Contextual Bach Studies

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

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

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

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

1. Cameron, Jasmin Melissa. *The Crucifixion in Music: An Analytical Survey of Settings of the* Crucifixus *between 1680 and 1800*, 2006.
2. van Elferen, Isabella. *Mystical Love in the German Baroque: Theology, Poetry, Music*, 2009.

Mystical Love in the German Baroque

Theology, Poetry, Music

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Isabella van Elferen

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In loving memory of my father, Guido

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

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

Contents

Abbreviations

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

Series Editor's Foreword

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Robin A. Leaver
Series Editor

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgments

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

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A stipend from the Rolf und Ursula Schneider-Stiftung has enabled me to spend several months surrounded by "my" sources in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Working with the amazing early modern collection of this library is an incessant joy, and I heartily thank all the library personnel for their kindness and help. I am grateful to the Research Institute for History and Culture of Utrecht University (OGC) and the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) for their generous support of my research trips to Wolfenbüttel, Frankfurt am Main, and Munich.

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My friends from the mythical "Tuinhuis" in Utrecht have offered me daily relief from the worries of scholarly life. Those lighthearted lunches and parties made the burden of books to read and chapters to write so much easier to carry. No less mythical in my memory is the "Feierabendhaus"

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

* * *

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTENTIONALITY

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

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

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

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

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

NOTES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8. Dürr, *Die Kantaten*, 661.

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

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

11. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 3.

12. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 5.

13. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter One

Petrarchism

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

—Petrarch's *Canzoniere*[1]

PETRARCH'S *CANZONIERE*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ITALIAN PETRARCHISM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MUSICAL PETRARCHISM IN THE MADRIGAL

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

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

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

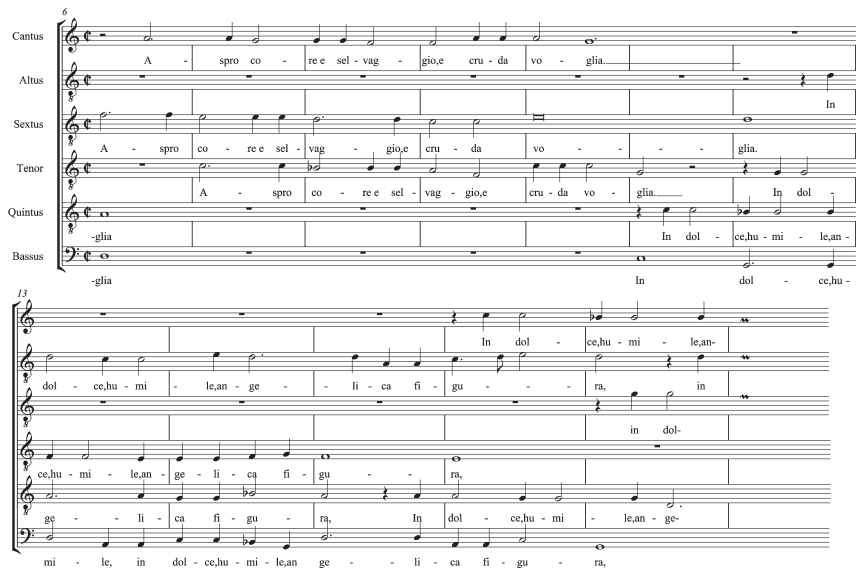
Sound as a Stylistic Resource

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

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

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

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



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

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

Syntax

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

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

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

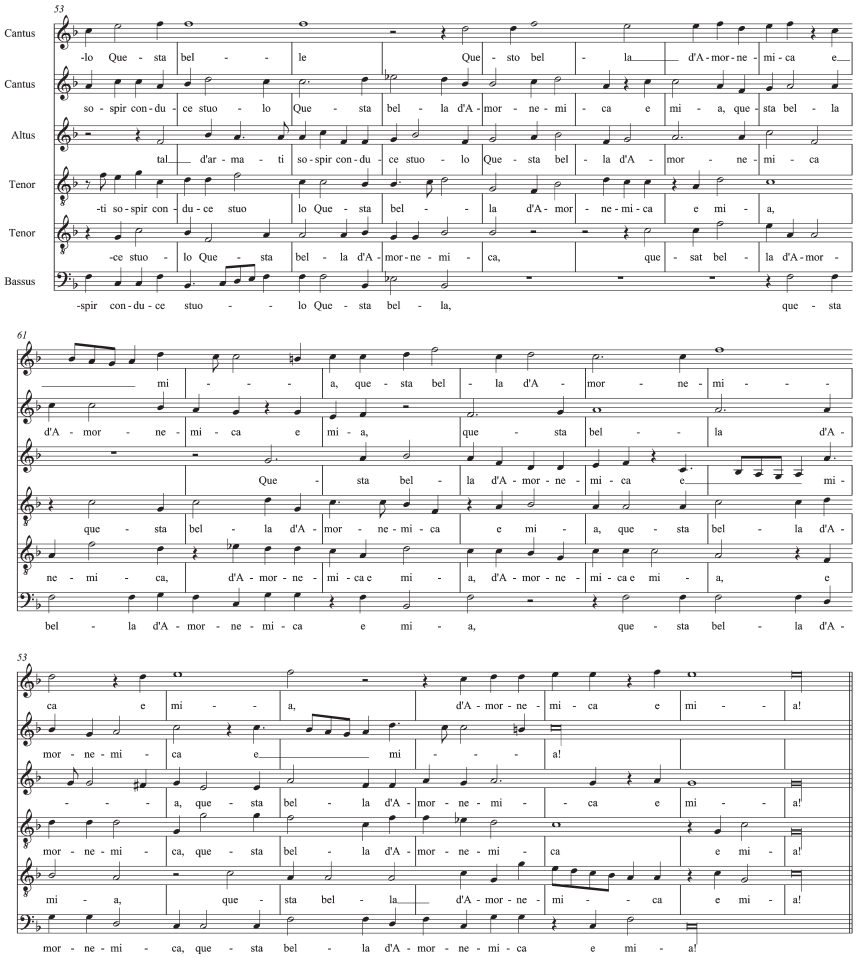
Immediately afterwards all voices repeatedly sing "Questa bella d'Amor nemica," thus musically representing Laura as love-enemy and highlighting the second interpretation. However, the tenor then twice sings "d'Amor nemica e mia," so that the two grammatically co-ordinated attributes of "nemica" are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

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

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

Metaphor

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

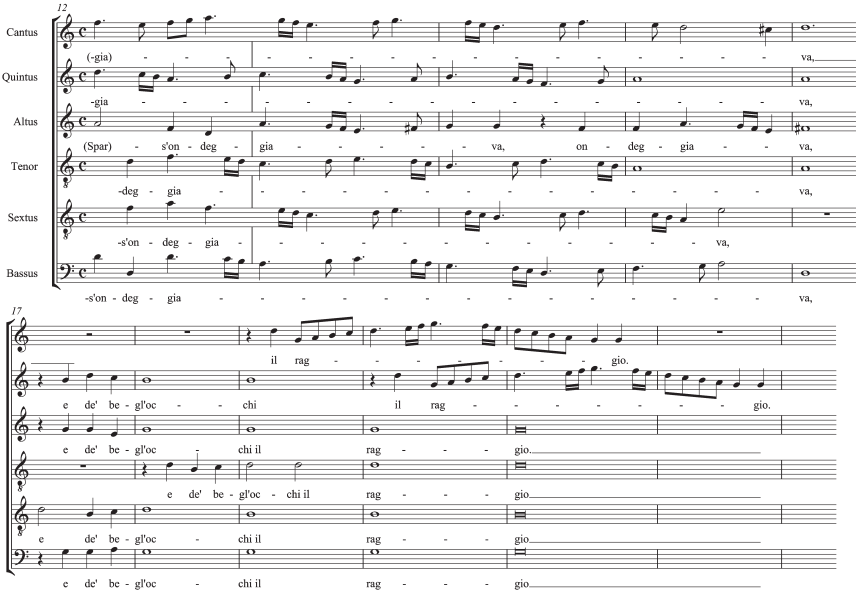


Example 1-2. Adrian Willaert, "Pien d'un vago pensier che me desvia," bars 53–73.

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

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

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



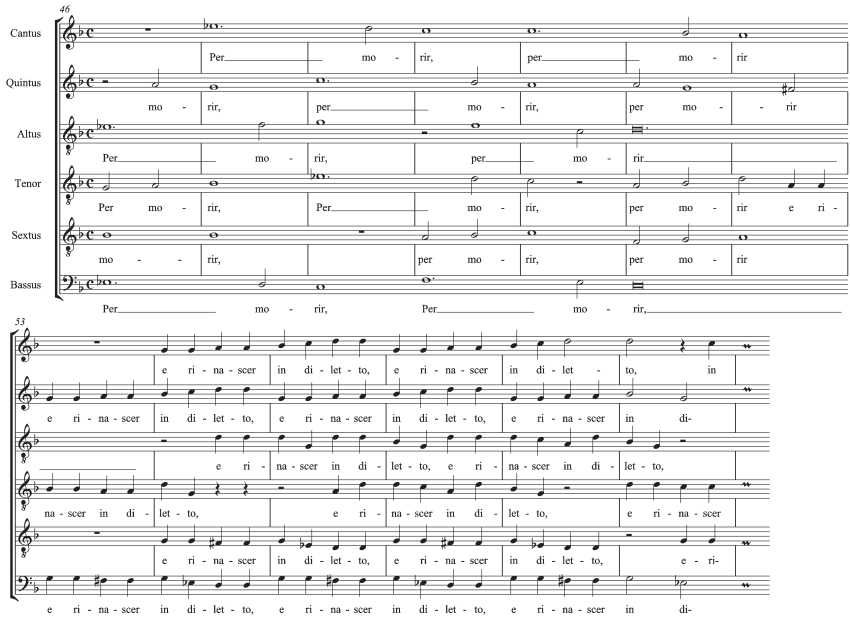
Example 1-3. Luca Marenzio, "Su l'ampia fronte," bars 12–22.

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

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

Marinism in the Late Madrigal

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



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