

The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661) and Lutheran Spirituality¹

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Introduction

As did other sixteenth-century church reformers, Martin Luther held firmly to the conviction that churchgoers should both understand and actively participate in public celebrations of worship. This fundamental belief led him to propose a number of radical new ideas to address problems he perceived in the worship culture of the contemporary church. His desire to provide lay people with comprehension of the liturgy and thus a more meaningful worship experience led him to call for the use of the vernacular in worship, and his wish to see parishioners play an active part in worship led him to recommend that they sing during the service. Both of these desiderata, which formed central pillars in Luther's reform agenda, had major implications for the development of music in the church that quickly came to be associated with him and his views. They led first to the active effort, spearheaded by the Reformer himself, to create a distinctive body of German hymns, or chorales, for congregations to sing; so successful was this endeavor that a core repertoire had already been put in place by 1529. The cultivation of this body of chorales, as well as the translation of the scriptures into German by Luther and others, also encouraged the creation of an extensive repertoire of sacred art music in German, one intended for performance by trained singers and instrumentalists during worship services. A major portion of this repertoire involves sophisticated musical treatments of chorales, and of passages of scripture excerpted from the new German translation. Together with the immense corpus of chorale treatments for the organ that also emerged during this period, this is the music that is still most readily identified as "Lutheran" today, and

¹ This article is an expansion of a paper first delivered at the annual meeting of the Society for Seventeenth-Century Music, Eastman School of Music (Rochester N.Y.), 23–26 April, 2009.

that has received the most attention from scholars since at least the early nineteenth century.²

But while the distinctly Lutheran nature of this music is beyond dispute, the almost singular scholarly focus on it over time has resulted in very limited exploration of the other repertoires that continued to adorn liturgies in the majority of Lutheran areas during this period. These include the body of Latin chant that formed part of many Lutheran worship celebrations until at least the early seventeenth century, as well as the body of Latin motets, composed predominantly by Catholics, that dominated the repertoire of Lutheran choirs in the latter half of the sixteenth century.³ While the continued cultivation of these Latin musical elements would seem to represent an obvious departure from two of Luther's foundational worship principles, their inclusion can be explained by another of Luther's primary concerns—the education of the young—and his promotion of the classical education received in Latin schools.⁴ With respect to the seventeenth century, these overlooked repertoires include the devotional music that was widely cultivated by Lutherans after ca. 1600. In one respect, this

2 Carl von Winterfeld (1784-1852) stands as one of the first scholars to focus on Lutheran music; see the discussion of the music of Heinrich Schütz in his study of Giovanni Gabrieli, *Johannes Gabrieli und seine Zeit- und Kunstgenossen während des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts; sein Schüler Heinrich Schütz* (Berlin: Schlesinger'schen Buch- und Musikhandlung, 1834).

3 Two major twentieth-century studies documented just how common was the Lutheran use of Latin (and German) chant and Latin motets in the sixteenth century; these include Johannes Rautenstrauch, *Luther und die Pflege der kirchlichen Musik in Sachsen: 14.–19. Jahrhundert* (1907; repr., Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1970), and Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zur Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1969). Additional studies of these repertoires remain comparatively few.

4 In the preface to his *Deutsche Messe* of 1526, Luther commented, "For in no wise would I want to discontinue the service in the Latin language, because the young are my chief concern," *Luther's Works* 53, ed. Ulrich S. Leupold (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), 63. See also his 1524 letter "To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools," trans. Albert T. W. Steinhauser, *Luther's Works* 45 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962), 347-378, and his 1530 "Sermon on Keeping Children in School," trans. Charles M. Jacobs, *Luther's Works* 46 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 209-258. In 1528, Philipp Melancthon, one of Luther's closest associates, developed a *Schulordnung* (school organization and curriculum) that was widely adopted for use in Lutheran Latin schools; it provided for music instruction during the school day. The expectation, which stemmed from Luther, that the boys in Latin schools would provide music in churches is clear from the liturgical orders developed in various regions under the influence of Luther's Latin (1523) and German (1526) masses; these subsequent orders often provide more elaborate liturgies with Latin elements for towns with Latin schools, and simpler German liturgies for towns without them.

devotional repertoire differs quite fundamentally from the music described above, for although it includes settings of familiar words of comfort, penitence, and supplication, drawn largely from the psalms, it also includes musical treatments of expressions of intense love, longing, and desire for Christ, drawn from a vast repository of hymns and prayers by both medieval and early modern authors. These Christocentric devotional texts represent an entirely new element in the Lutheran musical repertoire, one that first appears in the seventeenth century and takes as its focus the fostering of a close, personal, often mystical relationship between the individual believer and Christ. Devotional music, including works composed by both Lutherans and Catholics, exerted a strong presence in the Lutheran repertoire throughout the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, and contributed an element of personal religiosity that balanced the corporate voice heard in much of the repertoire. Yet today, few scholars are even aware of the existence of this repertoire, or would readily associate it with the concept of “Lutheran music.”

The explanation for the virtual neglect of a vast body of music that enjoyed cultivation in a Lutheran context for so many decades seems to be located in the nature of the texts themselves; at first glance, they would appear to bear scant relationship to Lutheranism, particularly when measured against the texts of the more familiar repertoire of scripture and chorale settings. These tender, passionate, often erotically-charged expressions of mystical love and desire for the second Person of the Trinity seem rather remote from the “stiff” and “cold” orthodoxy with which seventeenth-century Lutheranism has often (but erroneously) been associated. But settings of these devotional texts are strongly represented in numerous contemporary sources: in the music prints issued by Lutheran composers, in the manuscript collections owned by Lutheran institutions, and in the inventories of lost collections once owned by those institutions. All of these sources clearly illustrate the extent to which Lutheran cantors, Kapellmeisters,⁵ and organists composed, copied, and performed Christocentric devotional works during the seventeenth century, and demonstrate that such pieces formed an integral part of their musical contributions to public worship as well as private devotion. These sources also testify to the fact that this decidedly intimate, Christ-centered repertoire was not only immensely popular, but was also widely regarded as consonant with Lutheran teaching in the sev-

5 This group includes a few Italian musicians serving in Lutheran courts.

enteenth century. Thus this large corpus of music, long in widespread use by the adherents of a major confessional body in early modern Europe, warrants scholarly attention; not only are its origins and sustained period of cultivation of interest, but also its complex and intriguing relationship to Lutheranism itself.

Christocentric Devotional Music in the Lutheran Repertoire

The repertoire of sacred art music in Lutheran use during the seventeenth century included nearly one thousand settings of devotional texts,⁶ chiefly in the form of motets and sacred concertos intended for performance during celebrations of worship.⁷ In addition, the repertoire of *Hausmusik*, intended for use in the home, also included many devotional works (see below). The patterns of dissemination of the repertoire of devotional works intended for liturgical use reflect those of sacred music in Germany in general. Until around 1660, most Lutheran composers and editors regularly offered music to the public in prints that were purchased for both public and private use. Throughout the seventeenth century, however, many Lutheran musicians (cantors, organists, etc.) also supplemented their own collections, or those of their institutions, with copies of music in manuscript. At first, most works were copied from prints, but after ca. 1660, when the number of prints began to decline precipitously, many new compositions by musicians working in Germany were never published, but instead, circulated only in manuscript.⁸ Thus manuscript transmission gradually overtook print as the predominant means by which sacred art music was circulated and acquired. Some of the largest manuscript collections were amassed in the latter half of the seventeenth century, at this time of

6 From this point on, “devotional music” will be used to refer to that part of the repertoire that is Christocentric in nature.

7 This rough estimate, which includes some lost works, derives from the author’s examination of the prints and individual compositions in manuscript listed in nearly 200 inventories of extant and lost music collections of seventeenth-century Lutheran institutions. Of these inventories, about thirty include only music from the sixteenth century. The rest include either music of the seventeenth century alone, or both sixteenth- and seventeenth-century repertoire. Of the inventories in this larger group, 106 are extensive, while the balance remain incomplete, and report only a few items.

8 This would include the works of Vincenzo Albrici, Nicolaus Bruhns, Dieterich Buxtehude, Balthasar Erben, Kaspar Förster, Christian Geist, Sebastian Knüpfer, Johann Valentin Meder, Giuseppe Peranda, Johann Schelle, and many others.

the decline of print transmission.⁹ Only a few of these collections survive today, however; most are known only through inventories.

Both types of music collections, print and manuscript, included works of devotional sacred art music by both Lutherans and Catholics, and both types reflect the same general trends with respect to textual content, in that devotional settings generally form (or formed) between five and fifteen percent of the total.¹⁰ Many Lutheran composers included devotional music in their publications; these include (with the approximate number of relevant prints) Melchior Franck (9), Stephan Faber (1), Heinrich Hartmann (2), Michael Altenburg (4), Johann Staden (2), Valentin Dretzel (1), Johann Dilliger (1), Thomas Schattenberg (1), Heinrich Schütz (4), Daniel Friderici (1), Erasmus Widmann (1), Johann Thuring (1), Andreas Hammer-schmidt (11), Samuel Scheidt (1), Johannes Werlin (1), Christoph Werner (1), Johann Rosenmüller (2), Johann Rudolph Ahle (12), Sigismund Ranis-ius (1), Samuel Capricornus (10), Christian Sartorius (1), Michael Trümper (2), Julius Johann Weiland (1), Augustin Pfleger (1), Martin Jahn (1), Christoph Peter (1), Georg Schmetzer (1), Wolfgang Carl Briegel (6), and Johann Albrecht Kress (2).¹¹ Catholic composers include those whose music was composed for a Lutheran context, such as Andreas Hakenberger (1), Vin-zenzo Albrici, and Giuseppe Peranda (both of whose music was transmitted in manuscript), or those whose music was more generally appropriated for Lutheran use, such as Viadana, Grandi, Monteverdi, Rovetta, Carissimi, Ca-sati, Della Porta, Sances, Sabbatini, Gletle, Kerll, Schmelzer, and a number of others. Before 1660, works of these and other Italians often appeared in anthologies edited for Lutheran use, such as the two sets of *Geistlicher wolklingender Concerten* (Nordhausen, 1637 and 1638), the *Varii variorum* (Dresden, 1643), the anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (see below), and the volume edited by Johann Havemann, *Jesu hilf / Erster Theil Geistlicher Con-*

9 These include the manuscript collections amassed in Brandenburg-Ansbach, Dresden, Freyburg/Unstrut, Gottorf (Bokemeyer collection), Grimma, Halle, Helmstedt, Langen-burg, Leipzig, Löbau, Luckau, Lüneburg, Merseburg, Pirna, Querfurt, Rudolstadt, Sanger-hausen, Schneeberg, Schweinfurt, Weimar, Weissenburg, and Weissenfels.

10 In arriving at these percentages, settings of liturgical texts (including the Kyrie, Glo-ria, Credo, Litany, Latin Vesper psalms, the Magnificat, and the Te Deum) were omitted from the totals, in an effort to reflect the percentage of devotional content in that part of the collection from which settings of non-liturgical texts would be selected for perfor-mance during the liturgy, most commonly after the Gospel, after the sermon, and during communion.

11 See the list of prints in appendix I.

certen (Berlin / Jena 1659); other works by Catholic composers circulated in manuscript. Devotional music by German composers also appeared in manuscript collections; this includes music by Capricornus, Förster, Forchheim, J. W. Franck, J. P. Krieger, Pohle, Rosenmüller, Schmetzer, Kress, and others. In addition, a considerable number of works in the manuscript collections circulated without attribution. Dieterich Buxtehude's important contributions to devotional music later in the century represent somewhat of an anomaly; the majority of his works survive in the Düben collection in Uppsala, Sweden, and only a few appear in German collections and inventories.¹²

But in addition to this repertoire conceived for liturgical use, Lutheran composers also produced a considerable amount of music designed to aid devotions in the home and in other private settings. This sacred *Hausmusik*, much of which is also Christocentric in nature, forms an important corollary to the art music performed by trained musicians in church; it features a wide variety of musical genres, including sacred songs and arias,¹³ motets and sacred concertos,¹⁴ new devotional hymns,¹⁵ and homophonic (or cantionale-style) settings of the latter.¹⁶ Thus the overall repertoire of

12 See Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude, Organist in Lübeck*, 2nd ed. (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2008), 319–22, 330–31.

13 Such as Johann Rist, *Himmlische Lieder* (pts. 1–5, Lüneburg 1641–42); Johann Rudolph Ahle, *Erstes / Anderes Zehn neuer geistlicher Arien* (two volumes, Mühlhausen 1660; followed by the *Drittes and Viertes Zehn* in 1662), Constantin Christian Dedekind, *Süßer Mandel-Kärnen* (Dresden 1664, 1665), Christoph Peter, *Geistliche Arien* (Guben 1667), and other collections. The collections of Ahle, Dedekind, and Peter are found in a few school and church inventories, which suggests that the works included may also have been performed during worship services.

14 For example, Michael Altenburg, *Christliche Kirchen- und Hausgesänge* (pts. 1–4, Erfurt 1620–21), Johann Staden, *Hauss-Music, geistliche Gesäng* (pts. 1–4, Nürnberg 1623–28; reissued as a single set, Nürnberg 1646), and Johann Dilliger, *Musica Christiana-Cordialis-Domestica, oder Christliche Hauß und Hertzens Musica* (Coburg 1625, rev. 1630). Altenburg's collection consists mostly of motets and polyphonic liturgical music, and appears intended primarily for choirs; it is found in a significant number of school and church inventories, while Dilliger's appears in only a few.

15 The new hymns, which include *Herzliebster Jesu* and *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*, familiar from the Passion settings of Bach, were produced by the hundreds—if not thousands—by theologian-poets such as Paul Gerhardt, Johann Heermann, Christian Keimann, Johann Rist, and others, and were set to music by such composers as Johann Crüger and Johann Schop. See the former's *Praxis pietatis melica* (Berlin 1647), which went through numerous editions, and other seventeenth-century hymnals.

16 See, for example, Johann Crüger, *Geistliche Kirchen-Melodien* (Leipzig 1649), Christoph Peter, *Andachts-Zymbeln* (Guben 1655), and *D. M. Luthers ... Geistliche Lieder und*

devotional music in Lutheran use was extensive, was intended for use in a variety of contexts, and was aimed at performers of different levels of ability. Overall, it testifies to the efforts of composers to provide musical aids to devotion for both the public and private spheres of Lutheran spirituality.

Locating Devotional Music within Lutheran Spirituality

In addition to responding to the priorities of Luther's original worship agenda, which privileged congregational involvement and the use of the local language, the portion of Lutheran music that is today regarded as more traditional—chorale treatments and scripture settings—can also boast of strong confessional ties, as it both reflects and helps to reinforce various tenets of Lutheran doctrine. But the confessional roots of the devotional music cultivated during the seventeenth century, while different in nature, are no less deep, for this music also emerged out of a Lutheran context—that of private devotion. The collective efforts of the historians, theologians, and sociologists who have explored seventeenth-century Lutheran devotion since the mid-twentieth century have demonstrated that Lutheranism witnessed a new emphasis on personal piety (*Frömmigkeit*) in the mid- to later sixteenth century, one that intensified significantly in the early decades of the seventeenth century, and continued as a vital force well into the eighteenth century.¹⁷ The earlier phenomenon, which was somewhat akin to a religious awakening, has been identified as “the new piety,” or *die neue Frömmigkeit*; it has also been described as the Lutheran “piety movement” or *Frömmigkeitsbewegung*.¹⁸

Psalmen (Berlin 1647), and Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Fest- Buß- und Danklieder* (Dresden, Zittau 1658–59). Such collections were often intended for home, school, and church use.

17 This era of *Frömmigkeit* preceded the development of the related (but not identical) movement of Pietism (*Pietismus*) by at least a century. The appearance of Pietism *per se* is often dated to the 1675 publication of Phillip Spener's *Pia Desideria*, which first appeared as the preface to a volume of sermons by Johann Arndt. For an overview of the later phenomenon, see Martin Brecht and Johannes van den Berg, *Geschichte des Pietismus; Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), and Martin Brecht et al., *Geschichte des Pietismus; Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995).

18 As found in Brecht and van den Berg, *Geschichte des Pietismus; Der Pietismus vom siebzehnten bis zum frühen achtzehnten Jahrhundert*, “Das Aufkommen der neuen Frömmigkeitsbewegung in Deutschland,” 142–51. Ingeborg Röbbelen uses the phrase “‘neue’ Frömmigkeit” to distinguish seventeenth-century piety from that of the Luther era (*Theol-*

In their studies of Lutheran piety in the seventeenth century, scholars have identified most of the major figures involved, virtually all of whom were theologians, and articulated their principal goal: the revitalization of a moribund Lutheran church—one in which the fire of the Reformation was perceived to have been nearly extinguished—by encouraging its individual members to cultivate an intense life of prayer and meditation.¹⁹ Virtually all of this scholarship has emphasized the centrality of the literary products of these theologians to this revitalization effort—the several hundred devotional manuals, books of meditations, prayer books, collections of sermons, hymnals, and other publications that appeared during this era and were designed for the use of literate church members at home. Church historians in particular have studied many of the devotional texts authored, collated, and edited by these sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theologians,²⁰ and have also revealed the importance of medieval mysticism to Lutheran piety, particularly as transmitted in the works of Bernard of Clairvaux and other medieval writers.²¹ Outside the realm of church history *per se*, a significant

ogie und Frömmigkeit im deutschen evangelisch-lutherischen Gesangbuch des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957], 64 and *passim*), while Winfried Zeller adopts the phrase “Die neue Frömmigkeit” (“The new piety”) to describe this phenomenon in the early decades of the seventeenth century in the influential introduction to his *Der Protestantismus des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bremen: R. Brockhaus, 1962), xiii–lxvi. Since that time, other scholars have also adopted the phrase as a descriptor for this period; among musicologists, this includes Friedrich Blume in his *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), 186–92.

19 See, for example, Udo Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform in der lutherischen Kirche des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen; Mohr Siebeck, 1995).

20 These studies are too numerous to list, but include works by Elke Axmacher, Angela Baumann-Koch, Christian Braw, Martin Brecht, Christian Bunners, Günter Butzer, Klára Erdei, Ferdinand van Ingen, Manfred Jakubowski-Tiessen, Ernst Koch, Traugott Koch, Ulrich Köpf, Gerhard Kurz, Eric Lund, Hans-Wilhelm Pietz, Hans Schneider, Wolfgang Sommer, Johann Anselm Steiger, Udo Sträter, Bernard Vogler, Johannes Wallmann, and Winfried Zeller, among many others.

21 See, for example, Ulrich Köpf, “Die Rezeptions- und Wirkungsgeschichte Bernhards von Clairvaux. Forschungsstand und Forschungsaufgaben,” and Ernst Koch, “Die Bernhard-Rezeption im Luthertum des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts,” both in *Bernhard von Clairvaux. Rezeption und Wirkung im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, ed. Kaspar Elm (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 5–65, 333–51, as well as Hans Schneider, “Johann Arndt als Lutheraner?” in *Die lutherische Konfessionalisierung in Deutschland. Wissenschaftliches Symposium des Vereins für Reformationgeschichte 1988*, ed. Hans-Christoph Rublack (Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1992), 274–98. For discussions of the Lutheran understanding of mystical union, see the essays in *Unio: Gott und Mensch in der nachreformatorischen Theologie. Referate des Symposiums der Finnischen Theologischen Literaturgesellschaft in Helsinki 15.–16. November 1994*, ed. Matti Repo and Rainer Vinke (Helsinki: Luther-Agricola Gesellschaft, 1996).

amount of work on the various manifestations of Lutheran piety has also been done by cultural historians, sociologists, hymnologists, art historians, and others, who have examined such phenomena as home devotions (*Hausandacht*) and church services in the home (*Hauskirche*),²² the sociological implications of this new middle-class piety,²³ and the influence of Lutheran piety on the visual arts,²⁴ poetry,²⁵ homiletics,²⁶ and hymnody.²⁷ When one delves into the devotional literature of the period, and into this rich body of scholarly literature on piety, the relationship between the repertoire of devotional music under discussion here and this aspect of Lutheran spiritual life quickly becomes evident, for such an examination reveals the many

22 For example, Patrice Veit, "Die Hausandacht im deutschen Luthertum: Anweisungen und Praktiken," in *Gebetsliteratur der Frühen Neuzeit als Hausfrömmigkeit. Funktionen und Formen in Deutschland und in den Niederlanden*, ed. Cornelia Niekus-Moore and Ferdinand van Ingen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), 193–206.

23 See, for example, Hartmut Lehmann, "The Cultural Importance of the Pious Middle Classes in Seventeenth-Century Protestant Society," trans. Ian Waite, in *Religion and Culture in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800*, ed. Kaspar von Greyerz (London: George Allen & Unwin 1984), 33–41.

24 Such as Martin Scharfe, *Evangelische Andachtsbilder. Studien zu Intention und Funktion des Bildes in der Frömmigkeitsgeschichte vornehmlich des schwäbischen Raumes* (Stuttgart: Verlag Müller & Gräff, 1968); Eva-Marie Bangerter-Schmidt, *Erbauliche illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahren 1570–1670* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1986); Bridget M. Heal, "The Catholic eye and the Protestant ear: the Reformation as a non-visual event?" in *The Myth of the Reformation* ed. Peter Opitz (Hildesheim: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 321–55. and *A magnificent faith: art and identity in Lutheran Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

25 Examples include Carl-Alfred Zell, *Untersuchungen zum Problem der geistlichen Barocklyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Dichtung Johann Heermanns (1585–1647)* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1971); Hans-Henrik Krummacher, *Der Junge Gryphius und die Tradition: Studien zu den Perikopensonetten und Passionsliedern* (Munich: Fink, 1976); Johann Anselm Steiger, ed., "Ewigkeit, Zeit ohne Zeit": *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Geburtstag des Dichters und Theologen Johann Rist* (Neuendettelsau: Freimund, 2007), and Isabella van Elferen, *Mystical Love in the German Baroque: Theology, Poetry, Music* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 151–224.

26 See, for example, Oliver Pfefferkorn, *Übung der Gottseligkeit: die Textsorten Predigt, Andacht und Gebet im deutschen Protestantismus des späten 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2005), and Stefan Michel and Andres Straßberger, eds., *Eruditio – Confessio – Pietas: Kontinuität und Wandel in der lutherischen Konfessionskultur am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts; das Beispiel Johann Benedikt Carpozovs (1639–1699)* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2009). See also the discussion of the "failure of the sermon" and efforts to reach listeners in Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*, 73–100.

27 In contrast to the other aspects of this devotional repertoire, the hymns have received a considerable amount of scholarly attention, from scholars such as Elke Axmacher, Walter Blankenburg, Christian Bunners, Hans-Georg Kemper, Irmgard Röbbelen, Irmgard Scheitler, Patrice Veit, and others.

striking similarities between the ideas expressed in the texts of this music and those found in devotional books from this period.

The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe

As the introduction above has tried to suggest, the repertoire of devotional music in Lutheran use in the seventeenth century is both substantial and diverse. Given the sheer number of works involved, any attempt to address this body of music and the many questions that it raises remains a daunting challenge. But one might profitably begin by examining a smaller but representative segment of the repertoire, in order to gain some insight into the nature of this large corpus of Christocentric music, and how it might be construed as “Lutheran.” A central set of publications from this period, the anthologies edited and published for the Lutheran market by the Breslau organist Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661), provides ideal source material for such an undertaking. The many devotional selections in Profe’s anthologies are highly representative of those in the overall musical repertoire in Lutheran use by the 1640s, and the content of his volumes also helps to demonstrate the extent to which devotional music had permeated the Lutheran repertoire by that time.²⁸ The overall popularity of his volumes, as evidenced by their presence in many of the Lutheran collections whose content is known today, also points to the centrality of such works in the overall performed repertoire. At least one of Profe’s volumes appears in thirty-three, or well over a quarter, of the 106 extensive inventories of music collections (both extant and lost) of German Lutheran Latin schools, churches, and courts examined by the author.²⁹ Most of the institutions represented, however, owned more than one volume. By comparison, Schütz’s *Symphoniae sacrae* II of 1647 appears in twenty-two of these same inventories, while Andreas Hammerschmidt’s *Musicalische Andachten*

28 For a survey of the devotional repertoire of the previous decades (ca. 1600-40), see Mary E. Frandsen, “Music and Lutheran Devotion in the Schütz Era,” *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 33 (2011): 41–73.

29 This total includes volumes listed in inventories, as well as those listed in the RISM A/I catalog that can be associated with a particular town or church. For a description of the entire body of inventories examined, see note 7.

II of 1641 appears in forty-five.³⁰ In addition, a number of copies whose seventeenth-century owners cannot be determined also survive in various libraries, including the Sibley Music Library of the Eastman School of Music, which owns a copy of Part IV from 1646. This set (like some others) provides a strong witness to the popularity of the music published by Profe, for performance markings have been added to all of the works included in the set.³¹

Profe, an organist, studied theology in Wittenberg, and then taught briefly at St. Elizabeth's school in Breslau (now Wrocław in Poland). He subsequently served for more than a decade as cantor in a Lutheran school in another Silesian town, but in 1629, when that region was re-Catholicized, he returned to Breslau and went into business. From 1633 to 1649, he also served as organist at the Church of St. Elizabeth in Breslau, but his tenure came to an abrupt end when the organ was destroyed by a partial collapse of the church.³² Profe seems to have been an assiduous collector of contemporary Italian music, an activity that was facilitated by his business associations; through these he accumulated a large collection of Italian prints.³³ Today, however, he is best known as a music editor: between 1641 and 1649 he edited six anthologies of sacred music; one or another volume was available for purchase in most years through 1657.³⁴

30 Hammerschmidt's collection also appears in twelve additional, incomplete inventories, each of which includes five or fewer items.

31 Thanks to David Peter Coppen, Head of Special Collections at Sibley, for his help in the effort to determine the seventeenth-century owner of the print.

32 *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Ambrosius Profe," by Fritz Feldmann and Dorothea Schröder, accessed April 13, 2013.

33 Profe's collection subsequently passed to Daniel Sartorius (ca. 1611–1671), a teacher at St. Elizabeth's school in Breslau, and then to St. Elizabeth, one of the city churches in Breslau; see Barbara Wiermann, "Die Musikaliensammlungen und Musikpflege im Umkreis der St. Elisabethkirche Breslau. Kirchliches und bürgerliches Musikleben im Kontrast," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 30 (2008): 93–109, here p. 102. For an inventory of the collection, see Emil Bohn, *Bibliographie der Musik-Druckwerke bis 1700 welche in der Stadtbibliothek, der Bibliothek des Akademischen Instituts für Kirchenmusik und der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau aufbewahrt werden. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im XV., XVI., und XVII. Jahrhundert* (1883; repr., Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969).

34 Karl Albert Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien* (1902; repr., Hilversum: Knuf, 1965), 34, entry no. 620, cited in Kristin M. Sponheim, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe (1589–1661) and the Transmission of Italian Music in Germany" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1995), 8, fn. 21.

Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien (Leipzig, 1641)
Ander Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien (Leipzig, 1641)
Dritter Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien (Leipzig, 1642)
Cunis solennibus. Jesuli Recens-Nati Sacra Genethliaca ([n. p.], 1646)
Vierdter und letzter Theil Geistlicher Concerten (Leipzig, 1646)
Corollarium Geistlicher Collectaneorum (Leipzig, 1649)

Music by Italian composers dominates Profe's anthologies, which made works by Monteverdi, Grandi, Rovetta, and Sances widely available to Lutherans. He supplemented this core repertoire with music by lesser-known Italians, such as Aloisi, Arrigoni, Donati, Honorio, and Sabbatini. Profe also included a motet by the Milanese nun Chiara Margarita Cozzolani in his 1649 collection; this likely represents the first work by a female composer to appear in a collection designed for Lutheran use. Despite his unmistakable preference for Italian music, however, Profe did incorporate some compositions by German Lutherans, among them Hieronymus Praetorius, Schütz, Vierdanck, and Ranisius.

In each volume, Profe included music in a range of contemporary genres, from sacred concertos and motets to mass movements, concerted Vesper psalms, and Magnificats. But it is the motets and sacred concertos that prove most interesting in the context of Lutheran devotion, for their texts, many of which are substitutes for the originals,³⁵ attest to Profe's decided preference for musical settings of Christocentric, often mystical prayers and hymns; such works constitute between twenty and nearly fifty percent of the non-liturgical works in each of the five volumes under consideration here.³⁶ Among the texts in Profe's collections, one finds traditional Latin prayers, stanzas drawn from medieval devotional

35 These sacred contrafacta, together with Profe's important role in the dissemination of Italian music in Germany in general, have commanded most of the attention from scholars to date. The most recent and extensive study of Profe's anthologies is that of Sponheim ("The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe"), who identified most of Profe's source prints and discussed his contrafacta.

36 The author has not yet been able to examine Profe's 1646 anthology of Christmas pieces addressed to the infant Jesus, *Cunis solennibus*, and thus it is not considered in this study. See note 10 above on the exclusion of mass settings and vesper psalms from the totals used to calculate these percentages. In chapter 2, "Profe's Criteria for Selection of the Contents of his Anthologies," Sponheim has a brief discussion of devotional texts, and cites only Blume as a reference; she draws no connection between these pieces and the contemporary religious context. In her list of textual sources, she lists these as "free" and makes no attempt to identify them ("The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe," 238–45). The

hymns, texts developed from or inspired by medieval devotional writings, “de-Marianized” texts that have been re-addressed to Christ, paraphrases of scriptural passages, often freely extended with new material,³⁷ and composite texts developed from two or more of these sources.³⁸ Despite their diverse nature, they are linked through their formulation as personal prayers to Christ, and their ardent expressions of love for Him. In the mystical content and personalized language of their texts, which contrast so strongly with the communal expressions of belief embedded in many scripture and chorale settings, these settings seem to strain the very definition of “Lutheran music.” But when the content of the prayers found in this body of musical works – including those borrowed from the Catholic repertoire – is measured against that of the devotional literature popular with contemporary Lutherans, much of which is strongly informed by medieval mysticism, a surprising degree of congruence emerges. In fact, all of the devotional texts in Profe’s anthologies either appear in contemporary devotional books, or were clearly inspired by the language and wellspring of ideas found in those volumes. This relationship to the devotional books is key, for it is these publications in the aggregate that form the primary evidence adduced by church historians for the emergence and growth of the Lutheran piety movement. The close associations between this body of music and the devotional literature help to affirm the intrinsic “Lutheranness” of this repertoire, and also further attest to the centrality of mystical devotion to Lutheran piety.³⁹ And the works them-

devotional nature of many of the texts also remains unmentioned by Dorothea Schröder in her biographical article on Profe in *Grove Music Online* (accessed April 25, 2013).

37 For example, Martini Pesenti, *Tu cognovisti Domine*, in Profe, *Dritter Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien* (Leipzig 1642); source unidentified by Sponheim, “The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe,” 234; the text constitutes a paraphrase of Ps. 138: 2–5, 7–12, 14. Another example, not in Profe, is *Quis dabit capiti meo* by Capricornus (*Theatrum musicum* I, Würzburg 1669), no. 11.

38 For an example of a composite text, see Sances, *Plagae tuae Domine*, in: Profe, *Corollarium geistliche Collectaneorum*. Steven Saunders has identified the sources of the text; see his edition of Giovanni Felice Sances, *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci 1638*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 126 (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2003), xxix.

39 Seventeenth-century Lutheran theologians, however, engaged in a lengthy discourse on the relationship between mysticism and Lutheran theology, in which they sought to bring aspects of mystical theology into conformity with the doctrine of justification. See Theodor Mahlmann, “Die Stellung der unio cum Christo in der lutherischen Theologie des 17. Jahrhunderts,” in *Unio. Gott und Mensch*, 72–200.

selves also witness to the vital contribution that musicians made to the efforts to revitalize Lutheran spirituality in the seventeenth century.⁴⁰

As an initial example of the degree to which Profe's textual selections, particularly those that are mystical in nature, resonate with the themes and concepts of Lutheran devotion, one might consider a motet by Tarquinio Merula from the Breslau editor's first volume of 1641, where it appears under the title *O Jesu mi dulcissime*. As Sponheim first determined, Profe replaced Merula's original text, the hymn *O salutaris hostia*, with two Latin stanzas from the well-known medieval hymn *Jesu dulcis memoria* (str. 28/23, 29/24).⁴¹ This textual substitution reflects one of Profe's general editorial practices; he replaced secular texts, as well as sacred texts that appeared incompatible with Lutheran tenets, with substitutes by an unnamed "parodist," most likely a local scholar or theologian; in some cases, however, the parodist may have been Profe himself.⁴²

40 For a discussion of this overall renewal effort, see Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*.

41 From Merula's *Pegaso Opra Musicale* (Venice 2/1640; see Sponheim, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe," 233). The double numbering reflects the stanza numbering of both Wackernagel and Wilmar; see Philipp Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied* (1864; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1964): I: 117–19, and Dom André Wilmar, OSB, *Le 'Jubilus' dit de Saint Bernard* (Rome: Edizione di Storia e letteratura, 1944), 146–55, 183–97.

42 Sponheim states that "Profe (or someone in his employ) substituted German or Latin texts for the original Italian or Latin ones," and refers simply to the "parodist" from that point on ("The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe," 129). Given the familiarity with Lutheran devotional writings displayed in these texts, one can imagine Profe's collaborator to have been someone well-schooled in theology. Wiermann presents evidence from the diary of Elias Major, Profe's brother-in-law and the rector of the Gymnasium affiliated with the Church of St. Elizabeth, that Profe performed pieces from his collection at Major's home ("Die Musikaliensammlungen," 103). Given that the educational level required of a Latin school rector would easily have provided him with the qualifications needed to develop these contrafacta, Major could easily have served as one of Profe's collaborators.

Tarquinio Merula (1594/5-1665), O Jesu mi dulcissime

O Jesu mi dulcissime, spes suspirantis animae, te quaerunt piae lacrimae, te clamor mentis intimae.	<i>O my sweetest Jesus, hope of the sighing soul, my pious tears and the cry of my innermost soul seek thee.</i>
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Quocunque loco fuero, Jesum meum ⁴³ desidero quam ⁴⁴ laetus, cum invenero, quam felix, cum tenuero. Amen	<i>In whatever place I may be, I desire my Jesus: how happy, when I find him, how blessed, when I hold him. Amen.⁴⁵</i>
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Profe (or a collaborator) doubtless made the substitution to avoid the theological issues regarding transubstantiation that the text of the original hymn, associated with the Feast of Corpus Christi, might have raised for Lutherans. But the substitution also situates the composition squarely within the realm of Lutheran spirituality, for this medieval Breviary hymn, which is also known as the *Jubilus Bernhardi* due to its traditional attribution to St. Bernard of Clairvaux,⁴⁶ was one of the most important devotional hymns in the Lutheran repertoire. The hymn circulated in publications by and for both Catholics and Lutherans, generally with forty-seven to fifty stanzas; it had entered the Lutheran sphere by at least the mid-sixteenth century, for it appears in a 1564 publication of the Lutheran classical scholar Georg Fabricius.⁴⁷ It also appeared in the 1609 anthology of Bernard's writings

43 Altered from (or misprinted) "mecum Jesum desidero": "I desire Jesus with me."

44 Usually "quod."

45 This and the other Latin devotional texts discussed in this article were translated by Nicole Eddy.

46 The hymn has since been de-attributed; see Wilmart, *Le 'Jubilus' dit de Saint Bernard*, 64-66.

47 Georg Fabricius, *Poetarum veterum ecclesiasticorum opera Christiana, & operum reliquiae atq; fragmenta: Thesaurus Catholicae et Orthodoxae ecclesiae, & Antiquitatis religiosae, ad utilitatem iuventutis Scholasticae* (Basel 1564), cols. 810-815: "Hymni de Nomine Iesu: Auctoris incerti. Ad matutinam: [st. 1-6]; Ad primam [st. 7-15]; Ad tertiam [st. 16-21]; Ad sextam [st. 22-28]; Ad nonam [st. 29-34]; Ad uesperas [st. 35-40]; Ad completorium

published by Samuel Cuno, a Lutheran theologian.⁴⁸ More important for its use as an aid to Lutheran devotion, however, was its inclusion in the influential prayer book of the theologian Johann Arndt (1555-1621), a seminal figure in the Lutheran *Frömmigkeitsbewegung*. Arndt's *Paradies-Gärtlein* (*Paradiß-Gärtlein*), or "Little Garden of Paradise,"⁴⁹ first appeared in 1612 and went through numerous editions; at least twenty-nine had appeared by 1650.⁵⁰ Not only did the prayers in this volume serve Lutherans in their private devotional practices, they also inspired numerous hymns, and later came into liturgical use in some locations.⁵¹ At the end of his volume, Arndt included a Latin version of *Jesu dulcis memoria* with 48 stanzas, and a German rhymed paraphrase of 18 stanzas that begins "O Jesu süß, wer dein

[st. 41–47]." The text as presented by Fabricius lacks st. 15, 16, 18, and 45 as found in Wackernagel, and includes st. 11 twice (also as st. 37); the order of stanzas also differs somewhat.

48 Samuel Cuno, *ORATORIVM B. BERNHARDI ABBATIS CLAREVALLENSIS Latino-germanicum. Ex scriptis eius collectum Per Samuelem Cunonem Archidiacon. Eccl. Hallensis Liber pius et devotus* (Halle/Salle 1609); Cuno provided translations of the Latin texts; that of *Jesu dulcis memoria* is in poetic form, but is not the same German text published by Arndt in 1612.

49 *Paradiß Gärtlein/ Voller Christlicher Tugenden/ wie dieselbige in die Seele zu pflantzen/ Durch Andächtige/ lehrhaffte vnd trösliche Gebet/ zu ernewerung des Bildes Gottes/ zur vbung des wahren lebendigen Christenthumbs/ zu erweckung des neuen Geistlichen Lebens/ zur dancksagung für allerley Wolthaten Gottes/ zum Trost im Creutz vnd Trübsal/ zur heiligung/ lob vnd preiß des Namens Gottes. . . . Die ander Edition vermehret vnd verbessert/ Durch IOANNEM ARNDT, General Superintendenten des Fürstenthumbs Lüneburg/ etc. Mit Churf. Sächsischer Freyheit/ etc. Zu Magdeburg bey Johan Francken. Im Jahr 1615.* [First edition 1612.]

50 The total derives from searches in *Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts* <<http://www.vd16.de>> (the database also includes prints from the seventeenth century) and WorldCat <<http://firstsearch.oclc.org>> (accessible through proxy libraries). According to Paul Althaus, after Habermann's *Christliche Gebet* (Nürnberg 1567), Arndt's *Paradies-Gärtlein* was the most widely distributed prayer book of the Lutheran church; see Althaus, *Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1927; rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966), 152. It is likely that the number of editions is higher, as the *Paradies-Gärtlein* was also published together with some hymns, such as the *Neu Lüneburgisch-vollständig wolverbessertes Gesangbuch* of 1656. The same searches for Habermann's prayer book turn up thirty-eight editions between 1567 and 1650, nine of which appeared between 1612 and 1650.

51 Althaus cites a number of hymns by Heermann, Rist, Gerhardt, and others that were inspired by Arndt's prayers (*Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur*, 152–53); Gerhardt's rhymed paraphrases of Arndt's prayers were first published by Crüger in the 1653 edition of *Praxis pietatis melica*. Paul Graf cites the use of Arndt's prayers from 1691 in the *Hauptgottesdienst* in Erbach and Essen; see *Geschichte der Auflösung der alten gottesdienstlichen Formen in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), I: 123, 161, fn. 2.

gedenckt.”⁵² Although Stephan Faber, a Lutheran, had set the Latin text already in 1607,⁵³ most Lutheran musical treatments of the hymn postdate Arndt’s prayer book. One finds cycles of compositions, such as those by Hakenberger (1612, r/1628), Schattenberg (1620), Franck (1626), Trümper (1657), and Capricornus (1660), in which the composer has set the entire Latin hymn, but also numerous settings of a few selected stanzas.⁵⁴ The German version published by Arndt also became popular among composers, among them Ahle, Capricornus, Rosenmüller, and Schütz.⁵⁵ A significant number of other German paraphrases of the hymn also appeared, including one in alexandrine verse by the poet Johann Heermann, stanzas from which were set by Schütz and others.⁵⁶ The Latin hymn text resonates throughout the devotional repertoire; allusions to it, as well as direct quo-

52 In an edition of the *Paradies-Gärtlein* published in Magdeburg in 1615, the Latin hymn appears on pp. 665–73, and the German version on pp. 674–79. The latter comprises rhymed paraphrases of 18 specific stanzas, and is not a condensed version of the entire hymn. (The author, who is thought not to be Arndt, is still unknown.)

53 *Cantiones aliquod trium vocum: juxta duodecim modorum seriem* (Nürnberg 1607); modern edition in *Denkmäler der Musik in Baden-Württemberg* 10, ed. Andreas Traub, Munich 2001. See also Werner Braun, “‘Jesu, dulcis memoria’ in Tonsatzreihen zwischen 1600 und 1650: evangelische Autoren,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 44 (2005): 163–73, here pp. 164–66.

54 Examples found in Lutheran collections and inventories include works by Ahle, Albrici, Briegel, Buxtehude, Carisio, Förster, Marini, Peranda, Pohle; Ranisius, Schütz, Viadana, Weckmann, Weiland, and Zeutschner; a number of anonymous settings also appear in these sources.

55 This group also includes Christian Heinrich Aschenbrenner and Christian Sartorius.

56 See Wilhelm Bremme, *Der Hymnus Jesu dulcis memoria in seinen lateinischen Handschriften und Nachahmungen, sowie deutschen Übersetzungen* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1899). Schütz’s setting, “O süßer Jesu Christ” (SWV 405), appears in *Symphoniae sacrae* III (Dresden 1650); Martin Jahn’s setting of Heermann’s entire paraphrase in ten compositions, *Des H. Bernhards Verdeutschter JUBILUS*, appeared in Zittau in 1662. Other German poetic paraphrases, whose authors have yet to be identified, were set by Faber (1607) who underlaid German stanzas beneath the Latin stanzas, and Melchior Franck, who included stanzas from two different anonymous German paraphrases together with each Latin stanza in his *Assaphus Bernhardinus* (Nürnberg 1626). In addition, Michael Trümper’s collection, *Jubilus S. Bernhards, d. i. Geistliche Seelen-Lust des Hl. Bernhards mit 4 Stimmen* (Gotha 1657) included a German paraphrase of the hymn, Ahle set seven stanzas from a paraphrase by Martin Rinckart—from his *Herz-Jesu-Büchlein, darinnen lauter Bernhardtische und Christ-Lutherische Jubel-Herz-Freuden gesammelt* (Leipzig 1636)—in his *Drittes Zehn neuer geistlicher Arien* (Mühlhausen 1662), and Johann Albrecht Kress set a German paraphrase by Narciss Rauner (published in 1670) in his *Der süsse Nahme Jesu* (Stuttgart 1681).

tations, appear in many texts set by composers.⁵⁷ Many imitations of the hymn also appeared – texts that share its meter and rhyme scheme as well as its font of ideas.⁵⁸

The overall form of the hymn is that of an extended prayer in poetic form, in which the speaker slowly progresses toward and ultimately experiences mystical union, and then contemplates the experience. For this motet, Profe drew two stanzas from the stage in the speaker's journey at which s/he stands on the threshold of mystical union.⁵⁹ Brief but intense, these two stanzas are laden with a number of typical mystical *topoi*, such as Christ's sweetness, the speaker's desire for and search for Christ, and the spiritual (or mystical) senses, particularly that of touch (i. e., touching or holding Christ).⁶⁰ Such stanzas cry out for a musical setting that reflects their emotional content. Here Profe's textual substitution is very apt, for not only does the new text share its metrical design with the original, it also resonates well with the affect of the music. In the original motet, Merula creates a rhetorically conceived opening for the first tenor, and sets the "O" of "O salutaris hostia" ("Oh saving Victim") to an ascending motive that he restates and expands upon in order to enhance the intensity of the

57 Individual lines, particularly "O Jesu mi dulcissime," appear in many composite texts set by composers; see, for example, Schütz, *O Jesu, nomen dulce* (SWV 308) KGK II 1639 (which also quotes from the prayer "O bone Jesu, o piissime Jesu"); Förster, *Gentes redemptae* (S-Uu 22:3); Grandi, *Ave mundi spes Salvator* (Havemann 1659, no. 9; also includes allusions to "Salve mundi salutare"); Heller, *Domine Jesu Christe (Sacer concentus musicus* 1671); Schmelzer, *O Jesu summa charitas* (attributed to Capricornus in *Continuatio theatrum musicum*, Würzburg 1669), and Stübendorff, *O Jesu dulcissime* (S-Uu 35:12). Allusions and quotations are also found in various prayers, including some published by Musculus in his *Precationes ex veteribus orthodoxis doctoribus*, 116–17.

58 See Bremme, *Der Hymnus Jesu dulcis memoria*, 74–102. Stanzas from various Latin imitations were set by Albrici in *Mihi autem* (S-Uu 1:15), Geist in *O Jesu amantissime* (S-Uu 84:36); Antonelli in *Amor Jesu dulcissime (Floridus modulorum hortus ... R. Floridus*, Rome 1647; also S-Uu 2:8); Friderici in *Jesu tibi nunc lectulum (Viridarium musicum sacrum*, Rostock 1625); Peranda in *Si vivo mi Jesu* (S-Uu 30:10 and other sources); and by Widmann in a number of works in *Piorum Suspiria* (Nürnberg 1629).

59 Stanza 31/26: "Iam quod quaesivi video, quod concupivi teneo, amore Jesu languero, et corde totus ardeo" ("Now I behold what I sought, I hold what I yearned for, I am languishing with the love of Jesus, and I am all burning in my heart"). Although the mystical presence experience is said to be ineffable, the speaker here makes an attempt to express it in words.

60 On the origin of the spiritual (or mystical) senses, see Bernard McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism: Origins to the Fifth Century* (New York: Crossroad, 1991), 121–24 et passim; the topic is treated in each volume of McGinn's series, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* (New York: Crossroad, 1991–).

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Tenor I, Tenor II, and Continuo. The score is in common time (C) and consists of two systems. The first system starts at measure 37. Tenor I has the lyrics "O, o, o Je-su mi dul - cis-si-me," with three "o"s on a single note. Tenor II has the lyrics "O, o, o" on a single note. The Continuo part provides a simple harmonic accompaniment. The second system starts at measure 42. Tenor I has the lyrics "Je-su mi dul-cis - si - me,". Tenor II has the lyrics "spes su-spi - ran - tis, spes su-spi - ran - tis a - - - ni - mae." The Continuo part continues with a simple harmonic accompaniment.

Example 1. Tarquinio Merula, *O Jesu mi dulcissime*, mm. 37–47.

expression – “oh, oh, oh saving Victim.” Profe uses the repeated exclamations of “O” to similar effect, and creates an equally rapturous opening for the new text, “O, o, o Jesu mi dulcissime” (“oh, oh, oh my sweetest Jesus”). Later in the piece, Merula returns to the opening text and music, but now spins the opening material into an imitative duet for the two tenors, thereby further heightening the intensity through close imitation. Profe adopts the same approach and returns to the opening text at this point, with similarly satisfying results (see Example 1).⁶¹ While some of Profe’s textual substitutions are not musically unproblematic, as Sponheim has pointed out,⁶² settings such as this one also demonstrate that he was able at times closely to match the affect of the original setting with his new text.

Another source of texts found both in Profe’s collections and the broader devotional repertoire is that of traditional Latin prayers, such as *O dulcis amor Jesu*⁶³; in his first and second volumes, Profe included settings of the prayer by both Donati and Chinelli (see below). While the texts

61 Many thanks to Benjamin Stone for preparing the two musical examples.

62 See Sponheim, “The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe,” 142–64 et passim, and Sponheim, “Ambrosius Profe’s sacred contrafacta of Monteverdi’s madrigals,” in *Claudio Monteverdi und die Folgen. Bericht über das Internationale Symposium Detmold 1993*, ed. Silke Leopold and Joachim Steinhauser (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998), 339–58.

63 Other common prayers include “Anima Christi sanctifica me,” “Transfige, dulcissime Domine Jesu, medullas et viscera animae meae” (Prayer of St. Bonaventure), and “O Domine Jesu Christe, adoro te in cruce vulneratum” (part of the Prayer of St. Gregory).

of some common prayers, such as *Anima Christi sanctifica me*, remain essentially unchanged from one setting to another in this repertoire, others appear in a number of versions. Such is the case with *O dulcis amor Jesu*; at least thirteen settings, representing eleven different versions of the prayer, survive from the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ Most are works by Catholic composers, but the group includes compositions by Lutherans, such as Capricornus and Schmetzer, who set this prayer later in the century. All eleven textual variants can likely be traced back to a common source that has yet to be identified. The three examples from this group given below include the text from a motet by Viadana that incorporates most of the phrases found in the various settings. Viadana's setting appears in the transalpine edition of his concertos, *Opera omnia concertuum ecclesiasticorum*, published by Stein in Frankfurt am Main in 1613 (reprinted in 1620 and 1626⁶⁵); this collection was also widely owned by Lutheran institutions.

64 In addition to the three pieces mentioned here, these include settings by Giovanni Francesco Anerio (*Motecta singulis, binis, ternisque vocibus*, Rome 1609) and Nicolò Stamegna (*Sacrarum modulationum*, Rome 1637); Caterina Assandra (*Motetti à due & trè voci*, Milan 1609; also published in Victorinus, ed., *Siren coelestis duarum, trium et quatuor vocum*, Munich 1616); Caspar Förster (S-Uu 22:1, 80:119, undated); Bartholomäus Peckel (Pekiel, Peukijel, Pekel) (S-Uu 30:2, undated); E. H. (Ewald Hintz/Hinsch?) (S-Uu 27:1; undated, probably mid-17th century); Capricornus (*Geistliche Harmonien*, Stuttgart 1664); Giovanni Felice Sances (*Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci*, Venice 1638); Georg Schmetzer (S-Uu 34:17); Anonymous, Grimma collection (SLUB Mus 2-E-25). The Viadana and Sances settings share one version of the text, and the Schmetzer and anonymous settings share another version.

65 Stein also published editions of Viadana's concertos in 1609 and 1610. Stein's "complete" edition (*Opera omnia*) comprises 146 *concerti* and some *falsibordoni*; it includes the first 100 concertos of 1602, with others presumably added from Viadana's *Concerti ecclesiastici*, book 2 (Venice 1607) and *Il terzo libro de' concerti ecclesiastici* (Venice 1609).

*Ignazio Donati (ca. 1570–1638), Dulcis amor, Jesu*⁶⁶

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

*Giovanni Baptista Chinelli (1610–77), O dulcis amor, Jesu*⁶⁷

O dulcis amor, Jesu, dulce bonum, dilecte mi. O mi Jesu, o mi Jesu dulcissime, trahe me post te, et inter flores pone me. O mi Jesu, tu lux, tu sol, tu fons, tu spes, tu vita, tu bonitas infinita.	<i>O sweet love, Jesus, sweet goodness, my delight. O my Jesus, o my sweetest Jesus, draw me toward you, and place me among flowers. O my Jesus, you light, you sun, you font, you hope, you life, you infinite goodness.</i>
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66 From Profe, ed., *Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien*. Source print: *Motetti in concerto* (Venice 1616; repr. 1622, 1626); see Sponheim, “The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe,” 231.

67 From Profe, ed., *Ander Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien*. Source print: *Il terzo libro di motetti*, op. 7 (Venice 1640); see Sponheim, “The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe.”

*Lodovico Viadana (ca. 1560– 1627), O dulcis amor, Jesu*⁶⁸

O dulcis amor, Jesu, dulce bonum dilecte mi, rogo te, sagittis tuis confige me moriar pro te. Ah, mi Jesu, trahe me, rogo, post te, inter flores pone me. languedo pro te, tu lux, tu spes, tu vita, tu bonitas infinita.	<i>O sweet love, Jesus, sweet goodness, my delight, I implore you, pierce me with your arrows, that I might die for you. Ah, my Jesus, draw me toward you, I implore you, place me among flowers. I long for you, you light, you hope, you life, you infinite goodness.</i>
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With *O dulcis amor, Jesu*, we encounter once again the individual Christian who longs for Christ's mystical presence. The version of the text set by Donati is the more intense of the two; here the speaker languishes for Christ (a clear reference to the phrase "quia amore languedo" in Song of Songs 2:5 and 5:8) and desires to die through him. Chinelli's version, on the other hand, draws upon another phrase from the Song of Songs (1:3), "trahe me post te." Profe may well have selected these two concertos because of the resonance of their texts with the mystical content in Lutheran prayer books such as Arndt's popular *Paradies-Gärtlein*. In the latter, in the course of an extended "Prayer about the love of Christ," the speaker expresses a similar desire for mystical union in rapturous language, but perhaps with even greater intensity.

Johann Arndt (1555–1621), Paradies-Gärtlein

"Prayer about the love of Christ" (scriptural references are from Arndt):

Ah, my Lord Jesus Christ, you most precious lover of my soul, grant your grace to me, that I might again love you with my heart, and speak to you. Most beloved Lord Jesus, let me find nothing else in my heart but your love; take everything from my heart that is not love for you, for I want nothing in my heart other than your love. Ah, how kind, how

68 Translation (slightly altered) from Saunders, *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci*, xxvii.

lovely and sweet is your love; how it revives my soul, how it delights my heart. Ah, let me think, see, desire, feel, sense nothing but your love, for it is everything, it has everything, it embraces everything, it surpasses everything. Ah, I desire this precious treasure to remain in me forever. Let me be on guard day and night (Is. 21), and guard this treasure diligently and eagerly, care for it, pray for it. For this is the foretaste of eternal life, the outer court of paradise....Ah, that the fountains of my eyes would open, and shed hot tears for the sake of love, and that I would weep after you like a child for a long time, until you fetched me, took me in your arms, gave yourself to me to taste, and united yourself with me through sacred heavenly marriage, that I might be one heart, one spirit, and one body with you. Ah, draw me after you, so do I run. Ah, that I might kiss you in my heart, and from your mouth feel your sweet comfort (Song of Songs 1). Ah, my comfort (Song of Songs 8), my strength, my life, my light, my treasure, my salvation, my highest good, my love, unify me with you, for all that I have without you and outside you is pure pain and gall, wretchedness and grief, sheer anxiety and trouble. You, however, are my soul's only rest, peace, and joy.⁶⁹

Profe's selections also include pieces that illustrate the ways that texts were crafted—rather than simply excerpted—from devotional books. In Sabbatini's *Jesu Domine, Jesu pie*,⁷⁰ a setting of a more penitential prayer included in Profe's third volume, the author-compiler has drawn phrases from a well-known medieval devotional manual, the *Meditationes*, and built a new text around these phrases. This penitential text differs from most in this repertoire that it is written in the first-person plural; the selected passages from the *Meditationes* have apparently been intentionally altered to reflect a communal voice (see the text and sources below⁷¹).

69 Johann Arndt, *Paradiß Gärtlein Pt. II, no 5* (Magdeburg 1615), pp. 224–27. The German text appears as no. 1 in appendix 2.

70 Sponheim was unable to locate the published source of this piece ("The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe," 235); thus the text may be original to the piece as first published, or may be a substitution by Profe.

71 Italics indicate words and phrases that are drawn from the source; underscoring indicates changes from first-person singular to first-person plural.

Galeazzo Sabbatini (1597–1662), Jesu Domine, Jesu pie

Jesu Domine, Jesu pie, Jesu misericors, <i>qui venisti in mundum, peccatores salvos facere.</i> Te <u>rogamus</u> , te suppliciter deprecamur, parce peccatis, parce iniquitates nostras, parce ut tibi possimus perpetuo famulari. <i>Audi, Deus noster, audi, lumen oculorum nostrorum, audi, o dulcis Christe, o chare Jesu, o clemens Pater, o pie Deus,</i> audi preces nostras, quas fundimus; <i>ne efficiaris nobis inexorabilis, sed propter bonitatem tuam, suscipe preces nostras, chare Jesu, suscipe preces nostras.</i>	Lord Jesus, dear Jesus, merciful Jesus, who came into the world to save sinners; we <u>implore</u> you, we humbly entreat you, spare our sins, spare our iniquities, spare us, that we might perpetually be your servants. Listen, <u>our</u> God, listen, enlighten <u>our</u> eyes, listen, o sweet Jesus, o dear Jesus, o merciful Father, o compassionate God, hear our prayers, which we pour out; do not be unmoved by <u>our</u> entreaty, but because of your goodness, accept <u>our</u> prayers, dear Jesus, accept our prayers.
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Meditationes ch. 36, beginning:

Christe Domine Verbum Patris, qui venisti in hunc mundum peccatores salvos facere, rogo te per indulgentissima misericordiae tuae viscera...⁷²

Meditationes ch. 35, conclusion:

Audi, Deus meus, audi, lumen oculorum meorum, audi quae et

72 J.-P. Migne, ed., "Opera omnia Augustini. Appendix tomi sexti operum Sancti Augustini continens Meditationes," ch. 36, in *Patrologia latina*, vol. 40, col. 930, accessed April 15, 2015, <http://pld.chadwyck.com>.

peto, et da quae petam ut audias. Pie et exorabilis Domine, ne efficiaris mihi inexorabilis propter peccata mea; sed propter bonitatem tuam, suscipe preces servi tui, et da mihi effectum petitionis et desiderii mei, intercedente et orante et impetrante gloriosa genitrice tua, domina mea, cum omnibus sanctis. Amen.⁷³

The *Meditationes* was one of a number of mystical-devotional manuals from the medieval period that circulated widely among both Catholics and Lutherans during the early modern era; it often appeared as part of a set, together with the *Manuale* and *Soliloquia*.⁷⁴ All three volumes were originally attributed to Augustine, but are actually compilations of texts drawn from various writings of Augustine, Anselm of Canterbury, Jean de Fécamp, Hugo of St. Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux, and others; today the author is sometimes identified simply as “pseudo-Augustine” or “pseudo-Anselm.”⁷⁵ These writings first entered the corpus of Lutheran devotional literature in the 1550s, through the publications of the theologian Andreas Musculus (1514–81) of Frankfurt an der Oder, who published extended excerpts in

73 Migne, “Opera omnia Augustini,” ch. 35, in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 40, col. 930.

74 Editions appeared in Venice from the late fifteenth century until the early seventeenth century; examples include *Diui Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi Meditationum. Liber unus.: Soliloquiorum Lib. 1. Manuale. Lib. 1.* (Venice 1552). The three volumes also circulated in omnibus editions of works of Augustine, such as the *Opusculum multarum bonarum rerum refertum* (Venice 1615). After ca. 1600, publications of the three volumes intended primarily for the Catholic market seem to have been much more common north of the Alps than in Italy. One German edition that saw many reprints in the seventeenth century was the *Diui Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi, Meditationes, soliloquia, et manuale* (Cologne 1598). The three texts are available in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (on-line edition), vol. 40, cols. 897-942, 951-68, 863-97.

75 The *Meditationes* are drawn from the *Libellus de scriptoris et verbis patrum* of Jean de Fécamp; see Bernard McGinn, *The Growth of Mysticism: Gregory the Great through the 12th Century* (New York: Crossroad, 1994), 136–37, 475 n. 28. According to Paul Althaus, the first nine chapters of the *Manuale* are identical to Anselm’s fourteenth *Meditatio*, while the last six chapters are taken from Anselm’s *Proslogium*; the middle chapters are drawn from works of various authors, including Hugo de St. Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux, and others. The *Soliloquia* (*Soliloquiorum animae ad Deum*) are drawn from Augustine’s *Confessiones, de spiritu et litera*, Hugo de St. Victor’s *De diligendo Deo*, and other works. See *Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur*, 26, 74 fn. 1.

Latin⁷⁶ as well as substantially revised selections in German translation.⁷⁷ Thirty years later, Martin Moller published many more of the texts in German translation, also with some key revisions.⁷⁸ The three medieval volumes remained popular with Lutherans, particularly in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; Heinrich Rätel published German translations of all three in 1589,⁷⁹ Philipp Kegel published selections from the three in translation in 1592, and in Latin in 1596,⁸⁰ and Wilhelm Alard published translations of some selections of the *Meditationes* in 1613.⁸¹

76 Musculus's first compilation, *Praecandi formulae piae et selectae*, appeared in 1553, and included extended excerpts from the *Meditationes*, *Manuale*, and *Soliloquia*, as well as selections from St. Bernard, Ambrose, Origen, and other mystics; the second edition, which appeared in 1559, was re-titled *Precationes ex veteribus orthodoxis doctoribus*, and went through at least twenty editions to 1624. See Althaus, *Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur*, 98–100, and Baumann-Koch (cited below), 11 n. 1. Traugott Koch details the citations from these three manuals in the works of Musculus, Moller, Nicolai, and Kegel in tabular form; see *Die Entstehung der lutherischen Frömmigkeit. Die Rezeption pseud-augustinischer Gebetstexte in der Revision früher lutherischer Autoren (Andreas Musculus, Martin Moller, Philipp Kegel, Philipp Nicolai)*, Texte und Studien zum Protestantismus des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts 2 (Waltróp: Frank & Timme, 2004), 120–33. The selections included by Musculus in his *Formulae precandi* and *Betbüchlein* are presented in tabular form in Angela Baumann-Koch, *Frühe lutherische Gebetsliteratur bei Andreas Musculus und Daniel Cramer* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001), 623–34.

77 In his *Betbüchlein* (at least twenty-three editions, 1559–1605); Baumann-Koch points out that in his translations of these texts, Musculus made a number of emendations in order to clarify various theological points for his less-educated German readers; see *Frühe lutherische Gebetsliteratur*, pp. 38–39 et passim.

78 Martin Moller, *Meditationes sanctorum Patrum* (Görlitz 1584) and *Alter Pars Meditationum ex sanctis Patribus* (Görlitz 1591). A list of the selections included by Moller appears in Elke Axmacher, *Praxis Evangeliorum. Theologie und Frömmigkeit bei Martin Moller (1547–1606)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 109–12, fn. 50.

79 *Libri Duo Meditationum Divi Augustini* (Wittenberg 1589); *Manuale D. Augustini Handtbüchlein, ... Vom Wort Gottes, oder von der Beschawligkeit Christi* (Görlitz 1589); *Die liebe alte Andacht S. Augustini . . . Soliloquiorum Animae ad Deum* (Wittenberg 1589); see Althaus, *Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur*, 137 n. 2. All three volumes were then published as *Meditationes, Soliloquia vnd Manuale S. Avgvstini: Das ist: Andechtige Geist vnd Trostreiche Gebet Des Hoherleuchten Fürtrefflichen alten Bischoffs vnd trewen Kirchen Lehrers S. Avgvstini, Welche verfasst in seinen drey schönen Gebetbüchlein* (Frankfurt an der Oder 1600).

80 *Ein Neue Christlich vnnnd gar Nützlich Betbuch* (Hamburg 1592); *Thesaurus spiritualis Precationum piarum* (Magdeburg 1596; rev. as *Meditationes solide, piae, christianae ac vere spirituales*, Leipzig 1610); see Althaus, *Forschungen zur evangelischen Gebetsliteratur*, 135–37, 140.

81 *Jesus Nomen super omne nomen: Das ist: Der Großmechtige/ herrliche/ Wunderbare/ Hochgelobte/ Heilsame/ holdselige/ Trostreiche Name Jesus/ Ein Name uber alle Namen* (Leipzig 1613; repr. 1624).

Some decades later, Moller's *Meditationes sanctorum Patrum* was reissued in Lüneburg (1654), and the theologian Johann Gottfried Olearius published yet another German translation of the *Manuale* in 1666.⁸² Lutherans could also avail themselves of the many editions of these three volumes that were published primarily for the Catholic market in Cologne and other cities.⁸³ These devotional writings were important for composers as well; Schütz set a number of texts drawn from these three volumes, as published by both Musculus and Moller, as did Rosenmüller, Capricornus, and Pohle.⁸⁴ As shown above, the text of Sabbatini's *Jesu Domine, Jesu pie* is developed from phrases that appear in chapters 35 and 36 of the *Meditationes*. Sponheim was unable to identify the source print of this motet,⁸⁵ and thus it is impossible to say whether the text is original, and is the work of a Catholic author-compiler, or whether it is a substitute text developed by a Lutheran. If the latter, the author-compiler did not use Musculus as his primary source, as only portions of these excerpts appear in Musculus's Latin compendium.⁸⁶

While some of the texts in Profe's collections draw directly upon various devotional manuals, many more seem to be freely composed, taking their inspiration (and often key phrases) from such sources.⁸⁷ Both Luther-

82 *Augustinische Andachts-Flamme/ Das ist: MANUALE, Oder Handbuch/ Des uralten heiligen Kirchen-Lehrers Augustini/ nebst dem Lateinischen Text und dessen Deutscher Übersetzung* (Nürnberg 1666).

83 See fn. 74.

84 Rosenmüller's settings appear in his *Andere Kern-Sprüche* (Leipzig 1652–53), as Kerala Snyder discussed in her dissertation ("Johann Rosenmüller's Music for Solo Voice," Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1970, 53–58); those of Capricornus appear in his *Theatrum musicum*, published posthumously in 1669, and Pohle's setting, *Amo te Deus meus* (a text also set by Rosenmüller), is preserved in the Düben collection, S-Uu 82:35 (no. 6). Lutherans also availed themselves of German translations by Catholics such as Johann Schwayger, *Drey Bettbüchlein des H. Augustini* (Cologne 1571; numerous reprints). Schütz, for example, based the text of at least one piece, *Was hast du verwirket?* (SWV 307) from his *Kleine geistliche Konzerte II* of 1639 (text from *Meditationes* 8, 1–3) on the translations of both Schwayger and Moller (*Meditationes sanctorum Patrum* I: 46); see Blankenburg, "Zur Bedeutung der Andachtstexte im Werk von Heinrich Schütz," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 6 (1984): 62–71, here 67–68.

85 "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe," 231.

86 Musculus, *Precationes* (Leipzig 1575), 39–40.

87 These including the three previously mentioned, as well as such "pseudo-Augustinian" works as *De diligendo Deo* and *De contritione cordis* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 40, cols. 847–64 and 943–50), and other works. Of course, one can never know if the source is still waiting to be discovered. Still, many texts in this repertoire cannot be found in the

ans and Catholics availed themselves of this method of developing texts, as is demonstrated (for example) by Ignazio Donati's *Languet anima mea*,⁸⁸ and by the text of a concerted madrigal *cum* sacred concerto by Rovetta, "Du, Herr Jesu, mein Heyland."⁸⁹ In the latter text (below), Profe or a collaborator has replaced the original Italian madrigal text, "Voi partite crudele," with a German text fashioned as a prayer, much as Aquilino Coppini created sacred contrafacta for many of Monteverdi's madrigals.⁹⁰

medieval sources discussed above, but seem instead to be compilations of phrases and ideas found there.

88 Published in Profe, *Vierdter Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien* (Leipzig 1646); source print: Donati, *Il secondo libro de motetti in concerto* (Venice 1629); see Sponheim, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe," 220.

89 Published in Profe, *Corollarium geistlicher Collectaneorum* (Leipzig 1649); source print: Rovetta, *Madrigali concertati* (Venice 1640); see Sponheim, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe," 235.

90 *Musica tolta da i madrigali di Claudio Monteverde, e d'altri autori ... e fatta spirituale, a cinque, et sei voci* (Milan 1607); *Il secondo libro della musica di Claudio Monteverde, e d'altri autori à 5* (Milan 1608; lost); *Il terzo libro della musica di Claudio Monteverde ... fatta spirituale da Aquilino Coppini* (Milan 1609). See Sponheim, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe," 123–28, and Sponheim, "Ambrosius Profe's sacred contrafacta of Monteverdi's madrigals," 339–58.

Giovanni Rovetta (ca. 1596–1668), Du, Herr Jesu, mein Heyland

Du, Herr Jesu, mein Heyland, o mein Erlöser; komm, erquickte mein Hertze durch die Wunder deiner Liebe, komm, erfreue mein Hertze durch die Liebe die dich getödtet.	<i>You, Lord Jesus, my Savior, o my Redeemer; come, refresh my heart through the wonder of your love; come, gladden my heart through the love that put you to death.</i>
Du bist mein Trost, mein Leben, O Herre Jesu, ⁹² für mich hast du bezahlt, was ich verschuldet. Nun ⁹³ ich lasse dich nicht, du segnest mich dann. ⁹⁴ Meine Seele die sucht dich mit Begierde.	<i>You are my comfort, my life, o Lord Jesus, for me you have paid what I owed. Now I will not let you go, unless you bless me. My soul seeks you with desire.</i>
O mein Herr Jesu, süsse ist dein Name, viel süsser bist du selbst, O liebster Herr Jesu.	<i>O my Lord Jesus, sweet is your name, much sweeter are you yourself, o dearest Lord Jesus.</i>

In this case, the German prayer that Profe has substituted strongly resembles texts found in the compilations of Moller and Arndt; it shares both the intimate tone and many of the ideas and the forms of expression of those books, but the text as it stands here does not appear in either volume. This German text is also overtly mystical; this speaker desires Christ to dwell in his or her heart, and thus calls on Christ to refresh and gladden his or her heart through his great love, and then praises Christ's sweetness. In a passage from Moller's first volume, the speaker expresses similar desires in similar language:

91 The text reads "mein Herr Jesu" ("my Lord Jesus") in some parts.

92 The text reads "Herr" ("Lord") in some parts.

93 The text reads "denn" in Cantus II. Textual reference: Genesis 32: 27b (ESV 26b).

Martin Moller (1547–1606), Meditationes sanctorum Patrum

Section 3. Beautiful Prayers and Thanksgiving to God the Son, the Lord Jesus Christ

No. 3. Augustine. A prayer in which a believing heart delights in his Lord Jesus Christ

O good Jesus, my love and my God, inflame me completely with passion for you, and with your love, with your sweetness and loveliness, with your delight and joy, with your pleasure and desire, which is holy and good, chaste and pure, peaceful and still, that I might be completely filled with your sweet love, and be entirely inflamed with your lovely ardor, and might love you, my God, with my entire heart, and with all of my strength, that I might have you in my heart, in [my] mouth, and before my eyes always and everywhere, so that false love might find neither room nor space in me. Amen.⁹⁴

Here Profe's textual substitution contrasts with that seen in the Merula motet above, in that he has reached across the sacred-secular divide, and transformed a secular madrigal that explores the pain of earthly love into a sacred madrigal (or motet) focused on an individual's love and desire for Christ (see Example 2). But just as in *O Jesu mi dulcissime*, the new text is quite well suited to the pre-existing music. The close imitation of the opening bars climaxes in an expressive ascending melisma on "O [mein Erlöser]" in m. 5, and the quick declamation, repetition, and imitation of the phrase "komm, erquicke mein Hertze" ("come, refresh my heart") that follows effectively captures the urgency of the speaker's desire for Christ, which is intensified and heightened through the duet texture of the original. The arc of the original musical line in mm. 15–19, which reaches its climax in mm. 18–19 with a close suspension between the voices, results in an eloquent delivery of the new textual phrases, "come, gladden my heart through the wonder of your love / come, gladden my heart through the love that put you to death." In his selection of Christocentric prayers for many of his sacred contrafacta of madrigals, Profe clearly recognized that the musical style of the secular genre, developed to communi-

94 Martin Moller, *Meditationes sanctorum Patrum*, third ed. (Görlitz, 1590), fol. 47v. The German text appears as no. 2 in appendix 2.

Mary E. Frandsen – The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe

The image shows a musical score for three parts: Cantus I, Cantus II, and Continuo. The music is in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are in German and are distributed across the vocal staves. The Continuo part provides a harmonic accompaniment.

Cantus I
 Du, Herr Je - su, mein Hey - land, O _____ mein Er-

Cantus II
 Du, _____ Herr Je - su, mein Hey - land, O _____ mein Er-

Continuo

7
 lö-ser, komm, er-qui-cke mein Her-tze, komm, er-qui-cke mein Her-tze durch die Wun-der dei-ner Lie -
 lö-ser, _____ komm,

12
 be, _____ Komm,
 er-qui-cke mein Her-tze, komm, er-qui-cke mein Her-tze, durch die Wun-der dei-ner Lie -

16
 er-freu-e mein Her-tze durch die Lie - - be die dich ge-tö-dtet,
 be, komm, er-qui-cke mein Her-tze durch die Wun-der dei-ner Lie - be,

Example 2. Rovetta, *Du, Herr Jesu, mein Heyland*, mm. 1–19.

cate intense expressions of love, was particularly well suited to the expression of these intimate religious texts.

In another piece, Sabbatini's *O nomen Jesu, nomen dulce*, Profe included a setting of a text that draws upon a much longer prayer, "O bone Jesu, o piissime Jesu," which appears in various Catholic prayer books as well as in several intended for Lutheran use.⁹⁵ The source for the version drawn upon for *O nomen Jesu* appeared in a number of sources published by Catholics in the sixteenth century, as well as in the *Paradisus animae christianae* of

95 Published in Profe, *Ander Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien* (Leipzig 1641).

Jacobus Merlo Horstius (1597–1644), first published in Cologne in 1630.⁹⁶ Among Lutherans, Musculus published a version of the prayer in both editions of his Latin compendium that differs somewhat from that found in most prayer books and musical settings, but which is clearly a variant of the same text (see below).⁹⁷ Later, Moller included a German translation of the prayer in his second volume of 1591 (see below), as did Arndt in his 1612 *Paradies-Gärtlein*.⁹⁸ Several sixteenth-century composers set the entire text as a three-part motet, as did Melchior Franck in 1604.⁹⁹ Schütz drew upon the version published in Musculus for his *O bone, o dulcis, o benigne Jesu / Et ne despicias* (SWV 52-53), published in his *Cantiones sacrae* of 1625, but seems to have borrowed from both versions in his *O misericordissime Jesu* (SWV 309) of 1639; he also drew upon the Merlo Horstius version for his late work, *O bone Jesu, fili Mariae virginis* (SWV 471). Other Lutheran composers, among them Rosenmüller and Weiland, also set portions of this version of the text.¹⁰⁰ The majority of the text in the Sabbatini motet as published by Profe also appears in the volume edited by Merlo Horstius; in the motet, the order of some lines has been altered, and several phrases have been added. The source print for this piece also remains unidentified,¹⁰¹ and thus it remains unknown whether this text, well known to Lutherans, represents another of Profe's substitutions (see the text and sources below).¹⁰²

96 See the source study and discussion of Antonio Lovato, "Observations on the texts in Latin intoned by Heinrich Schütz: the devotional prayer 'O bone Jesu'," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 36 (2014): 49–67.

97 According to Baumann-Koch, the version of the prayer published by Musculus agrees with the version found in an earlier Catholic prayer book, *Hortulus animae* (she cites an edition published in Nürnberg in 1516); see *Frühe lutherische Gebetsliteratur*, 138, fn. 432 and 442ff. See also Lovato, "Observations," 62.

98 Arndt, *Paradies-Gärtlein*, 423–27.

99 Published in his *Tomus tertius melodiarum sacrarum* (Coburg 1604). Complete settings from the sixteenth century include those by Robert Carver and Philippe de Monte; see the list of polyphonic settings composed between 1505 and 1640 in Lovato, "Observations," 66–67. The entire text is also found in a monophonic chant setting in Samuel Besler's *Hymnorum et threnodiarum sanctae crucis*, part III (Breslau 1613).

100 Rosenmüller: *O nomen Jesu, nomen dulce* (*Kernsprüche* I, 1648); Weiland: *O nomen Jesu, o nomen dulce* (*Deuterotokos, Hoc est sacratissimarum odorum partus*, Bremen 1656).

101 See Sponheim, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe," 235.

102 Italics in the text below indicate words and phrases that are common to the concerto text and the prayer as found in Merlo Horstius.

Galeazzo Sabbatini (1597–1662), O nomen Jesu, nomen dulce

*O nomen Jesu, nomen dulce,
nomen delectabile, nomen
confortans.*

Quid est Jesus nisi Salvator?

*Invoco te, o bone Jesu,
o dulcissime Jesu, suavissime Jesu,*

*ne perdat me iniquitas mea,
quem fecit omnipotens bonitas
tua,*

o benignissime Jesu.

In hora mortis meae suscipe me,

*humiliter veniam petentem
et hoc nomen sanctum
invocantem.*

*O nomen Jesu, o nomen dulce,
o nomen delectabile, nomen
confortans,*

miserere mei, conforta me,

O pie Jesu, salva me.

*O name of Jesus, sweet name,
delightful name, comforting
name.*

What is Jesus if not the Savior?

*I call upon you, o good Jesus,
o sweetest Jesus, most pleasant
Jesus,*

*lest my iniquity ruin me,
whom your omnipotent goodness
has made,*

o kindest Jesus.

*Receive me at the hour of my
death,¹⁰³*

*humbly seeking favor
and calling on this holy name.*

*O name of Jesus, o sweet name,
o delightful name, comforting
name,*

*have mercy on me, comfort me,
o compassionate Jesus, save me.¹⁰⁴*

Jacobus Merlo Horstius (1597–1644), Paradisus animae christianae

*O nomen lesu, nomen dulce; nomen lesu, nomen delectabile; no-
men lesu, nomen confortans; quid enim lesus est nisi salvator? ...*

*O bone Jesu, ne perdat me iniquitas mea, quem fecit omnipotens
bonitas tua. ... O benignissime lesu, miserere mei dum tempus est
miserendi, ne damnes me in tempore iudicandi.¹⁰³*

103 Jacobus Merlo Horstius, *Paradisus animae christianae* (Cologne 1630), 581–82. Quoted from Lovato, “Observations,” 52.

Andreas Musculus (1514–1581), Praecationes ex veteribus orthodoxis doctoribus

*Hoc nomen Jesus, nomen dulce est, hoc nomen Jesus, nomen salutare est. Quid est enim Jesus nisi Salvator? O bone Jesu, qui me creasti et redemisti tuo proprio sanguine, ne permittas me damnari, quem ex nihilo creasti. O bone Jesu, ne perdat me iniquitas mea, quem fecit omnipotens bonitas tua. O bone Jesu, recognosce quod tuum est in me, et absterge quod alienum est a me. O bone Jesu, miserere mei, dum tempus est miserendi, ne perdas me in tempore tui tremendi iudicii....*¹⁰⁴

Martin Moller, Altera Pars Meditationum ex sanctis Patribus

5. An old lovely prayer of St. Bernard, in which a Christian heart comfortingly refreshes itself on the name of the Lord Jesus, and asks for all sorts of good gifts from him.

O you sweet name of Jesus, how comforting you are. O you lovely name of Jesus, how salutary you are. For what is Jesus, and what is he called? Jesus is called a savior and sanctifier. Therefore, o good Lord Jesus, you who have created me, and have redeemed me with your own blood, o let him not be condemned, whom you have created from nothing; o let me not be doomed, good Lord Jesus, in my sins, because you have prepared me with your almighty goodness.¹⁰⁵

Another textual category that is represented in the Lutheran devotional repertoire comprises Catholic texts have been altered, rather than simply jettisoned altogether, in order to render them usable in a Lutheran context. The majority of these texts were originally Marian, and Lutheran musicians, likely with the assistance of theologians, frequently made alterations that re-addressed the texts to Christ, the Sole Mediator according to Lutheran doctrine. Although such “de-Marianized” texts do not themselves appear in Lutheran devotional manuals (as far as I have found), this practice of altering Marian texts dates back to the first decades after the

104 Musculus, *Praecationes*, 50–51, attributed to “Bernhard”.

105 Moller, *Altera Pars*, fol. 84r. The German text appears as no. 3 in appendix 2.

Reformation.¹⁰⁶ However, between 1640 and 1680 these “de-Marianized” pieces suddenly emerge as a significant subset of devotional works in Lutheran collections, one whose emphasis is more strongly penitential than mystical. The majority of these pieces are settings of the four Marian antiphons (particularly *Salve Regina*) whose texts have been rewritten to address Christ, but other altered Marian texts are also encountered in the repertoire. While some of these texts required extensive rewriting, others could be made consonant with Lutheran theology with minimal changes; with such alterations, the creative editor or anthologist could quickly add works to the Lutheran devotional repertoire. Profe also availed himself of this technique, and included at least eight “de-Marianized” texts in his anthologies. These include four Marian antiphons—Arrigoni’s *Regina caeli* (as *O sponsa Christi laetare*), Rigatti’s *Ave Regina caelorum* (as *Ave Regnator caelorum*), Rovetta’s *Salve Regina* (as *Salve mi Jesu*), and the latter’s *Ave Regina caelorum* (as *Nomen Jesu voluptas*; here the new text entirely replaces the original)¹⁰⁷—as well as a Marian hymn, Rovetta’s *Ave maris stella* (as *Jova rector / Jesu wollst gewähren*), Grandi’s *Nativitas tua Dei genitrix Maria* (as *Nativitas Christi / Ecclesia Christi*), the antiphon at the Magnificat on the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and Sances’s *Plagae tuae* and *Ardet cor meum* (see below).¹⁰⁸ Further examples, whose sources have yet to be identified, may still lie hidden among the works published by Profe.

106 This phenomenon is discussed at length in the author’s study “*Salve Regina / Salve Rex Christe: Lutheran Engagement with the Marian Antiphons in the Age of Orthodoxy and Piety*,” *Musica Disciplina* 55 (2010): 129–218.

107 Profe also supplied two additional texts: *Gaude laetara O Sion* (which retains one line from the antiphon, “*resurrexit sicut dixit*,”) and *Gaude laetara exulta*.

108 Rovetta’s *Ave Regnator* appears in Profe’s *Geistliche Concerten und Harmonien I* (1641); Arrigoni’s *O sponsa Christi* and Sances’s *Ardet cor meum* appear in the second volume of that series (also 1641); Rigatti’s *Ave Regnator* appears in the fourth volume (1646), and Rovetta’s *Salve mi Jesu* and Sances’s *Plagae tuae* appear in the *Corollarium*; see Sponheim, “The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe,” 230–36.

*Giovanni Felice Sances (ca. 1600–1679), Ardet cor meum*¹⁰⁹

Original:

Ardet cor meum,	<i>My heart burns with love,</i>
et anima mea languet in te.	<i>and my soul faints after you.</i>
Tu succurre illi, dulcissima mater.	<i>Come to its aid, o most sweet mother.</i>
O quam pulchra es, amica mea,	<i>O how beautiful you are, my love,</i>
et macula non est in te.	<i>and there is no spot in you.</i>
Intende mihi et exaudi me,	<i>Reach out to me and hear me,</i>
exaudi orationem meam.	<i>hear my prayers.</i>
Tibi, Virgo dulcissima,	<i>To you, o most sweet Virgin,</i>
tibi laus et gloria.	<i>to you be praise and glory.</i>
Respice in me, et miserere mei,	<i>Regard me kindly, and have mercy</i>
	<i>on me,</i>
et non confundar.	<i>and let me not be confounded.</i>
Laetare cor meum et gaude,	<i>Rejoice in my heart and be glad,</i>
quia spes tua in ipsa est.	<i>for your hope is in her.</i>
Alleluia.	<i>Alleluia.</i>

Version published by Profe (alterations in italics):

Ardet cor meum,	<i>My heart burns with love,</i>
et anima mea languet in te.	<i>and my soul faints after you.</i>
Tu succurre illi, dulcissime <i>Jesu,</i>	<i>Come to its aid, o most sweet Jesus,</i>
<i>esto mihi Jesu semper Jesus,</i>	<i>Jesus, be always Jesus to me,</i>
et <i>sana, salva, serva me.</i>	<i>and cleanse, save, protect me.</i>
Intende mihi et exaudi me,	<i>Reach out to me and hear me,</i>
exaudi orationem meam.	<i>hear my prayers.</i>
Tibi, <i>Jesu dulcissime,</i>	<i>To you, sweetest Jesus,</i>
tibi laus et gloria.	<i>to you be praise and glory.</i>
Respice in me, et miserere mei,	<i>Regard me kindly, and have mercy</i>
	<i>on me,</i>
et non confundar.	<i>and let me not be confounded.</i>
Laetare, cor meum, et gaude,	<i>Rejoice, my heart, and be glad,</i>
quia spes tua in <i>ipso</i> est.	<i>for your hope is in him.</i>
Alleluia.	<i>Alleluia.</i>

109 Source print: *Motetti a una, due, tre e quattro voci* (Venice 1638, r/1641; the latter found in Breslau; Sponheim, "The Anthologies of Ambrosius Profe," 236). Translation altered from Saunders, ed., Sances, *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci*, xxix.

Sances's text itself combines verses drawn from the Song of Songs with freely written material.¹¹⁰ In it, the speaker pleads for mercy, but laces his or her entreaties with expressions of ardent love. Either Profe or his collaborator altered this text, and replaced the direct references to Mary with those to Christ; in the third and fourth lines, the expression "O how beautiful you are, my love, and there is no spot in you" has been replaced with "Jesus, be always Jesus to me, and cleanse, save, protect me." The sentiments expressed in this particular substitution also strongly recall a passage in Johann Gerhard's *Meditationes sacrae* of 1606, the relevant excerpt from which is given below. Gerhard is widely regarded as the father of Lutheran Orthodoxy, but was also a seminal figure in the Lutheran piety movement. His *Meditationes sacrae* enjoyed tremendous popularity among Lutherans and other Protestants; by 1700, the volume had appeared in at least 115 editions in 12 different languages.¹¹¹

Johann Gerhard (1582–1637), Meditationes Sacrae,

No. 4. A comforting meditation on the most sweet Name of Jesus

O you most gracious and most merciful Jesus: to whom will you be Jesus, if you will not be Jesus to the poor sinners who seek and desire your grace and salvation? . . . Be to me Jesus in this life; be to me Jesus in death; be to me Jesus at the Last Judgement; be to me Jesus in eternal life. Ah, faithful Jesus, it will be you, because just as you do not change in essence, therefore will you also not change in mercy. Your name, O Lord Jesus, will not be changed for my sake, a wretched sinner, but even more, you will also be a savior for me, for you reject no one who would come to you.¹¹²

110 Saunders, ed., Sances, *Motetti a una, due, tre, e quattro voci*, xxv.

111 Sträter, *Meditation und Kirchenreform*, 43.

112 Johann Gerhard, *Meditationes Sacrae*, trans. Johann Sommer (Magdeburg 1606), 27–28. The German text appears as no. 4 in appendix 2, and is drawn from *Johann Gerhard, Meditationes sacrae (1606/7): Lateinisch-deutsch*, vol. 2, ed. Johann Anselm Steiger (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2000), 374.

* * *

In the seventeenth century, the growth of Lutheran *Frömmigkeit* had major implications for Lutheran sacred art music. By the 1640s, settings of devotional texts had become central to the Lutheran repertoire, and formed part of virtually all Lutheran music collections, with the heaviest concentrations found in those of courts and large city Latin schools. This devotional repertoire seems to have arisen in direct response to the Lutheran piety movement, and its texts reflect the content of the central documents of that movement, the devotional books that aided Lutherans in their lives of prayer and meditation.¹¹³ While the devotional repertoire extends far beyond that published by Profe, its basic outlines are clearly discernible in his anthologies. His textual selections are entirely consonant with the larger repertoire of devotional sacred art music in Lutheran use, and bear striking similarities – in content, voice, language, and intensity – to the material found in various Lutheran devotional books from this era. Thus his collections demonstrate the close association between devotional music and devotional literature in early modern Lutheranism, and highlight the mystical themes and ideas prominent in both bodies of works. Like the devotional books themselves, Profe's volumes attest to the importance of this new, mystically-charged piety for the seventeenth-century Lutheran.

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113 Janette Tilley has demonstrated that some scriptural settings from this period also form part of the musical response to Lutheran piety. These include settings of texts from the Song of Songs, which enjoyed considerable popularity among Lutherans between ca. 1620 and ca. 1640, and Gospel-derived works such as the *Dialogi, Oder Gespräch zwischen Gott, Und Einer gläubigen Seele* (Dresden 1645) and *Geistlicher Dialogen Ander Theil* (Dresden 1645) of Andreas Hammerschmidt. See, for example, Tilley's "Meditation and Consolatory Soul-God Dialogues in Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Germany," *Music & Letters* 88 (2007): 436–75, and "Gospel Settings in Seventeenth-Century Lutheran Germany: Meditation in the Service of Musical Homiletics," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 31 (2009): 147–63.

Appendix 1. Chronological List of
17th-Century Prints of Sacred Art Music in Lutheran Use
that include Settings of Christocentric Devotional Texts

- 1604 Melchior Franck, *Tomus tertius melodiarum sacrarum*
1607 Stephan Faber, *Cantiones aliquod trium vocum* (setting of *Jesu dulcis memoria*)
Melchior Franck, *Melodiarum sacrarum*
1611 Abraham Schadaeus, ed., *Promptuarii musici I*
1612 Melchior Franck, *Suspiria musica*
Abraham Schadaeus, ed., *Promptuarii musici II*
Andreas Hakenberger, *Odaria suavissima ... D. Bernardi Jubilo*
(r/1628)
1613 Melchior Franck, *Viridarium musicum*
Heinrich Hartmann, *Erster Theil/ Confortativae sacrae symphoniacae* (r/1618)
1615 Georg Gruber, ed., *Reliquiae Sacrorum Concertuum*
1616 Melchior Franck, *Geistlichen Musicalischen Lustgartens Erster Theil*
Johann Staden, *Harmoniae sacrae pro festis praecipuis totius anni*
1617 Heinrich Hartmann, *Der ander Theil Confortativae sacrae symphoniacae*
Abraham Schadaeus, ed., *Promptuarii musici IV*
1618 Erhard Bodenschatz, ed., *Florilegium portense* (I)
1620 Valentin Dretzel, *Sertulum musicale*
Thomas Schattenberg, *Jubilus S. Bernardi de nomine Iesu Christi*
1620–21 Michael Altenburg, *Christliche...Kirchen- und Hausgesänge* (pts. 1–4)
1621 Erhard Bodenschatz, ed., *Florilegii musici portensis* (II)
Lorenzo Calvi, ed., *Symbolae diversorum Musicorum* (Venice)
1623 Isaac Posch, *Harmonia concertans*
1624 Lorenzo Calvi, ed., *Seconda Raccolta de Sacri Canti* (Venice)
1625 Johann Dilliger, *Musica Christiana-Cordialis-Domestica, oder Christliche Hauß und Hertzens Musica* (rev. 2/1630)
Daniel Friderici, *Viridarium musicum sacrum*
Heinrich Schütz, *Cantiones sacrae*
1626 Melchior Franck, *Assaphus Bernhardinus* (setting of *Jesu dulcis memoria*)
1627 Melchior Franck, *Rosetulum musicum*

- 1628 Andreas Hakenberger, *Odaria suavissima ex mellifluo D. Bernardi Jubilo* (2nd ed.; see 1612)
Johann Staden, *Harmoniae novae sacrarum cantionum*
- 1629 Melchior Franck, *Votiva columbae Sioniae suspiria*
Erasmus Widmann, *Piorum suspiria*
- 1631 Melchior Franck, *Dulcis Mundani Exilij Deliciae*
- 1634 Johann Thüring, *Sertum Spirituale Musicale*
- 1636 Heinrich Schütz, *Kleine geistliche Konzerte I*
- 1637 [Unknown], ed., *Geistlicher wolklingender Concerten II*
- 1638 [Unknown], ed., *Geistlicher wolklingender Concerten I*
Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Musicalischer Andacht Erster Theil*
- 1639 Heinrich Schütz, *Kleine geistliche Konzerte II*
- 1640 Samuel Scheidt, *Geistliche Concerte 4. Teil*
- 1641 Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Musicalischer Andachten Ander Theil*
Ambrosius Profe, ed., *Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien*
Ambrosius Profe, ed., *Ander Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien*
- 1642 Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Musicalischer Andachten Dritter Theil*
Ambrosius Profe, ed., *Dritter Theil Geistlicher Concerten und Harmonien*
- 1643 [Unknown], ed., *Varii variorum*
(Anonymous works in) Heinrich Grimm [posth.], *Vestibulum Hortuli Harmonici sacri*
- 1644 Johannes Werlin, *Melismata sacra*
- 1645 Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Dialogi oder Gespräch zwischen Gott und einer Gläubigen Seele I*
- 1646 Ambrosius Profe, ed., *Vierdter und letzter Theil Geistlicher Concerten*
Christoph Werner, *Praemessa musicalia in quibus Motetae singulae*
- 1647 Johann Rudolph Ahle, *Harmonias protopaideumata ... decas prima*
- 1648 Johann Rudolph Ahle, *Himmel-süsse Jesus-Freude ... auss dem Jubilo B. Bernhardi*
Johann Rudolph Ahle, *Erster Theil Geistlicher Dialogen*
Johann Rosenmüller, *Kernsprüche I*
- 1649 Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Motettae, Unius et Duarum vocum*
Ambrosius Profe, ed., *Corollarium Geistlicher Collectaneorum*
- 1650 Heinrich Schütz, *Symphoniae sacrae III*

- 1652 Sigismund Ranisius, *S. Ranisien ... Sprüche/ Lieder und Psalmen*
Johann Rosenmüller, *Kernsprüche II*
- 1653 Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Chor-Musik auf Madrigal Manier: fünffter Theil Musicalischer Andachten*
- 1654 Julius Johann Weiland, *Erstlinge Musicalischer Andachter*
- 1655 Samuel Capricornus, *Opus musicum*
Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Musicalische Gespräche über die Evangelia I*
- 1656 [Unknown], ed., *Sacra corona* (Venice)
Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Musicalische Gespräche über die Evangelia II*
Michael Trümper, *Geistlicher Kirchen-Weirauch*
Julius Johann Weiland, *Deuterotokos: Sacratissimarum Odarum*
- 1657 Johann Rudolph Ahle, *Neu-gepflantzer Thüringischen Lust-Garten I*
Michael Trümper, *Jubilus S. Bernhardi, d. i. Geistliche Seelen-Lust des Hl. Bernhardi mit 4 Stimmen*
- 1658 Johann Rudolph Ahle, *Neu-gepflantzer Thüringischen Lust-Garten II*
Samuel Capricornus, *Geistliche Concerten Mit 2. und 3. Stimmen*
Christian Sartorius, *Unterschiedlicher Teutscher ... Fest- und Danck Andachten*
- 1658/9 Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Fest-, Buß-, und Dancklieder*
- 1659 Samuel Capricornus, *Erster Theil, Geistlicher Harmonien*
Johannes Havemann, ed., *Jesu Hilf / Erster Theil Geistlicher Concerten*
- 1660 Johann Rudolph Ahle, *Erstes / Anderes Zehn neuer geistlicher Arien*
(two vols.)
Wolfgang Carl Briegel, *Geistlicher Arien, Erstes Zehen*
Samuel Capricornus, *Jubilus Bernhardi*
Samuel Capricornus, *Ander Theil Geistlicher Harmonien*
Samuel Capricornus, *Zwey Lieder des Leiden und Tode Jesu*
- 1661 Wolfgang Carl Briegel, *Geistlicher Arien, anderes Zehen*
Augustin Pflieger, *Psalmi, Dialogi et Motettae*
- 1662 Johann Rudolph Ahle, *Drittes / Viertes Zehn neuer geistlicher Arien*
(two vols.)
Andreas Hammerschmidt, *Kirchen- und Tafelmusic*
Martin Jahn, *Des H. Bernhardi Verdeutschter JUBILUS*

- 1663 Johann Rudolph Ahle, *Neugepflantzten Thüringischer Lustgartens Nebengang*
Johann Rudolph Ahle, *Neue Geistliche Chor-Stücke*
- 1664 Samuel Capricornus, *Geistliche Harmonien III*
- 1665 Johann Rudolph Ahle, *Neugepflantzten Thüringischen Lustgarten III*
- 1666 Wolfgang Carl Briegel, *Evangelischer Blumengarten*
- 1667 Christoph Peter, *Geistliche Arien*
- 1669 Samuel Capricornus, *Theatrum musicum*
Samuel Capricornus [and others], *Continuatio theatri musici*
Samuel Capricornus, *Scelta musicale*
- 1671 Andreas Hammerschmidt, *VI-stimmige Fest- und Zeit-Andachten*
Georg Schmetzer, *Motettae sive cantiones sacrae*
- 1677 Wolfgang Carl Briegel, *Herrn Pfarrers ... Kriegsmanns Evangelisches Hosianna*
- 1679 Wolfgang Carl Briegel, *Musicalische Trost-Quelle*
- 1680 Wolfgang Carl Briegel, *Musicalischer Lebens-Brunn*
Dieterich Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu nostri* (manuscript)
- 1681 Joh. Albrecht, Kress, *Der süsse Nahme JESU oder Teutschen Jubilus Bernhardi*
Johann Albrecht Kress, *Musicalische Seelen-Belustigung*
- 1682 [Unknown], ed., *Alauda Coelestis I*
- 1684 Wolfgang Carl Briegel, *Christian Rehefelds Evangelischer Palmen-Zweig*
- 1688 Daniel Speer (as "Res Plena Dei"), *Philomela angelica*
- 1689 Georg Schmetzer, *Sacri concentus latini*
- 1694 [Unknown], ed., *Alauda Coelestis II*
- 1695 Georg Caspar Wecker, *XVIII. Geistliche Concerten*
- 1696 Leonhard Sailer, *Cantiones sacrae*
- 1698 Nicolaus Niedt, *Musicalische Sonn und Fest Tags Lust*

Appendix 2. German devotional texts.

1. Johann Arndt, *Paradiß Gärtlein* (Magdeburg 1615), pp. 224–27: “Gebet vmb die Liebe Christi”

Ach mein HERR Jesu Christe; du Edlester Liebhaber meinr Seele; verleihe mir deine Gnade/ daß ich dich wider von Herten lieb habe/ vnnd spreche zu dir/ Hertzlieber HERR Jesu/ laß mich in meinem Herten nichts anders empfinden/ denn deine liebe/ nimb alles aus meinem Herten was nicht deine Liebe ist/ denn ich wil nichts anders in meinem Herten haben denn deine Liebe/ ach wie freundlich/ wie holdselig vnd süsse ist deine Liebe/ wie erquicket sie meine Seele/ wie ergetzet sie mein Hertz/ Ach laß mich nichts anders gedencken/ sehen/ begehren/ fühlen/ entpfänden/ denn deine Liebe/ denn sie ist alles/ sie hat alles/ sie begreiff alles/ sie vbertrifft alles/ Ach ich begehre diesen Edlen Schatz in mir ewig zubehalten. Laß mich auff dieser Hut stehen Tag vnnd Nacht/ vnd diesen Schatz fleissig vnd embsig bewahren/ dafür sorten/ dafür beten. Denn diß ist der vorschmack des ewigen Lebens/ der Vorhoff des Paradieses. . . . Ach daß sich die Brunnen meiner Augen aufftheten/ vnnd für liebe heisse Threnen vergössen/ vnd ich dir so lange nachweinete als ein Kind/ biß du mich holest/ auff deine Arme nimbst/ dich mir zu schmecken gibest/ vnd dich mit mir vereinigest / durch die Geistliche Himlische vermehlung/ daß ich mit dir ein Hertz/ ein Geist vnnd ein Leib werde. Auch zeuch mich nach dir so lauff ich/ ach daß ich dich küssen möchte in meinem Herten/ vnd aus deinem Munde deinen süssen Trost entpfänden/ Ach mein Trost/ meine stercke/ mein Leben/ mein Liecht/ mein Schatz/ mein Heil/ mein höchstes Gut/ meine Liebe vereinige mich mit dir/ denn alles was ich ohne dich habe vnnd ausser dir/ ist lauter Pein/ vnnd Galle/ Jammer vnnd Hertzeleidt/ Eitel vnruhe/ vnnd sorge. Du aber bist meiner Seelen einige Ruhe/ Friede vnd Frewde.

2. Martin Moller, *Meditationes sanctorum Patrum*, third ed. (Görlitz, 1590), fols. 44b–47b, here fol. 47v; source: *Manuale*, ch. 2:

Das III. Theyl. Schöne Gebete vnnd Dancksagungen zu Gott dem Sohn/ dem HERREN Jesu Christo.

III. Augustinus. Ein Gebet/ darinne ein gleubiges Hertze sich ergetzet an seinem HERRn Jesu Christo.

O gütiger Jesu/ meine liebe/ vnd mein Gott/ entzünde mich gantz vnd gar mit deiner Brunst/ vnd mit deiner Liebe/ mit deiner Süßigkeit vnd Lieblichkeit/ mit deiner Wonne vnd Frewde/ mit deiner Lust vnd Begier/ welche ich heylig vnd gut/ keusch vnd rein/ ruhig vnd stille/ Das ich mit deiner süßen Liebe gantz erfüllet/ vnd mit deiner lieben Brunst gantz entzündet werde/ vnd dich meinen Gott liebe von meinem gantzen Hertzen/ vnd von allen meinen Krefften/ das ich dich habe im Hertzen/ im Munde/ vnd für meinen Augen jmmer vnd allenthalben/ also/ das keine falsche Liebe in mir weder raum noch stadt finde/ Amen.

3. Martin Moller, *Altera Pars Meditationum ex sanctis Patribus* (Görlitz 1591), fol. 84r (excerpt)

V. “Ein altes holdseliges Gebet *S. Bernhardi*, darinnen sich ein Christlich Hertze am Namen des HERRN Jesu gar tröstlich erquicket, vnd allerley gute Gaben von ihm bittet.”

O du süßer Namen Jesus, wie tröstlich bistu. O du holdseliger Name Jesus, wie heylsam bistu. Denn was ist vnd heisset Jesus? Jesus heisset ein Heylandt vnd Seligmacher. Darumb O gütiger HERR Jesu, der du mich geschafften, vnnd mit deinem eygenen Blute erlösen hast, O lasse nicht verdammet werden, den du aus nichts geschafften, O lasse mich nicht verderben, gütiger HERR Jesu, in meiner Missethat, weil du mich durch deine allmechtige Gütigkeit bereitet hast.

4. Johann Gerhard, trans. Johann Sommer, *Meditationes Sacrae* (Magdeburg 1606), 27–28 (excerpt)

IV. Eine Trostreiche betrachtung des allersüssesten Namens Jesu.

O du allergnedigster barmhertzigster HErr Jesu/ wem wiltu dein Jesus sein/
wenn du den armen Sündern/ so deine Gnade vnd Heyl suchen vnd bege-
ren/ nicht wilt ein Jesus sein? . . . Sey mir ein Jesus in diesem Leben: Sey mir
ein Jesus im Tode: Sey mir ein Jesus am Jüngsten Gerichte: Sey mir ein Jesus
im Ewigen Leben: eya trewer Jesu/ du wirst auch sein/ denn wie du dich nit
enderst im Wesen/ also wirst du auch nicht anderst in der erbarmung: Es
wird dir dein Name O HErr Jesu vmb mich einigen elenden Sünder willen
nicht geendert werden/ Sondern du wirst vielmehr auch mir ein Seligma-
cher sein/ denn du verstössest niemand/ der zu dir kömmet.

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