus, for instance, in Bach's organ chorale prelude *Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele* (BWV 654) parallel thirds and sixths and obbligato coloratura are employed alongside sharp dissonance and chromaticism.[1]

There seems little doubt that Bach also used similar means to those in the vocal compositions described here to represent the subject of mystical love in other instrumental works.

The poetic, theological, and musical examples analyzed in this book show that the petrarchan love discourse received fresh impetus through the theological developments of the seventeenth century. With the revival of mysticism in Lutheran devotional theology the petrarchan idiom acquired new life. It now served not only to represent the lover's bitter-sweet desire for Laura, but also to express mystical desire for the heavenly bridegroom. Although in the early eighteenth century secular petrarchism gradually declined into a gallant conception of love, its sacred counterpart enjoyed a continuing popularity well into the first half of the eighteenth century. Thus in the love discourse of the eighteenth century tradition and innovation existed side by side.[2]

Contrasts may also be demonstrated between the poetic and musical representation of love. These stem from the disparate expressive resources of the two media. Musical representation allows both actual simultaneity of the different affects evoked by love and instantaneous synchronicity of a textual theme and its relation to Christ's Passion; this is not possible in textual media. In treating the subject of mystical love, the penitential desire of a believer for the heavenly bridegroom may, therefore, be presented purely musically with a preliminary reflection of the eschatological union (for example Schein's "O, Herr Jesu Christe," chapter 6). Similarly, the musical representation of Christ's *Liebestod* is often accompanied by the echo of forgiveness and reconciliation (for example the third part of Buxtehude's *Membra Jesu Nostri*, chapter 6). A typical Lutheran application of this multilayered expressive potential in music is the manner in which medieval mysticism, in which man becomes one with God, is added through purely musical means to the dialectic of the Lutheran conception of mysticism (cf. Bach's cantata *Ich geh' und suche mit Verlangen* [BWV 49], chapter 7). The musical simultaneity of the affects of joy and desire provide an exact representation of the abiding opposition of Jesus and the believer in the Lutheran conception of mysticism. In this way musical setting could contribute actively to the adaptation of medieval poems and texts from the Song of Songs to Lutheran devotional theology. Since musical representation could thus reach beyond its texts, music sometimes proved itself a more suitable form than poetry for the representation of the ambivalent affects of mystical love.

PERSPECTIVES

While analogies and contrasts have surfaced in the course of my investigations of poetic and musical love discourses in the German baroque, prob-

lems have also emerged. First, the adaptations of petrarchan love discourse demonstrated here require further elucidation. My investigations principally describe how the secular love discourse was employed to express mystical love and thus gave rise to a sacred equivalent. At the same time, however, it could be argued that petrarchan elements were added to the revived mystical discourse, so that in this sense it was rather a worldly adaptation of the sacred love discourse that took place. In the musical love discourse the borders between styles of secular and sacred origin are also permeable. The madrigalist representation of love began as the musical expression of secular subjects, and the operatic and concert forms used in the cantata and the Passion were associated more with secular than sacred performance practice. Both styles were employed by German composers in the seventeenth century—following the rules of *musica poetica*—to achieve the most conscientious musical setting of the words of sacred texts.[3] Stylistic resources of "secular" origin were combined with "sacred" forms such as the hymn and the polyphony of *stylus gravis*. As a result the musical representation of mysticism in the baroque proves to be a compositional conglomeration of inseparable secular and sacred elements. The question therefore arises whether in the mystical discourse of the German baroque a secular idiom was in fact transformed into a sacred one, or whether, on the contrary, a sacred language was modified in a secular manner.

One of the causes of this ambivalence lies in the ambiguity of the petrarchan discourse itself. The petrarchan language of love is difficult to define, because it came into being as an intertextual focal point of stylistic conventions and evolved accordingly. In the petrarchism of the German baroque three types of intertextuality may be distinguished: that between individual texts, that between complexes of text, and that between cultural discourses. The first type, the most direct intertextuality, began with Petrarch's love poems. Petrarch grew up in the fourteenth century and his expression of love was a continuation of various medieval traditions. He brought together linguistic and conceptual aspects drawn from the classical love poets, the courtly love of the troubadours, and Dante's *dolce stil nuovo*, but also from the Psalms, the Song of Songs, medieval *Frauenmystik*, and the deeply personal religious language of Augustine. As a result the *Canzoniere* provides a mine of intertextual references to the literary background of its author. Because these references stem from both secular and sacred spheres, the dual ambivalence of bitter-sweet and secular-sacred is inherent to the poetic language of petrarchism from the outset. Petrarch's European successors continually quoted him and one another in their works. Moreover, the intertextuality of the love poem also had a social function, as an intellectual game between well-bred courtiers (cf. chapter 1). Because of the intertextual character of the petrarchan style, which was inspired by the contemporary literary culture of *imitatio*, it is often difficult to

distinguish the work of one petrarchist from another. This was equally true of both musical and poetic petrarchism. The madrigal is similarly characterized by an intertextuality that is explained by continuous mutual citation on the part of the madrigal composers; this musical intertextuality gave rise to that uniformity of the madrigal form sometimes labeled clichéd by critics.

German petrarchism is characterized in addition by the second type of intertextuality. The metaphor and imagery of the petrarchan text complex were employed both poetically and musically in the textual complex of medieval mysticism. Conversely, petrarchan language itself draws on precisely this medieval idiom in many of its modes of expression. The result of these reciprocal influences was the genesis of a poetic and musical language whose interpretation was often ambiguous. The two forms were discursively so closely related that in many of the works analyzed here the reader or listener can tell only from the identity of the beloved—Laura or Jesus—whether the subject is worldly or mystical love.

The ambivalence of the German love discourse is best explained against the background of prevailing socio-historical conditions. A comparative discourse analysis of various source materials has disclosed the cultural conventions underlying the cultural love discourse of the time. Love was described as a bitter-sweet affect not only in petrarchan poems and madrigals, but also in the art theory, theology, and moral philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This conception of love applied both to worldly love between a man and a woman and to the sacred love between God and man, or more precisely, the mystical love between Jesus and the faithful soul. Like the poetic discourse, this cultural love discourse—of which art represented only a fraction—was made up of intertextual associations between sacred and secular discursive complexes. In their descriptions of the affect of love poets and composers, theorists of poetics and music, theologians, and moral philosophers alluded as often to petrarchan metaphors as to the imagery of the Song of Songs and medieval mysticism, without indicating the precise origin of their idiom.

Recognition of the intertextually structured "cultural poetics" (Greenblatt) of love has led to a better understanding of baroque love discourse. It was determined by a multilayered ambivalence and constituted an almost inextricable mixture of styles of varying provenance. A metaphor from the Song of Songs could be used alongside a petrarchan image, and this combination could appear in a secular or mystical context alike. On the basis of such intertextual associations mystical poems and their musical settings often come across as secular or even sensuous, although precise identification of specific secular elements might not be possible. Rather than a mystical adaptation of petrarchan language on the one hand or a secular modification of the sacred love idiom on the other, various secular or mystical accents may therefore

be identified within the baroque love discourse; because of its intertextual character it was by no means unequivocal, but could be adapted to represent both secular and sacred love.

It has already been pointed out that a reconstruction of the intentionality of this ambivalent love discourse is very difficult, if not impossible. The baroque poet, theologian, or composer expressed himself in the language in which he had learned to speak and think. However, the pedagogic background of the sacred use of this discourse may be taken into consideration when contemplating its possible intentionality. In devotional practice of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a strong theological emphasis on love. Using theological examples it has been shown in this study that the Lutheran believer was supposed to approach the loving God or Jesus with a deeply felt reciprocal love. By theological definition devotional literature and music always had a practical teaching purpose also. These genres had homiletic functions and thus provided, according to Luther's theology, an important means of communication between God and the believer.[4] In mysticism the affective objective of such poetic or musical sermons—*movere*—was focused on love. The faithful soul should fall in love with her heavenly bridegroom:

> Lernet für allen / was Christen zu wissen /
> Wie sie in Jesu verliebet seyn müssen.
> Das ist die Kunst /
> Auch rechte Brunst /
> Wenn wir gebührlich in diesen befliessen.[5]
>
> Let all be taught / what Christians must know: /
> That they must be in love with Jesus.
> That is art /
> And true passion /
> If we are fittingly zealous in its pursuit.

There was no question of Christian-Stoic moderation of affect in a mystical context. Love for God and Jesus should not be subdued, but actively stimulated and steered. In the dialectically oriented world-view of Lutheranism, what could be a more suitable vehicle of expression for this sacred love than the language of worldly love? The mortal believer could not express his love for God other than in the current language of worldly love. This furnished, in its very imperfection, a linguistic form of the dialectic opposition of God and man: imperfect, carnal love on earth was a reflection of the perfect, heavenly love in which man could participate after death.[6]

It might be interesting to take another look at this situation from an opposing perspective. Is it not possible that the petrarchan love discourse itself, which was based on intertextual quotations from and references to various

sacred and secular sources, may also have *served* devotional theology? In the love scene from *The Name of the Rose* referred to in the introduction, Umberto Eco has shown how the "rules of amorous discourse"[7] could influence the expression and possibly even the perception of love. The novice Adson really sees the young woman approaching him in the abbey as the "black but comely maiden of whom Solomon's Song of Songs speaks."[8] If, then, cultural discourses not only reflect conventions but also govern perception, then the language of love used in religious genres may *itself* have had a pedagogic effect. (Secular) love was an emotion with which all believers were familiar; religious use of a style of expression associated with love, which was equally familiar because it was rooted in widespread cultural discourses, would greatly strengthen the rhetorical–affective effect of a pedagogical work. This effect would thus be not necessarily intentional, but inherent to the performative power of the language employed.

The intertextual character of the petrarchan discourse finally raises the question of its ontology. Does petrarchism really exist? The bitter-sweet heartache of the lover in Petrach's poetry was a continuation of both secular and sacred medieval traditions, and the developments discussed here that led the love discourse "from Laura to the Heavenly Bridegroom" were coupled with a discursive progression "from the Heavenly Bridegroom to Laura." Moreover, the stylised idiom of poetic and musical "petrarchism" has few real connections with the psychologized world-weariness of Petrarch, apart from a certain motivic fine-tuning. Perhaps the paradoxical feelings of love described as petrarchan are of all times. Besides Petrarch, western European poets from Sappho of Lesbos and Hildegard von Bingen to Rainer Maria Rilke and Jacques Brel have described love as an ambivalent emotion. Besides Schütz, Buxtehude, and Bach, western European composers from Guillaume Dufay and John Dowland to Robert Schumann and Samuel Barber have set these texts to music of bitter-sweet affect. There may be, as Roland Barthes has also argued,[9] an "international language of love"[10] which receives fresh artistic impetus with historical regularity. From this angle the poems, theological texts, and musical compositions examined in this study could be viewed as a socio-historically determined episode within such a continual ebb and flow . . .

NOTES

1. Analyzed by Anne Leahy in *Text-Music Relationships in the 'Leipzig' Chorales of Johann Sebastian Bach* (Lanham: Scarecrow, forthcoming).

2. The co-existence of the petrarchan with the more precious love discourse is particularly striking in the work of Erdmann Neumeister. While this poet-theologian

chiefly describes *galant* and precious love in his secular and poetic works, the descriptions of love in his religious writings and collections of sermons are marked by mystical petrarchism.

3. Cf. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Schütz und Gottesdienst. Versuch über das Selbstverständliche* (Stuttgart: Musikwissenschaftliche Verlags-Gesellschaft, 1969), 28: "In contrast, the evangelical-Lutheran concept of music opened the gates to secularisation, and Bach and Schütz may be likened above all in that they systematically accelerated this process."

4. See Johann Anselm Steiger, "The *Communicatio idiomatum* as the Axle and Motor of Luther's Theology," *Lutheran Quarterly*, 14 (2000), 125–158.

5. Peter Hessel, *SANCTA AMATORIA / Geistliche v Gedancken derer d sich allein in ihren Jesum verlieben und nach Ihm für Liebe/ Freude und Begierde immer brennen* (Hamburg: Guth, 1676), 215. See also the examples in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

6. Heide Volckmar Waschk argues that for these very reasons Heinrich Schütz expresses the soul's desire for God in "Ego domio, et cor meum vigilat" / "Vulnerasti cor meum" (*Cantiones Sacrae 11/12*; see chapter 6) with the help of the secular madrigal style. Heide Volckmar-Waschk, *Die "Cantiones Sacrae" von Heinrich Schütz. Entstehung—Texte—Analysen* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2001), 157 ff.

7. Umberto Eco, *The Island of the Day Before* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company, 1995), 6.

8. Umberto Eco, *The Name of the Rose, including the Author's Postscript* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1994).

9. Roland Barthes, *Fragments d'un Discours Amoureux* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1977).

10. Gerard Reve, *De Taal der Liefde* (*The Language of Love*, Amsterdam: Atheneum-Polak en Van Gennep, 1972), 48: "'Write back to me soon. I yearn for you terribly. Do you know that the scent of your body befuddles me, yet at the same time awakens me?' This last line was definitely good, for it was borrowed from one of our greatest poets. 'I embrace you endlessly.' And so forth. The language of love was international."

Appendix

Compositions Discussed in the Text

JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH

Ich geh und suche mit verlangen (BWV 49)
Wer mich liebet, der wird mein Wort halten (BWV 59 und 74)
Nun komm der Heiden Heiland (BWV 62)
Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme (BWV 140)
Komm, du süße Todesstunde (BWV 161)
Ach, ich sehe, itzt, da ich zur Hochzeit gehe (BWV 162)
Schmücke dich, o liebe Seele (BWV 180)
Matthäus-Passion (BWV 244)
Johannes-Passion (BWV 245)
Weihnachts-Oratorium (BWV 248)

DIETERICH BUXTEHUDE

Ich habe Lust abzuscheiden (BuxWV 46)
Ich suchte des Nachts (BuxWV 50)
Liebster, meine Seele saget (BuxWV 70)
Membra Jesu Nostri (BuxWV 75), Kantate III, Ad manus
Membra Jesu Nostri (BuxWV 75), Kantate VI, Ad cor
Membra Jesu Nostri (BuxWV 75), Kantate VII, Ad faciem
Wie schmeckt es so lieblich und wohl (BuxWV 108)

JOHANN HERMANN SCHEIN

O, Herr Jesu Christe
O Sternenäugelein

HEINRICH SCHÜTZ

O dolcezze amarissime d'amore (SWV 2)
Inter brachia salvatoris mei (SWV 82)
Aspice, pater, piissimum filium (SWV 73)
O quam tu pulchra es (SWV 265)
O süßer Jesu, wer an dich recht gedenket (SWV 405)
Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat (SWV 73)
Vulnerasti cor meum (SWV 74)

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